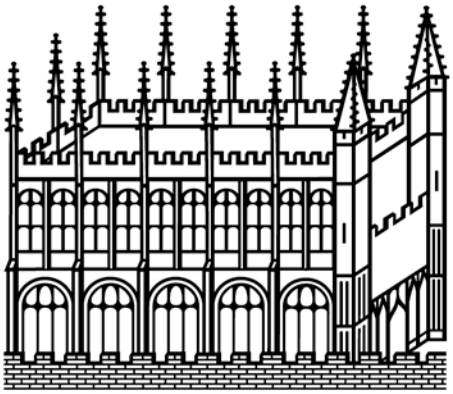

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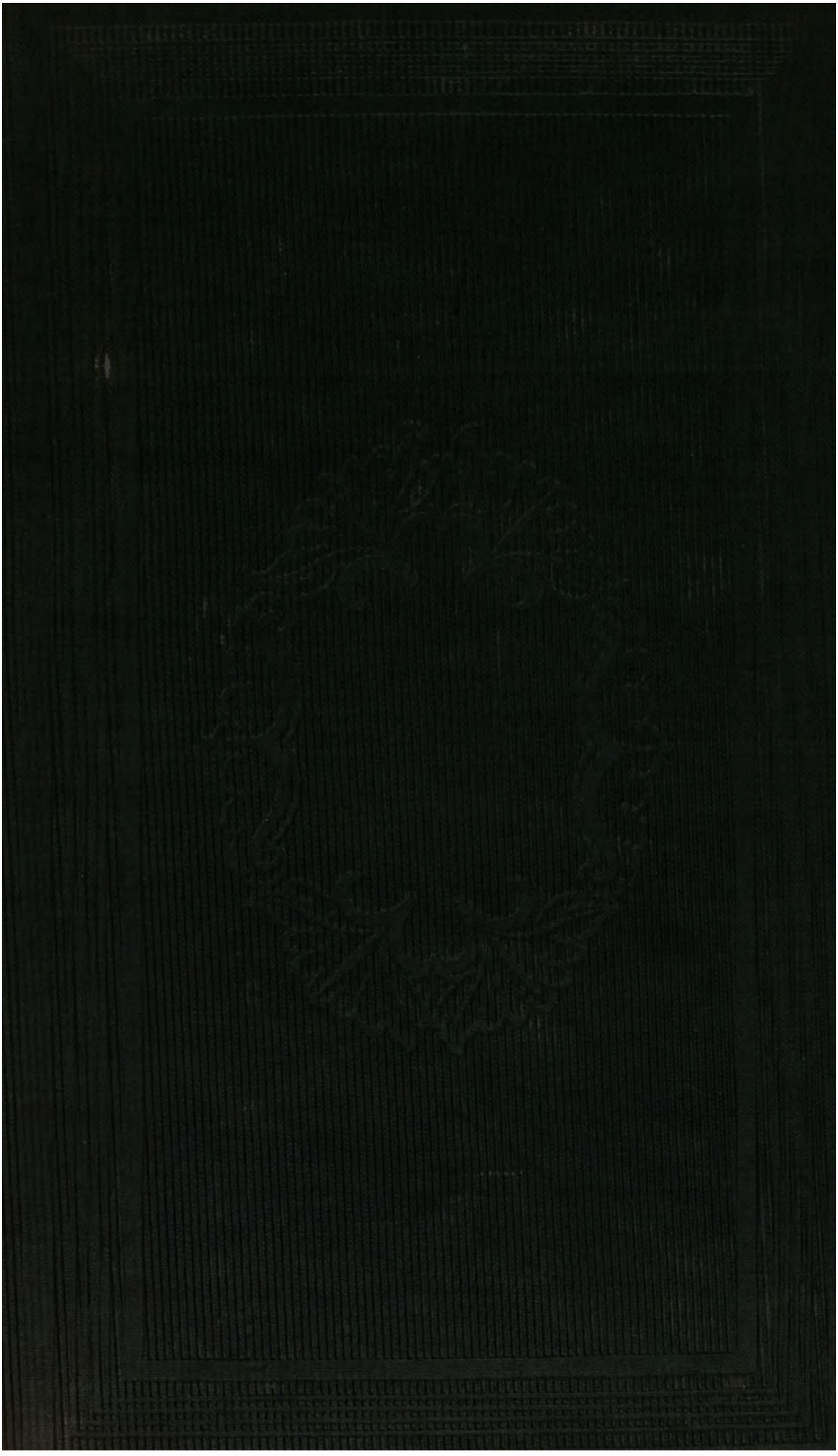

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Lieutenant General Hugh Mackay
of Scourie.

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H.

LIFE

OF

LIEUT.-GEN. HUGH MACKAY

OF SCOURY,

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FORCES IN SCOTLAND, 1689 AND 1690,
COLONEL COMMANDANT OF THE SCOTTISH BRIGADE IN THE SERVICE OF THE
STATES GENERAL, AND A PRIVY COUNSELLOR IN SCOTLAND.

BY THE LATE

JOHN MACKAY, ESQ., OF ROCKFIELD.

A NEW EDITION REVISED,

WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.
TACITUS.

LONDON:
EDWARD BULL, 19, HOLLES STREET;
LAING & FORBES, AND BELL & BRADFUTE, EDINBURGH.

MDCCCXLII.

540.

" It is a homage due to departed worth, whenever it rises to such a height as to render its possessor an object of general attention, to endeavour to rescue it from oblivion, that, when it is removed from the observation of men, it may still live in their memory, and transmit through the shades of the sepulchre some reflection, however faint, of its living lustre."
—Robert Hall's Sermons.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. ERIC LORD REAY,

THE FOLLOWING WORK

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE first sketch of the following work was drawn up many years ago, with the view of its being prefixed to an edition of General Mackay's Memoirs, then in course of preparation for the press, from a manuscript copy in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. The Editors were three members of that learned body, viz., Patrick Fraser Tytler, Adam Urquhart, and James Hogg, Esquires, who, as members of the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, were about to enrich their historical collections, by presenting, according to custom, each member with a copy of that valuable work.

General Mackay's Memoirs found their way into the Advocate's Library about a century ago; but they do not appear to have attracted much notice, till about the year 1776, when the first edition of Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland was published. That ingenious and imaginative historian frequently refers to them, and his example has been followed, with more or less care and impartiality, by all who have subsequently written concerning that period. It is General Mackay's public conduct, however, with which these writers are chiefly concerned. Of his family and private history, they appear

to have known no more than what they were able to collect from the few incidental notices, communicated either by himself or by Bishop Burnet, from whom they have copied, and transmitted to posterity, at least one material error.

To supply this want of correct information, the learned editors, understanding that I was the General's representative in the male line, requested of me to furnish them with some particulars of his life, to be prefixed to the proposed volume. I accordingly drew up for their use a brief sketch of the parentage, life, and character, of my distinguished relative, of which the editors inserted an abstract in their "Preliminary Notice," considering the whole too long for their purpose, but recommended the enlargement and publication of the sketch submitted to them, in order to diffuse more widely a just impression of the peculiar merits of the General.

To appear before the public in the character of an author, was to me an idea, which, though not altogether new, I had not till then seriously contemplated. Though not unacquainted with literature, I had never before written a line for the press; and at the age of threescore and twelve it seemed too late to begin. To these were to be added the still more formidable difficulties arising out of my having spent the last forty-three years of my life excluded from the light of heaven; with "wisdom at one entrance quite shut out." Keenly alive to the obstacles thus presented to my performing the duty of biographer of my venerated kinsman, in a manner that should prove worthy of the subject and satisfactory to myself, I applied to two eminent literary friends in succession, to undertake the office, namely, to the late reverend and deeply lamented Dr. M'Crie, so advantageously known to the public by his learned historical and

biographical researches, and to Thomas Thompson, Esq., whose acknowledged learning and taste, as well as the facilities afforded him by his official situation as deputy-keeper of the records, pointed him out as peculiarly fitted for such an undertaking. Both these gentlemen admitted the strong claims of the subject, but declined engaging in it, on account of the multiplicity of their other avocations. They were pleased, however, to approve of the sketch put into their hands, and advised me to proceed with it myself, kindly promising me every assistance in their power.

Disappointed, on the one hand, in my endeavours to engage a more practised pen, and thus encouraged, on the other, by two such high authorities, to undertake the work myself, I recommenced it, but made slow progress, owing to the necessity I was under of employing the eyes of other men, and to impediments proceeding from ill health and other unavoidable causes. An edition in quarto was published in the year 1836, and met with a favourable reception from the public. Encouraged by that reception to believe that a cheaper edition, of a more convenient size, would be acceptable to a new and more numerous class of readers, I cherished the hope that, notwithstanding the advances of age and the "total eclipse" with which it had pleased Providence to afflict me, I might still have the gratification of revising the work for a new edition on this popular plan, and thus extending immeasureably the circle in which the character and merits of this distinguished soldier and christian hero should be known and appreciated.

But increasing infirmities forbade the attempt; and having mentioned my wish to my friend and relative, Charles Mackay, Esq., author of "The Hope of the World," "Longbeard," and other works, he, perceiving the insuper-

able obstacles to my engaging in the task, frankly and kindly undertook to carry through this object so dear to me: and in thus becoming eyes and a staff to his blind and aged relative, will, I trust, add another laurel to those his genius and talents have already won.

For the General's public history during the two short periods of his service in Scotland and Ireland, he has himself left ample materials in his Memoirs, and official correspondence, French and English, from which a limited selection will be found in the Appendix to the following work, extracted from a larger, in that presented to the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs. With respect, however, to what constitutes the great charm of Biography, the interior of the man, his social and domestic habits, there is not a single letter, or even line, bearing on these points, to be found in the repositories of Lord Reay, descended from the General's eldest sister, of the Hon. Mrs. Fullarton, descended from his eldest daughter, or of his relatives, the Hon. Cornelius, and John Louis Mackay, both Barons of the kingdom of the Netherlands, with all of whom I have been in communication on the subject. This is the more to be lamented, as it makes it impossible to give, in the present sketch, that prominence to the General's religious character, which formed so essential a part of the man, and will disappoint the pious reader of a view of the Christian experience and the devout meditations and reflections of this eminent Christian soldier.

General Mackay was a man of high station as well as character, who had stood before kings and princes, assisted at their deliberations in council, and commanded their armies in the field, so that, even at the present day, the circumstances of his life and death from a part of the history of Europe.

It is, therefore, not a little singular that, of such a man, the only written memorials extant should be confined to a small quarto manuscript volume, comprehending a history of military transactions in Scotland, from the period of his arrival at Edinburgh to assume the chief command, in the middle of March 1689, to that of his final departure from Scotland, at the end of November 1690; and the history of his Irish campaign of 1691, commencing in May and ending in October of the same year, when he returned for the last time to Holland. The Memoirs may be divided into the three following parts, *first*, a narrative of military transactions during his command in Scotland, to which are added fragments containing additional facts, and observations on the foregoing; *second*, a narrative of the Irish campaign of 1691, in which he served under the Baron de Ghinkel; the *third* consists of letters to the King and the Earl of Portland, from 14th January to 4th November, 1690. Both the second and third parts are in French, evidently drawn up with greater care and attention to style, the second especially, as being probably more intended for the public eye. Of these I should have inserted extracts, as specimens of the General's manner, had I not been dissuaded by a military friend, better acquainted with the French language, on account of their numerous inaccuracies, which appear to have proceeded from the transcriber's imperfect knowledge of the language. The first part is in the third person, after the manner of Cæsar's Commentaries, and is written in a homely and rather antiquated style, such, however, as was in general use among the educated classes of that age in Scotland. The sentences are long, involved, and often obscure, from their length and the little attention paid to punctuation; and all of these faults have been multiplied and aggra-

vated by the negligence or ignorance of those through whose hands they appear to have passed.* The whole was written, or transcribed, at Bommel, in Guelderland, where the General resided with his family; the first part written during the winter of 1690—91, the second during that of 1691—92, and the third at the dates which the letters respectively bear.

The reader is requested to take notice, that what has been usually termed "General Mackay's Memoirs," is limited to the small quarto volume already mentioned, and that it is now swelled to a larger, by the addition of the selections from his English letters in the edition presented to the clubs. These bear evident marks of having been originally written in haste, on the spur of the moment; such of them as are addressed to the privy council frequently concluding with a request that their lordships would be pleased to order copies to be taken, and forwarded to court, as he had no time to get them transcribed.

The Scottish campaign, though in it General Mackay was commander-in-chief, while only fourth in command of the Irish, was, of the two, by much the more irksome and trying to his patience. In the former, it is true, he had the sole responsibility, but he was harrassed, sometimes by injudicious interferences with his peculiar department, sometimes by a factious opposition to his measures on the part of his colleagues in the council, and what was still more mortifying, he did not receive that support from his sovereign which his character deserved and the interest of the service

* These faults, when glaring, I have taken the liberty of correcting, I trust without injury to the character of the composition, by modernizing to a certain degree the orthography, shortening the sentences, and amending the punctuation.

required. In Ireland he had no such annoyances to endure. A large army was there assembled, regularly organized and well disciplined, under general officers of great experience and knowledge of their profession. The commander-in-chief, the Baron de Ghinkel, though his military talents were not of the first order, yet possessed such urbanity of manners, that the service went on smoothly under him; and though differences occasionally took place among the general officers at their councils of war, in which Mackay sometimes stood alone, that circumstance never interrupted the harmony of their meetings. Responsibility was so divided, that only a small part fell to his share; and the specific duties assigned to him he performed in a manner so masterly, that to him, more than to any other individual, was by general consent ascribed the successful issue of the war. Of the general officers present, four-fifths were foreigners, and these, on returning to their respective countries, spread throughout all Europe the fame of General Mackay's exploits in the Irish campaign. To this circumstance, together with another co-incident in point of time, that of Marlborough's falling into disgrace with King William, in consequence of his alleged clandestine correspondence with the court of St. Germains, was probably owing the distinguished honour conferred on Mackay, of commanding the British division of the grand allied army in the following campaign.

The circumstances stated in the preceding pages will, I trust, plead my excuse for thus obtruding myself on the public notice. It cannot be expected that, in the present turmoil of public affairs, it will excite much public attention. I feel, nevertheless, a secret satisfaction in the consciousness of having collected, as it were, into a focus, from various

quarters, scattered rays of information, relating to the life, death, and character of General Mackay, whom I have ever held in the highest veneration, and the contemplation of whose character, I conceive, may be beneficial to private christians, as well as to men of the profession of arms. In particular, I indulge the hope that it may refute the erroneous notion of Bishop Burnet, respecting the supposed tendency of piety to unfit men for military command; and prove useful to young soldiers and sailors, by shewing them that ardent piety, so far from being incompatible with the character of a hero, gives it a brighter lustre; and by proving to them that no man is so fit for any daring enterprise—a forlorn hope, mounting a breach, or storming a battery, for instance—as he who, to the military requisites, adds habitual piety towards God, a firm reliance on His Providence, and, in regard to himself, a well grounded assurance that, let death come when it may, it will be to him an immediate entrance to a happier and more glorious state of existence.

JOHN MACKAY.

EDINBURGH, STAFFORD STREET,
April 2d, 1841.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

JOHN MACKAY, ESQ. OF ROCKFIELD.

THE Author of the following "Life of General Mackay," having been removed from amongst us, while this edition of his work was still in the press, it appeared to some of his intimate acquaintance, to be due, as a tribute of respect to his memory, and of gratification to many friends, that a succinct notice of his life and character should be prefixed to it.

The notices of his pedigree, in connexion with that of General Mackay, given in No. III. of the Appendix to his work, may suffice as to his birth and parentage. To trace in his own character many of those qualities which he delighted to portray in the hero of his earliest admiration, and even fond affection, would be proving relationship in mind, and, if succeeded in, would render these pages a really appropriate preface to the "Life" of his kinsman.

In the latter paragraph of his Preface, the author has stated that much of his satisfaction in the completion of his work arose from his having succeeded in collecting together such scattered fragments relating to General Mackay, as enabled him to exhibit a character, the contemplation of which might

be beneficial to private Christians, as well as to men of the profession of arms, and serve to refute the erroneous notion of Bishop Burnet, respecting the supposed tendency of piety to unfit men for military command. So would we desire to render our Author's Christian faith, and the tenor of his life, a beneficial example to sufferers under a severe calamity, stimulating ingenuous youths, shut out from active pursuits by similar dispensations of Providence, to strive to turn to account whatever remaining talents the Almighty may have entrusted them with. This benevolent office he himself had the happiness of accomplishing in many instances, and never missed an opportunity of attempting. Though dead, his example may yet speak consolation and encouragement to fellow-sufferers.

Deprived of sight at twenty-nine years of age, when, after a careful use of every opportunity of mental improvement, he had embarked in a career from which he anticipated the acquisition of independence, and the enjoyment of a useful life, his oft-repeated declaration was, that an omniscient Father's love had dispensed the afflictive bereavement. This consolatory conviction may not have been so impressively adopted during the first dark years of disappointment, but it aided a naturally buoyant disposition, and a well-informed mind, in averting despondency or repining. It was during the evening of his long life, in his many hours of self-examination, and of retrospection of the way by which his Heavenly Father had led him, that his deepest gratitude was called forth, in surveying the disappointment of his fears, and the large proportion of enjoyment that had been bestowed on him; while he was removed from snares which might have occasioned him misery here, and throughout eternity. A firm reliance on the wisdom and love of an over-ruling God, and consequent cheerful acquiescence in His will, brightened his declining years;

affording habitual placidity of temper, and lively enjoyment of every pleasing occurrence, with gratitude to the great First Cause and His instruments.

With a mind richly stored with classical, historical, and general literature, the increasing of which was a never-failing source of enjoyment, Mr. Mackay delighted in recurring to the simple pleasures of boyhood in the manse of Lairg. His family attachment was singularly ardent; and, though the disappointment of his early hopes was greatly embittered by consequent inability to benefit his kindred, yet compensation may have been made in the gratification he experienced from the affectionate and generous interest manifested by them for his comfort.

He had noted down, for the benefit of a succeeding generation, some of those domestic annals which continued to interest himself so warmly. From these "Family Annals," we venture to extract a few paragraphs, believing that the picture may have the charm of novelty to many of our readers, while to his friends it will be peculiarly interesting, as a graphic description of his own feeling. "My mother possessed those qualities which form the brightest ornaments of her sex; unaffected piety, prudence, and good sense, with a degree of sweetness and gentleness of disposition that engaged all hearts, and made her a blessing to her husband and family. She died on occasion of the birth of her eleventh child, 9th November, 1773, a dark and dismal day, which time can never efface from my memory, nor the scene of her funeral amidst the tears and lamentations of our neighbours and the parishioners. Five only of her children survived our mother.* My eldest sister was at

* In the number of the Appendix already referred to, a notice will be found of the profession and career of the two younger sons, Hugh and William, the eldest, John, being the author of the Memoir, and the subject of this sketch. The two daughters were respectably married.

school, and kind friends resolved to relieve our father of us all for a time; a worthy old couple, not under fourscore years, carried off my brother Hugh and myself. They were the quintessence of old-fashioned hospitality and kindness; and not even now, after the lapse of sixty years, can I recollect the kindness of both without emotion; and it has been to us a source of great enjoyment, that we have been able to testify our remembrance of it to many of their descendants.

"From the period of our mother's death, our father's health, which had always been delicate, began sensibly to decline; so that he appeared gradually to sink under the infirmities of a premature old age, aggravated by this domestic affliction. During a great part of the year, he was prevented, by bodily ailment, from taking exercise. His house was out of repair, pervious to wind and rain, and the room he occupied close and comfortless. His worldly affairs, too, fell into disorder, from various causes, chiefly from the want of our mother's judicious management, without doors as well as within. These things preyed on his spirits; he believed his end approaching, and could not contemplate without pain the prospect of leaving five orphans destitute and uneducated. Like David, however, 'he strengthened himself in the Lord,' and as his earthly comforts gave way, he kept closer communion with his God.

"He frequently quoted, and made us repeat, such passages from the Bible as the following:—'I have been young and now am old, yet have I never seen the seed of the righteous begging his bread;' and, 'When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up.'

"Our father had begun in some degree to recover his spirits after our mother's death, when it pleased God to visit him with another calamity, different in kind, and far less poignant in

degree, but one, nevertheless, which put his faith and patience to a severe test. On the 27th of December, 1774, his cow-house was consumed by fire. Hugh and I only of the children were at home; we were in bed, when the cry reached us that the cow-house was on fire. We huddled on our clothes, and ran out to the spot. It was almost day-break, and never shall I forget the awful spectacle that presented itself to our view. The roof had fallen in, burying in its ruins thirty-five head of fine cattle —all our stock—the whole were consumed, and the flame was ascending to the skies with terrific grandeur. All the neighbours soon flocked to the spot. Amongst others, the son of the worthy pair who had taken us to their home and their hearts when we lost our mother. I well remember his words: 'Come, neighbours, we must build another byre for the honest man, and stock it as fast as we can;' and his pledge was redeemed: and it is a curious fact, taking into view the humble state of our fortunes then, that the kindness shown to our father at this time, has been repaid by his descendants to the families of all the contributors, we except, of course, the families of Sutherland and Reay, who each sent gifts of fine cattle. Our father was from home the night of the fire, and did not return till the forenoon after. His prayer at night made a deep impression on us all, but what I remember best is, that when we sat down to our supper of porridge and milk, he observed what an abundant supply of milk was on the table, sent in by the neighbours; then, for the first time, his fortitude gave way, and we all burst into tears. Never, before or after, perhaps were we so amply supplied with dairy produce as during winter. The cow-house was soon rebuilt and stocked.

"In January, 1781, we experienced another severe dispensation of Providence, in the burning of the stable, and of the

kitchen with all its furniture. Happily the horses were got out, though with great difficulty; for, as is usual, they sought to return to the flame. The fire took place on Sunday morning. In giving an account of it to his sister, our father wrote,—'How the fire commenced I cannot find out. Our care will not avail without that of our Heavenly Father. There was much combustible stuff on the premises, which made the flame very great, but the night being calm, it did not communicate farther, bounds having been set to it as to the sea. (Job xxxviii. 11; Jer. v. 22.) As the alarm must have been given immediately, I was soon apprized of my danger. I found my room illuminated by the flame; I got up to the window, and stood there some minutes astonished, and my thoughts at a stand, but soon got them employed; and when I found there was a calm, and an air of wind from the west, and that all on fire was past remedy, I returned to my bed. Often have I been disturbed and sickened with less cause; but it pleased God to give me such composure, that I was enabled to preach that day with more life, and spirit, and vigour than usual; and nature, that has so often bended under a lighter burden, was refreshed and strengthened in waiting on the Lord (Isaiah xl. 29, 31;) and hitherto He has kept me from despising His chastisements, or fainting under them.' The letter goes on in a strain of fervent piety, exhibiting what the Christian's armour is under all trials.

"To some it may seem, that as the Scottish clergy are provided with manse and offices at the expense of the landed proprietors, the destruction of two out-houses could be attended with but temporary inconvenience, and no very serious loss, to our father. The fact, however, was otherwise.

"The accommodations of the Sutherland-shire clergy were, in

the last century, exceedingly scanty; and, in some instances, provided entirely at their own expense. It was so at Lairg; for, with the exception of £50 granted in 1750, not a shilling had been contributed by the proprietors, for the accommodation of the incumbents, till towards the close of our father's life, about which period a more liberal system commenced. When this circumstance is taken into account, with the very small stipend, his advanced age, and infirmities, his pecuniary difficulties in consequence, also the conflagration just mentioned having taken place in the dead of the winter, the foregoing will not seem an exaggerated expression of the distress occasioned.

"He was not forsaken by the God in whom he confided, but lived to have every comfort amply supplied by his second son, Hugh, while he was saved, by predeceasing him a few months, the overwhelming anguish which the news of his fall on the field of Assaye, would have occasioned him."

After recording other circumstances respecting his revered father, Mr. Mackay concludes his notice of his character thus: "During the summer of 1797, the small-pox raged in the parish, and carried off twenty-five children in a few weeks, threatening the lives of many others. My father had for two years employed an assistant. On this occasion, being then in his 80th year, he preached his last sermon, a seasonable and most consoling discourse, from these words of Job:—'Shall we receive good at the hands of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?' Though his great age, and increasing infirmities, rendered him unable to appear in public, yet in private he continued as assiduous as ever, exhorting, comforting, and praying with such of his parishioners as called on him. Having known them from their birth, he was intimately acquainted

with their character, and to the last took a lively interest in their concerns. He had a clear understanding in temporal as well as spiritual matters, and his people frequently consulted him on the former, requesting him to act as arbiter in their differences. He had some skill in physic, a qualification which greatly promotes the usefulness of a minister amongst an isolated people; naturally humane and tender-hearted, he had always been liberal to the poor, in proportion to his means; and now that these were increased by the filial duty of his son Hugh, he was enabled to extend his charity. In a word, he was a fine example of what the English call a good parish priest,—the friend, the counsellor, the physician of the souls and bodies of his people.

> "'He watched and prayed, he felt and wept for all;
> And, as a bird each fond endearment tries,
> To tempt her new-fledged offspring to the skies,
> He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
> Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way.'"

In order to close his account of his revered father, we insert here an extract from a letter of 12th September, 1803, to an esteemed and confidential friend, giving a description of the departure and funeral of the aged saint. "My dear Walker —What a long interval has elapsed since the date of your last letter; and how many events important to the public and to individuals, have happened during that interval. I have one of the latter description now to communicate to you—different in its nature from that announced in my last" (his marriage), "but serious, interesting, and affecting to me.

"I mean the death of my venerable father, which took place on the 28th instant. He died in a manner suitable to the life he had led, with the full assurance of a glorious

resurrection. Two hours before he breathed his last, he joined in singing a psalm, thus anticipating, as it were, the joys of the happy state on which he was about to enter.

"He died in a good old age, after enjoying the satisfaction of seeing his family comfortably settled in life. He has run his race, and is now obtaining his reward. So may we run, that we also may obtain. I had the melancholy satisfaction of attending his remains to the grave. Many of the parishioners were deeply affected, and they all testified their respect for the memory of their beloved pastor. Such a death is no cause of regret, but rather of exultation and triumph to the family and friends of the deceased."

It was under such tuition and example, and by early habits of privation and difficulty, that were formed, not only the domestic virtues of filial and fraternal affection, which, to the latest moment of life, bound the members of that family in the strictest cords of love, but also that manly and resolute spirit which enabled each of them to pursue with honourable success the path on which natural bias had induced him to enter, and to acquire, in no ordinary measure, the affectionate esteem of many. The manse library, consisting of books on divinity, accumulated by his grandfather and father, did not supply much food to John's eager appetite for knowledge. His father took much pains to make his children thoroughly acquainted with Scripture. Its narratives and doctrines never lost the hold they then acquired of his feelings, and by which faith was even then implanted, and supplied themes on which, in his latter years, he delighted to converse with those whose religious views were congenial to his own, and he was happy in the possession of friends with whom he could take sweet counsel on the most important of all topics.

His veneration and affection for both his parents were un-

bounded, and to their unwearied and judicious care in forming his principles, and in accustoming him to apply scriptural doctrines as the guide of faith, and scriptural precepts as the rule of conduct, he attributed, under the blessing of God on their teaching, his escape from the infection of infidelity and Socinianism, which, at the period when he mingled most with mankind, were lamentably prevalent. Of the soundness and value of his father's Calvinistic views, he never doubted; and although rare individual acts in his conduct may have swerved from the line which conscience so informed, prescribed, (and no Christian ever did more deeply deplore such deviations), he, to the latest period of life, spoke of his having been so taught, and so kept in the faith, as causes of deepest thankfulness to his Heavenly and to his earthly father.

As the Bible made him a Christian, so odd volumes of history and old magazines kindled the first sparks of that genuine patriotism,—love of country, and of universal freedom,—which formed so prominent a feature in his character. Through these humble instructors, he became acquainted with the circumstances of the glorious revolution of 1688, in securing the blessings of which to Scotland, his relative General Mackay had acted so distinguished a part. From these, also, he derived his first knowledge of the war undertaken to rescue Europe and Protestantism from the arch-enemy of both, Lewis XIV, in which the General fell; and of the early history of the American revolutionary war, the heroes of which took their place in his esteem, next to that held by General Mackay, the successful issue of that enterprise appearing to him to be next in importance to the two events above referred to in promoting the best interests of mankind.

In the character of his father's parishioners, and the tie which subsisted between pastor and people, there was much

to foster the warm and active benevolence implanted by nature in his heart. To his grandfather, the people owed their civilization, as well as their knowledge of the Gospel; and the order established, and the seed sown by him, were prayerfully maintained and nourished by his son,—father and son having lived as pastors over the parish eighty-nine years. Both had received a very liberal education, and were deep divines, as well as sound in faith, and holy in their characters.

The parish had been fortunate in its schoolmasters; the people were intelligent and in very comfortable circumstances, a fact which has more to do with human character, and the consequent strength and glory of a nation, than is usually considered. Primitive and simple as possible in their manners and wants, every family abounded in food and clothing, had wherewithal to give to the needy, and had leisure to think, to meditate on what their minister told them on the Sabbath, and on the works of creation by which they were surrounded in much beauty and grandeur.

The manse family stood first in the respect and love of each cottage household; all were known and recognized as friends at the manse. The unlimited range for cattle and sheep which the parishioners enjoyed rendered the bestowing on their pastor of marks of regard (the tributes of grateful reverence and warm affection), as easy as it was gratifying to their self-respect, and to the kindliness of their nature.

Having imbibed all the lore a well-taught parish school could supply, the subject of this sketch was sent to the grammar-school of Inverness, where he increased his knowledge of Greek and Latin in a measure very creditable to his teacher (Mr. Hector Frazer) and to himself. From thence he came to the University of Edinburgh, where ample opportunities were afforded him for the acquisition of knowledge, of which he availed himself

with great industry and pleasure. His father's wish was, that his eldest son should follow his own profession, and in compliance with this desire, besides attendance on the usual literary and philosophical classes, he entered the Hebrew class; but he soon felt that he was not calculated to follow in the footsteps of his grandfather and father, and gave his studies a more secular direction. He continued, however, his Hebrew reading, and had, in Professor Robertson, a kind friend. Dr. Black's lectures on chemistry, and his unassuming manner of stating his views, particularly interested him. Professor Dugald Stewart won his warm admiration, and honoured him with his notice and friendship, but it was by becoming a member of a debating society (the Speculative) that his intimacies were formed, and his mental powers called into action and invigorated. Mackintosh (afterwards Sir James) then a student of medicine, Malcolm Laing, the historian of Scotland, Benjamin Constant, David Cathcart (afterwards Lord Alloway), and many others who became distinguished, were members; Lord Charles Townshend was one, a very amiable youth, and so much interested by the proceedings of the society, though too young to take a part, that he prevailed on his father to assist in forming one on a similar plan in London, the early meetings of which took place in the Marquis's house, and were attended by as many members of the Edinburgh society as were then in town, including Mackintosh, Emmett, and Mackay. To the last named Lord Charles always continued his friendship, and was his frequent visitor after he had lost his sight.

He was introduced to Dr. Erskine by his father, but in those times the relationship which he bore to Mrs. Erskine (who was daughter to Lord Reay), though distant, insured to a young and humble relative friendly attentions. Ready admittance to the family circle of Dr. Erskine, must have been

of incalculable value to a mind so athirst for knowledge, as was Mr. Mackay's. "The life of Dr. Erskine," says Sir Henry Moncrieff, "from his birth to his grave was such as entitled his name to be transmitted to posterity, as that of one of the most estimable and venerable characters of his time." "Erskine, next to Warburton," said Hurd, "is the deepest divine I have yet known." He was the first man in Scotland to raise his voice against the war with the American colonies, as alike impolitic and unjust. He was among the first Scotchmen that took an active interest in the abolition of slavery. He stood firmly on the side of evangelical religion in the Church courts, as in the pulpit, all his life; maintaining the claims of the people, the duty and importance of missionary schemes, though his party, few in number in those days of moderate supremacy, was constantly thwarted by the votes of men who "cared for none of these things."

Through the kindness of the venerable and distinguished Dr. Erskine, Mr. M. was introduced into much improving society, and was recommended as tutor to the family of Lord Elphinstone, then resident in Edinburgh, as Governor of the Castle—a connexion which was productive of much gratification to him through life. At Lord Elphinstone's he met with many distinguished persons, by whose conversation he was well prepared to benefit; and, happily, that most amiable family encouraged their young inmate to take full advantage of such opportunities. He recollected with much interest a visit paid at Cumbernauld by Lord Rawdon (afterwards Marquis of Hastings), then an exceedingly intelligent and elegant young nobleman, who had just returned from America, where he had distinguished himself as a military commander. The tutor was kindly included in the noble family's summer visiting excursions. How greatly he enjoyed those opportunities of

beholding the magnificent scenery of his native land, and becoming acquainted with her great landed proprietors and their domestic habits, the following account of one of those excursions, given in a letter to his friend John Wild, afterwards Professor of Civil law in the University of Edinburgh, shews :—

" Tuesday morning, Lord and Lady Elphinstone, my pupils and I, set off from Cumbernauld, passed through Stirling and its delightful neighbourhood, and about two arrived at Dumblane, where we halted, and took a view of the Cathedral. We reproach our ancestors with ignorance, with barbarity, and with what not; compare this, and many other such buildings scattered over our country, with our modern pigeon-holes, which we are pleased to call *churches*, and say whether we have not cause to blush for our boasted refinements. There is here, likewise, a library, founded by Archbishop Leighton, and considerably augmented by the son of the late Primate of York (Drummond), who is, you know, nephew and presumptive heir to Lord Kinnoul, superior of the village, and proprietor of the adjacent lands. Our repast finished, we set off, stopped a few minutes at Auchterarder, and after travelling through a bleak country, arrived here about seven. We rested here a day. On Thursday took the road again—arrived at Dunkeld in the forenoon—viewed his Grace of Atholl's romantic walks, hermitage, &c., and continued journeying along that road, through a most delightful valley of eighteen miles in length, which at last widened, and discovered to us Castle Menzies, the seat of our host, Sir Robert Menzies of Menzies, on the slope of a hill that seems to touch the skies, and is covered to the top with the finest firs I ever saw. Our aged host, may well be said, though diminutive in size and decrepid from the weight of years, to be one of the noblest

works of God. It was delightful to see what pleasure and kindliness glowed in the old man's countenance at seeing so numerous a company at his table. His entertainment was sumptuous, and, though in a remote corner of the country, was served up with a degree of urbanity that would do honour to a Mid-Lothian Thane. Here, for the first time these three years, my ears were regaled with Gaelic sounds; for I don't count such the Billingsgate vociferations of your Edinburgh porters. On Friday, the younger part of our company visited Taymouth. Here nature and art seem to vie. But I find I must lay down my pen till my descriptive powers become more vigorous; for I think, were I able to delineate the groups of sublime and beautiful objects that present themselves at this moment to my mind's eye, they would form a tolerable picture. But, alas, *deficiunt mihi vires;* so I leave you to imagine the rest. Saturday, our party greatly enlarged, having been joined at Castle Menzies by the young ladies of our family, and several other friends, returned here, some on one side the Tay and some on the other. To-morrow we set off for Lord Leven's, Belmont Castle, the Lord Privy Seal's, and some other places. *Finis coronat opus*, &c. &c. Freeland House, 16th September, 1782."

Mr. Mackay often referred with much pleasure and gratitude to the intercourse he had at this period with the then Earl of Buchan, whose ardour in seeking and diffusing knowledge is well known. Often acting as his Lordship's amanuensis, in his extensive correspondence with eminent persons in all parts of the world, and meeting with such at his Lordship's table. The unassuming simplicity of the letters, and the manners of some of those distinguished characters, of whom he had been accustomed to think with admiration and reverence, amounting to awe, greatly surprised and pleased him; and taught him

that true intellectual greatness does not require to assert its presence, or its claims to respect. Lord and Lady Buchan's regard and kindly attentions were renewed when he afterwards settled in Edinburgh. The good old Earl delighted in communicating to his blind and retired friend whatever, in his pursuits, or the intelligence he received, was likely to interest him. To this early intercourse with intelligent and refined society may, in part, perhaps, be attributed Mr. Mackay's possession of that graceful demeanour which a friend thus describes: "His gentlemanly manner and deportment were no small charm in his personal character. One saw that it was really not manner, but mind; that while it could accommodate to the humblest, there was the true dignity which mind alone can give. In this respect, as in many others, I cannot forbear remarking the transparency of mind above the mere outward man, observable even in his mien and deportment, producing a contrast equally striking and interesting to the bereavement with which it had pleased Providence to afflict him personally; and preserving the elasticity almost of youth in his person to a very advanced age."

After a residence of two or three years in Lord Elphinstone's family, during which he attended various courses of lectures in the University of Edinburgh, he went to London, and there renewed his intimacy with several of his Edinburgh friends.

His anxiety to procure employment, and commence the active duties of life, was soon apparently gratified by the Hon. W. Elphinstone's procuring for him the appointment of secretary to Mr. Alexander, then going to Madras, as Secretary to Sir John Dalling, the Commander-in-chief. A severe and long-continued typhus fever prevented his embarking with his principal, and was ultimately the occasion of his losing the appointment. Finding himself, after an apparent recovery, in

an exceedingly debilitated state, and winter approaching, he resolved on passing a part of it in the more genial climate of France, and spent some months at St. Omer, where he made several agreeable acquaintance, and even friends, with whom he corresponded till his loss of sight; and we may here remark, that his power of attaching warmly and lastingly, and the constancy and ardour of his friendship, were peculiar traits in his character. Very many of the friends he gained at Inverness in his boyhood, at Edinburgh in his youth, and subsequently through life, died his friends; for it was his lot to survive nearly all who entered life along with him; but they were never forgotten by him. Being worthy of his esteem, they retained their place in his affections till the close of life.

Amongst those friends, no one held a warmer place than Thomas Addis Emmett, his fellow-debater in the Speculative societies of Edinburgh and London, his tender attendant during his typhus fever already mentioned, and afterwards the proscribed, imprisoned Irish rebel, but still esteemed, loved, and sought out by him; for political opinions could not sever the tie formed by esteem for great personal and mental worth, superior talents, and most engaging manners, and grateful remembrance of great kindness shewn in a time of need. These feelings naturally induced Mr. Mackay to leave no means untried to gain access to his friend, while a state prisoner at Fort George; and, though the nearest approach allowed by the authorities, was intercourse with Mrs. Emmett and the children, and correspondence with Mr. Emmett, under inspection of the governor of the fort; he had the happiness of cheering the sad period of imprisonment, as expressions in several letters of Mr. E.'s testify. In a letter to Mr. Walker, of June, 1799, Mr. M. writes, "I must add an extract from a letter I lately had from Emmett; he says, 'I should be tempted

to inquire from you after many old acquaintance, but that I do not know whether they might not consider being named by me, in the way of familiarity, as a possible injury. There is, however, one who I am sure will not look upon it in that light, and of whom I never have heard any thing since I saw him last with you in London. I mean Walker. His prospects never seemed to me equal to his merits, and I am the more anxious to learn whether he has been able to emerge, as he deserved.' The whole of the letter is written in a strain that would soften even your loyalty; but I should have prefaced the above with saying, that I went to Fort George in hopes of obtaining an interview with him; I waited on the governor with a letter I had received three years before from Emmett, by way of shewing the nature of our connection. He told me he could not permit an interview, but that I might write, which I accordingly did, and had an immediate answer. The governor (General Stewart) added, that he had already formed a high opinion of Mr. and Mrs. Emmett, and regretted their situation. He behaved to me with great politeness, and by no means blamed, rather approved of my anxiety about my friend, and has permitted me to correspond with him freely, through his hands." That Mr. W.'s loyalty was softened, appears by a paragraph of a letter, dated May 1801; "I go to Fort George to see Mr. Emmet, and will not forget your compliments." One or two paragraphs from a letter written by Mr. E., in the expectation of an immediate change of abode, we are tempted to transcribe, as characteristic both of the writer, and of the person addressed. "If we can draw any inference from the precipitate manner we were hurried out of Ireland, I should imagine the notification to us of our removal from hence being resolved on, will not long precede the executing of it, and that, therefore, it will be cer-

tainly out of my power to give you any timely notice of it; so that, much as I wish to see you, if that be practicable, and at any rate to acknowledge to you, through Mrs. Emmett, the strong sense I entertain of your unaltered friendship and great affection—(and I wish the opportunity of doing this before I leave your neighbourhood, probably for ever, more than I can well tell you)—it will scarcely be possible, unless your time permit you to come here before the notification arrives. At any rate, my dear Mackay, accept of this acknowledgment. What is to become of me, or for what I am destined, I know not; but in no place, or under no circumstances, shall I ever forget that when I was proscribed and a prisoner, slandered without the means of vindicating my character, you held fast by your former friendship for me, and your previous knowledge of my dispositions. You loved me, and did not hesitate to give the most decisive proofs of it. Mrs. Emmett and I both request you to present our most sincere and respectful compliments to your venerable father; she, in particular, has to thank him for being the means of cheering and improving her mind, and opening it to all the pleasures of hope. Believe me, my dear friend, unalterably and affectionately yours."

Duly to estimate the reality of friendship evinced by this renewal of intimacy, it must be borne in mind, that during that period (from 1799 to 1802), and for several years preceding, the professing any sympathy with, or regard for, those who were suspected of disaffection to government, involved the individual in suspicion, and not unfrequently in very injurious consequences, through the artful malice of informers. Mr. Emmett was fully aware of this danger in the case of his friend, then receiving a pension from the India Board, in consequence of the loss of his sight, and wrote to him, intreating that he would not run any risk on his account, assuring him

that his confidence in his friendship would continue unabated, should he never receive another letter or token of regard from him. Mr. Mackay, however, continued to visit Fort George as long as his friends were there, and spent many interesting hours with Mrs. Emmett.

We have greatly anticipated the period at which we had arrived in our sketch, in order to give this evidence of the constancy of his friendships, which had its reward, not only in the inward peace a mind so constituted enjoys, but in its reciprocity; for, though he lived to mourn the demise of many friends, the attachment of those surviving was great and constant. The frequent visits of one, of fifty-six years standing, and of sentiments altogether congenial to his own, cheered his later years, and often brightened the weary days of infirmity. However exhausted by previous occupation, or oppressed by illness, Mr. Dalrymple's approach was always hailed as a sure source of entertainment and information; and on his departure the remark was often made, " Is it not extraordinary that with us subjects of conversation never fail?"

Early in 1784, and soon after his return from France, Mr. Mackay took his passage for India. He often referred with lively interest and pleasure to many circumstances of his voyage. His fellow-passengers were agreeable and friendly; and he was particularly indebted to the kindness of an Irish gentleman, who, finding that he had not secured for himself a very comfortable berth, insisted on his slinging his cot in his commodious cabin. He read a great deal; this was his first protracted leisure for the perusal of the English classics and history. He enjoyed it thoroughly, and said he retained more of what he read on board ship than in any other situation. The monotony of a long voyage was broken by a visit of some days to St. Helena, where the passengers were hospitably entertained

by the Governor, to whom he had the gratification of supplying an urgent need, by presenting him with a Greek grammar, lexicon, &c., to assist him in carrying on the education of his son. They passed near enough to the island of Joanna, to be regaled by the odour of its orange groves, and had a sight of the magnificent peak of Teneriffe.

On arriving at Madras, he found the situation to which he had been appointed filled up. He was, however, cordially received by a friend of his brother Hugh, Josias du Pré Porcher, whose regard and great kindness, then commenced, ceased only with life, and who ever held the warmest place in his affection, esteem, and gratitude.

No opening occurring in Madras, which the influence of Mr. Porcher and other friends could procure for him, Mr. M. proceeded to Calcutta, where he found kind and zealous friends who would have spared no exertions to place him in suitable employment, but the climate disagreed with him; and after laying in a store of information regarding Indian affairs, he returned home in a government packet. He had previously taken his passage in a merchant-vessel belonging to a friend and countryman of his own, but had been prevented from embarking by what may be termed an accident. The vessel was lost, and not a soul on board ever heard of. On their arrival at Portsmouth, the captain requested of Mr. M. to take charge of the delivery of the Government despatches in London, which afforded him the gratification of personal interviews with several great men, of whom Edmund Burke, for whose talents and principles he then entertained the highest admiration, interested him the most. Mr. Mackay often spoke of his interview with Mr. Burke, and of the questions which that statesman put to him with an eagerness and rapidity strongly expressive of his interest in Indian affairs, as having

been almost overwhelming to him, after his sleepless hurried journey from Portsmouth.

His brother's connection with India had probably first drawn his attention to that quarter, and his own visit greatly increased his interest in the many important points then under discussion respecting its government, &c. To procure a place in the Board of Control was therefore an object of his very earnest desire. There he could hope to turn to account the knowledge he had acquired, so as to be not a mere clerk, but an intelligent assistant to his superiors in the Board, and to increase daily his store of information; and this appointment he had the happiness of procuring, through the influence of Lord Rolle.

To a mind so active and energetic as Mr. Mackay's, a residence in London afforded endless sources of great enjoyment. The debates in the Houses of Parliament were to him irresistibly attractive, and when we recollect the constellation of eminent orators at this time assembled in each house, we cannot doubt that the accurate historical and constitutional knowledge he possessed was the result of the desire excited by discussions on these topics to understand thoroughly the merits of conflicting opinions.

The friend, formerly quoted, remarks:—"Mr. Mackay's thorough and most accurate knowledge of his country's constitution, was peculiar. In conversation with professional men, and of high name too, I failed to obtain the information on constitutional questions, which he gave me readily and accurately; and so with regard to the history of his country, he knew it thoroughly; few men even of profound or professional learning knew it so well. A constitutional Whig of 1688, he was consistent and faithful; he loved his principles, and would have bled and died for them; most strictly and rightly

would he have carried them out himself. I enter unwillingly on the only subject on which I differed with this venerated friend. Party spirit will be most probably the working cause of our country's ruin and fall. Who would dare to say, but the purity of the principles which Mr. Mackay adopted, carried out into legitimate exercise, would have raised and elevated our country, and made it the glory of all nations! If ever that could have been done by mortal man, it would have been in his hands of whom I now speak, had Providence ordered him an influential voice in his country's rule, for which, unquestionably, his talents fitted him.

" In discussing constitutional questions with him, when I differed in practical application, his knowledge and information satisfied me that his views were carefully formed ; that they were fraught with love to mankind, and with true desire for his country's weal. His memory was the most accurate I ever had knowledge of. If writing history, and at a loss for a particular fact, I should have gone with confidence to Mr. Mackay, and would have set down the communication he made to me with as perfect reliance, as if I had obtained it by toiling through whole libraries, and consulting our best historians."

We may here insert the remarks of another intimate friend, on Mr. Mackay's historical knowledge and political opinions. " Mr. Mackay's views on political liberty were formed in the best school. He studied with peculiar care the history of the British constitution, not only as exhibited in the pages of enlightened and impartial history, but as developed in the proceedings of Parliament, and in the revolutions of the times. His researches into the life and military labours of General Mackay necessarily led him to a review of the revolutionary period of 1688, and the severer studies of his earlier life were

brought to bear upon its development. He was a conscientious Whig of the revolution school, but he was far from thinking that the very best specimens of disinterested Whiggism belonged to that period. Of the characters of Lords Somers and Halifax, indeed, he cherished an ardent admiration; but the duplicity and tergiversation of so many of the leaders of the day filled him with disgust. He sought, and he found, a purer principle and a nobler patriotism among the opposition members of the second Parliament of Charles the Second, to whom, though few in number, and by no means raised above all selfish aims, posterity still stands indebted, for arresting the career of arbitrary power, and rousing that spirit of jealousy which, after many struggles and many defeats, saved the liberties of England. With them also, he associated the high-minded Covenanters of Scotland, whose banners on their native hills indicated to the sagacious eye of William that a crisis was near. Mr. Mackay always held, and I think with truth, that a true-blue Presbyterian cannot be any other than a genuine Whig; and he assigned the difficulties in which the Church of Scotland has of late become involved, mainly to the ignorance of many Churchmen regarding the real history of political and religious freedom in Scotland. I had good access to know that Dr. M'Crie and Mr. Mackay were at one on this point."

The trial of Warren Hastings, to which Mr. Mackay procured frequent admission, interested him deeply. He listened to Burke and Sheridan with enthusiastic admiration; and having himself similar impressions of the atrocities perpetrated in India, he often repeated passages of their speeches. It is to be regretted that only one letter of the many he probably wrote during the excitement of the trial appears to be extant. As descriptive of the impression Burke's oratory made on his

audience, it is interesting. The oppressor and the oppressed have ceased from troubling; but colonizing Britain should not forget that such things occurred under her rule.

This letter also is addressed to Professor Wilde, and dated February 19th, 1788.

" The charms of Burke's oratory have become so fascinating, and the number of tickets issued bears so small a proportion to the demand, that it is a rare piece of good fortune to get in, one day in seven. He has now spoken three days: of the first I gave you some account; the second, I was disappointed of a ticket; the third, yesterday, I was present; and to-day I was again disappointed. The hasty and imperfect sketch I gave you of Friday's speech would aid your conceptions in forming some faint idea of the matchless display of talent he that day exhibited; the next day, I am told, rose considerably above the first; but yesterday he soared aloft to such a degree, that every individual in the assembly was lost in astonishment and dismay. It was his intention, he said, to give a general view of each particular charge, but finding he had already trespassed on their lordships' patience, he should endeavour to compress what he had to say, and range it under one general head, and that was—Money; as indeed well he might, for to that as to a central point all Mr. Hastings' measures seemed to gravitate. He began with the first measure of his administration, the letting of the lands in 1772; and after placing the inhumanity, and finally the impolicy of the measure in a point of view, so striking as to command the conviction and assent of every rational creature, he continued the detail down to 1781, when the provincial councils were abolished, and the committee of revenue instituted. Having given the necessary previous explanations, he depicted the conduct of the Dewan Gunga Govin Sing to the committee,

and proved from the evidence of Mr. Shore himself, the president, that this committee must necessarily, and did in fact become a mere tool in the hands of this Dewan. He dwelt on the fatal consequences of this arrangement to the wretched natives, for some time, in a general way; and then, from Hastings' own minutes, demonstrated that he sinned with his eyes open; that no other motives could possibly be assigned for his conduct, than the most corrupt and criminal. He then came to particulars, and drew up a curtain which revealed to our view a scene of horror, such as no history nor romance ever exhibited. I thought few scenes of such enormous and cruel rapacity had passed in India, that I had not at least heard some surmise of; but I was mistaken. Notwithstanding all I had heard, and all I had read of the enormities practised in India, I felt during the whole of this part of his speech as if I had dropt from the clouds on some unknown planet, on which all the fiends in hell had been let loose. He gave such a picture of the cruelties practised by Devy Sing, whom Hastings had appointed guardian to the infant rajah, (after having previously exacted £40,000 from the infant), as equalled anything inflicted by Philip the Second, or by the Inquisition. He then resumed a temperate argumentative tone, and proved, from authentic documents, that all these enormities were known to Hastings; that he deputed a respectable Company's servant (Paterson) to inquire into the truth of the representations made to him of the desolation and wretchedness of the country, but that when Paterson transmitted a report confirming every syllable that had been alleged, he pretended to give his report no credit, and continued Devy Sing in his situation. Having thus brought the guilt home to the Governor-general, he again gave way to his feelings, and rushed on in such a blaze of fervid eloquence,

as excited the indignation of the audience to the very highest pitch. Nothing was to be heard but one deep, universal groan of execration against the author of the horrid barbarities depicted; while describing those to which women were subjected, he said they went such lengths as it would be indecent for justice to follow them, and then after a pause of some minutes, his utterance choked with indignation, he went on with his description, when the agitation of his spirits overpowered him, he faltered, and at last stopt short, and sunk down in his seat; immediately his friends, the Prince of Wales amongst the rest, with much seeming anxiety, flew towards him. After a few minutes he rose, and signified his extreme anxiety to finish what he had to say that day, but it would not do, he grew faint, and dropt down again. The House was disposed, you may believe, to feel for him. Even the stern Thurlow was observed to receive suitable impressions; he gave a nod to Lord Derby, who went immediately to Burke, and signified to him that it was their lordships' desire to adjourn; which was immediately done. Burke soon recovered, and walked to his carriage. There is a total suspension of business, public and private. I have done nothing these last eight days, but hear and speak and think of Burke. He has now attained some reward for his twenty years' service. Adieu. Read the *World* of to-day."

But from these exciting scenes he was soon to be excluded. In the autumn of 1790, he paid a visit to his father at Lairg, the first since his return from India. Forgetful of the injury his constitution had sustained from his severe fever and disagreement with the climate of India, he entered with his characteristic eagerness on the rural amusements he had enjoyed in his youth, and by standing in the lake angling, riding great distances at late hours, under rain, &c., he caught a severe cold,

and inflammatory fever ensued. His eyes were affected. Such medical advice as the country afforded was immediately got, and vigorous remedies applied; the inflammation was subdued, but not, as appeared afterwards, till a fatal injury was sustained by the eyes.

Of this catastrophe he thus wrote to the same friend in Edinburgh, to whom the letters already quoted were addressed: "Your letters to me from Edinburgh and Inverness found me at my father's, in a fever, so that they were not opened till it was too late to answer them. Along with this fever, I was afflicted with an inflammation in my eyes, which has deprived me of sight for ten weeks past, on which account I propose to return to London by land, and shall probably be in Edinburgh by the 20th. As my only motive for going to Edinburgh is to consult Dr. Munro, and as my unfortunate situation will put it out of my power to visit my friends, I wish to be incog. You will therefore say nothing about me to any of them till we meet. I hope this will find you in town, and at leisure to devote the 20th, and a few of the following days, wholly to me," &c.

Dr. Munro giving no hope of recovery of sight, Mr. Mackay proceeded to London, and placed himself under the care of the most approved oculists, Phipps and Weir. They continued for twelve months to try various remedies, including electricity, by the effects of which hope was frequently excited, but all ended in disappointment. He described the anguish of mind he experienced when excited hope proved delusive, as far more overwhelming than the certainty that blindness was to be his lot.

But his was not a mind to sink under misfortune, however severe. He had never been so depressed, as not to find enjoyment from reading, from society, and from the kind attentions

paid to him by friends. Music had always been to him a source of much enjoyment; he had an ear formed to delight in the most simple melody, or in the richest harmony; with but little cultivation, he had acquired sufficient skill in the theory of this accomplishment to relish its highest charms, and to exercise a discriminative taste in the appreciation of any composition or performance in that delightful art. Sacred music, above all (especially the compositions of Handel), excited in his mind deep devotional emotion. He now applied himself with great assiduity to acquire practical knowledge and skill, and spent hours at the piano-forte daily, with the view not only of present occupation for his thoughts, but as a resource for future recreation. He found the experiment answer the first end remarkably well, and often recommended it to fellow-sufferers. As habit, and his happy power of self-occupation reconciled him to his bereavement, he gradually ceased to have recourse to the piano. In poetry he was exceedingly fastidious, but had great delight in compositions which gratified his taste and feelings, and repeated passages of such with great pathos.

He remained in London for some years, apprehending that life would, to a blind man, be a stagnant pool elsewhere. With several families he was on the most intimate habits. In one, related to him, he was for some time domesticated. Their kindness, and his warm interest in the developing character of their young family, greatly conduced to wean his thoughts from his disappointed hopes; all his kindly feelings were exercised and gratified in directing the studies of the elder, and taking part in the enjoyments of the younger members. In a communication recently received from the eldest son of that family, now risen to eminence in his profession, he writes: — "His memory, cherished de-

servedly and affectionately by all who knew him, is well entitled to the tribute which it is proposed by his friends to be paid in the sketch intended to be prefixed to the edition of his Life of General Mackay now in preparation. To that account of the life of my dear and excellent friend and relative, it is, however, in my power to add little, but my testimony to his kindness; and in attributing, as I do, much of such success as has attended me in life to his affectionate direction of my early studies, and to a friendly uniform interest in my welfare, which I know, and am consoled to know, he entertained to the last. When a boy at Westminster, I was his companion or conductor on almost all occasions. I was his amanuensis at all my intervals of leisure; and even now, after the lapse of half a century, retain the tones of his voice, and the charm of his manner, vividly pictured on my mind. But I am speaking now with an interval of more than fifty years between us, for when he quitted London for Scotland, our occasions of meeting were of rare occurrence and of short duration. Of his correspondence I have not a scrap, save one letter, the last probably he ever indited; this I preserve most religiously. I enclose it now, but placing it at your temporary disposal, beg that you will return it to me. My constant, and heavy engagements left me but little time for the writing of letters. It was, however, my delight, knowing the gratification it would convey to him, to inform him of any circumstance of success in my profession, my silk gown, my appointment as a Judge in the Court of Review, and as Master in Chancery, matters, as I knew, of interest to him." To these affectionate reminiscences we may add what, probably, was never known to the writer of them, viz: that to his cousin's discernment and appreciation of his talents while a very young boy, he owed his father's determination to prepare him, by the most liberal

education, for the bar; thus rescuing him from his previous destination to the drudgery of a counting-house, where, most probably, the latent spark of classical taste, of wit, and of forensic talent, would have been either annihilated, or a source of misery, by the discordance between duties and taste. In the retrospection of the influence he exercised in this matter, Mr. Mackay had great pleasure, deriving from it even parental enjoyment in the progressive advancement in professional consideration and rank of his relative.

The letter from Mr. Mackay, above referred to, will not be unacceptable to our readers, as an evidence of the freshness and vigour of his feelings, even at the verge of life. It was written on the 30th of March; and four days after this, a fall on his own stairs brought on an illness, which terminated fatally on the 8th of April.

"My dear Cousin and Friend.—'Do not,' you say, 'feel indisposed to write to me.' Alas! my dear George that you should allow yourself to think that such a hint could be necessary between us. Feel indisposed, do you say;—very far from it indeed, so much so, that scarcely a day has passed since the 10th December, the date of your letter, that I have not thought of you; many times have I resolved to write to you, and one day indited a pretty long letter to you, but on reading it over, I was so little pleased with it that I threw it into the fire; and since then have not been able to muster up resolution to write again. Now, however, I feel so ashamed of my weakness (for from weakness it really proceeded), that I resolve to make one effort more to regain the warm and affectionate regard expressed in your letter, and, I am convinced, really felt. My day is gone by. Time was, when I lived in the active voice like other people, but I now feel that I must confine myself to the passive; and to the pleasure

which it affords, and to which I am as much alive as I was half a century ago. Witness the delight your last afforded me; and during the few years, or months, or days, which it may please God to continue me in this life, it will add to my happiness if you continue to inform me of your welfare, and of that of those most dear to you, without expecting a return, which the present specimen will satisfy you I am now incapable of rendering. A thousand thanks for your communication respecting the mastership in Chancery, and remember I shall hold you bound to inform me of anything of the same kind that may happen to you again. Before I conclude, I must mention to you my wish to introduce to you a young friend, a namesake and cousin of mine, Charles Mackay, a candidate for fame and fortune in the literary way, having already distinguished himself as an author,—one of his works, 'The Thames and its Tributaries,' I am now reading with pleasure and profit.

"He has been extremely obliging and useful to me in correcting, and editing a duodecimo edition of the 'Life of General Mackay.' The first edition being nearly exhausted, I am anxious to bring out a second before I take my departure, which being at less than half the price of the first, will introduce my hero to a different class of readers, more numerous than the former, and therefore desirable; my object being to put into circulation facts, which would otherwise be little known. Much has been done in this way already by the first edition; for instance, my friend, the Honourable Major Mackay having met with the Prince of Orange some time before his elevation to the throne, the Prince expressed his respect for the General's character, and asked Major Mackay where he could get a copy of his life, who kindly presented the Prince with his own copy, and this led

to an order for two copies for the public library at Malta, where the conversation took place.

"I can add no more at present, but if you will favour me with a few lines in reply to this, I think I can answer for your hearing from me soon again, meantime I conclude with kindest remembrance to your lady from my wife and self, remaining ever, my dear Sir George,

"Yours affectionately,

"JOHN MACKAY."

In noticing Mr. Mackay's sources of enjoyment in London, we should be guilty of an omission very little in accordance with his feelings, if the family of Mr. Bell, of Aldersgate-street were not mentioned. Intelligent, musical, and truly hospitable, the cordial welcome he met with, when disposed to join their family circle, or well-selected parties, he ever recollected with affectionate gratitude.

With improving spirits, and growing conviction that his happiness did not depend on outward resources, his desire to reside with his father was strengthened; but the manse of Lairg could not have afforded him tolerable accommodation, till by his persuasion his father was induced to remove to his daughter's house, and permit the proprietors to pull down the old manse, and erect a new one on its site. In the already quoted "Family Annals," we find his return to his birth-place thus mentioned. "In August, 1795, I returned to Lairg, after an absence, bating short intervals, of twenty years, reckoning from the time I went to Inverness. I had lost my sight in 1790, and now resolved to take up my abode with my father, who returned to Lairg in October, his new manse being finished and furnished. Having for many years been dying daily, and the completion of the new buildings having been so provokingly protracted, that he almost despaired of ever

seeing them, he felt and expressed great satisfaction, when at length, after surmounting many obstacles, he found himself comfortably set down, in his seventy-ninth year, in the very spot where he was born, and had spent the greater part of his life. At night he commenced family worship, by reading the first chapter of Genesis, and as was his custom, began his prayer by briefly alluding to the chapter he had read, and then proceeded from the works of creation to those of providence and redemption. When acknowledging the superintendence of the Great Ruler of the universe, he glanced at the convulsions which then distracted the world, and implored His gracious interposition in behalf of his country and the Church planted in it. Then coming nearer home, 'on this spot' he said, 'prayer had been offered up in the name of Christ by many who are now glorified spirits in heaven; might their mantle descend on the present generation—might this house long continue the house of prayer, and the blessing of God rest on the parish, the family, and all the individuals belonging to it, whether at home or abroad.' This is but a faint outline of a most affecting and impressive prayer."

The subject of our sketch had now quitted "the busy haunts of men"—the scenes of much interest—the sources from which he had sedulously fed his desire for knowledge—the society he greatly enjoyed. But he did not repine, nor suffer time to pass unemployed, though excluded from the path he would have preferred. His religious knowledge and desires were nourished by his father's society; his benevolence was ever alive and active, and his then unmarried sister read to him, wrote for him, was every thing to him that the tenderest, most devoted attachment could suggest, and his return in affection was ardent and unceasing. She is now the sole survivor of her father's family, and, as she says, a second time widowed by surviving her beloved brother.

Lairg continued to be Mr. M's. home from 1795 till 1803, though he frequently visited London and Edinburgh, renewing with great pleasure former intimacies. He had in 1796-7 the happiness of meeting his brother William, on occasion of his voyages bringing him to England, and in the latter year spent several weeks on board his ship, at Portsmouth, when the "Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Juno," was prepared for the press.

Though his brother Hugh's progress in the acquisition of fortune enabled him to increase the domestic comforts of the manse family (a power he delighted to avail himself of), Mr. M. practised strict economy as to his own expenditure. He generally left home on his excursions without an attendant, taking his passage to London or Leith in such craft as then plied from Cromarty to those ports, hiring on his arrival a lad to conduct him along the streets, and in many instances, astonished his guide by directing him to nearer routes than he was aware of, so accurate were his recollections, especially of London localities; and to the honour of human nature it should be recorded, that never, but on one occasion, did his fellow-passengers, in coach or ship, allow him to feel the want of a special attendant; he frequently spoke with warm feeling of the polite, benevolent, and even kind attention, he invariably experienced, with this solitary exception.

We find in letters to Mr. Walker, occasional expressions of his feelings, and notices of the subjects by which he was chiefly occupied, and a very few of those are all of the pretty extensive correspondence he carried on from Lairg that have been available in aiding the willing but unskilful limner of this portrait. In a letter of 22nd August, 1798, he writes to this friend, "the fourth edition of the Narrative is now in circulation, making, with the three former,

above two thousand copies." On the 24th December, he wrote concerning it, "have you received the copies of the Narrative I directed Ross to send you—mention any corrections that occur to you, in case that I may have to publish another edition this winter. I did not express *wonder* how *any* reader could be at a loss to conceive what prevented the Juno from going to the bottom; but how any *intelligent* reader could, and for the sake of the *un*intelligent, the explanatory notes are added; do you think them sufficient? I am not surprised at the scepticism of your great friends; I have met with unbelievers myself, even of those who had read the work, but with a very few exceptions they were of the superficial class of readers. To balance these I have received the unqualified assent of men eminent in science,—of skilful seamen, intelligent East Indians, and sensible men of various descriptions. Sir George Staunton told me he heard it discussed at Sir Joseph Banks' conversazione.—Debrett said it was the frequent subject of conversation at his shop, and praised by such persons as Lord Carlisle, and Dr. Russel the learned author of the 'History of Aleppo.' Russel is a zealous friend to the work, and took great pains in collecting for me similar cases from literary journals in various languages, which I once thought of subjoining to the second edition, but was advised to let it stand or fall by its own merits. Dr. Hamilton, who saw, and closely questioned William, is a firm believer in the accuracy of every fact stated, and his cynical disposition gives me the greater reliance on his evidence. Dr. Moyes and M. Ducarel, a scientific East Indian, &c. &c., are enthusiastic admirers. Ducarel writes to me recommending great caution in revising for the second edition, as the very defects in style are beauties, and add to the *vraisemblable* of the narrative. All

the reviews I have seen speak favourably of it,—and many have extracted largely from it.

"As to politics, they must stand over till another day. What think you of Nelson's victory, and of his letter which announced it? He and my cousin and friend Major Polson, respectively commanded the sea and land forces which took Fort St. Juan, on the Spanish main last war, and they still continue on an intimate footing. I saw Nelson with his lady and venerable father, frequently last winter, at Bath."

To the latest edition of "the Narrative" above mentioned, (published by Blackwood of Edinburgh) is subjoined, as an appendix, an account of a voyage up the Red sea, by William Mackay, 1802—full of incident, and in the preface is noticed Lord Byron's plagiarism in his poem of "Don Juan," and his biographer Mr. Moore's remarks regarding the comparative merits of the sailor's and the poet's edition of the story of "the Two Fathers."

To the same friend he writes thus:—

"Lairg, 18th January, 1799.

"My dear Walker.—I returned a few days ago from a six weeks' excursion to the counties of Ross, Cromarty, and Inverness, and your letter of the 6th came just in time to appease my wrath, which was beginning to kindle against you for your long silence. I give you joy of Mrs. Walker's safe delivery, and shall love Miss all the more for bearing the name of Russel—but are you always in the nursery? Are the muses quite forgotten? Are you never to attempt leaving any monument behind you, to tell that such a man as Josiah Walker lived? Really had I your genius, blind as I am, I should turn it to better account than you do. Oh! Walker, had I but a single hour in the day of what you possess, how precious every moment of it would be to me, for there never

was a period of my life when I found my mind more disposed to exertion and activity than the present. But alas, what can I do? nature has deprived me of powers to produce any thing original in the way of composition; and business, that particular line of it for which I think I am qualified, my misfortune has for ever rendered me unfit for. I am never idle, yet I am busy to little purpose, except in so far as I keep off ennui. I see every other man making advances in science, in wealth, and in preferment, whilst I am absolutely standing still. What a blank do the last eight years of my life present, and the remainder seems to promise no better; time has enabled me to bear my situation, but it has in no degree abated my sense of what I have lost. I feel the full force of Milton's lines as much as ever, not their poetical beauty merely, but their solid, practical, important meaning. I wish much to shew you the beauties of those northern counties, in which you will find sights and prospects moral as well as physical, not of hopeless sterility (as Johnson would say), but of cultivation, hospitality, and refinement. I like the country, and find myself happy in it, yet I feel myself but as a wayfaring man that tarrieth in it only for a night. I will not give up the idea of seeing you here in summer, were it only for a week; I can assure you that you can spend five or six on the tour I would propose to you, very much to your satisfaction. Come about the beginning of July; I shall meet with you at Inverness, and part with you there in August. I fear I promise myself too much pleasure from our excursion; what a variety of interesting topics we have to discuss, from kings and emperors down to the wretched . . . . . wretched indeed, an outcast from society, and a disgrace to the church, the country, and the age in which he lived—to human nature itself: you and I need not recur to such a story for comfort

under our misfortunes while we have Wilde, Grant, and Townshend before our eyes; men who did not bring their misfortunes on themselves, but have been afflicted by the hand of God. Even Emmett, whom you but lately considered as the *ne plus ultra* of misfortune, if not of disgrace, how enviable even his fate, compared with that of . . . . . Yes, Walker, I do yet esteem and love Emmett; and paradoxical as the opinion may seem to you, I trace all his errors to the goodness of his heart—but of this more when we meet. Did I tell you that Mackintosh is married again to the daughter of a Welsh squire, and sister to the two Mrs. Wedgewoods, and judging from a letter of hers he read to me, very clever? Such connexions will, of course, take him out of the old domestic circle, but how far this will in other respects improve his condition, time will tell; in politics he has become moderate, having quite cut with the high-flyers; but still is personally attached to Fox. He is much with Lord Moira, who offered to make him his private secretary, had that administration been formed. You need not entertain any apprehension of my falling into despondency, my health I see will be better in this country than elsewhere—solitude I fear not, and what I have will enable me to keep a cottage with my sister or some such, and no nearer connexion. Better days may come; and in the mean time, I will, notwithstanding the failures of the past, not slacken in the use of such future means as may suggest themselves.

"Give my kind remembrance to Manners, and tell him that a day has hardly elapsed these three months without my reproaching myself for not answering his very entertaining letter,—but something or other has always intervened; for, strange to tell, I complain of want of time, and really feel the want of it as much as I ever did, the busiest period of my life.

In order to conceive this, you must consider that almost every thing I do (playing pieces of music I am acquainted with excepted) is done by the help of another, and therefore, consumes more time; but I assure you I have not been unpleasantly or unprofitably occupied. I wrote a few lines to Baird, of whose continued kind attentions to my father's and my own concerns I cannot say enough."

To the same friend Mr. M. wrote as follows:—

"Lairg, May 4th, 1799.

"Your long looked for letter of the 2nd, did not reach me till the 12th, owing to our having no communication with Dornoch, except by a weekly runner. What a long interval of silence since the 26th January, and how much during that interval did you see, hear, and feel, communicable even by letter, that would have been interesting to me. When things are going against us we can ill brook neglect from our friends, from those, especially, who are dear to us, and such is my case at present, though upon the whole, I have as little reason to complain of friends as most men: yet of late, in two or three instances I have experienced something of this, and I begin to feel that it will be proper for me to prepare my mind for more of it. Your letter, therefore, was a cordial to me, even filled as it was with ingredients not of the sweetest kind. Selfishness will predominate in spite of us, and the idea of your being settled within four days' journey of me" (now not above twenty-four hours' journey) "reconciles me the more easily to your disappointment, especially when to this I add, that you are in possession of an independent income. Do, my friend, look back eight years; how gladly would you then have compounded for your present situation! How far beyond it did I then soar, and how much beneath it am I now fallen! Foreign indeed, to your former habits must your present

occupation be; but Adam Smith submitted to it, and so may you by patience and resolution. Indulge not your propensity to ridicule those solemn nothings in which you will sometimes be engaged. The sketch you gave of your life in London interested me highly; I entered perfectly into all your feelings—nay, I anticipated them, for I had myself experienced them before.

"With respect to your proposal of my going to Perth, I know not well what to say—or rather I ought at once to say No, and if you wish me well you will not urge me. Mrs. Rose writes me that you will certainly come to see me, which I am sure you can more easily do than I can come to you. You are but three days' journey from Inverness, where I will meet and conduct you hither. When you have a house, and are properly settled, I will certainly spend some time with you; but at present it would be expensive to both, and yet we should not be comfortable; even . . . . would break in upon us with his officious kindness, telling us of his little wife and his brats. In this country you will see something to add to the stock of your ideas, and you will be better able to assist me with your advice, as to my future plans. To you alone out of my own family, my complaints shall be confined; for a man gains nothing in the estimation, not of the world merely, but even of what are called friends, by the disclosure of his distresses. Better days may come. You say nothing concerning Dugald Stewart. Oh! now the value of such a friend rises in my eyes. We all unite in earnest wishes to see you here!"

"After this who shall speculate; you say, and say truly, in the general, that we are too apt to judge by the event. This I deny, as to myself, in the particular instance of Grenville's letter to Bonaparte; for the very same judgment I have of it

now I formed the first instant it was read to me—viz. that it was arrogant, rash, and imprudent. Not that I blamed Lord G. for refusing to treat with a usurper, who had not been a month on the throne, but for the contumelious style of the refusal; and still more, if possible, for talking of restoring the House of Bourbon. This last appeared to me downright insanity; and I have ever since considered it a striking proof, that passion and prejudice will lead the ablest and wisest men to commit errors, which are obvious to any common observer. But whatever shades of difference, and I believe they are but shades, there may be between your opinions and mine as to public affairs, there is one thing in which I am sure we are agreed, that is, in feeling pride and pleasure in our late successes; and in praying that whatever form of government may be established in France—whatever set of men may get into administration in Britain, we may have peace and plenty restored to us. Are you not rather severe on Laing's book? The style has certainly all the faults you mention, but do you allow nothing for deep research, and accurate investigation of facts?—does he show no discrimination of character?—no diligence in correcting the mistakes of former historians?—no critical sagacity in his remarks on men, manners, and books?

"You ask what new information has he brought forward? Has Hume or Robertson produced any new information?—have they not merely collected materials from former historians, and worked them up into an agreeable narration? So has Laing—not indeed, with the same success as to style, but I will be bold to say that he will not suffer on a comparison with Robertson as to originality of thinking, or variety of learning.

"You say that in speaking of the Covenanters he is embarrassed between his politics and his infidelity. I own to you

I am vexed by Laing's sneer at religion and the clergy, in which he seems a servile imitator of Hume, as he is in style of Gibbon and Johnson, and I think of Tacitus too. Mackintosh told me that soon after Laing began the history, he read the first chapters to him, and that he objected to the style, as not adapted to history, and that in consequence the author was to recast them. I go to Fort George to see Mrs. Emmett, and will not forget your compliments to them. She was delivered some time ago of a dead child, in consequence of a fright from an accidental fire in the Fort, but is doing well. Hard fate! Adieu—kindest remembrance to Mrs. Walker."

"Lairg, July 2nd, 1802.

"My dear Walker.—Besides my father and myself, our family now consists of a niece of his, acting as housekeeper, and a grand-nephew as his assistant, who besides his ecclesiastical duties, takes charge of the glebe, &c. without doors.—The business, which while my sister and her husband remained with us was done by three persons, now devolves on two, and so occupies their time that they have but little to spare to me, so that I find myself obliged to limit my correspondence. For some days packets have been pouring in upon me from abroad, the contents of which are highly interesting. I have a few lines from Hugh, intimating his preparing to take the field again, against one of those refractory Rajahs who are constantly harassing them,—not a word of his coming home, but a letter which he promises to write in January will, I hope, settle the point. From William I have several letters, from Suez and Grand Cairo, one of which contains a more detailed account of his voyage, inferior in interest only to the "History of the Juno." What Providence has destined him for I know not, but it certainly has been his fate to witness and to bear a part in such scenes of difficulty and danger, as have hardly

ever fallen to the lot of a man of his years. In his former disastrous voyage, he had little to do, but to suffer well, which he did; but in this he found himself placed in a variety of critical situations which called on him to act, and requiring a degree of presence of mind, promptitude, and decision, of which I scarcely believed him capable, but which he nevertheless displayed in an eminent degree.

"His supercargo having turned out a knave, he has been obliged to send back the ship, and remain in Egypt himself to dispose of the cargo. He had been thrice across the desert, and the last time had been attacked by the Bedouin Arabs; and to conclude all he is now exposed to the plague in that country; I am anxious but not uneasy about him; resting satisfied, that he is under the care of the same kind Providence which has already delivered him from so many dangers.

"That I may dismiss my interesting characters, I now come to Emmett. I spent two days with him at Fort George, and reckon that he is about this time embarking for Hamburgh with his fellow prisoners, on board a frigate sent for that purpose, never again to be permitted to return to Ireland, on pain of death, in virtue of an act of the Irish Parliament. How they can be excluded from Britain I know not, unless the Imperial Parliament before it expire pass an act to that effect. I found him in perfect health and spirits, but not so her; she was recently delivered of a daughter, whom she endeavoured to suckle, but seemed to have no constitution for the undertaking. From Hamburgh he goes to America, where he is sure of being well received by Jefferson, and where I have little doubt, he may one day rise to eminence" (this anticipation was amply fulfilled): "should you and I live to hear the event, what a striking proof it will afford of the vicissitudes of human affairs, and what strange reflections will not the re-

membrance of the years 1788-98 suggest to our minds. To come nearer home,—as to myself I feel as in a state of widowhood since the loss of my sister, who removed to her own house at Loth last week, accompanied by the prayers and blessings of the whole parish. To me, the blank her departure has made, is such as none but a wife can fill up, and a wife I cannot have at present. My father's infirmities have increased so much that it will be necessary for me to stay with him more than I have done for some time, and we are threatened with changes in the neighbourhood that will not add to our comfort;—however, we possess many comforts. Let me hear from you as soon as possible, and say how your poem "the Defence of Order" comes on?—and when it is to come out?"

In the following letter to his friend, Mr. Mackay announces that the loss he had sustained in being separated from his sister, was likely to be compensated for in the only way it could be so in his own apprehension—he writes:

"Lairg, 14th February, 1803.

"My dear Walker.—The happy month which you and I have so long enjoyed in anticipation, seems now, alas! more distant than ever. When I last wrote to you, I reckoned on receiving a letter before now from my brother, fixing the probable period of his arrival in England, by which my movements were to be regulated. To my great disappointment I have not yet heard from him—but at second hand I learned, and can rely on the information, that he is returned to his station in the Mysore, and is not to be home this year. As, however, I have reason to expect a letter from himself every day, I cannot well stir from home, till it come to hand. But there is another bar in the way still more serious—I am going to marry a wife and cannot come! I have just returned home, after an absence of some weeks spent in negotiating this im-

portant affair, on which is to depend my future happiness.—The lady is the youngest daughter of Mr. Gordon of Carrol, in this county." (We omit a lover's description of his mistress, on which occasion pretty much the same *perfections* are ascribed in all cases). "Her father is the Squire *Allworthy* of this county, in every respect, except the size of his estate, which is small. Judge of my satisfaction in the prospect of becoming so connected with one of the men on earth I most revere. Her mother, now, alas! no more, was distinguished for her piety, her information, and the prudent management of her family, and her connexions are highly respectable, on both sides of the house; for rank and character I am afraid of overcharging the picture, and yet, in all I have said, I am sure I have not gone beyond the truth," &c.

On the 28th of March, Mr. Mackay thus expresses to his friend the pleasure he derived from the completion of his poem ("the Defence of Order"), to which allusion has been made.—"I rejoice to find that your poem is at length ushered into the world, under such favourable auspices; and that it is likely to procure you that notice which your talents so well entitle you to. I thank you heartily for the copy you intend for me—the more as I am to be the only friend so favoured. I shall be impatient till I receive it, and pray let it have something by way of inscription, which will add to the value of the gift. I hope to be settled in my own house in Cromarty before the end of May. Mr. M'Leod, Sheriff-Depute of Ross, is uncle to my intended wife, and has invited us to his house on our way to Cromarty. Could you send my copy before that visit takes place, I think I could ensure its introduction into the best circles in Ross-shire and the neighbouring counties. Mr. M. has three daughters married in Edinburgh, one to Dr. Gregory, an elegant and amiable woman. I hope the

Dr. is on your list—for notwithstanding his "iron justice," he is a zealous friend to men of merit. The knot is to be tied early in May which is to decide my future happiness. I have had a glorious letter from Porcher on the occasion, requesting Isabella's acceptance of a gift to the value of at least one hundred pounds! I have a letter from Hugh, but it is not yet certain whether he comes home this year or not—also one from William, who is safely returned to Bengal from Egypt. Hugh promised him five hundred pounds, and has given him twelve hundred to assist in purchasing a share of another ship; and has lodged one thousand pounds for me in the Madras 8 per cent. Loan," &c.

The union looked forward to with so much hope took place in the following May, and did not, we believe, materially disappoint the expectations of an affectionate and ardent mind, during its thirty-eight years' continuance.

The deeply afflictive occurrences of that and the following years in Mr. Mackay's family, enhanced the value of domestic comfort; and he was not insensible to the merciful arrangement made by the divine Disposer of the ways of man, in providing for him a help-mate and home before those who were the objects of his tenderest affection were taken from him.

Extract from a letter to Mr. Walker.

"Lairg, 28th May, 1803.

"From the hand-writing, you will perceive that I have got a new amanuensis, and I am happy to tell you that amanuensis is my wife. Accept of our united thanks for your congratulations, which we receive as coming from one of my oldest friends, and the most intimate I have on the earth. We were united on the 3rd instant, and as the honeymoon is not yet completed, were we to say much of our happiness, I fear it

would only produce a smile from an old married man like you. On that day we received the 'Defence of Order.' We have now read the whole once through, and some parts of it twice, and were we to say all we think and feel with respect to it, it would only be to re-echo the sentiments of your other friends—many of them more competent judges. I do really think it one of the very first productions that have appeared on that side of the question; and I have no doubt that it will procure you both fame and profit. You must, however, lay your account with being severely handled by one class of reviewers, particularly by the 'Edinburgh,' who are, I hear, preparing to open a battery against you. You will remember I expressed to you my fears of your being too lavish of your compliments to certain great characters. I am still of the same opinion, though I know you have not said a word more than you think, which I shall take care to make known to all with whom I converse on the subject. I set a high value upon it, and shall preserve it as a perpetual memorial of our friendship. My wife longs to be acquainted with you. If Hugh comes home this season I hope we shall meet ere long. We propose going to Cromarty next week, to which place you will hereafter address for me.

"That the war may be in some degree owing to the representations of O'Connor and some other Irishmen at the court of Bonaparte, I doubt not; but can assure you, Emmett had no connection with either. He has not exchanged a word with O'Connor but once these two years, and detests Bonaparte. His last letter to me was from Brussels, while he waited for the spring to take his passage to America," &c.

In August of this year the venerable minister of Lairg was taken to his rest, as already related in closing the brief notice of his character. More afflictive bereavements soon followed.

While in daily expectation of receiving letters announcing that Captain H. Mackay had actually taken his passage for England—the disappointing tidings came of the breaking out of hostilities against the Mahrattas, which obliged him to take the field when all was prepared for his return to his country and longing family. Though it was impossible to lay aside anxious thoughts respecting the result of a contest, in which, as to numbers, the disparity between the British army and that of Scindiah was immense; months passed agreeably, in interchange of civilities, with the many estimable families in and around Cromarty. These enjoyments were interrupted in January 1804, by an exercise of that benevolence which at all times actuated Mr. Mackay. A young naval officer, connected with his valued friends, the family of Lord Elphinstone, was taken ill on board the Chiffonne frigate, then in the bay of Cromarty; quiet and care, such as a ship at sea, amidst the storms of winter, could not well afford, were deemed necessary to his recovery, and he was invited to Mr. M's. house. The illness proved to be typhus fever, in a very virulent form and of long continuance. It pleased God to reward the care taken of him, by the youth's recovery, and the preventing of injury to the neighbours from infection. Mr. and Mrs. M. were relieved from their anxious charge by a neighbouring family as soon as he could safely be removed, in order to their proceeding to Edinburgh, where the alarming illness of a sister required Mrs. M's. presence. The release came too late to answer the desired end. Mr. and Mrs. M. remained with their bereaved brother and his family till the overwhelming tidings of Captain H. Mackay's death reached them in April. This was communicated by the following letter from Lieutenant Purvis, of the Madras Artillery.

"My dear Sir,—Having been a particular friend of your

brother Capt. H. Mackay, I am extemely sorry that it is now my painful duty to inform you that he was killed in the battle fought on the 23rd September, between General Wellesley and Scindiah.

" All that I could say of his gallant conduct would but ill console you for the loss of such a brother; but it may be some consolation for you to know, that the gallant charge made by his troop and the 19th dragoons, gave us the day, which was before against us, and saved the 74th regiment from being cut up; as it is, they have only one hundred men left out of four hundred. The enemy stood to their guns whilst the cavalry was cutting them down, and just as they were routed an ill-fated gun went off and killed your brother. He was not more than three yards in front of it when it went off, so his death was instantaneous. Your brother is much regretted by the whole army, and his memory will live for ever in the minds of his friends. He was interred the day after, on the field of battle, with Colonel Maxwell of the 19th dragoons."

Fatal as this bereavement was to many a long and fondly cherished hope of the happiness to attend a reunion with a beloved brother, it was borne as inflicted by " Him who doeth all things well." The circumstance of Mr. M.'s being domesticated with his brother-in-law Dr. Thomson, whose own recent bereavement prepared his feeling nature fully to sympathise in his friend's sorrow, was well calculated to alleviate the bitterness of his grief: and on this first occasion of their meeting as connexions, the foundation was laid of that warm friendship and confidential intercourse, which acquired strength by increasing intimacy, and leaves the survivor one of the deepest mourners over the departure of him in whose affections he possessed a brother's place, and of his esteem and confidence, the hold which similarity in sentiment and in many points of

character naturally produce. Some days passed with his friend Mr. Walker on his homeward journey, were exceedingly salutary to Mr. M.'s wounded spirit. Soon after his return to Cromarty, he wrote as follows:—

"Cromarty, May 11th, 1804.

"My dear Walker,—I am just returned from Sutherlandshire, where I had a meeting with my sisters, tender and affecting as you may believe.

"I have had several letters from India, and seen some to others, all in the same strain as Purvis's. Two I received from the dear deceased himself, dated the 23rd August and 3rd September. In the former he says, his emoluments were greater than ever, but that he would gladly forego them to get away, as every day seemed a month, so impatient was he to be at home. In the latter he tells me that he had just received accounts of my intended marriage, and should make a liberal settlement in favour of my wife as soon as he knew it had actually taken place. This is probably the last letter he ever wrote to me, and never, I trust, shall it be erased from my wife's or my remembrance. A copy of his will is come to hand, and is written in the same strain of general benevolence and of individual affection for his family, which characterised all his conduct. No one is forgotten who had any claim on his affection, his gratitude, or his consideration by their need. When we consider all these bequests, and recollect that the bequeather had been twenty years absent from his native country, and was surrounded by the din of arms, the hurry and bustle of a camp, with most arduous and complicated commissariat duties, demanding perpetual attention—the judgment and considerateness as well as the warmth of affection manifested in the whole deed, are very remarkable.

We intend to quit Cromarty as a residence; we shall pass the summer amongst our relations in Sutherland," &c.

Business requiring Mr. Mackay's presence in London, he was in Edinburgh on his way thither when accounts reached him of the death of his brother William—a very painful but not altogether unlooked for bereavement, his constitution having been so much impaired by the mental and personal fatigues he had undergone, as to have induced him to quit the sea, and to become indigo planter, after his return from Suez. From London he wrote to his friend:

"Mrs. M., as might easily have been predicted, did not like London much at first, but now begins to acquire a relish for it. As for me I have enjoyed it—yet it is as if I had enjoyed it not; I shall leave it without a sigh, and care not if I never visit it again; so great a change have ten short years operated upon me. I long to be in Edinburgh, there to live and there to die. We propose going to Bath early in April, and from thence northwards, so as to arrive in Edinburgh early in May, where we hope to have Mrs. Walker and you as soon as possible under our roof."

Mr. Mackay's choice of Edinburgh as his place of residence was very gratifying to many old friends, and he soon became a recognized member of the most select society of that intellectual city. Few persons could be more capable of appreciating and enjoying the advantages of such a position; yet on what appeared to him a call of duty, an alarm as to Mrs. Mackay's health, he resolved on an immediate removal to Devonshire in the autumn of 1807. Whilst at Cheltenham, on their way, they received the distressing tidings of the death of Mrs. M.'s father, of which event Mr. M. thus wrote to Mr. Walker from Teignmouth:—"An event occurred during our stay at Cheltenham, which deeply interested and afflicted us,

I mean the death of my excellent and revered father-in-law, — a man in whose character were eminently displayed the virtues and graces of the Christian, with less of human infirmity than any other man I ever knew. He had just completed his seventy-third year—had been ailing for some time, but on the day of his decease went about as usual, retired to his chamber at night, and expired at his devotions."

The object of the removal to Devonshire being attained by Mrs. M.'s restoration to health, they returned to Edinburgh in 1809, and resumed their social intercourse with a numerous circle of friends and relatives. It would be no easy task to describe what Mr. Mackay's occupations were from the period we have now reached—but this we can say of him, more than of any man we have ever met with, that he never was unoccupied. Time always seemed too short; and some scheme to benefit others was ever on the anvil, and pursued with an ardour peculiar to himself; sparing no trouble, shrinking from no inconvenience to accomplish his benevolent ends. Having ever considered a careful and liberal education as the best security for future usefulness and happiness, his benevolence was constantly engaged in securing that blessing for the very numerous young friends he included in his regards. The death of a much valued brother-in-law in 1809, rendered his widowed sister and her large family peculiarly the objects of his affectionate solicitude. Two of her boys, together with two others—an orphan niece and nephew—became members of his family; and their progress in the different branches of education, was carefully watched and much aided by their uncle's instructions.

Very many, both of those endeared to him by the ties of consanguinity, and exciting his benevolent interest from other circumstances, were greatly benefited by the active part he

took in their education—and many, male and female, are now filling important stations, who acknowledge with affectionate, ardent gratitude, that through his instructions, his example and encouragement, they were stimulated to that ardour in the acquisition of knowledge, to which they owe their success in life.

It is extremely gratifying to have the testimony of one who experienced somewhat of this influence, though never domesticated with Mr. Mackay, on this subject. Our young friend's feeling effusion was called out, by hearing that a sketch of the character he so much revered, was preparing.

"In the character of those who achieve great fame, not of the best kind, there are too often no small disproportions. The superhuman powers they manifest in one department, form, not unfrequently, a striking contrast with the mediocrity or scantiness of measure observable in other portions of their nature. The subject of your 'Sketch' belonged not to this class. He was not one of those, who, by the display of some one or two gigantic powers, obtain the vulgar epithet of great. His character, formed not to astonish, but to command love, veneration, and esteem, exhibited a universal force and manly vigour. Every power and affection was well and actively developed. There was great completeness in his nature, and proportionately complete and universal was the range of his intelligence and sympathies.

"The delight he took in the society of great and gifted and experienced minds, never incapacitated him for the enjoyment of more ordinary communion. Youth and immaturity were no ground of exclusion from his intimacy; on the contrary, that benignant necessity inherent in his nature to labour for the improvement and elevation of his fellow beings, impelled him powerfully towards the fresh impressibility of youthful

natures. With the young his sympathy was quick and earnest; and his appreciation of their characters generous and just; his influence over them was therefore great. No frivolous trifler ever had such power as he—full, at all times of large purposes and serious thoughts, to arrest their roving fancies, and to charm their minds into a strange harmony with his own. He could be sportive, though his pleasantry was never of an idle sort, but set off by a serene gravity of manner, that gave notice to the observer of its having wise significance. It unconsciously surprised others into serious thought—shot sparks of generous feeling into colder breasts, and communicated insensibly to all its own tone of hopeful, cheerful, tolerant superiority to the good and evil things alike of this brief earthly scene.

"The authority and solemn weight which all his words derived from the deep goodness of the speaker, was greatly heightened by the outward impression of his voice and aspect. The even and untroubled tones, the ever-placid smile of that blind, upraised visage, have struck at times upon my youthful sense, like emanations from another world than this visible and outward one, on which he looked not. What wonder if his words had then a weight almost oracular to my listening ear The spell, which with no exuberance of fancy I have thus felt, others, no doubt, at times experienced too. But be this as it may, there was that at all times in his conversation with the young, that needed no adventitious help from fancy to commend it. To the hours which it was my fortune occasionally to pass, in my younger days with him, I look back as among the happiest and most improving of my life. Numbers of men now acting important parts throughout the globe, could doubtless tell how large a share his strong, yet unasserted influence had in forming and strengthening them

to their present moral stature. To notice, as it deserves, the relation in which he thus stood to all the young men within his sphere, would give, I presume to think, more truth and completeness to the portrait you sketch, and would contribute special and valuable illustration of the extent, and variable exercise of his sympathies and powers."

Could the hint here thrown out by our friend be carried into effect, no doubt the end he and we have at heart, would thereby be essentially promoted; but there are two obstacles to its accomplishment. How few are there who can trace and appreciate the influences which operate on the formation of their moral and intellectual powers! Refined and sensitive natures, only, are impressible by such unasserted power as he describes—and these are rare and lovely plants, and peculiarly subject to decay and death; then throughout how many climes are those now scattered who shared in the advantages so beautifully depicted,in the course of Mr. Mackay's fifty years' withdrawal from more fixed and active duties. There are some around us who would joyfully add their testimony to the warmest eulogy we could indite, but individually it is not in our power.

In 1813, another path of duty appeared to Mr. M. to demand his exertions; and though very foreign to his taste, and requiring great intellectual and personal sacrifices,—the exchanging the enjoyments of a residence in Edinburgh for one of the humblest description in a very remote district of the Highlands,—he did not shrink from the call.

At the period of the decease of the brother-in-law above alluded to, the bulk of his property was invested in the stock of sheep and cattle on a very extensive farm, of which he had recently renewed his lease. The skill and activity requisite to the productive management of such a concern could not

be looked for from a widow lady; besides that, the education of her children required removal from this wilderness-like abode. Mr. Mackay expected that by his taking charge of the farm, and his sister's removal to a small town, having good schools, these and other purposes, important to the well-being of the family, might be achieved. But after some years of indefatigable exertion, and large expenditure on buildings, inclosures, draining, improving the breed of cattle and sheep, outlays recommended by skilful farmers consulted by him, he found it expedient to make over the farm to one who could more thoroughly superintend it, withdrawing with very heavy pecuniary loss. His investment of a portion of his dear-bought fortune in a small landed estate did not prove more lucrative, though its improving management was entrusted to a skilful farmer, and Mr. M.'s affairs continued straitened, till, by the grateful affection of the orphan nephew above alluded to, his then aged uncle, suffering under increasing infirmities, was released from embarrassment, and restored to all the comforts of competency; and a now widowed aunt amply provided for. Truly could they say, and rejoice in the reflection, that their parental care and culture of this half-caste orphan boy was repaid to them a hundred-fold, and it might be well if their experience should encourage others not to mark by contumely, and neglect of the unoffending offspring, their detestation of sin, but rather to atone to those hard-fated beings, and to society, as far as possible, by rearing them up "in the way in which they should go," as to their eternal and temporal well-being. Singularly mild and affectionate in his dispositions, yet bold and enterprising when occasion for the displaying of those qualities occurred, this youth proved himself well suited to his chosen profession; and by his skill in navigation, firmness in command, and sound judgment in fulfilling

the trust reposed in him as an officer and as a commander, he gained the affectionate esteem of all who knew him.

Soon after his return to Edinburgh from the Highlands, Mr. M. found that the children of that sister who had been his solace during many trying years, required access to higher educational advantages than their home and a Parish school afforded, and four of her family were for a time inmates in his family, and even his pupils. It might justly be said of him, that what his hand, or head, or heart found to do, he did with all his might. In the year 1820, circumstances induced his removing to England, where he sojourned till 1823, when he finally settled in Edinburgh, and resumed his former occupation and mode of life, with the exception of withdrawal from general society, in a great measure.

Although advancing years and frequent illness might have rendered abated zeal in promoting the good of others excusable, Mr. M. desired no such excuse. And we have the more pleasure in recording the following evidence to this fact, that it has been communicated by Mr. R. G. Walker, of Hendon, the son of Professor Walker, and himself the party benefited. Mr. Walker had occasion for introductions to influential houses and individuals connected with India, with the view of establishing a respectable, safe, and responsible home for children sent from India for health and education, whose parents may not have friends to receive them and care for their proper disposal and continued superintendence; an establishment, the need of which had been much felt, and which has, we believe, succeeded well, though not so widely known as it ought to be, for the comfort of parents so situated. In answer to a request for such introductions, Mr. M. writes on the 18th February, 1834: "I trust you will do me the justice to believe that nothing short of a very urgent impediment would

prevent my replying to your letter sooner. I have been ill, and expected day after day to have been out of bed, but have been disappointed; being worse to day than for several days past, I dictate this letter in bed, merely to let you know how matters stand, that you may not suspect me of unkindness. The day was when I could be of some use in forwarding your views, but now, alas! that day is nearly passed away, being in my seventy-third year, *oblitus meorum obliviendus et illis.* However, there are still a few on whom I have some influence, and that influence shall be exerted to the utmost of my power in your behalf. Let this suffice at present, and some time next week I hope to appear before you in the shape of a packet that may have some effect in forwarding your views; for be assured, my dear Richard, there is no man living, to whose success it would more delight me to contribute than to yours. Adieu; give my love to your spouse, whom I hope one day to know and make her acquainted with my wife, who desires her kindest remembrance to yourself and Josiah."

Another instance occurs to our recollection, which, as characteristic, we relate. The high value Mr. M. placed on education, led to his making the admission of orphan children into charitable educational Institutions a frequent object of his exertions. He was thus engaged when taken ill of erysipelas, with high fever and so much inflammation, that amputation of the foot was contemplated. The day for the election in the institution drew nigh—letters to the directors stating the case must be written, and these he dictated, though forced by paroxysms of fever to break off between every few lines, and he had the happiness to succeed in obtaining a most important object to the child. The managers of the various benevolent institutions in Edinburgh are well ac-

quainted with his zeal in such cases, and he felt most gratefully the consideration his applications met with from them.

We shall again quote from a friend's letter his expressions respecting Mr. Mackay's original qualities, and what his acquirements were, and from these remarks may be inferred what were his pursuits. "There are some, perhaps more rarely to be met with than is commonly supposed, possessed of powers adequate to the calling, and the due exercise of the duties of any rank in life. Every faculty or principle of the mind, every quality of the head and of the heart, which in its ordinary amount enables man to act an ordinary part, is with those I now speak of, larger, broader, deeper,—and there are instances of this so distinguishable, that one cannot resist the impression, *There* is one who is equal to any rank or station in which Divine Providence may be pleased to appoint his lot. Such, to my apprehension was Mr. Mackay. His education was liberal, and the knowledge he acquired in youth, very extensive and most accurate.

"Knowledge, however, is capable of being conveyed to very ordinary minds, and they may not profit much. It is the breadth and solidity of the mind to which it is conveyed which determines the measure of benefit. I never knew an individual more strikingly possessing the conformation of character which applies knowledge to its proper use, than Mr. Mackay. Sound judgment does not convey my meaning. There is an elevation of mind above the knowledge itself which wields it with habitual propriety.

"He was an accomplished classical scholar, though of course, unable in a great measure to keep up his acquaintance with classical literature for the greater part of his life; yet he was much at home in its beauties. With modern literature he constantly increased his acquaintance, it was extensive; and

gifted with taste which he had carefully cultivated, there was a purity and precision in his perception of the beauty and correctness of style, which to a weaker mind might have caused a diminution of enjoyment in such pursuits. In him there was no such effect. No man carried in his bosom more love to mankind, or would have more rejoiced to benefit, —to elevate others,—to raise them to that station of mind and character which he himself possessed. His love of right was equal to his clear, keen perception of it, as his moral feeling was the most unswerving in straitly pursuing it.

"This rectitude in principle, and feeling, and act, could not but be felt by those approaching him, nor could it fail to win their most thorough esteem. His mind was constitutionally ardent, and the *mens conscia recti*, together with this, never more strikingly portrayed. His inflexible integrity was manifest, leading one to say, when harassed, shocked with the subterfuges of the world, 'would that all were like him.' No heart was ever more expanded, more filled with liberal kindness, with the love of doing good to his fellow creatures, of promoting their happiness; and few, I believe, with the means assigned him, will be remembered as a benefactor by so many. I know not that he had any study so intense, as how to do service, and to confer benefits on others. There was disinterestedness in his benevolence, which was clear as daylight; a purity of intention that could not but appear. His love of country was one of his strongest affections. Born a Highlander, he was indeed one in heart. The acts and polity which depressed their lot as a portion of the Commonwealth grieved him to his very soul. His views on this subject were enlightened, and not formed on blind prejudices, nor on mere sentiment, but just, liberal, and wise. Another trait deserving notice, is the gentleness with which he corrected what he saw

amiss—making the party receiving the counsel, or even the rebuke, to feel it really a favour conferred, perceiving clearly the motive which dictated it; and it were a heart of stone which would not feel the kindness with which the deed was done.

"His serenity of mind under the bereavement of sight was most striking, yet this was but consistent with the other properties of his mind. It was submitting to an irremediable misfortune with the magnanimity which might have been expected from one so constituted—so little selfish—so occupied with the good of others—possessing large resources in society, in books, in his mental stores. His enjoyment of good society was very keen, and there was about him a charm that drew one to him, and in his conversation what made one feel that they were conversing with a superior mind; while I never knew the man who more thoroughly shunned ostentation of talents or acquirements." But the charm of his character was its genuine Christianity; profound at once in holy principle, and singularly attractive in its graces.

His views were enlarged, beyond those of most men. There was a calm dignity, combined with a beautiful simplicity in his whole demeanour, and a warmth of heart which we do not often meet with in these days of cold secular bustle. In the progress of religion every where, he took a deep and lively interest. No theme was more congenial to him in his latter years, than the character of pious persons, clerical and lay with whom his earliest recollections were associated; he truly loved and honoured them. He had a deep perception of character with respect to piety, and none could draw more accurate conclusions.

Another valued friend and admirer of the deceased says:—"Mr. Mackay sat as elder for the presbytery of Dor-

noch (of which his native parish Lairg constituted a part) for several years, in the General Assembly of our Church; and nothing delighted nor surprised me more than to see him listening for hours to protracted debates, and waiting till midnight and beyond it, that he might record his testimony in favour of a righteous cause. He understood well the laws of the Church; he studied thoroughly every subject that came under discussion; and he valued the Church of his fathers as entitled to his most ardent efforts in her support. He took a deep interest in her present struggles; every effort he could make in her behalf, was cheerfully placed at the call of her agents or friends. He held the principles of the present contest as bearing directly on her well-being as a National Church. He was thoroughly versant in the history of her former struggles: and he had in him, much of the calm, the determined, the lofty spirit of her martyrs and confessors.

"Notwithstanding the disadvantages which he must have laboured under in consequence of the loss of sight, Mr. Mackay retained to a very late period, his habits of activity and cheerful perseverance in whatever he undertook. Of this I had a remarkable instance in the year 1833, when independently of other circumstances, the growing infirmities of advancing age might have caused disinclination to any thing that required peculiar exertion. He had occasion in the summer of that year, to visit London on private business; and it occurred to himself, that possibly, his visit to the metropolis might be made subservient to the advantage of the British Colonists in North America, in whose spiritual destitution he had long cherished a deep and affectionate interest. At the request of the friends of the mission to Cape Breton, I drew up a short memorial on the state of that

Island in regard to schools and churches; and this, along with a statistical plan of the division of the Island into parishes, drawn up by a clergyman there, it was proposed to submit to the Colonial Secretary. Mr. Mackay took the business in hand. When arrived in London, he sought out the Earl of Dalhousie, whose signature to the memorial, as Patron of the Colonial Society, it was desirable to obtain. His lordship had recently arrived from abroad, and was actually stepping into his carriage to join his family in Scotland when Mr. Mackay appeared at his door. With much urbanity the Earl listened to Mr. M.'s statement—returned to the house and affixed his signature—expressing warmly his approbation of the object in view. Mr. M. then got the documents printed, and circulated amongst the members of Government, and others interested in the American colonies. He communicated personally with Mr. Spring Rice (now Lord Monteagle), then Secretary of State for the Colonies, having previously had the memorial presented by a respectable deputation, and obtained from him a written communication of some length, testifying his approval of the scheme, and his wish to carry it into effect, *so far as circumstances would permit.* Mr. Rice went out of office soon after, and amid the changes of official men in the Colonial department, nothing has as yet been done for that Island by government; although private beneficence and zeal have done somewhat to mitigate the destitution of its inhabitants.

"Mr. Mackay's acquaintance with classic authors, and with history, ancient and modern, often surprised me. With a mind remarkably active, and a memory of great retentiveness, he frequently introduced into conversation the happiest classical allusions and quotations. His knowledge of living characters of eminence, was also very extensive; and he had

a fund of biographical notice and anecdote at command, which rendered his conversation very lively and instructive. His mind laid up in store the treasures both of history and of political science, and he could readily call them forth on all occasions in the cheerful conference of life. His views of human life, and of human affairs, were enlarged and comprehensive; and he subordinated them all to that habitual sense of an overruling Providence which was ever present to his mind. He formed a just estimate of human character, from that Word of God which was his counsellor and guide. He ever took delight in cherishing pleasing anticipations of the future improvement of man, and of the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom. But these anticipations he founded, not on the speculations of an infidel philosophy; nor on the calculations of the economists, but on the promises of the Word of *God*, and the sure testimony of prophetic revelation. Gloom was far from his mind; and the prospects and success of benevolent schemes cheered the evening of his days."

We do not of course claim for our departed friend the military ardour and skill which enabled his relative to rescue his country from the doom of superstition and tyranny; but we trust we have vindicated our expectation, that we might trace in himself many of those traits, which he delighted to portray in his hero; and may claim as indelibly impressed attributes in his character—the Christian faith and principle—the unswerving integrity—the hatred of corruption—the patriotism and love of his species, which shone so brightly in the character of General Mackay.

It may be permitted us to illustrate a little further than the notices in the appendix already referred to do, the claims to the same distinction possessed by each of his brothers.

Hugh, as his brother often said, was born a soldier, and

could not be diverted from desiring to follow that profession, though his father lamented his choice. It was in him a deep-rooted passion, founded on an original bias of nature, and which never ceased to actuate him. This military ardour impelled him to forego the happiness of returning home, though fully prepared to do so after a service of twenty years or more, when the breaking out of the Mahratta war required the presence of experienced officers: and to insist on heading his troop at the battle of Assaye, though General Wellesley urged the greater importance of his reserving himself for his commissariat duties.

But the excellences of his nature were not confined to military ardour or prowess. Estimable and endearing qualities of no ordinary stamp must have won the regard from his brother officers, which singled him out as the *one* amongst the long list of slain on that fatal field, in memory of whom a monument was erected on the spot where he fell; and equally conclusive as to the esteem in which he was held by the discerning commander under whom he served his last campaign, are the evidences given in the appendix; to which we would add another, extracted from General Wellesley's correspondence with the Secretary to government at Bombay—premising that such was the accuracy of Captain Mackay's commissariat accounts, extensive and complicated as they must have been, that they were passed within three months of his death with a deduction of only seven pagodas, no voucher having been found for a particular charge to that amount!

General Wellesley's letter is as follows:—"I have also to acknowledge the receipt from Lieutenant-Colonel Coleman of a letter from the government of Bombay, with various depositions of deserted bullock drivers, against Captain Mackay, taken by the Superintendent of Police at Bombay. Unfor-

tunately for the service, the gentleman against whom those accusations have been made, was killed in the battle of Assaye, otherwise I should not be called on now to write his defence.

"This officer was notoriously the most humane and gentle towards the natives, of any I have yet seen in this army; indeed this virtue was carried to an excess in his character that might almost be termed a fault. At my particular desire, and contrary to his own inclinations, he took charge of that part of the Bombay bullock establishment which was to serve with the troops under my command; and as it was by no means in order, two thousand out of three thousand bullocks being entirely unfit for service, it was necessary to introduce some regulations to provide for the food and care of the cattle. This Captain Mackay did, certainly neither harshly nor suddenly, and for having done his duty in this instance, they, who had deserted their service, have been allowed to libel and defame his character, through the medium of the police, and by going through the offices of government these libels are placed on record.

"As the officer is killed, his character cannot be entirely cleared from the stigma recorded concerning it, on the authority of the lowest and vilest men in society; but I can safely say, that as far as I can answer for another man, these depositions do not contain one word of the truth excepting that the deponents deserted from the service."

We cannot doubt that this defence of the fair character of a departed officer, will be felt to reflect equal honour on the vindicator as on the vindicated; and we would here record a circumstance, proving that this hero could, even in the midst of the most brilliant triumphs, when the eyes of all Europe were turned on him as the liberator and pacificator of its na-

tions recollect the merits of one, whose bravery had aided his first great success in arms, though twelve years of incessant harassing occupation might have obliterated circumstances so long past.

Mr. Mackay, having previously had occasion to address the Duke of Wellington, both personally and by letter, and having invariably met with the utmost urbanity, wrote to his Grace early in June 1815, from the remote part of the Highlands where he then resided, and believing the British army with its Commander to be still in Brussels, soliciting a commission in the army for a nephew: a few days after the despatch of his letter, the news of the battle of Waterloo, and of the advance of the conquering General and army to Paris reached him. That an application so insignificant as his was should be attended to in such circumstances, seemed quite out of the question. Very great was the surprise and admiration excited by the arrival of a letter from the Secretary of the great general (we think Sir Ulysses de Burgh, but have not the letter before us) acknowledging, at the general's desire, the letter of application, and promising to attend to it; and in a very short time the youth was gazetted as second lieutenant in the Welsh Fusiliers, one of the most distinguished regiments in the service. What excitement to deeds of noble daring do such tokens of a commander's consideration and lasting remembrance of an officer's merit, hold out!

Those who are acquainted with the history of the "Shipwreck of the Juno," narrated by William Mackay, himself a sufferer, and with the account of his voyage up the Red sea in 1801-2, will no less readily yield the same claim to distinction to the third brother also.

Patience and equanimity of temper under protracted severe suffering, with fortitude and perseverance in extricating him-

self and his companions, from the difficulties of their situation after their escape from the wreck, were signally manifested on that occasion; as were on the other very eventful voyage, seamanship, presence of mind, active benevolence, and a devoted regard to the interests of his employers, pursued at the sacrifice of his own interest, and excessive personal fatigue in three journeys across the desert from Suez to Grand Cairo, in charge of the cargo of his ship—a task which he took on himself to avert heavy loss from the owner.

He sent his brother a detailed narrative of the voyage, from which the account above mentioned was taken. We insert a short letter, giving an epitome which will interest those who may not have met with the detailed published account.

"Grand Cairo, April 28th, 1802.

"My dear John,—I must refer you to my former letter of August 1801 and March 1802, for my adventures since I left Calcutta, 17th March, 1801. It is mortifying to have been so unfortunate in making my first passage, but it is some consolation to think that I have conducted the vessel in safety, and without the loss of a single man, through a very difficult navigation, made more so by the extreme incorrectness of the charts—in a season of the year in which the passage was never attempted before; and the loss of fourteen ships on the expedition in different parts of the Red sea, affords me additional reasons for thankfulness to Providence for guidance and protection, without which my skill and exertions would have been inefficient. My expectations of pecuniary emolument are entirely frustrated, as I was only to receive a proportion of the profits, and no profit can arise.

"I don't know what my friends will think of my becoming pedlar, or indeed what is still lower, *sutler*, but I consider it my duty to submit to it rather than to abandon the property

of a worthy man, and in this resolution I am encouraged by the approbation of the oldest and most respectable commanders in the fleet."

Two months later he writes "My two first journeys backwards and forwards across the desert, I performed without danger, or much difficulty, but I was attacked twice by the Bedouin Arabs on my last trip, and although they have the name of being desperate fellows we beat them off without much difficulty or any loss."

He had the happiness of saving the lives of many soldiers and sailors during this voyage.

Both brothers died, comparatively, in early life, and perhaps equally martyrs to an exalted sense of duty — for William's constitution never recovered the mental and personal fatigues of the Red sea voyage and subsequent journeys; and to each, the affectionate esteem of friends erected monuments commemorative of their worth—to the one on the battle field of Assaye,—to the other, in the burying ground of Calcutta. A brother's love has commemorated both by the erection of a cenotaph with suitable inscriptions, in the churchyard of their native parish.

The author's modest statement in his preface, of the circumstances by which he was drawn to prepare a Life of General Mackay for the public, renders it unnecessary that we should dilate on this point.

His friends could not but regret the postponement of such an effort till the late period of life, three score and twelve when he commenced it, fearing that the result might be less satisfactory than if the full vigour of his faculties had been applied to it, or that, by over-exertion, those faculties might be injured.

It is for the reader to judge of the realization or disappoint-

ment of the former of these apprehensions,—as to the latter it is too true, that a tendency to fulness of blood in the head, became habitual soon after the completion of his work, which impaired that enjoyment of prolonged life, promised by his otherwise sound constitution.

But he often said—"If I suffer, it is in a good cause;" he would not have left it undone, humble as was his own appreciation of his performance of the delightful task, even had he foreseen that it would have cost so high a price. He has himself noticed the scantiness of materials procurable, but he has made no mention of the great trouble and perseverance with which he sought them out—by correspondence with the General's relations abroad and at home, in whose possession he supposed letters, or even traditionary reminiscences, might be found—of the eagerness with which he examined volumes, or the MS. papers from which a fact, or elucidation of a fact, could be had—and of the extreme care with which he graffed in the information so obtained. No one who has not either experienced or witnessed it, can appreciate the trial of temper, and patience, and perseverance to be submitted to by one who had to seek out information from a diversity of sources, through the medium of other eyes than his own; often, not at all certain that the information sought for was contained in the volume to be searched; and often, those so assisting thoroughly ignorant, and therefore little interested in the pursuit—nor that of inserting any piece of information subsequenttly gained respecting a period anterior to that at which he had then arrived. But it was with him truly a labour of love, and no exertion would have been esteemed too great which might render its execution more worthy of the subject. It was, we believe after the volume was given to the public, he dis-

covered that one of the general's family had gone into the Austrian service, and settled in some part of the Austrian dominions, in whose possession, very possibly, family papers may have been carried away from Holland, and unfortunately no intercourse with, or even knowledge of the residence of this off-shoot was kept up by the Dutch Mackays. So eagerly was he bent on procuring all possible materials to render his work more complete, that, but for his advanced age, and the difficulty of finding an attendant skilled in the Dutch and French langages, he would certainly have gone to Holland, to seek them out both in family repositories and in public records.

Many favourable notices of his work in the periodicals of the day, and commendatory letters from private friends, encouraged Mr. Mackay to hope, that his favourite object had in a great measure been accomplished, viz. to place before the public a just view of a very important passage in the history of Scotland, and to vindicate the character and conduct of his venerated kinsman from the slights and mistakes with which they have been treated by historians. By none of those notices was he more warmly gratified than by a note from Lord Moncrieff, which, though written in haste, and merely as a private expression of his sentiments, his Lordship has obligingly permitted the insertion of here.

It expresses the need existing of such a work, precisely as the author himself had conceived of it, and estimates his success in supplying that need, far more highly than his own diffidence had allowed of his doing.

"Moray Place, May 3, 1830.

"My dear Sir,—Some little time ago I had the gratification of reading your truly admirable 'History of General Mackay,' and intended before I went on my circuit to have

pleased myself by expressing to you how much it had delighted me.

"I ever had an impression that no justice had been done to that intrepid, skilful, and truly good man, by the general historians of the age in which he lived. But you have made the thing clear indeed; and to all the friends of liberty in the State and in the Church—to all the admirers and lovers of the Revolution establishment, and still more to all the sons of the once persecuted Presbyterian Church of Scotland—it must appear that you have rendered a most important service to the cause of truth and justice. For myself, though it can add little to the laurels which you must be sure to win at the hands of all fair men, who love their country, I beg leave to give you my sincere thanks, both for the pleasure which the perusal of your interesting book has afforded me, and for the real benefit conferred on society by the firm basis on which you have placed that very important passage of the history of Scotland.

"There is also a deep, though melancholy moral in it. In admiring the steadfastness and calm perseverance of such a hero, under so many discouragements, and such unjust returns, we learn the mighty power of principles which are their own strength, and their own reward; equally unbending to the applause and honour which captivate less lofty spirits, and unshaken by the deepest consciousness of noble purposes defeated by treachery, and services of immeasureable value, rewarded with little more than a cold acquittal. And, you also teach us, that even for fame and honour, among our countrymen and posterity, there is a tardy day of justice which will arrive.

"I would willingly enter more into so interesting a subject, but must turn to less pleasing exercises. I only cannot help expressing my great unwillingness to believe that King William

would, *intentionally*, have done wrong to Mackay. He was too great and noble-minded in his own nature. He must have been misled and deceived; first, as to the magnitude and importance of the war committed to Mackay, and next, as to the true circumstances of his conduct in it; and he was certainly beset by many difficulties in the posture he had assumed, and by many counsellors who too surely taught him the virtue of distrust, enough to perplex even the wisdom with which he was so largely gifted, and to excuse even greater errors than any that can be said to stain his still glorious name.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Very truly and respectfully yours,

"JAMES W. MONCRIEFF."

The subject of this brief sketch had now reached the period of life, respecting which the Psalmist says of those who attain to it, "Their strength is but labour and sorrow." But it was not so with him: though grave and thoughtful, the tone of his mind was habitually placid, generally cheerful; remarkably devoid of selfishness, it was far easier for him than for most men to follow the Golden Rule, "To do as he would be done by." He sought no undue attentions or advantages; he delighted in gratifying the wishes, and promoting the well-being of others, and entertained no jealous doubts of the goodwill of others towards him, accepting with warm gratitude marks of friendly regard.

He was blessed with a singularly confiding spirit,—with the charity "that thinketh no evil;" indeed, those verses, 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5, were strikingly exemplified in his mental character. So ready was he to appreciate any exhibition of generous or noble feeling, or of intellectual excellence, as to be affected with it even to tears. His relish for intellectual pursuits too, continued to the last, though, latterly, the sacred

Volume was his chief study, and religion possessed more exclusively the thoughts and affections of his heart. There was a weaning from worldly things, and a mellowing of character during the last years of his life, which was often very touching and endearing to observe: though occasions of deep sorrow occurred, and ill health, with consequent prostration of strength, restrained his eager desire for active usefulness,—no repining thought was engendered; he bore meekly, with Christian submission, the trials which "He, who doeth all things well," was pleased to lay upon him, bearing witness to the justness of the apostle's declaration, that the fruit of the spirit is, "Love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Truly each of those characteristics was exemplified in his life and conversation.

Those who knew and loved him whose character we have endeavoured to depict, may cherish as the best solace for his removal, the delightful contemplation of his happy disembodied spirit in a state of pure and unalloyed bliss in heaven; all the faculties of his mind, and all the affections of his heart, in a state of active exercise; with the acquisitions here made of knowledge, unforgotten; memory still doing its work, awakening gratitude for the way by which a gracious Providence had led him, which was his favourite theme here, whilst perfected power of discernment will excite more ardent praise. We may well draw comfort from the confident hope, that the prospect so touchingly portrayed by Cowper, for the consolation of an aged and blind friend, was realized by him, whose departure has made many sorrowful.

"Anna, think what lies before thee,
Think what first thine eyes shall see,—
Christ, the Lord of life and glory,
Crying, 'Epphatha,' to thee.

"Think how blessed thy condition,
Think what dawn shall close thy night;
Faith shall end in brightest vision,
Christ Himself shall give thee light."

Eyes which had during fifty years been insensible to the light of the sun, opening at once on those glories of which it is written, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard; neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for those that love him."—1 Cor. ii. 9. That he loved God and his neighbour, his life evinced. The friendless, the widow, the orphan,—and, perhaps, above all, his fellow-sufferers, will long miss him. They ever found in him an indefatigable friend, and successful in promoting their good far beyond what less fervent energy could have accomplished.

He rests from his labours, and his works do follow him.

LIFE

OF

LIEUT.-GEN. HUGH MACKAY

OF SCOURY, ETC.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HUGH MACKAY OF SCOURY was descended from Mackay of Strathnaver, chief of the clan Mackay, in the county of Sutherland. From what country the Mackays originally migrated, and at what precise period they settled on the west and north-west coasts of Sutherland, are questions on which we need not enlarge: it may be sufficient to state that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, they had attained to such a degree of power and importance, that Donald Mackay of Strathnaver is mentioned among the chiefs who, at the head of their respective clans, fought under the banners of Robert Bruce, at Bannockburn, A. D. 1314. Angus Mackay of Strathnaver (sometimes denominated Angus Dow, or Dhu, from his dark complexion), supposed to have been the great-grandson of Donald, is the same who is described by the continuator of Fordun as the leader of four thousand Strathnavermen. He fought a bloody battle near Dingwall, with Donald Lord of the Isles, A. D. 1411, and soon after married Elizabeth of

the Isles, eldest sister of Donald, and daughter of John Lord of the Isles, by Margaret, daughter of King Robert II.* The fifth in descent from Angus was Hugh, or Iye Dow Mackay of Strathnaver, who succeeded his father, Donald, A. D. 1550, and, after surmounting such a series of difficulties as would have paralyzed the efforts of ordinary men, died, in 1572, in quiet possession of his family estate.

He was twice married, first to his cousin Eupheme, daughter of Hugh Macleod, laird of Assynt in Sutherland,† and by her had Donald of Scoury. His second wife was a daughter of Sinclair, laird of Dun in Caithness, by whom he had two sons, Hugh of Strathnaver, father of the first Lord Reay, and William of Bighouse, from whom are descended the present Bighouse family. Hugh, though the younger brother, was preferred to Donald in the division of the paternal property, for reasons which the curious reader will find detailed in Robert Mackay's "History of the Clan Mackay." Donald, the first of Scoury, married a daughter of Munro of Assynt in Ross-shire, brother of

* By some genealogists, a different husband is assigned to this lady; but that the above-mentioned Angus Dow Mackay was her real husband, is proved by a charter, dated 8th October, 1415, and registered among the Acta Dominorum Concilii, 15th February, 1506, book 18, part ii. fol. 200. This charter is from Donald Lord of the Isles, and grants the lands of Strathalyadil (or Haladale, afterwards Bighouse) to his brother-in-law, Angus Mackay of Strathnaver, and his son Neil, by his (Donald's) sister Elizabeth, and to their heirs; in whose possession these lands have continued from that period down to 1830, when they were sold by Mrs. Louisa Mackay and her son Major Colin Campbell Mackay of Bighouse, to the late Marquis of Stafford, afterwards created Duke of Sutherland.

† The Macleods of Assynt branched off from the Macleods of Lewis, and were represented by the late Donald Macleod of Glames, the venerable sheriff-depute of Ross and Cromarty, whose great-grandfather was the last proprietor of the Assynt estate of the name of Macleod.

Sir Hector Munro, the first baronet of Foulis,* and by her had three sons, Hugh, Donald, and William. First, Hugh Mackay carried on the line of the family; second, Donald of Borley,† so designed from having the lands of Borley in wadset; and third, William, a lieutenant-colonel in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, who was killed at Lutzen, 1632, at the same time with that renowned Protestant hero.

Hugh of Scoury, Donald's eldest son, was, in 1643, appointed by parliament a commissioner for raising supplies, and, in 1648, a member of the committee of war for the sheriffdom of Sutherland. In 1649, being with the royal army at Balveny castle, he was surprised and taken prisoner, together with his son-in-law, John Lord Reay; but, owing to some unexplained cause, was permitted to return home peaceably, with the Strathnavermen, while his lordship was sent, in custody, to Edinburgh castle. By the act of 1650, for calling out all fencible men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, he was appointed a colonel of foot, which rank Charles II. confirmed to him at the Restoration. In 1661, he was reappointed a commissioner for raising

* The Munroes of Foulis are a family of high antiquity and great respectability in the county of Ross, Sir Hugh Munro, Bart., the present proprietor, being the twenty-eighth individual of the family who has possessed the estate. It has produced many eminent men, not a few of whom fell in the field, in the cause of the Protestant religion and liberty during the last two centuries.

† Donald of Scoury having been born about 1555, and his son Donald of Borley twenty-five or thirty years later, it is somewhat remarkable, that the author is no more than fifth in descent from the former, and fourth from the latter, whose son, Captain William Mackay of Borley, was the author's great-grandfather. See Appendix, No. II. This is a degree of longevity far exceeding the usual calculation of thirty or thirty-three years to a generation.

supplies; and died in 1662, universally lamented as a man of great probity and worth. He married Ann, daughter of John Corbet of Arkboll, or Arboll, in the county of Ross, and had issue, four sons and several daughters; of whom Barbara, the eldest, married her cousin, John second Lord Reay: and from this marriage all the subsequent lords of Reay have descended. William and Hector, the elder sons, were waylaid and murdered in Caithness, at the instigation, it was supposed, of persons of distinction in that county; against whom criminal letters were in consequence issued; yet so wretched was the administration of justice, and so impotent the arm of the law, that, though all the preliminary forms were gone through, the criminals were never brought to trial. The third son was Hugh, on whose life we are now to enter, usually known among his countrymen by the appellation of Sheneral More Mackuye, *i. e.* the Great General Mackay, to distinguish him from his grandson and other general officers of the same name. The fourth son, James, was lieutenant-colonel of his brother's regiment in the Scottish Dutch Brigade, and was killed at Killiecrankie, as will be seen hereafter. Of Hugh's early history it is to be regretted that little more is known than that he was born about the year 1640, at Scoury, a romantic and beautiful spot, in the parish of Eddrachillis, on the west coast of Sutherland, the property of his father and grandfather, and from which the former took his designation.

Our countrymen, the Scots, had, from the earliest ages, been distinguished as a warlike nation, and never, perhaps, was the passion for arms more prevalent than at the period of which we are now treating. Towards the conclusion of the sixteenth century, they furnished essential aid to

the infant Dutch republic, then struggling for its religion and liberties. In the early part of the seventeenth century, they sent powerful succours to Gustavus Adolphus, and the Protestant princes of Germany, who were engaged in the same glorious cause. Of these succours a considerable portion consisted of Mackays and Munroes, and their followers, under the command of Donald first Lord Reay and the Laird of Foulis. The Mackays of Scoury being connected by blood with both these chiefs, several individuals of the family held commissions in one or other of the two regiments. Such of them as lived to return, delighted to recount their exploits under the Lion of the North, as Gustavus was termed, and thus diffused more widely a martial spirit among their countrymen. Young Hugh of Scoury was, from his childhood, in the habit of daily hearing those narratives, and they kindled in his mind a military flame, which was extinguished only with his last breath.

Very early in life he wished to enter into the army, but it was not till 1660, when he had attained the age of manhood, that he had it in his power to gratify his favourite passion: having, at the Restoration, been appointed an ensign in Douglas's or Dumbarton's, now the Royal regiment, or First Foot of the British line.* The regiment

* This is perhaps the oldest, and certainly one of the most celebrated regiments in Europe. It was formed from the Scots Guards, employed more than three centuries in the service of France, in which they acquired great renown and unprecedented distinctions, on account of their valour and fidelity. In 1633 they were sent back to Scotland by Louis XIII., in order to be present at the coronation of Charles I., and Henrietta, sister of Louis; and from that period they have formed part of the military establishment of their native sovereigns, under the title of Scots Royals, or Royal Scots, or 1st Foot of

was, soon after, lent by Charles II. to the French king, in virtue of a treaty of alliance between the two sovereigns; and young Mackay accompanied it to France. In 1664, it would appear that he came over to England, and was presented at court, when he received from his majesty a patent, as it is called, or open letter of introduction, dated at Whitehall, 26th August of that year. It was written in Latin, and addressed "*Ad omnes populos,*" recommending the bearer, Lieutenant Hugh Mackay, to the favour of all into whose hands these presents might come. With this document in his possession, he returned to France, and by means of it obtained an easy introduction to those great masters in the art of war, the Prince of Condé and the Viscount of Turenne, under one or other of whom he continued to serve and study his profession for some years. Among his brother subalterns at this time was young Churchill, afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough, with whom he kept up a friendly correspondence to the day of his death.

In 1669, Mackay was employed in the service of the Venetian republic, on the following occasion. The Venetians, as is well known, after having enjoyed quiet possession of the Island of Candia for five centuries and a half, were,

the British line. On the breaking out of the civil wars in 1641, they preserved their loyalty, and adhered to King Charles; and in 1645, when his fortunes underwent a reverse, they returned to France, and continued to serve in that country, with little interruption, till 1678, when they finally re-entered the British service. Lord George Douglas, fourth son of the first Marquis of Douglas, was appointed colonel in 1645, and was removed by King William in 1690. He was created Earl of Dumbarton in 1675, followed King James to France, and died in 1692.—See "Major Weatherall's Historical Account of the Royal Regiment," printed by order of His Grace the Duke of Gordon, and presented by him, as their colonel, to the regiment.

A. D. 1645, suddenly attacked by the Turks, in the midst of profound peace, and, after a long and sanguinary contest, were finally expelled from the island. Louis XIV. afterwards sent a powerful armament to their assistance, under the command of the Duke of Beaufort, admiral of France. Several young men, the flower of the French nobility, volunteered their services on the expedition, and were accompanied by a corps of one hundred reduced officers, all eager to gain military experience, and share the glory of humbling the Ottoman power. They arrived at Candia, the capital of the island, on the 19th June, and, on the 25th, made a desperate sally against the besiegers, but were repulsed with loss, the admiral, their leader, being slain. One of the reduced officers was Mackay, who so greatly distinguished himself in this and other bloody engagements, during the two months the French remained upon the island, that he received a medal from the republic, as a slight acknowledgment of his services.* The death of his father, as already mentioned, followed, in 1668, by that of his two elder brothers, opened to our young soldier the succession to the family estate, which, however, he was not destined to revisit after it became his own property. In 1672, we find him a captain in Dumbarton's regiment, which was still in the service of France, and employed in the unprincipled expedition of Louis against the United Provinces.

The horrors of this short but desolating campaign, of which Mackay was a reluctant spectator, if not an actor,

* The medal is mentioned by Sir James Dalrymple, a contemporary writer. Second edition of "Camden's Description of Scotland," page 195. In 1792, it was in the possession of Mrs. Prevost, great-grand-daughter of General Mackay.

made such a deep impression on his mind, as led him to entertain serious thoughts of quitting the service of both sovereigns, and returning to his native country. While deliberating on this measure, Providence so ordered events as to remove from his mind all doubts with respect to the course he ought to follow. His regiment, forming part of that division of the army which, under the orders of Turenne, took the town of Bommel, in Guelderland, it was his lot to be billeted on the house of a respectable widow lady, whose husband, the Chevalier Arnold de Bie, had been burgomaster of the town. Here the grave and serious deportment of Captain Mackay, so different from that of most of his brother officers, whether French or English, attracted the notice of Madame de Bie and her family, and gained their esteem. She had several daughters, of whom the three youngest, being unmarried, were sent, on the first rumour of the invasion, to Dort, as a place of safety, and out of the way of the French cavaliers. Louis having, however, issued a proclamation, ordering all who had fled from their habitations to return forthwith, under severe penalties, Madame de Bie recalled her daughters from Dort, as her family now enjoyed the protection of a respectable Scottish officer, their inmate. Mackay had by this time become so domesticated in the family, as to participate in all their recreations: with Madame de Bie, he played her favourite game of chess, and read with her daughters. Under such circumstances, it was not likely that the young ladies and their protector could long remain indifferent to each other; and, in fact, Clara, the eldest unmarried daughter, soon made an impression on his heart. After some further acquaintance, he made his proposals in form. Madame de Bie, unwilling to give her daughter to a man who served the enemy of her

country, at first opposed his addresses, but yielded when she found he was inclined to resign his present service and enter that of the republic. Such a change, from the one service to the other, was at this time unusual, and attended with difficulties; but these being at length overcome, Mackay was transferred, with his rank of captain, from Dumbarton's regiment to the Scottish Brigade, in the service of the States General. The only obstacle in the way of his marriage being thus happily removed, he was speedily united to Clara de Bie, the object of his affection, whose country he appears, from this date, to have adopted as his own.

Thirteen years had now elapsed since he entered the army, and during this time various causes had been in progressive though silent operation to weaken the ties that bound him to his native country. Among these may be enumerated the tyrannical government of Charles II. in Scotland, which, year after year, drove many of his best subjects from the southern and western counties, into exile in Holland; and the lawless state of the Highlands, in which bloody family feuds, and even private wars among the clans, were not yet extinguished; and, above all, the atrocious murder of his two elder brothers, still unavenged by public justice. These things gave Mackay a gradual distaste for his native country, while, on the other hand, his gracious reception by the Prince Stadtholder, and the kindness with which he had, though a stranger, been admitted into the bosom of the pious family of De Bie, strongly inclined him to fix his residence among them. He had the advantage of an early religious education, under the eye of an excellent father; and the good seed thus sown, though checked, perhaps, in its growth, by the pernicious

example of his associates, in the service of two of the most licentious sovereigns in Europe, yet, when transplanted into the more genial soil of Holland, sprung up and brought forth fruit an hundred-fold, as will appear in the sequel. It is not improbable that about this time, or soon after, a thought first occurred to Mackay's mind, which was acted on, thirty years afterwards, by his son, who sold his paternal estate to his brother-in-law, George third Lord Reay, thus reuniting the two family estates, and investing the proceeds of the sale in an estate of equal value in Holland. Mackay may have been the more inclined to this measure, as his sister, Lady Reay, who had been married but a few years, had already presented her lord with three boys of great promise,—concerning whom hereafter.

Having thus endeavoured to sketch the outline of General Mackay's life, from his earliest days to the period of his marriage and his entering into the service of the States General, it may not be improper to suspend his personal narrative, while we endeavour to trace the origin of the Scottish Brigade, with which his future name and character are so intimately connected.

The glorious stand, in defence of religion and liberty, made by the United Provinces against the tyrannical government of Philip II. of Spain, excited admiration and sympathy throughout all Europe; and nowhere more intensely than in England and Scotland. The more abundant resources of the former kingdom, administered by the skilful hand of Elizabeth, enabled her to send the insurgents immediate supplies of men and money. The latter, with an empty treasury and a distracted government, could give no pecuniary aid, but permitted, nay, encouraged, her subjects to assist with their personal services. Balfour of Burley,

Halket of Pitfirran, Preston of Gorton, Scott of Buccleugh, and other public-spirited individuals, raised men at their own expense, and proceeded at their head to the scene of action in the Low Countries. The troops thus levied were at first formed into independent companies, and these into regiments, which, in process of time, were incorporated into a brigade, consisting of three regiments. Such was the origin of the Scottish Dutch Brigade. They had, from their very first appearance on the continent, distinguished themselves by their native valour; and when to this was added the discipline which they learned from the great captains opposed to them, as well as from those under whom they served—they soon became a match for the finest troops of Spain, and were enabled to baffle the best concerted schemes of the Prince of Parma and Don John of Austria. In the famous battle of Reminant, near Mechlin, in 1578, where those two great commanders were defeated by the army of the States, the success of the day is ascribed by De Thou* chiefly to the Scots and English, who, from the heat of the weather and their ardour in the combat, stripped off their doublets and armour, fighting in their shirts and under clothes. The leader of the English was Sir John Norris, and of the Scots Sir Robert Stewart.† The three first and most illustrious princes of the House of Orange, viz. William, the founder of the republic, and his two distinguished sons, Maurice and Frederick Henry, fully acknowledged the value of the services of the Scots, and denominated them the bulwark of the republic. The

* De Thou, book xvi. cap. 12. Bulkley's edition, vol. iii. page 608.

† There is an allusion to the same spirited conduct on the part of the Scots and English at Reinant in the "Discourse on War," by Lord Bacon, who also ascribes to it the victory of the day.

States, too, grateful for the aid which they had received, sent an embassy, in 1595, to congratulate King James on the birth of his eldest son, with a present of two massive golden cups, and an obligation to pay the young prince four thousand florins yearly, until he should arrive at the age of majority. They also instructed their ambassadors to solicit a further supply of men, which was granted, notwithstanding the conscientious scruples at first entertained by the king, against countenancing rebellious subjects. The Scots, therefore, as well as the English, may be said to have rocked the cradle of the infant Dutch republic, and to have supported its first faltering steps towards independence. In this manner commenced a connection between Scotland and the Dutch republic, which, with the exception of about thirty years, from the usurpation of Cromwell to the death of Charles II., had lasted above two hundred years when, in 1781, it was terminated by commercial and political jealousies between the two countries. The recognition of the independence of the Dutch republic by the other powers of Europe, at the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, held out to that state, humanly speaking, a prospect of long repose, which, however, was not realized. In 1650, the second Prince of Orange, of the name of William, died, leaving an infant son, afterwards the illustrious King William III., an event which proved the signal for civil commotions in the state. The ruling party taking advantage of the young prince's minority, abolished the office of Stadtholder, and, by withdrawing public attention from military to maritime affairs, brought on a ruinous naval war with England. The army thenceforth was neglected, and the discipline of the Scottish Brigade in particular gradually relaxed. Hitherto the brigade had been recruited, both with

officers and men, exclusively from Scotland; but the troubles of that country, and the wars between England and the republic, cut off that source of supply. The oldest officers were gradually removed by death; others resigned in disgust; and the vacancies thus occasioned were filled up by adventurers of the lowest description from all parts of the world, while private soldiers were enlisted from the refuse of the other European military establishments.*

Such was the deteriorated state of the Scottish Brigade, when, in 1673, Mackay was transferred to it, and began those reforms, by means of which he was afterwards enabled to restore its discipline, and recover its character among the nations of Europe.

The first service in which he was engaged under his new master was in the year 1674, in the bloody battle of Seneff and the siege of Grave, where the Prince of Orange was opposed by those celebrated commanders, the Duke of Luxembourg and the Prince of Condé, under whom Mackay had formerly served. On both these occasions he so distinguished himself, though in no higher rank than that of captain, as to attract the notice of his superiors, and lay the foundation of that esteem which he gradually acquired with the Stadtholder. The parliament of England having obliged the king to reduce his forces, the officers and men of ten of the companies thus disbanded tendered their services to the Prince of Orange, which he gladly accepted, forming the men into a separate corps, under the temporary command of Mackay, as major commandant. About this time, the lieutenant-colonelcy

* See "Strictures on Military Discipline, including an Account of the Scottish Brigade." London, 1774.

of one of the regiments forming the Scottish Brigade falling vacant, two candidates started for the appointment, both excellent officers, but men of characters widely different. These were Graham of Claverhouse, then an officer in the prince's service, afterwards notorious for his unrelenting cruelties to the covenanters in the west of Scotland, and Mackay, characterized by Bishop Burnet as the most pious military man he ever knew. The prince preferred Mackay, which gave such mortal offence to his rival, that he instantly quitted the service and returned to Scotland, filled with resentment against the authors of his disappointment. In 1680, Mackay was promoted to the rank of colonel of his regiment, and, not long after, appointed commandant of the whole brigade, which was by this time esteemed one of the best disciplined in Europe.* On the occasion of Monmouth's invasion, in 1685, King James called over the brigade to his assistance, and was so pleased with their prompt obedience and soldierly appearance, that he promoted Mackay to the rank of major-general in his service. As matters turned out, they were not required to draw the sword; but it cannot be doubted that the presence of a body of men so highly disciplined, and so efficient, greatly contributed to the speedy suppression of the rebellion. As a further mark of his royal

* From this period of its renovation under Mackay's command, the brigade preserved its high military character till about the middle of the last century, when it began to decline; and during these seventy years, some of the most distinguished officers in the British service commenced their military career in it. Among these may be mentioned the Earl of Portmore and his brother field-marshal, Collyer; Colonel Cunningham of Enterkin, the Hon. General James Murray (brother of Lord Ellibank), Sir Robert Murray Keith, General Simon Fraser (killed at Saratoga), and Sir William Stirling of Ardoch.

approbation, the king was pleased to appoint Major-General Mackay a privy counsellor in Scotland; in consequence of which, he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he took the oaths and his seat at the council-board. He returned to London immediately, his public duties not allowing him to visit his estate and his relatives in the north. The king, having reviewed the brigade on Hounslow Heath, in 1686, dismissed them with letters to the Prince of Orange, expressive of his ackowledgments for the seasonable aid they had afforded him; after which, they returned to Holland. In 1687, King James, alarmed by the reports of the warlike preparations on the Dutch coast, and the surmises of a projected invasion of England, again sent to demand the return of his subjects in the service of Holland. The demand came too late, for, by his infatuated conduct, he had forfeited the affections of his subjects abroad, as well as at home; and, by his persevering devotion to the French court, he had excited the apprehensions of the Prince of Orange, and the States General, for their own religion and liberties. Under various pretexts, the States at first evaded, and at length, in the following year, 1688, peremptorily refused permission to the private soldiers, but left the officers at liberty to do as they pleased. In the Scottish Brigade, and the three English regiments in the Dutch service, there were two hundred and forty officers, of whom only sixty, and these chiefly catholics, adhered to King James.* All the rest declared their resolution to

* See "Life of Major Bernardé," p. 51. Rapin says that only forty officers declared for King James. The defection of so large a proportion of the officers of the brigade, was imputed by the King, and probably not without cause, to Mackay's influence; and on this account he included his name in the list of six individuals whom he excepted from pardon. The

follow the standard of the Prince of Orange, and aid in the deliverance of their country from the yoke of popery and arbitrary power. The expedition against England consisted of fifteen thousand men, formed into three divisions, and was commanded by William in person. The divisions were distinguished from each other by the colour of their flags; the English and Scotch, commanded by General Mackay, had a red; the Prince's guards and Brandenburghers, under Count Solms, had a white; and the Dutch and the French protestant refugees, commanded by Field-Marshal the Duke of Schomberg, had a blue banner. After putting to sea, the fleet was dispersed, and driven back by a furious storm from the south-west; but, being speedily refitted, and the wind coming suddenly round to the east, they sailed again, and passed through the channel without opposition; the same easterly wind which thus proved so propitious to the Prince of Orange, having locked up the English fleet within their own ports. On this occasion, the overruling providence of God was signally manifested in favour of the expedition; for, if the wind had not shifted at the critical moment, and the expedition had in consequence failed, the religion and liberties of the British kingdoms might have been buried in the same common grave. The events which followed the landing of the expedition, viz., the abdication of King James, and the transference of the crown to William and Mary, are too well known to require repetition in this brief memoir.

William's measures, with regard to England, having been followed with success, he next turned his attention

other five were Lord Melville, the Earl of Leven, Lieutenant-General Douglas, Sir John Dalrymple, and Bishop Burnet. See "Dalrymple's Memoirs," vol. ii., p. 104, App.

towards Scotland, where he had reason to apprehend a more formidable opposition. The experience he had had of Mackay's great military talents and conscientious discharge of the duties of whatever office he undertook, induced him to select him for the important station of commander-in-chief of the forces to be employed in Scotland; and never, perhaps, did any general enter on a more uninviting command. The prospect before him was that of civil war, the evils of which he had too often witnessed on the continent, not to deplore the possibility of their occurrence in his native land. The majority of the Scots were presbyterian protestants; but a considerable proportion of the aristocracy, and even of the middling and lower classes not a few, were still bigoted Roman catholics, and consequently attached to the cause of the exiled monarch.

These, however, were not the only enemies with whom it was probable the new government would have to contend; such protestants, even, as held tory principles of government, or were attached to the episcopal forms of worship, being little less adverse than Roman catholics to the intended change.

During the last two reigns, especially that of James, the principal civil offices of the state had been monopolized by papists or their abettors; and, at the period of Mackay's arrival in Scotland, the chief fortresses of the kingdom were also in their hands. To dislodge them, therefore, from those strongholds, became one of his first and most urgent duties; but to the immediate accomplishment of this important object, his military resources were altogether inadequate. The sinews of war—money, arms, stores, and provisions—were wanting. Skilful officers, too, with whom Scotland once abounded, were not to be found in this her

hour of need. The veterans of the covenant, who had served in the German wars, or who had been opposed to Cromwell, were now no more; nor were their places filled by men, the soundness of whose principles could be relied on. Such were some of the difficulties which Mackay foresaw that he should have to contend with; but these were not all. Though a native and a landed proprietor himself, he had left Scotland at so early an age, that he was almost an entire stranger in it. His family connections were respectable, but situated in a remote corner of the kingdom; and, though powerful over their clansmen, they possessed but little political influence in the country. Thus unconnected with either of the two great parties that agitated the state, he could look for no support to his measures beyond what he derived from the legitimate influence of the high station assigned to him, and from the confidence of his royal master, which he was supposed to enjoy. Of him it might be said with truth, that he entered on the duties of his office, "*sine ira, sine studio, quorum causas procul habeo.*"

Soon after his landing in England, Mackay was seized with a severe fit of illness. He had scarcely recovered, when, prompted by zeal for the public service, he embarked for Scotland, and arrived at Edinburgh about the middle of March, 1689.

King William found himself so hard pressed between the defence of his native dominions and those he had newly acquired, that the only troops he could with safety spare for Mackay were detachments from the three regiments forming the Scottish Brigade, viz., the General's own, Brigadier Balfour's, and Colonel Ramsay's, amounting in number to one thousand one hundred men. Nor

were these the flower of the brigade, for the king judged it expedient to retain the most effective portion in England, to strengthen his Dutch battalions. With this handful of men did Mackay arrive in Scotland, to assist in subduing a faction, which had, for the last thirty years, ruled the nation with a rod of iron. There existed at this time but a very inconsiderable military force in the kingdom; Dumbarton's foot and the royal dragoons, the two most efficient regiments on the establishment, not having yet returned since they were ordered to England by King James the preceding year.

Claverhouse, when raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Dundee, had also been appointed to the command of the royal dragoons, but was superseded, after the revolution, by Sir Thomas Livingstone, baronet, an officer of reputation in the Scottish Brigade, who accompanied King William from Holland.* Mackay brought

* Sir Thomas Livingstone, after serving with great ability and zeal in Scotland, under General Mackay, succeeded him as commander-in-chief, in November, 1690, and was afterwards employed in all King William's wars on the continent. Care must be taken not to confound this officer (which Mr. Chambers has most unaccountably done, in his "History of the Rebellion," p. 158) with the traitor, Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone, of the same regiment. In 1696, Sir Thomas was created Viscount Teviot, but dying in 1711, without male issue, the title became extinct. It is to be regretted that he stained his high military character by his conduct in the affair of Glencoe. As commander-in-chief, he was the official organ through whom the orders of government for the massacre were conveyed; and it appears that he did convey them with alacrity. In his letter of instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, commanding officer at Fort William, dated 23d January, 1693, are these words: "I understand that the Laird of Glencoe, coming in after the prefixed time, was not admitted to take the oath, which is very good news to us, seeing that, at court, it is wished that he had not taken it; so that the very nest might be rooted out. So here is a fair occasion

with him a commission as commander-in-chief from King William, but prudently refrained from exercising it till that prince should be invested with the royal authority in Scotland, as he had already been in England; and, in the meantime, he contented himself with acting under the orders of the convention, which commenced its sittings a few days before he arrived. By authority of that body, he issued letters of service to the Earl of Leven and Viscount Kenmore, to the Earl of Annandale* and Lord Belhaven,† the two former to raise each a battalion of

to shew you that your garrison serves for some use. I desire you will begin with Glencoe, and spare nothing of what belongs to them, BUT DO NOT TROUBLE THE GOVERNMENT WITH PRISONERS."—CULLODEN PAPERS, p. 19.

On the morning of the 9th of February, 1693, these cruel orders were executed without remorse—thirty-eight innocent individuals having been butchered in cold blood. Happy would it have been for the memory of King William, his ministers, and all concerned in this barbarous transaction, had Mackay continued in the command. If he had so continued, such orders would, in all probability, not have been issued; nor, if issued, would they have been obeyed.

* Third Earl of Annandale and Hartfell. He was one of the first to join the revolution, and raised a troop of horse for its service. In 1689, he was seduced by his brother-in-law, Sir James Montgomery, to engage in the plot for restoring King James; but, soon repenting, made confession of his fault to King William, and was restored to favour. In 1701, he was raised to the dignity of Marquis of Annandale; and died, 1721, after having filled some of the highest offices in the state, during the reigns of William, Anne, and George I. He married Sophia, daughter of John Fairholm of Craigiehall, remarkable for the beauties of her mind and person, and for having been a wife and mother in her fifteenth, and a grand-mother in her thirty-second year.

† John Hamilton of Biel succeeded to the title of Belhaven, on the death of the first lord, in 1679, and distinguished himself in parliament by his opposition to the tyrannical measures of Charles and James. Having joined the revolution, he raised in its defence a troop of horse,

foot, and the two latter noblemen, each an independent troop of horse. By the same authority, he empowered the three skeleton Dutch regiments to complete their establishment to twelve hundred men each—a measure, however, which he never was able fully to accomplish, in consequence of the preference that Scotsmen felt for regiments in the service of their own country. With these levies, and the expected reinforcements from England, he proposed to lay siege to the castle of Edinburgh, which, under the command of the Duke of Gordon, held out for King James—and to carry on those ulterior measures which he deemed necessary for the establishment of the new government. Dundee, having been denounced as a rebel by the convention, flew to arms, and repaired to the north, in order to stir up his friends in that quarter to declare for King James. Mackay felt strongly inclined to pursue him; but the other various and important duties of his station, as commander-in-chief, admitted not of his absence. He therefore ordered Sir Thomas Livingstone's dragoons, with Lord Colchester's, and Barclay's horse, from the north of England to Edinburgh, where they arrived early in April, but in bad condition. Sir Thomas being an officer of experience, on whom he had great reliance, he despatched him with his regiment, first to Stirling, and thence, about

which he commanded at Killiecrankie, as hereafter related; and continued through life a strenuous supporter of the religion and liberties of his country. He is the same who was afterwards celebrated for his eloquent speeches against the Union. In 1706, the nation being threatened with an invasion by the Pretender, his lordship was suspected of favouring the cause, arrested, and carried prisoner to London. He was soon released; but his high spirit could not brook the indignity of being dragged through the streets, like a felon, for a crime of which he was innocent, and he was seized with a brain fever, which brought him to his grave.

the 20th of April, to the shire of Angus, where Dundee's chief strength lay, with instructions to watch the motions, and, if possible, seize the person, of this formidable enemy; or, at all events, so to counteract his measures, as to prevent the further augmentation of his force. In pursuance of these instructions, Livingstone formed a plan for the apprehension of Dundee, which, though conducted with the utmost prudence and secrecy, failed of success, owing to the vigilance of the latter, and his good understanding with the people of the country.

Arms having thus been resorted to, the General foresaw that it was in the north that the contest would ultimately be decided; and, for that reason, felt anxious to repair in person to the probable scene of action, where, he believed, his presence was more immediately required than in the south. The Duke of Hamilton and his colleagues in the council were of a different opinion,—being apprehensive of an invasion, and, therefore, desirous of retaining the General at the seat of government. He preferred, however, to act on his own judgment, and set out for the north, leaving Brigadier Balfour to command at Edinburgh, till he should be relieved from England by Major-General Sir John Lanier, whom he appointed to carry on the blockade of the castle.

Arriving at the town of Dundee, Mackay drew thither whatever troops could be spared from the blockade of Edinburgh castle and the other exigencies of the service, viz., the six troops composing Sir Thomas Livingstone's regiment of dragoons, and one hundred and twenty of the best of Colchester's horse, with two hundred foot of the Dutch Brigade. He left two troops of Sir Thomas Livingstone's at Dundee, under the command of the lieutenant-

colonel of the same name, who was afterwards detected in a traitorous conspiracy to deliver up his General to the enemy. With the remaining four troops of Livingstone's dragoons, and the horse and foot already mentioned—the whole not exceeding four hundred and fifty in number—he proceeded to watch the motions of his adversary.

Dundee, though abhorred by his enemies for his unrelenting and sometimes unmanly cruelty to helpless old men and women, was no less admired by his friends for his lofty bearing and chivalrous spirit; and no sooner did he arrive at his house, Glenogilvie in Angus, than he was resorted to by many of the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood. Attended by a few of these, and seventy or eighty horsemen—deserters from his former regiment, who had followed him from England—he proceeded, as already mentioned, to rouse the northern shires, and especially the Highland clans, to declare for King James. Passing rapidly through Angus and Mearns, to Aberdeenshire, he held hasty conferences with the numerous branches of the powerful family of Gordon, their vassals, and dependents, and, as he thought, organized an insurrection against the government. Mackay pursued him, but not with the same speed, from the difficulty of provisioning, at short notice, even the small force he brought with him, and the necessity of greater caution in passing through a country whose inhabitants were, for the most part, unfriendly to his cause.

Before his departure from Edinburgh, the Laird of Grant waited on the General with a tender of his services, and received his instructions to repair to his extensive estates in the north, and employ four or five hundred of his people to guard the fords of the Spey, and prevent the

Proceeding towards Forres, he learned that Dundee had altered his resolution, and that, instead of marching eastward to Elgin, he had turned to the right, and taken the road through Badenoch to Lochaber. In an ordinary commander, such change of purpose would have been deemed weakness, or pusillanimity, which certainly formed no part of Dundee's character. Mackay simply says* that Dundee, not choosing to risk an action, marched towards Lochaber. Some writers account for his change of purpose, by supposing that he believed Mackay to have been joined by his expected reinforcements; and his admirer, Mr. Chambers, insinuates that he was intimidated by Mackay's boldness, and judged it prudent to retire. The most probable supposition, however, because most in accordance with Dundee's character, seems to be, that the intention he announced to the magistrates of Elgin, of taking a night's quarters in their town, was a mere *ruse de guerre*, a stratagem to deceive Mackay and divert his attention from the real object, which was, that of being suffered to march without interruption to Lochaber, to organize an insurrection in the Highlands against the new government, as he had already done in the Lowlands.

It is somewhat singular that the course which the Viscount of Dundee thus took was precisely that which best suited the views of his rival, who was no less anxious to be permitted, unmolested, to enter Inverness, and remain there till he should have accomplished the important measures he had in contemplation. He found the magistrates of Inverness and the inhabitants in general well affected to his cause, and ready to adopt whatever expedients he should recommend for the defence of their town.

* Memoirs, p. 16.

He announced his arrival to Lord Lovat, the Earl of Seaforth, and other influential persons in that part of the country, and invited them, in their majesties' names, to meet him at Inverness, to concert such measures as should be judged advisable at the present critical juncture; but, with very few exceptions, they treated his invitation with such neglect, that he perceived they bore no good will to the cause.

Very different was the conduct of the leading men of the shire of Sutherland, and that of one individual of note in the county of Ross, viz., the Laird of Balnagown. Lord Strathnaver promptly joined him with three hundred men of his new regiment, Lord Reay's administrators with two hundred of his vassals, and Balnagown with one hundred, all brisk Highlanders, as the General describes them, and hearty in the cause. Of Lord Reay's men, he formed one hundred into an independent company; the remainder, together with Balnagown's men, he destined for the defence of Inverness; and directed that an additional number of two hundred Mackays and one hundred Rosses should be held in readiness in case of need. All these requisitions were punctually complied with.

It was now manifest that the General judged correctly, when he predicted that the north was to be the theatre of the impending civil war, and insisted with his colleagues in the council on the necessity of his repairing thither in person. He foresaw some difficulties, and experienced many more than he foresaw; yet he had the satisfaction to reflect that his labour was not in vain. A little had been done, but much more yet remained to be accomplished, to place the government on a secure footing.

The fertile genius and active spirit of Dundee were at work, and the effects, he feared, would soon appear in a vast accession of force to the enemies of the government. Reflecting on the utter disproportion of his present force to the exigencies of the service, he deemed it expedient to draw towards the north all the regiments that could be spared from the other parts of the kingdom. He ordered the two troops of Livingstone's, left at Dundee, to join him without delay, and these to be followed by Barclay's horse, the remainder of Colchester's horse, and Sir James Leslie's foot, now the fifteenth of the British line. He wrote also to Brigadier Balfour, to detach Colonel Ramsay with six hundred men, drafted from the three Dutch regiments, and order them north, for greater despatch, by the short cut on the Highland road from Athole to Badenoch. But, for the better understanding of what follows, it will be necessary to advert to the intercourse which took place in Edinburgh, between the Marquis of Athole and General Mackay.

Of all the Scottish nobility, there was no individual, Dundee excepted, who, having it in his power to promote, did in fact so much to obstruct, the cause of the Revolution and the settlement of the kingdom as the Marquis of Athole. His vassals were numerous; his estates compact, and situated in the heart of the kingdom; and his principal mansion or castle of Blair was, as it were, a key, which gave him an easy and immediate passage to or from the Highlands,—a circumstance of essential importance at that crisis. Descended from the royal family of Stuart, the marquis was connected by blood both with the late and present king. With the latter, he had another connection by marriage, the marchioness being, as well as his majesty,

allied to the house of Solms;* the then head of which was one of Mackay's colleagues in command of the invading army.† With the count, therefore, and other members of his family, the General was intimately acquainted, which furnished him with subjects of conversation interesting to the marquis, and enabled him to answer his numerous inquiries concerning his German cousins, in a manner highly gratifying to his lordship.

Intimacy being thus established, Mackay, always intent on the great cause in which he was engaged, embraced every opportunity of bringing back the discourse with his lordship to the present critical state of Scottish affairs. He enlarged on the great benefit which the marquis's peculiar local situation and circumstances enabled him to confer on his country, and pointed out to him the advantage which would probably result to his family, if he cordially supported the new sovereign at the commencement of his reign. The marquis appeared to receive these suggestions favourably, and responded to them with such protestations of loyalty and affection, that Mackay thought him a firm friend to the new government. His son, Lord Murray, participated in the sentiments professed by the father, as did Lady Murray, a daughter of the Duke of Hamilton, who, like her pious mother, the good duchess

* The marchioness was third daughter of James, seventh earl of Derby, by Charlotte, daughter of Claude Duke de la Tremouille, and Charlotte Brabantina, daughter of the illustrious William, first Prince of Orange, great-grandfather of King William. Frederick Henry, his grandfather, married Emilia, daughter of John Albert, count of Solms, a woman of distinguished merit; who, after the death of her son and daughter-in-law, the father and mother of King William, governed the principality of Orange during his minority.

† Memoirs, p. 29.

Anne, was warmly attached to the presbyterian interest.* But the conduct of the marquis soon proved the fallacy of his professions of attachment to King William. Whether from the levity and indecision of his character, or from resentment at seeing his rival, the Duke of Hamilton, appointed, first, president of the convention, and afterwards commissioner to represent the sovereign in parliament—he determined neither to take his place in the convention nor head his vassals in the field, but slunk away to England, leaving his affairs to be managed by his steward or factor, Stewart of Ballechin, a devoted partisan of the late king, and, consequently, an inveterate foe to his successor.

Dundee having proceeded to Lochaber, remained there but a few days, when he discovered that the state of his finances, as well as the condition of his cavalry, had been impaired by his long marches. In order to recruit both, he resolved to make an irruption into the low country. The entrance into Athole being open to him, through the good offices of his friend, Ballechin, he made a rapid march

* Lady Anne Hamilton, eldest daughter of James, first duke of Hamilton, who perished on the scaffold, 1649, succeeded her uncle, second duke, who died of wounds received in the battle of Worcester, 1650, and thus became Duchess of Hamilton in her own right. She married Lord William Douglas, third son of the first Marquis of Douglas, and obtained a patent creating her husband Duke of Hamilton for life. In this manner were the families of Hamilton and Douglas connected; and, on the death of Archibald, last duke of Douglas, in 1759, without male issue, the representation of the Douglas family, in the male line, together with the marquisate of Douglas, devolved on James, eighth duke of Hamilton, as being descended from the aforesaid Lord William Douglas and Duchess Anne. It is somewhat remarkable that, as the Hamiltons thus became the male heirs of the Douglasses, in like manner, by the failure of the male heirs of the Hamiltons in the direct line in 1660, the Abercorn family became the male representatives of that of Hamilton.

through that district, into Perth, surprised the town early in the morning, and, seizing as lawful prize whatever public money he could find there, took the Lairds of Blair* and Pollock,† the captain and lieutenant of horse, with two foot officers, prisoners. He carried these officers about, in an ungenerous triumph, on all his marches, for six weeks, and then sent them to the isle of Mull, where Blair died in consequence of the barbarous treatment he received. Having ranged for some days in the shires of Perth and Angus, and recruited his cavalry by the addition of some well affected gentlemen and their servants, Dundee now returned to Lochaber by the way he came, without opposition from the men of Athole. Such were the first fruits of the tergiversation of the Marquis of Athole; the more mature products will by and by appear.

* William, fifteenth laird of Blair, was one of the foremost to join the Revolution. He was elected, in consequence, a member of the convention of estates, and of the committee for settling the government. He raised at his own expense, and commanded a troop of horse, but was unfortunately taken prisoner, as above stated. He married Lady Margaret, a younger daughter of William, second duke of Hamilton, and by her had a son, William, his heir. This last—having had a son, who died before his father—was succeeded by his daughter Magdalene, who married Scott, advocate, second son of John Scott of Malenie. The issue of this marriage was a son, William, who took the surname of Blair, and, having no heirs of his own body, settled his estate on the issue of his father, by a second marriage, from which the present family of Blair of Blair is descended.

+ Sir John Maxwell of Pollock; created a baronet in 1682; chosen commissioner for the shire of Renfrew to the convention of estates, in 1689; and afterwards appointed, successively, a privy councillor, a commissioner of the treasury, and Lord Justice Clerk. He married Marian, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Kirkfield, and died without issue.

While Colonel Ramsay, in obedience to the orders of the commander-in-chief, was preparing to march on Inverness, with six hundred men of the Dutch Brigade, it so happened that a fleet of Dutch herring busses appeared in the Frith of Forth, which, being mistaken for a fleet of French transports with troops on board, caused such an alarm in Edinburgh, that the council countermanded Ramsay. After the lapse of three or four days, the mistake was discovered; and, the alarm in consequence subsiding, he was permitted to depart; but, in their confusion, the council most unfortunately omitted to advertise the General of his detention. Ramsay had been furnished by the commander-in-chief with general instructions for his route, but with a discretionary power to regulate his march according to circumstances.

It was calculated that, barring unforeseen interruptions, he might reach Ruthven castle by a certain fixed day; and on that day the General proposed to meet him there. On his arrival in Athole, Ramsay found the people of the country in arms. Their menacing looks gave a sufficient indication of their feelings towards him; but, as they offered no opposition to his march, he proceeded till he came to a place,* not named, within twelve (or, according to the modern measurement, eighteen) miles of Ruthven castle. At this place he rested for the night, and early next morning despatched a letter to the General, advising him of his approach, and of his intention to be at Ruthven castle on the evening of the following day. His apprehensions, however, were so much excited by the increasing demonstrations of hostility on the part of the Athole men, that his resolution gave way. Seeing himself thus surrounded by enemies, in a wild country, to which he was an entire stranger, and not

* Memoirs, page 21.

receiving the additional instructions he had been led to expect, he judged it most prudent to retrace his steps, and return next morning towards Perth.

All this time the General—being, through the negligence of the council, left in ignorance of Ramsay's detention—impatiently expected his arrival every day, and was both surprised and disconcerted, at his non-appearance. He heard of Dundee's irruption into the low country, and of his having been suffered to pass and repass unmolested through Athole, and thence concluded that the marquis had thrown off the mask, and that both his lordship and his people were alike enemies to the government. Being, therefore, seriously apprehensive for Ramsay's safety, he sent messenger after messenger to apprise him of his danger, and with fresh instructions for his guidance. Such, however, was the disturbed state of the country, and so hostile were the people of Athole, that his messengers also were intimidated, and returned with their letters unopened, and without having learned any tidings of Ramsay. The last messenger was intercepted by Ballechin, and detained three days prisoner in Blair castle. His letters were taken from him, and transmitted to Dundee, who was then mustering his forces in Lochaber.

The viscount thus apprised of Ramsay's advance, and of Mackay's probable junction with him, assembled two thousand of his mountaineers, at the head of whom he descended from the hills, leaving orders for one thousand more to follow, in the hope of cutting off either Ramsay or Mackay, or both. He entered the heights of Badenoch, eighteen English miles west of Ruthven castle, on the morning of the 27th May, the day after Ramsay should have reached the castle. Hence it appears that, if this officer had not been

detained in consequence of the false alarm of the Dutch herring busses, he might have been at Inverness before Dundee could have had notice of his approach; and that even, notwithstanding his detention, if he had persevered in his march, he might have reached Ruthven castle on the 26th, the same evening that Dundee, as it afterwards appeared, had quitted Badenoch. On the evening of the 27th, the General received the letters from Ramsay, already mentioned, and so prompt were his measures, that, by six of the clock next morning, Sunday 28th, he was on his march to meet him at Ruthven castle, with six hundred and forty horse and foot, including two hundred of Lord Reay's and Balnagown's men. Half way to Ruthven castle, he was met by a messenger from the commandant, with a letter to inform him of Ramsay's return, and of Dundee's entrance that morning into the heights of Badenoch.

Military history seldom exhibits a situation more perplexing than that in which the General now found himself. If, turning his back on Inverness, he had abandoned that town to its fate, it would soon have fallen into the hands of the enemy, who would have been joined by the Frasers, the Mackenzies, and other contiguous clans, all well affected to his cause. If, on the other hand, he had returned to Inverness, that important post would indeed have been saved, but the southern counties would, in every direction, have been laid open to Dundee, who would thus have been enabled to cut off all communication with the government. This appeared to the General an evil of such magnitude, that he resolved to run all risks to prevent it. Instead, therefore, of proceeding as he intended towards Badenoch, turning to the left, he marched down Strathspey, and, in order to get the start of Dundee, in case he should bend his

steps that way, continued his course for twenty-four hours without a halt. For guides and provisions, he trusted to his inestimable friend the Laird of Grant, whom he had already apprised of the probability of such a visit, either from Ramsay, or from himself.

Having advanced so far a-head of Dundee as to be out of all danger of being intercepted by him, Mackay slackened his pace and moved slowly on, anxiously looking out for the reinforcements he had ordered to join him from the south. The first that appeared were the two troops of Sir Thomas Livingstone's dragoons, left at Dundee under Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone; but these, instead of augmenting his strength, increased his weakness, and proved a source of much additional perplexity.

The second day after the junction of the dragoons, two deserters came in from Dundee's camp, and requested a private audience of the General. This being granted, and all present except Sir Thomas Livingstone ordered to withdraw, they informed him there were traitors in his camp, who carried on a secret correspondence with the enemy; and, being desired to name them, without hesitation mentioned Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone, Captains Murray, Critchton, Livingstone, and some others. This was astounding intelligence to the General; but he was not altogether unprepared for it, having already begun to entertain some doubts of the fidelity of these officers. Affecting, however, to be incredulous, he told the deserters he believed they were spies, sent by Lord Dundee to deceive him; and that, if his suspicions proved well founded, they should assuredly suffer the punishment of spies; but, if otherwise, they should be suitably rewarded. They replied by repeating their former assertion, adding, that they had

been in private communication with the Lairds of Blair and Pollock, prisoners in Dundee's camp, who specially charged them to warn the General of his danger, in case that, trusting to the fidelity of these men, he should engage the enemy. Having ordered them into confinement until the truth or falsehood of their statements could be ascertained, he held a conference with Sir Thomas Livingstone and Major Mackay, the only officers of the regiment on whose fidelity he could rely; and the result was by no means calculated to allay his apprehensions. In his own mind he had no doubt of the guilt of the accused officers; but, as the evidence might not prove sufficient to insure conviction before a court-martial, and as, moreover, he doubted the prudence of arresting them in the present weak state of his force, he resolved to defer that critical step till he received his expected reinforcements.

Dundee found, on entering Badenoch, that he had missed his prey; Ramsay and Mackay having moved away in different directions. He determined, however, to pursue the latter, hoping to overwhelm him by superior numbers. Ruthven castle lay in his way; and, being garrisoned by a young officer, Captain Forbes, with only sixty men of Grant's regiment, in want of provisions, Dundee took it after a slight resistance, and ordered it to be burnt. Forbes having stipulated for the liberty of himself and his men, was proceeding to the General's camp, when he was met by two troopers, who challenged him with *qui vive?* and being answered *vive le roi Guillaume*, they replied that they were sent by General Mackay to get intelligence of Lord Dundee. Forbes pointed out the situation of Dundee's camp, and cautioned them against falling into the hands of his stragglers, who were at no

great distance; but they, notwithstanding his caution, pursued their course. The circumstance appearing strange to Forbes, he mentioned it, while at dinner, to the General, who immediately concluded these must be some of the traitors alluded to by the deserters. This, on inquiry, proved to be the fact.

The two camps being now within a few miles of each other, the General watched the motions of the enemy with double care, availing himself, for this purpose, of the extraordinary means which Grant's friendship and zeal for the service placed at his disposal. Every two hours, trusty messengers were despatched to bring him intelligence, some of whom came in this evening with the report that Dundee was in motion towards him. The General, immediately calling the commanding officers, ordered them to get their respective regiments under arms, and prepare to resume their march. It could not be disguised that this would be to retreat before the enemy; but the safety of the army rendered it necessary; for, to risk an action with such a disparity of numbers, the maxims of war and the ordinary rules of prudence would alike condemn. To the Laird of Grant he expressed his deep regret that circumstances compelled him to leave his country exposed to the ravages of the enemy, but added, that he hoped to return in a very few days with reinforcements, and, in the meantime, recommended him to give orders to his people to remove their cattle and every article of food to the low country. The patriotic and noble minded chief, with a spirit worthy of his high station, replied, "that, though all his interest should be lost thereby, he would not wish the General to make a single step to the prejudice of their majesties' service."

As the General did not yet judge it prudent to make known his suspicion of the treachery of the dragoons, and as he had hitherto caused them to march in front and rear of the line, he would not revoke that order, but made such a disposition of the whole as placed the suspected officers constantly under the eyes of officers on whose fidelity he could rely. That the enemy might not discover the direction he took, the General delayed his march till night. He had three ways, by either of which he could retire to avoid an engagement;—one towards Inverness; another through Strathdon, which was nearer by twelve miles, to join his succours, than the third, namely that by Glenlivet: "by which," says the General,* "if Dundee had understood the country and his trade, to have informed himself exactly thereof, he might have gained betwixt our (the General's) party and the regiments which we expected from the south," and put the General to a hard pull; who, though he perceived the feasibility of such an accident, durst not resolve to march through an enemy's country—all papists, with an enemy four times his number in his rear. He began his march in the dusk of the evening, "and so," to use his own words, "committing all to the providence of God (against whom there is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel, can succeed), he took his way down the river, with hungry horse and men, though resolute, particularly Colchester's horse, and the two hundred fusileers, upon whom he relied most; and, marching by the house of Grant of Balindalloch, who was himself with Dundee, made no halt till he came to Balveny, where he was forced to settle himself till he should get some bread for his

* Memoirs, p. 32.

men and oats for his horse. There, having met with Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, with the country foot, he furnished him with men to send out for intelligence; of whom he despatched some by the way he came, and others by the way by which he apprehended that Dundee would labour to cut him off from his succours. They came in next morning with news that Dundee had not left Strathspey as yet: whereat the General, being very well satisfied, sent, nevertheless, presently again others out the same way; and ordered a party of twelve dragoons to be sent out by the way he had marched off, being in the greatest impatience to have in some provisions and oats; which came at last about five of the clock at night. The General seeing none of those he had sent in the morning return, notwithstanding both officers and soldiers grumbled, he would not stay till they had given their horse corn and the soldiers got some bread baked. He marched the party off in the same order he had done the day before."

After some further details, the General goes on to say, "that he continued his march till he had passed the river of Bogie, where he was necessitated to come to a halt, at four of the clock next morning—neither horse nor foot being able to march farther, and where he caused distribute the oats and oatmeal which he had got up in his former camp,—and let the horse feed upon a spot of corn in the men's hands."* Here he learned that his reinforcements would join him in the course of the day, and, therefore, after two hours' rest, proceeding three miles farther to meet them, he took post at the foot of the Suy hill, where he expected his succours, and had a view,

* Memoirs, p. 34.

fully two miles in every direction by which the enemy could approach.

All this time, as it afterwards appeared, Dundee was ignorant that Mackay expected reinforcements—a circumstance which seems strange, considering his high military character, and that his march lay through the country of the Gordons, and other clans attached to King James and the popish interest: "but," as the General observes, "God, who overrules all the actions of his creatures, preserved singularly that small handful of men, beyond all expectation, considering the strength of the enemy, and that, of six hundred men, two hundred (in which consisted our greatest advantage, were they trusty to the service) were to be considered as enemies. For, in the first place, had Dundee accepted of it, the General had engaged in action with him, in all appearance, the first day he came near, having then opinion of the dragoons that they would fight as haply he had done, had Dundee attacked him at Culnakill, before the spies discovered the plot of the dragoons to him. In this case, he had certainly, without a miracle, been beat, which would be naturally of sad consequence to the government. Whereby we should also learn to be modest when it pleaseth God to bless the service in our hands, which the most experienced and clear-sighted in their profession will have reason to do, if they examine themselves impartially, either as to their judgment, diligence, and resolution, wherein they shall find enough to humble them in themselves, and move them to give the glory to God."*

The General having arrived at the foot of Suy hill, judging himself out of all danger from Dundee, let his

* Memoirs, p. 35.

men repose; and, their stock of provisions being nearly exhausted, sent to request a supply from a house in the neighbourhood, belonging to Lord Forbes. That nobleman, who was well affected to the cause, and whose eldest son, the Master of Forbes, had joined him with fifty horse the preceding day, gave immediate orders for complying with the request; but, before the requisite quantity could be prepared, circumstances induced the General to recommence his march. The regiments anxiously expected at length arrived—Barclay's dragoons at twelve, and Leslie's foot at six of the clock the same day. Thus reinforced, the General immediately resolved to face about and meet his enemy; and, the better to conceal his design, delayed his march till the hour of ten in the evening.

He now proposed to attack the enemy in his turn; and would in all probability have succeeded, had not his traitorous officers despatched two dragoons to give Dundee warning; and these men being found concealed in the woods near the house of Edinglassie, led to further discoveries, which ended in completely establishing the guilt of Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone and the other suspected officers. The General, upon this, ordered them to be arrested, and took the earliest opportunity of sending them prisoners to Edinburgh, to be dealt with according to the pleasure of the government, by which means he was relieved from much disquietude and danger.* The Master

* The traitors afterwards confessed their guilt, but how they were ultimately disposed of cannot be ascertained. A story told by one of them ("Memoirs of Captain Creichton," p. 68), whether true or false, may here be mentioned as indicating the opinion entertained even by his friends, of the savage nature of Dundee. It being reported that some one or more of these criminals were to be executed, Dundee is said to

of Forbes, Edinglassie, and Major Mackay, are mentioned by him as having been mainly instrumental in the final detection of the plot.

The tables were now turned on the jacobite general; for, on the day after that on which the event just mentioned took place, Mackay advanced to Balveny, and the following day to Culnakill, from whence he had retreated five days before. Here, having got notice that a body of the enemy, in number about five hundred, had assembled on the opposite side of the Spey, he ordered Sir Thomas Livingstone with a party, consisting of his own and Barclay's dragoons, to attack them. This service Sir Thomas, assisted by Colonel Hauly and Major Mackay, promptly performed; killing nearly one hundred, and would have cut off the whole, but for a mistake of his adjutant, in prematurely giving the alarm. Livingstone's dragoons behaved with the greatest gallantry on this occasion, as if desirous to wipe off the disgrace they had incurred in the late affair.

Colonel Ramsay having, as has been stated, returned to Perth, wrote to the council, assigning his reasons for that step, and requesting fresh instructions. In reply, he was directed to make another attempt to join the commander-in-chief; and to enable him to do so, one hundred of Barclay's dragoons, with two hundred of Leven's newly raised regiment (the twenty-fifth), and one hundred of Hastings' (the thirteenth foot), were ordered to put themselves under his command; and with this force, in addition to his original detachment of six hundred men, he made

have written to the council, that if a hair of their heads were touched, he would cut the Lairds of Blair and Pollock, joint by joint, and send their limbs in hampers to the council.

his way without difficulty through Athole and Badenoch to Inverness. On this, as on a former occasion, the council committed an error, in issuing orders to Ramsay without communication with the General; not perhaps from intentional disrespect, but from a want of attention to that combination and unity of design so essential to the success of military enterprise, and yet so often lost sight of by civil authorities when they interfere with military commanders.

The General remarks,* that if he had been apprised in due time of this march, he might have sent Ramsay such additional instructions as would have made it difficult for Dundee to disembarrass himself of both, and would have caused a diversion in favour of the General, then struggling with so many difficulties in Strathspey. Now, however, it afforded him great satisfaction to have such an addition to his strength, as it would enable him to act with greater vigour and effect against the enemy. He accordingly never quitted the pursuit of Dundee, till he had chased him from the low country, and compelled him to take refuge in the wilds of Lochaber.

Ruthven castle, as mentioned in its place, having been burnt by order of Dundee, the General now caused it to be repaired, judging that, from its position, almost in the heart of Badenoch, it was particularly well adapted for a garrison. He gave the command to a cousin of his own, Captain Hugh Mackay, an active and intelligent young man, who had proved useful to him during his late marches. From Ruthven he proceeded to Inverness, where he found all quiet; the neighbouring disaffected clans having been so overawed by the presence of the Sutherland and Ross men, stationed

* Memoirs, p. 39.

there to support the well-affected inhabitants, that nothing was attempted against the peace of the town.

Some of the chiefs made general and vague professions of goodwill to the service of their majesties, but none came forward with a specific declaration of their allegiance. Lord Lovat, following the selfish and ambiguous policy of his father-in-law, the Marquis of Athole, kept aloof, and his people refused to join without positive orders from their chief. The Earl of Seaforth acted a similar part. Viscount Tarbat boasted to the General, both in London and Edinburgh, of his great influence with his countrymen, those especially of the clan Mackenzie, assuring him, "'that though Seaforth should come to his own country, and among his friends, he (Tarbat) would overturn in eight days more than the Earl could advance in six weeks;' yet he proved as backward as Seaforth or any other of the clan. And though Redcastle, Coul, and others of the name of Mackenzie came, they fell not on final methods, but protested a great deal of affection for the cause."* To be a check on their proceedings, the General placed a garrison of one hundred Mackays in Brahan castle, the seat of the Earl of Seaforth, and an equal number of Rosses in Castleleod, the mansion of Viscount Tarbat, both places of strength, and advantageously situated for watching the motions of the disaffected.

The General remained at Inverness a fortnight, during which he bestowed much consideration on the state of the Highlands. He perceived the impossibility of subduing them by the ordinary methods, in consequence of the bogs and morasses, the rugged mountains and rapid rivers,

* Memoirs, pp. 25 and 237.

by which the country was intersected. It therefore occurred to him that the most effectual, if not the only, way to accomplish the desired object, was to imitate the example of Cromwell, and erect a fort at some central point, to overawe the mountaineers and prevent their incursions into the low country, holding out to them inducements to remain at home, and guaranteeing, on condition of their doing so, the security of their possessions. Inverlochy appearing to him the situation best adapted for this purpose, he drew up a detailed plan for the erection of a fortress there. He transmitted it to the Duke of Hamilton, the king's commissioner to parliament, requesting his grace to lay it before the council, that, if approved, immediate measures might be taken to carry it into execution so soon as he should return to Edinburgh.

The regiments of Lord Strathnaver and the Laird of Grant were by this time nearly complete in point of numbers; but, being undisciplined, and without clothing or arms, the General could not rely on them alone for the security of the northern shires. All beyond the Spey, with the exception of the districts belonging to the Lords Sutherland and Reay, and to the Lairds of Grant and Balnagown, were either wholly disaffected or lukewarm in their attachment to the present government. He therefore deemed it prudent to leave a strong force at Inverness, under the command of Sir Thomas Livingstone,* with authority to draw whatever succours he might require from Sutherland and the well-affected part of Ross-shire.

* The troops left at Inverness were Sir T. Livingstone's dragoons, Sir J. Leslie's foot, with three hundred of Hastings' and Leven's, and the two companies, one hundred men each, of Lord Reay's and Balnagown's Highlanders.

Having now the satisfaction to see the north in a state of comparative security, and his speedy return to the metropolis being urged by the Duke of Hamilton and the council, he proceeded towards Edinburgh from Inverness on the 20th of June, with the six hundred Dutch foot, and some horse and dragoons.

The Earl of Mar having declared his adhesion to the new government, the General, in virtue of his authority as commander-in-chief, some time before his departure from Edinburgh, directed that nobleman—as he had already directed the Marquis of Athole and Laird of Grant—to take measures for guarding the passes of his country against Dundee. The earl dying soon after, and his son being a minor, the administration of his affairs fell into the hands of persons who encouraged his people in their opposition to the new government. As Braemar house, the family seat, was situated far back, and might be said to cover the shire of Aberdeen, the General considered that it would be a fit station for a garrison, and sent a detachment, consisting of one hundred horse and dragoons, and sixty foot, with a stock of provisions, to take possession of it. He gave the commanding officer written orders, so to regulate his march as to arrive at the house about midnight, leaving the foot to follow; and, after posting twenty dragoons there, to proceed directly three miles further on, to Inverey house, in which a number of Dundee's officers were said to be hospitably entertained by Farquharson, laird of that place.

This enterprise, so judiciously planned, was frustrated by disobedience of orders, followed by egregious blundering and mismanagement, on the part of those intrusted with its execution. They arrived in good time at the point of

destination, but, instead of proceeding, according to their instructions, immediately to Inverey, they lingered at Braemar house to refresh their horses; and thus, before reaching their ultimate point, were surprised by day-light, and missed their prey. Inverey and his guests having escaped in their shirts to a neighbouring wood, the assailants returned to the house of Braemar, where they most unaccountably laid themselves down quietly to sleep about the doors—leaving their horses to graze in the fields. While they were thus indulging in repose, Inverey, not finding himself pursued, and knowing the localities, watched his opportunity, ascended some rocks behind the house, remarkable for reverberating sounds, and fired off a few musket shots, which, re-echoing from rock to rock, roused the men from their slumbers, and frightened their horses. Retreating in confusion towards the foot, they speedily disappeared; and Inverey, that he might not be again annoyed by a hostile garrison in his neighbourhood, set fire to Braemar house, and reduced it to ashes.

The General, meanwhile, was proceeding towards the south with the main body of the detachment, and had got some miles in advance, when he was overtaken by an express, with tidings of the disgraceful proceedings just related. Military men can best estimate the disappointment and mortification they excited in his breast. On public and private grounds, he felt the most intense anxiety to reach the metropolis without delay. The council urged his return —the Inverlochy project required immediate attention—he had but a day's bread for his detachment—and he himself was so exhausted with fatigue of body and anxiety of mind that it was with difficulty he could keep his seat on horseback. It is at such moments that the influence of religion

on the character is most clearly manifested; and General Mackay's religion was not of the inoperative kind; it pervaded the whole man, subdued a temper naturally warm and impetuous, and kept his passions under due restraint.

Without betraying any symptoms of irritation, he made a halt, and turned aside to redress this little disorder, as he terms it, foreseeing that the enemy would magnify it into an affair of great importance. The person chiefly to blame was the senior officer of the detachment, who was an English captain of dragoons, and a stranger; the next in command was that excellent youth, the Master of Forbes, who had so often signalized his zeal for the service. The General, therefore, judged this not a fit season to examine too minutely the causes of the failure, and resolved to pass it over in silence for the present. He commenced his retrograde march in the afternoon, continued it all night, and at ten next morning joined the sixty foot he had destined for the garrison of Braemar house, together with the horse and dragoons; and as an act of severe, but just and necessary retaliation, burnt the house of Inverey. He then descended Dee side to Abergeldie, and placed a garrison there of seventy-two men, "which small number," he observes, "kept a thousand from doing any considerable prejudice to the government."

The General arrived at Edinburgh about the 1st of July, and found that the castle had, on the 13th of the preceding month, been surrendered by the Duke of Gordon to Major-General Sir John Lanier. Previously to the departure of the commander-in-chief for the north, the convention had come to the bold and decisive vote of forfeiture against King James, and settled the crown on William and Mary; whose authority was henceforth

universally acknowledged in the southern half of the kingdom. In the north, it met with opposition, which, however, by the blessing of God on the honest and indefatigable exertions of Mackay, was so far overcome in the north-eastern shires, that no further open resistance was to be apprehended in that quarter.

The convention was now turned into a parliament, which ratified its own proceedings in its character of convention, and nothing seemed wanting to complete the establishment of the new sovereigns but the expulsion of Dundee from the north-west Highlands; to the accomplishment of which object the General directed all the energies of his mind. The demon of discord broke out in the parliament, even among friends to the revolution; and in the council there were found traitors, who revealed to the enemy its most secret deliberations. Hence the hands of government were paralyzed, and tardiness, indecision, and imbecility, characterized its measures. The Inverlochy project, which the General communicated from Inverness to the Duke of Hamilton and the council, seemed to meet with their approbation, and yet the necessary preparations for carrying it into execution, which he expected to find completed on his return to the metropolis, were scarcely begun. Instead, therefore, of immediately commencing his march towards the Highlands, as he proposed, he was detained, for want of the requisite equipments, a prisoner, as it were, during three weeks, in Edinburgh; while, in the meantime, he had the mortification to learn that Dundee expected shortly to be joined by five hundred auxiliaries from Ireland, and would in all probability soon invade the low country.

Under these circumstances, the General judged it pru-

dent to abandon all thoughts of Inverlochy for that season, and limit his views to watching the motions of Dundee and checking his further progress towards the south, in the hope of being able to accomplish his ulterior objects the following year. It had been evident for some time that the Marquis of Athole had falsified his engagements to the General, and that Ballechin, his chamberlain, in still retaining forcible possession of Blair castle (the key of the Highlands) acted either by positive orders from his lord, or with his connivance. On this account, the General's first object was to endeavour to wrest that fortress out of the hands of Ballechin, and place a garrison there, as a barrier against Dundee.

Having about this time learned from Lord Murray that Ballechin had supplanted him in all influence and authority over his father's vassals, and even refused him access to his father's house, the General earnestly recommended to his lordship to proceed to Blair without delay, and make one vigorous effort more to dislodge Ballechin, or at all events to prevent the people of Athole from openly declaring for Dundee; assuring him that he should himself soon follow with his whole force. Murray accordingly repaired to Athole, but found Ballechin immoveably established in the castle, and therefore, to prevent its being furnished with supplies, blockaded it with two or three hundred men, whom he gained over to his side. The expulsion of Ballechin appeared to the General an object of such importance, that he would have undertaken it in person, had he not reason to fear that his absence from the council-board, at the so critical a juncture, might risk the failure of his whole design. He therefore resolved not to stir from Edinburgh, till he should obtain

from the council a supply of stores and provisions sufficient at least for the commencement of his expedition.

At length he succeeded, by dint of perseverance and personal exertion, and forwarded the supplies thus obtained to Perth, which he fixed on as the place of general rendezvous. There, also, he ordered the largest force that could be spared from other duties to assemble, and followed it himself, by the way of Stirling, on the 22d of July, to visit the castle, which he had not yet seen, and inspect the troops quartered in the neighbourhood. From Stirling he wrote, under date of the 24th July, to Lord Melville, secretary of state for Scotland, resident in London, in these terms:—"I am thus far towards the Highlands; it is not an easy commission the King has given me—to keep a kingdom peaceable, when there is so much division even betwixt such as love the present government, that it hinders the necessary expedition of those things which, in my judgment, press most. I am afraid to be straitened for provisions in this expedition; therefore, if I cannot effectuate what I project, with God's assistance (upon whose providence I rest more than any direction or conduct of mine), it shall not be my fault; for I am determined, God willing, not to spare my pains nor my life (which is all I have to venture) for the advancement of so just a cause."

He found at Stirling two troops of horse and four of dragoons, which he ordered to follow him to Perth with all possible speed. Arriving at the latter town on the evening of the 24th, he devoted the following day to reviewing the troops stationed in that vicinity, and destined for his expedition.

It is worthy of remark, that the historians of this eventful period, from Balcarras down even to our own

times, are for the most part either avowed jacobites, or, to say the least, so tinctured with jacobite principles or prejudices, as unconsciously, perhaps, to give a colouring to their narratives injurious to the military character of General Mackay. This remark is particularly applicable to their exaggerated statements of his numbers in the memorable battle of Killiecrankie, of which we are now to attempt a description.

By some writers his numbers are stated at six thousand, and by none under four thousand men. The most authentic, indeed the only authentic statement we have of the amount of his force, is derived from the General himself, whose correctness will not be questioned. He says expressly* that he took with him "six battalions of foot, making at the most three thousand men, with four troops of horse and as many of dragoons, new levies for that expedition."† He afterwards specifies the battalions of

* Memoirs, p. 46.

† It is impossible not to feel some surprise that, with this authentic narrative before him, and without producing any evidence to invalidate it, so respectable a writer as the late gallant and philanthropic Major-General Stewart of Garth, should reckon Mackay's force at NINE battalions of infantry, and TWO REGIMENTS of horse. See "Sketches," vol. i., p. 67. In the former he includes the Scottish fusileers (now the 21st) and Sir James Leslie's (the 15th.) General Mackay mentions two hundred fusileers, picked men from the Dutch Brigade, whom he placed on a rising ground, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, and these General Stewart inadvertently takes for the Scottish fusileer regiment, which is never mentioned from one end of Mackay's Memoirs to the other, and which consequently could not have been in this action. Sir James Leslie's (the 15th), he expressly says (Memoirs, p. 40), were left with Sir Thomas Livingstone at Inverness. The TWO REGIMENTS of horse mentioned by General Stewart, it is evident from what has already been stated, were no other than Annandale's and Belhaven's TROOPS, not regiments of horse.

foot and troops of horse he had with him,* viz., his own, Balfour's, and Ramsay's regiment, all Dutch foot; Hastings' (the 13th), an English regiment; Leven's† (the 25th) and Kenmore's, both newly raised and incomplete. The troops of horse were Annandale's and Belhaven's; the other two, with the four troops of dragoons ordered to follow from Stirling, did not overtake him. The two Scottish regiments of foot, as well as the horse, were not only new levies, but were also commanded by noblemen and gentlemen wholly destitute of military experience, and selected for their respective commands solely on account of their power of raising men. Little more, therefore, than one half of the whole number could with any propriety be said to be disciplined, though by these writers they are all represented as veteran troops.

The accounts the General received at Perth of Dundee's growing numbers, filled him with perplexity, which was increased by the non-arrival of the six troops ordered to follow him from Stirling. He now experienced a renewal of those difficulties by which he had been so much harassed a few weeks before on his northern campaign, and saw himself reduced to a dilemma which left him but a choice of evils. A due proportion of cavalry he deemed essential to the success of his enterprise; and in this force he was weak, having with him only two troops of horse, and these raw and inefficient. On the one hand, therefore, if he marched on directly without waiting for his reinforcements, he must expect to be greatly outnumbered in horse by the enemy. If, on the other, he waited for

* Page 47.

† Of Leven's and Hastings' he left three hundred at Inverness. Memoirs, p. 40.

the junction of the six troops from Stirling, Dundee would enter, without opposition, the country of Athole, where he would speedily be joined by reinforcements, both of horse and foot, from Angus and Mearns and all the disaffected districts in the south. To obviate such tremendous evils, he judged it to be his paramount duty to risk a great deal, and therefore resolved to proceed towards Athole without delay. His cause was that of religion, of liberty, and of his oppressed country, in behalf of which he doubted not the providence of God would ultimately interpose.

Next day, Friday the 26th July, the General marched with his whole force to Dunkeld, and rested there for the night, after sending back strict orders to Perth that the six troops from Stirling should follow him with increased speed. At midnight, he received an express from Lord Murray, communicating intelligence of the arrival of part of Dundee's force at Blair that morning, and of his having himself, in consequence, been obliged to raise the blockade of the castle, and retreat towards the pass of Killiecrankie, at the upper end of which he left some of his adherents to guard the pass and keep it clear. The General, though much pleased with this proof of Murray's zeal and attention to the service, had no confidence in his guards, and therefore immediately detached Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, with two hundred fusileers, picked men from the Dutch regiments, to strengthen, or replace them, according to circumstances. At day-break, on Saturday the 27th July, he resumed his ill-fated march towards the pass, and a little below it met with Murray, who accounted for the small retinue with which he was attended, by stating that his few adherents followed the rest of the country people to the hills with their cattle, according to the custom

of the country on the approach of hostile armies. With this explanation the General was satisfied, having never expected more from Murray than that he should prevent his people from openly joining the standard of Dundee. Some of the most zealous friends of government about Edinburgh doubted the fidelity of this young lord, suspecting him to be in league with his father; but the General, though at first he lent an ear to these suspicions, was now convinced of their being groundless, and lost no opportunity of doing justice to Murray's good faith.

At ten o'clock in the morning Mackay reached the lower end of the pass; when, having come to a halt, he despatched the lieutenant-colonel of Leven's regiment, with two hundred men, to reinforce Lauder, with orders to send back intelligence of the enemy's movements. After giving his men two hours for refreshment, and receiving a report from Lauder that the pass was clear, he recommenced his march at twelve, and entered the pass, his troops being disposed in the following order, viz.: Balfour's, Ramsay's, and Kenmore's battalions first; then Belhaven's troop of horse, followed by Leven's regiment, and the General's own, commanded by his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel James Mackay; next came the baggage-horses, about one thousand two hundred in number; last of all, Annandale's troop of horse, commanded in his lordship's absence by a young lieutenant; and Hastings' foot, which had been left for the protection of the baggage, brought up the rear. The pass extended from two to three English miles in length along the east bank of the river Garry, and the road was extremely narrow, confined between a range of craggy precipices on one hand, and on the other the river tumbled down from rock to rock, on a level, for the most part,

considerably lower than the road. A handful of men, provided with a sufficiency of stones, and stationed at intervals on the summits of these precipices, might with ease impede the progress of an army. On this account, some have wondered that a commander so vigilant and active as Dundee should have neglected this method of annoying his enemy. Whether he had it in his power will hereafter come under consideration.

The General, having met with no opposition in his progress through the pass, and having seen his rear fairly out of it, rode forward to examine the ground beyond it, and, if within reach, to view the position of the enemy. But, before proceeding further with the movements on the side of Mackay, it will be proper that we return to Dundee, who, it will be remembered, when driven from the low country, betook himself for the third time to the wilds of Lochaber. There he had remained ever since, preparing for another descent, with an increased force, to the Lowlands, and anxiously looking for his promised succours from Ireland. These at length arrived, to the number of five hundred, under the command of Brigadier-General Cannon. He had taken the field in the previous campaign with only two thousand Highlanders, but with the hope of being followed by one thousand more. On the present occasion, after having exhausted all his powers of persuasion on the Lochaber men, he could prevail on no more than the original number of two thousand to turn out in his favour. Whatever might be said of the attachment of the Highland gentry to the cause of King James, Dundee could scarcely now disguise from himself the fact, that the lower ranks of the Gael were influenced by the sordid motive of gain, and that if he found his popularity

somewhat abated, it was owing to his endeavours to restrain their plundering propensity. Be this as it may, he quitted the country, as has been stated, at the head of only two thousand Highlanders and five hundred Irish, all equally animated with the hope of rioting on the spoils of the Lowlanders.

The Lairds of Blair and Pollock—the two unfortunate gentlemen mentioned as having been carried about in an ungenerous triumph by Dundee during the whole of the last campaign—were still detained in custody. Both were men of high birth and connections, both were married, and had families at home; yet they were dragged about like felons, in this ignominious manner, for no other reason than that they served with fidelity a sovereign to whom they had sworn allegiance. Tired of entertaining them any longer, either as prisoners or guests, Dundee, before his final departure from Lochaber, sent them to Doward castle, in the island of Mull, where they were treated with such barbarity, that Blair died in consequence, a few weeks afterwards; Pollock did not recover his liberty until King William's government was finally established.

In Badenoch, Dundee hoped to have been joined by the Laird of Clunie, chief of the Macphersons, and by some minor chiefs in that neighbourhood, who had been restrained, by their fear only, from declaring in his favour; and he had also some hopes of assistance from the more powerful but distant clans of Fraser and Mackenzie. Such, however, was the effect of the garrisons planted at Inverness and Ruthven castle, and of the other judicious measures adopted by Mackay before his departure from this country—that none of these clans, great or small, ventured,

from this period, to join Dundee, or give further trouble to the government. After lingering for some days to no purpose in Badenoch, the viscount lost all patience, and proceeded on his march towards Blair castle. He arrived there with his main body on the same morning (27th July), and from circumstances it is probable about the very hour that Mackay was entering the pass of Killiecrankie. His army consisted of the Irish Brigade, and of Macdonalds, Stewarts, Camerons, and Macleans, together with stragglers from various other clans. The privates were, as already observed, men of predatory habits, whom, as they served without regular pay, it was not only difficult, but perhaps even unreasonable, to restrain from plundering for a subsistence; and who, without such licence, could not be kept together for any length of time. Of the officers, many were gentlemen of birth and education; some had seen service on the continent; a few even in the Scottish Brigade; and they were in general men of high military spirit, who joined Dundee from pure affection to his cause, and from a mistaken principle of loyalty to a prince whom, though he had violated the fundamental laws and endeavoured to subvert the established religion and liberties of their country, they, nevertheless, considered their legitimate sovereign.

Having learned, at Blair, that Mackay had sent an advanced party, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, to guard the entrance to the pass, Dundee detached Sir Alexander Maclean, with four hundred men, to oppose them: but, being afterwards informed that Mackay had entered the pass with his whole force, he judged it expedient to proceed thither himself, with his main body. Instead, however, of following the direct road from Blair

castle, he turned to the left at Glen Tilt, and making a detour round the hill behind Lude castle, went on, gradually ascending, till he gained an elevated position near Urrard house, from whence he perceived Mackay preparing for battle on a piece of level ground below. Dundee, after surveying the enemy's lines, drew up his men in the following order:—On the right, he placed Sir John Maclean with his regiment of two battalions; on the left, Sir John Macdonald's regiment, commanded by his son, together with Sir George Berkley. The main body was composed of four battalions, being the clans of Lochiel, Glengarry, and Clanronald, respectively, with the Irish regiment, and a troop of horse commanded by Sir William Wallace. Besides these, Dundee had his own original body of horse, which, although recruited on his irruption from Lochaber into the low country, must by this time have been much reduced by hard service and want of forage. He had also a number of Highland gentlemen, well mounted and thoroughly acquainted with cavalry service.

Mackay having, as already mentioned, cleared the pass, halted with the greater part of his force on a low field near the river, till the rest came up. He despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder with the two hundred fusileers to an eminence in front, to watch the motions of the enemy, while he himself examined the intermediate ground and chose the field of battle. Lauder reported that small parties of the enemy were advancing by the direct road from Blair, but that Dundee, with the main body, had taken a sweep round the hill, and might be expected shortly to appear on the heights to the right. This coinciding with his own observations, the General became apprehensive that, if he continued on the haugh or flat

below, the elevated position of the Highlanders might enable them to force his men over the bank into the river, in the heat and confusion of battle. To prevent this, he removed his men to a higher piece of ground, of sufficient extent to admit of their being ranged in order of battle, and which, after due examination, he judged "fair enough to receive, though not to attack the enemy on it." He ordered every battalion to form, by what he calls a "*quart de conversion*" to the right, upon the ground on which they stood, and ascend the hill without changing their order of march. Having seen the five battalions advance up the hill before his face, he ordered Brigadier Balfour's, as the leading battalion, to take post to the left, and the rest in the order already mentioned. He then made a short speech to his men, addressing each battalion in terms suited to their respective composition and character, and earnestly recommended to all to stand firm in their ranks, assuring them that, if they did so, they should soon see the Highlanders turn their backs, but if, on the contrary, they suffered their line to be broken, they were undone; and concluded with a few short and appropriate religious admonitions to all. The enemy, from their elevated position, having a full view of the General as he moved along the line, fired several running shots, which missed him, but wounded many by his side. In order to get a surer aim, they took possession of some houses on the brow of the hill, and in front of their left wing, which induced the General to direct his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, to detach a captain with some firelocks to dislodge them. The officer selected by the Lietenant-colonel for this service, was his nephew, Captain the Honourable Robert Mackay, who accordingly executed it with

great promptitude and gallantry, killing or wounding some, and chasing the rest back to the main body. The General dreaded a night attack, and still more a night retreat, one-third of his men being young soldiers, who had never seen the face of an enemy in the field, and even the disciplined portion being unaccustomed to the Highland mode of fighting. He therefore felt anxious to bring on the action with the daylight, and hoped Captain Mackay's skirmish would have this effect; in which being disappointed, he tried various expedients to provoke the enemy to fight, but all in vain; Dundee was not to be diverted from his purpose, which was evidently to spin out the time till near sunset. During two tedious hours of a bright summer evening, both armies stood still, looking at each other. It was not, therefore, without the most intense anxiety, that Mackay beheld the sun sinking towards the horizon; and just as this feeling was wound up to its highest pitch, about half an hour before sunset, he perceived the Highlanders moving slowly down the hill, barefooted, and stripped to their shirts. As they descended they quickened their pace, at the same time uttering a yell,

"So loud and dread,
That ne'er were sounds so full of woe."

Being drawn up in clans, with little attention to order or regularity, their fire made but a slight impression on Mackay's men, who, marshalled in line, according to the strictest rules of discipline then practised, reserved their fire till within a few paces of the enemy, when they poured it into his breast. By discharging in platoons, they were enabled to take a steady aim, and thus their fire told with dreadful effect on the thick and disorderly masses opposed to them.

At the commencement of the engagement, and for some minutes after (for the whole lasted but a few minutes), the advantage was at least six to one on the side of Mackay; but when the Highlanders, after discharging their pieces, threw them away, according to custom, and drew their broad-swords, they took ample revenge. The most robust among them using the two-handed sword, gave what further impetus a savage ferocity could add to the force of this destructive weapon. They were down upon Mackay's men before these had time, after a discharge, to fix their bayonets, which, at that period, were awkwardly attached to the musket. To remedy this defect, the General invented a method,* not materially different from that still in use, which saves time, and enables the soldier to fire with his bayonet fixed.

Marvellous tales of the great muscular strength and personal prowess of the Highlanders, more resembling the fabulous exploits of the heroes and demigods of antiquity than the sober realities of history, have been handed down to us by the Jacobite writers of the period. Limbs lopped off, heads cleft in two, and bodies cut asunder by a single stroke of the tremendous two-handed sword, are among the deeds recorded of this day. If we reject such exaggerations as utterly unworthy of credit, enough will still remain to establish the extraordinary achievements of Highlanders in the field of battle, as exemplified on this occasion. The novelty of their dress, or undress, their ferocious aspect, and the hideous yell with which they advanced, struck Mackay's troops with such a sudden panic, as even the oldest soldier among them could not withstand. In a few minutes they fell into confusion,

* Memoirs, p. 52.

and gave way; and the line, according to the General's prediction, once broken, decided the fate of the day.

Owing to some unexplained cause, the veteran Balfour's battalion did not fire a shot, and but one half of Ramsay's was engaged. The brunt of the action fell on the centre and right wing, more especially on Mackay's own battalion, against which a dead set seemed to have been made by the Macdonalds, some of whom had formerly served with them in Holland. On this occasion the Macdonalds formed the left wing of the enemy, and appear to have felt a high degree of excitement on finding themselves opposed to their ancient comrades, who, on their part, were not wanting in a corresponding emotion; and both, therefore, exerted themselves to the utmost. By the fire of Mackay's regiment, Dundee and several of the principal gentlemen of the name of Macdonald were killed, according to the accounts of their own party.* Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, deserted by his men, was cut down by the merciless broad-sword, while endeavouring to rally them, in which he was nobly seconded by his young nephew, Captain the Honourable Robert Mackay. Besides the lieutenant-colonel, two captains and five subalterns of the Mackay regiment were killed, and two captains left wounded on the field. Balfour was also abandoned by his men, and slain. The lieutenant-colonel of Kenmore's, a captain of Ramsay's, and many other officers not named, shared the same fate. The centre division signalized its gallantry; and its youthful commander, the Earl of Leven, proved himself a worthy descendant of the veteran Leslie. Hastings, also, on the right wing, sustained the reputation

* Memoirs, p. 265.

of the English lion, but all to no purpose—so far had the panic extended.

The General observing the foot give way, ordered Belhaven's and Annandale's horse to advance, and take the enemy in flank, the one on the left, the other on the right. Belhaven promptly obeyed, but had scarcely brought his men to the front of the line, in order to wheel to the left flank, when they also began to give way, and turned about. Their example was speedily followed by Kenmore's, and one half of Leven's battalion, as well as by Annandale's troop on the right. The General, perceiving that the cavalry came to a stand, and fired in confusion, and that the foot were falling away from him, spurred his charger into the thickest ranks of the enemy, hoping the cavalry would be piqued to follow his example. All was without effect—he was supported only by one of his servants,* whose horse was shot under him in advancing. Wherever he came, though alone, the enemy made way before him; on which he remarks, "that, if he had but fifty resolute horse such as Colchester's with him, he had certainly, by all human appearance, recovered the day.†

Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, who had been posted with two hundred men, the flower of the army, advantageously on a rising ground in front, proved as useless as the rest; whether through his own fault, or that of his men, does not appear; for the General could not scrutinize too minutely the failures of the day, as they were unfortunately too many in number. "Resolution and presence of mind in battle," he observes,‡ "being certainly a sin-

* The same who afterwards carried him off the field at Steinkirk.

† Memoirs, p. 56. ‡ Memoirs, p. 56.

gular mercy of God, he denieth and giveth it when and to whom he will; for there are seasons and occasions that the most firm and stout-hearted do quake and shake for fear. As Solomon saith, 'The wicked flee when none pursueth, but the righteous is bold as a lion;' and though all sincere Christians be not resolute, it is because it is not their vocation; for I dare be bold to affirm, that no truly sincere Christian, trusting in God for strength and support, going about his lawful calling, shall be forsaken of him, whether military, civil, or ecclesiastic: not that sure victory shall always attend good men, or that they shall always escape with their lives; for experience doth teach the contrary; but that God, upon whom they cast their burdens and care, shall so care for them, that they shall be preserved from shame and confusion; and that they have His promises (by whom are the issues against death, and innumerable means inconceivable to us—to redress the disorders of our affairs) to support their hope and mind in the greatest difficulties." And the General confessed that, immediately upon this defeat, and as he was marching off the field, "he could not cast his thoughts upon any present means to redress his breach, but recommended earnestly unto God to direct his judgment and mind to fall upon such methods as the success should manifest him to be the chief author thereof."

Such were the reflections of this pious soldier, on an occasion which put his christian temper and patience to a severe test. After a thirty years' course of training in the theory and practice of the art of war, under the most eminent masters, he had been selected for this command; and, after encountering four months of the most vexatious opposition from some of his countrymen—op-

position, which he at length so far subdued as to have victory within his grasp—he unexpectedly saw all his advantages snatched from him through the cowardice of his men, and the misconduct, or want of firmness, of some of his officers, on whom he most relied. Instead, however, of giving way to censure or complaint, he endeavours to palliate or frame excuses for those officers, whom he still valued for their former good conduct.

Having passed unhurt through the crowd of Highlanders by whom he was surrounded, the General turned about to see how matters stood behind him, and was not a little surprised to find his left wing had wholly disappeared, and, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, had gone down the hill, mixed pell-mell with the Highlanders, who, yielding to their plundering propensity, forthwith made for the baggage at the river side. This, in the sequel, facilitated the escape of the fugitives. At this sad spectacle, it may easily be conceived how much he was mortified, and ashamed of the cowardice of his troops. It appeared to him at first as if he been left alone on the field; but, looking farther to the right, he espied a small party of red coats, which proved to be the Earl of Leven, with some of his officers and men, mixed with a few belonging to other regiments. After complimenting his lordship and his officers on their steadiness, he recommended to them to get their men as soon as possible into condition to receive the enemy, whom he expected every moment. Meantime, he galloped farther to the right, towards a part of Hastings' regiment, with which their colonel was returning to their first ground, having quitted it, as he affirmed, to pursue the enemy.

Captain Mackay presenting himself on horseback at this

moment, though he had received eight broad-sword wounds on his body, the General despatched him after the runaways, with orders to such of the officers as he could meet with, to collect and keep their men together till all could be re-united. He then formed a junction between Hastings' regiment and the remains of Leven's; but, observing that their officers were not able to get the men into any order, he visited a garden in the rear, in which he thought for a moment of drawing them up, in hope of succour. This idea he presently abandoned, fearing that, should succour fail, there could be no hope of escape by defending such an enclosure. While he was in this state of perplexity, Captain Mackay returned, reporting that none of those to whom he had spoken paid the least attention to him, and that all were now gone clear out of sight.*

Hitherto the General knew nothing of the left wing, since the commencement of the action, beyond the mere fact of their utter disappearance; and having at this moment

* The author has in his possession a short MS. account of the Reay family, written by John Mackay, Esq., of Tordarroch, who died in 1768, in the 64th year of his age, and who, besides relationship, lived in the most intimate habits with his contemporaries of the family, and was therefore likely to have correct information respecting the battle of Killiecrankie. Among other things, he states that Captain Robert Mackay, third son of John, Lord Reay, having been left for dead on the field of battle, was found by Glengarry and his men, who, perceiving life was not yet extinguished, had him conveyed on a barn door to the nearest hut, where he remained some days, till he could be removed with safety, and was then carried to Dunkeld.

It is, by the way, not a little pleasing to find such an instance of humanity in an enemy, for such Glengarry was at that time. From this account, coupled with what has been mentioned in the text, on the authority of the General's MS., it seems not improbable that Captain R. Mackay, after parting with his uncle, the General, fainted, from loss

descried some men collecting at the edge of the wood, on the left of Balfour, and where Lauder had been posted, he rode towards them in the hope of their being part of the left wing, who had retired there on the descent of the Highlanders. On closer inspection, discovering them to be enemies, he slowly returned towards his own men, whom he directed to have special care to march off softly, without precipitation or disorder; the least indication of which would encourage the enemy to attack them. If, on the other hand, they retired steadily, and with apparent unconcern, the Highlanders, it being now twilight, would suppose their numbers greater than they really were, and give them no molestation. In this manner he led them himself cautiously down the hill, and, crossing the river, halted till he saw all his men over, being about four hundred in number. Before commencing his retreat, he was joined by Belhaven, by his own subalterns, and those of Annandale's troop, with some men belonging to both, who proved useful as scouts on the subsequent march.

of blood, in consequence of over-exertion with the many and severe wounds he had received; and in this state was found by Glengarry and his men.

He was at this time captain of grenadiers in his uncle's regiment, but was afterwards transferred to the Scottish fusileers (21st foot), in which, having greatly distinguished himself on various occasions, he rose so rapidly, that we find him, in the official army list, appointed colonel of that regiment, 13th November, 1695. Having never perfectly recovered from loss of blood at Killiecrankie, and been repeatedly wounded in King William's subsequent wars in Flanders, he fell into a languishing state, for which he was ordered by his physicians to try the effect of his native air. His constitution was, however, so debilitated, that he died at Tongue, the seat of his family, in December, 1696, in the 30th year of his age.

The General's next concern was how to conduct the handful of men thus preserved, and lead them in such a direction as should best secure their ultimate safety; for *sauve qui peut*, was not his maxim. He felt that, should they now be suffered to fall into the hands of the enemy through injudicious orders, or any neglect on his part, it would at once lower his professional character, and injure the great cause entrusted to his care. His officers recommended, and even urged his immediate return to Perth, by the way of Dunkeld; but this route he, without hesitation, rejected, as it would expose him to the insults of his inveterate enemies, the Athole men, and to what, in his present defenceless state, he dreaded still more—the attacks of Dundee and his horse; for he knew not yet that his noble opponent had fallen in the battle.* He resolved, therefore, to quit this part of the country, and, turning to the right, to strike across the mountains to Strathtay, and from thence towards Stirling, by the way of Drummond castle, where he had a garrison. The road to Strathtay (if road it might be called) he knew to be difficult, if not dangerous, for cavalry, but he hoped the few horse he had with him would be able singly to extricate themselves from the bogs and marshes with which

* Sir John Dalrymple informs us, and that too on the authority of Mackay's manuscript, that, on ascending the first eminence, and perceiving there was no pursuit, the General said to those around him, that he was sure the enemy had lost their General. "Dalrymple's Memoirs," ii. 89. Nothing to this effect is to be found in the Memoirs of General Mackay, who, on the contrary, expressly says, p. 60, "that he apprehended more the pursuit of Dundee (whom he knew not to have been killed) with his horse, than of the Highlanders, whom he knew to be so greedy of plunder, that their general would not get them that night to pursue us."

it was obstructed, while, to such a large body as Dundee's comparatively was, these presented an insuperable barrier.

They had not advanced above two miles from the river, when they overtook Ramsay, with one hundred and fifty of his runaways (as the General calls them), almost without arms, and in utter dismay, not well knowing where they were, or whither they were going. Adding this little party to his own, he proceeded towards a hut, in which he espied a light, and requested information from the inmates as to the localities of the country. They were at first thrown into consternation on the appearance of armed men. This, however, soon subsided, when the General addressed them in their native language, and assured them he meant no harm, and should depart as soon as he received the information he requested. This being given, and compared with his pocket map, he was enabled to form a correct idea of the country, and proceeded on his march. He then directed his course towards Weem castle, the seat of the Laird of Weem, a friendly chief, whose son, with one hundred of his clan, had joined him on the preceding day.*

The morning began to dawn as they approached Strathtay, and here the appearance of men in hostile array caused fresh alarm. The people of this district taking them for the opposite party, of whose habitual depredations they stood in great awe, ran to and fro, as if in danger of their lives, as well as in fear for their property. Ramsay's men being unarmed, and broken in spirit, were in their turn thrown into consternation, and dispersing, would have escaped to the hills, had not the General and his

* Memoirs, p. 61.

officers, pistol in hand, threatened and driven them back, after in vain trying to convince them that their safety consisted in keeping together. Notwithstanding these exertions of their officers, one hundred or more made good their escape, and, as it was afterwards discovered, were knocked on the head and stripped by the men of Strathtay.

Before morning, the General reached Weem castle, where he and his men were hospitably entertained by the good old laird, who furnished them with such a hasty repast as their numbers, and the shortness of the time, permitted. He proceeded from thence to Drummond castle, through a country in confusion and uproar; and, after a short halt, prosecuted his march to Stirling, where he arrived on the evening of Monday the 29th July. During nearly sixty hours, he had been on horseback without sleep, and with but little rest or refreshment, having, besides the bodily fatigue which he endured in common with his men, been doubtless harassed with cares peculiar to his station; for, Christian though he was, it is not to be supposed that he could wholly suppress the feelings of a soldier, or be indifferent to the obloquy which would attach to the name of an unsuccessful commander; and the mortification of his defeat must have been aggravated by the recollection of the ancient rivalry betwixt himself and his now successful opponent. Yet these private and selfish considerations vanished, when viewed in comparison with the detriment which the noble cause wherein he was engaged, had suffered, and that, too, it might perhaps be alleged, through his misconduct. He was supported, however, by the consciousness of having done his duty according to the best of his abilities, and firmly trusted that God would in due time vindicate His own

cause, by substituting more skilful instruments in their room, if he judged those at present employed unfit or unworthy.

With such reflections passing in his mind, Mackay arrived at Stirling, and there received the first certain intelligence of Dundee's death. Here we shall leave him for a while, and, returning to the field of battle, inquire into the circumstances attending the termination of Dundee's career, and which have been falsified or exaggerated by his admirers, to heighten the romance of his character and increase the stage-effect of his fall. The author would rather decline controversy; but cannot, in justice to the subject and in conformity with the maxim contained in the motto of this work, avoid making a few remarks on the closing scene.

Dundee was undoubtedly the life and soul of his party; and, had he survived the battle, nothing would have been wanting to complete his military glory, but a good cause and oblivion of his past misdeeds. According to the accounts best entitled to credit, he fell early in the battle; while others maintain that he survived it so long as to write a letter to King James, communicating the intelligence of the victory. In proof of the former position, a letter is produced from the king, to Stewart of Ballechin, dated Dublin castle, 30th November, 1689, that is, four months after the battle, when, consequently, the true state of the facts could not fail to be known. In this letter, his majesty alludes to the loss sustained by the death of Dundee, "*at your entrance into action.*"* The latter opinion is founded on the letter pretended to have been

* See "Stewart's Sketches," "Balcarras's Memoirs," and "Collier's Dictionary."

written by Dundee to the king, and which, unless we disregard the best contemporary authorities, can only be considered as a clumsy forgery, got up by his blind and injudicious admirers.*

By some it has been, asserted that, if Dundee had lived, he would not only have cut off Mackay's retreat, and left him not a man to tell the tale, but that he would afterwards have marched directly to the capital, and overturned the new government. This opinion has been advanced with such confidence, and so often copied by one author from another, that it has passed into an article of popular belief among the jacobite party. On a closer examination, however, it will be found that the condition of the two contending armies was, after the battle, not so dissimilar as would at first sight appear. Of Dundee's force more than one-third were slain on the field, to which, adding, according to the usual proportion, a greater number of wounded, fully two-thirds would be found, at the close of the action, *hors de combat*. The remaining third, be it remembered, did not consist of disciplined soldiers accustomed to obedience, but of ungovernable mountaineers and wild Irish, both so addicted to plunder, that, even in the

* On the supposition of Dundee's letter being genuine, he must have breathed his last surrounded by his friends, and doubtless amidst their tears and lamentations. Is it then to be supposed that those friends would fail to pay to his remains the funeral honours to which he was so well entitled by his rank, and by the value of his services to the cause of his royal master? Historians do not mention any such funeral honours; and, from their silence, we may infer that none such were paid. On the contrary, there is evidence that his body, after being stripped by his own people, was left on the field of battle so long that it could with difficulty be recognized, having no mark to distinguish it from that of the meanest of his followers. See "Balcarras's Memoirs," p. 108.

moment of victory, they could not refrain; but, in spite of their officers, quitted their ranks, to pounce upon Mackay's baggage, and, before morning, were off to the hills with their booty. It would be difficult to re-assemble men of this stamp, and still more so to bring them back to discipline and obedience to their officers.

A great proportion of Mackay's men, it is true, yielding to the impulse of a sudden panic, had turned their backs and fled; but there were among them many brave soldiers, who, chafed in their spirit, and burning with indignation at their disgrace, would seize the first opportunity to turn on their pursuers, and, if they did not repulse them, would at least sell their own lives as dearly as possible. If, therefore, Dundee had survived, he would have had to begin the campaign again under the same difficulties as before, while the resources of his opponent would have daily gained strength, and the vigour and energy of his character would have more fully developed themselves. But to return to our narrative.

Notwithstanding the fatigues of the two preceding days, the General, before retiring to rest, wrote hasty letters to the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Melville, briefly stating the principal facts and circumstances of his defeat, and promising particulars in a future despatch. He besought his grace and his colleagues in council "not to be disheartened by what had happened, which, with God's blessing on the means still left, would speedily be repaired;" he recommended "the setting of men quickly to work to stop the consternation of our friends, as well as the hopes and pride of our enemies;" and entreated "that the recent disaster might not in the least interrupt the session of parliament." Next morning he inspected the troops quartered

in the town and neighbourhood; and soon after had the satisfaction of being joined by that excellent officer, Sir John Lanier, whom the council had sent to assume the chief command at Stirling, in case a report which had reached them of the death of the commander-in-chief should prove true. He was informed by Lanier of the pusillanimous measures agitated in council, on receipt of the first intelligence from Killiecrankie, namely, the removal of the seat of government to the borders, or to Glasgow, and the abandonment to the enemy of all the country north of the Tay, or even of the Forth. These propositions he utterly disapproved of; and the last excited his indignation to such a degree, that he instantly resolved, on his own authority and on his own responsibility, to reverse it; which resolution he intimated to the council.

Had Dundee survived, and rapidly marched towards Edinburgh, as he would undoubtedly have done, with as many of his followers as he could have collected, Mackay would in that case have deemed it his duty to follow closely in his rear. But the death of the viscount had so totally changed the aspect of affairs, as to put an end to all apprehensions for the immediate safety of the government. Mackay therefore resolved to adopt a different course; and, instead of proceeding to Edinburgh, returned immediately towards Perth, to stop the further progress of the Highlanders and overawe the disaffected in the shires of Angus and Mearns. For this purpose he held a final review of his troops, on Wednesday morning, in Stirling Park; and at two P.M. was in full march on the road to Perth, at the head of nearly two thousand horse and foot.

Success in battle is sometimes the result of what, in common parlance, is termed mere accident. A good retreat, though it may be facilitated, can never be produced by such a cause, and always argues judgment and skill on the part of the commander. During his retreat from Killiecrankie, not only judgment and skill, but gallantry also, as well as a humane and even fatherly concern for the lives of his soldiers, were conspicuous in Mackay. He is now to appear in a new point of view, as resuming offensive operations within less than forty-eight hours from his retreat to Stirling, and displaying a promptitude of decision and energy of action rarely equalled, and never, perhaps, surpassed in similar circumstances. Yet this part of his conduct has been either wholly overlooked, or but slightly noticed, by most modern historians. Sir John Dalrymple—after exhausting his stores of panegyric on his favourite hero, Dundee, and censuring what he thought amiss in the military conduct of Mackay—passes over in silence all that would do him honour; and after the battle never mentions his name. Laing duly appreciates his character, and bestows on it just, though rather concise, praise. Subsequent writers, while they acknowledge praise to be due, are all (with one honourable exception) niggardly in bestowing it. Chambers, though a Tory writer, and evidently leaning to the jacobite side of the question, enters more fully than any of his predecessors into the merits of Mackay, and does ample justice to his military character. That it may not be supposed the author of these sheets has been led, by excessive admiration of his excellent relative's character, to overrate his merits, he trusts he shall be excused for quoting a passage of some length from

the author just mentioned, who cannot be suspected of any undue bias.

"The Revolution party," says Mr. Chambers,* "had no cause to complain of the conduct of their own General. To do Mackay justice, he had performed all that a good leader could have performed under the circumstances, and with such troops. When all his efforts were found unavailing in battle, he had done what was next to victory —performed a masterly retreat with the wreck of his forces. His conduct, however, after reaching Stirling, was characterized by an energy and boldness very different from what might have been expected in a beaten general. On arriving there, he learned that the convention had given orders to the various bodies of troops stationed in the north of Scotland, to draw towards the capital; and it was intimated to himself that, if he could only defend the pass of Stirling, so as to prevent the Highlanders from coming south, though at the expense of surrendering all the north to them, he would be held as doing sufficient duty. This did not satisfy Mackay. He knew that the north of Scotland could raise an army, far superior in bravery and discipline to the south; he also considered that, if they were permitted to take possession of such towns as Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, they could assume a face of government, and fairly divide the kingdom with his master and mistress. He thought it far better to hazard a good deal, for the sake of restraining the enemy to the hills. Accordingly, resolving to march back forthwith to Perth, for the purpose of facing them in their expected descent, he exerted himself, during the two days following his return

* "History of the Rebellions in Scotland," p. 116.

to Stirling, to collect all the bodies of troops which lay within reach. With such alacrity did this excellent soldier prosecute his design of marching back against the enemy, that, on Wednesday afternoon at two o'clock, less than two days after his return from Killiecrankie, he was on the high road to Perth with a new army of nearly two thousand men. Before that evening he reached a village about half way betwixt Stirling and Perth, where he rested for a part of the night. Next day, marching towards Perth, he experienced great inconvenience from the impossibility of procuring any intelligence of the enemy, all the houses by the way being deserted by their inhabitants, who were gone in arms to join the Highlanders. As he approached a body of about three hundred Highlanders, whom Cannon, Dundee's successor, had pushed on in advance, he immediately attacked them, and killed one hundred and twenty, and dispersed or took the rest prisoners. An affair," continues Mr. Chambers, "reflecting so much discredit on Dundee's successor, and auguring so well of Mackay's renewed operations, was generally considered in the country as likely to check the progress of the war not a little. Accordingly, from this moment, the friends of the reformed government were inspired with fresh hopes."

In ordinary circumstances, this affair would have been viewed in no other light then as a casual rencounter between two hostile detachments, which could not be supposed to lead to any material consequences. Very different, however, was the result in this case. It revived the drooping spirits of the new government and their friends; it fixed the wavering, and inspired the timid with courage. Dundee, the idol of his friends and the terror of his enemies, whom, but a few days before, the latter every moment dreaded

to see at their gates, was now no more; while his rival, Mackay, falsely reported to be numbered among the dead, was still alive, at the head of a victorious army, and hailed by his friends as their deliverer. The effect of this altered state of affairs on the mind of Mackay himself, the pious reader alone can fully appreciate. He communicated the tidings to the council by an appropriate messenger, Lord Belhaven, his own companion in arms and the cousin of his grace the high commissioner; nor did the tidings lose aught of their effect on the public mind by the rank and character of the bearer.

Notwithstanding this partial success, the General now found his resources too much impaired, and the season too far advanced, to resume the Inverlochy project, or to undertake any other enterprise of importance, during the few remaining months of the year. He therefore resolved to limit his views to the securing of the low country against the incursions of the mountaineers, and for this purpose again fixed his head-quarters at Perth, as a central position, from which to observe the motions of the enemy, till he could collect a sufficient force to oppose them. He ordered Sir John Lanier to join him, with two regiments of horse from England; he directed Sir Thomas Livingstone to hold himself in readiness to march at the shortest notice to Aberdeen; and made such other dispositions as would ensure the more speedy concentration of his force, should that measure be required.

With all Dundee's influence over the Highlanders, he never was able to assemble more than two thousand of their number at any given point; yet Cannon, though a stranger to their habits, and of a character infinitely less attractive, was now at the head of a mixed body of

above four thousand men, Highlanders and Irish. The exact proportion of each cannot now be ascertained, but it seems probable that at least three-fourths were composed of the remains of Dundee's army and fresh levies of Highlanders,* and that the rest were Irish. How this feeble commander was enabled to draw so many Highlanders to his standard, seems a mystery, which the spoils of Killiecrankie, together with those expected from the ensuing campaign, may go far to explain; but if this was the magnetic force that attracted the Highlanders, they were miserably disappointed, as will appear in the sequel.

Cannon, disheartened by the check he sustained near Perth, and perceiving that, notwithstanding his superiority of numbers, he could make no impression on Mackay in that quarter, resolved to try his fortune in another. Decamping suddenly from Dunkeld, he turned round towards the north by the way of Blairgowrie, keeping near the Grampians, his force being composed almost wholly of foot. Mackay, without waiting for his expected reinforcements, followed in his rear with fourteen hundred horse, leaving his foot behind for the sake of greater despatch, and pursued his march, skirting the plains along the bottom of the hills. In this manner both parties moved in parrallel directions towards Aberdeen, neither of the two evincing a disposition to quit his 'vantage ground, in order to attack the other. Arrived at Aberdeen, Mackay was welcomed with joy by the majority of the inhabitants, who were led to believe the Highlanders would be in their town that very night.

* Macgregors, Frasers, M'Farlanes, and the Gordons of Strathdon and Glenlivet, joined Cannon in the heights of Braemar.

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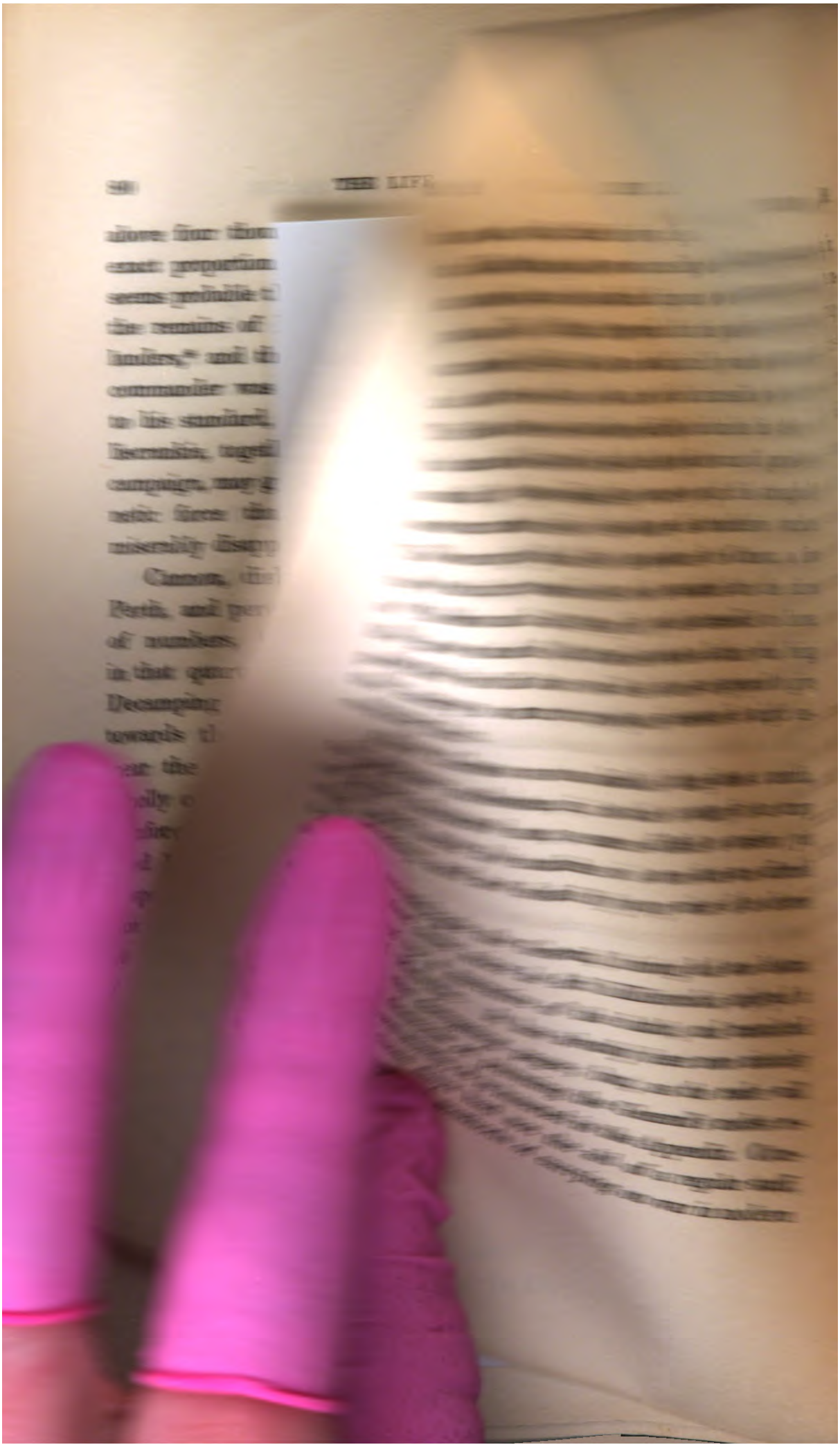
Here he received an express from his faithful friend, the Master of Forbes, informing him that Cannon had taken up a strong position on his father's grounds, where he had the Highlanders at his back, a wood to cover him, and free commuincation with his friends in the low countries of Aberdeen and Banff.

This intelligence made the General anxious for the safety of the garrison he had left in the castle of Abergeldie, which, should it fall into the enemy's hands, would enable him to turn with equal convenience and prospect of success either towards Inverness or Aberdeen. He therefore sent an express to Sir Thomas Livingstone, ordering him to leave the command of the troops about Inverness to Sir James Leslie, and immediately repair with his regiment of dragoons to Strathbogie. At the same time, he wrote to Sir John Lanier, to despatch Hayford's regiment from Forfar to Aberdeen; and with these additions to his present force, he trusted he should be able to keep the enemy in check, if not wholly to defeat his designs. In the meantime, he was subjected to a renewal of those fatiguing marches and countermarches, by which he had been so much harassed some months before. He was kept perpetually in motion by day, and during the night lay in the fields with his men in a body, not judging it safe to separate them. The country people being attached to the opposite interest, he had no confidence in their reports, and was therefore continually obliged to send out small parties during the night, as if they had been in an enemy's country, to procure intelligence.

Livingstone and Hayford having arrived at their respective destinations, the General resolved to present a bolder front to the enemy than he had hitherto been able