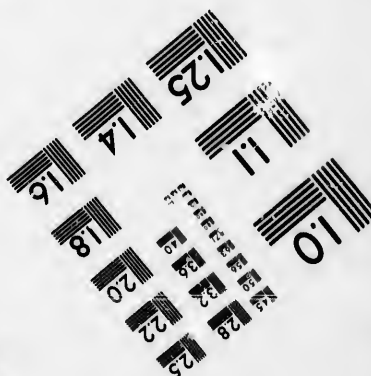
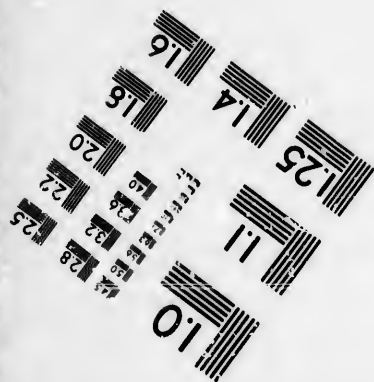
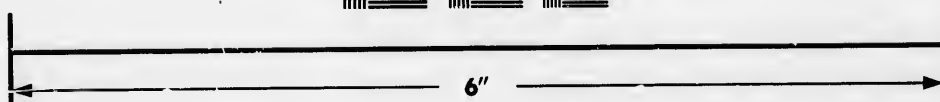
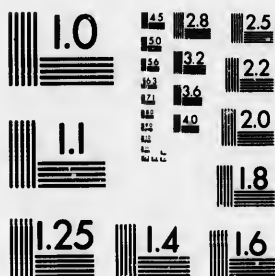


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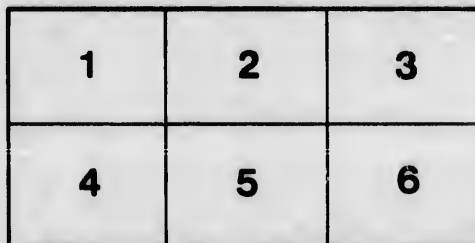
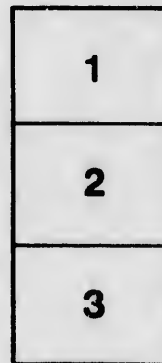
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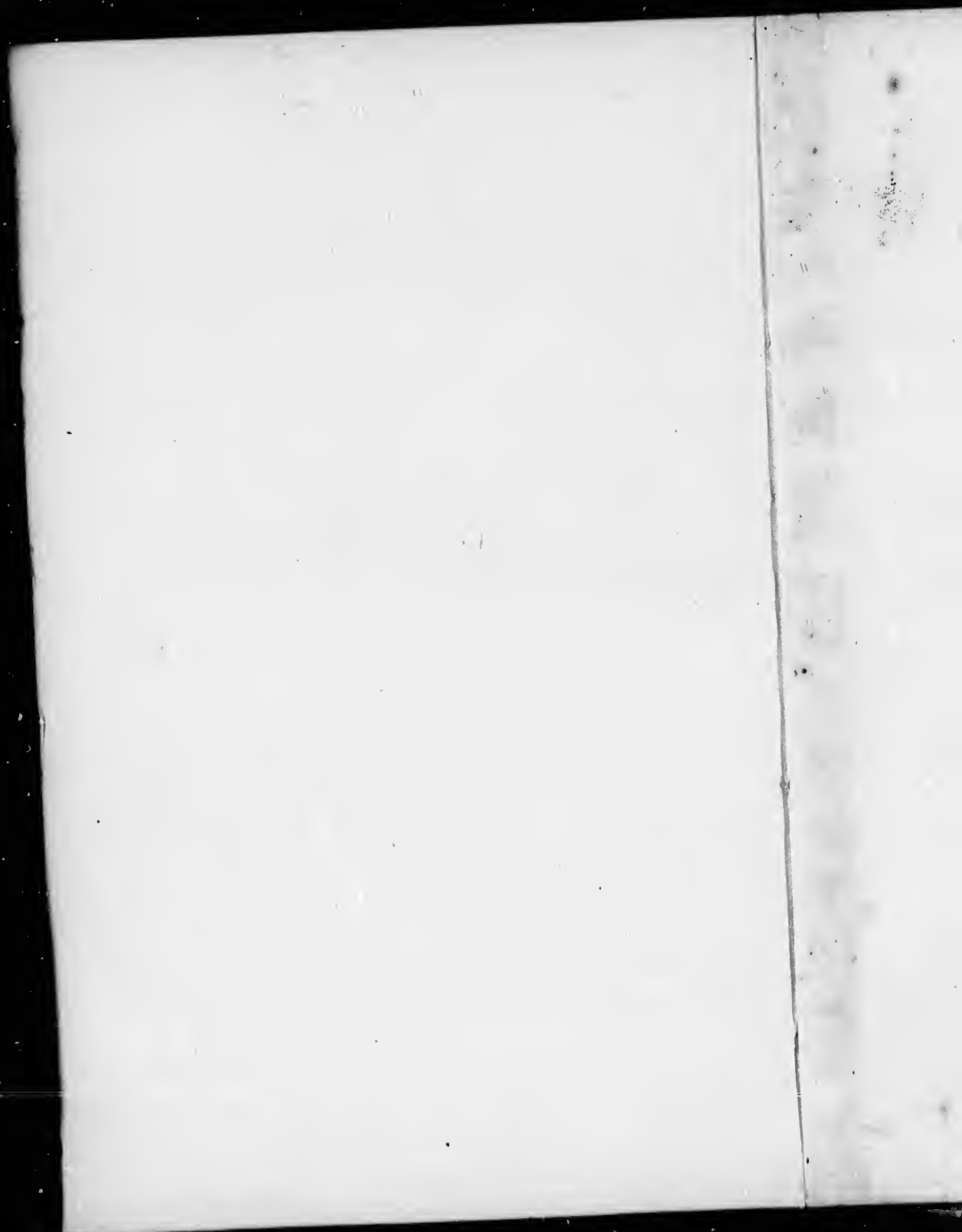
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SKETCHES,

&c.



*A. D. Munston*

# SKETCHES

OF

THE CHARACTER, MANNERS,

AND

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND;

WITH DETAILS OF

THE MILITARY SERVICE

OF

THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID STEWART.

---

'Tis wonderful .  
That an invisible instinct should frame them  
To loyalty unlearned; honour untaught;  
Civility not seen from others; valour  
That wildly grows in them, but yields a crop  
As if it had been sowed.

SHAKESPEARE.

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## ERRATA IN VOL. II.

- P. 292, line 3d of note, *for* when the 92d embarked for Britain, transferred to it several detachments, *read* when they embarked for Britain, transferred to the 92d several detachments.
- p. 494, line 7, *for* that *read* than.



PART IV.

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HISTORY

OF THE

ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY  
OF THE  
ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

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PART IV.

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SECTION I.

*England, 1809—Walcheren—Scotland, 1810—England, 1811—  
Portugal, 1812—Spain—Salamanca—Burgos—Portugal—  
Campaign of 1813—Vittoria—St Sebastian—Pyreneces—France  
Bidassoa—Bayonne—Orthes—Bourdeaux—Ayre—Tarbes—  
Toulouse—Peace of 1814—War of 1815—Quatres Bras—Wa-  
terloo—Conclusion of the Annals of the Royal Highland Regi-  
ment.*

THE soldiers soon recovered from their wounds, and from the fatigues of the march to Corunna. No officer of this regiment died except Major Campbell, whose constitution, previously debilitated by a service of twenty-five years in the regiment, sunk under the severity of the weather to which he had been exposed on the march. He died a few days after landing at Portsmouth.\*

\* Major Archibald Argyle Campbell was son of Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Campbell, who had served in the Royal Highland Regiment during the Seven Year's War, in the 84th, or Highland Emigrants in the American war, and as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Breadalbane Fencibles in the last war. Major Campbell died honoured and lamented by his regiment. So sensible were



The regiment was marched to Shorncliffe, and brigaded there with the Rifle corps, under the command of Major-General Sir Thomas Graham. In these quarters the men were again equipped, and soon ready for further service. The second battalion, which had been quartered in Ireland since 1805, was now under orders to embark for Portugal, and could therefore spare no men to supply the loss sustained by the first battalion on the retreat to Corunna. In the last day's march of forty-five miles from Lugo, numbers of the men being without shoes, and all half famished and exhausted, orders were issued that "the rear guard cannot stop, and those who fall behind must take their fate." Upwards of 6000 men of the army had already, from disease and fatigue, dropped behind. The loss of the Royal Highland Regiment, from the same causes, was also considerable. Including those killed and dead of wounds, and prisoners, the number amounted to 136 men. Of the prisoners who dropped behind on the march, and fell into the hands of the enemy, numbers were released and sent to England, and rejoined their regiment.

It was supposed by some that the soldiers of the 42d, 79th, and 92d regiments, suffered from the Highland dress. Others again said, that the garb was very commodious in marching over a mountainous country, and that experience had shown that those parts of the body exposed to the weather by this garb, are not materially affected by the severest cold; that, while instances are common of the fingers, toes and face, being frost-bitten, we never hear of the knee being affected; and that, when men, in the Highland garb, have had their fingers destroyed by frost, their knees remained untouched, although bare and exposed to the same temperature which

the officers of his value, that they subscribed a sum of money, in which the soldiers requested to join, to erect a monument to his memory in the Calton Hill burying-ground in Edinburgh, where it now stands as a mark of respect to a brave soldier, whose courage was guided by judgment and prudence, and whose prudence was warmed by the best heart and the kindest disposition.

affected other parts of the body. \* The warmth which the numerous folds of the kilt preserved round the centre of the body was a great security against complaints in the bowels, which were so prevalent on this occasion among the troops; and it may be supposed that men who are in a manner rendered hardy by being habituated, at least from the time they joined Highland corps, to a loose cool dress, would be less liable to be affected by violent and abrupt changes of temperature.

As the present was not a period of rest for soldiers, this regiment and the Cameron and Gordon Highlanders were again ordered to hold themselves in readiness for active service, and, in July 1809, marched to Ramsgate to join an armament collecting there for the purpose of effecting a landing on the islands in the mouth of the Scheldt, and of attempting the capture and destruction of the fleet and arsenal at Antwerp. For this purpose a body of troops were collected in Kent, more numerous than any that had sailed from England at one time since the days of the Edwards and Henrys, who had so frequently invaded France with great and numerous armies.

In the month of July the whole were embarked, consisting of 2320 Cavalry, 34,409 Infantry, 16 companies of Artillery, a troop of Horse artillery, 2 companies of the Staff

\* An extraordinary instance of the degree of cold which the human body can be brought to sustain, is exemplified in the instance of a man of the name of Cameron, now living on the estate of Strowan, in the county of Perth. This man showed an aversion to any covering from the time he was able to walk, always attempting to throw off his clothes. Being indulged by his mother in this, he went about at all times, even in the deepest snows, and during the hardest frosts, in a state of nudity, and continued the same practice without the smallest detriment to his health, till increasing years made it necessary, for the sake of decency, to give him some covering. His parents, wishing to send him to a neighbouring school, a loose kind of plaid robe descending to his knees was made, and thrown over his shoulders; but he was fifteen years of age before he wore the usual dress. There is nothing remarkable in his character; disposition, or constitution, nor does he appear to be stronger than other men, but he is perfectly healthy.

corps, and a detachment of the Waggon train, in all, above 38,000 men, with a fleet of 39 sail of the line, and 30 frigates, besides mortar-vessels and gun-boats; the land forces being under the command of Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham, and the fleet under that of Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan. This powerful armament sailed on the 28th of July 1809. The Royal Highlanders were in the brigade of Brigadier-General Montresor, and the division of Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Huntly. Of this disastrous enterprise I shall only state, that the principal object having been found impracticable, and the sickly state of the army in this worst of climates having rendered it impossible to retain the inferior stations already captured, part of the armament returned to England in September, and the rest in October. The 42d was included in the first division, and landing at Dover, marched to Canterbury on the 11th of September, having only 204 men fit for duty, of 758, who, six weeks before, had marched through the same town for embarkation.

The men recovered very slowly from the disease caught at Walcheren. This was the more deeply to be regretted, as the ranks of this regiment were not now to be filled up with the same facility and enthusiasm as in past times, for neither recruiting in the country, nor volunteering from the Scotch militia, was successful. This was so strongly felt when the 2d battalion embarked for Portugal, that the commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre, recruited from the Irish militia, who furnished 150 men to be transformed into Highlanders. If Highlanders will not enlist into their native regiments, it is, doubtless, necessary to complete those corps by other means; but, otherwise, it must appear inexpedient to introduce men into a corps where they must assume a garb so different from that to which they have been accustomed, and where they must be called Highlanders, although ignorant of the language and strangers to the habits of the country whose designation

they bear, and whose military character they are supposed to support.

The regiment was removed to Scotland in July 1810, and quartered in Musselburgh; a number of the men still labouring under the influence of the Walcheren fever.

It might be interesting to observe, and trace through a succession of years, the changes in the moral conduct of this corps,—changes that did not indicate those improvements which, in an enlightened age, might have been expected, but which, on the contrary, betrayed a relaxation of that moral feeling and spirit which had distinguished the service of the national corps in the reign of George II., and in the early part of that of his late Majesty.

With regard to the soldiers of this regiment, I know not whether it was this supposed relaxation of moral character in Highlanders, by which they were affected while in Musselburgh, but they certainly did indulge themselves in an excess of drinking not easily restrained, and altogether opposite to the temperate habits of this regiment during the American war, and at earlier periods: And as drinking to excess is the great source of vice in the British army,—indeed, I may say, almost the only cause of irregularity in quarters,—more severe restrictions and a stricter discipline than usual became necessary. However, like the other deviations already noticed, this was only temporary, and partly disappeared with a change of duty; at the same time, it may be observed, that in the earlier service of the regiment no change of station or of duty caused an alteration in conduct or character.

During the twelve months the regiment remained in Scotland, few recruits were added. In August 1811, it embarked and sailed for England, and was quartered in Lewis Barracks till marched to Portsmouth, and embarked for Portugal in April 1812. It joined the British army in May, after the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. The capture of two such strongly fortified places, under all the circumstances of difficulty and trial to which the besieg-

ing army was exposed, and defended as they were by a brave and highly-disciplined enemy, presents us with most splendid instances of the power of talent and military genius in the Commander, and of invincible ardour, joined with firmness and perseverance, on the part of the troops; and gave the British nation an earnest of that career of honour and success of which these were the opening scenes. At this auspicious period the 1st battalion joined the army, and meeting the 2d battalion, which had alresdy been two years in the Peninsula, they were now consolidated.\* The officers and staff of the 2d battalion were ordered to England, leaving the first upwards of 1160 rank and file fit for service, and included in Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham's division. The two brilliant enterprises above mentioned opened a road to Spain either to the north or south, and in a manner isolated the divisions of the French army, cutting off their communications, except by circuitous routes. Lord Wellington allowed his army a few weeks' rest, after a spring campaign of such brilliant success. The allied army now amounted to 58,000 men; a larger body than any single division of the enemy, although the whole of the French force in Spain exceeded 160,000; but the increasing activity of the Spaniards, encouraged by the success and steady support of their allies, afforded full employment to numerous bodies of the French troops in different parts of the kingdom: for, although generally defeated, the Spaniards always rallied, and both occupied and consumed numbers of the common enemy.

\* The 2d battalion, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre, served two years in the Peninsula, was actively engaged at Fuentes d'Honoro in May 1811, and through its whole service sustained a respectable character. This battalion, as has been already noticed, was formed from the quotas of men furnished by several Highland counties in 1803. To these were added the 150 volunteers, also noticed, from the Irish militia, when the battalion embarked from Ireland for the Peninsula. The corps suffered exceedingly from sickness on the banks of the Guadiana; and when the 1st battalion was completed, the few who were left with the second were ordered to Scotland, to be stationed there till the reduction at the peace in 1814.

While Lord Wellington was preparing for the principal operations of the campaign, he detached Lieutenant-General Hill, with 10,000 men, to attack and take possession of Almarez, a strong position commanding one of the principal passages over the Tagus, and of great importance to the enemy, who had erected formidable works for its defence on both sides of the river, while the difficulties of the enterprise were greatly increased by the redoubts and castle of Mirabole, situated at a short distance. This difficult duty the Lieutenant-General executed with the success which always attended his spirited and well-conducted enterprises. The surprise which had been intended was prevented by the extreme badness of the roads, in consequence of which the General could not form his columns before day-break, and the enemy, of course, had full intimation of his approach. Determined, however, to carry his point, at all hazards, he pushed forward, escaladed the works on one side of the river at three different places at once, and attacked the enemy at the point of the bayonet. This last mode of attack the enemy seldom withstood. They fled in all directions; but, as their friends on the other side had destroyed the bridge, many of those who escaped from the works were drowned in the river. Panic-struck by this rapid attack, the garrison which occupied Fort Ragusa on the other side abandoned the place, and fled with the utmost precipitation to Naval Moral.

This preliminary operation having been accomplished, Lord Wellington moved forward, and crossing the Agueda on the 13th, encamped on the 16th of June within six miles of Salamanca, which the French evacuated that night, leaving a garrison of 800 men in a fort, and two redoubts formed from the walls and ruins of the convents and colleges of that ancient seat of Spanish literature; thirteen of the former and twenty-two of the latter having been destroyed. These forts were immediately invested by the division of Lieutenant-General Clinton, and found to be more formidable than at first expected.

Salamanca was now occupied by the British for the second time, but under more favourable circumstances than on the former occasion by General Moore. At this period the British army was more numerous than that formerly under General Moore; the Portuguese were strong in numbers, and still more effective by the confidence and experience which they had acquired under British officers; the Spaniards also began to talk less of their invincibility, and to show by their actions, rather than by their words, that they could face an enemy. Buonaparte was fully occupied in Germany, and could now direct only a share of his attention to Spain. In addition to these, the unbounded confidence with which the ability of Lord Wellington had inspired his troops, and the victories he had achieved, gave a fair promise of future success, which was splendidly realized.

The attack on the forts continued till the 23d of June, when an assault was attempted, but without success, and with the loss of General Bowes and 120 men killed and wounded. However, on the 27th, after an excellent defence, which must from the first have been hopeless, and after some abortive attempts on the part of the French commander, to gain time by proposals of eventual surrender, one of the forts was attacked and carried by assault with a very inconsiderable loss on our part; and the French commander, seeing all further resistance vain, surrendered on such terms as Lord Wellington chose to prescribe.

During these operations, Marshal Marmont manœuvred in the neighbourhood, in the hope of being able to relieve or draw off the garrison left in the forts; but seeing that this could not be accomplished, without bringing on a general action, for which he was not yet prepared, he retired across the Douro, followed by the allies, who took up a position on the 22d, from La Seca to Pollos, both armies being separated by the river.

Important events were now approaching. General Bonnet, with 10,000 men from the Asturias, and 15,000 men from the army of the centre, had marched to reinforce Marmont,

whose force was now nearly 60,000 men. Believing himself sufficiently strong, however, instead of waiting for the armies of the north and centre, which were hastening to his support, he determined to bring Lord Wellington to action, or compel him to retire towards Portugal, by threatening his communications with that country; and thus, by a combination with Soult, from the south, intercept his retreat, and overpower him entirely. To accomplish this important object, he commenced a series of masterly manœuvres, in which all the resources of French tactics, improved by twenty years' experience, combined with great military talents, which had been so often and so successfully put in practice, were now exerted to the utmost. "There," says the *Moniteur*, "were seen those grand French military combinations, which command victory, and decide the fate of empires; that noble audacity which no reverse can shake, and which commands events."

A variety of brilliant movements ensued, in which the talents of the commanders were most eminently conspicuous, in the intense eagerness and penetration with which each foresaw, counteracted, and guarded against the attempts of the other, and during which the troops showed equal spirit and readiness to engage, when any encounter took place in the various changes of position. In these accidental skirmishes both sides sometimes lost a considerable number of men.

At length, on the night of the 19th, Lord Wellington crossed the Guarena, and on the morning of the 20th, drew up his army in order of battle, on the plains of Valisa; but Marmont was not yet ready, and refused the challenge. Accordingly, he manœuvred to his left along the heights which border the Guarena, and crossing that river, encamped, with his left at Babila Fuentes, and his right at Villameda. When the nature of these movements was fully ascertained, the allies were put in motion to their right, marching in column along the plain in a parallel direction to the enemy, who were on the heights of Cabeça Vilhosa.



In this series of manœuvres, Marmont calculated on some mistake being committed by his antagonist, which would afford him an opportunity to attack with advantage. But in this expectation he was disappointed. His adversary was as prompt in counteracting, as he was quick in discerning the intended movements. This sagacity of the Commander-in-Chief appeared so remarkable to an honest Highlander, who had witnessed the whole, that he swore Lord Wellington must be gifted with the second sight; for he saw, and was prepared to meet, Marmont's intended changes of position before he commenced his movements.

I know not if the history of the world affords a more interesting military spectacle than that of two great men, each commanding a numerous and high-spirited army, anxious for an opportunity to engage, while they themselves are, as it were, playing a game of chess, intent and eager to take advantage of every false movement, oversight, or mistake. Such was the situation of the hostile armies on the morning of the 20th of July 1812, when at daybreak they saw each other drawn up, ready to decide the contest on the spot, or to continue the tactical game. The latter was not interrupted, and, after a momentary halt to view each other, the mutual march was resumed; and, while moving forward for several miles on open ground, within half cannon-shot of each other, it is remarkable that no accidental occurrence took place to hasten on the general attack. These movements brought the allied army to the ground which they had occupied near Salamanca, during the attack on the forts in the preceding month; but the enemy crossing the Tormes at Alba de Tormes, and appearing to threaten Ciudad Rodrigo, Lord Wellington made a corresponding movement, and, on the 21st, halted his army on the heights on the left bank. The enemy kept in movement during the night of this day, and got possession of the villages of Calvarasa de Ariba and the heights of Nuestra Senora de la Pena. In the course of this night, Lord Wellington received intelligence that General Clausel, with a large body of ca-

valry and artillery, had reached Pollos, and would certainly join Marmont on the 23d, or 24th at farthest.

Such were the movements that immediately preceded the morning of the 22d, which was ushered in with a tremendous tempest and storm of thunder and lightning. The operations of this important day commenced soon after seven o'clock, in an attempt by the outposts of both armies to get possession of two hills, Los Arapiles, on the right of the position of the Allies. The superior numbers of the enemy enabled him to possess himself of the most distant of these hills, which greatly strengthened his position, and increased his means of annoying the Allies. Several other movements followed, in all of which the French general exerted his tactical skill to the utmost, until two o'clock, when, believing that he had accomplished his intended purpose, and that he had brought the Allies within his reach, he opened a general fire from the artillery along his whole line, and threw out numerous bodies of sharpshooters both in front and flank, designed as a feint to cover an attempt to turn the position of the British, whose attention was to be occupied by this loud display of a supposed intention to attack in front. But the British Commander was not to be thrown off his guard. Acting on the defensive, only to become the assailant with the more effect, and comprehending, with one glance, the error of his antagonist in extending his line to the left, without strengthening his centre, which had now no second line to support it, he instantly made preparations for a general attack; and, with his characteristic energy, took advantage of that "unfortunate moment, which," as the French General observed, "destroyed the result of six weeks of wise combinations of methodical movements, the issue of which had hitherto appeared certain, and which every thing appeared to presage to us that we should enjoy the fruit of." \*

Major-General Pakenham, with the third division, was

\* Marmont's Despatch.

ordered to turn the left of the enemy, whilst it was attacked in front by the divisions of Generals Leith, Cole, Bradford, and Cotton, while Generals Clinton, Hope, and Don Carlos de Espana acted as a reserve; Generals Alexander Campbell and Alten forming the left of the line. During the progress of this formation, the enemy made no change in their position, but attempted, unsuccessfully, to get possession of the village of Arapiles, defended by a detachment of the Guards.

The moment was now arrived when the commander and the army were to be rewarded for the ability which had concerted, and the perseverance and gallantry which had accomplished, such complex and difficult movements. The attack began about four o'clock in the afternoon. The troops on the left, under General Pakenham, supported by the Portuguese cavalry, and by Colonel Harvey with some squadrons of the 14th dragoons, carried all their respective points of attack. In the centre, the divisions of Generals Cole, Leith, and Bradford, with Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton's cavalry, were equally successful on "this post, which was otherwise well occupied *and impregnable.*"\* These divisions drove the enemy from one height to another, till they were momentarily checked by a body of troops from the heights of Arapiles. The enemy had been attacked in that post by General Pack, with a Portuguese brigade; and, although this attempt failed in the first instance, it had the important effect of delaying the advance of the enemy on General Cole's division till the most arduous part of his attack had been accomplished.

At this point the struggle was most obstinate. The British, having descended from the heights which they occupied, dashed across the intervening valley, and ascended a high and most advantageous position, on which they found the enemy formed in solid squares, the front ranks kneeling, and supported by twenty pieces of cannon. When the

\* Marmont's Dispatch,

British approached, they were received with a general discharge of cannon and musketry, which, instead of retarding, seemed to accelerate their progress. Having gained the brow of the hill, they instantly charged, and drove the enemy before them; a body of whom attempting to rally, were thrown into irretrievable confusion by a second charge with the bayonet. The battle now became a general rout: nothing could be more complete than the victory which had crowned the gallant exertions of the great commander and his brave troops: the conquerors pursued the flying enemy as long as any of them kept together, and the approach of night alone saved the French army from total destruction.

The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded has not been ascertained; but 7,000 prisoners and 11 pieces of artillery were taken, General Marmont was wounded, and many officers were either killed or disabled. The British loss gave full evidence of the spirit and energy with which they had charged the enemy, and of the terror these charges had inspired, by their rapid and irresistible advance, which appears to have enervated the visual powers of their opponents before their physical strength was touched. When the mind and the sight are affected, bodily resistance will be proportionably ineffectual. Hence a great, brave, and veteran army of France, accustomed to fight and to conquer, was completely overthrown, with a loss to the British of 335, to the Portuguese of 287, and to the Spaniards of 2 soldiers killed, while the sum-total of the wounded did not exceed 4,000 men.

The consequences of the battle of Salamanca were soon felt throughout all Spain; and the splendour of Lord Wellington's actions overcoming the punctilious jealousy of the Spaniards, he was appointed Generalissimo of the Spanish armies, and thus obtained the important object of directing the operations of our Spanish allies, the want of which had been so severely felt, and so bitterly complained of, by Sir John Moore. Even now, after all that had been done, the time of the Cortes seemed more occupied with political

squabbles, and in the formation of what was called a constitution, than in calling forth the resources of the country to secure that independence, without which they could have neither constitution, liberty, nor country, and Spain, with the once proud and high-spirited Castilians, would become a province, and subjects of France.

After various movements and skirmishes, the Allied army entered Madrid on the 12th of August, and was received with transports by the inhabitants. "It is not in my power," says an eyewitness, "to give you an adequate idea of the enthusiasm with which we have been received. The whole population came out to meet us with tears of joy. Every individual embraced the first soldier or officer whom he could lay hold of, while we were marching." It would appear, however, that enthusiasm, gratitude, and patriotism, are warmest when they cost nothing, for, with the good people of Madrid, these feelings cooled very quickly when a loan of two millions of piastres was demanded, but not raised at the point of the bayonet, as their late masters, the French, were used to levy their contributions. But the principal advantage which Lord Wellington calculated to derive from Spain was the co-operation of the brave peasantry of the distant provinces, who, although badly organized, worse commanded, and often beaten and scattered, always collected and formed in some other position. Yet, certainly, more support than he ever received was necessary. Situated as he was, with a British and Portuguese force not exceeding 70,000 men in all parts of the kingdom, he had to oppose an enemy supposed to amount to 190,000, many of them veteran troops, commanded by able generals, and occupying several of the strongest stations in the country. But superiority of numbers, experienced generals, and all other advantages, were compelled to yield to transcendent military talents, professional skill, courage, and perseverance.

General Clausel, who had succeeded to the command after Marshal Marmont was wounded, having organized an

army, and threatened some of our positions on the Douro, Lord Wellington left Madrid on the 1st of September, and marching northward, entered Valladolid on the 7th, the enemy retiring as he advanced. After several other changes of position, he was joined at Pampliega, on the 16th, by the Spanish General, Castanos, with a body of infantry amounting to 12,000 men; and, on the 17th, the united force took up a position close to Burgos, through which the enemy retired, leaving a garrison of 2,500 men. On the day previous to the retreat, they had drawn up in order of battle. An opportunity was thus afforded of appreciating the important results of the battle of Salamanca, and of ascertaining their number, which was calculated at 22,000 men,—a number very inferior to that of the same army two months preceding, when it assumed so imposing an appearance, while manœuvring under Marshal Marmont. But it was not so much from the actual loss of numbers, as the diminution of confidence on the one part, and the increase of it on the other, occasioned by the total rout of a powerful army, that this event is to be valued. Men may be recruited, and the ranks may be again filled; but to reanimate a dispirited army, once buoyant with the pride of frequent victory, and supposed invincibility, is a task not quite so easy.

The castle of Burgos was in ruins, but the strong thick walls of the ancient Keep were equal to the best casements. It is situated on a hill, commanding the river Arlanzon and the road to the town. Beyond the castle is Mount St Michael, on which a horn-work had been erected. A church had also been converted into a fort, and the whole included within three lines, so connected, that each could defend the other. The possession of the horn-work on St Michael's was a necessary preliminary to an attack on the castle. On the evening of the 19th, the light infantry of Colonel Stirling's brigade drove in the out-posts, and lodged themselves in the out-works close to the Mount. As soon as it was dark, the same troops, supported by the 42d, at-

tacked the horn-work, and carried it by assault. The loss on this occasion, owing to some mistakes in consequence of the extreme darkness of the night, was considerable, amounting to 300 killed and wounded.

Batteries were now erected, but the want of heavy artillery rendered all the operations and approaches more difficult and destructive to the besiegers. On the night of the 22d, an attempt was made to storm the exterior line of the enemy's defence. Major Lawrie of the 79th Highlanders, a gallant young officer, who commanded the party directed to scale the walls in front, was killed; and after every exertion, the object was found impracticable, and the troops were forced to retire.

The deficiency of artillery (which, owing to the great distance from Lisbon, could not be brought forward in time) leaving no hope of battering in breach, an attempt was made, on the 29th, to spring a mine under the works. A party was ready to storm the breach expected to be made by the explosion; but, from the extreme darkness of the night, they mistook the point of attack, and were forced to retire without accomplishing their object: And, in the meantime, so great were the exertions of the enemy, that the damage done to the walls was in a few hours repaired.

On the 4th of October, another mine was exploded with better effect; and the second battalion of the 24th regiment being in readiness, instantly assaulted the works, and established themselves within the exterior line of the castle, but were unable to maintain themselves in the position they had gained. The enemy, persevering in their resolute defence, made two vigorous sorties on the 8th, forcing back the covering parties, and damaging the works of the Allies, before they could be repulsed. In this affair the loss was considerable. Another mine was exploded on the 18th, when the troops attempted an assault, but without success. The siege had now lasted thirty days, in the course of which the enemy showed how much could be effected by brave and resolute men, even without the advantage of a regularly for-

tified garrison. When it was announced to the army on the 20th that the siege was to be raised, the disappointment was excessive, being alleviated only by the conviction that the failure was solely to be ascribed to the want of a battering train, which could not, in the circumstances of the case, be brought forward in sufficient time.

Every praise is due to the enemy for the ability and skill with which the place was put in such a state of defence, and the determined courage with which every attack was resisted. The last attack, on the 18th, was particularly desperate.\*

During the period of these transactions, the enemy were occupied in concentrating their forces; and on the 30th Lord Wellington received intelligence that Joseph, the temporary King of Spain, Marshals Jourdan and Soult, and General Souham, with 80,000 men, were on their march; Souham with the intention of raising the siege of Burgos; and King Joseph with the design of cutting off Lord Wellington's communication with General Hill's division, between Aranjuez and Toledo. The siege was therefore raised on the 21st, and the army marched, after night-fall, unperceived by General Souham, who followed with a superior force, but did not overtake them till the evening of the 23d. A good deal of skirmishing then ensued between the cavalry on both sides, while the army continued its march to form a junction with General Hill, and oppose the united force of the enemy, now collected from different parts of the kingdom. During the march, the enemy, being very superior in cavalry, pressed on the rear of the army, and brought on several skirmishes, in which our cavalry displayed their usual spirited gallantry. The troops suffered much from the inclemency of the weather, from bad roads, and, still more, from the want of a regular supply of provisions.

\* The loss of the army and of the Highland regiments will be seen in the Appendix.



This retrograde movement exhibited another instance of the impatience with which a British soldier bears a retreat, how quickly he loses his usual sense of duty and discipline, when he thinks he is not considered capable of meeting an enemy, and how readily he is animated and restored to duty and discipline when he perceives that confidence is again reposed in him, and that he is to have an opportunity of turning upon his foe. It has been seen in what manner the hurried retreat to Corunna disorganized the fine army under Sir John Moore, and how instantaneously order and animation were restored during the greatest despondency, and the utter absence of all discipline, whenever the sound of the order to battle reached the ears of the troops. Harassed and half famished, they met the enemy with a spirit which was fully manifested by the result.

On the retreat in question, which was short in comparison with that of Corunna, and during which the weather, although rainy, was not so unsupportable or destructive as the snowy tempests on the mountains of Galicia; much of the same disorganization was exhibited, and intermingled with the same display of spirited gallantry, whenever the soldiers faced about, and fronted the enemy. Similar causes produced similar effects in the division commanded by General Hill, who was also hard pressed by Marshal Soult. Both armies indulged in a laxity of discipline to a greater degree, according to the words of Lord Wellington, "than any army with which he had ever served, or of which he had ever read," and, he continues, "it must be obvious to every officer that, from the time the troops commenced their retreat from Burgos, on the one hand, and from Madrid on the other, the officers lost all command over their men. Irregularities and outrages of every description were committed with impunity."\* Notwithstanding all this, whenever the enemy appeared in sight, however harassing the fatigues, and however much the soldiers had suffered from hunger

\* General Orders.

or thirst, all was forgotten and lost in the hope of victory, which renovated their spirits, and invigorated their strength. In the numberless rencounters and skirmishes, which were daily occurring during the retreat, and the various manœuvres and changes of position from Burgos and Madrid to Salamanca, and from thence to the winter quarters at Frenada and Corca, the same spirit and energy were uniformly exhibited: every advance of the enemy was repulsed with such celerity, that the loss from the commencement of the retreat on the 22d of October to the 17th of November, when all hostilities for the winter ceased, was only 7 officers, 16 sergeants, and 81 rank and file, killed; 47 officers, 46 sergeants, 5 drummers, and 640 rank and file, wounded. The number of those who dropped behind from disease, or fatigue, or were taken by the enemy, has not been stated, although it must have been great.

After this masterly retreat, before a superior army, which found itself unable to make any impression beyond the rear-guard, the Commander-in-Chief allowed his army that rest now rendered so necessary by a constant succession of marches, counter-marches, battles, and sieges, from January to November, and accordingly placed them in winter quarters on the frontiers of Portugal. The enemy followed the example, apparently "unable to advance, unwilling to retire, and renouncing the hope of victory." This opinion, expressed at the time, was proved by subsequent events to be just; for, after the campaign of 1812, every movement of the enemy was retrograde, every battle a defeat. \*

\* While the 42d regiment lay in winter quarters, a melancholy instance occurred of the force of unbridled passion. Lieutenant Dickenson was quartered in the small village of Villatora, a short distance from the regiment. He had sent a Corporal of the name of Macmoran, one of the recruits from the Irish militia, on some duty in the neighbourhood. The man returned before evening parade, but did not attend, imagining, that, as he had been on another duty, he was not called upon to be present. The officer sent for him, and, after a sharp reprimand, ordered him to get his arms and accoutrements. He accordingly went for his arms, and returned to the officer, who stood waiting

for him. When the corporal reached within two yards of the lieutenant, he presented his piece, and shot him through the heart. He had loaded his musket for the purpose, and fixed his bayonet, in case, as he said afterwards, that, if he missed his aim, he might run Mr Dickenson through with his bayonet. They had had no previous difference, nor had the corporal the least apparent cause, except the affront of being ordered to parade by himself; and being both from the same county in Ireland, the circumstance excited the greater surprise among the Highlanders, whose affection for their fellow-countrymen is almost proverbial. The man was tried and executed.

## SECTION II.

*Campaign of 1813—Battle of Vittoria—Siege of St Sebastian—Pyrenees—Succession of Battles—France—Bidassoa—Bayonne—Series of desperate Actions—Battle of Orthès—Bordeaux—Bayonne—Ayre—Tarbes—Toulouse—Peace 1814—War 1815 Quatres Bras—Waterloo—Peace.*

THE successful campaign of 1812 led to another of equal difficulty and enterprise, in which the consummate talents of the Commander-in-Chief had ample scope for exertion. The troops were soon refreshed after their fatigues, and being reinforced from England, and supplied with the necessary equipments for the field, active operations commenced by a forward movement to Salamanca, which was now occupied by the British for the third time, on the 24th of May, and that celebrated city once more delivered from a foreign yoke. Sir R. Hill's division was stationed between the Tormes and the Douro, Sir Thomas Graham commanding the left wing at Miranda de Douro. The enemy gave way to the progress of the Allies, and Valladolid was evacuated on the 4th June. On the 12th General Hill attacked and defeated, with little loss on his part, the division under General Reille, General Ponsonby at the same time turning the right of the French. These manœuvres quickened the retreat of the enemy, who, in his progress, blew up the works of the castle of Burgos, on which they had bestowed so much labour in the preceding year, and which they had so gallantly defended.

Thus the able dispositions and movements of the Commander-in-Chief of the Allies, and the improved state of his

army, had completely turned the course of events. The enemy directed their march on Vittoria, their central depôt in the frontier provinces, occasionally skirmishing with the advanced guards; and on the 20th, Lord Wellington made a disposition of his army on the river Bayas, separated by some high grounds from Vittoria. Here the enemy made a stand, seemingly with an intention of resisting the farther progress of the Allies.

On this march and pursuit of the enemy, the influence of hope, and the prospect of success on the minds of the soldiers, were strongly exemplified; for while, on the retreat from Burgos, they desponded and were disorderly, having become careless of their character, and regardless of the orders of their officers,—now, in pursuit of the same enemy, the most perfect regularity and the greatest cheerfulness prevailed, the buoyancy of the mind invigorating the body, and no privation or fatigue being thought or complained of. In a long march of more than 250 miles, (frequently extending to 60 miles in three days), under the burning sun of a Spanish summer, and although the soldiers were loaded with arms, ammunition, and necessaries, to the weight of three or four stones, yet, as an example of the condition of the troops, Lord Dalhousie's division, consisting of 6000 men, arrived at Vittoria with less than 150 sick.

Such was the perfect state of this high-spirited army, when, on the morning of the 21st of June, they marched, in three columns, to take possession of the heights of Vittoria; the right being commanded by General [redacted] the centre by Lord Dalhousie and General Cole, and [redacted] by General Graham. From thence the French army, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, was seen drawn up, with their right supported by Vittoria, and destined to defend the passages of the river Zadorra, the centre on a height commanding the valley of that stream, and the left resting on the heights between Aruncz and Puebla de Arlanzon. The hostile armies amounted to about 70,000 men each.

General Hill commenced the operations of this memorable day by an attack on the heights of Puebla, on which, as already stated, the enemy's left rested, and which he speedily carried; but the enemy being reinforced from the centre, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, \* with the 71st regiment, and the Light infantry battalion of General Walker's brigade, were sent to the support of the troops who had already gained the heights. The contest at this point was peculiarly obstinate, as the enemy discovering, when it was too late, the importance of the position which they had lost, and which they had not strengthened with the necessary care, made the most strenuous and persevering efforts to regain possession of it. At length, however, they were forced back at all points, and pursued across the Zadorra, which, from the melting of the snows on the Pyrenees at that season of the year, was not fordable. The enemy having neglected to destroy the bridges, Sir Rowland Hill passed over at that of La Puebla, attacked and carried the village of Sabijana de Alava, and retained possession of it in defiance of repeated attempts to regain it. Immediately subsequent to the gaining of this advantage by Sir Rowland Hill, the Fourth and Light divisions crossed the Zadorra at two different points; and almost at the same instant the column under Lord Dalhousie reached Mendonza, while the third under Sir T. Picton, followed by the Seventh division, crossed a bridge higher up. These four divisions forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the right of the enemy's centre on the heights, while General Hill pushed forward from Alava to attack the left. These combined movements, admirably planned, and gallantly executed, completely neutralized and defeated the combinations and manœuvres of the enemy, who, dreading the consequences of an attack on his centre, which he had

\* This brave young man was mortally wounded in Sir Rowland Hill's attack on the heights on the enemy's left. Finding his end approaching, he directed that he should be carried to a height, that he might contemplate, to the last moment, the scene in which he had borne so honourable a part.

already weakened to strengthen his posts on the heights, abandoned his position, and commenced a rapid but orderly retreat to Vittoria. During this proceeding, Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left, drove the enemy's right from the hills above Abechuco and Gamarra, which nearly intercepted their communication with Bayonne. To preserve this passage, the enemy had occupied the villages of Gamarra Mayor, and Menor, near which the great road touches the banks of the Zadorra. To dispossess the enemy of these positions, which covered the only road by which they could retreat to Bayonne, Colonel Longa, with a Spanish division, and General Pack, with the Portuguese, supported by General Anson's cavalry brigade, and the 5th division of infantry under General Oswald, were ordered to force these two points, while General Graham attacked the village of Abechuco. All these attacks were completely successful; the Spanish and Portuguese conducting themselves with great gallantry.

While these operations were going on at Abechuco, the enemy made every effort to regain the village of Gamarra Mayor, but they were repulsed by General Oswald's division at every point; and, as soon as the centre of the Allies had penetrated to the town of Vittoria, the enemy retreated with great precipitation. The success of the troops under General Graham having cut off the retreat by the great road to France, the enemy saw that all was lost, and fled towards Pampluna, the only other road left open,—a difficult and circuitous route, on which they had no fortified positions to cover their retrograde movement. The different French corps being thus beaten and thrown back on one another, they got into inextricable confusion; and, as the pressure increased by the precipitation of the retreat, the greatest part must either have surrendered or been cut to pieces, if the difficult nature of the broken country, intersected by hills, small ravines, and ditches, had not prevented the artillery from being brought forward and the cavalry from acting with effect.

As it was, they abandoned all their baggage and artillery, except one gun and one howitzer, which those who were foremost on the retreat were able to carry off, but the gun was taken on the following day; so that one howitzer was all that remained of 151 pieces of cannon, protected by an army of upwards of 70,000 men, now completely scattered, broken down, and beaten, leaving behind them all their stores and baggage, both public and private,—everything, in short, that constitutes the *materiel* of an army. \*

It is impossible, for those interested in the honour of these kingdoms, to contemplate this complete overthrow of a great hostile army without sentiments of unmixed pleasure and exultation, heightened, as these feelings must be, by the consideration, that the influence of former victories, and an increasing respect for the discipline and courage of the army, began to be displayed; for, although both wings of the enemy's line fought with great desperation, the usual impetuosity of the French in attack was, on the whole, much abated. Their former confidence had been considerably subdued by what they had already seen and heard of the superior military talents of the British Commander, nobly supported as he was by his brave army.

On reaching Pampluna, and being refused admittance, such was the panic of the enemy, that they attempted to force into the garrison by scaling the walls, and were only prevented by the guns being turned upon them. This caused so much delay, that the rear of the flying army was in sight when General Hill's division approached. His pursuit in that direction was momentarily checked by a fire from the town; but, leaving this fortress to its fate, he pushed through the Pyrenees, driving the French from one position to another till the 7th of July, when he reached and

\* It is singular that England has twice triumphed almost on the same spot. In the proudest days of her martial fame in former times, a great victory was achieved by Edward the Black Prince, near the same spot, where he defeated the usurper of the Spanish throne, who was also supported by the troops of France.



took post on the summit of the Pass of Mayor, "those lofty heights, which," as the French General lamented, "enabled him proudly to survey our fertile valleys." \*

While the right was so well employed, General Graham made a movement to the left to intercept General Foy, then on his march to join Jourdan; but, when the latter heard of the defeat of the French army, he hastily retired. Attempting to make a stand at Tolosa, he was quickly driven from thence, and pursued beyond the Spanish boundaries. This part of the north of Spain being now cleared of the enemy, with the exception of Pampluna and St Sebastian, it was resolved to blockade the former, and lay siege to the latter. The latter part of this service was intrusted to General Graham.

St Sebastian being next in strength to Gibraltar, and the key of one of the entrances into France, no exertion had been spared to put it in the best possible state of defence. †

\* Soult's proclamation.

† St Sebastian was formerly one of the finest cities in Spain, and is situated on a peninsula, running nearly east and west, having its northern side washed by the river Urumea, and the southern by the sea, and being about a league distant from Passages. When besieged, the defences of the place were very formidable. On the line that crosses the isthmus at right angles had been constructed a double line of works, consisting of the usual counterscarp, covered way, and glacis, while those erected along the peninsula, in a longitudinal direction, formed only a single line, and were built without any cover, from a calculation that the water in front would render them inaccessible. The error of this calculation is the more unaccountable, as the Urumea, for some hours both before and after low water, is fordable, and the tide ebbs so much that there is a large space left dry along the left bank of the river, so that troops can march to the very foot of the wall. With regard to the northern line of defence, it is quite exposed, from the top to the bottom, to a range of hills on the right bank of the river, at the distance of 600 or 700 yards from the works. In 1701, Marshal the Duke of Berwick, natural son of James VII., breached the town wall from these heights, while he pushed his approaches along the neck of land, and formed a lodgment in the covered way. The town surrendered by capitulation, and the governor, with the garrison, retired into the castle.

On the 14th of July the batteries opened on the convent of St Bartolomeo, and on the 17th this stronghold, though fortified with a protecting work, and a steep hill on its left flank, was so nearly destroyed, that General Graham ordered both to be stormed. This attack was made by the division under General Oswald, and executed with such determination and vigour, that a strong body of men who defended the posts could not withstand the impetuosity of our troops, who got possession of both. On the 25th, two breaches being supposed practicable, they were assaulted by a party of 2000 men, who advanced with their usual resolution; but, after an obstinate contest against a numerous enemy, the troops were obliged to be recalled, having sustained a very severe loss; and, as other events called away the attention of the Commander-in-Chief, the siege was for the present suspended.

Marshal Soult, who had been recently appointed to the command of the French, having collected an army on the north side of the Pyrenees, was now ready to advance and attempt to force the positions occupied by the Allies. These positions were, by nature, almost impregnable; each formed a stronghold of itself either on an elevated hill, or as commanding a pass or ravine. But it was necessary to occupy a great extent of country, containing a range of bold and precipitous mountains, intersected in every direction, but more particularly from north to south, by deep passes, ravines, and valleys, which, in a confined space, afforded the best means of defence. But a distance of sixty miles now intervened between St Sebastian on the left, and the outward posts on the right of the allied army at Roncesvalles. To command every pass, therefore, was impossible; some must either be left open to the entrance of an enemy, or so weakly guarded, that Soult might force through, and turning the flank of one position, get in rear of another, and thus endanger the whole.

These mountains had been, in former times, the scenes of many desperate rencounters, and the grave of many a va-

liant knight. The valley of Roncesvalles, now the station of Brigadier-General Byng's brigade, had been celebrated in many a heroic ballad and romance, as the field of battle in which Charlemagne met his celebrated defeat. The mountain passes in the possession of the Allies were defended by the following troops:—The valley of Roncesvalles on the right was occupied by Major-General Byng's brigade, and General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, in support of which at Piscarret was posted Lieutenant-General Cole's division, with General Picton's in reserve at O-laque:—Sir Rowland Hill, with Lieutenant-General William Stewart's, and Silveira's Portuguese divisions, and the Spanish corps under the Condé de Amaran, occupied the valley of Bastan, and the Pass of Maya:—Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell's Portuguese brigade was detached to Los Alduidos:—The heights of St Barbara, the town of Pera, and the Puerto de Echelar, were protected by Lord Dalhousie and Baron Alten's light division, Brigadier-General Pack's being in reserve at St Estevan:—General Longa's Spanish division preserved the communication between Lord Dalhousie and General Graham, and the Condé de Abisbal blockaded Pampluna.

Marshal Soult having collected a great and numerous force, formed his plan of operations for a general attack on the allied army. On the 25th of July he advanced at the head of upwards of 36,000 men against Roncesvalles, while General Count d'Erlon, with 13,000 men, advanced on the Pass of Maya. General Byng was so hard pressed by this overwhelming force, the numbers of which enabled them to attack several parts of the position at once, that, although reinforced by part of the division of Sir Lowry Cole, he was obliged, in order to preserve his communication, to descend from the heights that commanded the Pass; and thus situated, he was attacked by Soult, and driven back to the top of the mountain; while the troops on the ridge of Arola, part of General Cole's division, were compelled to retire, with considerable loss, and to take up a position in the rear.

This they maintained till the evening, when General Cole, seeing a superior force in his front, and another in his flank, endeavouring to get round to his rear, retired as soon as it became dark to Lizoain, where he was joined by Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell, from Alduidos. On the 26th General Picton moved forward to support the troops at Lizoain, on which place Soult advanced after mid-day, when General Picton retired, keeping up a skirmishing fire till he reached a strong position, in which he formed in order of battle.

During these proceedings, Count d'Erlon advanced against all the narrow ridges occupied by some battalions near the post of Maya, and being superior in numbers to those who occupied them, or could be brought up to their support, he forced them to give way; but they were promptly supported by Brigadier-General Barnes's brigade. A series of spirited actions ensued, the weight of which fell upon Major-Generals Pringle's and Walker's brigades, of Lieutenant-General Sir William Stewart's division. The gallantry of the 20th and 82d was particularly noticed. Nothing material occurred on the 26th; but General Hill, hearing of the retrograde movements of the troops from Roncesvalles, retired behind the Irurita, and there took up a strong position. On the 27th Sir T. Picton resumed his retreat, the troops meanwhile being much dejected at this temporary reverse so soon after their late successful achievements; but the appearance of Lord Wellington seemed to act like electricity. They hailed his presence as the omen of returning victory; and when he gave orders to halt, and prepare to meet the enemy, all was animation and energy. He had been with the army before St Sebastian when he heard of the events on his right; and, hastening to the scene of action, directed the troops in reserve to move forward in support of the division opposed to the enemy. General Picton's divisions he formed on a ridge, on the left bank of the Argua, and General Cole's on high grounds between that river and the Lanz. General Hill was post-

ed behind the Lizasso, ready to support the positions in front; but on the arrival of General Pakenham on the 28th he took post on the left of General Cole, facing the village of Sourarem, under a high mountain, on the left of which Soult had formed his army; but, before the ground had been fully occupied by the British divisions, they were vigorously attacked by the enemy from the village. After a short but severe contest, Soult was driven back with immense loss.

Disappointed in his attempt, Soult brought forward a strong column, and advanced up the hill against the centre of the Allies, on the left of General Cole's line. Of this post the French obtained a temporary possession, but the Fusileers running up, drove them back with the bayonet. They returned to the charge, but were again quickly repulsed. Another attack was made on the right of the centre, where a Spanish brigade, supported by the 40th regiment, was posted. The former gave way, but the 40th drove the enemy down the hill again with great loss.

The battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the fourth division, the enemy pushing forward in separate bodies with great vigour; but they were uniformly repulsed, except on a post occupied by a Portuguese battalion, which was overpowered and obliged to give way, when the enemy established themselves on the post. This being immediately on the right of Major-General Ross's brigade, his flank was exposed to a destructive fire, which forced him to withdraw. At this instant Colonel John Maclean advanced with the 27th and 48th regiments, charged and drove the enemy who had got possession of the Portuguese post, and immediately afterwards attacked and charged another body of the enemy who were advancing from the left. Both charges were completely successful, and the enemy drove down the heights they had ascended with great loss. In this manner the enemy continued to push forward strong bodies, but with equally bad success, the defeat on every successive attack being more destructive, and attended with

greater loss to the enemy than the preceding. The bayonet was the principal arm employed; several regiments charged four different times.

On the following day Lord Dalhousie's division from the left reinforced the centre. This induced Soult to withdraw a body of troops from his strong position in front of the right of the British, trusting that, from the nature of the ground, the remainder would be able to maintain themselves against any force that might be brought to oppose them, and to attempt to turn the left of the position. His hopes of success from this movement do not appear to have been very confident, as he had previously ordered his artillery back to France; a pretty conclusive proof of the impression made upon him by the preceding actions. Lord Wellington, instantly availing himself of this reduction of force in his front, determined to attempt the position, although apparently almost impregnable. On the morning, therefore, of the 30th, Lord Dalhousie made an admirably conducted attack on the heights on the right, which was executed with much gallantry by Brigadier-General Inglis's brigade. During this operation, Sir T. Picton succeeded in turning their left, while General Pakenham, at the same time, drove them from the village of Ostiz. Amidst such a series of arduous and successful attempts, an attack in front was made by General Cole's division, upon which the enemy abandoned "a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops,"\* and were pursued beyond Olaque, in the neighbourhood of which Sir R. Hill had been hotly engaged during the whole day, and had repulsed every attack made by Count d'Erlon, and the troops sent by Soult for the purpose of driving him back on Pampluna. In consequence of this success, the General took possession of the heights of Eguarrus, which enabled him to set all the efforts of the enemy at defiance.

\* Lord Wellington's Despatches.

On the night of the 31st the main body of the enemy retreated, leaving a strong body posted on a mountain, at the Pass of Donna Maria, from which they were next day dislodged: Lord Dalhousie on the one side, and Sir R. Hill on the other, ascended the hills, and General Barnes's brigade of the 50th, 71st, and Gordon Highlanders, whose gallantry had been so often conspicuous, pushed up a steep ascent, in defiance of all resistance, and against double their number. The enemy, however much favoured by the natural strength of the country, could not withstand such resolute and undaunted movements, and were forced back at all points.

In this manner position after position was successfully turned in flank, or taken in front, at the point of the bayonet, so that, on the 2d of August, the Allies occupied the same position as on the 25th of July, when Soult made his first attack: and thus ended those operations which were to retrieve the disgrace of Vittoria, and the previous reverses of the enemy; and to conclude with driving back the Allies from the sight of the fertile valleys of France, and ultimately to reconquer the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal.

In this important, complicated, and lengthened engagement of so many days, on ground the most difficult, and in some places almost impassable, so that, on several occasions, it was necessary to climb precipices to the point of attack, during which the men were fully exposed to the shot of their opponents above, success, with a comparatively moderate loss, was certainly the more honourable. \* A more detailed account of the various incidents, skilful manœuvres, and deeds of gallantry, which led to this long succession of splendid and important victories, would have been most desirable. But when it is recollected, that the actions both of defence and attack were not only numerous, but involved in a variety of complicated movements,—that they were continued through a period of several successive days,—and

\* See the amount of the killed and wounded in the Appendix.

that they were fought in a mountainous tract, more than fifty miles in extent, and every where full of the most embarrassing obstacles; it must be obvious, that a narrative embracing the minute particulars of the scene could be the work only of an eyewitness, capable of noticing what passed under his own immediate observation, and of estimating the nature, consequences, and importance of more distant movements, such as occurred among the ravines and precipices of the Pyrenees, when this continued succession of attacks, repulses, charges, and assaults was exhibited. To military men, indeed, a minute description would be both interesting and instructive; but as my turn of duty led me to a distance from those important events, I have not attempted more than a mere outline of what took place.

On this occasion the 42d and 79th Highlanders did not belong to those brigades whose good fortune it was to be more actively engaged; but the Gordon Highlanders, who had more than once to oppose and attack the enemy, fully supported their former character. I have just mentioned my misfortune in not serving with this army, and consequently cannot speak from personal knowledge, and have not been able to procure any particular information, or to learn any characteristic anecdotes of the Highland regiments, either as a body, or as individuals. Such an illustration would be interesting, as tending to show the character and habits of Highland soldiers as contrasted with those of former times.

The siege of St Sebastian, which had been suspended on the advance of Soult, was now resumed on his discomfiture, and pressed with much ardour. A continued fire from eighty pieces of cannon was opened. The enemy withstood this with a courage and perseverance the more commendable, as the late defeat of their friends left them but small hopes of succour. On the morning of the 31st of August, a practicable breach having been made, the troops advanced to the assault. Notwithstanding the extent of the breach, there was but one point where it was



possible to enter, and this only by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of twenty feet. Every thing that the most determined bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward in succession from the trenches, but each time, on attaining the summit, a heavy fire from the entrenched ruins within destroyed all who offered to remain, and "no man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge."\* It was at this critical moment that General Graham,—confiding in the perfection to which the artillery had been brought, and in the unshaken steadiness of the troops,—with admirable presence of mind, ordered the fire of the Artillery to be directed against the curtain, so as to pass a few feet over the heads of the troops in the breach. Playing with unparalleled accuracy, it checked the enemy's fire, and the troops advanced with perfect confidence under the correct and undeviating aim of the guns in their rear. After the most persevering exertions for two hours to force the breach, an explosion of ammunition within the ramparts causing some confusion, the assailants redoubled their efforts, and the men assisted each other over the walls and ruins. But it was not till an hour afterwards that the enemy were driven from the complicated works, which they had so resolutely defended. They retreated with great loss to the castle, leaving the town, a heap of ruins, in possession of the assailants, who had also to deplore the loss of many valuable lives. But a place of such strength, and of such importance to the future operations of either party, and so defended, must, of course, be dearly purchased. †

Aware of the great importance of this fortress, Soult collected a force of nearly 40,000 men, and, with an intention of raising the siege, crossed the Bidassou on the very day when the assault took place. This attempt, after repeated attacks, in which the brigades of Generals Inglis and Ross,

\* General Graham's Despatches.

† The loss during the whole siege, from 29th July to 8th September, was 49 officers, and 547 soldiers, killed.

and a division of the Spanish army, were actively engaged, proved as unsuccessful as the former. The conduct of the Spaniards at the post of St Marcial, the defence of which had been intrusted to them, was particularly noticed "as being equal to that of any troops which the Commander-in-Chief had ever seen engaged." † Thus the French saw themselves beaten by the Spanish soldiers, whom they had formerly accustomed themselves to despise; and their humiliation at this defeat must have been rendered more acute by the recollection of those times when a French army believed that an advance to battle was a prelude to certain victory, often obtained on very easy terms. As nothing inspires a man with greater courage than the belief that there is no danger or hazard of victory, so nothing cools an advance, or breaks the resolution of troops, sooner than the presentiment of defeat on an encounter with an enemy. Not that the French evinced a loss of energy, or a want of determination to fight, however unsuccessful they might be. Their gallantry, under discouraging reverses, was proved at St Sebastian, as well as by the loss the Allies sustained, amounting to more than 2000 men in killed and wounded.

On the 7th of October Lord Wellington entered France, crossing the Bidassoa, at low water, near its mouth. General Graham, with a combined force of British and Portuguese, attacked and carried the entrenchments of Andayo, which were gallantly defended by the enemy. General Don Manuel Freyre, with a Spanish division, crossed higher up, and drove the enemy from their works. General Baron Alten, with the light division, encountered more difficulty, but was equally successful. He drove the enemy from a succession of redoubts, raised one over the other, on steep and difficult ascents. General Giron's division of Spanish troops attacked and carried the lower part of the mountain La Rhune; but on their subsequent attempt to ascend to

† General Orders.

the second position, they found the obstructions insurmountable. However, on the following morning, the attack was renewed on the right of the enemy's position, when they withdrew and left it to be occupied by the Spaniards. All these operations were accomplished with the usual spirit of the assailants; the 9th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel (now Major-General) John Cameron, which met with more opposition than any other, was particularly distinguished, as were likewise the 52d, the 95th, and the 1st and 2d Caçadores.

General Graham having thus established the army within the French territories, he resigned his command to the Honourable Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, now appointed second in command.

On the 31st of October Pampluna surrendered after a blockade of four months. This acquisition rendered the whole of the allied force disposable; and as the weather had now become very severe on the high ridges of the Pyrenees, Lord Wellington lost no time in commencing operations, and carrying the war into France. After the battle of the Pyrenees, the French had occupied a position, with their right upon the sea, at a short distance from St Jean de Luz, their centre on a village in Sare, and on the heights behind it, with their left resting on a strong height in the rear of Ainhoe.

The whole of this naturally strong position, especially their right, they had fortified with the greatest care. Heavy falls of snow and rain obliged Lord Wellington to defer, till the 10th of November, his attempt to force the enemy's centre, and establish the allied army in rear of their right. The attack was to be made in columns of divisions. Sir Rowland Hill, with Sir William Stewart's, Sir Henry Clinton's, Sir John Hamilton's Portuguese, and General Morilla's Spanish divisions, formed the right; the centre, under Marshal Beresford, consisted of Sir Thomas Picton's, (in his absence, commanded by General Colville), Sir L. Cole's and Lord Dalhousie's divisions, (commanded in his

absence by Colonel Le Cor), Baron Alten's Light division, and the Spanish Reserve under Generals Giron and Freyre; the left, commanded by Sir John Hope, consisted of Major-Generals Howard's and Oswald's, Brigadier-Generals Wilson's and Bradford's Portuguese brigades, and Lord Aylmer's independent British brigade; the whole amounting to more than 85,000 men.

On the morning of the 10th, the Allies moved forward to the enemy's lines. General Hill marched against the left, while Marshal Beresford was to attack the centre, supported on his left by the Spanish division of General Giron; and, in the mean time, the Light division and General Longa's were to attack La Petite Rhune. General Hope was directed to move against all the lines from the centre to the sea.

General Cole's division commenced the operations; and after a short but hot cannonade against the principal redoubt in front of Sare, the troops advanced with such expedition, that several of the enemy were taken in the redoubt before it could be evacuated. That on the left being also evacuated in the same haste on the approach of General Le Cor, General Cole's division then attacked and took possession of the village, which had already been turned on the right by Generals Colville's and Le Cor's divisions, and on the left by General Giron. General Alten, with the Light division, was equally successful against La Petite Rhune. The whole then united, and formed a joint attack on the enemy's principal position behind the village. Generals Colville's and Le Cor's divisions carried the redoubt on the left of the enemy's centre. The light division, at the same time, advanced from La Petite Rhune to attack the works in their front. In this duty they met with some difficulties, which were quickly overcome by a spirited advance of the 52d, headed by Colonel (now Major-General) Colborne. This point could only be attacked in front, over a low neck of land, exposed to the fire of two flanking batteries. This neck the regiment crossed by a very rapid movement; and,

when they had passed the defile, rushed up the hill with such impetuosity, that the enemy did not wait the shock, but retired with great expedition.

General Hill attacked, in divisions, the heights of Ainhoë; General Clinton's division leading, and marching on the left of five redoubts, forded the Nivelle, the banks of which were steep and difficult, and attacked the troops in front of the works. These were quickly driven back with loss; and, General Hamilton joining in the attack on the other redoubt, the enemy could not withstand this combined force, and hastily retired. The picquets in front of Ainhoë were driven in by General Pringle's brigade of General Stewart's division, while General Byng's brigade attacked and drove the enemy from the entrenchments, and a redoubt farther to the left.

Every movement was thus completely successful, and firmly established the Allies on the right bank of the Niville. Farther efforts, however, were still necessary, as the troops driven from the enemy's centre were concentrating above the heights of Saint P<sup>é</sup>. But Generals Colville's and Le Cor's divisions, improving the advantages already acquired, crossed the river below the village, dislodged the enemy from the heights, and established themselves on the position beyond them. The day was, however, too far advanced to make any farther movements; and the enemy, taking advantage of the night, abandoned all their positions and works in front of St Jean de Luz, and retired upon Bidart, destroying all the bridges on the Lower Nivelle. These measures of the Allies were to have been followed up next morning; but the excessive rains, and the destruction of the bridges, rendering a rapid progress impossible, the enemy gained the entrenched camp at Bayonne, leaving in the hands of the victors 51 pieces of artillery and 1500 prisoners, with a proportional number of killed and wounded. And thus was concluded a second and successful series of complicated movements, in opposition to so masterly and experienced a tactician as Marshal Soult, stationed on

ground certainly much inferior in natural strength to the stupendous and intricate passes and mountains of the Pyrenees, but still possessing many natural advantages, chosen by himself, and carefully strengthened and fortified by his army, during a space of more than three months.

Looking to the number of troops engaged, and the length of the contest, the strength and extent of the enemy's position, the judgment with which it had been taken up, and the labour and expense with which it had been fortified,—the loss,\* though considerable, was less than could, with less spirited troops, have been expected, which may in some measure be accounted for by the diminished spirit of the French, and by the increased ardour of the Allies, who saw themselves victorious in every encounter, and whose confidence in their Commander afforded every hope of a continuance of the same victorious career.

The enemy, having been thus driven from all his posts on the Nivelle in a manner so honourable to his opponents, placed his army within an entrenched camp, close to Bayonne. The allied troops were cantoned between the Nivelle and the sea, and occupied in preparations to dislodge Marshal Soult from his new position. Incessant rains, from the middle till the end of November, put a total stop, during their continuance, to all active movements. On the beginning of December, Lord Wellington directed bridges to be constructed over the Nive, and on the 8th commenced his operations for the passage of that river, with a view to make a movement to the right, and thereby to threaten the enemy's rear, for the purpose of inducing his antagonist to abandon his present position, which was deemed too strong for any direct attack. These movements led to a series of desperate contests, the result of which fully realized the views of the Commander of the Allies. On the 9th the army moved forward. General Hope met with small opposition, and General Hill encountered as little in

\* The loss was 21 officers, and 244 soldiers, killed.

crossing the Nive by the ford of Cambo. The enemy retired in great haste to avoid being intercepted by General Clinton's division, which had crossed at Ustariz, and assembled in considerable force at Ville Franche, but they were driven from thence by the Light infantry and two Portuguese regiments, under Colonels Douglas and Browne. On the following day Sir Rowland Hill's division was established, with his left on this position, and his right on the Adour. The communication between Bayonne and St Jean Pied de Port being thus cut off, the troops at the latter place were compelled to fall back on St Palais. On the morning of the 10th, Soult, leaving a force to keep General Hill in check, quitted his entrenched camp, made a furious attack on the Light division of Sir John Hope's wing, and succeeded in forcing back the outposts. The enemy established themselves on a ridge between the corps of Baron Alten and Major-General Andrew Hay's fifth division; and turning upon the latter with a vigour that required no common firmness to resist, they were, after a severe struggle, repulsed by Brigadier-General Robinson's brigade of the fifth division and Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell's Portuguese brigade. All the troops engaged particularly distinguished themselves. The 9th regiment, under Colonel Cameron, already so often and so honourably mentioned, had now another opportunity of showing how well they could use the bayonet, and what a powerful arm it was in their hands. Undismayed by these repulses, the enemy renewed the attack about three o'clock, but were again unsuccessful. Thus passed the day, and in the course of the night Soult made dispositions to attack the Light division at Arcangues. But Sir John Hope, perceiving his intention, and ready to meet every change of position, moved towards the threatened point. His opponent, equally on the alert, again changed his dispositions to the left, and here also he was as quickly met by General Hope. In this manner passed the first part of the night between two masters of their profession, each watching, with intense anxiety, the movements of the

other, and possessing that acute discernment necessary to avail himself of any mistake committed by his opponent.

The following day passed in partial skirmishing with the outposts, and on the 12th the enemy renewed the attack on the left, but with no better success. During the night of the 12th, however, they determined on an entire change in the plan of their operations, drew their army through Bayonne, and on the morning of the 13th, made a powerful effort, with 30,000 men, to pierce through between the centre and right of the British position. Advancing with equal vigour and celerity, they would probably have succeeded in the attempt, had not General Hill, with that prompt decision of which we have seen so many instances, ordered his troops on the flanks to support the centre. This opportune aid arrived at the moment when, without such assistance, this immense body would have forced through. The enemy were now repulsed with great loss, and retreated with such expedition, that they were out of reach before the arrival of the sixth division, which had been ordered up to support General Hill. The weight of this attack was sustained by General Barnes's brigade and the Portuguese brigade of General Ashworth, stationed on the road to St Jean Pied de Port. The result fully evinced the spirit with which the attack had been repelled.\*

During this affair General Byng's, supported by General Buchan's Portuguese brigade, carried an important height, from which the enemy made several ineffectual attempts to dislodge them; but, being unsuccessful at all points, they at length retired to their entrenchments. General Hill's division followed, and took up a parallel position.

The winter had now set in with unusual inclemency, and a succession of violent rains had so swelled all the rivers, and destroyed the roads, that ulterior movements were for a

\* The 79th distinguished themselves here; the number killed by their fire on this occasion, in a small space, was one of the remarkable circumstances of the war.



short time impracticable. This interruption of active warfare allowed Marshal Soult time to strengthen his position in front of Bayonne. About the middle of February 1814, the weather becoming more favourable, Lord Wellington lost no time in commencing a series of movements calculated to force Soult to draw his troops from their strong position, or allow the Allies free entrance into the heart of France, and thereby cut off his communication with that country. The first operation was to drive back the French from the vicinity of St Palais. After a series of movements, Lord Wellington succeeded in getting the command of the Adour, down which the enemy received their supplies from the interior. Being deprived of this resource, Soult was obliged to withdraw from Bayonne; and leaving a strong garrison for its defence, he marched with the main body in the direction of Daxe.

Sir John Hope was left to blockade Bayonne; and, on the 24th of February, the right and centre of the army made a general movement, the former crossing the Gave d'Oleron at the post of Villeneuve, and the latter between Montford and Laas, all without opposition, and marched forward on the 25th to dislodge the enemy from a position on the Gave de Pau at Orthés. Between the two extreme points of this position ran a chain of heights receding in a line bending inwards, the centre of which was so retired as to be protected by the guns of both wings. In this strong post Soult was supported by the town and the river on the left; his right resting on a commanding height in rear of the village of St Bois; while the centre, accommodating itself to the incurvation of the chain of heights, described a horizontal reversed segment of a circle, protected, as has been already stated, by the strong position of both wings.

Against this advantageous post the dispositions were quickly made. Marshal Beresford, with Generals Cole's and Walker's divisions, and with Colonel Vivian's brigade of cavalry, was ordered to attack and attempt to turn the right; Generals Picton and Clinton, with General Cotton's

and Lord Edward Somerset's brigades of cavalry, were directed to attack the heights on the left and centre; General Alten, with the Light division in reserve in rear of the two columns of attack, was to be ready to support either; while General Hill was to cross the Gave, two miles above Orthés, and to attack the left flank and rear of the position. Marshal Beresford attacked and carried the village of St Bois, after an obstinate resistance. General Cole then advanced against the heights above the village; but two flanking ravines narrowing the approach, only two battalions could be brought forward in line to oppose the weight of the whole force on the heights, the troops being flanked also by a body of the enemy in the ravines, and the guns on the heights. Notwithstanding the firmness displayed by the troops, it was found necessary to relinquish the advance by this direction. A new plan was instantly adopted, and a joint attack, consisting of the troops of the Reserve and those of the right, was made upon the enemy's left, in the expectation of turning them in that flank. This attack was led by the 52d, under Colonel Colborne, supported on the right by Brigadier-General Brisbane and Colonel Keane's brigade, and, at the same moment, by Major-General Anson on the left; while, on the right of the whole, General Picton, with a part of his own division and of General Clinton's, rushed forward almost at the same time. This shock was irresistible: every point was carried; the enemy, however, retreating in a masterly manner, firing by echelons of divisions, each covering the other as they retreated, till General Hill, who had by this time crossed the river, advanced upon their left flank on the road from Orthés to St Sever. The French now became apprehensive of being entirely intercepted, and this hitherto well-ordered retreat was immediately converted into a total rout, their troops hastening away at a running pace, followed by their pursuers with the same speed. In this manner the latter kept to their rear at a full trot for nearly three miles, till at length the French breaking, and throwing away their arms, spread themselves all

over the country. Still, however, they were pursued to Sault de Navailles, when there no longer remained even the appearance of an army, every ditch, hedge, or obstacle that could impede their flight, being strewed with the dead and the wounded.

If the nature of the country would have allowed the cavalry to act early in the retreat, the greater part of the enemy must have been destroyed; or, if they had attempted to form and resist the cavalry, the delay occasioned by such a determination would have enabled General Hill, the head of whose division was nearly parallel with their rear division, to get so far in advance as, by a quick movement to his left, to take them in flank, and thus, by checking their farther retreat, force them to surrender. As it was, their loss was estimated at 8000 killed, wounded, and taken.\*

After this signal victory, the French General had to encounter a new and formidable enemy in the disaffection of a part of his troops. French soldiers now, for the first time, abandoned their standards; numbers of them went over to the Allies, and others fled to their different homes. But no defeat, desertion, or disaster, seemed to affect Soult, who continued to exert his great abilities with a spirit and energy undismayed and undiminished. He grasped at every opportunity of opposing the victorious and irresistible progress of his opponent. Of this determination he exhibited an early instance, and, on the 2d of March, made a stand to cover the removal of considerable magazines, which had been established at Ayre. He posted his men on a strong ridge of low hills, extending across the road in front of that town, having their right on the Adour. In this position they were attacked by General Hill's corps. Sir William Stewart's division attacked the right, and General La Costa's Portuguese division the left. Both succeeded in gaining possession of the ridge; but the Portuguese were so shaken

\* See Appendix for particulars of British loss, 14 officers, and 173 soldiers, killed.

by the resistance they met with, that, in the confusion, they could not be re-formed before the enemy had rallied, and were returning upon them in great force. At this moment General Stewart, who had completed his share of the duty, detached to their assistance General Barnes, with the 50th, 71st, and the Gordon Highlanders. With the gallantry which had so often distinguished these corps under the same leader, they instantly drove the enemy from the heights. Several desperate attempts were made to retrieve what had been lost. In these they were repulsed at every point: and being at last driven from the town, took the route to Pau. Numbers threw away their arms, and fled with the utmost speed. The magazines, of course, fell into the hands of the British.

This affair afforded additional evidence of the confidence which had been acquired, and which was increased by every successive action. No enterprise during the war had contributed more to depress the spirits of the enemy than the storming of St Sebastian. In all the general actions, however disastrous the result, they had always reserved some consolatory pretext to evade the acknowledgment of defeat or inferiority. The General must have committed some mistake, or miscalculated his manœuvres; the position was not good, or the troops were not judiciously stationed; some divisions advanced too soon, others were too late; their antagonists were numerous beyond all proportion, or some accidental circumstance had given them an unexpected advantage which surprised even the victors themselves, and which would have certainly ended in their defeat, had it not been for one or other of such causes as have been enumerated. Thus ingeniously did these sanguine and brave troops labour to find out reasons to cover and to conceal, even from themselves, the real cause of their numerous compulsory retreats. But, in such a place as St Sebastian, there could be no manœuvring General to commit mistakes; and the defences were so strong, and had been so little impaired, that, even with small resistance on the part of the besieged, a

body of assailants would have required a considerable time to force an entrance. In a fortress possessing an accumulation of every means of defence that could be well brought forward, with a brave and numerous garrison, the being compelled to surrender was an indication of undaunted resolution, and superior physical power, on the part of the assailants, which no sophistry could explain away. The loss was indeed great; but it will be supplied and forgotten, while the impression made by this irresistible attack will endure for ages, and have its influence in establishing the character, and proving the capability of British soldiers. With such qualifications for the most arduous of military enterprises, the assault of a place of strength, we find that, in the field, under their great commander, and opposed to the most celebrated of the numerous and able generals of the enemy, the French were driven from position to position with great celerity, and with a comparatively small loss to the victors. Outflanked, outmanœuvred, checked, and turned, in a country remarkable for the strength of its military positions, they found that these defeats, so often repeated, were not effected by superiority of numbers, nor by accidental advantages, but by the admirable execution of a combined series of movements, conceived and planned with an acuteness, a decision, and a vigour of intellect, that, with brave troops to execute them, made success a matter of certainty.

Much rain having lately fallen, the rivers overflowed their banks, and laid a considerable portion of the country under water; and the French having destroyed the bridges, the advance of the army was unavoidably delayed. By Soult's retreat on Tarbes, all the western part of Gascony had been left open to the operations of Lord Wellington, who, therefore, detached Marshal Beresford and Lord Dalhousie, with three divisions, to Bourdeaux, of which city they took possession not only without opposition, but amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the inhabitants,—a circumstance very uncommon on the entrance of a victorious army into an enemy's city; but the truth seems to be, that the pressure

of Napoleon's despotism had become utterly intolerable, and the sufferers naturally hailed the first dawnings of emancipation, come from what quarter they might. Besides, in Bourdeaux and the province of Gascony, there were a great number of individuals of property and influence, sincerely attached to the cause of the Bourbons.

Marshal Beresford, after leaving Lord Dalhousie with 4000 men at Bourdeaux, was recalled, and Lord Wellington, having received a reinforcement of troops from Spain, and regimental detachments from England, and of men who had recovered from the hospitals, immediately put the army in motion. The right column advanced on Vicq Bigorre, by Lembege, and the centre through Manbourget. At Vicq the enemy, with two divisions, attempted to make a stand, but were soon dislodged by General Picton, with the third division, and driven beyond Tarbes, where Soult concentrated his whole force, with a seeming intention of disputing the farther progress of the Allies; placing his left at Tarbes, and extending his right towards Rabastens. On the 20th, Generals Hill and Picton moved forward on the enemy's front at Tarbes, while General Clinton, with the 6th division, crossed the Adour to turn his right at Rabastens, General Alten's Light division being destined to attack the heights above Orleix. These combined movements succeeded in the most perfect manner. But no sooner had the British driven the enemy from the heights which they occupied, than a second line was seen drawn up on two hills running parallel to those in front. This commanding position being reinforced by the troops driven from that in advance, it was found to be too formidable to be attacked in front, without a great sacrifice of men; and before the necessary movements for taking it in flank could be completed, the night closed in, and Soult, unwilling to risk another engagement, took advantage of the darkness, and moved off towards Toulouse, whither he was, next morning, followed by the Allies, who reached the banks of the Garonne on the 27th of March.

The contending armies were now separated by a great river, recently swollen by heavy rains, and the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees. The only bridge being in possession of the enemy at Toulouse, it was a matter of some difficulty, and caused some loss of time, before pontoons of size and strength sufficient for the crossing of the army could be procured. But every hour's delay increased the difficulty of the ultimate enterprise, as the French were busily occupied in fortifying a formidable position close to Toulouse, and as Soult, driven so far back towards the centre of France, had approached nearer the source of his supplies, while the allies, on the other hand, had receded to a proportional distance from theirs. But matters were now coming to a crisis. In this formidable and imposing position, Soult might flatter himself with a successful operation, if not the total defeat of his hitherto victorious opponent; and that, should the closing scene of such a course of important events end in victory, it would erase from men's memories all traces of the numerous defeats which he had already sustained. Hence, a battle gained at Toulouse would be a conclusion of the war, glorious for the arms of France. Acting on such views, the Marshal, (or, as the French soldiers familiarly called him, *Le vieux Renard*, the old Fox), strained every nerve to put himself in the best possible state of defence. It was indeed asserted at the time, and is still generally believed, that he knew of the events in the north, and the abdication of Buonaparte; and, therefore, his motive in concealing this information, and his determination once more to encounter his formidable antagonist under the walls of Toulouse, must have arisen from some ultimate view of a signal triumph, as a set-off against all previous disappointments and defeats.

The city of Toulouse is defended by an ancient wall, flanked with towers; is surrounded on three sides by the great Canal of Languedoc, and by the Garonne; and, on the fourth side, is flanked by a range of hills close to the canals, over which pass all the roads on that side the town.

On the summit of the nearest of these heights, the French had erected a chain of five redoubts, and formed entrenchments and lines of connection with the defences of the town, consisting of extensive field-works, and of some of the ancient buildings in the suburbs well fortified. At the foot of the elevated ground, and along one half its length, from the most distant extremity, ran the small river Ers, all the bridges of which had been destroyed. On the summit of the height was an elevated and elongated plain, in a state of cultivation, and having a farm-house, with its usual accompaniments, towards the end next the town. Around this house some trenches had been cut, and three redoubts raised on its front and left. The ascent to the summit was easy; but the ground having been recently sown and harrowed, formed an excellent glacis, which, from its breadth and smooth surface, gave a full range to the shot from the redoubts as it swept along when the troops marched up to the attack. Three roads, sunk deep into the earth by long use, and having very high banks on each side, traversed the summit. On this field Soult resolved to stand his last battle; and, from the insulated nature of the town, no mode of attack was left to Lord Wellington but to attempt the works in front.

Part of the army crossed the Garonne on the 4th; but, owing to a few hot days, the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees swelled the river so much, that it was necessary to remove the pontoons; and accordingly it was the 8th before they could be replaced, and more troops could cross over. Soult was too much occupied with his defences to attack the part of the army which had crossed; and, besides, he now began to feel the want of numbers,—a misfortune well known to the English in many enterprises, but seldom experienced by the French in the course of their late wars.

On the 8th, the falling of the river allowed the whole army to cross, except General Hill's division, which remained opposite the town, in front of the great bridge, to



keep the enemy within their works on that side. On the 10th of April 1814, all was ready for the last struggle. The Spaniards, under Don Manuel Freyre, were to attack the redoubts fronting the town; General Picton, and the Light Division, were to keep the enemy in check on the great road to Paris, but not to attack; and Marshal Beresford, with General Clinton and the sixth Division, were to attack the centre of the entrenchments, while General Cole, with the fourth, marched against the right. The Divisions having to march along the valley, it required some time to get into the order of attack. When ready, they marched in a parallel direction to the heights on their right, from which they were exposed to a smart cannonade till they came opposite to their respective points of attack, when they immediately changed their front to the right, and marched up the heights. General Pack's brigade, of the 42d, 79th, and 91st, supported by General Lambert's brigade, of the 36th, 37th, and 61st regiments, attacked and carried the lines and a redoubt on the right, and established themselves on the summit, the enemy retreating to the redoubt at the farmhouse.

The commencement of the attack on the right was the signal for Don Manuel Freyre to advance with a Spanish Division, which marched up with great spirit, exposed to a very severe cannonade, that disordered them considerably. Some rushing forward, while others moved more slowly, they were soon so much broken and disordered as to be unable to cross one of the deeply indented roads which passed within one hundred yards of the lower redoubt. The enemy, perceiving this check, rushed out of their entrenchments, and drove them down the hill, where they formed behind a bank under which they had taken shelter. But the Light Division advancing to their support, they again rallied on the plain at the bottom, in front of General Picton's, who pushed forward the 45th regiment and part of his division, with an intention of crossing the canal; but, on reaching the work that defended the bridge, it was found that the canal

was so wide and deep, that to cross it was impracticable; and, being now exposed to a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, which they could not return, they were forced to retire. In this attack Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes of the 45th, a valuable officer, was killed.

There was now a general cessation in all the points of attack, till the Spaniards were rallied and brought forward again. This was done by Lord Wellington in person. Marshal Beresford's artillery, which he had left at Montblanc, was now brought up to cannonade the heights. When all was again ready, the attack recommenced. The Spaniards made several attempts, but were unable to succeed. General Pack's brigade advanced on the summit of the heights to the attack of the works at the farm-houses and of the two centre redoubts, and marched forward several hundred yards, over a ploughed field, exposed to the whole fire of the lines, redoubts, and entrenchments, without returning a shot, and with a steadiness that surprised the enemy. "My God! how firm these sans culottes are!" exclaimed a French officer who saw them advance, (distinguishing the 42d and 79th by their dress). When they reached the redoubts, they leaped into the trenches, and carried them with the bayonet. Three of the redoubts, and two-thirds of the lines which defended the heights, were thus in possession of the British.

The 42d occupied two redoubts on the left, the 79th that on the right, and the 91st was stationed in rear of the farmhouse. The outward redoubt on the left was on the edge of the declivity towards the plain at the bottom of the hill. One of the deep roads already mentioned ran close to this redoubt, and, by some oversight, had not been properly occupied, the men being stationed in the inner entrenchment. With an intention of regaining, if possible, these positions, the enemy availing themselves of this kind of covered way, marched up a column of great force, and with such cautious silence, that the head of the column had nearly passed the unoccupied redoubt before they were perceived. Having

reached the proper point, they instantly made a desperate rush forward, in such numbers; that they nearly overpowered the 42d, who were forced to retire to the farm-house. Here they were promptly supported by the 91st, and the enemy were again driven down the hill with heavy loss. The Highlanders also suffered very severely.\* The enemy

\* A highly distinguished officer (Lord Hill), whose judgment and professional talents have been proved by the uniform success which attended his enterprises, exemplified on this occasion how an eye, originally correct, may be improved by practice. The troops under his command had not crossed the Garonne, and were stationed beyond Toulouse, at the distance of more than two miles from the field of action, but in full view of the whole. I had gone to France at this period; and, talking over the battle of Toulouse with Lord Hill, a few days after it happened, he observed, in allusion to the attempt of the enemy to retake the redoubt, "I saw your old friends the Highlanders in a most perilous situation; and had I not known their firmness, I should have trembled for the result. As it was, they could not have resisted the force brought against them if they had not been so instantaneously supported." I asked him what was the amount at which he calculated the strength of the enemy's column of attack. He replied, "Not less than 6000 men."

I was soon afterwards travelling through Languedoc, and, in a field close to the road in the neighbourhood of Carcasson, I saw a brigade of French infantry exercising. Stepping out of the carriage, I walked into the field to view the troops; and, being in uniform, I was observed by the general officer commanding. He immediately rode up, and, after the usual salutations, invited me, with great politeness, to look at his brigade; and, opening the ranks, we walked through each rank together. In the course of conversation, the recent battles were noticed; and, after discussing various points, "Well," said the French general, "we are quite satisfied, if the English army think we fought bravely, and did our duty well." The Highland corps were mentioned. "Ah!" said he, "these are brave soldiers. If they had good officers, I should not like to meet them unless I was well supported. I put them to the proof on that day." I asked him, in what manner? He answered, that he led the Division which attempted to retake the redoubt; and, on a further question as to the strength of that Division, "More than 5000 men," was the answer. Here we see that the English general, at the distance of more than two miles, calculated the number at not much less than 6000 men, and the French general who commanded stated it at more than 5000. The closeness of the estimate shows great accuracy of eye, and judgment of numbers at a distance,—a talent of the first importance to a military commander, and which must contribute in a very eminent degree to secure success in a complicated and extended campaign.

had scarce reached the plain below, when a fresh body advanced to retake the redoubts, which were now fully occupied; the 42d in the outward, the 79th in the centre redoubt, and the 91st in the farm-yard. This was a most desperate attack; and the enemy, as if sensible that this was the last effort of that bravery and impetuosity which had made the French armies so often irresistible, persevered with a gallantry that would have secured success had their opponents been less resolute and firm.

This firmness prevailed, and the enemy were soon forced to give up the attempt; their retreat being perhaps hastened by the advance of the other brigades of General Clinton's Division on the right, and by the movement of the Spaniards, who were now well advanced on their left. The whole retired, leaving the heights in full possession of the Allies, who now overlooked the venerable city of Toulouse, within full reach of their guns.

But Lord Wellington was spared the cruel necessity of bombarding the town, which contained many loyal and sincere friends, who must unavoidably have suffered in the general confusion; and Marshal Soult, conscious that the city was not defensible, evacuated it the same evening, under the guns of the British army, but undisturbed by his opponent, who wished to avoid all hostilities against the inhabitants, who must have suffered had a cannonade been opened on the retreating enemy. And, indeed, the French army had no other alternative; for the Garonne, the canal, and the heights which had formed their principal defences, were now turned to a different purpose, and assisted the views of the Allies, who had only one side to guard against the entrance of supplies, and that entrance commanded by their guns. If Soult had not evacuated the town, he must soon have surrendered for want of the provisions necessary for the support of a population of 60,000 inhabitants, and of his own army of 36,000 men. To this number it was now reduced by the casualties of war and the recent numerous desertions. And thus, as a wary and experienced fox, (to

use a familiar illustration,) who, after a long and intricate chase, and in spite of his numberless doublings and manœuvres, is at length earthed under some bank,—so the Field Marshal of France was now cooped up within the small circle of a city, the capital of the second province of France, into which an army which had conquered two kingdoms had been driven for shelter, after a series of retrograde movements and manœuvres from Seville to Toulouse. In the course of these operations the army of Great Britain and her Allies had liberated and given independence to two kingdoms, and had fought eight pitched battles against the bravest soldiers, and the ablest and most experienced generals, of France, who had been foiled by the British general in their boasted tactics, and out-manceuvred, out-marched, out-flanked, and overturned. That army had been also successful in many arduous sieges and assaults, and had at length established themselves in Bourdeaux and Toulouse, the two principal cities of the south of France. Such are a few of the glorious results of these campaigns: Quatre Bras and Waterloo completed a series of victories the more honourable, as they were gained over an enemy remarkable for transcendent military talents and genius.

On the following morning the army made a kind of triumphal entrance into the town, and were received by the inhabitants with an enthusiasm more like that which they might have been expected to show to their deliverers than to conquerors. In the course of the same day, official accounts, which it is said had been kept back on the road, were received of the abdication of Buonaparte, and the restoration of Louis XVIII.

In this manner ended the last battle in that series of difficult operations, which contributed so materially to the fortunate conclusion of twenty-one years' warfare. As the principal aim of my present undertaking is to show the importance to the state of preserving a warlike, moral, and hardy population, and likewise how far the natives of the north of Scotland possess these qualifications,—and to point out the

influence exerted by the recent statistical changes and improvements, as they are called, on their moral and military character,—as well as to prove how easily battles may be gained by brave soldiers, in so far as regards actual loss from an enemy,—I may now be permitted to draw a comparison between the amount of the loss of useful subjects to the State sustained in a cause where its honour, and even its very existence as an independent nation, were concerned, and that occasioned by drains on the population by compulsory emigrations, such as have taken place in the North, which have removed from this country as many valuable members of society as were killed by the enemy in the whole of the Peninsular campaigns,—and this in a much shorter period than the duration of these apparently destructive and deadly operations. It will be seen, that from the first shot fired under General Sir Arthur Wellesley at Brilos, after the landing in Portugal in 1808, till the last battle under the Marquis of Wellington at Toulouse, in 1814, the number killed was 7 general officers, 45 field-officers, 142 captains, 263 subalterns, 41 staff officers, 391 sergeants, 33 drummers, and 7449 soldiers.\* Of these 1064 were of the German Legion and other foreign corps in the pay of Great Britain, leaving the loss sustained by the United Kingdom 6385 soldiers killed in battle.

Adverting also to the loss sustained at Waterloo, which may be said to have decided the fate of nations, we find that the number of soldiers in British pay killed, amounted to 1536; and, deducting 311 for the German Legion, there remains of the killed of British soldiers at Waterloo 1225 men. When it is remembered that, by the operations of one or two individuals, a greater number of Highlanders have been forced to abandon their native land, many of whom enlisting themselves under the protection of a foreign state, may therefore, at some future period, become the enemies of their native country; the blood spilt in battle to maintain

\* See Appendix, page 63.

its honour and independence, if not its existence, may be matter of less regret, in so far as regards the loss of subjects, which, in the instances above alluded to, is considered of so little importance, that, instead of reprobation, some of those who act upon the system which is so rapidly changing the character and the best principles of the people, call for applause as promoters of patriotic measures, and improvers of their country.

The objects of twenty-one years' warfare being now in a great measure accomplished, the troops were removed, without delay, to their appointed destinations, and the three Highland regiments ordered for Ireland, where they remained till the return of Buonaparte from Elba; when they embarked for Flanders, and reached Brussels in the end of May, or early in June, 1815.

In my attempts to give some account of the share which several Highland corps have borne in different actions, I have been necessarily led, whenever my information enabled me, to give a more extended detail of events that occurred at a considerable distance of time than of those of a more recent date, both because the recollection of the former is obviously less distinct, and because they afford more frequent illustrations of the general principles and character of the natives of the Highlands in what may be called their primitive state. All, doubtless, have heard of Fontenoy, Ticonderoga, and the Heights of Abraham, but all may not have a recollection of the more minute circumstances by which they were characterized. Not so with respect to the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, of which so much has been already said and written, and that so recently, that every part is fresh in the memory of all. I shall, therefore, not attempt what has been already so often and so well performed. At Quatre Bras, as at Alexandria, the 42d had an opportunity of showing what share they possessed of that unyielding firmness which had so long distinguished their predecessors.—It is said that the soldiers of some European nations take such a comprehensive view of the scenes in which

they are engaged, and are so quick-sighted in perceiving any movements of the enemy which may endanger their safety, that, assuming the functions of the general, they not only think and calculate on these movements, but act upon them. Hence when they see an enemy on their flank, in their rear, or in any place except in their front, they are apt to give way, and to suppose that the day is lost. But be that as it may, such is not the case with the British soldier, who is not apt to see cause for retiring till he is overpowered by superior physical force. At Quatre Bras, the enemy, especially at the commencement of the action, were so much more numerous than the British, and advanced from so many different points at once, that the regiments were obliged to fight independently, and at such a distance, that the one could not support the other, each being compelled to stand or fall by itself. This was a noble opportunity, and it was not lost. It is well known how well each regiment upheld the honour of their country, when opposed to a numerous, brave, and veteran enemy, who fought for victory or death, who had the honour, empire, and life of their master at stake, and who, should they lose this first turn of the game, would lay a foundation for the final and overwhelming stroke.

The 42d was drawn up in a field of wheat nearly breast high. In this situation they experienced that perplexity which must sometimes occur in armies composed of the troops of different nations, and even in an army of the same nation as our own, where our uniforms, once so distinguished by their showy and striking colours, are becoming so similar to those of foreign troops, that, if continued, it will be difficult, at any distance, to discover friend from foe, British from foreign troops. In this instance a body of French cavalry were mistaken for Prussians or Belgians. The mistake was not discovered till too late to receive the squadrons of the enemy in proper formation. The men threw themselves into a kind of square, which was not nearly completed when the enemy advanced in full charge, and with greater



impetuosity, when they saw the imperfect state for resistance of the body which they were advancing to attack. But however imperfect the condition in which they were to receive the enemy, it was sufficient for the purpose. They were repulsed, and forced back at every point; but still they persevered, and renewed their attempts to break in upon the troops, with a degree of confidence increased by the expectation of a comparatively easy victory over men who appeared so incapable to stand their ground.\* But these brave men were not possessed of such clear notions of their own danger, as to give way when they saw it approach: They stood back to back, every man fighting on his ground till he fell, or forced his enemy to retreat. At length, when the enemy's ardour was somewhat cooled, probably by disappointment at the little impression which they had made, and when they had relaxed in the frequency and fierceness of their attacks, the regiment completed the formation which was at first so imperfect. After the failure of these repeated attacks, the enemy did not again advance in great force. They contented themselves with pushing forward small parties, who kept up a galling fire, but produced no serious impression, till at length, despairing of success, they retired, leaving the British in possession of the field of battle.

Considering the situation of the 42d, and the force with which they were attacked, the loss was not severe. Licute-

\* The enemy could not comprehend this. In the case of men taken off their guard, and nearly surprised, rushing up into a hurried formation, and rapidly grouped in support of each other, their assailants expected an easy victory: Their officers frequently called out, "Why don't you surrender? down with your arms, you see you are beaten."

Speaking of this affair after the battle, some of the prisoners expressed their surprise: "Your people must be very ignorant; they knew not when to surrender, although conquered. We beat them, yet they stood." It is to be hoped that our soldiers will long continue in this state of ignorance, in case that, if formed according to the highly finished state of education, where every soldier is an officer, and every officer a general, they may lose more of the best and most useful qualifications of brave soldiers, than they can gain of the general knowledge of those parts of their profession which belong to others.

nant-Colonel Sir Robert Macara who commanded, 2 officers, and 40 soldiers were killed. The wounded were numerous in proportion, which must have been occasioned by the distant and independent skirmishing. The wounds, at least many of them, were slight, as few died, and a small number only of those wounded on this occasion are now on the Chelsea pension as disabled. Indeed, the loss of the army that day was moderate; for a greatly superior and brave enemy, calculated at 40,000 men, had been repulsed at all points, with a loss to the British of 27 officers, 17 sergeants, and 269 rank and file, and to the Hanoverians of 2 officers, 2 sergeants, and 29 rank and file killed.

The Duke of Wellington, in his letter, detailing the operations at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, pays a high compliment to four British regiments, and a battalion of Hanoverians, these being the only corps he notices by name. "I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, and 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians." This is a mark of approbation never to be forgotten by these regiments. A testimony to their merits, given on an important occasion, and by so perfect a judge, who never conferred praise without ample and sufficient reason, is a desirable distinction.

The Royal Highland Regiment lost five men killed at the battle of Waterloo, the last of a long series of engagements, in which they had borne a conspicuous share since they first faced an enemy at Fontenoy in May 1745. On every occasion, when they fired a shot at an enemy they were successful, (except at Ticonderoga, where success was next to impossible,) successful to such an extent at least, that whatever the general issue of the battle might be, that part of the enemy opposed to them never stood their ground, unless the Highlanders were prevented from closing upon them by insurmountable obstacles. For, even at Fontenoy, though the army was defeated, this regiment carried the particular points ordered for them, and, on the two occasions of Fontenoy and Ticonderoga, they were the last in the field.

Having now brought the military service of the regiment to a conclusion, I shall subjoin a list of the killed and wounded from the year 1740 to the year 1815. The number amounts to 34 officers, and 778 soldiers, killed in battle in the course of seventy-five years' service, of which forty-five were a period of active warfare. The lists in the Appendix will show, in one view, the number of men killed and wounded in the different wars. \* In that from 1793 to the peace of 1814, there were 235 men killed, and at Quatre Bras and Waterloo 45, making the total number of soldiers killed in battle 280 in the twenty-two years' war; and in the same period, commencing in 1793, and ending in 1815, there died by sickness, wounds, and various casualties, (as appears by returns in the Adjutant-General's office,) 1135: † of the soldiers 1489 were discharged. ‡ Thus the total number of those who have been killed, or have died in this regiment, in the course of twenty-two years of active, and what has been called sanguinary warfare, in every variety of climate, has been 1415, while it has been frequently stated that 13,800 men were destroyed in this corps in the first fifteen years of the war. These statements are credited too generally in the North, to the great detriment of recruiting; for, as I shall have occasion to mention afterwards, however brave a young man may be, he will be less inclined to enter the service, when he is told that it

\* See Appendix.

† The deaths by sickness in the 2d battalion are not included. The loss by the enemy in this battalion is so trifling, as not to be worth notice.

‡ Of men discharged at different periods 563 are now alive receiving pensions from Chelsea. Great numbers were discharged at the conclusion of the different wars, without pensions, as they had served but a short time and were not disabled. John Stewart, living in Perth in 1823, and several other men still receiving pensions, were wounded at Ticonderoga in 1758, Martinique in 1759, Guadaloupe in 1762, and Bushy Run in 1763. Captain Peebles, wounded at Bushy Run, and residing in Irvine, and Major John Grant, late of the Invalids, were the only officers alive, in the year 1822, who served in the regiment during the Seven Years' War. Captain Peebles died in 1824.

has proved so destructive; and, even in the case of spirited young men, to whom such tales would be no check, their families and female friends discourage them, and endeavour to prevent their encountering such imminent hazards.

From the year 1740 to 1815, two officers of the corps were brought to Courts-Martial. † Few rose to great professional eminence, at the same time that many were highly respectable. I have already noticed, that Lord John Murray exerted himself to procure respectable officers; and while his success in this respect was acknowledged, various reasons have been assigned for the supposed deficiency of eminence in so numerous a body. In a country that has produced good soldiers, it may be presumed that among the same people good commanders may also be found, unless their talents are kept under by some powerful cause. Good officers are undoubtedly more rare than good soldiers; but, as the proportion among the Highland military is certainly in favour of the latter, the real cause may be, that the officers were, in general, without fortune, the great mass being the younger sons of gentlemen, or the sons of gentlemen-tacksmen, and who, consequently, had not the means to push forward by purchasing promotion early in life; so that such of them as persevered were frequently too old, or too much worn out by previous service before they rose to any rank. Hence, with minds active and entire, they were obliged, by decay of constitution, to retire at the time when they were likely to attain the rank where talent could be shown to advantage. I knew two officers who had served thirty years in the earlier duties of the regiment, and who, so far as an

† Major George Grant, for the loss of old Fort George, near Inverness, taken by the rebels in September 1745. This was one of the many instances of the terror which the Highlanders, at that period, inspired. When they appeared before the fort, and were preparing to assault it sword in hand, the soldiers could not be kept to their guns, and the commander was obliged to surrender the garrison. For this he was tried and broke; but he had none of his own regiment in garrison with him. They were then in Flanders. The other officer was Lieutenant Sutherland, tried for neglect of duty in 1779, and reprimanded.

opinion could be formed, without positive proof, were fit to command armies; and yet they had attained no command beyond that of a company, when bad health forced them to retire. In other professions, also, we find that superior talents are not always early distinguished. The celebrated Principal Robertson was twenty years a settled minister before his name was heard of, or known to the public, and he sat ten years as a member of the General Assembly before he ventured to speak in that venerable court, of which he afterwards became so distinguished a leader and ornament. The late Lords Kenyon and Ashburton were many years at the bar unnoticed and unknown. Had these eminent men belonged to a profession that would have exposed them to personal hardships, and prostration of health and constitution, they might have been cut off before their talents, which, at a late period in life, shone forth so conspicuously, were known or heard of. Sir Ralph Abercromby, although always known to be a man of superior strength of mind, never had an opportunity of showing his military genius as a commander till he was past sixty years of age. Had his constitution been less vigorous, his name would never have been heard beyond the confined circle of those who knew him in private life. In this manner, from want of money, or influence to procure early rank, or from a decay of constitution, forcing them to a premature retirement, many Highland officers have sunk in obscurity, who, under more favourable circumstances, might have risen to distinguished eminence in their profession.

The non-commissioned officers are stated to have been, at an early period, a superior class of men. I can speak from my own knowledge of individuals who served as sergeants fifty and sixty years ago, and who, in every respect, merited the character given them. Non-commissioned officers have latterly had sufficient inducement to obtain and preserve a good character. Twenty-eight sergeants of the 42d were appointed officers during the seventeen years that I belonged to the regiment. Of the privates six were exc-

cuted from 1740 till 1815; three for mutiny in 1743; one for desertion in America in 1783; one for murder in Gibraltar in 1797; and one for shooting his officer in 1812. Besides these, there were tried by General Courts-Martial those who mutinied in 1743; a soldier for allowing a French prisoner to escape in 1745; two men for mutiny at Leith in 1779; one man for desertion in America in 1780; and one for striking an officer in 1804. In the course of seventy-nine years' service, no individual has ever been brought to a General Court-Martial for theft, or any crime showing moral turpitude or depravity. After the reinforcements received in 1780, 1783, 1795, and at later periods, several petty crimes occurred requiring checks and punishments, formerly unknown; but none of such a nature as to call for any punishment beyond what the power vested in their own commanding officer could award. The time, however, is now come, when, with proper care, and the prospect of a long peace, the regiment may become, if not what it originally was, when so many of the soldiers were men of a superior class in society, at least such as to enable their country to bestow a portion of that approbation which their predecessors so fully enjoyed, when upholding its honour and military name among the armies of Europe. There are sufficient materials in the Highlands to supply a corps with recruits capable of exhibiting every military qualification; and when the object is to preserve the warlike reputation, and to give a stamp to the moral character of a whole people, the hope may be indulged, that the means will not be neglected, the more especially as they can be so easily attained. In the earlier service of the corps, the idea of one of their number being brought to disgraceful punishment, (as in the instance after the battle of Fontenoy), occasioned a feeling of horror and shame among all, and no degrading punishments were required. If this feeling cannot be preserved, it will be a lamentable proof of the decay of that honourable sensibility to shame which formed a conspicuous feature in the character of the High-

landers. Since the beginning of the last century, a numerous class in the Highlands has been always well educated; but education is now more generally extended to all classes; and, if religious and moral instruction accompanies their reading and writing, the principles I have noticed may be preserved; but, if these are fundamentally unsound, and if the love of country and of kindred, the belief that a man's character is reflected on all with whom he is connected, the consequent desire to preserve an honourable name for their sake, and the dread of being a reproach to them, be derided as the antiquated notions of uncivilized ages,—and if, agreeably to the creed of modern economists, the people be considered valuable in as far only so they are profitable, and retained or rejected accordingly, like any other animals, and with as little regard to their feelings or fate,—all the education of Oxford or Edinburgh will not make them virtuous and honourable soldiers, ready to prefer death to dishonour or defeat: And the Forty-second regiment must go to other countries than the Highlands to recruit for loyal and high-spirited men, faithful, and attached to their chiefs and superiors.

A man of good understanding and correct conduct may rank in estimation below his just level, merely from the circumstance of succeeding to an appointment previously filled by a man of superior talents and genius. In the same manner, the men of this corps,—the successors of the old Black Watch,—have an honourable task to perform,—a task perfectly easy, if it continues to be composed of good materials, but arduous, perhaps impossible, if the reverse. Scotland expects that they will preserve untarnished the character so honourably acquired by their predecessors, and transmitted to them to be maintained as pure as it descended to them. If, in the selection of recruits, only good men are taken, their principles may be easily preserved, but they may as easily be destroyed. If approbation and encouragement be a spur to honourable conduct, the 42d regiment has always had an ample share. But it has

been said, that much of this proceeds from the character gained by their predecessors. That this feeling influences opinion is evident, for to this day the Black Watch is seldom mentioned in Scotland without an accompanying expression of respect. That the whole does not proceed from this source, is equally evident from the kind reception which the regiment experienced on their return home after the late peace, not merely in Scotland, but in England, where many towns turned out almost their whole population to welcome them. But in Edinburgh their welcome was altogether so extraordinary, and so enthusiastic, that I shall state the circumstances of it more minutely.

Some time after the surrender of Paris, the regiment passed over to England, and from thence marched to Scotland in the spring of 1816. It was understood that they were to march into Edinburgh Castle on the 18th of March: A crowd of idle spectators is not so easily collected in Edinburgh as in London; but, on this occasion, it seemed as if two-thirds of the houses and workshops in the city had been emptied of their inhabitants. Several hours before the regiment arrived, the road to Musselburgh was covered with carriages, horsemen, and pedestrians. At Portobello the crowd was great; and, on entering the Canongate, it was a solid moving mass, pressed together, as if in a frame. The pipers and band could not play for want of room, and were obliged to put up their instruments. Many of the crowd on raising up their hands to take off their hats to wave them in the air, could not without difficulty get them replaced again by their sides. Spacious as is the High Street of the city, not a foot of it was unoccupied; and the fronts of its lofty houses appeared as if alive, every window being crowded with heads, chiefly those of ladies.

Of the soldiers little was seen except their bonnets and feathers; the firelocks they were obliged to carry close to their bodies. In this state the movement forward was necessarily slow, and great apprehension was felt lest any person should fall, and be crushed under the feet of the



multitude, as had any been so unfortunate, it would have been impossible to raise them. An hour and a quarter was occupied in the march from the Palace of Holyrood to the Castle gate, where the soldiers found considerable difficulty in disengaging themselves from the crowds which pressed around them. \*

Each soldier was presented with a night's free admission to the Theatre, and a public dinner was given to them in George Street Assembly Rooms; Sir Walter Scott, and several of the most eminent men in Edinburgh, superintending the entertainment.

If the approbation of their country be gratifying to good men, no stronger incitement to honourable actions need be required, than the assurance of receiving it when merited. The remembrance of scenes like these, exhibited in testimony of the most cordial approbation by all classes in the capital of their native country, ought to be carefully cherished by those who were the objects of them, and by all those, likewise, who may succeed them in the corps, as an incitement to imitate the same line of conduct, both in quarters and in the field,—conduct which, for a long succession of years, has secured to the Black Watch and Royal Highlanders as high and uninterrupted a feeling of

\* The following is an extract from the account published at the time :

“ Tuesday, the first division of the 42d regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Dick, (who succeeded to the command of the regiment, on the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Macara, killed at Quatre Bras), marched into the Castle. Major-General Hope, Commander of the Forces, and Colonel David Stewart of Garth, accompanied the Lieutenant-Colonel at the head of the regiment. Not only the streets of the city were crowded beyond all former precedent with spectators, but the windows, and even the house-tops, were occupied. The road from Musselburgh, a distance of six miles, was filled with relations and friends; and so great was the crowd, that it was after four o'clock before they arrived at the Castle Hill, although they passed through Portobello about two o'clock. It was almost impossible for these gallant men to get through the people, particularly in the city. All the bells were rung, and they were everywhere received with the loudest acclamations.”

respect and esteem for their private character, and of admiration for their courage in the field and success in arms, as an approving country could well bestow. This high character, uniformly distinguished by marked approval, deserves the notice of those whose province it will be to direct the recruiting of the corps, so that the men who fill the ranks may maintain its original character; and that, when mothers and sisters mourn the absence of their sons and brothers, they may soothe their hearts with a feeling of satisfaction, when they reflect, as I have often heard them do: "Well, if I should never see his face again, he is a companion to brave soldiers and honourable men; he belongs to the Black Watch."

MILITARY ANNALS  
OF THE  
HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

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HAVING completed the details of the military service of the Forty-second regiment, from its original formation in 1739, down to the great and closing scene at the battle of Waterloo, I now proceed to give some account of the other Highland regiments, following the order of the dates at which they were embodied.

The Black Watch may be considered, if I may say so, as the parent of all the succeeding Highland regiments, and the model on which they were formed. The natural consequence was, that the military service of this regiment has been connected with so many expeditions, battles and campaigns, that, in the general narrative, much of the military service of other corps has necessarily been included. Hence, in the case of Fraser's and Montgomerie's of the Seven Years' War, Fraser's of the American, and Gordon's and Cameron's of the Late War, the duties of these corps were so frequently the same with those of the Forty-second regiment, that the notices under the head of each must necessarily be concise, as a more minute narration would only lead to tedious and unnecessary repetitions.

I now begin with Loudon's, the second Highland regiment raised in Scotland.

## LOUDON'S HIGHLANDERS.

1745.

THE loss of the battle of Fontenoy called for renewed and strenuous exertions on the part of the British Government. The distinction which Lord John Murray's Highlanders had obtained in that well-contested action, their eminent services, "which were heard over all Britain," and the general good conduct of the soldiers, were now so fully acknowledged, that many national jealousies, formerly entertained with regard to the character of Highlanders, began to be considered as ill-founded and unjust. With a view, therefore, of adding more men of this description to the military force of the country, Government granted authority to the Earl of Loudon to raise a regiment in the Highlands, under the patronage of the noblemen, chiefs, and gentlemen of the country, whose sons and connexions were to be appointed officers. By their influence, and by the confidence which the people reposed in their chiefs and landlords, it was expected that the young men would readily enlist in a corps in which all were to be of the same country, to wear the same garb, to speak the same language, and to possess the same habits. These expectations were well founded; for, in as short a time as the recruits could be collected from the more distant districts, 750 men were assembled at Inverness, and 500 at Perth, forming a battalion of twelve companies, with the following officers, whose commissions were dated the 8th of June 1745:

*Colonel*, John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, died in 1782, a General in the army.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*, John Campbell, (late Duke of Argyll,) died a Field-Marshal in 1806.

*Captains.*

- John Murray, son of Lord George Murray, (late Duke of Atholl.)  
 Alexander Livingston Campbell, son of Ardkinglas.  
 John Macleod, younger of Macleod.  
 Henry Munro, son of Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis.  
 Lord Charles Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon.  
 John Stuart, son of the Earl of Moray.  
 Alexander Mackay, son of Lord Reay.  
 Ewen Macpherson of Clunie.  
 John Sutherland of Forse.  
 Colin Campbell of Ballimore, killed at Culloden.  
 Archibald Macnab, son of the Laird of Macnab, died Lieutenant-general  
 1791.

*Lieutenants.*

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|---|--|
| Colin Campbell of Kilberrie.  | Duncan Robertson of Drumachuine,<br>afterwards of Strowan. |
| Alexander Maclean.  | Patrick Campbell, son of Achallader.                       |
| John Campbell of Strachur, died in<br>1806, a general in the army, and<br>colonel of the 57th regiment.                   | Donald Macdonald.  |
| John Robertson, or Reid, of Stra-<br>loch, died in 1806, a general in the<br>army, and colonel of the 88th re-<br>giment. | James Macpherson of Killihuntly.                           |
| Patrick Grant, younger of Rothie-<br>murchus.   | John Campbell of Ardsloginish.                             |
|   | Alexander Campbell, brother to Bar-<br>caldine.            |
|   | Donald Macdonell of Lochgarry.                             |
|   | Colin Campbell of Glenure.                                 |

*Ensigns.*

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| James Stewart of Urrard.            | Donald Macneil.   |
| John Martin of Inch.                | Alexander MacLagan, son of the Mi-<br>nister of Little Dunkeld.                       |
| George Munro of Novar.              | Robert Bisset of Glenelbert, after-<br>wards Commissary General for<br>Great Britain. |
| Malcolm Ross, younger of Pitcalnie. | John Grant, younger of Dalrachie.   |
| Hugh Mackay.                        |   |
| James Fraser.                       |   |
| David Spalding of Ashintully.       |   |
| Archibald Campbell.                 |   |

This corps was fortunately embodied at a critical period, being only a few weeks previous to the breaking out of the Rebellion, a circumstance which undoubtedly prevented many of the men joining the rebels. There can, indeed, be little doubt, that, had this plan of raising regiments in the Highlands been more early adopted, and had a field of honour and preferment been opened to the gentlemen of the

country, this unfortunate insurrection would not have been attempted, and the ruin of many honourable families might thus have been happily prevented.

The liberal, and even paternal, indulgence shown by George III. towards the victims of a mistaken loyalty is well known. \* He looked upon their political attachment, and their fidelity to an unfortunate family, as pledges of disinterested loyalty, which, by kindness, might at some future day be transferred to the proper object, and which afforded the best proof of ultimate support to his own person and government. He therefore received graciously not only the descendants of those who had been engaged in that rebellion, but likewise several who had themselves acted a conspicuous part in it. Among these were the Earl of Airley and Lord Macleod, General Fraser of Lovat, Mr Farquharson of Monaltrie, Sir John Wedderburn of Ballendean, and many others. † Several of these individuals were early employed in his Majesty's service.

By the breaking out of the Rebellion, this regiment was called to the field without being disciplined; but such a de-

\* His Majesty knew well that there were many gentlemen in the North, who refused to take the oaths of abjuration. To those gentlemen he frequently sent his compliments by any person whom he knew going to their part of the country, and always reminded them, that, on the failure of their own King, he expected a transfer of their loyalty and attachment. He was much diverted with the ingenious method which a gentleman of Perthshire (Mr Oliphant of Gask) adopted to avoid drinking his health, and to substitute that of another. Gask had christened his son Charles. The boy sat next his father every day at dinner; and, after the cloth was removed, the old gentleman filled a bumper, and turning round to his son, cried out, with a tap on the shoulder, " Charles, the King's health!"

† As an instance of the influence his Majesty's conduct had on the mind and feelings of those who were once disposed to dispute the right of his family to the throne, I may mention that of an old and honourable Jacobite, who died in Atholl a few years ago. It will be recollected, that, when the French took possession of the Papal territories, they drove the late Cardinal York from his residence at Freseati, and confiscating and destroying all his property, left him totally destitute; and that his Majesty settled an annuity of L.4000 on the Cardinal, who, in return for this generous liberality, left him the Ribbon and Star of

iciency was then of less importance, as the habits of the people made the change to a military life easy; and besides, the enemy they were to meet was as undisciplined as themselves. A young soldier, in those days, was not startled at the report of his own piece, nor did it require time to accustom him to fire ball without shrinking. \*

This regiment did not act in a body during those troubles. So rapid and unexpected were the movements of the rebels, that the communication between a division of the regiment at Inverness, and of another at Perth, was interrupted, and they never united till after the suppression of the insurrection. Indeed, several of the officers and a number of the men actually joined the rebels. The companies in the northern counties were employed there under Lord Loudon, while the others were occupied in

the Order of the Garter, which had been worn by Charles I., "the only property now in his possession, and the only legacy he had to leave to the rightful heir of his family, and possessor of that crown which his father and brother had so long claimed." The old gentleman I have just noticed had been "out" (as the term was) in the year 1745, and retained his ancient predilections to the last. Living to a great age, his sight failed; and, one morning as his son was reading the newspapers aloud, he came to this notice of what the King had done for the Cardinal.—"Hold there," says the old man, starting up; "read that again." When this was done, he exclaimed, with great emotion, "May God Almighty, in his infinite goodness, bless and prosper him in the chair † he fills, and deserves so well, and may God forgive me for not saying so before!" and, as long as he lived, he never failed praying daily for his Majesty.

\* If the volunteer system had served no other purpose but that of accustoming the youth of the country to the use of arms, the money expended would have been well bestowed. Happily for this country, war has for a long period been kept at such a distance, that its fatigues, habits, and dangers, have been known only by report; and young men had been so little accustomed to the use of fire-arms, that it was equally ridiculous and remarkable to observe the alarm with which many were filled when they first began to use gunpowder. After they were in some measure habituated to this innocent but noisy exercise, it required a second training to make them cool and steady when firing ball.

† The Highlanders call the Throne the Chair, in allusion, probably, to the chair in which so many of the kings of ancient Albion had been crowned, and which is now in the Tower of London.

the central and southern Highlands. Three companies, under the Honourable Captains Stuart and Mackay, and Captain Munro of Fowlis, were present at the battle of Preston in September 1745. *Every man and officer was taken prisoner.* Three companies were also at the battle of Culloden, where they lost Captain Campbell and six men killed, and two soldiers wounded.

After the suppression of the Rebellion, the regiment remained in Scotland till the month of May 1747, when they marched to Burntisland, and embarked there on the 30th, with orders to join the allied army in Flanders. Owing to various delays, a junction was not formed with the Duke of Cumberland's army till after the battle of La Felt on the 2d of July; and hence it happened to Lord Loudon's as to Lord John Murray's Highlanders, who unfortunately arrived too late for the battle of Dettingen in 1744, and thereby lost the opportunity of distinguishing themselves on that occasion, the only victory obtained in those campaigns. It is remarkable, that, although the British had the advantage in the first part of every battle, and the enemy gave way to their impetuous advances, yet, when victory seemed their own, they were compelled by some fatality, or rather, perhaps, by the great talents of Marshal Saxe, to retire from the field. Such was the case at La Felt, which circumstance might lessen the disappointment of Loudon's regiment at being absent; at the same time, it may be recollected, that on no future occasion was the conduct of the 42d regiment more conspicuous or more favourably noticed than at Fontenoy, which was a thorough defeat. But as all true soldiers must regret the loss of every opportunity of distinguishing themselves, so the delay which prevented the junction of this regiment with the Duke of Cumberland's army previous to this battle must be considered as a misfortune,—a misfortune, however, which they had soon an opportunity of retrieving on an important service, namely, the defence of Bergen-op-zoom. This garrison Marshal Saxe had determined to attack with 25,000 men, under the com-



mand of General Count Lowendahl. To oppose this force, all the disposable troops in Brabant, including Loudon's Highlanders, were collected and marched to the lines of Bergen-op-zoom. These lines were strongly fortified, and occupied by eighteen battalions, to relieve the garrison of a portion of their duty, and to preserve the communication with the country. This fortress, a favourite work of Coehorn, which had never been taken, and was supposed impregnable, contained six battalions, supported by the eighteen in the lines, with 250 pieces of cannon. General Croustrum, the governor of Brabant, assumed the command. He was an officer of great experience, but aged, and so deaf, that he could hardly hear the report of his own guns.

General Lowendahl carried on his preparations and approaches with great vigour, and opened his batteries on the 14th of July. These were answered with equal vivacity by the besieged. The importance of the place, the number of the opposing forces, and the vigour with which it was attacked and defended, attracted the attention of all Europe. From the 15th of July till the 17th of September, the siege was carried on without intermission. The besiegers suffered extremely, and were repulsed in every attempt. The troops in the town were relieved every twenty-four hours from the lines, and were so protected with covered ways and casements, that their loss was comparatively small. Many instances of bravery were displayed on both sides, in the different attacks and sorties. In one of these we find, that, on the 25th of July, "the Highlanders, who were posted in Fort Rouro, which covers the lines of Bergen-op-zoom, made a sally sword in hand, in which they were so successful as to destroy the enemy's grand battery, and to kill so many of their men, that Count Lowendahl beat a parley, in order to bury the dead. To this it was answered, that, had he attacked the place agreeably to the rules of war, his demand would certainly have been granted; but, as he had begun the siege, like an incendiary, by setting fire to the city with red-hot balls, a resolution had been taken neither to

ask or grant any suspension of arms.\* There were more mines sprung, and more lives lost by their explosion, than in almost any similar operation on record. Those of the French were thrice exploded by the garrison, and, on one occasion, seven hundred of the enemy were destroyed in one of their own mines, which exploded too soon. At length breaches were made in a ravelin, and two bastions. The breaches being enlarged, General Lowendahl attempted a storm, which he accomplished on the night of the 16th September, when his troops threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and got possession of the ramparts, along which they ranged themselves, almost before the garrison had assembled. So sudden and unexpected was this attack, that several of the officers flew into the ranks in their shirts. But, although the enemy got possession of the ramparts, they did not gain the town so easily. There they were opposed by two regiments of the Scotch brigade, which made so firm a stand, that the governor and garrison were enabled to recover themselves from their first surprise; otherwise the whole would have been killed, or forced to surrender. "The Scotch assembled in the market-place, and attacked the French with such vigour, that they drove them from street to street, till fresh reinforcements pouring in, compelled them to retreat in their turn, disputing every inch as they retired, and fighting till two-thirds of their number fell on the spot, killed or severely wounded, when the remains brought off the old governor, and joined the troops in the lines." †

\* Hague Gazette.

† On comparing the assaults on Bergen-op-zoom in 1747 and 1814, the coincidence of circumstances in the first part of the operations is striking. In 1814 the troops scaled the walls, and while one part secured the principal gate and drawbridge, the others got possession of the ramparts, and ranged themselves along two-thirds of the bastions, and all with no effectual resistance from the enemy. But, in the further execution and final result of this bold and well arranged enterprise, so highly creditable to the commander, and which deserved a better fate, the troops of General Graham were not so fortunate as those of Count Lowendahl.

These troops made no movement in support of the garrison, but retreated immediately, with apparently unnecessary precipitation, abandoning all to the enemy. An account of this assault published at the Hague states, that "two battalions of the Scotch brigade have, as usual, done honour to their country, which is all we have to comfort us for the loss of such brave men, who from 1450 are now reduced to 330 men, and those have valiantly brought their colours with them, which the Grenadiers twice recovered from the midst of the French at the point of the bayonet. The Swiss have also suffered, while others took a *more speedy way to escape danger.*"\* Another account, in commemorating the loss in this assault, says, "It appears that more than 300 of the Scotch brigade fought their way through the enemy, and that they have had 19 officers killed, and 18 wounded. † Lieutenants Francis and Allan Maclean of the Brigade were taken prisoners, and carried before General Lowendahl, who thus addressed them: 'Gentlemen, consider yourselves on parole. If all had conducted themselves as you and your brave corps have done, I should not now be master of Bergen-op-zoom.'" ‡

The fate of this strong and important place excited vehement suspicions of treachery on the part of the garrison. After holding out with so much firmness against the most vigorous assaults, it at last yielded with little resistance be-

\* Hague Gazette.

† History of the Siege.

‡ Lieutenant Allan Maclean was son of Maclean of Torloisk. He left the Dutch and entered the British service. He was a captain in Montgomerie's Highlander's in 1757, raised the 114th Highland regiment in 1759, and, in 1775, raised a battalion of the 84th, a Highland Emigrant Regiment, and, by his unwearied zeal and abilities, was the principal cause of the defeat of the Americans at the attack on Quebec in 1775-6. Lieutenant Francis Maclean also entered the British service, and rose to the rank of Major-General. In the year 1777 he was appointed Colonel of the 82d regiment, and in 1779 commanded an expedition against Penobscot in Nova-Scotia, in which he was completely successful.

yond what was made by the Scotch brigade. So great was the anxiety of the people of the United Provinces for the safety of this garrison, that they supplied the soldiers with an additional allowance of provisions, and every necessary assistance; with nourishing food and cordials for the sick and wounded. Large sums of money were presented by individuals, and collected by general contribution, to encourage the soldiers to make a resolute defence. In Amsterdam L.17,000 were collected in one day to be distributed among the soldiers if they compelled the enemy to raise the siege. During its continuance, every soldier who carried away a gabion from the enemy was paid a crown. Some of the Scotch soldiers gained ten crowns a-day by this kind of service. Those who performed more daring exploits, such as taking the burning fuse out of the bombs of the enemy, when they fell within the garrison, were rewarded with ten or twelve ducats. With such an anxious desire to preserve their garrison, the disappointment of the Dutch was deep and strong. They consequently gave ear the more readily to insinuations of treachery on the part of the commanders, who had so strong a force at their disposal. Whatever might have been the cause of the final result, the resolute defence made during the siege is proved from the loss of the enemy, which exceeded 22,000 men, an estimate which, great as it is, was believed and confessed by the French themselves to be correct, while that of the garrison, from their covered situation, and spirited resistance in all attacks except the last, did not exceed 4,000 men. No detailed account of casualties was published.\*

After the loss of Bergen-op-zoom, the regiment joined the Duke of Cumberland's army, and at the peace of 1748

\* Mrs Grant, in her "Superstitions of the Highlanders," gives the following anecdote of faithful attachment:—Captain Fraser of Culduthel, an officer of the Black Watch, was a volunteer at this celebrated siege, as was likewise his Colonel, Lord John Murray. Captain Fraser was accompanied by his ser-

was ordered to Scotland, and reduced at Perth in the month of June of that year.

vant, who was also his foster-brother. \* A party from the lines was ordered to attack and destroy a battery raised by the enemy. Captain Fraser accompanied this party, directing his servant to remain in the garrison. "The night was pitch dark, and the party had such difficulty in proceeding, that they were forced to halt for a short time. As they moved forward, Captain Fraser felt his path impeded, and putting down his hand to discover the cause, he caught hold of a plaid, and seized the owner, who seemed to grovel on the ground. He held the cauff with one hand, and drew his dirk with the other, when he heard the imploring voice of his foster-brother. 'What the devil brought you here?' 'Just love of you, and care of your person.' 'Why so, when your love can do me no good, and why encumber yourself with a plaid?' 'Alas! how could I ever see my mother had you been killed or wounded, and I not been there to carry you to the surgeon, or to Christian burial? and how could I do either without my plaid to wrap you in?' Upon inquiry, it was found that the poor man had crawled out on his knees and hands between the sentinels, then followed the party at some distance, till he thought they were approaching the place of assault, and then again crept in the same manner on the ground beside his master, that he might be near him unobserved."

This faithful adherent had soon occasion to assist at the obsequies of his foster-brother, who was killed a few days afterwards by an accidental shot, as he was looking over the ramparts viewing the operations of the enemy.

\* "When a son is born to the chief of a Highland family, there generally arises a contention among the tenants which of them shall have the fostering of the child when it is taken from the nursery. The happy man who succeeds in his suit is ever after called the foster-father; and his children the foster-brothers and sisters of the young laird."—Letters from an English Officer in the Highlands to a Friend in London.

## SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT,

OR

## MONTGOMERIE'S HIGHLANDERS.

1757.

As will be noticed, in speaking of the 78th regiment, when Government had determined to raise Highland corps, letters of service were issued to Major the Honourable Archibald Montgomerie, son of the Earl of Eglintoun, to recruit a regiment in the North. From his connections and personal character, Major Montgomerie was peculiarly well qualified for the command of a Highland regiment. Having one sister, Lady Margaret, married to Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleate, in the Northern, and another, Lady Christian, married to the Laird of Abercainey, on the borders of the Southern Highlands; he mixed much with the people, and being a high-spirited young man, with a considerable dash of romantic enthusiasm in his composition, and with manners cheerful and affable, he made himself highly acceptable to the Highlanders; and by the support which he met with, and the judicious selection of officers of influence in the North, he soon completed an excellent body of men, who were formed into a regiment of 13 companies, of 105 rank and file each, making in all, with 65 sergeants, and 30 pipers and drummers, 1460 effective men. The corps was numbered the 77th regiment.

Colonel Montgomerie's commission was dated the 4th of January 1757, and those of all the other officers each a day later than his senior in the same rank.

*Lieutenant-Colonel commanding.*

The Honourable Archibald Montgomerie (afterwards Earl of Eglintoun), died a General in the army, and Colonel of the Scotch Greys, in 1796.

*Majors.*

James Grant of Ballendalloch, died a General in the army in 1806.  
Alexander Campbell.

*Captains.*

John Sinclair.

Hugh Mackenzie.

John Gordon.

Alexander Mackenzie, killed at St John's, 1761.

William Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quésne, 1759.

George Munro, do. do.

Robert Mackenzie.

Allan Maclean, from the Dutch Brigade, Colonel of the 84th Highland Emigrants; died a Major-general, 1784.

James Robertson.

Allan Cameron:

*Captain-Lieutenant*, Alexander Mackintosh.

*Lieutenants.*

Charles Farquharson.

Donald Macdonald.

Alexander Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quésne, 1759.

William Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quésne.

Nichol Sutherland, died lieutenant-colonel of the 47th regiment, 1780.

Robert Mackenzie, do.

Henry Munro.

Archibald Robertson.

Alexander Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quésne.

Duncan Bayne:

Donald Campbell.

James Duff.

Colin Campbell, killed at Fort du Quésne.

Hugh Montgomerie, late Earl of Eglinton.

James Grant.

James Maclean, killed in the West Indies, 1761.

Alexander Macdonald.

Alexander Campbell.

Joseph Grant.

John Campbell of Melford.

Robert Grant.

James Macpherson.

Cosmo Martin.

Archibald Macvicar, killed at the Havannah, 1762.

John Macnab.

Hugh Gordon, killed in Martinique, 1762.

*Ensigns.*

Alexander Grant.

William Maclean.

William Haggart.

James Grant.

Lewis Houston.  
 Ronald Mackinnon.  
 George Munro.  
 Alexander Mackenzie.  
 John MacLachlane.

John Macdonald.  
 Archibald Crawford.  
 James Bain.  
 Allan Stewart.

Chaplain, Henry Monro.  
 Adjutant, Donald Stewart.

Quarter-Master, Alex. Montgomerie.  
 Surgeon, Allan Stewart.

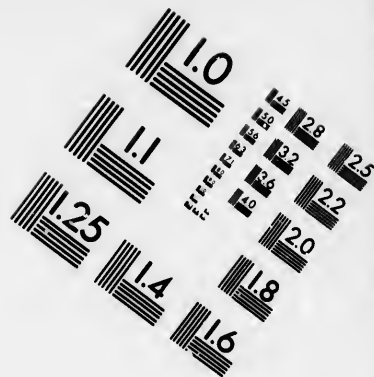
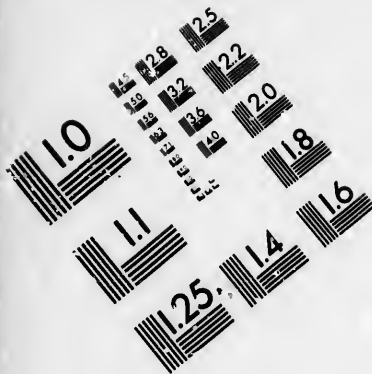
This corps was embodied at Stirling, and embarked at Greenock for Halifax, ~~without time being allowed for acquiring the use of arms in an uniform manner.~~ *changed in route to the Carolinas* On the commencement of operations in 1758, the 77th was attached to the corps under Brigadier-General Forbes, in the expedition against Fort du Quésne. But this, and all the other movements of the 77th, are included in the narrative of the service of the 42d regiment.

Montgomerie's Highlanders were often employed in small detached expeditions, traversing, to a very great extent, the most difficult countries. In these marches they had numberless skirmishes with the Indians, and with the irregular troops of the enemy; \* a species of service of the most ha-

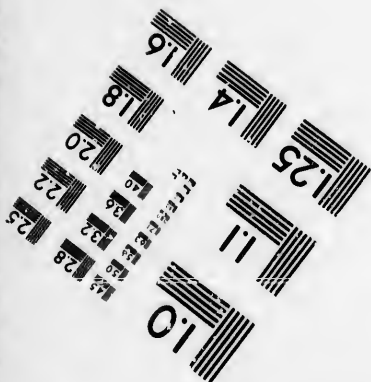
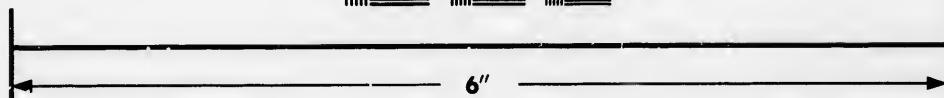
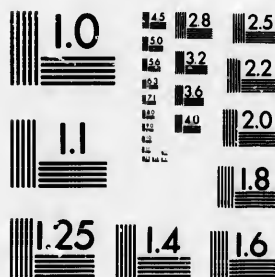
\* Several soldiers of this and other regiments fell into the hands of the Indians, being taken in an ambush. Allan Macpherson, one of these soldiers, witnessing the miserable fate of several of his fellow-prisoners, who had been tortured to death by the Indians, and seeing them preparing to commence the same operations upon himself, made signs that he had something to communicate. An interpreter was brought. Macpherson told them, that, provided his life was spared for a few minutes, he would communicate the secret of an extraordinary medicine, which, if applied to the skin, would cause it to resist the strongest blow of a tomahawk, or sword, and that, if they would allow him to go to the woods with a guard, to collect the plants proper for this medicine, he would prepare it, and allow the experiment to be tried on his own neck by the strongest and most expert warrior amongst them. This story easily gained upon the superstitious credulity of the Indians, and the request of the Highlander was instantly complied with. Being sent into the woods, he soon returned with such plants as he chose to pick up. Having boiled these herbs, he rubbed his neck with their juice, and laying his head upon a log of wood, desired the strongest man among them to strike at his neck with his tomahawk, when he would find he could not make the smallest impression. An Indian,







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rassing kind, as it required the greatest personal exertion on the part of the soldiers, and demanded constant vigilance and presence of mind on that of the officers. Hence it was well calculated to open a field to the junior officers for acquiring professional experience in their detached commands. The enterprises in which they were engaged, necessarily obliged them to depend on their own resources, in a way quite different from what would have been called for, had they been acting under the immediate direction of others.

At the conclusion of the war, all the officers and men who chose to settle in America were permitted to do so, each receiving a grant of land in proportion to his rank. A number of these officers and men, as well as those of the 78th regiment, joined the King's standard in 1775, and formed a corps along with the Highland Emigrants in the 84th regiment.

The following is a statement of the killed and wounded during the war:—

| DATE.           | NAME OF THE STATIONS.            | KILLED.   |            |                      |                | WOUNDED.  |            |                      |                |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|-----------|------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------|------------|----------------------|----------------|
|                 |                                  | Officers. | Sergeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. | Officers. | Sergeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. |
| Sept. 11, 1758, | Port du Quésne,                  | 7         | 3          | 2                    | 92             | 9         | 7          | 3                    | 201            |
| June 1, 1760,   | Little Keome, -                  |           |            |                      | 2              |           |            |                      |                |
| 27,             | Estatoc, - -                     |           | 2          |                      | 6              | 4         | 1          | 1                    | 24             |
| 1761,           | Martinique, -                    | 1         |            |                      | 4              | 1         | 1          |                      | 26             |
| 1762,           | Havannah, -                      | 1         |            |                      | 2              |           |            |                      | 6              |
|                 | St John's, -                     | 1         |            |                      | 4              |           |            |                      | 2              |
|                 | On passage to the West Indies, - | 1         |            |                      |                |           |            |                      |                |
|                 | Total,                           | 11        | 5          | 2                    | 110            | 14        | 9          | 4                    | 259            |

levelling a blow with all his might, cut with such force, that the head flew off to the distance of several yards. The Indians were fixed in amazement at their own credulity, and the address with which the prisoner had escaped the lingering death prepared for him; but, instead of being enraged at this escape of their victim, they were so pleased with his ingenuity, that they refrained from inflicting farther cruelties on the remaining prisoners.

## SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT,

OR

## FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS.

1757.

IN the course of ten years after the Insurrection of 1745, the wise policy of Lord Chatham (then Mr Pitt) had suggested a remedy for the spirit of disaffection among the Highlanders, which his sagacity had enabled him to trace to its proper source. It did not escape his penetration, that much of their attachment to the descendants of their ancient kings, was to be ascribed to the romantic and chivalrous dispositions of the people, which kindled and kept warm the sentiment of mistaken loyalty, by constant reference to the misfortunes and sufferings of those who were its objects. He, therefore, determined to abandon the illiberal policy which had served only to alienate the affections of a valuable portion of the people, and to repose that confidence in the gratitude and fidelity of the Highlanders, which future events have so fully justified. In his celebrated speech on the commencement of the differences with America, in 1766, he thus expresses himself: "I sought for merit wherever it was to be found; it is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifice of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the State in the war before the last. These men in the last war were

brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world." An anonymous author, a friend of Lord Chatham's, noticing how this call to arms was answered, observes, that "now battalions on battalions were raised in the remotest parts of the Highlands," of those men who, a few years before, and while they saw any hope, "were devoted to, and too long had followed, the fate of the race of Stuart. Frasers, Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans, Macphersons, and others of disaffected names and clans, were enrolled; their chiefs or connections obtained commissions, the lower class, always ready to follow, they with eagerness endeavoured who should be first enlisted."

Actuated by such liberal sentiments, Mr Pitt, in the year 1757, recommended to his Majesty George II. to attach the Highlanders to his person, by employing them in his service; and, in evidence of the disappearance of all jealousy on the part of the Crown, the Honourable Simon Fraser, who had himself been engaged in the Rebellion, for which his father, Lord Lovat, had been beheaded on Tower Hill, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant of a battalion, to be raised on the forfeited estate of his own family (then vested in the Crown), and of those of his kinsmen and clan.

The result showed the wisdom that had suggested the experiment, as well as the disinterested fidelity with which young Lovat was supported. Without estate, money, or influence, beyond that which flowed from attachment to his family, person, and name; this gentleman, in a few weeks, found himself at the head of 800 men, recruited by himself. The gentlemen of the country and the officers of the regiment, added more than 700; and thus a battalion was formed of 13 companies of 105 rank and file each, making in all 1460 men, including 65 sergeants and 30 pipers and drummers.

All accounts concur in describing this as a superior body of men. Their character and actions raised the military

reputation, and gave a favourable impression of the moral virtues of the sons of the mountains.

The following list will show the names of the officers, whose commissions were dated the 5th of January 1757 :

*Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant*, the Honourable Simon Fraser, died a Lieutenant-General in 1782.

*Majors.*

James Clephane.

John Campbell of Dunoon, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of Campbell Highlanders in Germany.

*Captains.*

John Macpherson, brother of Clunie.

John Campbell of Ballimore.

Simon Fraser of Inverallochy, killed on the Heights of Abraham 1759.

Donald Macdonald, brother to Clanronald, killed at Quebec in 1760.

John Macdonell of Lochgarry, afterwards Colonel of the 76th, or Macdonald's Regiment, died in 1789, Colonel.

Alexander Cameron of Dungallon.

Thomas Ross of Culrossie, killed on the Heights of Abraham 1759.

Thomas Fraser of Strui.

Alexander Fraser of Culduthel.

Sir Henry Seton of Abercorn and Culbeg.

James Fraser of Belladrum.

*Captain-Lieutenant* Simon Fraser, died Lieutenant-General in 1812.

*Lieutenants.*

Alexander Macleod.

Hugh Cameron.

Ronald Macdonell, son of Keppoch.

Charles Macdonell from Glengarry, killed at St John's.

Roderick Macneill of Barra, killed on the Heights of Abraham 1759.

William Macdonell.

Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon.

John Fraser of Balnain.

Hector Macdonald, brother to Boisdale, killed 1759.

Allan Stewart, son of Innernaheil.

John Fraser.

Alexander Macdonell, son of Bartsdale, killed on the Heights of Abraham 1759.

Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisbourg.

Alexander Campbell of Aross.

John Douglass.

John Nairn.

Arthur Rose, of the family of Kilravock.

Alexander Fraser.

John Macdonell of Leeks, died in Berwick 1818.

Cosmo Gordon, killed at Quebec 1760.

David Baillie, killed at Louisbourg.

Charles Stewart, son of Colonel John Roy Stewart.

Ewen Cameron; of the family of Glenevis.

Allan Cameron.

John Cuthbert, killed at Louisbourg.

Simon Fraser.

Archibald Macalister, of the family of Loup.

James Murray, killed at Louisbourg.

Alexander Fraser.

Donald Cameron, son of Fassafearn, died Lieutenant on half pay 1817.

*Ensigns.*

John Chisholm.

John Fraser of Erroggie.

Simon Fraser.

James Mackenzie.

Malcolm Fraser, afterwards Captain 84th regiment.

Donald Macneil.

Henry Munro.

Hugh Fraser, afterwards Captain 84th, or Highland. Emigrants.

Alexander Gregorson, Ardtornish.

James Henderson.

Robert Menzies.

John Campbell.

Chaplain, Robert Macpherson.

Adjutant, Hugh Fraser.

Quartermaster, John Fraser.

Surgeon, John Maclean.

The uniform was the full Highland dress, with musket and broad sword, to which many of the soldiers added the dirk at their own expense, and a purse of badger's or otter's skin. The bonnet was raised or cocked on one side, with a slight bend inclining down to the right ear, over which were suspended two or more black feathers. Eagle's or hawk's feathers were usually worn by the gentlemen, in the Highlands, while the bonnets of the common people were ornamented with a bunch of the distinguishing mark of the clan or district. The ostrich feather in the bonnets of the



soldiers were a modern addition of that period, as the present load of plumage on the bonnet is a still more recent introduction, forming, however, in hot climates, an excellent defence against a vertical sun.

The regiment was quickly marched to Greenock, where it embarked, in company with Montgomerie's Highlanders, and landed at Halifax in June 1757. In this station it remained till it formed a junction with the expedition against Louisbourg, the details of which, and of the conquest of Canada, are included in the general narrative. On all occasions, this brave body of men sustained an uniform character for unshaken firmness, incorruptible probity, and a strict regard both to military and moral duties. Their religious discipline was strictly attended to by their very respectable chaplain, the Reverend Robert Macpherson, who followed every movement, and was indefatigable in the discharge of his clerical duties. The men of the regiment were always anxious to conceal their misdemeanours from the *Caipal Mor*, as they called the chaplain, from his large size.

The regiment was quartered alternately in Canada and Nova Scotia till the conclusion of the war, when a number of the officers and men having expressed a desire to settle in the country, all those who made this election were discharged, and received a grant of land; the rest were sent home and discharged in Scotland. Of those who settled in America, upwards of 300 enlisted in the 84th regiment in 1775, and formed the foundation of two very fine battalions, then embodied under the name of the Royal Highland Emigrants.

When the regiment landed in North America it was proposed to change the uniform, as the Highland garb was said to be unfit for the severe winters, and the hot summers of that country. The officers and soldiers vehemently protested against any change, and Colonel Fraser explained to the Commander-in-Chief the strong attachment which the men cherished for their national dress, and the consequences that might be expected to follow, if they were deprived of

it. This representation was successful. In the words of a veteran who embarked and returned with the regiment, "Thanks to our generous Chief, we were allowed to wear the garb of our fathers, and in the course of six winters, showed the doctors that they did not understand our constitutions, for in the coldest winters our men were more healthy than those regiments who wore breeches and warm clothing."

*Return of Killed and Wounded of Fraser's Highlanders during the War of 1756 and 1763.*

| DATE.          | PLACES.             | KILLED.         |           |             |            |                      | WOUNDED.       |                 |           |             |            |                |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------------|
|                |                     | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Pipers and Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Rank and File. |
| July 1758.     | Louisbourg,         |                 | 1         | 3           |            |                      |                |                 |           |             |            |                |
| Sept. 2, 1759. | Montmorency,        |                 | 2         | 2           |            | 1                    | 17             | 1               | 2         | 3           |            | 41             |
| Sept. 13.      | Heights of Abraham, |                 | 1         | 3           | 1          |                      | 14             | 2               | 8         | 7           |            | 85             |
| April 1760.    | Quebec,             |                 | 1         | 3           | 1          |                      | 51             | 1               | 4         | 22          | 10         | 131            |
| Sept. 1762.    | St John's,          |                 | 1         |             |            |                      | 3              |                 |           |             |            | 119            |
|                |                     |                 | 4         | 10          | 4          | 2                    | 103            | 2               | 9         | 35          | 17         | 383            |

KEITH'S AND CAMPBELL'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

EIGHTY-SEVENTH AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH  
REGIMENTS.

1759.

An active war brings into contrast and rivalry the physical powers and intellectual capacities of mankind, and shows that success in the field as frequently depends on

pre-eminent courage and physical strength, as on mere numbers. The wars in which Great Britain has been engaged, since the middle of the last century, introduced the military character of the Scotch Highlanders to the notice of the Government of the country, and to that of the world in general. From the time of their first introduction into the British army they have maintained the reputation of brave and trust-worthy soldiers. By the military of those European nations who have either served with, or been opposed to them in the field, they are almost never mentioned but in terms of respect bordering on admiration. This military character, allowed equally by friends and foes, I have endeavoured to account for, by reference to the modes, habits, and feelings, which anteriorly prevailed, and which were cherished in their native country.

The education which Highlanders, in former ages, received, in their native glens, moulded their minds by impressions more vivid and permanent, than any which can be conveyed in formal systems of scholastic instruction, and was naturally calculated to produce firmness of character in the intercourse of civil life, and to prepare them, as soldiers, for encountering the severest trials of war.

The feudal system, or patriarchal government of the clans, however startling and inconsistent the proposition may appear to many, generated and cherished a spirit of independence and self-respect, which, in a very eminent degree, tended to preserve principles correct and character unsullied; and it also secured to the Highlanders an education which fitted them for the station they were destined to hold in civil and military society. They were taught to believe themselves descended of persons distinguished for bravery and virtue from a remote antiquity. Hence the desire of preserving the honour of a respected ancestry stimulated them to daring actions in the field, as the dread of becoming a reproach to their memory deterred from the commission of crime in the common intercourse of life. "The Highlander was thus brave as a soldier, decorous

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|                   |
|-------------------|
| Rank and<br>File. |
| 41                |
| 85                |
| 131               |
| 119               |
| 7                 |
| 383               |

and correct in his moral conduct. His exterior aspect might be rugged, but the soul was lofty and enthusiastic; capable at once of receiving and retaining honourable impressions." \*

It was from among these Highlanders, of the ancient school, that two regiments, commanded by Major Robert Murray Keith, and Major John Campbell of Dunoon, were formed. Major Keith had served in the Scotch Brigade, in Holland, and, after the death of his illustrious relative, Field Marshal Keith, at the battle of Hochkirchen in 1758, had returned to Scotland, where he was appointed to command three newly raised companies of Highlanders, consisting of 105 men each. With this small corps, he joined the allied army in Germany, under Prince Ferdinand, in August 1759.

The opinion early formed of this corps may be estimated from the circumstance of their having been ordered to attack the enemy the third day after they arrived in the camp of the allies. In what manner this duty was executed may be learned from the following statement:—"The Highlanders under Major Keith, supported by the Hussars of Luchner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eyback, sword in hand, where Beau Fremont's regiment of dragoons were posted, and routed them with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many prisoners taken, together with two hundred horses and all their baggage. The Highlanders distinguished themselves greatly by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with regular discipline." †

By the recommendation of Prince Ferdinand, founded on a favourable opinion of the conduct of this little corps, orders were given to augment it to 800 men, with officers in proportion; and, at the same time, to raise another re-

\* Jackson's Military Characteristics. † Smollett's History of England.

giment in the Highlands, both of which were to be placed under the command of his Serene Highness. The latter corps was to be of the same strength, and the command was given to John Campbell of Dunoon, reserving liberty to the Earls of Sutherland and Breadalbane, the Lairds of Macleod and Innes, and other gentlemen in the North, to appoint captains and officers to companies raised on their respective estates. Lord Breadalbane recommended Major Macnab, son of Macnab, Captain Archibald Campbell, brother of Achallader, John Campbell of Auch, and other officers. Macleod raised a company in the Isle of Sky, to which he appointed his nephew Captain Fotheringham of Powrie.\* All the men were raised in the counties of Argyle, Perth, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland. A few weeks only were required to fill the ranks from that range of country.

When the men had marched down from the Highlands, Keith's regiment was embodied at Perth, and Campbell's at Stirling. Of the officers of both regiments, there were alive, in 1823, the Duke of Roxburghe, then Captain James Innes, † Mr Grant of Tullochgorum, a lieutenant, and Mr Campbell of Auch, an ensign.

These two battalions being embodied at the same time, and ordered on the same service, officers were promoted and removed from the one to the other in the manner practised, at a latter period, when second battalions were added to regiments. They were embarked for Germany, and joined the allied army under Prince Ferdinand, in 1760. Though they had but little time for discipline, and none for experience, they were placed in the Grenadier Brigade, a distinguished honour for so young a corps.

\* A daughter of Hugh, tenth Lord Lovat, married, first, the Laird of Macleod, secondly, the Earl of Cromartie, and lastly, Fotheringham of Powrie. She bore sons to each of her husbands, and thus made three distinguished families, Macleod, Cromartie, and Powrie, brothers.

† Sir James Innes of Innes, Chief of that name and ancient family, succeeded, as heir of line, to the estate and dukedom of Roxburghe in the year 1810.

The campaign having opened on the 29th of July 1760, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick marched from the camp at Kalle, with a body of troops, including the two English battalions of Grenadiers, the two of Highlanders, and four squadrons of Cope's and Conway's dragoons; and, on the 30th, in a smart action, near Warburg, defeated the enemy with considerable loss. Prince Ferdinand wrote to King George II. an account of the battle; and, after stating the relative losses of the enemy and of the allies, fixing the former at 1500 men, and more than an equal number prisoners, he adds, that "ours, which was moderate, fell chiefly upon Maxwell's brave battalion of English Grenadiers, and the two regiments of Scots Highlanders, which did wonders. Colonel Beckwith, who commanded the whole brigade formed of English Grenadiers and Scots Highlanders, distinguished himself greatly."

Immediately after this piece of service, another was attempted with equal success. On the night of the 5th of August, the army marched to Zeirenborg (Maxwell's battalions of Grenadiers and the Highlanders forming the head of the column), and advanced to within two miles of the fortress in sight of the enemy's fires. The corps above mentioned proceeded by different roads, and in profound silence, to the attack of the place, which was carried in the most gallant manner. "The Scots Highlanders mounted the breaches sword in hand, supported by the Chasseurs. The column of English Grenadiers advanced in great order, and with the greatest silence. In short, the service was complete, and the troops displayed equal courage, soldier-like conduct, and activity." \* Another account states, that "the Brigade formed of Grenadiers and Highlanders distinguished themselves remarkably upon this occasion." † The brigade afterwards returned to Warburg, where they remained till the 5th of October 1760, when, having received orders to join the Hereditary Prince, they proceeded with all expedition, and, on the 14th, arrived at a very critical moment, when the allied army, having been attacked by Marshal de

\* Military Memoirs.

† Hague Gazette.

Castries, was compelled to retire, and take up a position near the Convent of Campvere.

The Prince being joined by Lieutenant-General Waldgrave's and Major-General de Bork's corps, determined to attack the Marshal in his turn, before the arrival of some expected reinforcements. The action which ensued was well sustained from five till nine in the morning, when the Prince gave orders to retreat, and again left his antagonist in possession of the field of battle. In this affair the Highlanders were actively engaged in different parts of the field. "They were in the first column of attack, were the last to retreat, and kept their ground in the face of every disadvantage, even after the troops on their right and left had retired. The Highlanders were so exasperated with the loss they sustained, that it was with difficulty they could be withdrawn, when Colonel Campbell received orders, from an aide-de-camp sent by the Prince, desiring him to retreat, as to persist in maintaining his position longer would be an useless waste of human life."

The night before the battle, Major Pollock was sent, with one hundred men of the Grenadiers, and one hundred of Keith's, to surprise the Convent of Closter Camp, where the enemy had a strong detachment, and where it was believed Marshal de Castries and several general officers of France intended to pass the night. Major Pollock succeeded in cutting off several sentinels without noise, and excited no alarm till he came to the sentinel of the main guard, on whom he rushed, running him through the body with his sword. But the thrust not being immediately mortal, the wounded man turned round upon his antagonist and shot him with a pistol, upon which they both fell dead. This alarmed the enemy, who prepared for the attack; and their opponents being equally ready, a general action commenced, and concluded in the manner above stated.\*

. It does not appear that these two battalions, who had

\* At this time the corps was joined by a reinforcement of 400 men from Johnson's Highlanders, and soon afterwards by 200 of Macleans.

now acquired the character of veteran soldiers, were again engaged till the battle of Fellinghausen in July 1761. On that occasion their conduct was honoured by a flattering mark of approbation from the Commander-in-Chief. "His Serene Highness, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, has been graciously pleased to order Colonel Beckwith to signify to the brigade he has the honour to command, his entire approbation of their conduct on the 15th and 16th of July. The soldier-like perseverance of the Highland regiments in resisting and repulsing the repeated attacks of the chosen troops of France, has deservedly gained them the highest honour. The ardour and activity with which the Grenadiers pushed and pursued the enemy, and the trophies they have taken, justly entitle them to the highest encomiums. The intrepidity of the little band of Highlanders merits the greatest praise." Colonel Beckwith, communicating these orders of his Serene Highness, adds, "The humanity and generosity with which the soldiers treated the great flock of prisoners they took, does them as much honour as their subduing the enemy."\* While these soldiers were thus supporting the honour of their country, their humanity, their upright principles, and their conciliating manners in quarters, were equally the objects of approbation. Indeed, the latter part of their character was considered as still more remarkable than the former. In regard to their conduct and character, nearly the same absurd anticipations had been formed in Germany as in many parts of Great Britain. The Highlanders were, in both countries, regarded as semi-barbarians, to whom courage and the other warlike virtues

\* On this occasion Major Archibald Campbell of Achallader was killed in leading his men against the chosen troops of France. This officer's talents, high spirit, and military genius, attracted great notice on one occasion, by a spirited dash, with a few of his Highlanders, against a detachment of the enemy which had unexpectedly pushed forward to the quarters of General Griffin, afterwards Lord Howard of Walden; he dispersed five times his own number, and rescued General Griffin, who had been taken by the enemy. For this piece of service Captain Campbell was promoted, the week before he was killed. He was brother to Achallader, whose classical learning and accomplishments attracted the notice of Lord Lyttleton.



might be allowed, but from whom urbanity towards strangers, kindness to prisoners, and general regularity of conduct, were not, by any means, to be expected: when discovered, therefore, they excited the more surprise.\*

Nothing worthy of notice occurred till June 1762, when these corps formed a part of the troops under Prince Ferdinand, in the successful attack on the French army at Graibenstein, under the command of the Marshals d'Estrées and Soubies. The victory was, in itself, so complete, and obtained with so little loss, that it appeared rather the result of surprise than of a regular engagement. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to upwards of 4000, including two hundred officers; while the loss of the allies did not exceed 700 men. The British Guards, Granadiers, and Highlanders, were, on this occasion, under the command of the Marquis of Granby, "who acquitted himself with remarkable valour, and had a great share in the victory. Our troops behaved with a bravery not to be paralleled, especially our Grenadiers and Highlanders. The Guards and Hodgson's (the 5th regiment) behaved nobly, and took as many prisoners as they had men."

Various passages have at different times been quoted from periodical and other publications, for the purpose of showing the impression made in England and other countries, by the appearance of the Scotch mountaineers in their native garb; and it may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to give some idea of the feelings they excited, and the opinions entertained of them among our German allies. With this view I shall copy a curious article which appeared in the Vienna Gazette of that year, and which communicates some singular intelligence respecting our countrymen. They are

\* No trait in the character of these corps was more particularly noticed than the respect paid by the men to their chaplain, Mr Macauley, and the influence which he possessed over their minds and actions. Many of the men, when they got into any little scrape, were more anxious to conceal it from the chaplain than from the commanding officer.

there described as running wild, like savages, in their native woods and mountains, and as ignorant of the principles of Christianity; but capable of becoming good and useful subjects when converted from Heathenism. "The Scotch Highlanders are a people totally different in their dress, manners, and temper, from the other inhabitants of Britain. *They are caught in the mountains when young,* and still run with a surprising degree of swiftness. As they are strangers to fear, they make very good soldiers when disciplined. The men are of low stature, and the most of them old or very young. They discover an extraordinary submission and love for their officers, who are all young and handsome. From the goodness of their dispositions in every thing, for the boors are much better treated by these savages than by the polished French and English; from the goodness of their disposition, which, by the by, shows the rectitude of human nature before it is vitiated by example or prejudice, it is to be hoped that their King's laudable, though late, endeavours to civilize and instruct them in the principles of Christianity, will meet with success." To this account it is added, that the "French held them at first in great contempt, but they have met with them so often of late, and seen them in the front of so many battles, that they firmly believe that there are twelve battalions of them in the army instead of two. Broglie himself has lately said, that he once wished that he was a man of six feet high, but that now he is reconciled to his size, since he has seen the wonders performed by the little mountaineers."

During the remainder of this campaign, military operations were continued with considerable spirit and enterprise, although negotiations for a general peace had already commenced, and were in a state of great forwardness. Different skirmishes and rencounters happened with various success, but without any decided advantage to either side. These affairs, however, led, on the 12th of August, to an engagement of considerable magnitude. On that day the Hereditary Prince attacked the French who were posted on the

heights of Johannisberg, near the banks of the Weir. After a desperate conflict, the Hereditary Prince, who was severely wounded in the hip-bone, was forced to retreat with the loss of more than 3000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. There were no British troops in this affair, except Elliott's dragoons, and the picquets under Lord Frederick Cavendish.

On the 21st of September, another obstinate action took place at Brucher Mühl, remarkable for the perseverance with which each side contended for the possession of the small post which defended the bridge at that place. The Allies occupied a redoubt on one side of the road, and the French a mill on the other; the engagement commenced between two small bodies with a few guns, but as the action grew warm, the artillery was gradually augmented to twenty-five pieces of heavy cannon on each side. The Allies had originally but one hundred men in this post, but before the contest was decided, seventeen regiments were engaged, one successively relieving another, after they had exhausted their ammunition. A constant fire was supported by these bodies, without intermission, for fifteen hours, from the dawn of day till nightfall. Neither side gave way; and this resolute contest for a trifling object left the combatants in their former situation; the Allies in possession of their redoubt, and the French of their mill. In this long contested struggle the Allies lost 600 men in killed and wounded. The troops were so well covered in the redoubt, that the principal loss was sustained in passing and repassing when the regiments were relieved. This, in some measure, accounts for the small loss in so long an action, and with so many corps engaged.

After every engagement, some mark of favour was shown to these two corps. Major Archibald Macnab was appointed additional Lieutenant-Colonel, Captain John Murray succeeded Major M'Lean, killed, and Lieutenants Gordon Clunes, James Fraser, William Mackintosh, and Alexander

Duff of Muirtown, were appointed captains, with the lieutenants and ensigns in succession.

The siege of Cassel, and its surrender to the allies, on the 1st of November, followed these operations. But while Prince Ferdinand was preparing to lay siege to Zurenberg, a conclusion was put to all farther hostilities, by the notification to both armies of the signature of the preliminaries of peace. This took place on the 15th of November 1762, and thus ended three campaigns, highly honourable to the courage and character of the British army, which, as it was uniformly placed in the post of danger, obtained a high degree of celebrity. Of this reputation, "the little band of Highlanders" earned their full share. As they had been placed in the same brigade with the Grenadiers, and often opposed to "the chosen troops of France," over whom they were uniformly victorious, their military character was, accordingly, well established.

After this, the two regiments were ordered home, and, on their march through Holland, were received, in various towns, with acclamations, the women presenting laurel leaves to the soldiers, and even the children attempting to imitate their garb and broad swords. Some said that these indications of approbation arose from the respect with which they and their broad swords had inspired the common enemy, while others attributed this kind feeling to the friendship and intimacy which had subsisted between the Dutch and the soldiers of the Scotch Brigade, so long established in Holland; and asserted, that the esteem now exhibited by the people was only a share of that which the Brigade had always enjoyed. Whatever may have been the cause, the reception was equally honourable to both parties.

The regiments embarked at Williamstadt, and landing at Tilbury Fort, marched to Scotland. Though hospitably received in all the towns through which they passed, their reception at Derby was the most remarkable. No payment was taken from them for quarters, and subscriptions were

raised to give gratuities to the men. For their cordial reception here, as well as in Holland, different motives were assigned. While some asserted that the whole was done in testimony of respect for military gallantry, and the services they had performed for their country, others alleged, that it originated in, and was called forth by, less loyal motives. The Highlanders, they alleged, were supposed to be Jacobites, as many in the north-western counties of England at that time were; and the people remembered with gratitude, that the rebels had conducted themselves with unexampled regularity in Derby, and had respected the property and persons of the inhabitants. Nor was it forgotten, though they were in open insurrection, and in situations where the greatest turbulence and licentiousness were to be expected, that nothing of the kind had occurred, and that no ill usage or insult had been offered by those men, who, as a gentleman in Derby, writing at the time to a friend, remarked, "said grace with great seeming devotion, before and after meals, *like any Christian.*"

When they arrived in Scotland, Keith's regiment was marched to Perth, and Campbell's to Linlithgow, and both were reduced in July 1763.

At Linlithgow one of those unfortunate collisions of opinion occurred, of which there have been too frequent instances in corps of this description. I have had occasion, more than once, to notice that a Highland soldier of the old school was orderly, steady, obedient, and attached to officers who merited respect. But then, to ensure this respect, strict justice must have been done him, great regard must have been had to his feelings, and, in all his pecuniary transactions with his officers, he must have observed in them the most perfect accuracy and honour. Let these pre-requisites exist, and a Highlander will abandon his post and his life together. In the hurry of the campaign, new clothing had not been served out to the soldiers for the year 1763, and when they were disbanded, it was thought they had no

occasion for military uniforms. The soldiers thought otherwise, and said that they were fully entitled to pay, clothing, and all that had been promised, and was therefore due to them. The thing was at first resisted, but the men persevering, it was at length acquiesced in, and an allowance in money given them in lieu of the clothing. In this resistance to authority, for the support of what they considered their rights, some indications of violence, very opposite to their previous exemplary conduct, were manifested. But no disrespect was shown to their officers, nor was any blame imputed to them. On the contrary, the confidence reposed in them by the soldiers remained unshaken. This was particularly remarked in the company of Captain Innes, the late Duke of Roxburghe, who were much attached to their young and high-spirited commander.

The following return of killed and wounded will show the loss sustained by the two regiments from 1760 to 1763.

| NAMES OF PLACES AND BATTLES. | DATES.              | KILLED.         |           |             |            |           | WOUNDED.       |                 |           |             |            |           |                |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------------|
|                              |                     | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| Eybach, - -                  | Jan. 5, 1760,       |                 |           |             |            |           | 4              |                 |           |             |            |           | 7              |
| Warburg, -                   | July 31, ---        |                 |           |             |            |           | 3              |                 |           | 1           |            |           | 2              |
| Zurenberg, -                 | Aug. 5, ---         |                 |           |             |            |           | 37             |                 | 1         | 4           |            |           | 6              |
| Camphen, -                   | Oct. 15, ---        | 1               | 2         | 4           |            |           | 31             | 1               | 1         | 3           | 2          |           | 10             |
| Fellinghausen,               | July 15 & 16, 1761, | 1               | 2         | 1           |            |           | 31             |                 |           |             |            |           | 70             |
| Graibenstein,                | June 28, 1762,      |                 |           | 1           |            |           | 13             |                 |           |             |            |           | 18             |
| Brucher Mühl,                | Sept. 21, ---       | 1               |           |             |            |           | 21             |                 | 1         | 1           | 3          |           | 58             |
|                              |                     | 3               | 4         | 6           |            |           | 109            | 1               | 3         | 9           | 5          |           | 171            |

*Names of Officers Killed.*

Camphen, Major Pollock. Fellinghausen, Lieut. William Ross.  
 Lieut. William Ogilvie. John Grant.  
 Alex. Macleod. Brucher Mühl, Major Alexander Maclean.  
 Fellinghausen, Major Archibald Campbell of Achallader.

*Names of Officers Wounded.*

|                                    |   |  |
|------------------------------------|---|--|
| Warburg,                           | Lieut. Walter Ogilvie.  | Fellinghausen, Lieut. Arch. Macarthur.   |
| Camphen,                           | Capt. A. Campbell of<br>Achallader.   | Pat. Campbell:<br>John Mackintosh,<br>brother of Kil-<br>lachy, and fa-<br>ther of Sir Jas.<br>Macintosh,<br>M. P. |
|                                    | Lieut. Gordon Clunes.<br>Arch. Stewart.<br>Ang. Mackintosh<br>of Killachy.<br>Walter Barland. |  |
| Fellinghausen, Major Arch. Macnab. | Capt. James Fraser.   | Brucher Mühl, Capt. Pat. Campbell.<br>Lieut. Walter Barland.   |

EIGHTY-NINTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

1759.

THE case and rapidity with which the ranks of Fraser's and other Highland regiments had been recruited, encouraged Mr Pitt to follow up his plan of giving commissions to the gentlemen of the Highlands, and of employing the young and active in his Majesty's service. With this view, Major Staates Long Morris (who had married the Duchess Dowager of Gordon) received instructions to raise a regiment in those parts of the Highlands where the influence of the Gordon family prevailed; and, as an inducement to the youth of the North to join this regiment, the Duke, then very young, was appointed captain, Lord William Gordon a lieutenant, and Lord George an ensign.

The political influence of the Duke of Argyll being at that period, very great in Scotland, few important measures passed without his concurrence. In this case, however, George II. appointed Major Morris, at the solicitation of the Duchess. She dreaded the authority of Argyll, (who

was anxious to direct the local influence of the Gordon family in the minority of the Duke), and considered the names of her sons indispensably necessary to secure success in raising men. She was a native of the country, being a daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen, understood well the feelings and characteristic prejudices of the people, and knew how to work on them. She represented the youth of her son, and the danger that would result should his political influence, in his minority, be directed to another family, and especially to that family between which and her own so many ancient feuds had subsisted, the seeds of which still remained, if not in the minds, at least in the traditions of many. Greater exertions were, in consequence, made to support what the Duchess called the cause of her son, and the honour of his family. This attempt was successful. In a few weeks 960 men assembled at Gordon Castle, and marched to Aberdeen in December 1759, when the following officers were appointed.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant*, Staates Long Morris, 1759. Died a General in the army.

*First Major*, George Scott, a General in 1798, and died in 1811.

*Second Do.* Hector Munro, a General in 1798, and died in 1806.

*Captains,*

Alexander Duke of Gordon.

Norman Lamont, son to the Laird of Lamont.

Alexander Duff of Cubben.

Duncan Macpherson, afterwards in the 42d and 71st regiments; died 1807,

George Morrison of Bognie.

William Macgillivray of Dumaglass.

Ludovic Grant of Knockando.

*Captain-Lieutenant*, Archibald Dunbar, son of Sir Archibald Dunbar of Northfield.

*Lieutenants.*

Lord William Gordon.

William Baillie, killed in India,

Charles Gordon of Shellagreen, afterwards Lieutenant-colonel of the 77th, or Atholl Highlanders.

1779, then commanding a detachment of Sir Hector Munro's army. Alexander Godsmen.

Lawrence Leith.

William Finlayson, died in Aberdeen, 1817.

Alexander Stewart of Lismurdie.



Ral. Hanson.  
 George Campbell.  
 John Gordon.  
 John Macdonald, Lieutenant-colonel  
 of the 81st Highland regiment,  
 1783.

Alexander Macpherson.  
 William Macpherson.  
 R. T. Rd. Maitland.  
 James Fordyce.  
 Robert Munro.  
 Alexander Duff of Mayne.

*Ensigns.*

Lord George Gordon.  
 James Gordon.  
 Alexander Gordon.  
 John Edwards.

Patrick Ogilvie, brother to Ogilvie  
 of East Milne.  
 John Macpherson.  
 Harry Gilchrist.

*Chaplain*, Alexander Chambers.  
*Adjutant*, Alexander Donald.

*Quarter-Master*, James Bennett.  
*Surgeon*, James Arthur.

The regiment soon marched from Aberdeen for Portsmouth, embarked there for the East Indies in December 1760, and reached Bombay in November 1761.

The Duke of Gordon left College with the intention of embarking with his friends for the East Indies. This spirited resolution, however, was checked by George II., who recommended to the Duchess to send her son back to finish his education. There being only nine Dukes in the kingdom of Scotland, he could not, he said, suffer him to leave his native country, and, commending his spirit and patriotism, he added, that he had more important services in view for him than any he could perform as captain of a company in the East Indies. This advice, so like a mandate, was of course followed, and the Duke remained at home.

After the 89th had been stationed in different parts of India, Major Hector Munro, with a strong detachment of the regiment, joined the army under the command of Major Carnac, in the neighbourhood of Patna, at a very critical period, a considerable portion of the troops being then in open mutiny. Major Munro succeeded Carnac in the command, and being well supported by his own regiment, his decision and firmness completely crushed the mutiny, and saved the army. Twenty-five of the ringleaders were tried on the spot, eight of them blown from the mouths of the

cannon, and the rest sent for execution to other cantonments.

A proper state of discipline being thus established, the commander was enabled to meet the enemy at Buxar on the 23d of October 1764, when he completely overthrew and dispersed a force nearly five times more numerous than his own. The enemy left on the field 6,000 killed, and 130 pieces of cannon, while the loss on the part of the victors was almost too trifling to be mentioned; amounting to 2 officers, and 4 rank and file killed, of his Majesty's troops. The casualties among the Company's troops were more in proportion to their number, but the whole afforded sufficient proof of the low state of the Native armies at that period.

The victory was complete, and highly important in its results, and was the more honourable to Major Munro, (who was immediately promoted to the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel), as he had gained the battle with troops who had been recently in such a state of insubordination. In a letter from the President and Council of Calcutta to Major Munro, it is said, "The signal victory you gained, so as at one blow utterly to defeat the designs of the enemy against these provinces, is an event which does so much honour to yourself, Sir, in particular, and to all the officers and men under your command, and which, at the same time, is attended with such important advantages to the Company, as call upon us to return you our sincere thanks."

The regiment was soon afterwards ordered to Britain, and in the year 1765 was reduced. This uncommon circumstance attended their service, that, although five years embodied, four of which were spent in India or on the passage going and returning, there was neither death, promotion, nor any change whatever among the officers, except that of Lieutenant Lord William Gordon promoted to the 67th regiment, and that of his successor to his lieutenancy.

There was another circumstance more remarkable, and in itself highly honourable to this respectable corps, and which rests upon the best authority, that out of eight com-

panies raised by the Duke of Gordon, Major Munro, and Captains Macgillivray, Grant, Macpherson, and others, in all 780 men, not a man was brought to the halberts, or deserted during these five years. Of the whole regiment there were only six men brought to corporal punishment. When soldiers exhibit such fidelity to their trust, and such principles regulating their conduct, it were desirable that a less ignominious punishment could be substituted for that personal castigation, so humiliating and degrading to the feelings, and the infliction of which generally destroys all sense of shame and honour, and renders a man indifferent to his future conduct. The difficulty consists in finding a proper substitute. Care ought, however, to be taken that degrading punishments be inflicted only on men who have already lost their character, and on whose obdurate feelings no other motive than simple pain is capable of acting with sufficient force. The foundation of a system, calculated to surmount this difficulty, and to establish modes of punishment sufficient to operate as a check on the depraved, without annihilating their sense of shame, is a subject equally important, difficult, and desirable. Much will depend upon officers capable of understanding the feelings, and making due allowance for the casual infirmities of human nature, and possessing the firmness and decision necessary to control and overawe the turbulent and incorrigible. Many good soldiers have been ruined by the infliction of infamous punishments, while to men of such bold spirits and depraved minds, as frequently enter our army, the terror, and often the infliction of severe punishments are absolutely necessary.

## JOHNSTONE'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

## ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST REGIMENT.

1760.

IN the year 1760 commissions to raise Independent Companies in the Highlands, to consist of 5 sergeants and 105 rank and file each, were given to the following gentlemen, viz. Captains, Colin Graham of Drainie, James Cuthbert of Milncraigs, Peter Gordon of Knockespic, Ludovick Grant of the family of Rothiemurchus, and Robert Campbell, son of Ballivolin.

These officers were to recruit in their own counties of Argyle, Ross, and Inverness. As observed by a respectable veteran, who served as a lieutenant in one of those companies, "It was not necessary, in those days, to go to manufacturing towns to bribe with whisky and high bounties, the idle and the profligate; we got plenty of young men in the country." The companies were soon completed. Having assembled at Perth, they were marched to Newcastle, and remained there till towards the end of 1761, when the whole were ordered to Germany to reinforce Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders.\* After the men had

\* While these companies lay at Newcastle, they received orders to be in readiness to march to Durham, as the Pitmen or Colliers in that part of the country had shown a disposition to riot, some collieries having struck work, and proceeded to acts of violence. When this order was received, every cutler's shop in the town was crowded with the soldiers, sharpening their swords, and preparing their arms, to the great surprise of the inhabitants, who had formed a very favourable opinion of the Highlanders, and who could not reconcile this apparent

embarked, the officers were ordered back again to the Highlands to recruit. On this service they were very successful: in a few months 600 men were assembled at Perth, and were there formed into a regiment of six companies of 5 sergeants and 105 rank and file each. The regiment was numbered the 101st, and the command given to Major, afterwards Sir James, Johnstone of Westerhall, with the rank of Major Commandant.

Except Major Johnstone, Adjutant Macveah, and Sergeant-Major Coxwell, every officer and soldier, both in the Independent Companies and in the 101st regiment, were Highlanders.

Although Major Johnstone was not himself a Highlander, he had every qualification for the command of a Highland regiment. An excellent judgment enabled him to perceive the advantages of availing himself of the peculiar habits of the men, and of commanding them rather by influencing their minds, than by the fear of corporal punishments. He entered on his functions with the spirit of a knight of former times, and while he made himself agreeable to his men by wearing their favourite garb, and by humouring and indulging them in the exercise of their characteristic habits and customs, so far as they did not interfere with their duty, he secured their attachment, while he possessed their respect, by the spirit and energy he displayed. When reviewed at Perth in 1762 by Lieutenant-General Lord George Beauclerk, the regiment received his public commendation, and he declared that he had not seen a body of men in a more "efficient state, and better fitted to meet the enemy." But, however capable they were in this respect, they had no opportunity of being put to the proof. A detachment of the regiment was ordered to Portugal, under

ferocity with their regular and orderly conduct, and their ordinarily quiet and obliging disposition. These preparations were the subject of much observation, and being reported to the discontented, the circumstance may have had some influence on their minds in producing that return to tranquillity which rendered active measures against them unnecessary.

Lieutenant-General the Earl of Loudon, but while waiting for orders to sail from Portsmouth, they were countermanded in consequence of the negotiations for peace, and ordered back to Perth, where the regiment was reduced in August 1763.

The character and conduct of the five Independent Companies which had been drafted and sent to Germany, and that of the regiment afterwards recruited by the same officers, were exemplary. Major Johnstone's mode of discipline was admirably calculated for the subjects he had to work upon, and produced the happiest effects, so far as regarded conduct in quarters; and, as a man of good character, and of religious and moral habits in quarters, is invariably the best and most trust-worthy soldier in the field, it may be admitted, that, if these men had been tried in the face of an enemy, they would have afforded an additional proof how a Highland soldier of the old school would perform his duty when called upon to fight the enemies of his country under the auspices of those whom he esteemed and loved, and who established their claim to his fidelity and steadiness in the hour of trial, by personal kindness, by a condescending attention to his feelings and welfare, and, above all, by showing an example of true courage and spirit.

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FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS,  
OR  
SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.  
1775.

THE rapidity with which the ranks of Colonel Fraser's regiment of 1757 were completed, its honourable and im-

portant services, and the character it upheld, were known and acknowledged; and by none more than by his late Majesty, who, with enlightened views of the firm and incorruptible fidelity, and mistaken but generous loyalty of many of his northern subjects, omitted no opportunity of exhibiting towards them the greatest indulgence, of directing their loyalty into the proper channel, and of securing their affections to his person, family, and government, from which they had been long unconstitutionally and unfortunately alienated. Those principles which had withstood so many years of absence and exile, formed the best security for that loyalty which was now in its proper place; and, as this was fully proved by the services of Colonel Fraser and his regiment in the former war, he was by his Majesty, in the year 1774, rewarded with a free grant of his family estate, forfeited to the Crown in 1746. In 1775 he was farther countenanced by receiving Letters of Service for raising in the Highlands another regiment of two battalions.

By the restoration of his property, he was now in possession of all the power which wealth and territorial influence could command; but his present purpose had less relation to the influence of wealth, than to the preservation of respect and attachment to his person and family. Relying on the latter alone, when in poverty, and without the means to reward, his influence had experienced no diminution, for in a few weeks he had found himself at the head of 1250 men. So much having been done in 1757 without the aid of property or estate, no difficulty was to be expected, now that the case was the reverse. Nor did he find any; for, with equal ease and expedition, two battalions of 2340 Highlanders were marched up to Stirling, and thence to Glasgow, in April 1776. The completion of this numerous corps must, no doubt, have been accelerated by the exertions of his officers, of whom six besides himself were chiefs of clans, and all of respectable families, or sons of gentlemen tacksmen, as will be seen by the following nominal list:

## FIRST BATTALION.

*Colonel*, The Honourable Simon Fraser of Lovat, died in 1782, a Lieutenant-general.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*, Sir William Erskine of Torry, died in 1795, a Lieutenant-general.

*Majors.*

John Macdonell of Lochgarry, died in 1789, Colonel.

Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, retired from the foot-guards in 1791, died in 1820.

*Captains.*

Simon Fraser, died Lieutenant-general, 1812.

Duncan Chisholm of Chisholm.

Colin Mackenzie, died General in the army, 1818.

Francis Skelly, died in India, Lieutenant-colonel of the 94th regiment.

Hamilton Maxwell, brother of Monreith, died in India, Lieutenant-colonel of the 74th regiment, 1794.

John Campbell, son of Lord Stonefield, died Lieutenant-colonel of the 2d battalion of the 42d regiment, at Madras, 1784.

Norman Macleod of Macleod, died Lieutenant-general, 1796.

Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall.

Charles Cameron of Lochiel, died 1776.

*Lieutenants.*

Charles Campbell, son of Ardchattan, John Macdougall.  
killed at Catauba. Colin Mackenzie.

John Nairne, son of Lord Nairne. Alexander Fraser.

William Nairne, now Lord Nairne. Thomas Fraser, son of Leadclune.

Charles Gordon. Dougald Campbell, son of Craignish.

David Kinloch. Robert Macdonald, son of Sanda.

Thomas Tause, killed at Savannah. Roderick Macleod.

William Sinclair. John Ross.

Hugh Fraser. Patrick Cumming.

Alexander Fraser. Thomas Hamilton.

*Ensigns.*

Archibald Campbell. Allan Malcolm.

Henry Macpherson. John Murchison.

John Grant. Angus Macdonell.

Robert Campbell, son of Ederline. Peter Fraser.

*Chaplain*, Hugh Blair, D. D. Professor of Rhetoric, Edinburgh College. *Adjutant*, Donald Cameron.

*Quarter-Master*, David Campbell.

*Surgeon*, William Fraser.



## SECOND BATTALION.

*Colonel*, Simon Fraser.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*, Archibald Campbell, died *Lieutenant-general*, 1792.

*Majors.*

Norman Lamont, son of the Laird of Lamont.

Robert Menzies, killed in Boston Harbour, 1776.

*Captains.*

Angus Mackintosh of Kellachy, formerly Captain in Keith's Highlanders, died in South Carolina in 1780.

Patrick Campbell, son of Glenure.

Andrew Lawrie.

Æneas Mackintosh of Mackintosh.

Charles Cameron, son of Fassafearn, killed at Savannah, 1779.

George Munro, son of Culcairn:

Boyd Porterfield.

Law. Rt. Campbell.

*Lieutenants.*

Robert Hutchison.

Alexander Sutherland.

Archibald Campbell.

Hugh Lamont.

Robert Duncanson.

George Stewart.

Charles Barrington Mackenzie.

James Christie.

James Fraser.

Thomas Fraser.

Archibald Balnevis, son of Edradour.

Dougald Campbell, son of Achnaba.

Lodk. Colquhoun, son of Luss.

John Mackenzie.

Hugh Campbell, son of Glenure.

John Campbell.

Arthur Forbes.

Patrick Campbell.

Archibald Maclean.

David Ross.

Robert Grant.

Thomas Fraser.

*Ensigns.*

William Gordon.

Charles Main.

Archibald Campbell.

Donald Cameron.

Smollet Campbell, son of Craignish.

Gilbert Waugh.

William Bain.

John Grant.

*Chaplain*, Malcolm Nicholson.

*Adjutant*, Archibald Campbell.

*Quarter-Master*, J. Ogilvie.

*Surgeon*, Colin Chisholm, afterwards

Physician in Bristol.

- In the preceding list, Sir William Erskine, \* Sir Archi-

\* Sir William Erskine entered the Scots Greys in 1743: He was a cornet at the battle of Fontenoy, and carried a standard, his father, Colonel Erskine, commanding the regiment. In the morning of the battle, Colonel Erskine tied

bald Campbell, Major Menzies, Major Macdonell of Lochgarry, and Major Lamont, were officers of great experience, and approved talents, while three-fourths of the others were accomplished gentlemen. With such a selection of officers, and with soldiers of high spirit, good principles, and robust constitutions, the best state of discipline and exemplary conduct were doubtless to be expected. But there was not time to prove what might have been the effect of discipline, for such was the urgency of the service, that in a few weeks they were marched from Glasgow to Greenock, where they embarked for immediate service, without any acquired knowledge of the use of arms.

But, although their stay in Glasgow was short, they, in a special manner, attracted the notice of the inhabitants. At this period, 3400 Highlanders of the 42d and 71st, of whom 3000 were raised and brought from the North in ten weeks, were stationed in Glasgow. The respectable part of the inhabitants were much struck with the regular conduct of these men, so different from what they had perhaps been led to expect. But no part of this conduct was more conspicuous than "the cordial habits these strangers were in with the people, although so many of them spoke no English; and more especially their attachment and respect to their officers, and the kindness and familiarity with which the officers talked to their men."

When the regiment was mustered at Glasgow, it was found that more men had come up than were required: these were accordingly left behind when the corps marched to Greenock. Officers who have been in the habit of embarking with troops, on a distant and dangerous service, have perhaps observed individuals who appeared as if they would not have been displeased to remain at home. In the present instance the case was different. Several of the men

the standard to his son's leg, and told him, "Go, and take good care of your charge; let me not see you separate; if you return alive from the field, you must produce the standard." After the battle, the young cornet rode up to his father, and showed him the standard as tight and fast as in the morning.

ordered to be left behind were so eager to accompany their countrymen and companions, that they left their officers in Glasgow, and, following the regiment, got on board in the dark, and as their friends there were probably not anxious to inform against them, they were not discovered till the fleet was at sea.

While so many were thus eager to serve their country, others objected to do so, except on certain conditions. The ancient tenants of Captain Cameron of Lochiel had raised 120 men on his forfeited estate, and sent them to the regiment to secure him a company. He was himself confined in London, from a complaint of which he died that year. His men lamented extremely that they did not meet their chief and captain at Glasgow, and when the orders for embarkation arrived, he being still absent, they loudly expressed their sorrow. "They were Lochiel's men; with him at their head, they were ready to go to any part of the world, and they were certain some misfortune had happened, or he would have been with them;" and it required all the persuasive eloquence of General Fraser \* (and he had a great deal) to explain to their satisfaction the situation of Lochiel, and that they could not more effectually serve him, and display their attachment and duty, than by embarking with their comrades. To this they consented with the more cheerfulness, as Captain Cameron of Fassafearn, a friend and near relation of Lochiel, was appointed to command them. †

\* While General Fraser was speaking in Gaelic to the men, an old Highlander, who had accompanied his son to Glasgow, was leaning on his staff gazing at the General with great earnestness. When he had finished, the old man walked up to him, and with that easy familiar intercourse which in those days subsisted between the Highlanders and their superiors, shook him by the hand, exclaiming, "Simon, you are a good soldier, and speak like a man: so long as you live, Simon of Lovat will never die;" alluding to the General's address and manner, which, as was said, resembled much that of his father, Lord Lovat, whom the old Highlanders knew perfectly. The late General Sir George Beckwith witnessed the above scene, and often spoke of it with much interest.

† Lochiel was detained in London by a severe illness, of which he had not

The transports with the 71st sailed in a large fleet, having the 42d and other troops on board. A violent gale, however, scattered the fleet, and several of the single ships fell in with, and were attacked by, American privateers. A transport having Captain, afterwards Sir Æneas Mackintosh, and his company on board, with two six-pounders, made a resolute defence against a privateer with eight guns, till all the ammunition was expended, when they bore down with an intention of boarding; the privateer, however, did not wait to receive the shock, and set sail, the transport being unable to follow.

At this period General Howe had evacuated Boston, and the ship left to give notice to vessels not to enter the harbour was blown off in a gale of wind. Owing to this circumstance, the transport with Colonel Archibald Campbell and Major Menzies on board sailed into Boston Harbour, where they were attacked by three privateers full of men. These they kept off, repulsing several attempts to board, till at last, when their ammunition was expended, and their rudder disabled by a shot, the ship grounded under a battery, and they were compelled to surrender. Major Menzies and seven men were killed, and Colonel Campbell and the rest were carried prisoners into Boston. The death of an officer of Major Menzies's judgment and experience was a severe loss to a corps, where so many of the officers, and all the sergeants and soldiers, were totally undisciplined. Sir William Erskine, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st battalion, was a bold and enterprising officer of Elliott's dragoons in Germany, and possessed a mind, perhaps, of too high a cast to take pleasure in superintending the drilling of a new corps. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the 2d battalion, was distinguished as an engineer, and in the scientific parts of the profession, but he was a perfect stranger to the in-

recovered when he heard of the conduct of his men, and of the cause. Forgetting his delicate state of health, he hurried down to Glasgow; but the fatigue of the journey brought on a return of his complaint with such violence, that he died a few weeks afterwards, universally respected and lamented.

terior discipline of the line. He was afterwards Governor of Jamaica, and Commander-in-Chief in India. Could an hypothesis be grounded on a few facts, Fraser's Highlanders would prove, that men without discipline, depending entirely on their native spirit and energy, are capable of performing, in the most perfect manner, every duty of a soldier. Few British regiments ever went into immediate service with less discipline than this regiment, except Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders in Germany. In what manner these corps performed the duty expected of them, the history of the times will show. Keith's regiment was, indeed, put to a more severe trial in being so early placed in competition with the veteran and chosen troops of France. The want of discipline of the troops opposed to Fraser's in America, rendered the duty in forcing them less arduous; but they entered on every enterprise with spirit, and were highly conspicuous for courage, success, and the terror with which their advances inspired the enemy.\* Of the disposition and capability of the Highlanders as soldiers, Sir William Howe had formed an opinion from Fraser's Highlanders of the Seven Years' War, with whom he had served under General Wolfe. Influenced probably by this opinion, he brought forward the 71st to the front immediately on their landing. The Grenadiers were placed in the battalion under the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Stuart;

\* An instance of this occurred at the battle of Guildford Courthouse, in Virginia, on the 15th of March 1781. This action was well contested, and although the enemy were driven back at every attack, they always rallied, and formed a new front, till towards the end of the action, when a rapid movement of Fraser's Highlanders brought the regiment so conspicuously in view of the enemy, and (as appears by the American General's dispatches) made such an impression, as to induce them to retreat with great precipitation, and never afterwards to attempt a rally. This impression on the nerves of the enemy must have been occasioned by their previous rencounters with the 71st regiment, as they did not wait an actual attack. Thus it will always be: when soldiers advance with spirit and energy, it not only ensures present victory but inspires a terror that will paralyze an enemy on future occasions, and render their defeat more easy, if not a matter of certainty.

the other companies were formed into three small battalions, and formed a brigade under Sir William Erskine, then appointed Brigadier-General. In this manner, and without any training, except what they got on board the transports from non-commissioned officers nearly as ignorant as themselves, these men were brought into action at Brooklyn, and on no future occasion, even after the experience of six campaigns, did they display more spirit or soldier-like conduct. Eight hundred men of the 42d, engaged on this occasion, were, indeed, as young soldiers as those of the 71st, but then they had had the advantage of the example of 300 old soldiers, on which to form their military habits and manners, together with a corps of able officers and sergeants of long experience, to teach them every necessary duty. Such, indeed, were the constant and active duties, and incessant marching, actions, and changes of quarters of the 71st, that little time could be spared; and, therefore, little attempt was made to give them the polish of parade discipline till the third year of the war. Field discipline, and forcing their enemy to fly wherever they met him, (except on two occasions, when the fault lay not with them), they understood perfectly; and with this knowledge of discipline, and being besides "trust-worthy and temperate, brave in the field, conciliating and regular in quarters, wherever duty called them they were to be found." Possessed of these qualifications as soldiers, Lords Cornwallis and Moira readily overlooked their want of polish, and of more correct parade movements. Towards the conclusion of the third campaign, Major M'Arthur was appointed to the command of the regiment. He had served in the Scotch Brigade in Holland, and in Keith's Highlanders, under Prince Ferdinand, and "no officer, in America, was more a master of mechanical formations and military manœuvres. The effect was visible in the exterior of the 71st. It is a doubt with some, whether the military qualities of the corps were improved. Their conduct was good after they were drilled. It was equally good, perhaps more animated and heroic, be-

fore they received this military polish." \* In their uncultivated state they were acknowledged to be one of the most hardy serviceable corps ever raised in the Highlands, and they contributed to demonstrate how little preparation is necessary for the execution of every military duty, when men possess the proper elements of the soldier.

The first proof they gave was, as I have already noticed, at the battle of Brooklyn. Towards the end of July 1776, they disembarked in America; and, in the month of August, a very important duty was assigned them, under their chivalrous commander, Sir William Erskine, namely, to support the Grenadiers and Guards, the elite of the British army. "Their spirit and intrepidity were universally acknowledged;" and if General Grant, who commanded the left wing of the army, had been permitted to advance with the same ardour which he himself exhibited at Fort du Quésne in 1758, when Major of Montgomerie's Highlanders,† the battle of Brooklyn would probably have had a very different conclusion, and might have given a blow to the enemy which they could not have easily recovered. While the battalion companies gave this early promise under the command of Sir William Erskine, the Grenadier companies were no less fortunate in their commander, Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Charles Stuart, and in the approbation with which his conduct was noticed the same day on the right wing of the army. Here the same ardour was displayed by the Grenadiers, the same eagerness to push the enemy to the last extremity, and force them to surrender in the strong position in which they had taken shelter. But General Howe, desirous, as was said, of saving the lives of his troops, recalled them. Had they been allowed to advance, the sacrifice of lives would have been more than compensated by the success which appeared so certain, by the additional spirit

\* Dr Jackson on the Character of the Highlanders as Soldiers.

† See Vol. I. p. 322.

which victory thus early would have infused into our troops, and by the despondency which so complete a discomfiture would have occasioned to the enemy.

In the skirmishing warfare of the next campaign, this regiment had constant employment, and particularly in the expeditions to Willsbrough and Westfield, with which the campaign of 1777 commenced. This was immediately previous to the embarkation of the army for the Chesapeak. In the battle of Brandy Wine they were actively engaged, and remained in Pennsylvania till they embarked for New York in November. Here they were joined by 200 recruits, who had arrived in September from Scotland. These men, with about 100 recovered men from the hospital, formed a small corps under Captain Colin (afterwards General) Mackenzie. This corps acted as Light infantry, and accompanied General Vaughan \* in an expedition up the North River, in order to create a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne's movements. On the 6th of October, Fort Montgomery was taken by assault. Captain Mackenzie's corps led the attack, and although so many were recruits, they exhibited conduct worthy of veterans.

In the year 1778, the 71st regiment accompanied Lord Cornwallis on an excursion into the Jerseys, † and after a

\* General Vaughan, who commanded in the Jerseys during the winter months, placed such confidence in this regiment, that he kept them constantly near him, and seldom moved without a party of them.

† On this occasion a corps of cavalry, commanded by the Polish Count Pulauski, were surprised and nearly cut to pieces by the Light infantry under Sir James Baird. Indeed, there was hardly a movement, however trifling, in which Sir James was not engaged. Whenever he was within reach he was generally first called upon, and he was almost always the first ready. No company in America was more frequently engaged with the enemy. It was said of Colonel Abercromby, that more balls passed him without injury than any other officer; and Sir James and his Light infantry, being always in front, had the credit of killing more of the enemy than any other company. † He was not a Highlander, but when he was appointed to this company, he studied the character of the people he commanded, he sung their warlike



series of movements and counter-movements, the two battalions embarked at New York for Georgia in the month of November.

The object of this expedition—which, along with the Highlanders, consisted of two regiments of Hessians, a corps of Provincials, and a detachment of artillery, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, (who had been exchanged this year),—was to take possession of the town of Savannah, in order to afford support to the loyalists in the province. Captain Hyde Parker commanded the convoy. The fleet sailed from Sandy Hook on the 29th of November 1777, and, after a stormy passage, reached the river Savannah by the end of December. The 1st battalion of the 71st, and the Light infantry, under the immediate command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, landed without opposition at a short distance below the town of Savannah. Captain Cameron immediately pushed forward to attack the advanced

songs, and was frank and familiar as a chief of old, at the same time preserving the full authority of a chief in his character of an officer. He so insinuated himself into their affections, that, though Highlanders have a predilection for Highland blood, no chieftain in his glen ever commanded the devotion of *Gillien* more unreservedly. They knew his meaning by his whistle, and they flew with eagerness to obey. He struck the key of the Highlanders' mind in such a manner, as to produce an action of perfect accord. With great personal activity, ardent and fearless, he indulged the propensity of the Highlanders to close upon the enemy."—*Dr Jackson*.

Although I have avoided saying any thing in the praise of living individuals, leaving their actions to speak for themselves, (except in one great exception, where it was impossible to touch upon exploits unrivalled in military history, without giving expression to the feelings they created), I cannot keep back this notice of Sir James Baird and his Light infantry, which is from a valued friend, whose talents, penetration, and personal knowledge of the circumstances, enabled him to form an accurate opinion. The Marquis of Montrose, Lord Dundee, Sir Robert Murray Keith, and Sir James Baird, Lowlanders born, and originally strangers to the character, customs, prejudices, and language of the Highlanders, had the address and talent to secure their affections, and to attempt and accomplish very daring and remarkable exploits.

post of the enemy stationed beyond the landing place. As the Light infantry advanced, the enemy fired a volley, by which Captain Cameron, an "officer of high spirit and great promise," and three men, were killed; the rest instantly charged the enemy, and drove them back on the main body, drawn up in line on an open plain in rear of the town of Savannah. The disembarkation, with the necessary arrangements for an attack on the enemy, were soon complete. Savannah was then an open town, without any natural strength, but covered on both sides with woods. Colonel Campbell formed his troops in line, and detached Sir James Baird with the Light infantry through a narrow path, to get round the right flank of the enemy, while the corps, which had been Captain Cameron's, was sent round the left. The army remained drawn up in front, making demonstrations to attack. This so occupied the attention of the enemy, that they did not perceive the intentions of the flanking parties, till the signal was given that our troops had got to their ground. Colonel Campbell instantly advanced, when the enemy, seeing themselves surrounded, fled in the greatest confusion. The Light infantry, closing in upon both flanks of the retreating enemy, they suffered exceedingly; upwards of 100 men being killed, and 500 wounded or taken prisoners, while the loss on the part of the assailants consisted only of 4 soldiers killed and 5 wounded. So easily did the British gain possession of the capital of Georgia, together with 45 pieces of cannon, shipping, and stores.

Anxious to follow up this favourable commencement, Colonel Campbell made immediate preparations for advancing against Augusta, a considerable town in the interior of the province, 150 miles distant from Savannah. The enemy, not having recovered from the recent disaster, made no opposition, and the whole province quietly submitted. Colonel Campbell established himself in Augusta, and detached Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, with 200 men, to the frontiers of Georgia. During these proceedings, General Pre-

vost had arrived at Savannah from Florida, and assumed the command. He ordered Augusta to be evacuated, and the boundaries occupied by the British to be narrowed. The Americans, emboldened by this retrograde movement, collected in great numbers, and hung on the rear of the British, cutting off stragglers, and frequently skirmishing with the rear guards. But although uniformly repulsed, this retreat dispirited the Loyalists, and left them unprotected, unable, and now perhaps unwilling, to render assistance.

As General Prevost did not encourage the establishment of a provincial militia, the Loyalists were left without arms or employment, and the disaffected formed bands and traversed the country without control. To keep these in check, inroads were made into the interior; and in this manner the winter months passed. Colonel Campbell, who had acted on a different system, obtained leave of absence and embarked for England, Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland succeeding him in the command of the 71st regiment.

In the month of February 1779, the enemy collected a force of nearly 3000 men at Brien Creek, for the purpose of cutting off the communication, and checking the incursions of the foraging parties. This position was strong, and defended by upwards of 2000 men, besides 1000 in detached stations. In front was a deep swamp, rendered passable only by a narrow causeway, and on each flank were thick woods, nearly impenetrable except on the dryer parts of the swamps which intersected them; but the position was more open in the rear. Thus situated, the enemy were enabled to cause considerable annoyance; it was, therefore, determined to dislodge them. For this purpose, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Macpherson, \* with the first

\* This gentleman was son of Macpherson of Clunie, the chief to whom his clan evinced such disinterested fidelity and affection in 1746, and the nine subsequent years. The castle of Clunie, as has been already stated, was burnt by the troops after the battle of Culloden. During the chief's long confinement in the cave, his lady fitted up an old malt-kiln as a kind of temporary

battalion of the Highlanders, was directed to march upon the front of the position; Colonel Prevost, and Lieutenant-Colonels Maitland and Macdonald, with the 2d battalion of the Highlanders, the Light infantry, and a detachment of Provincials, were ordered to attempt the rear by a circuitous route of many miles. Notwithstanding this long march through a difficult country, the movements were so admirably planned, and so correctly executed, that in ten minutes after Colonel Macpherson appeared at the head of the causeway in front, Colonel Maitland's fire was heard in the rear; and Sir James Baird, with the Light infantry, in "his usual manner," rushing through the openings in the swamps on the left flank, the enemy, unable to make any effectual resistance, were quickly overpowered; the loss of the Highlanders being only 5 soldiers killed, and 1 officer, and 12 rank and file, wounded.

This strong detachment being thus dislodged, General Lincoln collected a considerable force on the South Carolina side of the river. Determined to attack this post, General Prevost took the command of the troops, who had been so successful at Brien's Creek, and crossed the river ten miles below the position of the enemy. The two battalions of the 71st were directed to take a circuit of several miles, with a view of coming on the enemy's rear, while the General advanced on their front. They entered a woody swamp at 11 o'clock at night, and, guided by a party of Creek Indians, penetrated through, the water reaching to their shoulders in the deeper and softer parts of the swamps. In this condition, with their ammunition destroyed, they emerged from the woods at 8 o'clock in the morning, less than half a mile in rear of the enemy's position, and without waiting for the co-operation of General Prevost, who had not moved from his position ten miles below, the High-

residence. Here she was delivered of the son who commanded in this expedition. As the Highlanders always marked any extraordinary circumstance, whether personal or otherwise, by some name or phrase characteristic of the fact, Colonel Macpherson was called *Duncan of the Kith*.

landers instantly rushed forward, and drove the enemy from their position at the first charge, and this with such expedition that they suffered no loss, nor did the enemy, from their short stand and quick retreat, suffer much.

General Prevost being thus far successful, was encouraged to penetrate farther into the country; and, meeting with no opposition, he moved upon Charlestown with such celerity, and arrived before it so unexpectedly, that, had it been attacked before the garrison had time to recover from their surprise, it is probable it would have been taken with little difficulty. The town was summoned to surrender, but time being allowed to consult, a dispatch arrived in the mean time from the American General Lincoln, giving notice of his approach to its relief. General Prevost had no means to carry on a siege, and as the American force under General Lincoln was stated to be greatly superior to his own, he thought it advisable to commence a retreat to his old quarters in Georgia under somewhat gloomy circumstances. He could not retrace his steps, the Americans being in arms, and the principal pass on the route occupied. He was, therefore, under the necessity of attempting to return by the sea-coast, a course which exposed the troops to much suffering, as they had to march through unfrequented woods, and salt water marshes and swamps, experiencing a consequent want of fresh water. Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, the Quartermaster-general, and a person of the name of Macgirt, \* with a party under his orders, had gone on a foraging excursion, and were not returned from their operations; and as it was thought necessary that they should be protected, Colonel Maitland, with a battalion of Highlanders and some Hessians, was placed in a redoubt of hasty construction at Stono Ferry, an important pass, while the

\* This man, with a band of followers, had accompanied the General from Florida, and from his character and marauding habits, was a very improper guard to the Quartermaster-General, to whom all the odium of the excesses and pillage of Macgirt and his band attached, greatly increasing the disaffection and irritation of the people.

rest of the troops crossed over to John's Island. The communication had been kept up by a bridge of boats, but several of the boats having been removed by the Quartermaster-General, when he arrived with the fruits of his forage, the communication was interrupted. This separation of the British force was not to be neglected by the enemy, who had 5000 men in the immediate neighbourhood. They, accordingly, pushed forward 2000 men with the artillery. When their advance was reported, Captain Colin Campbell, † with 4 officers and 56 men, was sent out to reconnoitre, and to act according to circumstances. A thick wood covered the approach of the enemy till they reached a clear field on which Captain Campbell's party stood. Disregarding this great inequality of numbers, and anxious to give time to those in the redoubt to prepare, he instantly attacked with such vivacity, that the enemy were obliged to form to defend themselves. A desperate resistance ensued; all the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Highlanders fell, seven soldiers only remaining on their legs. It was not intended that the resistance should be of this nature. But most of the party were men who had recently joined from prison, being some of those taken in Boston Harbour early in the war; and this being their first appearance before an enemy, they had not yet learned to retreat, nor had they forgotten what had been always inculcated in their native country, that to retreat was disgraceful. "When Captain Campbell fell, he desired such of his men as were able to make the best of their way to the redoubt; but they refused to obey, as it would bring lasting disgrace upon them all to leave their officers in the field, with none to carry them back." However, the enemy either struck with this unexpected check from so insignificant a force, or waiting till the main body came up, ceased firing. The seven men retired carrying their wounded officers along with them, and

† This gallant officer was son of Campbell of Glendaruel, in Argyleshire.

accompanied by those of the soldiers who were able to walk. They were soon followed by the whole force of the enemy, determined to overpower those in the redoubts. In this they had in one part a partial success; the Hessians having got into confusion in the redoubt which they occupied, the enemy forced an entrance, but the 71st having driven back those who had attacked their part of the redoubt, Colonel Maitland was enabled to detach two companies of the Highlanders to the support of the Hessians. The enemy were instantly driven out of the redoubt at the point of the bayonet, and while they were preparing for another attempt to storm, the 2d battalion of the Highlanders came up, when the Americans, despairing of success, retreated at all points, leaving many men killed and wounded.

The resistance offered by Captain Campbell, though not intended, and contrary, perhaps, to common practice in such cases, was, notwithstanding, highly honourable to those who made this determined stand; for no men need approach nearer to invincibility than those who fight against the most fearful odds, while life or the power of motion remains. This undaunted resistance also apparently saved the redoubt and those who defended it, for the time lost by the enemy in forcing their way through this little band of true soldiers, afforded time to their friends in the redoubt to prepare, and likewise to the 2d battalion in the island to march by the difficult and circuitous route left open for them.\* Nor was the firm resistance of those within the

\* The destruction of the bridge of boats by Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost was the cause of the delay in bringing to their support the 2d battalion from the island, and, indeed, had nearly prevented their assistance entirely. Two temporary ferry-boats had been established, but the men who had charge of them being frightened by the firing, ran away and left the boats fixed on the wrong side. The enemy perceiving this from a height on the opposite side, opened a galling fire from their great guns on the men as they stood on the banks of the river, without a cannon to return a shot. Lieutenant Robert Campbell, followed by a few soldiers, plunged into the water and swam across, returned with the boats, and thus enabled the battalion to cross over to the support of

redoubt (if embankments, hastily thrown up without guns or any other strength, may be so called) less honourable, seeing that 520 Highlanders and 200 Hessians successfully resisted all the efforts of an enemy 5000 strong, (excepting the momentary impression on the Hessian part of the redoubt,) and this in comparison of the service performed with a trifling loss, which was only 3 officers and 32 soldiers killed and wounded, while that of the enemy exceeded the total strength of those attacked.

The port at Stono Ferry being thus secured, and the Quartermaster-General having returned with his foraging party, it was evacuated, and Colonel Maitland retired to the island of Port Royal, where he was left with 700 men, while General Prevost, with the main body of the army, continued a difficult and harassing march to Savannah.

In this station General Prevost remained till the month of September 1779, when the Count D'Estaing arrived on the coast of Georgia with a fleet of twenty sail of the line, two fifty gun ships, seven frigates, and a fleet of transports; with a body of troops on board for the avowed purpose of retaking Savannah. This town, situated on a sandy plain gently inclining towards the south, was still open; the river Savannah was in front, with low and swampy grounds on both flanks; the back of the town was protected by an abatis, in such a state of ruin, as to present little impediment to any enemy. The successful defence of the garrison, and their ultimate success, were to be calculated more from their energy and firmness than from their numbers, or the strength of artificial protection. The garrison consisted of two companies of the 16th regiment, two of the 60th, one battalion of Highlanders, and one weak battalion of Hessians; in all, about 1100 effective men. The combined French and American army was said to amount to more

their friends. This brave and zealous officer was drowned some years afterwards in an attempt to save an old domestic who had fallen from a boat into the sea, in crossing from one of the islands in the Hebrides.



than 12,000 men. With such a preponderance of force, and with no natural and very trifling artificial defences, the enemy, it was believed, would have attacked the moment they landed, but Count D'Estaing preferring regular approaches, summoned the town to surrender on capitulation. Time was demanded, and granted; and, in the absence of Colonel Maitland's detachment in Port-Royal, delay was of the utmost importance. The instant this officer was apprised of the appearance and intentions of the enemy, he set out for Savannah; but the enemy having taken possession of the principal passes and fords on the creeks and swamps, he was obliged to take a circuit through morasses and woods unfrequented, and hitherto supposed impassable. But all difficulties were overcome by the spirit and perseverance of this excellent officer, while his detachment were always ready to execute his most arduous attempts. He arrived at Savannah at a most critical moment, when General Prevost was hesitating what answer he should return to the summons of Count D'Estaing. The arrival of Colonel Maitland determined his answer, and immediate preparations were made for the most determined resistance. The zeal and talents of Captain Moncrieff, the chief engineer, and the unremitting exertions and labour of the officers and soldiers, assisted by the negro population, completed a line of entrenchments with intervening redoubts, which covered the troops, and placed the town in a tolerable state of defence. This important object was completed in less time than the enemy required for their preparatory approaches. Such was the celerity with which the works were carried on and completed, that the French officers declared that the English engineer made his batteries spring up like mushrooms. Such being the zeal and energy in preparing for the defence, it may be imagined that the enemy were not permitted to carry on their advances unmolested; although General Prevost, owing to the weakness of his garrison, was averse to sorties. However, in the morning of the 24th of September, Major Colin Graham,

with the Light company of the 16th regiment, and the Highland battalion, dashed out, attacked the enemy, drove them from their outworks, and then retired with the loss of Lieutenant Henry Macpherson of the 71st, and 3 privates killed, and 15 wounded, while the enemy lost 14 officers, and 145 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners.

In the same manner Major Macarthur, with the picquets of the Highlanders, advanced on the enemy with such caution and address, that, after firing a few rounds, the French and Americans, mistaking their object, commenced a fire on each other, by which they lost 50 men; while, in the mean time, Major Macarthur retired silently without loss, leaving the combatants to discover their own mistake at their leisure.

Irritated by these interruptions, impatient of the slow progress of the siege, and having his fleet riding in an open sea, exposed to an attack from the British, and in danger of being blown off the coast, D'Estaing determined on a general assault, in the hope of finishing the enterprise at one blow; and, confiding in the number and experience of his troops, he fixed on the 9th of October for making the attempt. This was done before day-light with the whole French and American force. Owing to a thick fog, it was still too dark to enable the garrison to ascertain from what point the principal attack was intended. However, they were not long in suspense; for the enemy were seen advancing in three columns, D'Estaing in person leading the right. The left column, taking too large a circuit, got entangled in a swamp, and, being exposed to the guns of the garrison, fell into confusion, and was unable to advance. The others made the attack in the best manner; but the fire from the batteries was so well directed and effective, that the heads of the columns suffered exceedingly. Still they persevered; those in rear supplying the places of those who fell in front; and, pushing forward till they reached the first redoubt, the contest became desperate. Many entered the ditch, and some even ascended and planted the

colours on the parapet, where they were killed. Captain Tawse, of the 71st, who commanded the redoubt, plunged his sword into the first man who mounted, and was himself shot dead by the man who followed. Captain Archibald Campbell then assumed the command, and maintained his post till supported by the Grenadiers of the 60th, when the enemy's column being attacked on both sides, was completely broken, and driven back with such expedition, that a detachment of the 71st, ordered by Colonel Maitland to hasten to and assist those who were so hard pressed by superior numbers, could not overtake them. The other columns, seeing the discomfiture of their principal attack, retired without any farther attempt.

In this complete repulse and discomfiture of an important and apparently irresistible enterprise, was exemplified the ruinous consequences of hesitation and delay. Had D'Estaing attacked immediately on landing, before any defences had been raised, and before Colonel Maitland's detachment had joined, a weak garrison and open town could have hardly been expected to have made a successful resistance. General Prevost at Charlestown, and Count D'Estaing at Savannah, fell into similar errors, and were forced to retreat, whereas an immediate and resolute attack would, in all probability, have been crowned with complete success.

The loss of the enemy was estimated at 1500 men killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the garrison was 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 4 sergeants, and 32 soldiers, killed; and 2 captains, 2 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 56 soldiers, wounded. The French and Americans kept possession of their lines till they withdrew their artillery and stores, when the latter retired towards South Carolina, and the former to their ships; and thus ended the attack on Savannah, which, from the state of the place and the force of the enemy, promised a very different result; but the talents of the officers, the firmness of the troops, and the excellent, though hastily constructed, defences, thrown up under the direction of Captain Moncrieff, the chief engineer, supplied the defi-

ciency of numbers and strength of walls. \* The troops in Savannah were sickly before the place was attacked; but the soldiers seemed reanimated, and sickness in a manner suspended, during active operations. As usual in such cases, however, sickness returned with aggravated violence after the enemy had been repulsed, and all incitement ceased. Disease, increased by inactivity and lassitude after extreme exertion, fell with particular severity on the Highlanders. The battalion under Colonel Maitland had not ten men sick in the march through the swamps, nor during the siege, but now one-fourth of their number was in hospital. †

\* Captain, afterwards Colonel Moncrieff, and chief engineer under the Duke of York in Flanders, was killed at Dunkirk, in 1793, universally respected and lamented, as an able and accomplished engineer, and a brave and high spirited officer.

† One of the first who died, after the cessation of hostilities, was the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, son of the Earl of Lauderdale. He was originally in the Marines, but as this service did not afford a sufficient field for his active and enterprising mind, he was transferred to the line, and appointed Major to Fraser's Highlanders. His arrival at Savannah, at a most critical moment, inspired confidence in his friends, while it struck the enemy with surprise, as they did not expect he would be able to penetrate by a circuitous route, after they had secured the fords and passes. Colonel Maitland lived in the trenches with the soldiers, and, "by his courage, his kindness of heart, and affability to his men, secured their affection and fidelity. His dialect was Scotch:—proceeding from a tongue which never spoke in disguise, it carried conviction to all. Equally brave, generous, and unassuming, his memory will be respected while manly fortitude, unstained honour, and military talents, are held in estimation."

During the skirmishing warfare in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, in the years 1776 and 1777, he was particularly active. Ever on the alert, and having his Highlanders always ready, he attracted the particular notice of General Washington. Some communications having passed between them as old acquaintances, although then opposed as enemies, Colonel Maitland sent intimation to the American commander, that in future his men would be distinguished by a red feather in their bonnets, so that he could not mistake them, nor avoid doing justice to their exploits, in annoying his posts, and obstructing his convoys and detachments; adding, that General Washington was too liberal not to acknowledge merit even in an enemy. Fraser's Highlanders wore the red feather after Colonel Maitland's death, and continued to do so till the conclusion of the war. Such was the origin of the red feather subsequently

While the battalion companies of the 71st regiment were thus employed in Georgia and Carolina, the Grenadiers were at Stoney Point, in the state of New York, having a small detachment of the corps at the post of Verplanks, in the immediate neighbourhood. These two posts had been recently taken from the enemy, who were anxious to regain possession of them; and this service offering an opportunity to General Wayne of atoning for his recent disaster in allowing his post to be surprised by Sir Charles Grey, the execution of this duty was intrusted to him.\* A body of troops was accordingly placed under his command; and, at eight o'clock in the evening of the 15th of July 1779, he took post in a hollow, within two miles of the forts, and remained there unperceived till midnight, when he formed his men into two columns, Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury and Major Stewart leading the advance. A gun-boat, which had been stationed to cover the principal approach, was absent that night, and the picquet being placed considerably to the right, one column gained the summit of the ground on which the fort stood before they were perceived. The troops being thus unprepared, made a feeble resistance, and surrendered with the loss of 19 soldiers killed, and 1 captain, 2 subalterns, and 72 soldiers, wounded. The principal part of this loss fell upon the picquet, commanded by Lieutenant Cumming of the 71st, which resisted one of the columns till almost all the men of the picquet were either killed or wounded, Lieutenant Cumming being among the latter.

This misfortune was not attributed to any want of spirit in the troops. Unfortunately, many British officers undervalued the military talents of the enemy, which led to a want of vigilance, and a neglect of procuring proper intelligence; an object of primary importance in military opera-

worn in the Highland bonnet, about which some idle tales have been repeated. In the year 1795, the red feather was assumed by the Royal Highland Regiment.

\* See Vol. I. p. 395.

tions, particularly on outposts in front of an enemy. It was an error of this nature that caused the loss of the Hessian post at Trenton in December 1776, which disaster produced a total change in the aspect of the war, and led to the most important consequences. The Hessian commanding officer, ignorant of the language, despising the Americans, and disregarding even the most common precautions, the enemy easily discovered the nature of his post, the disposition of his men, and their negligent manner of conducting the duty; and were thus encouraged to hazard an attack, the success of which gave them confidence in themselves, and lowered their respect and dread of their opponents, to a degree which they had never known before. This affair of Stoney Point operated in a similar manner.

I now return to Savannah, where the troops who had so bravely defended it remained in quarters during the winter months of 1779 and 1780, in expectation of the arrival of a force from New York sufficient to undertake the siege of Charlestown in the spring. In the month of March, this force arrived, with Sir Henry Clinton at its head. The place was immediately invested, and the siege pushed with vigour. The defence was good, and the loss of the besiegers considerable. The commanding engineer, Captain Moncrieff, was indefatigable; and being fearless of danger in his own person, he was the less careful of the lives of others. He had now served two years with the 71st, and "believing that he could not gratify a Highlander of that regiment more than by selecting him for honourable and dangerous service, he generally expressly applied for a party of the corps for all exposed duties." \*

After the surrender of Charlestown, Lord Cornwallis was appointed to command the southern provinces. The 71st composed part of his force, and advanced with him into the interior. In the beginning of June the army reached Camden, a central place fixed upon for the head-quarters.

\* Dr Jackson.

In July the enemy having assembled in force in the frontiers of the province, the British outposts were called in, and the whole collected and encamped in the neighbourhood of Cambden, the number of firelocks not exceeding 2500, while the enemy, under General Gates, exceeded 7000 men stationed at Rugley's Mill, nearly twelve miles distant. The British general moved from Cambden at 12 o'clock on the night of the 15th of August, with an intention of surprising and attacking the enemy. The American general moved from his ground at the same hour, and with a similar view of attacking the British. The hostile armies met half way, before 3 o'clock in the morning. The moon was full, and the night without a cloud. Some shots were exchanged by the advanced guards, but both generals, ignorant of each other's force, declined a general action, and lay on their arms till morning. The ground on which they lay was a sandy plain with straggling trees, but a part of the ground on the left of the British was soft and boggy. Each army formed the line of battle. The Light infantry of the Highlanders, and the Welsh Fusileers, were on the right; the 33d regiment, and the Volunteers of Ireland, occupied the centre; the Provincials were on the left, with the marshy ground in their front. While the army was thus forming, Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the Highland Light companies on the right, placed himself on the stump of an old tree to reconnoitre, and observing the enemy moving as with an intention of turning his flank, he leaped down, saying to himself, "I'll see you damned first;" and calling to his men, "Remember you are Light infantry; remember you are Highlanders:—charge!"—The attack was rapid and irresistible, and being made before the enemy had completed the movement by which they were to surround the right of the British, they were broken and driven from the field, before the battle commenced in the other parts of the line. When it did commence it was well supported on both sides, the centre of the enemy gaining ground. There was a pause for some minutes, neither side

firing or advancing, when Lord Cornwallis ordered the corps in the centre to open to their right and left, till a considerable space intervened; he then directed the Highlanders, "who began to be impatient at being left in the rear, while their friends were fighting in front," to move forward and occupy the vacant space. When this was done, his lordship cried out, "My brave Highlanders, now is your time!" They instantly rushed forward; "the charge was like a torrent; the 33d and Volunteers of Ireland accompanied the Highlanders, the enemy was penetrated and completely overthrown." \* But the British charge did not strike on the whole of the American line. The thickness of the smoke prevented distinct vision, and such parts of the enemy's line, particularly the right, as had not been acted on by the charge, continuing to advance, gained the ground on which the Highlanders had been originally placed as a reserve. Here they gave three cheers for victory; but the smoke clearing up, they quickly saw their mistake; and a party of the Highlanders turning up on them, the greater part threw down their arms, while the remainder fled in all directions. The victory was complete, and decided by the bayonet, a very decisive instrument in a firm and steady hand. The loss of the British was 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, and 64 soldiers, killed; 2 field officers, 3 captains, 12 subalterns, 13 sergeants, and 213 soldiers, wounded. The Highlanders lost Lieutenant Archibald Campbell, and 8 soldiers, killed; and Captain Hugh Campbell, Lieutenant John Grant, 2 sergeants, and 30 privates, wounded. †

The battle of the 16th of August was decisive as a vic-

\* Letter from Dr Chisholm of Bristol, an eyewitness.

† In a letter from a respectable and intelligent eyewitness, Dr Chisholm of Bristol, the writer states, that there were many acts of individual prowess, the troops having several times closed on the enemy. "One will suffice. A tough stump of a Sutherland Highlander, of the name of Mackay, afterwards my own bat-man, entered the battle with his bayonet perfectly straight, but brought it out twisted like a cork-screw, and with his own hand had put to death seven of the enemy."



tory, so far as related to the field of action ; but General Sumpter, with a strong corps, occupied positions on the Catawba River, which commanded the road to Charlestown, and from which it was necessary to dislodge him. For this purpose, Colonel Tarleton was appointed to command the Cavalry and a corps of Light infantry, under Captain Charles Campbell of the 71st regiment. The heat was excessive ; many of the horses had failed on the march, and not more than forty of the infantry were together in front, when, on the morning of the 18th, they came in sight of Fishing Creek, and saw a smoke at a short distance on their right. The sergeant of the advanced guard halted his party, and went forward with caution to ascertain the cause of the smoke. In a few minutes he saw an encampment, with arms piled, and with few sentinels, and no picquets. No persons were stirring except a few employed in cooking ; the rest lay in groups apparently asleep, as if harassed by a long march. The sergeant reported what he had seen to Captain Campbell, who commanded in front, and as not a moment was to be lost, as a discovery of their situation might have led to serious consequences, Captain Campbell, with his usual promptitude, formed as many of the cavalry as had come up, and with the forty of the Highland Light infantry, rushed forward, and directing their route to the piled arms, quickly secured them and surprised the camp. The success was complete ; a few men were killed ; nearly 500 prisoners surrendered, and the rest dispersed in all directions. General Sumpter fled without his coat. Thus the object of the expedition was in a few minutes accomplished, (before Colonel Tarleton came up), and with trifling loss, had it not been for the death of Captain Campbell, who was killed by a random shot, which in a great measure counterbalanced the joy of so easy a victory. " His death rendered his own men in a manner frantic, for he had secured the affections of those he commanded in a most singular degree." \*

\* Captain Campbell was son of Mr Campbell of Ardchattan. " He was a

These partial successes were soon followed by a reverse. The Americans rallied, and threatened the frontiers of South Carolina, cut off Major Ferguson at King's Mountain, † and fought Colonel Tarleton at Blackstocks, and also at Cowpens.

In December 1780, the American General Morgan made an inroad into South Carolina with about 1100 men. Colonel Tarleton was detached to oppose him with the 7th or Fusileers, the first battalion of Fraser's Highlanders, (both weak in numbers), a detachment of the British Legion, and 300 cavalry. On the morning of the 17th January 1781, intelligence was received that General Morgan was in front, with his force drawn up on a rising ground, thinly covered with pine trees; the front line being on the crown of the rising ground, and the second 400 paces in rear of the first line. The British were hastily formed: the Fusileers, the infantry of the Legion, and the Light infantry, were in front; the Highlanders and Cavalry formed the Reserve. The line was ordered to advance rapidly, as soon as it was formed. Exhausted by running, it received the fire of the

young man of promptitude and decision, and gave promise that he would be an honour to his profession and to his country."

† Major Fergusson was brother of Pitfour. He was appointed Major to Fraser's Highlanders, but commanded a corps of Riflemen which bore his name. "He possessed original genius, was ardent and enthusiastic, and considered as visionary by the disciples of the mechanical school of war. By zeal, animation, and a liberal spirit, he gained the confidence of the mass of the people, and laid foundations on which the loyally disposed, who were numerous in the southern provinces, would have been organized and disciplined, and greatly outnumbered the disaffected. No man in that army was better calculated for such a task; his ardour was not to be checked by common difficulties. Directing the conduct of men unaccustomed to strict discipline; instead of commanding obedience, silence, and close attention to the routine of duty, he, with an address which none but a man who studies and applies the principle which regulates the actions of the human mind could be supposed to possess, led them step by step to accomplish the duties of experienced soldiers. At King's Mountain he was overpowered by numbers, and fought and fell like a Spartan." †

‡ Dr Jackson.

enemy at the distance of thirty or forty paces. The effect of the fire was considerable: it produced something like a recoil, but not to any extent. The fire was returned, but not with vivacity or impression; and it continued ten or twelve minutes in a state of balance, both parties keeping their ground. The Light infantry made two attempts to charge, but were repulsed with loss. The action making no progress, the Highlanders were ordered up; and, rapidly advancing in charge, the enemy's front line moved off precipitately; and the second, which had as yet taken no share in the action, observing confusion and retrograding in their front, suddenly faced to the right, and inclined backwards; a manœuvre by which a space was left for the front line to retreat, without interfering with the ranks of those who were now to oppose the advance of the Highlanders, "who ran in, with characteristic eagerness, desirous to take advantage of the confusion which appeared among the enemy." But the confusion was only in the front line; for Colonel Howard, commanding the enemy's Reserve, threw in a fire upon the 71st when within forty yards of the hostile force. The fire was destructive; nearly one-half of their number fell; and those who remained were so scattered, having run over a space of five hundred yards at full speed, that they could not be united to form a charge with the bayonet, "the mode of attack in which their superiority lay." They were checked; but they did not fall back immediately, probably expecting that the first line and cavalry would push forward to their support. This did not happen; and, after some irregular firing between them and Colonel Howard's Reserve, the front line of the latter rallied, returned to the field, and pushed forward to the right flank of the Highlanders, who now saw no prospect of support, while their own numbers were diminishing, and the enemy increasing. They began to retire, and at length to run, the first instance of a Highland regiment running *from* an enemy!!! This retreat struck a panic into those whom they left in the rear, who fled in the greatest confusion: order and command

were lost; the rout became general; few of the infantry escaped; and of the cavalry, who put their horses to full speed, not a man was taken.

The fate of the action was decided by the destructive fire of the Americans' second line. The Highlanders, when they were checked and repulsed, being five hundred paces in advance of the others, stood at some distance in the rear, after they retreated, and had formed into some compact order. If they had been supported, they might have made a soldier-like retreat, or taken a position till relieved by Lord Cornwallis's army. \* The action of the Cowpens was serious, if not disastrous, in its consequences to the army, inasmuch as it inspired confidence into the enemy, and brought defeat and disgrace on our troops, who, in every other instance, had been victorious. The name of the officer who commanded had been connected with frequent victories, and his corps was particularly dreaded by the Americans. The affair of Cowpens converted this feeling into one of a very different description. To the Highlanders it was particularly unfortunate, as being the first instance of defeat. But, as they were the most advanced in the attack, and the last in the retreat, and as their conduct before and afterwards was unexceptionable, it may be presumed, that, if they had been properly led on and supported, their conduct at Cowpens would have been worthy of the reputation they had acquired in all the other actions in which they had been engaged. The troops who fought at

\* The panic seemed general. A party of the cavalry retreated with such expedition, that they lost their way, and encountered a party of the enemy's cavalry of nearly the same strength. Each party marched up at full trot, threatening mutual destruction. They drew up at the distance of ten paces, and dared each other to advance. Both were timid, and not a man moved. Cornet Paterson, of the 17th Light Dragoons (a troop of which was attached to Tarleton's Legion), coming up at that instant, and indignant at seeing such backwardness in British troops, penetrated the ranks, dashed at Colonel Washington, who commanded, and, in the act of making a stroke at him, was cut down by the colonel's orderly sergeant. The enemy immediately retired; the British followed a few paces, but did no execution.

Stono Ferry ought to have died in the field at Cowpens. In this affair, as in almost all defeats, the loss was considerable, in killed, wounded, and prisoners: it exceeded 400 men.

The dispositions made by the enemy on this occasion appear to have been judicious; and the conduct of the American Colonels, Howard and Washington, in wheeling and manœuvring their corps, and in throwing in such destructive volleys on the Highlanders, would have been creditable to the most experienced veterans. The former success, which had uniformly attended the numerous enterprises of the officer who commanded the British on this occasion, had given him a degree of confidence that in a great measure led to the disaster which followed. The troops were hurried into action, without any previous examination of the ground, or of the disposition of the enemy; and so strong was the impression on the minds of the officers of the Highland regiment that the fault did not lie with their men, that they made a representation to Lord Cornwallis, not to be employed again under the same officer. His Lordship complied with their request.

After this affair, increased exertions were made to follow the main body of the American army, under General Green, who retreated northward. All superfluous baggage was destroyed; officers only reserving a few necessaries. The two battalions of the 71st, now much reduced, were consolidated into one, and formed in brigade with the Welsh Fusileers and 33d regiment. The country was so open, that there was no chance of forcing an action with the enemy; but much skirmishing took place on the march to Guildford Court House, where, on the 16th of March, General Green, believing himself sufficiently strong to oppose his assailants, drew up his army in order of battle. This was done in three lines: the first occupied the edge of a wood, with a fence in front of Hogstie Farm; the second was at some distance in the rear, in a wood of stunted oaks;

the third was posted in the more open parts of the woods, and some cleared ground.

The British line was formed of the German regiment of De Bos, the Highlanders, and Guards, under the Honourable General Leslie, on the right; and the Welsh Fusileers, 33d regiment, and second battalion of Guards, under Brigadier-General Charles O'Hara, on the left; the Cavalry were in the rear, supported by the Light infantry of the Guards and the German Yagers. The attack commenced at one o'clock. The Americans, covered by the fence in their front, maintained their position with confidence, and reserved their fire till the British were within thirty or forty paces. At this short distance, their fire was destructive to Colonel Webster's brigade, nearly one-third being killed or wounded. The Brigade returned the fire, and rushed forward on the enemy, who abandoned their fence, and retreated on the second line. The ground was level, but the wood was so thick and difficult, that, though the fire rolled in torrents, few were killed on either side. It was different on the more open ground, where the regiment of De Bos and the 33d regiment met with more determined resistance, having retreated and advanced repeatedly before they succeeded in driving the enemy from the field. In the mean time, a party of the Guards pressed on with eagerness, without observing a body of cavalry placed on the right flank as a reserve, who charged them in flank, broke their line, and killed several men. The enemy, who had retreated, seeing the effect of this charge, halted, turned their face to the field, and recommenced firing. In this state, and while the Hessians were hotly engaged, the Highlanders, who had rapidly pushed round the flank, appeared on a rising ground in the rear of the left of the enemy, and, rushing forward with shouts, made such an impression on the Americans, that they immediately fled, abandoning their guns and ammunition, without attempting farther resistance.

Thus ended the battle of Guildford, in which, from the

intricacy and difficulty of the ground, and the closeness of the woods, which rendered the bayonets useless, the enemy retreating from one spot, and re-appearing on another, the different corps fought separately, each depending on its own firmness; and, as the contest was carried on against an enemy greatly more numerous, the issue was for some time doubtful. But, although Lord Cornwallis gained the battle, General Green reaped the fruits. The British placed those who were badly wounded in a house in the neighbourhood, and left them and the country to the mercy of the enemy. The total loss of the British was 7 officers, 8 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 93 soldiers, killed; and 20 officers, 26 sergeants, 5 drummers, and 388 rank and file, wounded. The Highlanders lost Ensign Grant, and 11 soldiers, killed; 4 sergeants, and 46 soldiers, wounded.

The British retired southward in the direction of Cross Creek, the Americans following close in the rear; but nothing of consequence occurred. Cross Creek, a settlement of emigrant Highlanders, had been remarkable for its loyalty from the commencement of the war, and they now offered to bring 1500 men into the field, to be commanded by officers from the line, to find clothing and subsistence for themselves, and to perform all duties whether in front, flanks, or rear; and they required nothing but arms and ammunition. This very reasonable offer was not accepted, but a proposition was made to form them into what was called a provincial corps of the line. This was declined by the emigrant Highlanders, and after a negotiation of twelve days, they retired to their settlements, and the army marched for Wilmington, where they arrived on the 17th of April, expecting to find supplies, of which they now stood in great need. \*

\* Among these settlers was a gentleman of the name of Macneil, who had been an officer in the Seven Years' War. He joined the army with several followers, but soon took his leave, having been rather sharply reprimanded for his treatment of a republican family. He was a man of tall stature, and commanding aspect, and moved, when he walked among his followers, with

After a short delay at Wilmington, Lord Cornwallis resolved to penetrate to Petersburg, in Virginia, and to form a junction with Major-General Philips, who had recently arrived there from New York with 3000 men. And now the British had to traverse "several hundred miles of a country chiefly hostile, frequently deserted, and which did not afford one active or zealous friend; where no intelligence could be obtained, and no communication established." On the 26th of April the army marched from Wilmington, and reached Petersburg on the 20th May, where the united forces amounted to 6000 men, and proceeded thence to Portsmouth, on the march to which, and

all the dignity of a chieftain of old. Retaining his loyalty, although offended with the reprimand, he offered to surprise the republican garrison, governor, and council, assembled at Willisborough. He had three hundred followers, one-half of them old country Highlanders, the other half born in America, and the offspring of Highlanders. The enterprise was conducted with address, and the governor, council, and garrison, were secured without bloodshed, and immediately marched off for Wilmington, Macneil and his party travelling by night, and concealing themselves in swamps and woods by day. However, the country was alarmed, and a hostile force collected. He proceeded in zig-zag directions, for he had a perfect knowledge of the country, but without any provisions except what chance threw in his way. When he had advanced two thirds of the route, he found the enemy occupying a pass which he must open by the sword, or perish in the swamps for want of food. At this time he had more prisoners to guard than followers. "He did not secure his prisoners by putting them to death;" but, leaving them under a guard of half his force on whom he could least depend, he charged with the others sword in hand through the pass, and cleared it of the enemy, but was unfortunately killed from too great ardour in the pursuit. The enemy being dispersed, the party continued their march disconsolate for the loss of their leader; but their opponents again assembling in force, the party were obliged to take refuge in the swamps, still retaining their prisoners. The British commander at Wilmington, hearing of Macneil's enterprise, marched out to his support, and kept firing cannon, in expectation the report would reach them in the swamps. The party heard the reports; and knowing that the Americans had no artillery, they ventured out of the swamps towards the quarter whence they heard the guns, and meeting with Major (afterwards Sir James) Craig, sent out to support them, delivered over their prisoners half famished with hunger, and lodged them safely in Wilmington. Such partisans as these are invaluable in active warfare.



when preparing to cross the river at St James's Island, the Marquis de la Fayette, ignorant of their number, made a gallant attack with 2000 men on Colonel Thomas Dundas's brigade. Fayette was repulsed, but not without a smart resistance, the approach of night favouring his retreat.

After this skirmish Lord Cornwallis marched to Portsmouth, and thence to Yorktown, where a position was taken on the York river on the 22d of August. This encampment was formed on an elevated platform, nearly level, on the bank of the river, and of a sandy soil. A ravine of about forty feet in depth, and more than one hundred yards in breadth, extended from the river on the right of the position; a line of entrenchments, with a horn-work, formed the centre; and an extensive redoubt beyond the ravine on the right, and two smaller redoubts on the left, also advanced beyond the entrenchments, constituted the principal defence of the camp. These defences had not been completed when the enemy took up a position at the distance of two miles from the British camp. Previous to this period, they had received great reinforcements both by sea and land. The Count de Grasse had arrived with a strong fleet, having troops on board, and General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau had united their forces, amounting in all to 7000 French, and 12,000 Americans. The troops in Yorktown did not exceed 5950 men.

The enemy lost no time in commencing operations; batteries were erected, and approaches made in the usual manner. During the first four days the fire was directed against the redoubt on the right, which was reduced to a heap of sand, but no storm was attempted, the enemy directing their whole force to the left, as the redoubts on that side were considered more assailable. A storm was attempted, the redoubts were carried, and the guns turned on the other parts of the entrenchments.\* The situation of the be-

\* One of these redoubts had been manned by some soldiers of the 71st. Although the defence of this redoubt was as well contested as that of the o-

siege was now become very critical; the whole encampment was open to assault, exposed to a constant and enfilading fire, and numbers were killed in carrying on the common duties. In this dilemma it occurred to the General to decamp at midnight with the *elite* of his army,—to cross the river, and leave a small force in the works to capitulate for the sick and wounded; the former being very numerous. The measure was bold, and would have succeeded, had it not been defeated by the accident of a violent squall of wind, which rendered the passage of the river dangerous, if not impracticable. The first division had embarked, and some boats had gained the opposite shore at Gloucester Point, when the storm commenced, and induced the General to countermand the enterprise, and to make immediate proposals of capitulation. The terms were drawn up in the usual manner, and the troops marched out with their arms and baggage on the 8th October 1781, and were afterwards sent to different parts of the country.

The loss of the garrison was 6 officers, 13 sergeants, 4 drummers, and 133 rank and file, killed; and 6 officers, 24 sergeants, 11 drummers, and 284 soldiers, wounded: the 71st lost Lieutenant Thomas Fraser and 9 soldiers killed; and 3 drummers and 19 soldiers wounded.

And thus ended the military service of this army, which had marched and countermarched nearly two thousand miles in less than twelve months, during which they had had no regular supply of provisions, or of necessaries,—had forded many large and rapid rivers, some of them in face of an enemy,—had fought numerous skirmishes and two pitched battles, and in every skirmish and every battle, one affair only excepted, had been victorious; and yet such

thers, the regiment thought its honour so much implicated, that a petition was drawn up by the men, and carried by the commanding officer to Lord Cornwallis, to be permitted to retake it. There was no doubt of the success of the undertaking by men actuated by such a spirit, but as the retaking was not considered of importance in the existing state of the siege; the proposition was not acceded to.

was the unfortunate issue of all their exertions, that no success, however gallantly achieved, led to the usual consequences of victory. On all occasions where Lord Cornwallis met General Green, the former gained the day, but afterwards retired and left the country open, surrendering the advantages usually resulting from a victory to the enemy he had beaten.

Fraser's Highlanders were now prisoners, and not being exchanged till the conclusion of hostilities, they did not perform any other service. In what manner they discharged the duties which they were called to perform, will be partly seen by the foregoing narrative. The numerous military details, and the consequent necessity of compression, have prevented me from particularly noticing the moral conduct of these men. I may now, however, state shortly, that it was in every way equal to their military character. Disgraceful punishments were unknown. Among men religious, brave, moral, and humane, disgraceful punishments are unnecessary. Such being the acknowledged general character of these men, their loyalty was put to the test, and proved to be genuine. When prisoners, and solicited by the Americans to join their standard and settle among them, not one individual violated the oath he had taken, or forgot his fidelity or allegiance; a virtue not generally observed on that occasion, for many soldiers of other corps joined the Americans, and sometimes, indeed, entered their service in a body.

On the conclusion of hostilities the men were released, ordered to Scotland, and discharged at Perth in 1783.

SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT,  
OR LORD MACLEOD'S HIGHLANDERS;

NOW SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT, OR GLASGOW LIGHT  
INFANTRY.

1777.

It has often been remarked, that Highland soldiers do not show the same character, nor the same spirit, and even have a reluctance to serve under officers not of their own country. The correctness of this opinion has not, however, been established by facts, either in recent or more distant times. Instances have indeed occurred where Highland regiments, and these, too, of the best and bravest, were nearly ruined, and their good name tarnished, by having the misfortune to be commanded by men, intelligent, indeed, in other respects, but ignorant of their true character. Although the Highlander certainly prefers a commander of his own country, and especially of his own blood and kindred; yet men of gallant and generous spirits, of whatever nation, have always secured his attachment and fidelity. Of this we have remarkable instances in the case of Gustavus Adolphus and others. This great King and consummate general had attached to himself, as a body-guard, a strong corps of Highlanders, consisting of Mac-kays, Munroes, Macdonalds, and other clans, who were devoted to him as to a superior being. "They were his right hand in battle, brought forward on all dangerous enterprises, and may, like himself, be said to have been almost all of them buried in the field of battle with the honours of war."

The heroic and generous Montrose, although the head of a border family, not always on friendly terms with the Highlanders, so completely commanded their confidence, that, led by him, they believed themselves invincible. In like manner, Macdonell, Montrose's friend and follower, by birth an Irishman, an intrepid soldier and able commander, so thoroughly secured the esteem and attachment of the Highlanders, that under his command they were ready to attempt any enterprise, however desperate, and even to this day (at the distance of 170 years) his name is cherished and venerated, and many anecdotes of his chivalry and gallantry preserved. The Lord Viscount Dundee, a Lowlander, attached the Highlanders to his person by his chivalry and courage; and while in the South he was detested for the perseverance with which he had endeavoured to keep down the conventicles, and puritanical principles of the Covenanters, by whom he was known only as "the Bloody Clavers;" in the Highlands, where there was no religious or political persecution, the people only saw in him a brave, conciliating, and able commander, and a gallant and high-spirited knight, signalized by his persevering and disinterested loyalty. Inspired by their confidence in him, they charged sword in hand at Killikrankie, and routed a veteran and disciplined army of four times their number, although those engaged under him had never before drawn a sword against an enemy, except in their own private feuds, which had not even then entirely ceased.

If we descend to later times, there are instances "where Highland corps have formed attachments to officers, not natives of their country, and not less ardent than to the chiefs of old; in as much as military heroism, wherever it presents itself, gives the Highlander the impression of what he has heard of his forefathers, and he cherishes and cleaves to it the more in a foreign land, as giving him the idea of his home and of his kindred."\* Hence we find (as I have no-

\* Dr Jackson's Characteristics.

ticed in speaking of Fraser's Highlanders) that the energy, ardour, and frankness of Sir James Baird, gave him as absolute a command over the fidelity of his Highlanders, (although he was himself a native of Mid-Lothian), as was ever enjoyed by any chieftain or laird of more ancient times; so that, though "dashing at all things at the head of his company, he invariably achieved every enterprise in which he engaged."

In Macleod's Highlanders we have also an instance of disinterested attachment, and on an occasion, too, more trying than the severest battle. This was when both officers and soldiers were chained together as prisoners, during three years, in dungeons, and fed on slow poison, for such was the damaged provisions with which they were sparingly supplied. This happened when Captain David Baird, and Lieutenants Melville, Cuthbert, and the Honourable John Lindsay, with a detachment of the 73d Highlanders, were thrown into a dungeon by Hyder Ali, after the disaster of Colonel Baillie, in September 1780. During their confinement they were treated with great cruelty, while, at the same time, every inducement was held out to the soldiers to induce them to desert and join Hyder's standard. These brave men, however, equally true to their religion and their allegiance, were so warmly attached to their officers, that they picked out the soundest and most wholesome parts of their provisions, and got them secretly put into the officers' messes. Whether it was from this circumstance, or from mere strength of constitution, the officers out-lived the confinement, although subjected in every other respect to the same privations as the men, of whom, out of 111, only 30 survived, and few were ever afterwards fit for service. The steadiness of principle, and incorruptible fidelity, of these soldiers on this occasion, are recorded by Mrs Grant. "A Highland regiment, commanded by Lord Macleod, was, during the war with Hyder Ali, engaged in an unfortunate rencounter, where more than 100 men fell into the hands of that remorseless tyrant. They were treated with the most

cruel indignity, and fed upon very sparing proportions of unwholesome rice, which operated as slow poison, assisted by the burning heat of the sun by day, and the unwholesome dews of night, to which they were purposely exposed to shake their constancy. Daily some of their companions dropped before their eyes, and daily they were offered liberty and riches in exchange for this lingering torture, on condition of relinquishing their religion and taking the turban. Yet not one could be prevailed upon to purchase life on these terms. These Highlanders were entirely illiterate; scarce one of them could have told the name of any particular sect of Christians, and all the idea they had of the Mahomedan religion was, that it was adverse to their own, and to what they had been taught by their fathers; and that, adopting it, they would renounce Him who had died, that they might live, and who loved them, and could support them in all their sufferings. The great outlines of their religion, the peculiar tenets which distinguish it from any other, were early and deeply impressed on their minds, and proved sufficient in the hour of trial.

“ Rise, Muses, rise, add all your tuneful breath ;

“ These must not sleep in darkness and in death.

“ It was not theirs to meet death in the field of honour, while the mind, wrought up with fervid eagerness, went forth in search of him. They saw his slow approach, and though sunk into languid debility, such as quenches the fire of mere temperament, they never once hesitated at the alternative set before them. Their fortitude should at least be applauded, though their faith, and the hopes that supported them, were not taken into the account. This well known, though neglected, instance of what may be expected from being accustomed from the cradle to self-command, and self-denial, affords an additional proof of the importance of preserving, unmixed and undebased, a race so fit to encounter those perils and labours, worse than death, which the defence of our wide extended empire requires.” \*

\* Mrs Grant's Superstitions of the Highlanders,

It is well known that the last Earl of Cromarty engaged in the Rebellion of 1745, for which he was tried, and condemned to be beheaded on Tower Hill, while his title was attainted, and his estate forfeited to the Crown. Some favourable circumstances, however, induced George II. to grant him a pardon, on the condition of confining himself for life within the county of Devon. It is said that the Countess of Cromarty presented a petition to the King, praying for her husband's life, accompanied by ten children, while her eldest son, Lord Macleod, was prisoner in the Tower, but not yet brought to trial, and herself eight months gone with the twelfth child. The family threw themselves on their knees before the King, and the mother, pointing to them, said, "These are your Majesty's humble petitioners for the life of their father." His eldest son, Lord Macleod, had also joined the rebel standard, but on account of his youth, and the supposed influence of his father, he received an unconditional pardon. Deprived of rank and fortune in his native country, he crossed over to Sweden, where he entered into the army, and after serving for thirty years with distinguished approbation, rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General.

Preserving, in exile, an invincible attachment to his native land, a principle so strong in all well disposed minds, he returned to England in 1777, and was very favourably received by his Majesty. Finding his influence in the Highlands still considerable, although destitute of property and political consequence, he was encouraged to offer his services to raise a regiment.\* The offer was accepted, and

\* Of those who supported Lord Macleod, one of the most zealous and successful was Colonel Duff of Muirtown, with whom indeed the proposal of raising a regiment originated, and in the absence of his Lordship, mainly contributed by his active exertions to form the first battalion. Colonel Duff had served in Keith's Highlanders in Germany, and died in London in the year 1780, when preparing to embark for India. Another officer of Keith's, much in the confidence of Lord Macleod, Captain Mackintosh of Kellachy, father of Sir James Mackintosh, served with the second battalion in Gibraltar during



so well grounded were his anticipations of success, and such was the respect entertained for his family and name, that in a very short time 840 Highlanders were recruited and marched to Elgin. Here they were joined by 236 Lowlanders, raised by Captains the Honourable John Lindsay, David Baird, James Fowlis, and other officers, along with 34 English and Irish who had been recruited in Glasgow. In all they amounted to 1100 men, and under the name of Macleod's Highlanders were embodied, and inspected by General Skene, at Elgin, in the month of April 1778. They were an excellent, well principled, hardy body of men, and fit for any service. The same observation applies to the second battalion of this regiment, for which Letters of Service were granted immediately on the completion of the first. It was raised in the same manner, nearly with the same expedition, and in equal numbers; so that, in the course of a few months, Lord Macleod, from being an exile, without fortune or military rank (in the British service), found himself at the head of upwards of 2200 of his countrymen, of whom nearly 1800 were from that district and neighbourhood in which his family had once possessed so much influence. It is not in many countries that a man, without money or credit, supported only by the feelings excited by a long remembered and respected name, could have thus attained an honourable command over such trusty and willing followers, and laid a foundation for future wealth and eminence. Such was the state of society fifty years ago, but there has been a melancholy change in the character and dispositions of the higher and lower orders in that part of the country since Lord Macleod's time. Instead of a faithful attached tenantry, the assistance of the Sheriffs and the civil power have been called for to protect the landlords in the execution of their plans; and this being found insufficient, recourse was had to the military. Increased incomes may sometimes be procured by too great a sacrifice. The first battalion having been removed to Jersey, and

the siege, where he attracted the notice of the Governor, Lord Heathfield. At the peace of 1783, he retired on half-pay, and died at Inverness in 1788.

from thence to Portsmouth, embarked there in January 1779, under the command of Lord Macleod, and arrived in Madras Roads on the 20th January 1780.

The second battalion having embarked at Fort George under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackenzie, brother of Lord Macleod, landed at Plymouth, and sailed from thence for Gibraltar, where they landed on the 18th January 1780, two days before the first battalion arrived at Madras.

This battalion served in the garrison till the raising of the siege, and sustained a respectable character as steady and trust-worthy soldiers, of whom not a man was punished, or deserted to the enemy, although such attempts were but too common in the garrison. One of the soldiers, however, was threatened with punishment, as a false prophet, having declared that he had the second sight, (although it proved a false one), by which he foresaw the surrender of the fortress. However, the commander was too much of an enlightened soldier to fear or to punish such absurd predictions, and after a short confinement the poor fellow was released, with a caution not to utter any more of his dreams until the event he had foreseen should have been determined by the occurrence.

The casualties of the regiment were 30 privates killed; and 7 sergeants, and 121 rank and file, wounded. Indeed, the loss of the garrison in killed during the whole of that celebrated siege, which continued more than three years, was inconsiderable, amounting only to 5 officers, 19 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 197 rank and file.

In May 1783 this battalion returned to England, and marched soon after to Stirling, where it was reduced in October, liberty being given to such of the officers as were regimentally senior in rank to join the first battalion in India.

I now return to the operations in that quarter. An army, consisting of 5209 men, of which 800 Highlanders constituted the only British troops, had been assembled in July 1780, at St Thomas's Mount, near Madras, under Major-

General Hector Munro. This force also included one battalion of the Company's European troops, and the Grenadiers of another.

General Munro having gone to Madras to assist at the council, the command during his absence devolved on Lord Macleod. In the end of August the General returned, and assuming the command, marched for Conjeveram, where he arrived on the 29th, having taken with him only eight days rice. Colonel Baillie, with a detachment of nearly 3000 men, was to form a junction with General Munro at Conjeveram. After various delays, Baillie, on the 6th of September, reached Perambaucum, fifteen miles distant from the General's position. Here he was attacked by Tippoo Saib with a prodigious superiority of force, which, after a conflict of several hours, was repulsed. But notwithstanding this success, and although the detachments were so near as to be almost within hearing of each other's guns, no movement was made to form a junction, each party remaining stationary until the 8th, when Colonel Baillie wrote to the General, that, from the loss sustained in the late battle, to form a junction in the face of an enemy so superior in numbers, was beyond the power of his detachment. He therefore requested that the General would push forward with the main body of the army. The General did not comply with this request, but after a delay of three days, reinforced Baillie with the flank companies of the 79d Highlanders, under Captains David Baird and the Honourable John Lindsay, two companies of European Grenadiers, and eleven companies of Seapoys, the whole being under the command of Colonel Fletcher. This officer's sagacity having led him to suspect the fidelity of his guides, who were in fact secretly in the pay of the Sultan, he followed an unexpected route, and reached his destination without obstruction; Hyder and his son, with their united forces, being unable, from the circuitous route, to molest or intercept his small detachment. Fletcher's conduct on this occasion was considered by the European officers in Hyder's

service as an able piece of generalship. It must, however, be matter of regret, that General Munro did not move with his whole force, and form a junction with Colonel Baillie by the same route, instead of weakening his strength by detaching the flower of his troops.

Each detachment remained stationary on the 9th. This inaction encouraged Hyder, who had previously dreaded that the General's intention was to place him between two fires. Enraged at the success of Fletcher's movement, he concentrated his army, and closed on the detachment under the command of Baillie, which did not exceed 3700 men. On the evening of the 9th this officer commenced his march to join Munro, but had not proceeded above a mile when he fell in with the enemy's picquets. This brought on an irregular fire, which continued for several miles. He halted about midnight, nine miles distant from General Munro, and lay on his arms unmolested by the enemy. On the morning of the 10th he pursued his march, the enemy showing no inclination to attack till after he had proceeded two miles, and had entered a small jungle or grove in which the enemy had raised three batteries, (in the course of the preceding day), one on each flank, and one in the centre. Having opened a heavy and destructive fire from fifty-seven pieces of cannon from the batteries and field-artillery, a desperate combat ensued. The enemy attacked in front, flank, and rear, but were foiled and driven back in every attempt; the detachment still gaining ground, but continuing in its progress exposed to every arm that a numerous host could bring against it. The march was in the form of a square, the sick, baggage, and ammunition, being in the centre. The action had continued three hours, when "Hyder determined to retreat; and a rapid movement, which Baillie made from the centre, appeared to have decided the day. Orders were given to Colonel Lally—a French officer in the service of the Sultan—to draw off his men, and to the cavalry to cover the retreat, when in that instant two explosions were perceived in the English line, which laid open one entire face of their column,

destroyed their artillery, and threw the whole into irreparable confusion." \* Being thus deprived of ammunition, the hopes and spirit of the enemy revived. Hyder's cavalry charged in separate squadrons, while bodies of infantry poured in volleys of musketry; but every charge and every attack was resisted with undiminished firmness, when, at last, reduced to little more than 400 men, a square was formed on a small eminence. Two-thirds of their number being killed or disabled, the officers with their swords, and the soldiers with their bayonets, repelled thirteen charges; and even the wounded, as they lay on the ground, attempted to raise themselves to receive the enemy on their bayonets. At length, despairing of support from the General, (although so near, that the Pagoda of Conjeveram was in sight), and fresh bodies of horse continually pouring in upon them, they were borne down by numbers without a man flinching or giving way, (many being trod under foot by the elephants and horse), when Colonel Baillie, anxious to save the lives of the few brave men who had survived, held up a flag of truce as a token of surrender. After some delay the signal was acknowledged, and an intimation given that quarter would be allowed. But no sooner had the troops laid down their arms, then the enemy rushed forward, and, with a savage fury, attacked the defenceless, the sick, and the wounded. Many were saved by the humane exertions of the French officers. One of these officers, describing the battle, says, "Too great encomiums cannot be bestowed on the English commander and his troops, for, in the whole of this trying conflict, they preserved a coolness of manœuvre which would have done honour to any troops in the world. Raked by the fire of an immense artillery, the greatest part of the action within grape shot distance, attacked on all sides by not less than 25,000 horse and thirty battalions of Seapoys, besides Hyder's European troops, the English column stood firm, and repulsed every charge with

\* Journal of a French Officer.

great slaughter; the horse driven back on the infantry, the right of our line began to give way, though composed of the best troops in the Mysore army."

This approval from an enemy was worthy of the occasion, creditable to the liberality of those who bestowed it,\* and may be regarded as an impartial testimony to the heroic and persevering courage of the handful of troops who had so long maintained this unequal contest; and who, but for the accidental loss of their ammunition, and the double disaster it inflicted, would, in all probability, have ultimately repulsed their savage foes. The humanity of the French officers displayed on this occasion is highly honourable to their character. But their exertions could not curb the cruelty of the ferocious conqueror, who, in a three years' captivity, inflicted on his prisoners a series of evils more terrible than even death itself. Equally firm in the dungeon and in the field, the cruel and unprincipled Hyder found it as impossible to subdue their fortitude as to triumph over their courage. The evils of their long and bitter captivity were born with such a spirit of firmness and self-possession, that the memory of the unfortunate sufferers cannot fail to be held in the highest respect and estimation.

The loss sustained by the two flank companies of Highlanders was, Lieutenants Geddes Mackenzie and William Gun, Volunteer Forbes, 3 sergeants, and 82 rank and file, killed; Captain David Baird, Lieutenants the Honourable John Lindsay, Philip Melville, Hugh Cuthbert, 4 sergeants,

\* I have pleasure in quoting the testimony of an eye-witness to the generous humanity displayed on this melancholy occasion by the French officers in the service of Hyder. "No pen," says the author of the Narrative of the Sufferings of the Officers, Soldiers, and Seapoys, who fell into the hands of Hyder Ali after the Battle of Conjeveram, September 10, 1780, and who was an officer in Colonel Baillie's detachment, and a participator of the kindness he describes,— "No pen can do justice to the humanity of these gentlemen, (the French officers), without whose assistance many of our officers must have perished; but their merit will live for ever embalmed in the hearts of all who felt or witnessed their beneficence."

4 drummers, 115 wounded and prisoners. Lieutenant Melville was totally disabled, the wounds of Captain Baird and Lieutenant Lindsay were severe, as were those of the greater part of the men, of whom only 23 escaped without wounds.\*

After this disaster, Sir Hector Munro hastily retreated from Conjeveram to Chingleput, followed by the enemy's cavalry. On this march the Highlanders lost Captain Gilchrist, who, by previous sickness, was unable to command his company when ordered to reinforce Colonel Baillie. Lieutenant Alexander Mackenzie also died.

After various movements, the 73 regiment, now reduced to 500 men, was in the field on the morning of the 1st of July 1781, with the army under Sir Eyre Coote, intended to attack the enemy at Porto Novo. The regiment was under the command of Colonel James Crawford. Lord Macleod had returned to England, having, it is said, differed in opinion with General Munro, more especially with regard to the movements previous to Colonel Baillie's disaster, and being probably dissatisfied with the subordinate command which he then held, when compared with his former rank in the Swedish service.

As has generally happened in Indian warfare, there was, at Porto Novo, a great disproportion between the force of the enemy and that of the British. Hyder, at the head of an army of 25 battalions of infantry, 400 Europeans, from 40,000 to 50,000 horse, and above 100,000 matchlock-men, peons, and polygars, with 47 pieces of cannon, was attacked by General Coote, whose force did not exceed 8,000, of which the 73d was the only British regiment. Sir Eyre

\* The two commanders, Colonels Baillie and Fletcher, were mortally wounded. Colonel Baillie survived a short time, and the Journal of the French Officer says: "Hyder Ali has sullied his victory by the treatment of his prisoners. Colonel Baillie was stript, and brought before him, wounded in three places. Intoxicated with success, Hyder exulted over him with the imperious tone of a conqueror, which Baillie retorted with the true spirit of a soldier, and boldly appealed to Hyder's officers, if the victory was not his, but for an accident which no human foresight could prevent."

Coote drew up his army in two lines, the first commanded by Major-General H. Munro, and the second by Major-General James Stuart. The two armies were divided by a plain, beyond which the enemy were drawn up on ground strengthened with more than usual skill, by front and flanking redoubts and batteries. The English General moved forward at nine o'clock, and after a lengthened action of eight hours, in some places well contested, and in which the enemy made full use of their numerous artillery, their whole line was forced to fly. It is worthy of remark, that success in this battle was greatly facilitated by one of those accidents common in war. After the repulse of the enemy's cavalry, and while the General was deliberating with his officers whether he should attack in front or in flank the chain of redoubts by which the enemy's position was strengthened, an officer, who was somewhat in advance, discovered a road cut through the sand hills at a place from which, in the event of an assault in front, they could annoy the right flank of the British line. This road Hyder had caused to be constructed on the preceding evening, with a view, while the British were warmly engaged in front, of falling on their flank; when his cavalry, taking advantage of the confusion that was calculated to ensue, might rush from behind the redoubts and annihilate their enemies. The British General instantly availed himself of this discovery, and filing off along Hyder's road, by a movement in flank forced him to forego nearly all the advantages of his position. General Coote saw the value of, and with promptitude turned to account, this fortunate and important discovery, which had such an effect in determining the fortune of the day, and that with a loss that bore no proportion to the importance of the victory, at a period when "the critical situation of our national concerns, and our falling interest, required uncommon exertions for their support." \*

\* The 73 was on the right of the first line, and led all the attacks to the full approbation of General Coote, whose notice was particularly attracted by



I shall not pursue the subsequent movements through many harassing marches, during which their unskilful opponents lost many opportunities of attacking to great advantage. Both armies were, in the end of August, near Perambaucum, the spot where Hyder had been so successful the preceding year in defeating Colonel Baillie's detachment, and forcing General Munro to retreat. With a superstitious hope of similar success, Hyder was anxious to fight on the same field, and on the same day of the month. General Coote was equally anxious to engage, but indifferent as to time, being only desirous to meet his antagonist to advantage. Both armies were animated by very different motives; the Mysorian army by their superstitious anticipation of success, and the British by a desire to revenge the death of their friends, of whom they found many melancholy relics and marks of remembrance on the ground where they now stood.

On the morning of the 27th of August, Sir Eyre Coote moved forward to attack Hyder Ali, who had drawn up his army in order of battle on strong and advantageous ground, rendered more formidable by the nature of the country, which was intersected by deep water courses and ravines. The line of battle was formed under a heavy fire of cannon, which the troops sustained with firmness. The battle was long and well sustained on both sides, and lasted from nine in the morning till sunset, when the enemy gave way at all points, leaving the British in possession of the field of battle and of all the strong posts. The loss of the British was upwards of 400 killed and wounded, in which number there were few Europeans. Major-General Stuart and Colonel Brown lost each a leg, carried away by the same shot.

one of the pipers, who always blew up his most warlike sounds whenever the fire became hotter than ordinary. This so pleased the General, that he cried aloud, "Well done, my brave fellow, you shall have a pair of silver pipes for this." The promise was not forgotten, and a handsome pair of pipes was presented to the regiment, with an inscription in testimony of the General's esteem for their conduct and character.

General Munro having left the army for England, and General Stuart being disabled, Colonel Crawford became second in command; and Captain Shaw succeeded to the command of the 73d regiment, which continued in General Coote's army, sharing in all the marches, and being engaged in the battles of Sholungar, on the 27th September 1781, and of Arnee, on the 2d June 1782, in which the regiment suffered little beyond the usual casualties,\* and these were more by climate and fatigue than by the enemy.

In spring 1783, preparations were made to attack Cuddalore. This garrison had been recently strengthened by some European and African troops from the Isle of France. The British army had also been reinforced by the 23d Light Dragoons, the 101st, 102d, and 15th regiments of Hanoverian Infantry, and 250 recruits from Scotland for the 73d and 78th regiments. General Stuart had recovered from his wound, and now took the command in absence of General Coote, upon whose death, in April 1783, he succeeded to the command in chief. Colonel Stuart of the 78th commanded the Highland Brigade of Macleod's and Seaforth's regiments. Various delays so retarded the forward movements, that it was not till the 6th of June that General Stuart placed his army within two miles of Cuddalore. Mons. Bussy commanded the garrison, and was indefatigable in his exertions to strengthen the works, by throwing up redoubts and lines of entrenchment in front of the place. No time, therefore, was to be lost, as every day added to the difficulties to be overcome, and as the enemy had al-

\* One of these casualties is thus mentioned in Munro's Narrative:—"I take this opportunity of commemorating the fall of John Doune Mackay, a corporal in Macleod's Highlanders, son to Robert Doune, the Bard, whose singular talent for the beautiful and extemporaneous composition of Gaelic poetry was held in such esteem. This son of the Bard had frequently revived the spirits of his countrymen, when drooping in a long march, by singing the humorous and lively productions of his father. He was killed by a cannon-shot, and buried with military honours by his comrades the same evening."

ready drawn a second line of entrenchments in rear of the first, fortifying the whole by fresh redoubts. On the morning of the 13th of June, an attack was determined on. It was to be directed to three several points at the same moment, on a signal for a simultaneous assault by firing three guns from a hill. Amidst the noise of the cannonade which was immediately opened, the signals were not recognised, and the attacks not made at the same instant, as had been projected. The enemy were therefore able to direct their whole force against each successive attack; in consequence of which, one of the divisions was driven back, and pursued by the enemy to a considerable distance, when Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart, with the Grenadiers, and Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, "with the precious remains of the 73d regiment," pushed forward, with much presence of mind, and took possession of the redoubts which the enemy had evacuated in the eagerness of the pursuit. This turned the fate of the day; and although Colonel Stuart's party was forced to retire from the most advanced posts they had taken, they kept possession of the principal redoubt, enabled that part of the troops which had retired to recover themselves, and so revived the whole, that General Stuart was urged to advance and attempt to drive the enemy from the whole of their advanced posts. This he declined, in the belief that the enemy would retire of their own accord, which they accordingly did in the course of the night, withdrawing all their guns, except three, which were taken possession of by the British. On this occasion, "the precious remains of the 73d regiment" lost Captains Alexander Mackenzie, the Honourable James Lindsay,\* Lieutenants Simon

\* This officer was of a family of soldiers. The late Earl of Balcarroll had five sons in the army. The eldest, the present Earl, was in the 42d; and Colin, John, and David Lindsay, were in the first and second battalion of Macleod's. The brave young man who fell this day gave great promise of talent and eminence in his profession. Being of a generous, open character, which captivated the soldiers, he secured their attachment by the gallantry with which on every occasion he led them on. The third brother, the Ho-

Mackenzie, James Trail, 4 sergeants, and 80 rank and file, killed; and Captain John Hamilton, Lieutenants Charles Gorrie, David Rannie, John Sinclair, James Duncan, George Sutherland, 5 sergeants, and 107 rank and file, wounded. The loss of the enemy was 62 officers, and 961 men killed, wounded, and missing.

On the 25th of June, Bussy having been reinforced by Admiral Suffrein, with 2400 men from the fleet, made a vigorous sortie from the fort with his best troops. This was repulsed at every point, and the enemy driven back with great loss.

On the 1st of July, accounts of the signature of preliminaries of peace between France and England having reached their respective commanders in India, hostilities immediately ceased; in a few days a friendly intercourse was established between the contending parties, and the French and English officers, who a few days previously had been engaged in hot hostility, were now seen walking arm in arm with great kindness and cordiality.

The army returned to St Thomas's Mount; and, at the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace in March 1784, Captains Baird, the Honourable John Lindsay, and Lieutenants Melville and Cuthbert, with the survivors of the men (about 30 in number) who had been taken in Colonel Baillie's affair, were released, and joined their regiments. Captain (now General Sir David) Baird, and Colonel Lindsay, are the only survivors of the 200 men of the flank companies of the 73d regiment that marched under Colonel Fletcher to support Colonel Baillie.

In the year 1785, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackenzie, with several officers from the second battalion, disbanded the preceding year, joined the regiment. In 1786, they received new colours, and the number was changed to the 71st, in consequence of the arrange-

nourable Colin Lindsay an accomplished officer, died Lieutenant-Colonel of the 46th regiment, and Brigadier-General, in Grenada, in 1795. John retired from the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the regiment in 1807.

ments which I have already noticed. From this time till the year 1790, detachments of recruits from Scotland, at different times, were received, which kept up the strength to 800 men; but the corps sustained a great loss in the death of the two brothers who had been so instrumental in raising both battalions. Colonel Mackenzie died in 1786, and was succeeded by Major Elphinstone; Captain Baird was appointed Major. Lord Macleod died in 1789, and the Honourable Major-General William Gordon was appointed Colonel.

War having commenced between Tippoo Saib and the East India Company in the year 1790, a large army was assembled at Trinchinopoly on the 24th of May, of which Major-General Meadows assumed the command. This force consisted of the 19th Light Dragoons, 36th, 52d, 71st, and 72d regiments, with 16 regiments of native cavalry and infantry. Lieutenant-Colonel James Stuart commanded the right wing, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bridges the left; the two Highland regiments formed the second brigade. The 71st followed all the movements of the army in this campaign. The flank companies were employed under Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart on the attack on Dundegul; and, after the capture of that place, the regiment was marched, under the same officer, to the siege of Palacatcherry; and, in this manner, was in constant activity down to the close of the campaign, yet suffered little loss by the enemy.

Early in 1791, Lord Cornwallis joined the army as Commander-in-Chief. The whole was immediately put in motion, and, after various marches, encamped on the 5th of March close to Bangalore. On the 21st Lord Cornwallis finished his preparations for an assault of the place. This was accomplished with little loss. The flank companies of the army, including those of the 71st, led the attack. These companies were commanded by the Honourable John Lindsay, and Captain James Robertson, now Lieutenant-general, and son of the late Principal of Edinburgh College.

On the 13th of April the forces of the Nizam, amounting

nominally to 15,000, but in reality to 10,000 cavalry, well mounted, joined the army, and on the 8th a detachment of European troops from the Carnatic also joined. The army, thus reinforced, commenced on the 4th of May a march on Seringapatam, and on the 13th came within sight of the enemy drawn up a few miles from the town, with their right resting on the river, and their left on the Carrighaut heights. On the following night the troops were put in motion with a view to surprise the enemy, but owing to the unfavourable state of the weather, almost impassable roads, and the exhausted state of the draught cattle, the troops were unable to accomplish their object in time. Next day, however, after great exertion and fatigue, the troops were brought into action, drove the enemy from a strong position, and forced them across the river into the island upon which the capital stands. In this affair the 71st had Lieutenant Roderick Mackenzie, and 7 rank and file, killed; and Ensign Charles Stewart,\* and 74 rank and file, wounded.

Notwithstanding this partial advantage, yet from the advanced state of the season, the impossibility of procuring a sufficient supply of provisions, the incessant rains, and the exhausted condition of the cattle, Lord Cornwallis found himself under the necessity of relinquishing the attempt. He, therefore, determined to retire to Bangalore, and wait a more favourable opportunity. This, as all forced retreats generally are, was harassing to the troops, who suffered much from the inclemency of the season, and the want of a proper supply of provisions.

A short time after the army had reached Bangalore, Major Gowdie was detached to attack Nundydroog, a granite rock of great height, which had been fortified with such care, as to make regular approaches necessary. The rock was inaccessible on every point except one, which was strengthened by a double line of ramparts; a third had

\* Ensign Stewart died in Spain in 1810, Lieutenant-colonel of the 50th regiment.

been recently commenced, and an outwork covered the gate by a flanking fire. The whole had every appearance of being impregnable. Yet Nundydroog, however high and steep, was still approachable, but not without immense fatigue and labour in dragging up guns, and constructing batteries on the face of a craggy precipice. At last, after fourteen days' labour, batteries were formed, and breaches made; one on the re-entering angle of the outwork, and another in the curtain of the outer wall. The inner wall could not be reached by the shot.

On the 18th of October, Lord Cornwallis, with his whole army, made a movement towards Nundydroog, and the same evening preparations were made for an assault. Both breaches were to be stormed. The night attack was to be led by Lieutenant Hugh Mackenzie, (now Paymaster of the 71st), with twenty Grenadiers of the 36th and 71st regiments on the right; and on the left by Lieutenant Moore, with twenty Light infantry, and the two flank companies of the same regiment, under Lieutenants Duncan and Kenneth Mackenzie,—the whole being under the command of Captain (now Lieutenant-General) James Robertson, supported by Captain Eurns (now Major-General) with the Grenadiers, and Captain Hartley with the Light company of the 36th regiment; General Meadows, by his presence and animated example, exhilarating all.\*

The assault commenced in a clear moonlight, on the morning of the 19th October. The preparations for resistance had been made with great care and labour. Enormous masses of granite had been prepared, and preserved till the moment the troops should begin to ascend, when the stones were to be rolled down the rock, with an effect which, it was hoped, would prove irresistible. But, although the enemy were on the alert, the ardour and intrepidity of the

\* While all were waiting in silence for the signal to advance, one of the soldiers whispered something about a *mine*. "To be sure there is," said General Meadows, "but it is a mine of gold." This answer produced the proper effect.

assailants surmounted every obstacle; a lodgment was made within one hundred yards of the breach, the enemy were driven from the outward rocks, and so closely pushed as to prevent their barricading the gate of the inner rampart, which, after some delay, was forced, and the place carried with the loss only of thirty men killed and wounded; principally from the stones tumbled down the rock. The loss fell entirely on the Native troops. Such are the consequences of a rapid and spirited advance.

The advantage of this mode of attack was soon afterwards evinced in a still more remarkable instance. Lord Cornwallis, keeping in view the capture of the Sultan's capital, determined to attempt the possession of all the intermediate strong holds that might interrupt his communications. The most formidable of these, and, by general report, the strongest in Mysore, was Savendroog. This is another granite rock, considerably more elevated than Nundydroog; every where apparently inaccessible, and separated by a chasm into two parts at the top, on which were erected two citadels, independent of each other, and both well supplied with water. The place had been reconnoitred, and deemed inaccessible, but the success at Nundydroog, and other places, encouraged the English General to attempt adding this to the number; judging that, if successful in this, the strongest of all, the rest would easily be reduced. Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, who had been so often and so successfully employed, was selected for this duty. After the usual preparations and attempts to batter some of the outworks, the 21st of December was fixed upon for the assault. The flank companies of the 52d, the two Highland regiments, and the 76th, were assembled under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Nisbet of the 52d, and, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the band of the 52d regiment playing "*Britons, Strike Home,*" ascended the rock, clambering up a precipice which was so perpendicular, that, after the service was over, *the men were afraid to descend.* The eastern citadel was soon carried. This was followed by the surrender of



the whole in succession, each part being deserted or surrendered when approached, and the fortress, so formidable in appearance, and indeed impregnable, if defended by a resolute enemy, was taken with the loss of only two men on the part of the assailants. Ootradroog, Rahngerry, Sevenger-ry, &c. all fell in the same manner, leaving our army no enemy but the climate.

In the month of January 1792, the army was again put in motion for Seringapatam, where the resistance made by the enemy showed a strange contrast to the timidity and feeble defence of their garrisons. Were an opinion to be formed from such examples, garrisons would be proved to be wholly useless; seeing that the troops enclosed in them offered little resistance, whereas in the open field, as in the ensuing action near Seringapatam, they made a most vigorous stand. The truth seems to be, that the very apparent strength and height of these rocks enfeebled the minds of their defenders, who saw no means of escape down their precipitous sides, should they be overpowered, and imagined that nothing remained but destruction or immediate surrender. In the field, on the contrary, they knew that, if they were beaten, they had an open country in their rear; there was, therefore, the less danger in waiting the near approach of the enemy, from whom they had thus the means of escape.

On the 5th of February Lord Cornwallis was again in sight of Seringapatam, and, on the evening of the 6th, the army was formed into three columns, the right column being under General Meadows, the centre under Lord Cornwallis, with Lieutenant-Colonels James Stuart, and the Honourable John Knox, and the left under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell. General Meadows was to penetrate the enemy's left, and directing every effort towards the centre, to endeavour to open and preserve the communication with Lord Cornwallis's division. A part of this division under Colonel Stuart was directed to pierce through the centre of the enemy's camp, and thence attempt the works on the island, while Colonel Maxwell with the left wing was ordered to

force the works on Carighaut Hill, to descend, turn the right of the main division, and unite with Colonel Stuart. These operations, executed with success, would accomplish the complete overthrow of the enemy. The corps composing the centre were the 52d, and 71st and 74th Highland regiments; the right consisted of the 36th and 76th; and the left of the 72d Highland regiment. The Native troops were divided in proportion to each column. At eight o'clock in the evening the three columns were in motion. The head of the centre column, led by the flank companies of each regiment, after twice crossing the Lockary, which covered the right wing of the enemy, came in contact with their first line, which was instantly driven across the north branch of the Cavery, at the foot of the glacis of the fort of Seringapatam. Captain Lindsay, with the Grenadiers of the 71st, attempted to push into the body of the place, but was prevented by the raising of the drawbridge a few minutes before he advanced. He was here joined by some Grenadiers and Light infantry of the 52d and 76th regiments. With this united force he pushed down to the Loll Bang, where he was fiercely attacked by a body of the enemy, which he quickly drove back with the bayonet. His numbers were soon afterwards increased by the Grenadier company of the 74th, when he attempted to force his way into the Pettah, (or town), but was opposed by such overwhelming numbers, that he did not succeed. He then took post in a small redoubt, where he maintained himself till morning, when he moved to the north bank of the river, and joined Lieutenant-Colonels Knox and Baird, and the troops who formed the left of the attack. During these operations, the battalion companies of the 52d, 71st, and 72d regiments, forced their way across the river to the island, overpowering all that opposed them. At this moment Captain Archdeacon, commanding a battalion of Bengal Seapoys, was killed.\*

\* I have often remarked the important advantages resulting from confidence subsisting between officers and men, especially when that confidence is confirmed by attachment and respect; at the same time, it is not without its disadvan-

This threw the corps into some confusion, and caused it to fall back on the 71st at the moment that Major Dalrymple was preparing to attack the Sultan's redoubt, and thus impeded his movement. However, the redoubt was attacked, and instantly carried. The command of it was given to Captain Sibbald, who had led the attack with his company of the 71st. The animating example and courage of this officer made the men equally irresistible in attack, and firm in the defence of the post they had gained. The enemy made several vain attempts to retake it. In one of these the brave Captain Sibbald was killed. Out of compliment to this officer, the Commander-in-Chief changed the name from the Sultan's to Sibbald's Redoubt. In this obstinate defence the men had consumed their ammunition, when, by a fortunate circumstance, two loaded oxen of the enemy, frightened by the firing, broke loose from their drivers, and taking shelter in the ditch of this redoubt, afforded an ample and seasonable supply. The command of this post was assumed by Major Skelly of the 74th regiment, who had gone up with orders from the Commander-in-Chief, and remained there after the death of Captain Sibbald. The Sultan seemed determined to recover this redoubt, distinguished by his own name, and directed the French European corps to attack it. But they met with no better success than the former, notwithstanding their superior discipline. Repulses so complete and so repeated were a severe mortification to the Sultan, who seemed to rest as much on the possession of this post as if the fate of the day had depended upon it. But, having failed in all his attacks, he withdrew his troops, and retired within the garrison.

The loss on this occasion was 535 killed and wounded. The proportion of the 71st was Captain Sibbald, Lieutenant

tages, as in the case of Captain Archdeacon, to whom his men were so attached, that their consternation at his fall, and dread of the consequences of losing their leader, were such as to throw them into a degree of confusion not easily remedied.

Baine, 2 sergeants, and 34 rank and file, killed; and Ensigns Duncan Mackenzie, William Baillie, 3 sergeants, and 67 rank and file, wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 4000 men, and 80 pieces of cannon.

On the 9th of February a final position was taken for the siege of Seringapatam, and immediate operations commenced. Major-General Robert Abercromby, with the army from Bombay, consisting of the 73d and 75th Highland, and 77th, besides several native regiments, joined the same day. On the 12th, Major Dalrymple, with the 71st, crossed the Cavery at 9 o'clock at night, and surprised and routed a camp of Tippoo's horse. This movement was intended as a cover to the opening of the trenches, which took place at the same moment, 800 yards from the garrison. During the 19th, 20th, and 21st, traverses were finished, and the advances carried on with spirit and energy. On the 22d a sharp conflict took place between part of the Bombay army under General Abercromby, and the enemy, which terminated in the defeat of the latter. This was the last attempt of the enemy, and the repulse being complete, it led to negotiations which ended in a cessation of hostilities. Thus terminated a war in which the East India Company and their allies had captured 70 forts or fortified places, and 800 pieces of cannon, and had obtained the cession of near-one-half of the Sultan's dominions.

Sickness, which generally follows a succession of fatigues and active movements, began to appear, and no time was lost by the Commander-in-Chief in moving the army to their different destinations. The 71st, now under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel David Baird, who had had the command of a brigade during the latter part of the campaign, was marched to the neighbourhood of Trinchinopoly. In this cantonment they continued till the breaking out of the war with France in 1793. In the month of August of that year, the flank companies were also employed on the expedition against Ceylon, under Major-General James Stuart. On this occasion, which presented nothing

worthy of notice in point of military service, Captain Gorrie was severely wounded, and 11 men were killed and wounded. The flank companies afterwards returned to the battalion, and in October 1797, orders were issued to draft all the soldiers fit for service (560 men) into the 73d and 74th regiments: those who had been disabled, along with the officers and non-commissioned officers, embarked at Madras for England, and sailed on the 17th of October. Colonel Baird was left at the Cape of Good Hope, where he was appointed Brigadier-General. The fleet, after a tedious passage, and having touched at St Helena and Cork, entered the river Thames in August 1798, after which the 71st was removed to Leith, and thence to Stirling, after an absence of nearly eighteen years from their native country.

Very few remained of the men who had originally formed the regiment. Of the original officers, the following were still in the regiment: Colonel Baird, Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, Majors the Honourable John Lindsay and James Robertson, Brevet Majors John Borthwick and W. C. Gorrie, and Captains David Ross, Hugh Cuthbert, Roderick and Hugh Mackenzie. Although so early diminished in numbers as to be called by their general, in their third campaign, the "precious remains of the brave Macleod Highlanders," they attained a character sufficient to entitle them to this honourable designation. General Coote, for some reason not explained, early in the war, recommended strongly that no more Highlanders should be sent to India. The opinion was probably founded on the sickly state in which the 2d battalion of the 42d regiment, and Macleod's and Seaforth's Highlanders, had reached India, and their inefficiency for some time afterwards. But whatever might be the opinion of this able officer of the impropriety of ordering out more men of the same description, he showed no want of reliance on those who were under his command. On the contrary, he always placed them in those situations in which the severest trials were expected. He generally kept close to this corps in every action,

and it was observed that he was seldom stationary except on their ground. In all changes of position, and in every movement which he personally directed, whenever his personal attendance became necessary in a different part of the field, he was always on the move till he returned to the 73d. It was on one of these occasions that he so particularly noticed the animated manner in which the piper played, and the effect produced on the minds of the men by the sounds of their native music. Previous to this he had no very favourable idea of the bagpipe, conceiving it an useless relic of the barbarous ages, and not in any manner calculated for disciplined troops. But the distinctness with which the shrill sounds pierced and made themselves heard through the noise and *melée* of the battle, and the influence they seemed to excite, effected a total change in his opinion.

The regiment had been nearly two years in Scotland, when circumstances rendered necessary a change of designation, of garb, and of men. However, this necessity did not immediately exist, for although recruiting was slow during the eighteen months the head-quarters continued at Stirling, yet when the regiment was removed to Ireland in June 1800, they received 600 volunteers from the Scotch Fencible regiments. The corps was thus augmented to 800 men, of whom 600 were Highlanders. In 1804 a second battalion was ordered to be embodied at Dumbarton. When this battalion was removed to Glasgow, it was so successful in recruiting, under the command of Major, now Sir Archibald Campbell, and gained so much the good will of the people, that it acquired the name of the "Glasgow Highland Light Infantry," an occurrence which was the more noticed, because a certain class of the inhabitants of that populous city have seldom shown any partiality to the military. However, it would appear that, in this instance, the partiality was marked. The consequence was a regular supply of recruits to fill up the ranks of the first battalion, which was soon to be employed on an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, under their old commander, Major-

General Sir David Baird. This battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis Pack, was now in a most efficient state, and consisted of an excellent body of men of good character, and in high health and discipline.

This armament, of the proceedings of which a short account will appear under the head of the Sutherland Regiment, sailed from Cork on the 5th of August 1805, and reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 4th of January 1806. The casualties of the regiment on this occasion, were 6 rank and file killed, and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Campbell, 2 sergeants, and 67 rank and file, wounded.

When the government and garrison of this conquest were settled, the naval and military commanders formed the bold resolution of attacking, with a force not much exceeding the strength of one full battalion, the great province of Buenos Ayres. This expedition was to be composed of the 71st, with a detachment from a foreign corps at the Cape, 200 men from the garrison of St Helena, and a detachment of artillery, all under the command of Major-General Beresford, and Commodore Sir Home Popham. The troops were embarked, and sailed on the 14th of April 1806, and receiving the expected reinforcement at St Helena, reached the Rio de la Plata on the 8th of June. The commanders having determined to attack Buenos Ayres in preference to Monte Video, passed the latter, and sailing up the river, anchored on the 24th opposite to the city. The following evening the troops landed without opposition: the Marines of the fleet disembarked at the same time, making the combined force about 1400 men. The enemy made no attempt to disturb them, and next forenoon the troops moved forward to the village of Reduccion, where the enemy had taken a position on the brow of an eminence, from which they could count every file of men marching against them. The smallness of the force did not induce them to advance to the attack, or to make a resolute stand; for, on the advance of the 71st up the acclivity, they retreated, firing only a few shots, by which Captain Le

Blanc, 1 sergeant, and 5 soldiers, were wounded. The enemy left 4 field-pieces on the ground, and took shelter in Buenos Ayres. Following up this first advantage, the passage of the Rio Chuelo was forced on the 27th, after some skirmishing with the enemy, who, without farther resistance, surrendered the city by capitulation. But this easy capture was difficult to preserve. The Spaniards recovered from their first panic, and, encouraged by the insignificance of the force sent against them, began to collect in the neighbourhood about the beginning of August. The first body consisted of 1500 men, commanded by M. Pueyreddon. These were attacked and dispersed by General Beresford, with a detachment of the 71st, and the corps of St Helena, who took 10 pieces of artillery, with the loss of only a few men wounded.

The dispersed troops, however, soon collected again, and in a short time found themselves sufficiently strong to march against the city, and on the 10th of August commenced hostilities, by surprising and cutting off a sergeant's guard. On the 11th the town was abandoned by the British, who took shelter in the fort; but seeing no prospect of relief, and being cut off from all supplies of provisions, they surrendered by capitulation the same evening. The officers were permitted to walk about on parole, and were quartered on the inhabitants; the men were confined, but were all treated with the usual generosity of the old Spanish character. This treatment continued till the landing of Sir Samuel Achmuty's expedition at Monte Video. That event, as might be expected, occasioned more severe restrictions. The officers and soldiers were removed into the interior, where they remained until the landing of General White-lock's army, on whose capitulation they were restored to liberty, and embarked with the troops for England.

The loss of the 71st in the attack which preceded their surrender, was Lieutenant Mitchell and Ensign Lucas killed, and 91 non-commissioned officers and soldiers killed and wounded. The regiment did not lose many men by



sickness, but 35 men deserted and joined the Spaniards while they were prisoners up the country, exhibiting a very disgraceful contrast to the conduct of their brave and better principled predecessors, of the original stock of the corps, under much more trying circumstances, in the dungeons of Hyder Ali.

The regiment landed in Ireland, and marched to Middleton, and afterwards to Cork, where they were joined by a reinforcement of 200 good men from the 2d battalion, thus augmenting their number to 920 effective men; and on the 21st of April 1808, they received new colours instead of those surrendered at Buenos Ayres. They were delivered to the regiment with an animated address by General Floyd, who had frequently witnessed their gallantry and good conduct in India. \*

The regiment had an early opportunity of proving that they were good representatives and successors of "the precious remains of Macleod's brave Highlanders," and that the General's address was not thrown away on men who were either regardless or undeserving. In July, they formed a

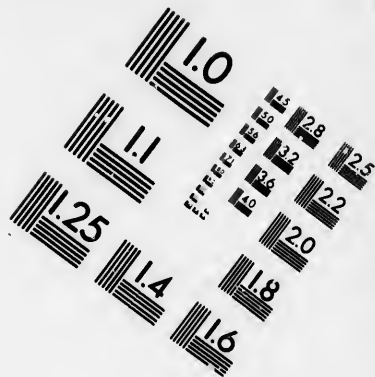
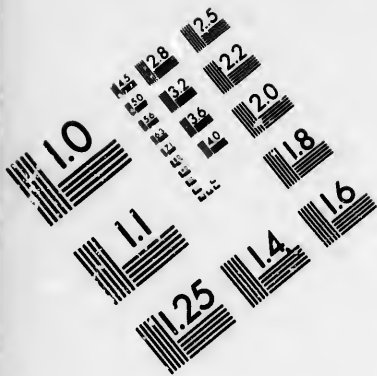
\* This respectable veteran concluded his address to the regiment thus: "You now stand on this parade, in defiance of the allurements held out to base desertion. † You are endeared to the army, and to your country. You ensure the esteem of all true soldiers, and all good men.

"It has been my good fortune to have witnessed, in a remote part of the world, the early glories of the 71st regiment in the field, and it is with great satisfaction I now meet you again with replenished ranks, arms in your hands, and stout hearts in your bosoms. Look forward, officers and soldiers, to the achievement of new honours, and the acquirement of fresh fame. Officers, be the friends and guardians of these brave men committed to your charge. Soldiers, give your confidence to your officers;—they have shared with you the chances of war;—they have bled along with you. Preserve your regiment's reputation in the field, early and gloriously gained, and be, like them, regular in quarters.

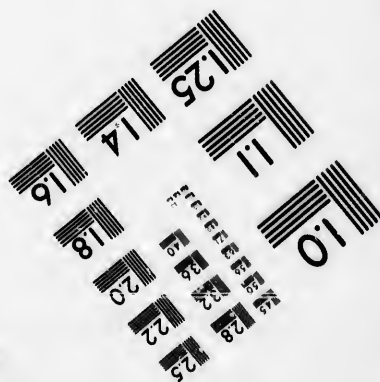
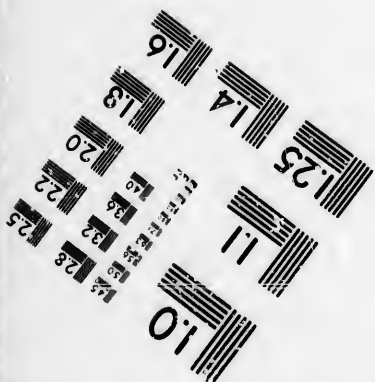
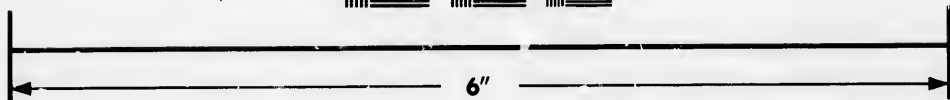
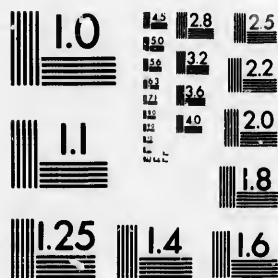
"I present the Royal Colours.—This is the King's Standard. I now present your Regimental Colours.—May honour and victory ever attend you!"

† Alluding to their conduct, in contrast to that of those who deserted to the Spaniards.





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part of the force embarked at Cork for Portugal, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley. The fleet sailed on the 13th, having on board the 5th, 9th, 36th, 38th, 40th, 45th, 60th, (5th battalion), 71st, 91st, 95th, 4th Veteran Battalion, and 20th Light Dragoons, with Major-Generals Rowland Hill and Ronald C. Ferguson, and Brigadier-General J. C. Crawford; in all about 10,000 men. After some delay the troops landed, early in August, in Mondego Bay. In a few days 5000 men from Gibraltar, under Major-General Brent Spencer, joined the army. On the 9th, General Wellesley made a forward movement towards Lisbon, and on the 11th he was joined by 6000 Portuguese, who were, however, unable to proceed, being unprovided with provisions and military equipments. The French, under General Laborde, amounting to more than 5000 men, retired as the British General advanced. On the 14th he reached Caldas, pushing forward 4 companies of the 60th and Rifle corps, to occupy the village of Brilos, in possession of the enemy, drove them from it, and thus in a rencounter of advanced posts, commenced a series of battles and operations unexampled in British warfare since the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, "who never lost a battle, who never was forced to raise a siege, and who never failed in any negotiation he attempted." It was unexampled also in the opportunity it afforded the British army of acting on an extended and continuous scale of important movements, and in giving scope for the full exertion of the talents of the General and his officers, and for the courage and firmness of his soldiers. On no occasion, since Queen Anne's successful wars, had the soldiers of Britain such a field of exertion laid open; and to what extent they supported the honour of their country, will be seen in a succession of six years' campaigns (with the short interval subsequent to the Convention of Cintra), commencing at Brilos in Portugal in 1808, and ending on the heights of Toulouse in 1814. Success was sometimes succeeded by reverses, but reverses so quickly repaired, that the army re-

turned again to the charge, with renovated vigour and force, as if the check or retreat had only been a suspension of fatigue for refreshment, or to receive reinforcements.

In the affair of Brilos, the impetuosity of the troops, not yet tempered by experience, led them too far; and Lieutenant Bunbury and a few privates of the Rifle corps, were killed; and thus this young officer and his soldiers had the honour of being the first who fell in this memorable war. Many valuable lives have been lost, but the sacrifice will not be considered too great when we reflect upon the importance of the object, both to the strength and military renown of the country. A generation will supply the loss of men, which will soon be forgotten, but not so the honour of our country, and the glory of our arms.

On the advance from Brilos, on the 17th, the enemy were seen in position on the heights of Roleia, commanding the road which the British must pass. These heights appeared from below almost inaccessible. They were steep and covered with brushwood, such as is common in Portugal, with only a narrow path leading to the summit, which was occupied by 5000 men. This was a formidable position, but General Wellesley, trusting to the courage of his troops, and with that firm and prompt decision, which he afterwards exhibited in such perfection on many great and trying occasions, resolved to attack instantly, judging that, should he drive the enemy from a position, chosen by themselves as the most defensible, their confidence would be lowered by the defeat, while, in the same proportion, that of his own troops would be confirmed by success, against such natural and apparently insurmountable obstructions. The attack was made, and the enemy driven from his position, after a gallant resistance, and several sharp charges on those brigades who first mounted the hill, the face of which was completely exposed to the fire of the French. These, however, were totally without effect, and the enemy were forced to retreat at all points. The weight of the action fell upon the 5th, 9th, and 29th regiments, the riflemen of

the 60th and 95th, and the flank companies of General Hill's brigade.

The 71st was not engaged, but on the 21st at Vimiera, being then in Major-General R. Ferguson's brigade, with the 36th and 40th, the regiment was actively and conspicuously occupied, fulfilling amply the expectation formed of them by General Floyd when he presented the colours a few months before. They were also present when, in the advance of "Major-General Ferguson's brigade, six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many prisoners, and vast numbers killed and wounded. In this battle, although not more than one-half the British army was engaged, and although the enemy was much superior both in cavalry and artillery, he sustained a signal defeat." \*

Such was the auspicious commencement of the Peninsular campaigns, in the whole of which the 71st shared. In every action where it was particularly engaged, or called upon to meet the enemy, its conduct was uniformly praiseworthy. As, however, the number of Scotch and Highlanders in it was about this time reduced to 560, and as it seems all hopes of recruiting its ranks from the population which had formerly filled them were given up, this regiment now assumed a new designation, and took a new uniform. It ceases, accordingly, to come within the range of my plan, and I resign the task with the more regret, when I reflect on the reasons assigned for the change,—that a supply of men could not be obtained from the Highlands. There must have happened a melancholy revolution since the days when Lord Macleod the exile, without fortune, but not without friends, found himself possessed of a more enviable influence than that of wealth,—the influence which proceeds from personal respect and disinterested attachment.

\* General Wellesley's Dispatches.

## SEVENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT,

OR

## ARGYLE HIGHLANDERS.

1778.

IN the month of December 1777, Letters of Service were granted to Colonel John Campbell of Barbreck to raise a regiment in Argyleshire. This officer, who had served as Captain and Major of Fraser's Highlanders in the Seven Years' War, was now appointed to superintend the recruiting of this corps, with power to select and recommend such officers as were most likely to be successful in procuring men.

The county of Argyle includes so many islands, and on the main land is so intersected by long and wide arms of the sea, that the people, contrary to the disposition of other Highlanders, are more inclined to the naval than to the land service. Accordingly, in the 74th regiment there was a greater number of Lowlanders than in any other of the same description raised at this period. But although, from local circumstances, the lower orders of Argyleshire are less inclined to the land service, this is far from being the case with the gentlemen of the county. On the present occasion, all the officers except four were Highlanders, while of the soldiers only 590 were of the same country, the others being from Glasgow, and the western districts of Scotland. The name of Campbell, as might be expected in an Argyleshire regiment, mustered strong; three field-officers, six captains, and fourteen subalterns, being of that name.\*

\* Among the officers was the chief of the Macquarries. This gentleman



The regiment, mustering 960 rank and file, was inspected at Glasgow by General Skene, in the month of May 1778. They embarked at Greenock in August, and landed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, where they remained garrisoned with the 80th, or Edinburgh, and the 82d, or Duke of Hamilton's regiment; the whole being under the command of Brigadier-General Francis Meelean.\*

In Spring 1779, the flank companies in garrison at Halifax were ordered to head-quarters at New York, the Grenadier company of the 74th being commanded by Captain Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, and the Light company by Captain Campbell of Balnachie. They joined the army immediately before the siege of Charlestown.

In June of the same year, the battalion companies, with a detachment of the 82d regiment, under the command of Brigadier-General Maclean, embarked from Halifax, and took possession of Penobscot, with the intention of establishing a post there. The brigadier had not completed his defences, when a hostile fleet from Boston, commanded by Commodore Saltonstat, with 2500 troops on board, under Brigadier-General Lovel, appeared in the bay. On the 28th of July, this force effected a landing on the peninsula where the fort was building, and immediately proceeded to erect batteries for a regular siege. These operations were frequently interrupted by parties from the fort. General

was sixty-two years of age when he entered the army in 1778. Although so far advanced in life, he was healthy, active, and perfectly capable of executing any duty of his new profession. He died in 1817, in his 102d year, the last of a long line of ancestors, which, although possessing but a small property, and surrounded by the powerful chiefs of the Macdonalds of the Isles, Macleans, Campbells, &c., had preserved itself entire, and in uninterrupted succession, for a period of nearly 600 years. The chief of Macquarrie of the fourteenth century was particularly distinguished under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn. The last of this race was obliged to dispose of his property, which was the cause of his entering the army at so late a period of life; and dying without male issue, the direct line became extinct.

\* General Maclean has already been mentioned as particularly distinguished by General Count Lowendahl at Bergenopzoom in 1737.

Maclean exerted himself to the utmost to strengthen his position. Being well supported by his troops, he kept the enemy in check, and preserved his communication with the shipping, which they attempted to cut off. In this manner, much skirmishing ensued, but with no important result, till the morning of the 13th of August, when Commodore Sir George Collier appeared in the bay, with a fleet intended for the relief of the post. This accession of strength disconcerting the enemy, and completely destroying their hopes, they quickly decamped, and retired to their ships; but, being unable to re-embark all the troops, those who remained, along with the sailors of several vessels which had run aground in their hurry to escape, formed themselves into a body, and endeavoured to penetrate through the woods. In the course of this attempt, they ran short of provisions, quarrelled among themselves, and, coming to blows, fired on each other till their ammunition was expended. Upwards of sixty men were killed and wounded; the rest dispersed in the woods, numbers perishing before they could reach an inhabited country. The object of the expedition was thus completely frustrated.

The conduct of General Maclean and his troops met with high approbation; and in his dispatch, giving an account of the attack and defeat of the enemy, he particularly noticed the exertions and zeal of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell of the 74th, and Lieutenant Crawford of the 82d regiments. The loss of the garrison was 2 sergeants and 23 privates killed, and two lieutenants, 3 sergeants, and 29 privates, wounded. The loss of the 74th was 2 sergeants, and 14 privates, killed, and 17 rank and file wounded.

General Maclean, with the detachment of the 82d, returned to Halifax, and left Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell of Monzie, with the 74th, at Penobscot, where they remained till the peace. On this occurrence, they embarked for England, and landed at Portsmouth, whence they were marched for Stirling, and reduced in the autumn of 1783;

the flank companies, who had been detached, having previously joined them.

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SEVENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT,

OR

MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS.

1778.

IN December 1777, Letters of Service were issued to Lord Macdonald to raise a regiment in the Highlands and Isles, allowing him the same military rank as the Earl of Seaforth and Lord Macleod, by whose influence so many men had been added to the military strength of the country. In such cases, gentlemen had been promoted to high rank in the army, without going through the previous gradations. As Lord Macdonald declined this rank, he recommended Major John Macdonell of Lochgarry, who was accordingly appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant. But although his Lordship had no military rank, his influence was extensively and successfully exerted to complete the regiment; and, having made a good selection of officers from the families of Macdonalds of Glenco, Morer, Boisdale, and others of his own clan, and likewise from those of others, as Mackinnon, Fraser of Culduthel, Cameron of Callart, &c., 750 Highlanders were raised. The company of Captain Bruce was principally raised in Ireland. Captains Cunningham of Craigends, and Montgomery Cunningham, as well as Lieutenant Samuel Graham, raised their men in the Low country. These amounted to nearly 200 men, and were kept together in two companies; while Captain Bruce's company formed a third. In this manner, each race was kept distinct. The whole amounted to

1086 men, including non-commissioned officers and drummers, and were inspected, and reported complete, by Lieutenant-General Skene at Inverness, in March 1778, and immediately afterwards removed to Fort George, under the command of Major Donaldson.

The regiment remained twelve months in Fort George, under the guidance of Major Donaldson, an officer admirably calculated to command and train a body of young Highlanders. Being a native of the country, and having served for nineteen years as adjutant and captain in the 42d regiment, he had a full knowledge of their character and habits.

In March 1779, the corps was removed to Perth, and reviewed there on the 10th by General Skene. Being complete in number, and in a high state of discipline, they were marched to Burntisland, where they embarked on the 17th of March. In this place the men evinced an unmilitary spirit, owing to the nonpayment of bounty and arrears of pay. The particulars of this transaction will be found in the Appendix.

Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell having been taken prisoner on the passage home from America, where he had been serving with Fraser's Highlanders, and Major Donaldson's state of health being such as not to allow him to embark, the command devolved on Major Lord Berridale, who accompanied the regiment to New York, where they landed in August.

The regiment touched at Portsmouth. While they lay at Spithead, the enemy made an attack on Jersey; in consequence of which, the transports, with the 76th on board, were ordered to the relief of that island. When they were on the passage, Lord Berridale gave orders that the men were not to take their broadswords on shore, nor the officers to land in the Highland dress, but directed, however, that the orders should not be disclosed to the men till the moment at which they were to disembark,—influenced, probably, by an apprehension of their not wishing to part with

their swords; but the officers were verbally told of the commanding officer's wishes. During the night on which they approached the island, the men did not sleep, but were busily engaged in preparing for the landing. Their swords seemed the objects of their particular attention, as they devoted most of their time to sharpening and putting them in the best possible order. Next morning, some of the officers appeared in the Highland dress, and all the men with their broadswords. When they were informed of the orders, they said that it might be so, but they hoped that, God willing, they would be allowed to fight with the arms, and die in the dress, of their country and of their forefathers.

But the French being repulsed before the regiment reached Jersey, they returned to Portsmouth, and proceeded on their voyage to America. On their arrival there, the flank companies were attached to the battalion of that description. The battalion companies remained between New York and Staten Island till February 1781, when they embarked with a detachment of the army, commanded by Major-General Phillips, for Virginia; the Light company being in the second battalion of Light infantry, it formed a part of the army; the Grenadiers remained at New York.

This year, Major Lord Berridale having, on the decease of his father, become Earl of Caithness, and accompanied the army, as a volunteer, to Charlestown, was severely wounded at the siege of that place, and soon after returned to Scotland. The command of the regiment devolved on the Honourable Major Needham, now Earl of Kilmorey, who had purchased Major Donaldson's commission.

The detachment landed at Portsmouth, in Virginia, in March, and joined the troops under Brigadier-General Arnold. In May they formed a junction with the army under Lord Cornwallis. When the soldiers of the 76th regiment found themselves with an army which had been actively employed against the enemy, had fought several smart actions, and who had undergone the most incessant and fatiguing marches through difficult and hos-

tile countries, they appeared to look down upon themselves as having done nothing which could signalize and enable them to return to their country and friends with that reputation which their countrymen, and brother soldiers, had acquired. "And they were often heard murmuring among themselves, lamenting their lot, and expressing the strongest desire to distinguish themselves. This was particularly observable, and their regrets greatly heightened when visited by the men of Fraser's Highlanders, who had been in so many actions to the southward." However, they soon had the opportunity which they had so much desired, and the spirit with which they availed themselves of it, showed that no more was wanting to prove that they were good and brave soldiers. On this occasion they were fortunate in being in the brigade of Colonel Thomas Dundas, whose spirited example would have animated any soldier; but in this instance no excitement was necessary. On the evening of the 6th of July, the Marquis de la Fayette, eager to signalize himself in the cause of his new friends, and ignorant of the full strength of those he was about to attack, pushed forward a strong corps, forced the picquets, who made an admirable resistance, and drew up in front of the British line. \*

\* The picquets in front of the army that morning consisted of twenty men of the 76th, and ten of the 80th, commanded by Lieutenant Balvaird of the latter regiment. He was killed by the first fire, and a report sent to Colonel Dundas. As the duty was pressing, it being necessary to keep the enemy in check, no time was to be lost, and without waiting to call the officer who was next on the list for duty, Lieutenant Andrew Alston of the 80th, with the proper spirit of a soldier, offered his services to maintain the post to the last; and, instantly flying to the front, was mortally wounded in the act of leading some of his men to a spot where they could fire with more effect. Colonel Dundas, observing that the enemy persevered in the attack, ordered Lieutenant Wemyss, with twenty-five men of the Highlanders, to reinforce Lieutenant Alston. On marching forward, he found the party without an officer and therefore remained and defended the post till himself and every individual were either killed or wounded. When Lieutenant Wemyss had been appointed Adjutant, he found the want of the Gaelic language a great disadvantage, as

A smart engagement immediately ensued, the weight of which was sustained by the left of Colonel Dundas's brigade, consisting of the 76th and 80th, both young regiments; and it so happened, that while the right of the line was covered with woods, they were drawn up in an open field, and exposed to the attack of La Fayette with a chosen body of troops. "They made their *début* in a very gallant style: The 76th being on the left, and Lord Cornwallis, coming up in rear of the regiment, gave the word to charge, which was immediately repeated by the Highlanders, who rushed forward with their usual impetuosity, and decided the matter in an instant." \* The enemy were completely routed, leaving their cannon, and three hundred men killed and wounded, behind them. The conduct of Colonel Dundas and his brigade was noticed with great approbation, and it was also remarked that the Americans, on this occasion, exhibited more than usual bravery and skill under their gallant French commander.

Soon after this affair, Lord Cornwallis, wishing to throw forward an effective body of infantry to act with the caval-

more than 500 of the Highlanders spoke no English. By frequent communication with the men, and by application on his part, he acquired the language, and allowing for some slight peculiarities of accent, spoke it nearly as well as a native.

\* At the moment Lord Cornwallis was giving the orders to charge, a Highland soldier rushed forward and placed himself in front of his officer, Lieutenant Simon Macdonald of Morer, afterwards Major of the 92d regiment. Lieutenant Macdonald having asked what brought him there, the soldier answered, "You know, that when I engaged to be a soldier, I promised to be faithful to the King and to you. The French are coming, and while I stand here, neither bullet nor bayonet shall touch you, except through my body."

Major Macdonald had no particular claim to the generous devotion of this trusty follower, further than that which never failed to be binding on the true Highlander—he was born on his officer's estate, where he and his forefathers had been treated with kindness—he was descended of the same family, (Clanranald), and when he enlisted he promised to be a faithful soldier. He was of the branch of the Clanranald family, whose patronymic is Maceachan, or the Sons of Hector; the same branch of which Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, is descended.

ry, ordered a detachment of 400 chosen men, from the 76th, to be mounted on such horses as could be procured. Horses were soon found, but saddles and bridles were more difficult to be got. The whole were, however, mounted (although four-fifths of the men had never been on horseback before) and marched forward with Tarleton's Legion. As the horses were intended only for expedition, the Highland dragoons were to dismount when in presence of the enemy. After several forced marches, far more fatiguing to these men than any they ever performed on foot, they returned to the army heartily tired of their new mode of travelling. No other service was destined for the 76th until the siege and surrender of Yorktown in 1781, which has already been shortly noticed in the article on Fraser's Highlanders. \*

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis's army, the kindness and attention of the French officers were most honourable. " Their delicate sensibility of our situation, and their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, have really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war shall put any of them into our power." †

After this unhappy surrender, the 76th was marched in detachments, as prisoners, to different parts of Virginia, where they met with many of their emigrant countrymen, by whom, as well as by the Americans, every endeavour was used, and many tempting offers made, to prevail on the sol-

\* While the officers of the 76th were sitting at dinner during the siege, the enemy opened a new battery, the first shot from which entering the mess-room, killed Lieutenant Robertson on the spot, and wounded Lieutenant Shaw and Quartermaster Barclay. It also struck Assistant Commissary-General Parkins, who happened to dine there that day. He requested that his Will, which was in his quarters, but not signed, should be instantly sent for. This was accordingly done; and when it was brought to him, he had sufficient strength to put his hand to it, and to request some of the officers present to sign as witnesses, when he expired.

† Lord Cornwallis's Dispatch.



diers to violate their allegiance, and become subjects of the American government. Yet not a single Highlander allowed himself to be seduced by these offers, from the duty which he had engaged to discharge to his King and country. \*

They were afterwards embarked for New York, sailed thence for Scotland, and were disbanded in March 1784 at Stirling Castle.

If, owing to accidental circumstances, the services of this respectable regiment were not so brilliant as those of others who had more frequent rencounters with the enemy, yet, from their physical strength, character, and general conduct, the men certainly exhibited the necessary qualifications for any military service. Their courage in the field was only once put to the proof, and we have seen how it was displayed. Their conduct in quarters stood a trial of six years, and during that period, there were only four instances of corporal punishments inflicted on the Highlanders of the regiment, amounting to more than 750 men; and perhaps it may be a matter of extenuation, in a moral point of view, to add, that these were for military offences. Thefts and other crimes, implying moral turpitude, were totally unknown.

It is grateful to the feelings thus to find a numerous body of men preserving their virtuous principles entire, and that, too, in a profession supposed to be destructive of such habits, and in which, indeed, depravity and dissipation sometimes prevail to such a degree, that the severest punishments alone can curb them. Among these honourable soldiers, any restrictions or coercion of a more severe nature were seldom called for, beyond that which a father would exercise towards his children; such as a temporary privation of some comfort, the prohibition of some favourite amusement, or the mention of the shame their miscon-

\* This is certified by officers who were also prisoners, and eyewitnesses of this honourable regard to principle.

duct would bring on themselves, as well as on their country, their relations, and friends.

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ATHOLE HIGHLANDERS,

OR

SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

1778.

THE influence possessed by the family of Atholl in the Highlands of Perthshire has been noticed in the preliminary sketch of the character and manners of the Highlanders. This influence was so extensive, that the Duke of Atholl could, at one period, command the personal services of 3000 men in arms; and, on important occasions, as in the beginning of the last century, this number could be augmented to "5000 of the best men in the kingdom, well armed, and ready to sacrifice their all for the King's service."\*

As the exercise of such power was almost too great for any subject, it was found necessary to reduce it by legal authority; but though law deprived chiefs of their power, it could not, for many years, destroy the great influence they enjoyed, founded on the voluntary attachment and fidelity of their people. It is unnecessary to recur to the many instances I have already given of this disinterested fidelity, of which the period in question, thirty years after the law had abrogated all power formerly vested in chiefs and great landed proprietors, afforded several very striking and memorable examples.

In times when so many Northern patriots stepped for-

\* Lockhart Papers.

ward in the service of their country, the young Duke of Atholl was equally ready, and Government, acceding to his application for authority to raise a regiment of Highlanders for general service, with power to appoint officers, a corps of 1000 men was soon recruited, and embodied at Perth, Colonel James Murray, son of Lord George Murray, and uncle to the Duke of Atholl, being appointed colonel.

This was a respectable corps, both in point of officers and men. The former were young and spirited; the latter of the best description, in respect of morals, bodily strength, and personal appearance; although, unluckily, it was not their fortune to prove in the field how much these qualities conduce to military success. But as they were exemplary in quarters, attached and obedient to their officers, (with one exception, \*) there is no doubt, that the usual qualities of the Highland soldier would have been displayed by them in the field.

In June 1778 they were marched to Port-Patrick, and thence transported to Ireland, where they were quartered during the whole war, being thus deprived of that opportunity of distinguishing themselves in active service, which every enterprising soldier so much desires.

The Athole Highlanders had every advantage of discipline while commanded by Colonel Gordon, an officer of great experience, and firmness of character, though too much of the German school for a Highland regiment. But although he was of a temper to trust little to the native character of his men, and too apt to enforce his orders with a strictness which did not always yield to circumstances, he seldom had occasion to resort to corporal punishment. The honourable feelings with which the soldiers were animated, gave him a sufficient hold of them without resorting to such unpleasant means of coercion, the disgrace attendant on disorderly conduct being in general a

\* See Appendix, "Mutinies of the Highland Regiments."

sufficient restraint. It is creditable to the character of the regiment, that, under so close an observer of their discipline, too much accustomed to look on soldiers as pieces of machinery, destined to obey his orders without thought or reflection, beyond the immediate orders they received, very few punishments were inflicted; and that these were only of the kind usually inflicted on Highland regiments of that period.

In 1783, the regiment was ordered to England, and marched to Portsmouth for the purpose of being embarked for India. The unfortunate occurrences, which threw such a shade over its character on that occasion, are mentioned under another head, and, therefore, need not be detailed in this place. I shall only add, from the best authority, that these occurrences would not have taken place had the intentions of Government been previously explained, the inclinations of the soldiers been consulted, and their extended service to India left to their own choice, instead of an attempt being made to embark them contrary to their terms of service.

After the affair at Portsmouth was adjusted, the regiment marched to Berwick, and was disbanded there in April 1783.

The officers of this regiment lived on the happiest and most friendly footing. Those of them who survive, still cherish their former friendships, and, at the distance of forty years, indulge in the recollections of early intimacy. These feelings extended to the soldiers, who, before the occurrence just mentioned, were respectful, and attached to their officers. The whole corps was, in short, like a family, of which General Murray was the common father and friend. Before the reduction, he assembled the officers, and, taking a memorandum of the wishes and views of each individual, he made such good use of his own and his family's influence, that, before he died, and without any further application on their part, he got every one who was so inclined restored to full pay.

This good man was indefatigable and unwearied in his zeal to serve his officers. The late Lord Sydney, when Secretary of State, used to call him the Bishop of Dunkeld; for, said his Lordship, "I never see his face but when there is some vacant church, or some office in Perthshire, or something formerly in the gift of the Bishop of Dunkeld, to give away." The late Mr Lewis, of the War Office, called him the Athole Forester; "not," says he, "as the forester or keeper of Athole deer, but as the guardian and friend of his Highlanders of the Athole regiment, for whom he will take no refusal."

General Murray was wounded in a singular manner at the capture of Martinique in 1762, then a captain in the 42d. A musket ball entered his left side, under the lower rib, passed up through the left lobe of the lungs, (as was ascertained after his death), crossed his chest, and, mounting up to his right shoulder, lodged under the scapula. His case being considered desperate, the only object of the surgeon was to make his situation as easy as possible for the few hours they supposed he had to live; but, to the great surprise of all, he was on his legs in a few weeks, and, before he reached England, was quite recovered, or at least his health and appetite were restored. He was never afterwards, however, able to lie down; and, during the thirty-two years of his subsequent life, he slept in an upright posture, supported in his bed by pillows.

He died in 1794, a Lieutenant-General, Colonel of the 72d regiment, and representative in Parliament for the county of Perth.

## SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT,

OR

## SEAFORTH'S HIGHLANDERS;

NOW THE SEVENTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

1778.

THE Earl of Seaforth, having engaged in the Rebellion of 1715, and been included in the subsequent Act of attainder, forfeited his estate and title. His grandson, Kenneth Mackenzie, repurchased the property from the Crown, was created an Irish Peer by the title of Lord Viscount For-trose, and, in the year 1771, restored to the ancient title of the family, as Earl of Seaforth. In gratitude for these favours, he made an offer to his Majesty, in the year 1778, of raising a regiment on his estate, which in former times had been able to furnish 1000 men in arms whenever the Chief required their service. Whether in poverty and exile, or in possession of rank and fortune, Seaforth experienced no difference of respect, or disinterested and effectual support. \* On the present occasion, the offer was accepted, and, in the month of May of that year, 1130 men assembled at Elgin, immediately after Lord Macleod's Highlanders had marched to the south. They were principally raised by gentlemen of the clan of "Caber Fey," as the Mackenzies are called,

\* An instance of this will be seen in the Appendix, volume first, where 400 of Lord Seaforth's followers, or rather those who had been so when he was in possession of his estate and honours, marched to Edinburgh, to lodge a sum of money, part of their rents, to be remitted to his Lordship when in exile in France in 1732.

from the stag's horns on the armorial bearings of Seaforta.\* After being reviewed at Elgin, they marched southward for embarkation.

Of this number, 500 men were from Lord Seafort's own estate, and about 400 from the estates of the Mackenzies of Scatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross, and Redcastle, all of whom had sons or brothers in the regiment. The officers from the Lowlands brought upwards of 200 men, of which 43 were English and Irish.

The clan of Macrea had long been faithful followers of the Seafort family, and, on this occasion, the name was so general in the regiment, that it was known more by the name of the Macreas than by any other. So much was this the case, that a memorable, but too common occurrence in Highland corps, which took place in Edinburgh, is still called in Scotland "The affair of the Macreas." This unfortunate misunderstanding proves the absolute necessity of preserving the utmost fidelity in transactions, or engagements, with soldiers. Independently of the dishonour that attaches

\* The arms and crest of the Mackenzies were assumed in consequence of Kenneth, the ancestor of the family, having rescued Alexander II. King of Scotland, from a wounded stag, which had attacked him. The animal, furious from pain, ran in upon the King, threw him down, and would have gored him on the spot, had it not been for the prompt assistance of Kenneth Fitzgerald, who, happening to be in sight, ran up, and dispatched the deer. In gratitude for this assistance, the King gave him a grant of the castle and estate of Ellen Dounan, and thus laid the foundation of the family and clan Mackenneth, or Mackenzie, so called from the name of their ancestor, who was an Irishman by birth. The crest is a stag's head and horns. It is a curious circumstance that the last Lord Seafort's life should have been endangered in the same manner as that in which the first of the family saved the King's. Lord Seafort was attacked by a hart in the parks of Brahan Castle; but, being a powerful man, and possessed of great strength of arm, he closed on the animal, and, seizing him by the horns, pressed his breast against the deer's forehead. A long and desperate struggle ensued, till he was relieved by a game-keeper, who was attracted to the spot by the bellowing of the hart. His Lordship was bruised, but not materially injured. The late Mr West painted the rescue of King Alexander. The figures are portraits, in full size, of persons on the Seafort estate, his Lordship being one of the number. Mr West told me, the last time I saw him, that he considered this painting the best of his earlier pieces.

to all breaches of promise, it is quite evident that the evils of the example are great and manifold, and that, according to all the known principles of human nature, fidelity cannot be expected from those who believe themselves to have been deceived.

In the month of June the corps was inspected by General Skene, and embodied under the denomination of Seaforth's Highlanders, or the 78th regiment. The whole were found so effective, that not one man was rejected. There being several supernumeraries, they were formed into a recruiting company, a measure the more necessary, as the corps was ordered for the East Indies, which destination was much more fatal to troops at that time than now, when the voyage is shortened by less than one-half, the quality of the provisions much improved, and the accommodation allowed, in ships employed as transports, greatly enlarged.

In the month of August the regiment marched to Leith for embarkation; but on its arrival there the men began to show symptoms of dissatisfaction. The transactions that took place on this occasion I have noticed in another place.\* It is sufficient here to remark, that, after full attention was paid to their claims, the men embarked with much cheerfulness, and with a more complete re-establishment of their confidence, as their Colonel, the Earl of Seaforth, was to accompany them on service.

The intention of sending them to India having been postponed, they landed in Guernsey and Jersey in equal divisions, whence, at the end of March, they were removed to Portsmouth, where, on the 1st of May 1781, they embarked for the East Indies, amounting to 1110 rank and file, all in high health, and well disciplined. But however hardy their constitutions, and however capable of active exertions on land, they did not withstand the diseases incident to a voyage of eleven months, in bad transports, and living on food so different from that to which they had been

\* See Appendix.—Mutinies of the Highland Regiments.



accustomed. Lord Seaforth died, suddenly, before they reached St Helena, to the great grief and dismay of his poor Highlanders, who looked up to him as their main support. The loss of their Chief \* was naturally associated in their thoughts with the recollections of home, with melancholy remembrances of their absent kindred, and with forebodings of their own future destiny; and so strong was this feeling, that it was believed to have materially contributed to that prostration of mind, which made them succumb more easily to the effects of disease.

Before they reached Madras, on the 2d of April 1782, 230 men had died of the scurvy; and out of 1100 who had sailed from Portsmouth, only 390 men were fit to carry arms when they were landed. The pressure of the service not admitting of delay, those who were able to march were moved up the country under the command of Major James Stuart, and joined the army under Sir Eyre Coote, in the beginning of May, at Chingleput. Many still being weak from the effects of the scurvy, and more liable to be affected by the heat on account of the impure state of their blood occasioned by the salt provisions, on which they had so long subsisted, they suffered extremely on this march. "This regiment was composed of men sinewy and robust, which rendered them much more susceptible of the sun's violence than those of more slender habits." †

General Coote found them so unfit for active service, that he ordered the corps into quarters, leaving the few who were healthy attached to the 73 or Macleod's High-

\* The sudden and unexpected death of this spirited nobleman made a deep impression on the minds of his faithful followers, who knew that it was on their account alone he had determined to forego the comforts of a splendid fortune and high rank to encounter the privations and inconveniences of a long voyage, in a Newcastle collier fitted up as a transport, and the dangers and fatigues of service in a tropical climate. He was succeeded in his estate, and in the command of the regiment, by his cousin, Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, of the 100th; on whose death, in 1783, his brother, Francis Humberstone Mackenzie, the late Lord Seaforth, succeeded to the family estate.

† Colonel Munro's India.

landers, the only European corps then with the army. In the month of October the health of the 78th was so much re-established, that upwards of 600 men were fit for duty, and ever afterwards they preserved their health and efficiency in a remarkable manner. The colours, which had been laid up, were again unfolded; and, in April 1783, the regiment joined the army under Major-General James Stuart for the attack of Cuddalore, as has already been noticed in Lord Macleod's Highlanders.\* This army consisted of the 73d and 78th Highlanders, and the 101st regiment, with a considerable body of Native troops, and was subsequently reinforced by a detachment of Hanoverians under Colonel Wagenheim. On the 6th of June, the army took up a position on sandy ground two miles distant from the garrison, with its right on the sea, and the left resting on the Bandipollum hills, having a second line in reserve in the rear. The enemy, commanded by Monsieur Bussy, assumed an intermediate position, nearly parallel, and half a mile in front of the fort. On the 13th of June a general attack was made on the enemy's position in front of the garrison. After a severe conflict, which lasted from four o'clock in the morning till near five in the evening, the enemy were driven from their principal defences, on their right; when a cessation of firing took place as if by mutual consent. It was the intention of General Stuart to renew the attack next morning, but the enemy retired within the garrison in the course of the night. In this affair, the 78th lost Captain George Mackenzie, and 23 rank and file, killed; and 3 sergeants, and 44 rank and file, wounded.

On the 25th of June, the enemy made a sally on the British lines, but were repulsed at every point, losing 150 men in killed and prisoners, including, among the latter,

\* As there were two officers of the same name on this service, it may be mentioned, that Major-General James Stuart was of the family of Torrance, and brother of Andrew Stuart, the author of the celebrated Letters to Lord Mansfield. Colonel James Stuart was of the family of Blairhall, and died a Lieutenant-General, and Colonel of the corps he had so long commanded.

the Chevalier de Dumas, who is said to have been inconsolable because he was not wounded; probably wishing to found upon that circumstance a good excuse for his capture.\*

Hostilities now ceased with France, but continued against Tippoo. Colonel Fullarton, who had marched to strengthen the army before Cuddalore, was ordered again to the southward, being reinforced by Seaforth's, and the 101st regiment, with some additional battalions of Native troops, the whole forming an united force of more than 13,000 men. Colonel Fullarton was occupied with this army for some months in keeping down some refractory chiefs, and, in October, he moved on Palacatcherry, seizing, without difficulty, on some intermediate forts. It will be seen, in the proceedings of the second battalion of the 42d, in the year 1782, that Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie had made an attempt on this place, but was induced to desist. The army encountered much fatigue on their march, during which, a detachment of Grenadiers and Light infantry, under the Honourable Captain (afterwards General Sir Thomas) Maitland, was extremely useful, by acting on the flanks, and preserving a communication through thick woods and a broken country. Early in November they reached the place, which was immediately besieged with such judgment and spirit, that the enemy surrendered on the 15th; an event acco-

\* Among the wounded French prisoners was a young sergeant, whose appearance and manners attracted the notice of Colonel Wagenheim, who took him to his tent, and treated him with much kindness, till he recovered, and was released. Many years afterwards, when the French army, under General Bernadotte, entered Hanover, General Wagenheim attended his levee. He was immediately accosted by Bernadotte, who asked him if he recollected a wounded French sergeant to whom he showed kind attention at Cuddalore. After some recollection, the General answered, that he did remember a very fine young man of that description, but he had lost all sight of him, and would now be happy to hear of his welfare. "That young sergeant," said Bernadotte, "was the person who has now the honour to address you, and who is happy of this public opportunity of acknowledging, and will omit no means within his power of testifying, his gratitude to General Wagenheim."

lerated by a gallant dash of Captain Maitland and his flank corps, who, taking advantage of a shower of rain, from which the enemy had taken shelter, advanced unperceived by them, and quickly overpowered and drove them through the first gateway, which they left open; but the second being shut, Captain Maitland's farther advance was checked. However, with the same spirit with which he had acquired this post, he defended it till he was reinforced, upon which, the enemy became so much alarmed, that they immediately surrendered a garrison capable of a long defence under more resolute troops. Leaving a small garrison in the place, Colonel Fullarton marched back to Trinchinopoly and Coimbatore.

In the course of this year the regiment was again unfortunate in the loss of Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, who died of wounds received in an action at sea, on the passage from Bombay.\*

In consequence of the peace, the 91st, 100th, and 102d regiments, were ordered home for reduction, in 1784; such of the men as chose to remain in the country were to receive a bounty of ten guineas. Seaforth's regiment having been raised on the condition of serving for three years, or during the war, those of the men who stood to this agreement, were allowed to embark for England, while those who preferred staying in the country received the same bounty as other volunteers. The number of men who claimed their discharge reduced the regiment to 300 men, but so

\* Colonels Macleod and Humberstone had gone to Bombay, and, on their return in the *Ranger* sloop, accompanied by Major Shaw, on the 7th of April 1783, they fell in with a Mahratta fleet off Geriale. In a vain attempt to resist so superior a force, the *Ranger* was taken, and almost every man on board either killed or wounded. Major Shaw was killed, and Colonel Humberstone so severely wounded, that he died a few days afterwards, in his twenty-eighth year, "universally lamented as a young man of superior accomplishments, and of great promise in his profession." Colonel Humberstone was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Major-General James Murray, from the half-pay of the 77th regiment.

many Highlanders volunteered of those who had enlisted with Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, in the 100th, and the other regiments ordered home, that the strength of the corps was immediately augmented to 800 men; and, in 1785, a detachment of 200 recruits, from the North, joined the regiment.

The following year the number was changed to the 72d, in consequence of the reduction of the senior regiments. Success continued to attend the recruiting service of this respectable corps. Another considerable detachment of recruits joined in 1789; so that, in the year 1790, when war commenced with Tippoo, the 72d, still under the command of Colonel Stuart, was upwards of 1000 strong, the men being healthy, seasoned to the climate, well disciplined, and highly respectable in their moral conduct. In this state they formed part of the army under Major-General Meadows, in July 1790. Their first service was under Colonel Stuart, with other troops, ordered to attack Palacatcherry, which, in the preceding war, had been the scene of success and disappointment to a corps now destined to sustain a second disappointment. The detachment being overtaken by the rains, which fell in almost unprecedented abundance, Colonel Stuart got so entangled among the mountain streams, that, for a short period, he could neither proceed nor retire:—when the waters abated he returned to head-quarters.

After a short rest, the same officer, with the same troops under his command, was again detached against Dindegul, before which place he arrived on the 16th of August. This is one of those insulated granite rocks, so common in that part of India. The fort on the summit had been lately repaired, and mounted with fourteen guns, the precipice allowing only of one point of ascent. The means of attack, both in guns and ammunition, were very deficient. However, a small breach was made on the 20th, and Colonel Stuart, judging that more loss would be sustained by delay than by an immediate attack, resolved to attempt an assault,

small as the breach was; as, besides other difficulties, he was short of ammunition. Accordingly, on the evening of the 21st, the attempt was made. The defences were unusually complete, and the resistance more firm than had been experienced on any former occasion. Every man who reached the summit of the breach was met and forced down by triple rows of pikes from the interior of the rampart. After a bold, but fruitless effort, they were repulsed with considerable loss. But the enemy were so intimidated, and dreaded so much the consequences of a second, and, perhaps, successful attempt, that they surrendered next morning; ignorant of the want of ammunition, the real cause of the premature attack.

From this service Colonel Stuart was again directed to proceed against Palacatcherry, the season being now more favourable than on the former occasion. The fortifications of this place had been much strengthened since its capture by Colonel Fullarton in 1783, and the guns and ordnance stores necessary for the attack were, therefore, on a more extended scale. On the 21st of September, two batteries were opened within 500 yards of the place, and, the same day, a practicable breach was made. Every preparation was completed in the course of the night for an assault the following morning, but before day-light the enemy demanded terms of capitulation, which were granted, and the usual protection to prisoners and private property promised and secured. Colonel Stuart, having left the place well provisioned and in a respectable state of defence, marched back, and, on the 15th of October, joined the army in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore. From this period Colonel Stuart, with his regiment, followed all the movements of the army, till the 29th of January 1791, when Lord Cornwallis arrived and assumed the chief command.

In the preceding service and marches, the casualties of the regiment were few. The subsequent operations of the 72d were, along with the 71st, in the second attack of Bangalore, the first attack of Seringapatam, and the attack on

Sundidroog and Ootradroog, the fall of the last of which places was accelerated by the promptitude of Captain John M'Innes of the 72d, who, being ordered out with a small party to reconnoitre, and observing a favourable opportunity, turned this duty into an assault, scaled the walls, and carried the place without loss.

In the same manner the service of the regiment is connected with that of the 71st and 75th, in the second attack on Seringapatam, and afterwards down to the conclusion of the war with the Sultan. While this corps, when on service, was under the command of so respectable and judicious an officer as Colonel Stuart, the Colonel at home was equally unremitting in his exertions to promote the welfare of his regiment, and attentive to the promotion of his officers, and the supply of good and efficient men to support the character of the regiment. From 1783 downwards, they received a full compliment of excellent recruits from Scotland. General Murray had established a party at Perth, whose success was such, that one sergeant enlisted 273 men. This affords a proof of what may be done, under proper encouragement, and when men qualified for the duty are employed. When a man of address and knowledge of human nature meets with proper encouragement, recruiting has seldom failed in the North.

In the year 1793, the regiment was employed on the expedition against Pondicherry, and, in 1795, formed part of the force under their old commander Colonel, now Major-General James Stuart, in the capture of Ceylon. This was the last service of the regiment in the East at that period. In 1797, they were removed from Ceylon to Pondicherry, when orders were received, in December, to draft the regiment, then 800 strong, into the corps on that station, and for the officers, non-commissioned officers, and invalids, unfit for service, to embark for England. This was one of the last instances in the East Indies of enforcing, as that of the 42d and 79th Highlanders in the West Indies was the first instance of relaxing the system of drafting and trans-

ferring soldiers without their consent—a system which deprived men of nearly all hopes of ever revisiting their native land, and every good soldier of the great incitement to regular conduct. The suppression of this unfeeling practice encourages him to preserve regular habits, and to be careful of his constitution, as he has now a prospect of revisiting his native country, of enjoying the reward of his service, and that his good character will meet with the approbation of his friends and countrymen.

The skeleton of the regiment embarked at Madras in January 1798, and, after a short passage, landed at Gravesend. From thence they were ordered to Perth, where they arrived in August, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Fraser, who had gone out the third eldest Captain, and remained constantly with the regiment. Soon after they reached Perth, Major-General James Stuart, who had so long commanded them in India, was appointed Colonel in room of General Williamson, who had succeeded General Murray in 1794.

During two years that the regiment was quartered in Perth, recruiting was not successful. Whether it was that the emaciated appearance of the few permitted to return home, did not hold out much encouragement to the young men,—or the observation, that none of the great number of men who had left Perth to join the regiment returned with it,—or the great drain of men from the Highlands at this period; from one or other of these causes, or probably from all combined, the corps did not recruit 200 men in three years. However, when removed to Ireland in 1802, the ranks were filled up to 900 with young men from the Scotch Fencible regiments, then reduced. This opportunity was eagerly embraced by Colonel Macfarlane, who succeeded to the command by the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser. He was now at the head of an efficient body of young men, which formed a “fine regiment, possessing as pure and true a spirit as any corps. One-fourth of the men and officers were English and Irish, and three fourths Scotch Highland-



ers; and, singular as it may seem, the former were as fond of the kilt and pipes as the latter, and many of them entered completely into the spirit of the national feeling." And, "in all the solid essential qualities which form the character of the British soldier, they were perfect."

This regiment formed a part of the expedition, under Sir David Baird, against the Cape of Good Hope, on which occasion they maintained the long established character of the corps. The loss by the enemy was trifling, being 2 privates killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Colquhoun Grant, Lieutenant Alexander Clisholm, 2 sergeants, and 34 privates, wounded.

Agreeably to the general orders of 1809, the designation of Highland, and the ancient garb, were altered along with the other corps, and the uniform was the same as that of the line till the year 1823, when the corps received a new designation of "The Duke of Albany's Highlanders," and reassumed the plaid and bonnet, but with tartan trews instead of the kilt or belted plaid.

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## EIGHTY-FIRST,

OR

## ABERDEENSHIRE HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

1778.

THE year 1778 is memorable in the North for the number of new regiments raised there, besides a very considerable number of soldiers recruited for the old regiments of the line. The 73d, of two battalions, the 74th, 76th, 77th, 78th, and 81st, regiments of the line, and the Argyle Regi-

ment of Fencibles—in all nine battalions, of ten companies each—were embodied and completed in less than five months.

In December 1777 the Honourable Colonel William Gordon, brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, received orders to raise a regiment of Highlanders. Although the estate and influence of the Aberdeen family lay in the Lowland districts of Aberdeenshire, it was from the Highlands that Colonel Gordon expected to fill his ranks; and as an inducement to the young men to enter more readily, the Highland garb, to which they were then extremely partial, although prohibited by severe penalties, was to be the regimental uniform.

It would appear that the expectation entertained of the ready enlistment of the Highlanders was well founded. Of 980 men then embodied, about 650 were from the mountains. Major Ross was followed by so many of his own clan and name, that he had nine men of the name of John Ross. In a body of men so intimately connected as these were, it may be supposed that their character and conduct must either be very good or very indifferent, as example, of whatever tendency, would more readily spread among a community so much knit together by the ties of kindred, country, and early intimacy.

In this regiment the current took a favourable turn, and its conduct and character were excellent throughout; but, unluckily, like their neighbours the Athole Highlanders, they had not an opportunity of proving in what manner they would acquit themselves before an enemy, and realize the expectations grounded on the steadiness of their general conduct.

The regiment was marched to Stirling, and passed from thence to Ireland, where it was stationed three years, always sustaining a character approved by the general officers in command, and by the people of the country. In the end of 1782 they crossed over to England, and, in March 1783, were embarked at Portsmouth, with an intention of sending

them to the East Indies, immediately after the preliminaries of peace were signed, although the terms on which the regiment had enlisted were, that they should be discharged in three years, or at the conclusion of hostilities. The men, however, made no objections or complaint, and embarking very cheerfully, remained quietly on board, waiting the orders for sailing, and apparently overlooking or indifferent about the conditions of their engagements.

At length, however, a very opposite feeling evinced itself, when it was known that the Athole Highlanders had insisted on the performance of the terms of their agreement, and they refused to embark. The example, as might have been expected, spread rapidly, and the Aberdeenshire regiment, following that of the Athole Highlanders, called for the fulfilment of their agreement, and requested to be disembodied, and marched back to their own country, to be there discharged. This request being conceded, the regiment marched to Scotland, and was disbanded in Edinburgh in April 1783.

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## EIGHTY-FOURTH,

OR

## ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANT REGIMENT.

TWO BATTALIONS.

*(Originally embodied in 1775, but not regimented or numbered till 1778.)*

THIS corps was to consist of two battalions. Lieutenant-Colonel Alan Maclean (son of Torloish), of the late 104th

Highland Regiment, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant of the first battalion, which was to be raised and embodied from the Highland Emigrants in Canada, and the discharged men of the 42d, of Fraser's, and of Montgomerie's Highlanders, who had settled in that country after the peace of 1763.

Captain John Small, formerly of the 42d, and then of the 21st, regiment, was appointed Major-Commandant of the second battalion, which was to be completed in Nova Scotia from emigrant and discharged Highland soldiers. The establishment of both was 750 men, with officers in proportion. The commissions were dated the 14th of June 1775.

Officers sent to the back settlements to recruit, found the discharged soldiers and emigrants loyal and ready to serve his Majesty. The emigrations from the Highlands, previous to this period, had been very limited. With many the change of abode was voluntary, and consequently their minds, neither irritated nor discontented, retained their former attachment to their native country and its government. But there was much difficulty in conveying the parties, who had enlisted, to their respective destinations. One of these detachments from Carolina, had to force its way through a dangerous and narrow pass, and to cross a bridge defended by cannon, and a strong detachment of the rebels; "but aware that the Americans entertained a dread of the broadsword, from experience of its effects in the last war, with more bravery than prudence, and forgetting they had only a few swords and fowling-pieces, used in their settlements, they determined to attempt the post sword in hand, and pushed forward to the attack." But they found the enemy too strong, and the difficulties insurmountable. They were forced to relinquish the attempt with the loss of Captain Macleod, and a number of men killed. Those who escaped made their way by different routes to their destination.

Colonel Maclean's battalion was stationed in Quebec, when Canada was threatened with invasion by the American General Arnold, at the head of 3000 men. Colonel

Maclean, who had been detached up the river St Lawrence, returned by forced marches, and entered Quebec on the evening of the 13th November 1776, without being noticed by Arnold. He had previously crossed the river, and on the night of the 14th made a smart attack, with a view of getting possession of their outworks, but was repulsed with loss, and forced to retire to Point au Tremble. The fortifications of the city had been greatly neglected, and were now in a ruinous state. The garrison consisted of 50 men of the Fusileers, 350 of Maclean's newly raised emigrants, and about 700 militia and seamen. General Guy Carleton, the Commander in Chief, being occupied with preparations for the general defence of the colony, the defence of the town was intrusted to Colonel Maclean, an able and intelligent officer.

Arnold having been reinforced by a body of troops under General Montgomery, determined to attempt the town by assault. On the morning of the 31st December, both commanders, leading separate points of attack, advanced with great boldness, but were completely repulsed at all points, with the loss of General Montgomery, killed, and General Arnold, wounded. The Highland Emigrants, though so recently embodied, contained a number of old soldiers, who, in this affair, did honour to the character of the corps in which they had formerly served.

General Arnold, disappointed in this attempt, established himself on the Heights of Abraham, with the intention of intercepting all supplies, and blockading the town. In this situation, he reduced the garrison to great straits, all communication with the country being entirely cut off. This blockade he soon turned into an active siege; he erected batteries, and made several attempts to get possession of the lower town, but was foiled at every point, by the vigilant and intelligent defender, Colonel Maclean.\* On the ap-

\* It was of Colonel Maclean, when a subaltern in the Scotch Brigade in Holland, that Count Lowendahl took such distinguished notice, for his conduct in the storming of Bergen-op-zoom in 1747.

proach of spring, Arnold, despairing of success, raised the siege, and evacuated the whole of Canada.

After this service, the battalion remained in the province during the war, and was principally employed in small, but harassing enterprises. In one of these, Captain Donald Robertson, Lieutenant Lachlan (now Lieutenant-General) Maclean, and Ensign Grant, with the Grenadier company marched twenty days through the woods with no other direction than the compass, and an Indian guide. The object to be accomplished was to surprise and dislodge the enemy from a small post which they occupied in the interior. This service was accomplished without loss. By long practice in marching through the woods, the men had become very intelligent and serviceable in this kind of warfare.

With every opportunity, and much temptation to desert, in consequence of offers of land, and other incitements held out by the Americans, it is but justice to the memory of these brave and loyal men to state, on the most unquestionable authority, that not one native Highlander deserted; and only one Highlander was brought to the halberts during the time they were embodied.

#### SECOND BATTALION.

THE second battalion was very quickly embodied in Nova Scotia, and was composed of the same description of men as the first, but with a greater proportion of Highlanders, among whom Major Small was held in high esteem. No chief of former days ever more firmly secured the attachment of his clan, and no chief, certainly, ever deserved it better. With an enthusiastic, and almost romantic love of his country and countrymen, it seemed as if the principal object of his life had been to serve them, and promote their prosperity. Equally brave in leading them in the field, and kind, just, and conciliating in quarters, they would have indeed been ungrateful, if they had re-

garded him otherwise than as they did.\* There was not an instance of desertion in this battalion. Five companies remained in Nova Scotia, and the neighbouring settlements, during the war. The other five joined General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis's armies to the southward. The flank companies were in the battalion of that description. At Eataw Springs the Grenadier company was in the battalion, which, as Colonel Alexander Stewart, of the 3d regiment, states in his dispatches, "drove all before them."

It was not till 1778 that this regiment was numbered the 84th. The battalions which were previously known only as the Royal Highland Emigrants, were now ordered to be augmented to 1000 men each, Sir Henry Clinton being appointed Colonel-in-chief, and the two commandants remaining as before. The uniform was the full Highland garb, with purses made of racoons' instead of badgers' skins. The officers wore the broad sword and dirk, and the men a half basket sword. † At the conclusion of the war both

\* Major Small was a native of Strathardle in Athole. His first commission was in the Scotch Brigade. In 1747 he obtained an ensigncy in the old Highland regiment, and served in it till the peace of 1763, when he was reduced as captain. I have already noticed the number of accomplished and respectable gentlemen whose characters as officers were so honourable to the 42d regiment at that period. Captain Small was one of them. He died Major-General, and Governor of Guernsey, in 1796.

† On St Andrew's day a ball was given by the officers of the garrison in which they were quartered, to the ladies in the vicinity. When one of the ladies entered the ball-room, and saw officers in the Highland garb, her sensitive delicacy revolted at what she thought an indecency, declaring she would quit the room if these were to be her company. This occasioned some little embarrassment. An Indian lady, sister of the Chief Joseph Brandt, who was present with her daughters, observing the bustle, inquired what was the matter, and being informed, she cried out, "This must be a very indelicate lady to think of such a thing. She shows her own arms and elbows to all the men, and she pretends she cannot look at these officers' bare legs, although she will look at my husband's bare thighs for hours together: she must think of other things, or she would see no more shame in a man showing his legs, than she does in showing her own neck and breast." These remarks turned the laugh against the lady's squeamish delicacy, and the ball was permitted to proceed without the officers being obliged to retire.

were reduced, and grants of land given to the officers and men, in the proportion of 5000 acres to a field officer, 3000 to a captain, 500 to a subaltern, 200 to a sergeant, and 100 to each soldier. All those who had been settled in America previously to the war, remained and took possession of their lands, but many of the others returned home.

The men of Colonel Maclean's battalion settled in Canada, and of Colonel Small's in Nova Scotia, where they formed a settlement or township, as it was called, and gave it the name of Douglas.

The transports with the flank companies from the southern army were ordered to Halifax, where the men were to be discharged; but, owing to the violence of the weather in the first instance, and a consequent loss of reckoning, they made the islands of Nevis and St Kitt's instead of Halifax. This delayed the final reduction till 1784.

It would appear, that the first battalion was entirely forgotten in their distant quarters. By their agreement they ought to have been discharged in April 1783, immediately after the conclusion of the war. This circumstance was forgotten or overlooked; and it was not till a representation by the officer commanding, Major (now General) J. Adolphus Harris, that orders were sent in July 1784 to discharge the men.

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SEVENTY-SECOND, OR ROYAL HIGHLAND  
REGIMENT,

SECOND BATTALION;

NOW SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

1780.

GREAT BRITAIN having now to oppose the united force of France and Spain, which had joined the Americans, Hyder



Ali availed himself of so favourable an opportunity, when the strength of this country was divided, to re-commence hostilities; and engaged in his service a number of French officers, to form his army under a regular system of military discipline. Attacked on so many points, more than ordinary exertions on the part of Great Britain were called for. Fresh levies were accordingly embodied; and, among others, a second battalion was added to the 42d regiment. On the 21st of March 1780, three months after the appointment of the officers, a battalion, composed of the very best materials for forming good soldiers, was raised, and soon afterwards embodied at Perth. The celerity with which these gentlemen recruited their men, and the readiness with which the youth of the country joined the ranks, was the more noticed, as upwards of 12,500 men had been raised north of the Tay within eighteen months.

The following officers were appointed to the battalion:

*Colonel*, Lord John Murray; 21st March 1780, died in 1787 the oldest General in the army.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*, Norman Macleod of Macleod, died 1801 a Lieutenant-General.

*Major*, Patrick Græme, son of Inchbraco, died 1781.

*Captains.*

Hay Macdowall, son of Garthland, a Lieutenant-General.\*

James Murray; died in 1781.

John Gregor.

James Drummond, afterwards Lord Perth, died in 1800.

John Macgregor, retired.

Colin Campbell, son of Glenure, retired.

Thomas Dalryell, killed at Mangalore in 1783.

David Lindsay, retired.

John Grant, son of Glenmoriston, retired. Died 1801.

\* General Macdowall was unfortunately lost at sea, with all on board, on the passage from India in 1809.

*Lieutenants.*

|   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| John Grant.   | John Wemyss, died 1781.             |
| Alexander Macgregor of Balhaldy,<br>died Major of the 65th regiment in<br>1795. | Alexander Dunbar, died 1783.        |
| Dougald Campbell, retired in 1787.  | John Oswald. †                      |
| James Spens, retired Lieutenant-Col-<br>onel of the 73d regiment in 1798.       | Eneas Fraser, died Captain in 1784. |
|   | Alexander Maitland.                 |
|   | Alexander Rose, retired 1784.       |

† The history of this officer is rather singular. He was the son of a goldsmith in Edinburgh, and had received a good education, but from some frolic, enlisted with a recruiting party of the 18th, or Royal Irish, in which regiment he was appointed sergeant, and when quartered at Deal, married a young woman possessed of some money. Soon afterwards, he obtained his discharge from the Royal Irish, and purchased an ensigncy in the 1st battalion of the Royal Highlanders, from which he was immediately promoted to a lieutenancy in the 2d battalion in 1780. He accompanied the regiment to India, and fought a duel with the officer commanding on board his transport, while the squadron lay in Porto Prya Bay. From this circumstance, and his finances being low, he did not associate, or dine with the officers in the cabin, but employed his whole time in acquiring a knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and Gaelic languages, and was particularly fond of Ossian's poems. In India he imitated the Gentoos, abstained from animal food, and regularly performed the usual ablutions. For a short time he acted adjutant to the battalion, and soon afterwards sold his commission, and returned to London, where he lived several years, supporting himself by the labour of his pen. He was a warm Republican, and on the breaking out of the Revolution, went to France, where he got the command of a regiment, and was killed in 1783 in La Vendee, along with his two sons, whom, in the true spirit of equality, he made drummers in his regiment. But in his ideas of liberty and equality he was not always consistent; liberty being with him, the freedom of tyrannizing over others. For the short time he acted as adjutant in India he was so severe and tyrannical, that the spirit of the soldiers revolted, and had he not been removed, he would have occasioned a mutiny.

Some years ago a learned doctor wrote an essay, in which he laboured to prove, by a long deduction of circumstances, that Bonaparte was in reality John Oswald, the son of the jeweller in Edinburgh. He alleged that Oswald was not killed in La Vendee—that he changed his name—that he was a violent Republican, as was once the supposed Bonaparte—that he changed his religion, and became Mahomedan—that though he talked much about liberty, it was only liberty to act as he chose, as he was cruel, tyrannical, and imperious in his practice—that he was a man of great courage and fearless enterprise—that he was fond of Ossian, had his poems always in his mouth, and spoke in heroic language; all which was seen in the character and conduct of Bonaparte; therefore Oswald and Bonaparte must have been the same.

*Ensigns.*

Charles Sutherland.  
John Murray Robertson  
Alexander Macdonald.  
Robert Robertson.

John Macdonald.  
William White.  
Charles Maclean.  
John Macpherson, killed at Mangalore.

*Chaplain*, John Stewart, died 1781.

*Surgeon*, Thomas Farquharson.

*Adjutant*, Robert Leslie:

*Mate*, Duncan Campbell.

*Quarier-Master*, Ken. Mackenzie,  
killed at Mangalore.

After the formation, the battalion was quartered in Dundee and Fort George, removed from thence to Queensferry, and embarked for Chatham in December 1780, to form part of an expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth, under the command of Major-General William Meadows, and Commodore Johnstone, intended for an attack on the Cape of Good Hope. This force embarked in January 1781, and consisted of the second battalion of the 42d, the 98th, and 100th regiments, with one company of each of the following corps, namely, the 8th, 9th, 20th, and 47th regiments, and a detachment of Royal Artillery, under Lieutenant William Hislop, brother to General Sir Thomas Hislop, and Lieutenant Durnford, of the Engineers, also accompanied the expedition. Various delays detained the expedition till the 12th of March, when it sailed, and, touching at St Jago in April, was there attacked by the French squadron under Admiral Suffrein, who was repulsed with little loss on either side.

The expedition then sailed for the intended attack on the Cape of Good Hope; but Suffrein having arrived there before them, the attempt was abandoned, and the troops ordered to proceed to India. However, a valuable convoy of Dutch East Indiamen, who had taken shelter in Suldanha Bay, was captured there. The troops shared the prize money. Their right to share was, however, disputed

But however much the doctor was convinced of the truth and correctness of his own opinions, his friends prevailed upon him not to publish them.

by Commodore Johnstone, on the plea that the troops had not landed; but, after a lapse of many years, it was determined in their favour.

The Myrtle transport, on board of which were Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod and Captains Macdowall and Dalyell, separated from the fleet off the Cape, and never afterwards joined. \* This vessel had neither chart nor map; and the master being an ignorant seaman, it was owing to Captain Dalyell, who kept a kind of reckoning with deficient instruments, and no maps, but those in Guthrie's geographical grammar—that he made Madagascar, the appointed rendezvous. Seeing no appearance of the fleet, they again sailed, and made their way back to St Helena. Here they procured charts, and at length reached Madras, on the 23d of May 1782.

The scurvy attacked the troops on the voyage, which induced the Commodore to put into the Island of Joanna, where fresh provisions were abundant. But, in attempting to cure one evil, they unfortunately encountered another; for, after the troops had landed, and were encamped, for the benefit of air and exercise, they caught the fever of the country, and, carrying the contagion on board, a great many of the men fell a sacrifice to it. Towards the end of September the squadron sailed, and arrived at Bombay on the 5th of March 1782, after a twelve month's voyage; and on the 30th of April sailed for Madras. In the course of the passage from England to Bombay and Calcutta, the regiment suffered considerably: Major Patrick Græme, \*

\* Captain Drummond having gone on board the Myrtle to dine with Colonel Macleod, a gale of wind sprung up, which prevented him from returning to his own ship, and proceeded to India in the Myrtle. Two years afterwards this gentleman experienced a great change of fortune. From the rank and pay of a captain, he was placed at the head of his family, with an income of 18,000*l.* a year, by the restoration of the Perth estate, which had been forfeited after the Rebellion of 1745. A few years afterwards the title of Lord Perth, which had formerly belonged to his family, was restored in his person.

\* Major Græme died of sea-sickness. Nothing remained on his stomach for nine months, and his constitution sunk under extreme exhaustion. This re-

4 officers, and 116 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, died.

General Meadows remaining on board, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod in the *Myrtle* not having arrived, the command of the troops intended for actual service devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Humberstone of the 100th regiment, under whom an expedition was undertaken for the purpose of attacking Palacatcherry, situated in a country considered of importance to Hyder Ali. The troops, consisting of seven companies of the Highlanders, a detachment of the 100th regiment, and some native corps, took the field on the 2d of September 1782; and, after taking several small forts on the march, reached their destination on the 19th of October, when, on a full examination, the fort was found everywhere much stronger than had been represented; at the same time that intelligence was received of Hyder's having sent his son Tippoo Saib, with a large force for its relief. In such circumstances, a regular siege could not be attempted; and, as it could not be taken by assault, Colonel Humberstone determined to withdraw to Mangaracotah, one of the small forts he had taken. The intelligence of Tippoo's advance being well founded, Colonel Humberstone continued his retreat, and, blowing up the forts of Mangaracotah and Ramguree, arrived at Paniané, closely pressed on the march by the enemy, who had pushed forward with considerable rapidity, and in great force.

Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, who had arrived, now assumed the command, and found himself surrounded by an enemy of 10,000 cavalry and 14,000 infantry, including two corps of Europeans under the French General Lally. The British force was reduced by sickness to 380 Europeans, and 2200 English and Travancore Seapoys, fit for duty. The post was strong by nature, and some attempts were made to strengthen it still more by field-works; but,

spectable officer, who was the eldest son of Mr Græme of Inchbraco, and had served with the first battalion of the 42d in America, died a few weeks before the fleet reached Bombay.

before these were completed, the French General Lally attacked the post on the morning of the 29th November. He advanced with great spirit at the head of his European troops; but, after a smart contest, well supported on both sides, the enemy were repulsed, and entirely defeated.

The weight of Lally's attack was directed against the post occupied by the Highlanders, whose repeated charges with the bayonet were principally instrumental in promoting the success of the day. "This little army, attacked, on ground not nearly fortified, by very superior numbers, skilfully disposed, and regularly led on: they had nothing to depend on but their native valour, their discipline, and the conduct of the officers. These were nobly exerted, and the event has been answerable. The intrepidity with which Major Campbell and the Highlanders repeatedly charged the enemy was most honourable to their character."\* The loss of the British and Native troops was 8 officers and 88 soldiers killed and wounded. That of the 42d regiment was 3 sergeants, and 19 rank and file, killed; and Major John Campbell, Captains Colin Campbell and Thomas Dal-yell, Lieutenant Charles Sutherland, 2 sergeants, and 31 rank and file, wounded.

After this defeat, Tippoo retreated towards Seringapatam, the movement being hastened by accounts received of the death of his father, Hyder Ali.

The enemy making no further attempts to disturb this post, Colonel Macleod, with his battalion, was ordered to embark for Bombay, and join the army under Brigadier-General Matthews. This junction was formed on the 8th of January 1783 at Cundapore; and, on the 23d, Brigadier General Matthews moved forward to attack Beddinore, the capital of a rich province, the conquest of which was of the more importance, as the Sultan had received from it the greatest part of the supplies for his army.

During the march, the troops were considerably harassed

\* General Orders.

by the enemy's flying parties; but their greatest impediment arose from the nature of the country, rendered still more difficult by a succession of field works erected on the face of mountains they had to ascend, but which, however, proved more formidable in appearance than in the defence of the enemy. On the 26th February 1783, "the 42d, led by Colonel Macleod, and followed by a corps of Seapoys, attacked these positions with the bayonet, and, pursuing like Highlanders, were in the breastwork before the enemy were aware of it. Four hundred were bayoneted, and the rest pursued to the walls of the fort."\* In this manner seven forts were attacked and taken in succession, when the formidable appearance of the principal redoubt, named, by way of pre-eminence, Hyder Gurr, rendered it necessary to proceed with more caution. This fort is situated on the summit of the highest ghaut or precipice, with a dry ditch in front, mounted with twenty pieces of cannon. On the face of the mountain seven batteries were placed on terraces, one above the other, with internal lines of communication; but the outward approaches were obstructed by large trees, cut down and placed transversely, so as to prevent the ascent on any part, except that immediately exposed to the full effect of the guns. These obstructions, formidable, if well defended, were however of no avail; for the spirit with which all the lower defences were attacked and carried, struck such terror into the minds of the enemy, that they evacuated this strong position in the course of the night; and making no farther resistance, Beddinore was taken possession of on the 27th of January 1783.† In this

\* Colonel Mark Wilk's History. On this occasion Lieutenant Hislop, of the Royal Artillery, was severely wounded, the calf of his leg being carried away by a rocket. He was a high-spirited accomplished officer, and, with feelings similar to those of Colonel Erskine of the 92d, wounded in Egypt, he would not allow his leg to be amputated, fearful that he would be incapacitated for the active duties of his profession. He sunk under the great discharge of blood, and died in two days. He was brother to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop.

† In the Fort of Hyder Gurr were found 8000 stand of new arms, with a large quantity of powder, shot, and military stores.

place a full supply of every necessary was found, and the expectation of the troops considerably excited by the prospects of great sums of prize money. But these expectations were soon succeeded by a melancholy reverse, I mean the capture of General Matthews, and the greatest part of his army, at Beddinore.

From this misfortune, the Highlanders, forming part of a detachment under Major Campbell, were exempted. The object of the detachment was to attack and take possession of the fort of Annanpore. This service was accomplished on the 15th of February with great loss to the enemy. The loss of the British was quite trifling. By the following extract from Major Campbell's orders, it appears, that, on this occasion, some of the troops forgot the necessary steadiness which distinguishes good soldiers, in not trusting to the bayonet instead of powder. "Major Campbell returns his thanks to the army for their spirited behaviour yesterday, and his particular acknowledgments to Captain Dalyell, and the officers and men of the flank companies of the 42d regiment who headed the storm; but strongly recommends, when the bayonet can be used, that a shot should not be fired."

After remaining here till near the 28th of February, the battalion was again employed under the command of Major Campbell, and ordered to occupy two small forts, Carrical and Morebedery, in which they remained till the 12th of April, when they marched first to Gourspoore, and thence to Mangalore.

A few weeks previous to this period, Lieutenant-Colonels Macleod and Humberstone having gone to Bombay, the command of the troops at Mangalore devolved upon Major Campbell, now promoted to the brevet rank of Lieutenant-colonel. These officers had been ordered to Bombay by the Governor and Council, to report on the conduct of General Matthews, who was, in consequence, suspended from his command, and Colonel Macleod, now promoted to the rank of Brigadier-general, appointed to succeed him, but too



late to save the unfortunate army at Beddinore, whose surrender subjected them to all the miseries which a cruel and ferocious enemy could inflict.

The consequences of the surrender of Beddinore soon appeared. A considerable force was immediately detached by Tippoo to the neighbourhood of Mangalore, where a position was taken up by them about twelve miles distant from the place. On the 6th of May they were attacked and defeated by Colonel Campbell, with the loss of all their guns; but few men were killed or wounded on either side, as the enemy made a feeble resistance. The Highlanders had Captain William Stewart wounded, 7 privates killed, and 16 wounded.

Tippoo being now at full liberty to act without restraint or fear of an enemy, if we except the small force in Mangalore, marched with his whole army, expecting an easy conquest. His apparently overwhelming force consisted of 90,000 men, exclusive of a corps of European infantry under Colonel Cossigny, from the Isle of France, Monsieur Lally's corps of Europeans and natives, and a troop of dismounted French cavalry from the Mauritius, the whole supported by 90 pieces of cannon. The troops in the garrison amounted to 21 sergeants, 12 drummers, 210 rank and file, of King's infantry, and 1500 Natives fit for duty. There was a numerous list of sick.

To give a detail of the events of a siege which lasted from the middle of May 1783 till the 30th of January 1784, when the capitulation was signed, would exceed the necessary limits of this narrative. The place was completely invested, with the exception of an outpost distant upwards of a mile, which, though strong, required too great a force to defend it. The occupation of this position was persevered in for some days, after the enemy had got possession of some passes, which nearly intercepted the communication with the garrison. Whether from an impression of the difficulty of retreat, or from the influence of a powerful attack, made by the enemy on the morning of the 23d, the Seapoys, who

had the defence of the post, gave way on all sides the moment the attack commenced. The 42d, with a corps of Seapoys, were ordered out to their support, but so sudden was the route of those in advance, that the reinforcement was too late to save them, and the whole retreated together within the garrison. This first and only error in the commander, in allowing part of his communications with his outposts to be cut off, and this want of steadiness in the troops, were, however, fully compensated by the ability, courage, and perseverance, with which the place was afterwards defended, though the garrison were suffering the severest privations. Although the enemy were so ably supported, and their operations so powerfully seconded by their French allies, every attack was repulsed. At length a continued bombardment had made large breaches in the walls, and reduced many parts into a mass of ruin, from which the besieged could not venture to fire their cannon. \*

This silence on the part of the garrison increased the boldness of the enemy. They made several attempts to enter the breaches and take the place by assault, but were uniformly repulsed, sustaining a greater loss by every successive attack. In this manner the enemy continued their attacks with similar bad success, till the 20th of July, when, both parties seeming equally disposed to relax from their fatigue, a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon. This agreement was, however, broken on the 23d, by the enemy, who sprung a mine at the moment that the flag of truce was flying. Hostilities immediately recommenced, and continued till the 29th, when another cessation, which ended in a regular armistice, was agreed upon. By this time the provisions were nearly exhausted, and the consequent privations of the garrison extreme. On the 17th of August Brigadier-General Macleod, with a small convoy of provisions and a

\* The enemy threw stones weighing 150 pounds from large mortars. This species of artillery destroyed many houses, and when they fell on a hard substance, split in pieces, and did great execution.

reinforcement of troops, anchored in the bay. This prospect of relief animated the half famished garrison, but the General, influenced by an honourable regard to the terms of the armistice, ordered the ships back to Tillycherry, notwithstanding the enemy were committing daily infractions, repairing old batteries, and erecting new ones. On the 22d of November another reinforcement appeared on the coast. Every arrangement was speedily made for the landing of the troops, but after they were seen in the bay, they again re-embarked in the transports and sailed.

Another visit of a similar description was made by General Macleod on the last day of December, and again he departed, still preserving faith with an enemy who showed no disposition to imitate the example; keeping the garrison in close blockade, without the smallest supply of provisions. \* The misery and privation of the troops thus tantalized, had risen to a height almost insupportable. They were reduced to nearly one half of their original number, and one-half of the remainder was in the hospital. Tormented and tantalized with so many expectations of relief, the sick, who had been temporarily invigorated by hope, became dispirited by their disappointments, and relapsed into a state of despondency, that proved fatal to numbers. Many of the Seapoys became totally blind, and others were so weak that they dropped down when shouldering their firelocks. The decisive moment seemed now to have arrived; their provisions were nearly consumed, the patience of the troops entirely exhausted by frequent disappointments; they had no hope of relief, nor the least knowledge to what part of the coast Brigadier-General Macleod had sailed; "and the troops

\* In consequence of the peace with France, Colonel Cossigny withdrew his troops, and refused to act with Tippoo. The French Envoy also remonstrated. Their conduct gave great offence to the Sultan, who encouraged the French soldiers to desert and join his standard. Colonel Cossigny behaved with great spirit; for, having recovered some of the deserters, he ordered them to be shot in presence of two persons sent by Tippoo to intercede for their lives.

were eating horses, frogs, dogs, crows, cat-fish; black gramb, &c. &c. and in the utmost distress for every necessary of life. \* In this state it was determined, by a council of war, to surrender the place on terms highly honourable to the garrison. The terms were joyfully accepted by the enemy, and the garrison embarked for Tillycherry, where they landed on the 4th of February 1784.

This fort, defended by a few hundred men, employed the Sultan's main army for nearly nine months; and while the firmness of the garrison must excite admiration, it is to be regretted that such an event did not occur earlier in the war, as the neutralizing of so vast a force would have greatly influenced the progress of hostilities. A detailed account of casualties in the garrison has not been published, but the small loss of the Highlanders shows the spirit with which every assault and attempt of the enemy were resisted. These numerous attacks were received with an energy, and were driven back with a rapidity, that paralyzed the enemy, and rendered their fire in a manner aimless, and of little effect; consequently, the loss was only Captain Dalzell, Lieutenants Macpherson, Mackenzie, and Mackintyre, 1 piper, and 18 soldiers, killed; and Captains William Stewart, Robert John Napier, Lieutenants Murray, Robertson, and Welsh, 3 sergeants, 1 piper, and 47 rank and file, wounded. †

Thus ended the defence of Mangalore, an event which did not, in this country, receive the notice which it so well deserved, from the firmness displayed by the besieged against so great a force of the besiegers, urged on by the inveteracy and determination of the Sultan, exasperated at the unexpected defence of so diminutive a place, apparently in-

\* Colonel Wilks.

† Among the officers of the garrison killed was Mr Dennis, the acting chaplain. Soon after the siege commenced, he was standing behind a breastwork of sand-bags, viewing the operations of the enemy, and looking through a small opening; a match-lock ball entered at this opening, and passing through his forehead, killed him on the spot.

capable of resisting a regular siege, but which, nevertheless, consumed so much of his time and of his army. †

Mangalore consisted of an upper and lower fort, surrounded by a ditch, in some parts deep and wide, without any bomb-proof casement or cover; but the true defence consisted in the firmness and reciprocal confidence subsisting between the commander and the garrison, and not in the strength of the walls, or the depth of the ditch. The force of this garrison consisted of the second battalion of the 42d, very weak in numbers, a few men of the 100th regiment, a detachment of European infantry and artillery, and the 1st and 8th battalions of Bombay Seapoys. The good conduct of these Native battalions was so conspicuous, that the latter was made a Grenadier corps; and, fortunately for the service, great unanimity subsisted between them and the Highlanders, who named them their third battalion. Colonel Fullarton, in his *Views of the British Interests in India*, says, "We now arrive at the most interesting moment of the war; the garrison of Mangalore, under its inestimable commander, Colonel Campbell, had made a defence that has seldom been equalled, and never surpassed. With a handful of men, worn out by famine, he resisted for many months a formidable force under Tippoo Sultan. The whole power of this prince, assisted by the science of the French auxiliaries, could not force a breach that had long been laid open, and he was repulsed in every attempt to take it by storm." The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Lindsay, in his *Military Miscellany*, speaking of this and another similar affair, says, "The defence of Colberg, in Pomerania, by Major Heiden and his small garrison, and that of Mangalore, in the East Indies, by Colonel Campbell

† After the surrender, Colonel Campbell had an audience of the Sultan, who said many handsome things on the gallant defence of his garrison, made him a present of an Arabian charger and sabre, and behaved altogether in a manner which formed a complete contrast to his father's, as well as to his own cruel treatment of the unfortunate prisoners who fell into their hands. The miseries inflicted on General Matthews and his army, after the surrender in Beddinore, were shocking to humanity.

and the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders, now the 73d regiment, we conceive, are as noble examples as any in history."

The East India Company appear to have been of the same opinion, for they ordered a monument to be erected at Bombay to the memory of Colonel Campbell, \* Captains Stewart and Dalzell, and those who fell at the siege, and a handsome gratuity to be given to the survivors.

The regiment, now much reduced, embarked for Tillycherry, where it remained till April 1784, and then embarked for Bombay.

The siege of Mangalore was the last active service in which this regiment was employed as the second battalion of Royal Highlanders. † At the conclusion of the war, it

\* Colonel Campbell died at Bombay. He was the eldest of seven sons (all of whom died before their father) of Lord Stonefield, one of the Lords of Session, by Lady Grace Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Bute. This accomplished officer combined the qualities of great firmness and rapid decision, with conciliating manners. By his example and energy, he encouraged the brave, and checked those who might be inclined to murmur at such privations and hardships as they encountered in Mangalore; and by his kindness and sensibility to the distress of his soldiers, he cheered and inspired all.

Captain William Stewart was twice wounded, and with a mind active and zealous he continued to do duty, neglecting the cure of his first wound, when a second proved mortal. He had been Deputy Quartermaster-General to General Matthews' army, but had resigned when his regiment was ordered to Mangalore, before the surrender of that commander and his unfortunate army. Captain Stewart was son of William Stewart of Gart.

Captain Dalzell was an intelligent and accomplished officer. While at sea he navigated to a sea-port the transport which had parted company, and in the field he was a brave soldier, and an excellent engineer. He was son of Mr Dalzell of Lingo, in the county of Fife.

† The following is a list of the officers of the 42d regiment present at this siege, where their intrepidity, perseverance, and firmness, under the most trying privations, were crowned with that success which their conduct so well merited: Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell; Captains Thomas Dalzell, John Grant, Robert John Napier, William Stewart, and James Spens; Lieutenants Alexander Dunbar, J. Murray Robertson, Alexander Macdonald, John M. Macpherson, Kenneth Mackenzie; Ensigns James Welsh, Robert Leslie, Donald Mackintyre; Surgeon's mate, Robert Baxter. Surgeon Thomas Far-

was intimated to the second battalion, that, instead of placing all the officers on half-pay, the juniors should be reduced in each rank of both battalions. On this intimation, mutual representations were made by each battalion, stating the service of officers in distant regions. The case was taken into consideration, and to save officers who had served so long from the half-pay, and as the battalion was now complete in numbers by recruits from Scotland, his Majesty ordered it to be formed into a separate corps, with green facings instead of blue, under the denomination of the 73d regiment, and the command to be given to Sir George Osborne. It was now a distinct corps, so far as related to change of name; but it has always upheld the character which it had so honourably acquired as foster-brother to the old Highland regiment. This event took place at Dinapore in Bengal, on the 18th of April 1786.

I shall now proceed with a rapid sketch of the actions and services of the 73d Highland regiment down to the period when that designation, together with the ancient national dress, was changed in the year 1809.

The 73d removed from Dinapore to Cawenpore, in December 1787, and, remaining there till March 1790, moved to Fort William in Bengal. From thence the regiment was sent round, in 1791, to the coast of Malabar, and placed under the command of Major-General Robert Abercromby. During these periods several detachments of recruits joined from Scotland, and different changes took place among the officers. Major Macdowall was promoted to the 57th, and was succeeded by Captain James Spens; Captains Grant and Henry Grahame retired, and Francis Skelly was promoted to the 74th regiment.

Lord Cornwallis having resolved to attack Seringapatam, directed General Abercromby, with all his disposable force, quharson was severely wounded at Onore, having had his left hand shot away, and could not be with his regiment at Mangalore. Of the above list of officers, Dr Thomas Farquharson is the only survivor in the year 1825.

consisting of the 73d, 75th, and 77th British, and seven Native regiments, to form a junction near the point of attack. This army commenced its march on the 5th of December 1791. The roads were much cut up with the torrents of the monsoons, which occasioned great delay and difficulty in getting forward the heavy artillery and provisions. On the 21st of January 1792, they had ascended the Ghauts, and were proceeding on the 22d, when orders were received to halt, to place the heavy artillery in position, and to be ready to move forward in light marching order, on the shortest notice. General Abercromby remained here till February, when he was directed to move forward, and occupy a position about 40 miles from Seringapatam. He commenced his march on the 8th, and on the 11th, having received farther instructions, he crossed the Cavery at Evalore. In the course of his march, parties of the enemy's horse made several attempts to break in upon the baggage, and on the 13th, in particular, they pushed forward with great boldness, but were never able to make any impression. On the 16th, a junction was formed near Seringapatam. On the 22d, a part of the army had a smart conflict with the enemy, which ended in the repulse of the latter; and on the 24th, the preliminaries of peace having been settled, all hostilities ceased.

Considerably reduced by sickness, but always receiving reinforcements of recruits, the 73d marched into the Carnatic. The regiment was 800 strong in 1793, when embarked on the expedition against Pondicherry, where they served in Colonel David Baird's brigade. In this service Captain Galpine, Lieutenant Donald Macgregor, and Ensign Tod, were killed.

In 1795, the 73d regiment formed part of the force, under Major-General James Stuart, destined to act against Ceylon, and remained in that island till 1797, when they returned to Madras, and were quartered at St Thomas's Mount and other parts of that Presidency, till they took the field in 1799, and joined the army under General Harris.



On the 1st of February the first Division of the army moved forward on an enterprise which was to decide the fate of an extensive, rich, and populous kingdom. On the 27th of March the army was at Malrilly, when the whole force of the enemy, under the command of the Sultan, was seen drawn up about two miles distant from the English encampment. Here a smart skirmish took place between the advanced picquets under Colonel Sherbrooke and the enemy's cavalry. This brought on a more general action, which ended in the rout of the whole of the enemy's force, with the loss of 1000 men, while that of the British was only 69 men killed and wounded. The army continued to advance slowly, and, on the 5th of April, took up a position preparatory to the siege of the capital of Mysore, now undertaken for the third time within the space of a few years. The same evening the enemy's advanced troops and rocketmen annoyed the picquets, when two columns, under the Honourable Colonel Arthur Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw, were directed to drive them back, and establish posts more in advance. Owing to the darkness of the night, and some unexpected obstructions, this attempt failed; but the object was accomplished the following morning by the same officers. The advanced posts were established within 1800 yards of the garrison. On the 15th the Bombay army, under Major-General James Stuart, joined and took up a position in the line. On the 17th, a party under Colonel Hart of the 75th, advanced and dislodged the enemy, and, after forcing them back, established themselves under cover within 1000 yards of the fort. At the same time Major Macdonald (son of Clanranald) of the 73d, with a detachment of his own and other regiments, took possession of a post at the same distance from the fort on the south. In the mean time, batteries were erecting, and all necessary preparations for a siege going forward with great activity, when, on the evening of the 20th, another advance was made by Colonels Sherbrooke, St John, and Monypenny, who drove 2000 of the enemy from an en-

trenched position, within 800 yards of the place, with a loss to the latter of 250 men, while that of the British was only five killed and wounded. Approaches so easily accomplished must soon lead to a conclusion. On the 22d the enemy made a vigorous sortie on all the advanced posts: They were repulsed, but they renewed the attack repeatedly, till finally driven back with great loss. On the 23d the batteries opened with such effect, that in the course of the day they silenced all the guns opposed to them. In this manner the operations were carried on till the morning of the 4th of May, when it was resolved to attempt the place by assault. The command was given to Major-General Baird, who, twenty years before, had been a prisoner within those walls which he was now to force.\* The assault was to be made in two columns, commanded by Colonels Dunlop and Sherbrooke; the Honourable Colonel Arthur Wellesley to command the Reserve. The whole amounted to 4376 firelocks. At one o'clock in the afternoon all was ready, and, on the signal being given, the troops rushed forward, and, in less than two hours, the capital of Mysore was in possession of the English. The Sultan and many of the principal officers were found among the slain, and all who survived within the walls were made prisoners. This regiment lost Lieutenant Lalor, killed; Captain William Macleod, Lieutenant Thomas, and Ensigns Antill and Guthrie, wounded.

After this important service, the 73d was employed under Colonel Wellesley, who marched against an active and

\* History has seldom produced a more striking difference in the fortunes and circumstances of a man's life, than in the case of this officer. He now entered as a conqueror within the walls of a town where he had been led in as a prisoner, and kept in chains for three years, suffering under the most cruel treatment. As a conqueror, he showed a bright example of the difference between ferocious and generous minds. His revenge, when retaliation was in his power, was shown by endeavours to save the now prostrate enemy, and the inhabitants, from the fury of his troops, who knew what he and his brave fellow-sufferers had been made to endure, and were consequently more than usually exasperated.

zealous partisan of the late Sultan. This chief was soon afterwards killed in a charge of cavalry, and the army returned to quarters.

The regiment remained stationary in the conquered country, and in different parts of India, till embarked for England at Madras in 1805. All men fit for duty, who preferred remaining in the country, were allowed a bounty. So many accepted the offer, that few came home. These few landed at Greenwich in July 1806, and marched from thence to Scotland. When they reached Perth in 1807, there were only Quartermaster Mackintosh and a few men remaining of those who were embodied there in 1780 as the second battalion of the Royal Highland Regiment. In 1809 the ranks were again filled up to 800 men, when the uniform and designation being changed, they were no more to be called Highland. In the same year a second battalion was added, and the first embarked for New South Wales.

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## SEVENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

1787.

THE state of affairs in India, during the year 1787, requiring an additional military force, four new regiments were ordered to be raised for that establishment; two of them to be recruited in the north of Scotland, and two in the United Kingdom in general.

The establishment of the army, after the conclusion of the war, having been reduced as low as the 73d regiment, the first of those now raised became, of course, the 74th, which, along with the 75th, was to be Highland; while the

other two regiments, the 76th and 77th, were to have no particular denomination.

Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, K. B., from the half-pay of Fraser's Highlanders, was appointed Colonel. The regimental establishment consisted of ten companies, of 75 men each, with the usual complement of officers and non-commissioned officers.

As the call for reinforcements to India was urgent, orders were issued to embody as many men as had been raised previously to January 1788, without waiting for the full complement. Accordingly, 400 men, of whom about one-half were Highlanders, were assembled at Glasgow, and marched to Grangemouth, where they embarked for Chatham, whence they sailed for the East Indies, under the command of Captain William Wallace; the Lieutenant-Colonel, Gordon Forbes, and the officers of the Staff, remaining to recruit the regiment to the full establishment. This object being accomplished in the autumn of the same year, the recruits, in February 1789, followed the former detachment; and, after a passage of four months, during which they enjoyed the most perfect health, landed at Madras in June. There was a marked difference in the state of this voyage, as compared with those of the Highlanders of the second battalion of the 42d, 73d, and 78th regiments, who, in the years 1780 and 1781, were eleven, twelve, and thirteen months at sea, during which time the scurvy, (a disease now almost unknown), and other complaints common in those days on long voyages, had carried off nearly 300 men of the three battalions, with a corresponding proportion of officers. Seaforth's Highlanders, in particular, were so reduced by scurvy, night-blindness, and an accumulation of other diseases, that it was not until they had been recruited by some months' rest and refreshment in the country, that they could take the field. In the present instance, however, no inconvenience was experienced, although a considerable proportion of the men had been raised in Glasgow and Paisley, not the best nurseries for robust soldiers; for, independent-

ly of the dissipation too common in crowded cities, men confined twelve and fourteen hours a day in warm close manufactories, seldom breathing the fresh air, and never exposed to the inclemency and vicissitudes of the weather, require time before their constitutions can accommodate themselves to such a change of circumstances, and cannot bear wet and cold in the same manner as those trained up to agricultural employments, and from their infancy habitually exposed to all weathers. In the present instance, however, the healthy state of the troops was in a great measure owing to the excellent condition of the ships, the superior quality of the provisions, and the expeditious voyage, all of which circumstances were different in the years 1780 and 1781.

The uniform of the regiment was the full Highland garb, which was laid aside in the East, as improper for the climate. Thus an uniform, which contributes to give so martial an appearance to a body of men, is unfortunately considered too cold for a winter campaign in the North, and too hot for one in the South; for, singular as it may appear, the kilt, as commonly worn, with so many plaits folded round the body, retains too much warmth in the hot seasons of the year, although it is found an excellent preventive against complaints in the bowels, common in cold and damp weather.

When this regiment was, in 1789, united at the cantonments of Poonamalee, it composed a corps of 750 men, perfectly fitted for service. Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, who had succeeded Colonel Forbes in the command, was indefatigable in training them to an uniform discipline. Of this sort of duty he had acquired some experience during his service in America, as Captain in Fraser's Highlanders; though, perhaps, that corps was but an indifferent school for acquiring the polish and correctness which strict discipline bestows. Yet few regiments, in modern warfare, did more duty, of the most efficient kind, with less discipline, than Fraser's Highlanders; and, as the training of the 71st,

such as it was, so well answered every purpose for which all drilling is intended,—that of overcoming an enemy,—it could not be greatly misapplied in the case of the 74th.

Hostilities, which had for some time past been anticipated, were now ready to commence; and Colonel Maxwell had an early opportunity of giving an honourable specimen of his ability, and of the professional knowledge which he had acquired. In the spring of the year 1790, Lord Cornwallis put all his forces in motion; the Madras army, of which the 74th formed a part, being under the command of Major-General Meadows. After a variety of movements, this regiment, in conjunction with the corps commanded by Colonel Kelly, was ordered to defend the passes leading into the Carnatic from Mysore. This officer having died towards the end of September, the command devolved on Colonel Maxwell. On the 1st of November, he was ordered to attack Baramahl; and, entering that country, reached the neighbourhood of Kistnaggery, (one of those stupendous, and apparently impregnable, fortified works, with which that country abounds), which he intended to attack; but, before he had completed his arrangements, Tippoo Saib, who had received speedy information of this invasion of his territory, marched, with three-fourths of his army, to relieve the place, and, on the 12th, appeared in great force, ready to act against Colonel Maxwell. But this officer took up so excellent a position, and availed himself with such judgment of the strength of his ground,—with equal decision and promptitude, varying his dispositions according to circumstances, that he anticipated and frustrated every attempt of the Sultan to attack him, unless at such manifest disadvantage as Tippoo was unwilling to hazard. On the two following days, similar attempts were renewed, with the aid of increased numbers, but with no better success.

On the evening of the 4th, the Sultan drew off his troops, on the approach of General Meadows with the British army. Thus, with the 74th and 76th regiments, the 4th battalion

of the Madras Europeans, and the 3d, 7th, 13th, 14th, 21st, 26th, and 27th Bengal Seapoys, Colonel Maxwell baffled the bold attempts of an army greatly superior in numbers, and thwarted the plans of the Sultan, which, had they been successful, would have given him an eclat extremely advantageous to his military character.

When Colonel Maxwell's detachment joined the army, under General Meadows, the 74th was put in brigade with the 71st and 72d Highland regiments, and accompanied all the movements of the army, with no loss on their part, until the 21st of March 1791, when the Grenadiers, along with those of the 36th, 52d, 71st, and 76th regiments, together with their Light companies, under the command of Major Skelly of the 74th, supported by the 76th regiment, the whole commanded by Colonel Maxwell, were ordered to storm Bangalore, which had been previously besieged. The attack succeeded in every point. The loss of the enemy was great, that of the British moderate. With the loss of only five men, was taken a garrison, regularly fortified, and defended by a numerous force, when, as will be seen in the article on the second battalion of the 42d regiment, Mangalore, an almost open town, with few artificial, and no natural defences, but garrisoned by a small but resolute body of men, resisted for many months a force of not less than 90,000 men, whose attempts would have been completely frustrated, had it not been for the failure of provisions. Fourteen hundred brave men paralyzed and rendered unavailable every effort of an enemy more than sixty times their own number, and this too in a garrison without regular fortifications.

The 74th continued to bear a share in all the movements of the campaign, until the second attempt on Seringapatam, when, on the 6th of February 1792, the army was formed for the attack. The right wing, under Major-General Meadows, consisted of the 36th and 76th regiments, the centre, under the immediate orders of the Commander-in-Chief,

was composed of the 52d regiment, and of the 71st and 74th Highlanders. The 72d Highlanders formed the left wing, under Colonel Maxwell.\*

On this, as well as on all succeeding occasions, the conduct of the 74th was honoured with marked approbation. After the conclusion of the war with the Sultan, this regiment returned with the army to the coast; and, in the month of July 1793, the flank companies were embodied with those of the 71st, and formed part of the expedition against Pondicherry.

This service being completed, these companies again joined their battalions, now augmented by an accession of numbers from Europe, more than sufficient to supply the loss sustained in the preceding campaigns; and, in 1797, when the 71st was ordered to Europe, upwards of 200 men of that regiment joined the 74th, so that, in the following year, when the regiment took the field, under Lieutenant-General Harris, it was strong in numbers, and in an efficient state for service.

In all the operations that ultimately led to the storming of Seringapatam, on the 4th of May 1799, this regiment had its full share, and, on this memorable occasion, when the destruction of a powerful dynasty was completed, and a great empire overthrown, "the very spirited attack, led by Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir) Alexander Campbell, of the 74th regiment, which tended so greatly to secure the position our troops had attained in the enemy's works, claimed the strongest approbation of the Commander-in-Chief." †

\* This able and high-spirited officer died at Cuddalore in 1794. He was son of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith, and brother of the Duchess of Gordon. At an early age he was appointed to a company of Fraser's Highlanders, in which regiment he served during the whole of the American war, with a degree of approbation which his later conduct proved he so well merited, and which showed that he was one of those whose premature death their country has reason to deplore.

† General Orders.



From this period nothing material occurred until 1803, in the August of which year the regiment formed part of the brigade commanded by Colonel Wallace, in the army detached under the Honourable Major-General Arthur Wellesley. On the 8th of this month, the fortress of Ahmadnagur, then in the possession of Scindia, the Mahratta Chief, was attacked and carried by assault, in which the 74th was present, and distinguished for its conduct. On the 23d of September was fought the battle of Assaye, where the brunt of the attack fell on the 74th.\* A short account of this service will be seen in the article on the 78th Regiment, as also of the battle of Argaum on the 29th November, when this regiment was also engaged, though much reduced in numbers, from the loss sustained at the battle of Assaye.

The 74th continued under the command of General Wellesley while he was in the field, and, in September 1805, embarked for England, leaving the men fit for duty in the country.

Few Highland officers being in the regiment when it returned from India, recruiting was by no means successful in the North, with the exception of that part of the duty intrusted to Captain Russell Manners, whose zeal and exertions at Perth met with merited success.

\* The regiment lost at Assaye Captains D. Aytone, Andrew Dyce, Roderick Macleod, John Maxwell, Lieutenants John Campbell, John Morshead Campbell, Lorn Campbell, † James Grant, J. Morris, Robert Neilson; Volunteer Moore, 9 sergeants, 7 drummers, and 127 rank and file, killed. Major Samuel Swinton, Captains Norman Moore, Mathew Shaw, John Alexander Mein, Robert Macmurdo, J. Longland, Ensign Kierman; 11 sergeants, 7 drummers, and 270 rank and file, wounded.

† Lieutenant Lorn Campbell was son of Colonel Campbell of Melford, an active and intelligent officer of Montgomerie's Highlanders, from which corps he was promoted to a company in the 42d regiment in the year 1761. The Melford family was very unfortunate this year. Three brothers fell in the field, Captain John Campbell, and Lieutenants Alexander and Lorn Campbell, as also a near relation, Lieutenant Morshead Campbell, son of Colonel Alexander Campbell of the 74th regiment.

In 1809 the Highland uniform was laid aside, and, as the corps was not hereafter to be known by any national designation, the uniform of the line was adopted.

In the autumn of 1811, this regiment, now upwards of 700 strong, embarked for Spain, and was again placed under the command of its former General in India.

During the course of the campaigns in Spain and France, they maintained an uniform character for gallantry in the field. A mere enumeration of the battles in which they were engaged, will show how well this respectable regiment merits the gratitude of the country, and will give some notion of the share they have had in the signal and successive defeats sustained by the enemy. In India they were present at Seringapatam and at Assaye. In Spain and France, at Busaco, Fuentes de Onor, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Orthés, and Toulouse, being twelve in all;—an honourable enumeration, and all fought under the eye of the same commander; for although General Wellesley did not Command-in-Chief at Seringapatam as at Assaye, he was a General on the Staff, and close to the 74th regiment, which had afterwards performed so many long and fatiguing marches, and shared in so many important events under him.

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### SEVENTY-FIFTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

1787.

THIS was the second Highland regiment raised in 1787. In the autumn of that year, Colonel Robert Abercromby was appointed Colonel of a regiment to be raised in the North of Scotland. When a man of good family in Scotland was thus appointed, the town in the neighbourhood of

which his influence chiefly lay was usually fixed upon as head-quarters. This corps was therefore to be embodied in Stirling. But, in the present case, the property of the family of Tullibody, lying close to the base of the Grampians, on the southern side, where, short as the distance was, the inhabitants differ so materially in their manners and dispositions from those within the range, that Colonel Abercromby could not raise his men as has often been done in the Highlands—that is, without money. Highly respectable as the family of Tullibody is, an ordinary tacksman of a good family in the Highlands could, under the ancient system, have sent more men to serve the King, notwithstanding Mr Abercromby's high character, and the eminence of his sons, who had risen to the head of their respective professions; so different was the character of a people divided from the rest of their countrymen only by a ridge of hills. To the south of those hills, no recruits could be obtained without money. In the north money had its influence, as in all other countries; but, in raising soldiers, it was less regarded than the character and family of the person recruiting, and with whose fortunes the young soldiers connected themselves. But, although Colonel Abercromby did not derive from his family the influence of a chief, he had an equivalent influence proceeding from the same causes, which gave the gentlemen of the Highlands so much command over the minds and dispositions of their tenantry. This was the respect and attachment to his person, entertained by a Light infantry brigade which he had commanded for six campaigns in the American war. Many of the men who had then served under him, and had been discharged at the peace of 1783, enlisted anew. Several companies of this Light brigade had been composed of the Light infantry of the Highland regiments then in America. A considerable portion of these men, with about 300 more, enlisted at Perth and in the northern counties, formed the Highland part of the regiment. The regiment was embodied at Stirling in June 1788, immediately ordered for England, and

embarked for India, where it landed in the latter end of 1788.

During the first eighteen months this corps remained in quarters, preparing under a sharp system of discipline for the subsequent campaigns. This system was carried into effect by one of the captains who commanded in the absence of the field-officers. He was an able and intelligent officer; but he had been educated in a school in which he had imbibed ideas of correctness which required no small strength of mind to enforce, and which, when enforced with severity, tended to break the spirit of the soldiers to a degree which no perfection in movement can ever compensate. When applied to the British soldier in particular, this system has frequently frustrated its own purpose. I mean, if too frequently or indiscriminately applied; for, while the pressure of the service, during war, renders it necessary for officers to look less to moral character than to physical strength and personal appearance, in the choice of recruits, severe restraints and punishments are often perfectly indispensable. Commanding officers must have full power to punish, and the profligate and unprincipled must know that this power is vested in their commanders, and will be exerted with sufficient severity. If tempered with justice, and exerted only when absolutely necessary, no good soldier will complain. It is in the proper discrimination between the unintentional faults of the thoughtless or ignorant, and those of hardened profligacy, that the value of a judicious, humane, and considerate officer is known. His system of discipline will not be that in which it was almost impossible to be perfect, and equally difficult to escape punishment. When men see that good character is no security against punishment, they will think less of the commission of a crime, than of escaping detection. The sense of honour is accordingly destroyed from the despair of preserving it. When a soldier's honour is in such little consideration, that disgraceful punishments are applied to trifling faults, it will soon be thought not worth preserving. To the young Highlanders the dread

of corporal punishment not only checks their military propensity, and prevents their entering the army, but it conveys to their minds a greater degree of horror and shame than even death itself. When a Highlander is brought to the halberts, he considers himself as having lost his caste. He becomes, in his own estimation, a disgraced man, and is no longer fit for the society of his friends. To them, therefore, or to his native country, he can never return. The halberts have ruined many a good soldier, and have prevented many a good man from becoming a soldier.

In the system of the officer in question, which was formed on the old Prussian model, fear was the great principle of action; consequently, it became the first object of the soldiers to escape detection, more than to avoid crimes. To threaten a man with a prospective punishment before he is guilty, is to teach and make him believe that he is capable of being so, and will undoubtedly lower the tone of his moral feelings and character. Little attention was paid to such sentiments in this corps, where the manner of carrying on the discipline was so opposite to that practised by several judicious officers of Highland regiments, consequently there were more punishments in the 75th than in any other corps of the same description;—that is to say, during the existence of this discipline; when severity relaxed many crimes which would formerly have made punishment necessary, disappeared, and this regiment supported an honourable character throughout the course of its future service in the East.

Not only the 75th, but the whole army, now feel that general amelioration of discipline, which has proved so beneficial, and seems to have spread so genial an influence over their conduct and character. This improvement in discipline has already afforded the finest illustration of the success which may be expected in the army, when a Commander-in-Chief respects the honourable feelings of the soldier, improves his condition, exalts his station in society, and with a kindly attention, unparalleled in any public depart-

ment, never allows a day to pass unnecessarily, without returning an answer to a soldier's letter, or any application made with regard to an officer, soldier, or their families, to pass unnoticed. On particular occasions, during the war, these applications, memorials, and letters, amounted to 150 and 200 in a day, the regular attention to which exhibited a degree of regard to the feelings and welfare of individuals, and an accuracy almost incredible, were it not for the admirable arrangements under which the whole is conducted. With such an example at the head, the beneficial effects must be great and universal. How high the army now stands in character, compared with the estimation in which it was once held by the public, may be judged from the dread and lamentations so often expressed before the peace, of the robberies and depredations which would follow the discharges, by which so many soldiers would be thrown loose from the usual control. But so much the reverse has the fact proved at the different Assizes in Scotland, within the first four years immediately after the peace of 1814, that only two soldiers have been capitally convicted; and, indeed, few tried at all. Thus, while there is an avowed and evident depression of general morals, the army is rising in character, which must undoubtedly proceed from the superior comforts now enjoyed by the soldier. A soldier sees his rights respected, and while he performs his duty, he is certain of being well treated, well fed, well clothed, and regularly paid; he is, consequently, contented in his mind, and moral in his habits. Where the case is otherwise, it will be found that, in many instances, the fault lies in the mismanagement or misapplication of the authority under which he is placed. From this gratifying view of the state of the army, what may we not expect, especially with the prospect of so many years of peace, when such a selection of men may be made, that we may see the military ranks filled with persons of good character, instead of being considered as the refuge of the profligate, as many people have

done, or as a receiving hospital for all those incurables who had in vain attempted other professions ?

But to return to the discipline of the 75th. The necessity of its severity was not proved by the results, when the regiment passed under the command of another officer. The system was then softened and relaxed, and much of the necessity of punishment ceased ; the men became more quiet and regular, and in every respect better soldiers.

I regret much that I have not been able to procure any information of the service of the corps, except what may be seen in the historical details of the wars in India, from 1790 to 1806, when the 75th was ordered for England.

In 1790 the regiment took the field, under the command of Colonel Hartley, on the coast of Malabar, and, in 1791 and 1792, formed part of the force under Major-General Robert Abercromby on his two marches to Seringapatam. From the period above mentioned, till the next and last attack on Seringapatam in 1799, the regiment was quartered in the usual manner in different stations. In the assault of Seringapatam the flank companies led the left columns.

From 1800 to 1804, the regiment was employed in the provinces of Malabar, Goa, the Guzzerat, &c., and in 1805 was with the army, under General Lake, in the disastrous attacks on Bhurtpore.

In 1806 the regiment was ordered to England ; such of the men as preferred India were left in the country, and in 1809 the designation of Highland was very properly changed, as, at that time, there were, in the corps, not one hundred natives north of the Tay.

## SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT,

OR

## ROSS-SHIRE HIGHLANDERS.

FIRST BATTALION.

1793.

IN 1793, and the succeeding years, the whole strength and resources of the United Empire were called into action. In the northern corner of the kingdom a full proportion of its disposable resources was produced. A people struggling against the disadvantages of a boisterous climate, and barren soil, could not be expected to contribute money. But the personal services of the young and active were ready, when required, for the defence of the liberty and independence of their country. The men whom these districts sent forth, in the hour of danger, possessed that vigour and hardihood peculiar to an agricultural and pastoral life. As a proof of this, in late years, when typhus and other epidemic diseases were prevalent in the South, it was so different in the mountains, that, except in cases where infection was carried from the Low country, few instances of typhus or other contagious distempers occurred, and where they actually broke out, they did not spread, as might naturally have been expected, from the confined and small dwellings of the Highland peasantry,—a fact only to be accounted for from their habitual temperance, and that robust vigour of constitution produced by sobriety and exercise.

It may, therefore, be allowed that the effective national



defence which the agricultural population afford the State is to be valued beyond a numerical force of another description, in so far as a man, whose strength of constitution enables him to serve his country for a term of years, though subjected to privations and changes of climate, is more valuable than the man whose constitution gives way in half the time. This remark applies forcibly in the present instance. Indeed, where sickness has prevailed among Highland soldiers, it has in general been occasioned less by fatigue, privations, or exposure to cold, than from the nature of the provisions, particularly animal food, and from clothing unnecessarily warm.\* In the march through Holland and Westphalia in 1794 and 1795, when the cold was so intense that brandy froze in bottles, the Highlanders, consisting of the 78th, 79th, and the new recruits of the 42d, (very young soldiers), wore their kilts, and yet the loss was out of all comparison less than that sustained by some other corps.† Producing so many defenders of the liberty, honour, and independence of the State, as these mountains have done, and of which an aggregate statement will be given, they might have been saved from a system which tends ultimately to change the character, if not altogether to extirpate their hardy inhabitants. We have heard of the despotic institutions of the *Mesta* in Spain, which provide that the lands and pastures shall be cleared for the royal flocks, who are driven from district to district for subsistence. The monopoly of farms, which expatriates a numer-

\* In 1805, the second battalion of the 78th regiment, newly raised, and composed of nearly 600 boys from the Highlands, was quartered in Kent where many of the finest looking lads were attacked with inflammatory diseases, preceded by eruptions on the skin, arising entirely from the quantity of animal food suddenly introduced into the system, previously accustomed to barley and oatmeal, or vegetable diet. The stomachs of many rejected the quantity of animal food supplied, and it was not till the following year that they were fully seasoned.

† During the whole of that campaign, from the landing at Ostend, in June 1794, till the embarkation at Bremenlee, in May 1795, the number killed and died of sickness in the 42d regiment was only twenty-six men.

ous and virtuous race, is a species of Mesta, greatly more ruinous to the ancient inhabitants than that so justly complained of in Spain. Whether it proceeds from the privileges of an absolute monarch, or the power of engrossing wealth, we find that monopoly and despotism are frequently analogous in their ultimate result, although they may differ in the means to which they may resort for their attainment.

Individual severity as certainly generates disaffection to the commonwealth, as the political sins and oppressions of the government. However, the loyalty of Highlanders is not easily alienated; for, although the engrossing of farms, and removal of the old occupiers, caused such discontent in the county of Ross, that the people broke out in open violence \* in the year 1792, and the recruiting for the 42d and other regiments was materially affected, yet, whenever the general welfare and honour of the country were called in question, and war declared, all complaints seemed to be buried in oblivion. And as the Frasers, who had been one of the most active, numerous, and efficient clans in the Rebellion of 1745, were the first, in the year 1756, to come forth in his Majesty's service, under the very leader who had headed them at Culloden, and, in like manner, in the American war, when the 71st, or Fraser's Highlanders, was the first regiment embodied; so now, in the same country, whither, but two years before, troops had been ordered to repair, by forced marches, to quell the riotous discontents of the people, the first regiment raised in the late war was completed in a few months, after letters of service had been granted to the late Lord Seaforth. When completed it was numbered the 78th (the old establishment of the army being 77 regiments), the regiment raised by his predecessor the Earl of Seaforth, in the year 1779, having the same number. This regiment, however, was not raised with the same expedition as in former times. Probably some lurking feelings of dissatisfaction at the late proceedings and depopula-

\* See Article 42d Regiment, vol. I. page 416.

tions still remained. The desolate appearance of the once populous glens, the seats of happiness and contentment, too strongly commemorated these hated proceedings; especially as the people were, at the same time, uncertain whether a similar fate awaited themselves. But, notwithstanding of these appalling discouragements of patriotic and chivalrous feeling, the first establishment of the regiment was completed, and embodied by Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Munro at Fort George on the 10th of July 1793. Five companies were immediately embarked for Guernsey, where they were brigaded with the other troops under the command of the Earl of Moira. The other five companies landed in Guernsey in September 1793.

This was an excellent body of men, healthy, vigorous, and efficient; attached and obedient to their officers, temperate and regular; in short, possessing those principles of integrity and moral conduct, which constitute a valuable soldier. The duty of officers was easy with such men, who only required to be told what duty was expected of them. A young officer, endowed with sufficient judgment to direct them in the field, possessing energy and spirit to ensure the respect and confidence of soldiers, and prepared, on every occasion, *to show them the eye of the enemy*, need not desire a command that would sooner, and more permanently, establish his professional character, if employed on an active campaign, than that of 1000 such men as composed this regiment.

Among these men desertion was unknown, and corporal punishment unnecessary. The detestation and disgrace of such a mode of punishment would have rendered a man infamous in his own estimation, and an outcast from the society of his country and kindred. Fortunately for these men, they were placed under the command of an officer well calculated for the charge. Born among themselves, of a family which they were accustomed to respect, and possessing both judgment and temper, he perfectly understood their character, and ensured their esteem and regard. Many brave ho-

nest soldiers have been lost from the want of such men at their head. The appointment of a commander to a corps so composed, is a subject of deep importance. Colonel Mackenzie knew his men, and the value which they attached to a good name, by tarnishing which they would bring shame on their country and kindred. In case of any misconduct, he had only to remonstrate, or threaten to transmit to their parents a report of their misbehaviour. This was, indeed, to them a grievous punishment, acting, like the curse of Kehama, as a perpetual banishment from a country to which they could not return with a bad character. For several years, during which he commanded the regiment, he seldom had occasion to resort to any other restraint. The same system was followed up with such success by his immediate successors, Lieutenant-Colonels Randoll Mackenzie, John Mackenzie (Gairloch), and Alexander Adams, who successively commanded the regiment, that, after being many years in India, "very little change occurred in the behaviour of the men, except that they had become more addicted to liquor than formerly. Selling regimental necessaries, or disorderly conduct in barracks, were very uncommon, and the higher crimes totally unknown. They were steady and economical, lived much among themselves, seldom mixed with other corps, were much attached to many of their officers, and extremely national. The climate of India preventing the officers from so frequently visiting or being so much among them as when in Europe, lessened the knowledge and intimacy that had previously subsisted between them, but by no means did away their reliance and confidence in each other." No officer enjoyed this confidence more than Colonel Adams. Although not a Celtic Highlander of Scotland, he was a Celt of Wales; and had he been from the Highlands of Ross, he could not have been more acceptable to the soldiers, who were fortunate in having, for many years, a commander who so fully appreciated the peculiar traits of their dispositions. He joined the regiment at the formation when very young, entered readily into their feelings and peculiarities, and

looked upon them with more indulgence than many of their own countrymen.

The following is a list of the original officers. Commissions dated 8th of March 1793.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant*; F. H. Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Seaforth died 1816, a Lieutenant-General.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*, Alexander Mackenzie Fraser, died in 1809, a Lieutenant-General.

*Majors.*

George Earl of Errol, died 1799.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, Bart. Lieutenant-General in 1809.

*Captains.*

Alexander Macleod, died in 1798.

Thomas Fraser of Leadclune, retired, died in 1820.

John Mackenzie, son of Gairloch, Lieutenant-General 1814.

Gabriel Murray, killed in 1794.

Alexander Grant, retired, died in 1807.

J. Randoll Mackenzie of Suddie, Major-General 1804, killed at Talavera 1809.

Alexander Adams, Major-General 1814,

Hon. George Cochrane, son of the Earl of Dundonald, retired.

*Captain and Lieutenant*, Dun. Munro of Culcairn, retired, died 1820.

*Lieutenants.*

Colin Mackenzie.

James Fraser, retired 1795.

Charles Rose.

Hugh Munro, Captain of Invalids.

Charles Adamson, retired.

William Douglas, son of Brighton, died Lieutenant-Colonel 91st regiment.

George Bayley, promoted in 44th to a company.

Thomas Lord Cochrane, Captain Royal Navy.

Sir Archibald Christie, now Commandant-General of Hospitals.

*Ensigns.*

Duncan Macrea.

John Macleod, Major-General 1819.

J. Mackenzie Scott, Captain 57th, killed at Albuhera.

Charles Mackenzie.

John Reid.

David Forbes, Lieutenant-Colonel half-pay.

Alexander Rose, Major of Veterans.

John Fraser.

*Chaplain*, Alexander Downie, D.D.      *Surgeon*, Thomas Baillie, died an  
*Adjutant*, James Fraser.                      India.  
*Quartermaster*, Archibald Macdou-  
 gall.

In September 1794, the 78th, along with the 80th regiment, embarked from Guernsey to join an expedition forming under the command of Major-General Lord Mulgrave, intended to occupy Zealand. By an unpardonable neglect, the troops were put on board transports recently arrived from the West Indies, with a number of prisoners, of whom many had died of fever on the passage. Without any inspection, the same bedding was served out to the troops, who, as might have been anticipated, caught the infection. By great care it was, however, prevented from spreading; and when the fleet reached Flushing, the 78th, 79th, 80th, 84th, and 85th, received orders to join the Duke of York's army on the Waal. Lord Mulgrave was to return with the other corps to England. In the middle of October the Highlanders reached Tuil, and marched from thence to the village of Roscum, on the Bommil Wart on the Maese. The opposite bank was occupied by the enemy in force. Nothing occurred beyond popping shots across the river. One of these causing a false alarm, an emigrant Dutch artillery officer, by some misapprehension or ignorance of the language, fired a gun loaded with case shot, and desperately wounded Lieutenant Archibald Christie of the 78th, and a sergeant, who were standing in the range of the shot, giving directions to a sentinel. Lieutenant Christie, who is now Commandant-General of Hospitals, suffered extremely, for many years, from the severity of the wound received by so unfortunate and provoking an occurrence. \*

\* While the troops lay at this post, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie Fraser, much attention was excited by the regularity with which a battery on the other side of the river opened a smart fire whenever any portion of the troops happened to be under arms, although not seen by the enemy.

At last it was observed, that, before the fire commenced, a wind-mill, on the

The enemy having laid siege to Nimeguen, the 78th was ordered to reinforce the garrison, from which a sortie was made, on the 4th of November, by the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th Highlanders, along with some cavalry and Dutch troops. In this their maiden service, the Highlanders did justice to the expectations formed of them. They moved forward under a very heavy fire, and leapt into the trenches, in the midst of a French battalion drawn up ready to receive them. These they attacked and overthrew with the bayonet, reserving their powder till the enemy had fled beyond reach. An affair of such close fighting was soon decided, with a loss to the British of only 12 rank and file killed; 12 officers, 10 sergeants, 149 rank and file, wounded; of whom the Highlanders lost 7 rank and file killed; Major Malcom, Captains Hugh Munro and Colin Mackenzie, Lieutenant Bayley, Ensign Martin Cameron, (who died of wounds), and 4 sergeants, and 56 rank and file, wounded. †

The enemy having advanced with an overpowering force, Nimeguen was evacuated on the 6th, and, on the 10th, the

same side with the British, always put its wings in motion. This excited suspicion, and it was discovered that the miller had concerted signals with the enemy. The man was seized, and ordered to be hanged immediately, but, by the humane interference of Colonel Mackenzie, he was pardoned. Instances such as this are not perhaps sufficient to indicate the general feelings of a country, but so many occurred during this campaign, that it is not easy to withhold concurrence in the general opinion, that the Dutch were hostile to the British on every occasion when they could display that feeling with impunity.

† The greater part of the wounds were given by musketry, when the troops were advancing to the batteries. A musket ball entered the outward edge of Captain Munro's left eye, and passing under the bridge of the nose through the right, carried away both eyes, without leaving the least mark or disfiguration, farther than the blank in the eyes shot away. He was quite well in a few weeks, and has since taught himself to write a short letter with much correctness, and to play on several musical instruments. He is now a judicious agriculturist, and spirited improver of his estate. As the Sergeant Major leapt into the trenches, a ball struck him high up on the outside of the right thigh, passed down to the knee, and entering the left leg in the calf, came out at the ankle, but, as it touched no bone, it did not disable him above ten days, notwithstanding the circuitous direction it followed, running round so many bones.

Highland regiment was removed to the 3d brigade or reserve, consisting of the 12th, Lieutenant-Colonel Perryn, 33d, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Wellesley, and the 42d, Major William Dickson; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie Fraser.

In this position they lay till the 29th of December, when the enemy crossed the Waal on the ice, at Bommill. The right wing of the British immediately marched, and concentrated at Khiel, under the command of Major-General David Dundas, and, the same night, moved forward on a position of the enemy at Tuil, which, however, they evacuated on the approach of the British. Brevet-Major Murray, and some men of the Light company 78th, were killed by a distant cannonade, as the troops were advancing.

The army lay on the snow for two nights, and, on the 31st, were put into barns till they were removed to Gildermalsen, on which place the enemy advanced in force on the 5th of January 1795. The 78th was drawn up in two wings in front of the village, leaving the road open between the wings, and having the Light company, with two howitzer guns, in advance. The 42d, in support, occupied the different avenues to the village; the 12th and 19th regiments were at some distance to the right, and the 33d, with a squadron of the 11th dragoons, in the advanced post of Meteren. The enemy made his attack with such vivacity, that the outposts were quickly driven in. A regiment of French Hussars, dressed in an uniform similar to that of the emigrant regiment of Choiseul in our service, pushed forward under cover of this deception, and galloped along the road, with great fury, crying "Choiseul, Choiseul!" This so far succeeded, that they were allowed to get close to the advanced company of the 78th before the truth was discovered, when they were instantly attacked and checked, but not sufficiently to prevent a part pushing, at full speed, through the intervals between the two wings towards the village. Here they were met by the Light company of the 42d, whose fire drove them back, and scattered them in an in-



stant. When the attacking column of the enemy's infantry perceived that their cavalry had got through, beyond the first line, they advanced with great boldness, singing the Carmagnole March. The 78th reserved their fire till the enemy nearly closed upon them, when it was opened with such effect, that they were driven back in great confusion. The repulse of the cavalry and infantry was so complete and expeditious, that the loss of the Highlanders was trifling; \* that of the 78th being Captain Duncan Munro wounded, and a few soldiers killed and wounded. †

After this affair the regiment accompanied the movements of the army through this campaign, and in the severe march to Deventer, the difficulty of which, occasioned by the depth of the falling snow, and the intense cold, has been only surpassed by the late disastrous campaign of the French in Russia. On the 28th of April they reached Bremen, embarked in a few days afterwards, and landed at Harwich on the 10th of May; and, after different move-

\* When the light troops and cavalry in advance were forced to retire, they left the guns in possession of the enemy, who pushed so far forward, that their cavalry got mixed with the Light infantry; but a company of the 78th, under Lieutenant David Forbes, stationed a little to the right of the road, fired with such good aim, as to kill and wound many of the enemy, without touching any of our own people, although in the line of the fire.

† At this time one of those artifices was exhibited by which the French, on many occasions during the Revolutionary war, laid the foundation of their victories. An inhabitant, in one of the quarters, opened his stores, and sold liquor to the soldiers in large quantities, at a price so much below value as to create suspicion that the object was to intoxicate the soldiers, and render them incapable of resistance. This was confirmed in the morning by the apprehension of a man at the outposts, sent forward by the enemy to ascertain the effects of the stratagem. It is well known that the French frequently tampered with their enemy, and that they found individuals infamous enough to sacrifice their own honour, and the best interests of their country. But they have ever evinced their respect for the character of the British army so far, that there is not an instance in the late war of an attempt to seduce an officer from his duty. But, although this respect has been shown to the character of officers, the unhappy propensity of our soldiers to liquor was not thought proof against temptation, and might have succeeded in this instance, had not the distribution of the liquor been checked.

ments, were, early in August, put under the command of the Earl of Moira, in the neighbourhood of Southampton, together with the 12th, 80th, and 90th regiments, preparatory to an expedition in support of the French Royalists in La Vendée.

I shall now return to the second battalion, ordered to be raised in February 1794. The following officers were appointed:

*Lieutenant-Colonel commandant*, F. H. Mackenzie, Lord Seaforth, 10th February 1794.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*, Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, Baronet, Lieutenant-General.

*Majors.*

J. Randoll Mackenzie of Suddie, Major-General 1804, killed at Talavera.

Michael Monypenny, promoted to the 73d regiment. Dead.

*Captains.*

John H. Brown, killed.

Simon Mackenzie.

William Campbell, killed at Java in 1811, a Lieutenant-Colonel.

John Mackenzie, Major-General 1813.

Patrick Macleod, son of Geanies, killed at El Hamet in 1807, Lieutenant-Colonel, 2d Battalion.

Hercules Scott of Benholm, killed in Canada, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 103d regiment, 1814.

John Scott.

John Macleod, Major-General 1819.

*Lieutenants.*

James Hanson.

Alexander Macneil.

Æneas Sutherland.

Murdoch Mackenzie.

Archibald C. B. Crawford.

Norman Macleod, now Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Scots.

Thomas Leslie.

Alexander Sutherland, senior.

Alexander Sutherland, junior.

P. Mackintosh.

John Douglas.

George Macgigor.

B. G. Mackay.

Donald Cameron.

James Hay.

Thomas Davidson.

William Gordon.

Robert Johnstone.

The Hon. William Douglas Halyburton, Colonel on half-pay.

John Macneil.

John Dunbar.

*Ensigns.*

|  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| George Macgregor, now Lieutenant-<br>Colonel of the 59th regiment. | John Macneil.<br>William Polson. |
| Donald Cameron.  | Alexander Wishart.               |

*Chaplain*, Charles Proby.  
*Adjutant*, James Hanson.

*Quarter-Master*, Alexander Wishart.

Of this battalion 560 were of the same country and character as the first, and 190 from different parts of Scotland. In August they embarked at Fort George for England, and remained stationary there till April 1795, when six companies embarked in an expedition under Vice-Admiral Keith, Elphinstone and Major-General James Henry Craig, for an attack on the Cape of Good Hope. After the capture of this colony, which was purchased with the loss of a few men killed, and Major Monypenny, Captain Hercules Scott, and five men, wounded, the battalion remained in garrison under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn.

I now return to the first battalion, which, as already mentioned, together with the 12th, 80th, and 90th regiments, was placed under the command of the Earl of Moira, and detached in August 1795, under Major-General W. Ellis Doyle, as the advance of a more considerable armament, to follow under his Lordship, to make an impression in favour of and to support the Royalists in La Vendée. The Royalists had established a strong position at Quiberon, but they were unfortunately attacked by a great force, and overpowered, before the reinforcement from England arrived. Being thus enabled to land in face of the numerous armies which the French had brought to the coast, the expedition landed on Isle Dieu, and established a post on that island, from whence they menaced different parts of the opposite coast, till January 1796, when the place was evacuated, and the troops returned to England. The 78th marched to Pool, where orders were received to embark for the East Indies. Both battalions were to be formed into one, and the junior

officers of each rank to retire on full pay till otherwise provided for.

At this time Colonel Lord Seaforth resigned, retaining his rank in the army. On the 6th of March the regiment embarked at Portsmouth, and landed at the Cape of Good Hope on the 1st of June 1796. Both battalions were now consolidated, the supernumerary officers and men ordered home, and a very effective and healthy body of men (consisting of 970 Highlanders, 129 Lowlanders, and 14 English and Irish) formed, which sailed for Bengal on the 10th of November, (having previously witnessed the surrender of a large Dutch fleet at Saldanha Bay), and, after a long passage, in which the scurvy made its appearance on board some of the ships, but not to a great extent, landed at Fort William on the 12th of February 1797, and, a few days afterwards, marched to Burhampore.

During six years' residence in different cantonments in Bengal, no material event occurred. The corps sustained throughout a character every way exemplary. The commanding officer's system of discipline, and his substitution of censure for punishment, attracted much attention. \* Every friend of humanity, and of the honour of the British army, must earnestly wish that the same system were more generally adopted. It might, doubtless, be extended, by attention to the feelings and peculiar habits of men. If a sense of honour, national spirit, and pride, were once instilled and kept alive among them, the main point would be gained. When fully persuaded that the character and good name of their country were confided to their charge, they would feel the weight of such a responsibility, and would be convinced that courage is only one of the many

\* The temperate habits of the soldiers, and Colonel Mackenzie's mode of punishment, by a threat to inform his parents of the misconduct of a delinquent, or to send an unfavourable character of him to his native country, attracted the notice of all India. Their sobriety was such, that it was necessary to restrict them from selling or giving away the usual allowance of liquor to other soldiers.

virtues necessary to sustain and perpetuate the national honour.

In reference to Colonel Mackenzie Fraser's mode of discipline, I may add, that, in the twenty-five years during which the first battalion has been established, there has not been one desertion among the men enlisted in the Highlands. \*

Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Fraser left India in 1800, and was succeeded in the command by Colonel J. Randall Mackenzie, who also returned to England in 1802, when the command devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel John Mackenzie (Gairloch), and then on Lieutenant-Colonel Adams; but in all these changes the system of discipline continued the same. In February 1803 the regiment embarked at Fort William in Bengal, and, landing at Bombay in April, were ordered to join the army commanded by Colonel John Murray. After some movements under this officer, the battalion was removed to the army commanded by Major-General the Honourable Arthur Wellesley, and placed in brigade with the 80th and the 1st European and 3d Native battalions, under Lieutenant-Colonel Harness. Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace commanded the brigade formed of the 74th, with the same number of European and Native regiments. The Cavalry brigade, of the 19th Light dragoons and Native cavalry, were under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell. Each corps of infantry and cavalry had two guns

\* There were in this battalion nearly 300 men from Lord Seaforth's estate in the Lewis. Several years elapsed before any of these men were charged with a crime deserving severe punishment. In 1799 a man was tried and punished. This so shocked his comrades, that he was put out of their society as a degraded man, who brought shame on his kindred. The unfortunate outcast felt his own degradation so much, that he became unhappy and desperate; and Colonel Mackenzie, to save him from destruction, applied and got him sent to England, where his disgrace would be unknown and unnoticed. It happened as Colonel Mackenzie had expected, for he quite recovered his character. By the humane consideration of his commander, a man was thus saved from that ruin which a repetition of severity would have rendered inevitable.

attached. A corps of pioneers, and a considerable force of Mysore and Mahratta horse, accompanied the army. The whole were well equipped for service, and had a sufficient supply of provisions. In short, no precautions were neglected to secure that success which soon distinguished its exertions. The order of march was equally well regulated: The line of baggage, an object of much importance in Indian warfare, kept close to the columns; both flanks and the rear being covered by corps of Native horse. In this order the army commenced its march on the 2d of June 1803, and, after many delays, encamped, early in August, within eight miles of Ahmednaggur. On the 8th of the month General Wellesley resolved to attempt the town by assault. The army was formed in three columns, the flank companies of the 74th and 78th Highlanders being the advanced guard. The other two columns were led by the battalion companies of the same corps. The latter met with little resistance, the principal efforts of the enemy being directed against the advanced guard, which had also to overcome a perplexing obstacle. The walls were high and narrow, without a rampart, or any place for the soldiers to obtain a footing on, after they had gained the top. Unable to advance, and disdaining to retreat, every man who had reached the top was killed on the spot; but, notwithstanding, the enemy were so intimidated, that they surrendered the town without farther resistance. The 78th regiment lost Captains F. Mackenzie Humberstone and Duncan Grant, Lieutenant Anderson, and 12 men, killed, and Lieutenant Larkins and 5 men wounded.\*

. After this service, the army resumed its forward movements. In the progress of many long and harassing marches,

\* On this occasion the spirit and animation of a subaltern of the 78th regiment (now Major-General Sir Colin Campbell), particularly attracted General Wellesley's notice. He was appointed extra aid-de-camp the following day, and has ever since been in his family and confidence. It is remarkable that this officer, like his illustrious patron, has never been wounded, although present in every battle fought by the Duke of Wellington from Assaye to Waterloo.

the General made arrangements so admirable and so easily comprehended, that no orders were given for halting or marching, or taking ground to the right or to the left, beyond the tap of a drum, or a signal from a bugle-horn. The troops were so well provided with supplies, and all movements so regulated, that the soldiers were never unnecessarily exposed; and, although many of the marches were very fatiguing, all impediments were so well guarded against, and foreseen, that on no occasion was it necessary to be on the march at unseasonable hours.

On the 21st of September, the army found itself within a short march of two numerous bodies of the enemy, under the command of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar. Colonel Stephenson, with a detachment of the Bombay army, was also within a day's march; and the two British commanders having met on the 22d, measures were concerted for a joint attack on the enemy, who, it was feared, would not hazard a general engagement. Each army continued its separate line of march; and, on the morning of the 23d, General Wellesley received intelligence that the enemy's cavalry were already on their retreat, and the infantry, then only distant a few miles, preparing to follow. The case being now too urgent to wait for Colonel Stephenson, the General ordered the troops to march instantly, while he himself hastened forward with the cavalry to reconnoitre. This little army had been already weakened by the separation of two battalions detached to Poonah, and a third left at Ahmednaggur. There now only remained the 19th Dragoons, and the 4th, 5th, and 7th Native cavalry; the 74th and 78th Highland regiments; with the first battalion of the 2d, the first battalion of the 4th, the first battalion of the 8th, the first battalion of the 10th, and the second battalion of the 12th Native infantry; in all, about 4700 men, with twenty-six field-pieces. When the leading division of the army reached within a short distance of the enemy's position, the line of battle was formed as follows: The first line consisted of the Picquets of the army on the right, the 78th on the left, and

the 8th and 10th Native regiments in the centre; the second line was composed of the 74th regiment, with the 12th and 4th Native battalions; the Cavalry were in reserve in the third line.

To oppose this force, the enemy was supposed to have one hundred pieces of cannon, and 30,000 men, including the Light troops, who had gone out to forage in the morning (and were those reported to have marched), but who returned before the close of the action. The infantry were dressed, armed, and accoutred in the same manner as the Seapoys in the Company's service, and well disciplined by French and other European officers. The artillery was well served, and was observed to fire with considerable celerity. The two Rajahs, attended by their ministers, were in the field. The opposing armies were divided by the Kaitna, a small stream, with high banks and a deep channel, impassable to cavalry and guns, except at the fords. The enemy were drawn up on a rising ground, with the cavalry on the right, and their line extended to the village of Assaye on the left.

On General Wellesley's approach to reconnoitre, the enemy commenced a cannonade, the first shot of which killed one of the escorts. As the first attack was to be made on the enemy's left, it was necessary to cross a ford of the Kaitna considerably within reach of their cannon, which played with effect on the column of march. During this movement, the enemy's first line changed position to the left, to oppose a front to the intended attack. Their second line remained in their original position, by which means it was at right angles to the first. The first line of the British formed parallel to that of the enemy, separated about 500 yards, the left being directly opposite to the right of the enemy, and the second and third lines in the rear. During the formation of this order, the enemy's great guns fired with precision and rapidity, several of the shots piercing through the three lines to the rear. This was answered by the guns of the first line, which had already so many draught



oxen disabled, that the soldiers were obliged to draw the cannon.

The order of battle was now formed; and the picquets being named as the battalions of direction, the General ordered the line to advance in a quick pace, without firing a shot, but to trust ail to the bayonet. This order was received with cheers, and instantly obeyed. It was soon perceived, however, that the leading battalion, composed of the picquets, had diverged from the line of direction, which made it necessary to halt the whole front line. This was a critical moment. The troops had got to the summit of a swell of the ground, which had previously sheltered their advance, and the enemy, believing that the halt proceeded from timidity, redoubled their efforts, firing chain-shot and every missile they could bring to bear upon the line. General Wellesley, dreading the influence of this momentary halt on the ardour of the troops, rode up in front of a Native battalion, and, taking off his hat, cheered them in their own language, and gave the word to advance again. This was also received with cheers, and instantly put in execution. When the 78th was within 150 yards of the enemy, they advanced in quick time, and charged. At this instant some European officers, in the service of the enemy, were observed to mount their horses and fly. The infantry, thus deserted by their officers, broke and fled with such speed, that few were overtaken by the bayonet: but the gunners held firm to their guns; many were bayoneted in the act of loading, and none gave way till closed upon by the bayonet.

After this charge, the 78th quickly reformed line, and, preparing to advance on the enemy's second line, wheeled to the right, thus showing a front to their left. During these operations on the left, the 74th pushed forward to the front, over an open plain, and suffered exceedingly from the fire of the enemy's artillery. They were the longer exposed to this destructive fire, from the difficulty they encountered of getting through a prickly-pear hedge. Many of the men having lost their shoes, their feet were much torn and pierc-

ed. In this state, exposed to the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, and with one half of their number killed and wounded, a large body of the enemy's cavalry advanced to charge; but the rapid advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, with the 19th dragoons, gave a most timely support to this regiment. At this critical moment, he charged the enemy in flank, drove them off the field, and thus enabled the remains of the 74th to take up their position in the front line.

The first battalion of the 12th Native infantry, who, at the same time, had also advanced, with great steadiness, from the second line, suffered exceedingly. The army was now in one line, the 78th on the left, and the 74th on its immediate right. The enemy kept up a heavy fire from the village, numbers coming up from the banks of the river, and others who had thrown themselves on the ground as dead, and had been passed over by our men, now started up and gained possession of their own guns, which had been abandoned on the charge of our first line. From these they commenced a heavy fire from the rear, at the same time that a body of cavalry appeared on the left flank preparing to charge. To resist this, the left wing of the Highlanders was thrown back some paces on its right, and, at that instant, Lieutenant D. Cameron, who had been left with a party to protect two guns which could not be brought forward owing to their draught oxen being killed, now forced his way through, and joined his regiment most seasonably, when all were in anxious expectation of the farther orders of the General. This was an important moment, for it now seemed almost as if the battle had only commenced, or was to be fought over again. With an unbroken line of the enemy in front, keeping up a constant fire of cannon, flanked by batteries of round shot on their right, grape from the rear, and with cavalry threatening the left; with all this in view, and exposed to so severe a trial, the silence and steadiness of the troops were highly honourable to their character. But they were not long kept in a state of suspense. The General ordered the cavalry to charge the

enemy's squadron on the left (who did not wait the attack), and, directing the line to attack to their front, led the 78th, the 19th dragoons, and 7th Native cavalry to the rear, and attacked the enemy who had collected there in considerable force. Part of this force retreated, but in such good order, that one brigade stood the charge of the 19th Light dragoons, in which Colonel Maxwell, a brave and zealous officer, was killed. The Highlanders had considerable difficulty in clearing that part of the field to which they were opposed, and in recovering the cannon. The enemy made a strong resistance, forcing the regiment three times to change its front, and to attack each party separately, none giving way till attacked; and while the regiment moved against one, the others kept up a galling fire which continued till the whole were driven off the field. At this time the cavalry, which had been detached by the enemy in the morning, returned; but, when a party of Mysore horse marched against them, they retreated, and the fire ceased entirely at half-past four o'clock.

Thus ended the battle of Assaye, the most desperate and best contested that ever was fought in India. On no occasion did the enemy display more bravery, or serve their guns with more precision, steadiness, and effect. The brilliancy of this victory will be more conspicuous, when we consider that it was gained over a force six times more numerous, that 98 pieces of cannon, and military stores in proportion, were taken on the field of battle, and that 1200 men were killed, and 3000 supposed to be wounded. The British loss was 21 officers killed, and 30 wounded. The 78th lost Lieutenant Douglas, and 27 rank and file, killed; Captain Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenants Kinloch and Larkins, Ensign Bethune, 4 sergeants, and 73 rank and file, wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Adams was knocked off his horse by the blow of a spent ball on the shoulder, but as he was able to remount and keep the field, he did not include himself in the list of wounded. Lieutenant Thomas Fraser was also slightly wounded. Indeed,

there were only two officers of the regiment that escaped without some contusion or bruise, but, following the example of their commanding officer, their names did not appear among the wounded.

After the wounded and sick were settled in quarters, the army resumed active operations. A variety of movements and several partial skirmishes ensued, until the 29th of November, when the enemy were discovered drawn up in regular line of battle, on a plain in front of the village of Argaum. The troops moved forward, in one column, to the edge of the plain, in sight of the hostile army, which was nearly equal in number to that at Assaye, but neither so well disciplined nor so well appointed; the artillery were also less numerous (being only 38 pieces) and less expert. General Wellesley's army, on the other hand, exceeded its former amount, having been reinforced by Colonel Stephenson's division, consisting of the 94th or Scotch Brigade, six Native regiments of infantry, and two of cavalry. A small village lay between the head of the British columns and the enemy's line. The cavalry were ordered up, and formed in close column behind this village. The right brigade passed the village, and formed line in its front; and the other corps followed and formed in succession. The enemy were about 1200 yards distant. The instant the leading picquet passed the village, the enemy fired twenty pieces of cannon in one volley.

Courage in some men, individually as well as collectively, is a firm constitutional principle, equally steady and uniform in all situations, and not to be shaken by any unexpected assault or alarm. The courage of others, again, is sometimes ardent and enthusiastic, and may be led to the cannon's mouth; but not being an inherent principle of action, and depending often on contingencies, it is not constant, and may fail in moments of the greatest need. Here the Native picquets, and two battalions which had been eminently distinguished at Assaye, only two short months before, were so panic-struck with this noisy reception, which

in fact did no execution; that, notwithstanding the greatest exertions of their officers, they retired in the utmost confusion behind the village, leaving the picquets of the 78th and the artillery standing alone in the field. The 78th regiment instantly marched up and formed line with the picquets and artillery. Other corps also moved forward in succession, and, through the exertions of their officers, the battalions which had retired were also brought up again into line.

The army was drawn up in one line of fifteen battalions, the cavalry forming a Reserve or second line, the 78th being on the right, and next to them the 74th; and the 94th forming the left of the line. When this regiment (which was supported by the Mysore horse) reached and formed on their proper ground, the whole moved forward, the 78th directing its march against a battery of nine guns, which supported the enemy's left. As they approached, a body of 800 infantry rushed out from behind the battery, and, at full trot, made for the intervals between the 74th and 78th. Surprised at this daring advance, the regiments obliqued their march to close the interval, and with ported arms moved forward in quick time to meet their assailants. But a muddy deep ditch (before unperceived) intervened, and prevented an actual shock with the bayonet. The enemy, however, stood by the ditch, with a resolution almost unparalleled in Eastern troops, firing till their last men fell. The following morning upwards of five hundred dead bodies were found lying on the ground where these men had been drawn up. They were a party of desperate fanatics, who fought from a religious principle.

This was the only serious attempt made by the enemy. An attack was made by Scindia's cavalry on the left of Colonel Stephenson's division, but they were quickly repulsed by the 6th Native infantry, and the whole line immediately gave way, leaving 38 pieces of cannon on the field, and was pursued beyond Argaum, where, the sun having now set, the infantry halted, but the cavalry continued the pursuit

by moonlight, till nine o'clock. The victory was complete, and, unlike that of Assaye, was purchased with little loss, which fell principally on the 78th regiment.

Colonel Harness, compelled, by an illness of which he died some time afterwards, to resign the command of the right brigade, it devolved upon Colonel Adams; Major Hercules Scott, as field-officer of the day, commanding the picquets of the line, the command of the 78th regiment fell to Captain James Fraser.

No particular notice was taken of the conduct of the two Highland regiments at Assaye, where so much was done, while at Argaum the General says of them, "The 74th and 78th deserved, and received, my thanks." \*

On the 2d of December active operations recommenced, and, on the 13th, the strong fort of Gawelghur was taken by assault. This exploit concluded the hostile operations of this army against the enemy; but their fatigues, from marching and countermarching, were incessant, till the 20th July 1804, when the 78th reached Bombay. More men and officers fell sick in the last month than in the previous campaign. And, as it often happens, when troops are placed in a state of rest after an active campaign, they continued sickly for a considerable time.

In May 1805 five companies were ordered to Baroda in the Guzzerat, and in July a reinforcement of 100 recruits from Scotland was received. In the succession of reinforce-

\* At the battle of Assaye, the musicians were ordered to attend to the wounded, and carry them to the surgeons in the rear. One of the pipers, believing himself included in this order, laid aside his instrument, and assisted the wounded. For this he was afterwards reproached by his comrades. Flutes and hautboys they thought could be well spared, but for the piper, who should always be in the heat of the battle, to go to the rear with the *whistlers*, was a thing altogether unheard of. The unfortunate piper was quite humbled. However, he soon had an opportunity of playing off this stigma, for, in the advance at Argaum, he played up with such animation, and influenced the men to such a degree, that they could hardly be restrained from rushing on to the charge too soon, and breaking the line. Colonel Adams was, indeed, obliged to silence the musician, who now, in some measure, regained his lost fame.

ments at different times, from the second battalion, from the Scotch Militia, and from recruiting parties, this regiment was uncommonly fortunate. At Goa, whither it had been removed from Bombay in 1807, it embarked for Madras in the month of March 1811, when the strength of the corps was 1027, and only five men were left behind from sickness. Of these 835 were Highlanders, 184 Lowlanders, 8 English, and 9 Irish. But the numerical strength of this fine body of men was less to be estimated than their character, personal appearance, efficiency, and health. Upwards of 336 were volunteers from the Perthshire, and other Scotch Militia regiments, and 400 were drafts from the second battalion, which had been seasoned by a service of three years in the Mediterranean. Such was the stature of many of the men that, after the Grenadier company was completed from the tallest men, the hundred men next in height were found too tall, and beyond the usual size of the Light infantry.

The harmony which so frequently subsisted between Highland corps and the inhabitants of the countries where they have been stationed, has been frequently observed. In Goa it appears to have been the same as elsewhere. The Conde de Surzecla, Viceroy of Portuguese India, on the departure of the regiment from under his command, embraced the opportunity "to express his sentiments of praise and admiration of the regular, orderly, and honourable conduct of his Britannic Majesty's 78th Highland Regiment, during the four years they have been under his authority, equally and highly creditable to the exemplary discipline of the corps, and to the skill of the excellent commander; and his Excellency can never forget the inviolable harmony and friendship which has always subsisted between the subjects of the Regent of Portugal, and all classes of this honourable corps."

The regiment did not land at Madras, but were placed under the orders of Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel Achmuty, and formed part of the force intended for the conquest of Java. They sailed on the 30th of April 1811,

the 78th being in the second brigade commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Adams.

In August the fleet reached Batavia, and the army disembarked without opposition at Chillingching, a few miles east of the city. After some days passed in landing and in necessary preparations, the advance of the army, under Colonel Rollo Gillespie, moved forward, and, on the 8th, took possession of the city of Batavia, abandoned by the enemy, who retreated to Weltevrede. The army followed to Batavia on the 10th, while Colonel Gillespie, with the advance, moved forward towards the enemy's cantonment at Weltevrede, from which they retired to a strong position two miles in front of Cornelis.\* This post was occupied by 3000 of their best troops, and strengthened by an abbatis of felled trees. Colonel Gillespie made an immediate attack, and carried it at the point of the bayonet. The enemy made an obstinate resistance, but were completely routed, with the loss of all their guns. In this smart affair, "the flank companies of the 78th, (commanded by Captains David Forbes and Thomas Cameron), and the detachment of the 89th, particularly distinguished themselves." Lieutenant John Munro and 13 men of the 78th were killed, and Captain Cameron and 22 men wounded.

The interval from the 10th to the 20th was occupied in preparing batteries against Cornelis. This was a level parallelogram of 1600 yards in length, and 900 in breadth, having a broad and deep river running on one side, with ditches cut around the other three. The old fort of Cornelis stood on the bank of the river. To this fort six strong redoubts had been added by General Daendels. Each of these was mounted with cannon, and so situated, that the

\* As several of the officers were preparing to move forward, they were suddenly taken ill, in consequence of swallowing some drugs which had been infused into their coffee by a Frenchman who kept the house where they were quartered. They, however, soon recovered, and as a punishment to their treacherous landlord, forced him to drink his own medicine, and poured down his throat a small part he had left.



guns of the one commanded and supported the other. The space within was defended by traverses and parapets, cut and raised in all directions, and intended as a cover for the musketry while the great guns fired over them. The whole were defended by 5000 men. Besides the outward ditches, small canals had been cut, in different directions, within this fortified position. The attack was made on the 20th. Colonel Gillespie, with the flank battalions, supported by Colonel Gibbs, with the 59th, and the Bengal Volunteers, were to attack the main front opposite Cornelis. The Light company, under Captain David Forbes, and the Grenadiers of the 78th, under Captain Donald Macleod, formed part of this attack. The battalion of the 78th, under Lieutenant-Colonel William Campbell, were to push forward to the assault by the main road. Every attack was completely successful. The enemy was forced from every traverse and defence, as the troops advanced, but not without strong resistance. By some strange oversight on the part of the Dutch, the ditch over which the battalion companies of the 78th had to pass was left dry. Captain James Macpherson pushed forward with two companies, and took possession of the dam-dike which kept back the water from the ditch, and prevented the enemy from cutting it. In this affair, Captain Macpherson was wounded in a personal rencountre with a French officer. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was mortally wounded as the regiment advanced to the ditch, which they crossed, and carried the redoubt and defences in their front, with a spirit and ardour which the enemy could not resist. After an obstinate contest, the enemy were overpowered, and retreated by the side of the camp which had not been attacked, leaving upwards of 1000 men killed, and a great number wounded; while that of the British was only 91 rank and file killed, and 513 wounded. The 78th lost Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel William Campbell, and 18 rank and file, killed; and Captains William Mackenzie and James Macpherson, Lieutenant Mathieson, Ensign Pennycuik, 3 sergeants, and

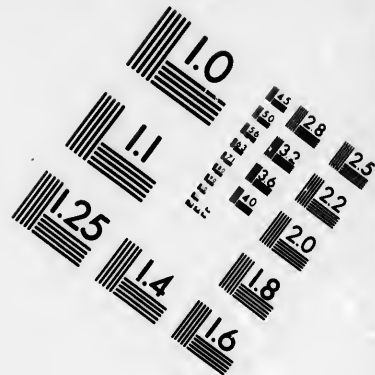
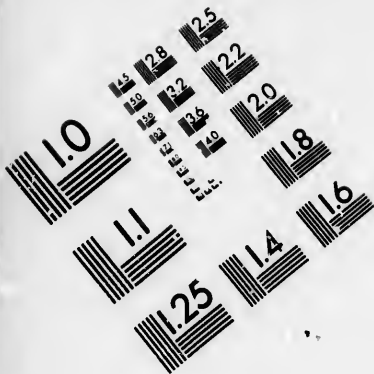
62 rank and file, wounded. This conquest was soon followed by the surrender of the whole colony.

The regiment was stationed in different parts of the country till September 1816, when they embarked for Calcutta. During this period of four years, the men suffered exceedingly from climate. \* That fine body of men which, in 1811, had sailed from Madras 1027 strong, was now greatly reduced in numbers; and, as often happens from sickness by climate, the stoutest and largest men had first fallen. The regiment was assembled at Batavia from the distant stations, and, on the 15th September, embarked on board the *Frances Charlotte* and another transport. The *Charlotte*, with six companies on board, had a favourable voyage till the morning of the 5th of November, when, at two o'clock, the ship struck on a rock, twelve miles distant from the small island of *Prepares*. Fortunately, the weather was moderate; but the ship, being under a press of sail, struck with such force, that she stuck fast to the rock, and in fifteen minutes was filled with water to the main-deck.

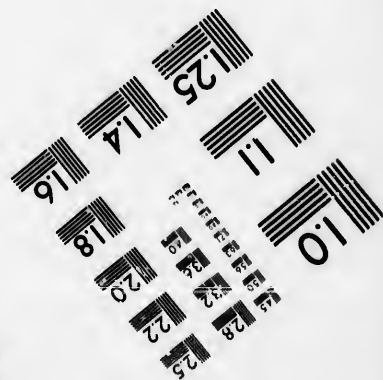
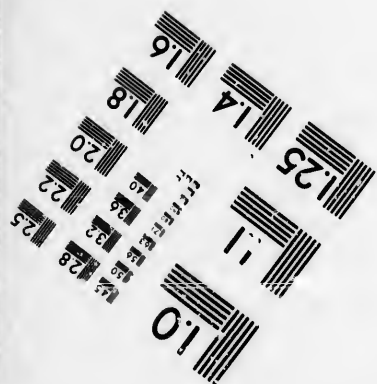
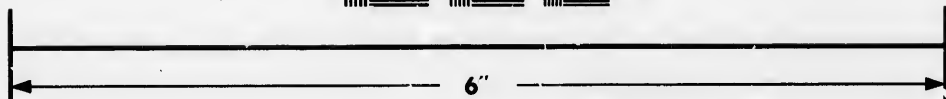
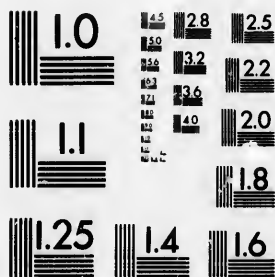
Then was displayed one of those examples of firmness and self-command, which are so necessary in the character of a soldier. Although the ship was in the last extremity, and momentarily expected to sink, there was no tumult, no clamorous eagerness to get into the boats; every man waited orders, and obeyed them when received. The ship rapidly filling, and appearing to be lodged in the water, and to be only prevented from sinking by the rock, all hope of saving

\* In the summer of 1813, several officers of the 78th, in a convalescent state, were removed to the village of *Probolingo*, near *Sourabaya*, a spot celebrated for the salubrity of the climate. On the 18th of June they visited a native of the country, a man of large property in the neighbourhood; and, as they were riding home in the evening, they were attacked by a body of men, a species of *banditti*, who occasionally make excursions, and infest that part of the country. Lieutenant-Colonel *Fraser* and Captain *Macpherson*, who had distinguished himself at *Cornelis*, were killed, along with their landlord, who had rode along with them. The other officers, Captain *Cameron*, Lieutenant *Robertson*, and Ensign *Cameron*, escaped with difficulty.





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



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her was abandoned. Except the provisions which had been brought up the preceding evening for the following day's consumption, nothing was saved. A few bags of rice, and a few pieces of pork, were thrown into the boats, along with the women, children, and sick, and sent to the island, which was so rocky, and the surf so heavy, that they had great difficulty in landing. It was not until the following morning that the boats returned to the ship. A part of the rock was dry at low water; and as many as could stand there (140 men) were removed on a small raft, with ropes to fix themselves to the points of the rock, in order to prevent their being washed into the sea by the waves which dashed over the rock at full tide. The rock was about 150 yards from the ship. It was not till the third day that the boats were able to carry all in the ship to the island, while those on the rock remained without sleep, and with very little food or water, till the second day, when water being discovered on the island, a supply was brought to them.

During all this time the most perfect order and resignation prevailed, both on the island and on the rock. Providentially the weather continued favourable, or those on the rock must have been swept into the sea. In the evening of the third day, the *Po*, a country ship, bound for Penang, appeared in sight, and soon afterwards bore down towards the wreck, of which a small part now only remained above water. A large boat was immediately sent, and forty men taken off the rock; and soon afterwards a lesser boat was sent. Too many men crowding on board, and throwing the boat to one side, she upset; but the men got back to the rock. In the mean time, the commander of the *Po*, believing himself short of provisions, or from some other cause, proceeded the same evening on his voyage to Penang, leaving his boat and the unfortunate sufferers to their fate. However, on the morning of the 10th, after being five days in this state, they were cheered by the sight of a large ship a few miles distant, and steering towards the island. This was the *Prince Blucher*, Captain Weatherall. Perceiving

the wreck, and the people on the rock, he immediately sent boats, and took all the people on board, and the following morning the women and the sick were taken from the island; but the wind blowing fresh, the ship was obliged to keep well out to sea, to avoid the rocks; and there being no safe anchorage, the communication with the island was much interrupted. The weather continued unfavourable till the 13th, when it blew a gale of wind; and Captain Weatherall seeing no prospect of being able to take the whole on board in time to reach Calcutta, with his stock of provisions, for so great an addition to his numbers, he determined to sail for that place; and, arriving there on the 23d of November, the Marquis of Hastings, the Governor-General, immediately dispatched two vessels with provisions and clothes, and on the 6th of December they made the island of Prepares. The people there were by that time nearly reduced to the last extremity. The allowance of provisions (a glass full of rice and two ounces of beef for two days to each person) was expended, and they had now only to trust to the shell-fish which they picked up at low water. These soon became scarce; and they had neither lines to catch fish, nor fire-arms to kill the birds and monkeys, the only inhabitants of the island, which is small and rocky, covered with low trees and brushwood. In this deplorable state, the men continued as obedient, and the officers had the same authority, as on parade. Every privation was borne in common. Every man who picked up a live shell-fish carried it to the general stock, which was safe from the attempts of the half-famished sufferers. Nor was any guard required. However, to prevent any temptations, sentinels were placed over the small store. But the precaution was unnecessary. No attempt was made to break the regulations established, and no symptoms of dissatisfaction were shown, except when they saw several ships passing them without notice, and without paying any regard to their signals. These signals were large fires, which might have attracted notice when seen on an uninhabited island. Captain

Weatherall required no signal. He met with some boards and other symptoms of a wreck, which had floated to sea out of sight of the island, and, suspecting what had happened, immediately steered towards it. To his humanity, the safety of the people on the rock may, under Providence, be ascribed; for, as the violence of the gale was such as to dash the ship to pieces, leaving no part visible in a few hours, the men must have been swept off the rock at its commencement.

Five men died of weakness; several were drowned in falling off the kind of raft made to convey them from the ship to the rock; and some were drowned by the surf in going on shore: in all, fourteen soldiers and two Lascars were lost. Unfortunately, the gale that destroyed the ship blew off the island, so that no part of the wreck floated on shore. Had it been otherwise, some things might have been carried back to the island. \*

The vessels which took the men off this island had an expeditious passage back to Calcutta, where they landed on the 12th of December. After the men had been refreshed and new clothed, they embarked for England, in the end of February 1817, on board the Prince Blucher, Captain Weatherall, to whose humanity they in a great measure owed their lives. They sailed on the 1st of March, and landed in Portsmouth in June. From thence they embarked for Aberdeen, and in a few weeks were removed to Ireland.

At this time a report was pretty generally spread that the three Highland regiments, the 42d, 78th, and 92d, had been ordered out of Scotland under a conviction that they

\* Since the publication of the first edition, I have been informed, that, after the Po set sail, and left the people on the wreck to their fate, several of the men behaved in a most improper manner, and, giving themselves up to despair, seized upon some liquor in the cabin, and threw themselves into a state of intoxication, which added to the wretchedness of their situation. The Lascars gave up entirely, and could not be made to exert themselves in any way. No part of this misconduct attached to the people on the island, whose conduct was exemplary throughout.



were not to be trusted at a time when disturbances were expected in Glasgow and other manufacturing towns. This unfounded and malicious report must have originated in what was considered to be an unexpected removal of those National corps to Ireland, particularly the removal of the 78th, in a few weeks subsequent to their return to their native country, after a course of honourable service, and after an absence of twenty-three years, without having had an opportunity of seeing their friends and their kindred. The character of these soldiers is now too well established to admit of any distrust or want of confidence in their performance of their duty. The honour and good name of a soldier ought to be like the virtue of *Cæsar's wife*, not only pure, but unsuspected. The honour of Highland soldiers has hitherto been well supported, and Ross-shire has to boast that the 78th has all along maintained the honourable character of their predecessors. All those who value the character of a brave and virtuous race may look with confidence to this corps, as one of the representatives of the military and moral character of the peasantry of the mountains. In this regiment, twenty-three have been promoted to the rank of officers during the war. Merit thus rewarded will, undoubtedly, have its due influence on those who succeed them in the ranks.

*List of Killed and Wounded in the Ross-shire Highlanders  
from 1793 to 1815.*

| BATTLES, ASSAULTS,<br>AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED.            |           |             |            |                         |                   | WOUNDED.           |           |             |            |                         |                   |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
|                                       | Field<br>Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Pipers and<br>Drummers. | Rank and<br>File. | Field<br>Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Pipers and<br>Drummers. | Rank and<br>File. |
| Nineguen, 4th November 1794,          |                    |           |             |            |                         | 7                 | 1                  | 2         | 2           | 4          | 1                       | 56                |
| Tuil, December,                       | 1                  |           |             |            |                         | 3                 |                    |           |             |            |                         | 4                 |
| Gildermalsen, January 1795,           |                    |           |             |            |                         | 4                 | 1                  |           |             |            |                         | 7                 |
| Cape of Good Hope,                    |                    |           |             |            |                         | 2                 | 1                  | 1         |             |            | 1                       | 4                 |
| Ahmednaggar, 8th of January 1803,     |                    | 2         | 1           |            | 1                       | 12                |                    |           | 1           | 1          |                         | 13                |
| Assaye, 23d September —               |                    |           | 1           |            | 1                       | 27                | 1                  | 1         | 3           | 4          | 2                       | 73                |
| Argaum, 29th November —               |                    |           |             |            |                         | 9                 |                    |           |             |            |                         | 21                |
| Skirmishes in this Campaign,          |                    |           |             |            |                         | 7                 |                    |           |             |            |                         | 19                |
| Weltevrede, Batavia, 10th Aug. 1811,  |                    |           | 1           |            |                         | 13                |                    | 1         |             |            |                         | 22                |
| Cornelis, 20th —                      | 1                  |           |             |            | 1                       | 18                |                    | 2         | 2           | 3          |                         | 62                |
|                                       | 2                  | 2         | 3           |            | 3                       | 103               | 3                  | 8         | 8           | 12         | 4                       | 281               |

*Names of Officers Killed.*

Tuil, 1794, Major G. Murray.

Ahmednaggar, 8th June 1803, Capt. T. B. Mackenzie Humberstone.

Duncan Grant.

Lieut. James Anderson.

Assaye, 23d Sept. — Lieut. James Douglas.

Weltevrede, 10th August 1811, Lieut. John Munro.

Cornelis, 20th — — — Lieut-Colonel William Campbell.

*Names of Officers Wounded.*

Bommill Wart, October 1794, Lieutenant Archibald Christie.

Major Malcom.

Nineguen, 4th November 1794, Captain Hugh Munro.

Colin Mackenzie.

Lieut. George Bayley.

Ensign Martin Cameron, died of his wounds.

Gildermalsen, January 1795, Captain Duncan Munro.

Cape of Good Hope, 1795, Major Monypenny.

Captain Hercules Scott.

Ahmednaggar, June 1803, Lieutenant Larkins.

Assaye, 23d September 1803, Lieutenant-Colonel Adams.

Captain Alexander Mackenzie.

Lieuts. Kinloch and Larkins.

Ensign Joseph Bethune.

Weltevrede, 10th August 1811, Captain Donald Cameron.

Cornelis, 20th — — — Captains William Mackenzie and James Macpherson.

— Lieut. William Mathieson. — Ensign John Pennycuik.

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| DED.                 |                |
|----------------------|----------------|
| Pipers and Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| 1                    | 56             |
|                      | 4              |
|                      | 7              |
| 1                    | 4              |
|                      | 13             |
| 2                    | 73             |
|                      | 21             |
|                      | 19             |
|                      | 22             |
|                      | 62             |
| 4                    | 281            |

## SEVENTY-NINTH REGIMENT,

OR

## CAMERON HIGHLANDERS,

1793.

THIS respectable regiment was the second raised in this war. On the 17th of August 1793, Letters of Service were granted to Allan Cameron of Errach, for the purpose of raising a corps of Highlanders. To regiments embodied in this manner, Government generally allowed a bounty, but under no certain regulation, being higher or lower, according to time and circumstances. But, in this instance, no bounty whatever was given, and the men were recruited at the sole expense of Mr Cameron and his officers. How well they succeeded in the execution of this task appeared by the rapid completion of the corps. It was inspected at Stirling in February 1794, and embodied under the number and denomination of the 79th or Cameron Highlanders. Mr Cameron was appointed Lieutenant colonel-commandant. The success of this first effort encouraged him to proceed; and, in a short time, the corps was completed to 1000 men.

Not having been able to procure any detailed account of the movements and service of this regiment, beyond such a sketch or outline as must be familiar to all general readers, as well as to military men, I shall, therefore, only state that it was employed in the campaign of 1794 and 1795 in Flanders; and that in the summer of the latter year it embarked for

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the West Indies. A duty of two years in Martinique reduced the strength of the corps considerably.—In July 1797, a proposition was made to the men to volunteer into other regiments. Such of them as chose to return to Europe were to join the 42d regiment, then under orders to embark, and those who preferred the West Indies were at liberty to make choice of any regiment destined to continue on that station. The officers, and non-commissioned officers, were to return to Scotland to recruit for another battalion. Many of the men chose to remain in the West Indies. Those who preferred the 42d—a number amounting to 210 men—came home in 1797, and in such good health, that five companies of 100 men each, including the men of both corps, landed at Portsmouth on the 31st of August, in perfect health. It has been already mentioned, that when the report of the regiment was sent on shore, on the arrival of the ships at Portsmouth, it was supposed that the number of sick had been omitted through mistake, and no small surprise was expressed when the correctness of the report was ascertained.

Colonel Cameron and his officers came home in the same fleet, and were immediately ordered to Scotland to recruit. Great exertions were now made, (although there was less inducement on the part of the officers, who obtained no rank for their exertions, as their predecessors had done), and, in an especial manner, Colonel Cameron himself was so zealous and successful, that, in the year 1798, a fresh body of 780 men was assembled at Inverness, and afterwards formed part of the expedition to the Helder in 1799. The loss in this service, as well as all others, in which the regiment was engaged with the enemy, will be seen in the annexed lists of killed and wounded, which show, at one view, the actions in which the corps was engaged, and the total loss sustained from the beginning to the conclusion of the war. \*

\* See Appendix.

In 1800 the regiment was embarked for Ferrol, under Lieutenant-General Sir James Pulteney. From thence it proceeded to join the force under Sir Ralph Abercromby, off Cadiz, and accompanied the expedition to the Mediterranean and to Egypt. \*

\* In the action of the 21st of March, near Alexandria, Lieutenant Patrick Ross was wounded, and his arm amputated close to the shoulder. By a good habit of body, and an excellent constitution, he recovered rapidly, and, with a spirit equally honourable and exemplary, he refused the leave of absence offered him to go home for the cure of his wound. Eager to be at his post, he joined his regiment before the skin had closed over the amputated limb; and, on the 25th of April, less than five weeks after his arm was cut off, he mounted picquet, and continued to perform every duty, however fatiguing, during the whole campaign, in the course of which, at Rhamanich, he had nearly lost his other arm, a six-pound shot having passed under it as he was in the act of giving directions to his men. On many, indeed all occasions, he displayed the same spirit; and the Duke of York, with that attention which he has always shown to merit, when made known to him, promoted Lieutenant Ross to a company in the 69th, at the head of which he was killed at the storming of Fort Cornelis in Java, in 1811, on which occasion he was animated with the same enthusiastic zeal and heroic bravery.

Those who have faith in the hereditary influence of blood, will also believe that this young man had a hereditary predisposition to firmness and bravery. His father, Mr William Ross, late tacksman of Brae in Ross-shire, evinced similar qualities in very early life. In the summer of 1746, when so many gentlemen who had been engaged in the Rebellion were forced to take shelter in the woods and mountains, and when the troops were quartered on their estates, Ross of Pitcalney, a chieftain of the clan, was an object of more than ordinary search, having joined the rebels in opposition to the remonstrances and threats of his uncle, the Lord President Forbes. As no concealment from the people was necessary, Pitcalney was in the habit of sleeping in bad weather in his tenants' houses, but always going to one or other of his hiding-places before day-light, in case of a search of the house by the troops. One night he slept in the farm-house of Brae, and remaining later in the morning than ordinary, Mr Ross, then a lad of fifteen, was directed by his father to accompany Pitcalney through the most unfrequented parts of the woods, in case the troops should be stirring at that late hour of the day. The lad had performed his task, and was returning home, when he met a party of soldiers, who knew him, and, suspecting where he had been, questioned him very sharply about his knowledge of Pitcalney's retreat. He pleaded total ignorance, and persisting in doing so, they threatened to shoot him, or to hang

In 1804 a second battalion was added to the regiment, the officers raising men for their promotion. This was an excellent and efficient corps of young men, of good morals, and healthy constitutions; and formed an excellent nursery of recruits for the first battalion, which, being for several years actively employed, constantly required a regular supply for the consumption occasioned by the usual casualties of war.

In 1808 the regiment embarked for Portugal, and entering Spain under Sir John Moore, accompanied all his movements till his fall at Corunna. In the following autumn they embarked for Zealand, under Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham, and suffered so little in this unfortunate expedition, in which so many thousands of our best soldiers fell a sacrifice to the climate, that in a few months the corps was again efficient, and in 1810 sailed for Spain.

The returns of killed and wounded will indicate the successive engagements in which they bore a conspicuous share, till the battle of Toulouse, \* on which important occasion the steady bravery of this corps was most eminently displayed, as, indeed, it had been in every instance in which, during the preceding campaigns, they came in contact with

him on the next tree—a menace which in those times was the most usual mode of extorting confession. But this having no effect, they proceeded to action, and tied him up to a tree, placing four men before him with their pieces ready to fire if he still denied what they were sensible he knew. But all in vain; neither the fear of death, nor the previous preparation, which, to a boy of his age, must have been sufficiently trying, could induce him to betray the friend and landlord of his father. So strong were the principles of affection and regard to promise and to principle instilled thus early by the instructions of his parents, and the example of his countrymen. The party, either respecting the boy's firmness, or not wishing to carry matters to extremity, released and allowed him to go home. When he told the story he always concluded, "When I shut my eyes waiting to be shot, I expected to open them again in Heaven." Such was the father of that brave soldier Captain Patrick Ross.

\* The very distinguished part this regiment had in the conquest and subsequent defence of the batteries on the heights of Toulouse, will be found under the head of the 42d Regiment.

the enemy. At Fuentes de Honor, on the 3d of May 1811, they highly distinguished themselves, and mainly contributed to repulse one of the formidable columns sent forward by Massena in his reiterated and desperate assaults on that village.\* The same observation applies to their conduct at the passage of the Nive in December 1813, when the cool and well-directed fire of this regiment was more destructive to the enemy than almost any similar instance of the kind during these campaigns.

On the termination of hostilities, the regiment embarked at Bourdeaux for England, and in 1815 was again ordered to serve in Flanders. At Quatre Bras, where their discipline and military qualities were put to a severe proof, they supported the reputation which they had acquired at Fuentes de Honor and Toulouse, and had their full share in the duties of that hard-fought day. In this battle, which laid so good a foundation for the great victory which soon ensued, the regiments were frequently compelled to fight

\* At Fuentes de Honor Colonel Cameron lost his eldest son, Lieutenant-Colonel Philips Cameron, a young officer of talents and professional promise.

At Bergen in 1799 the regiment lost Captain James Campbell of Duntroon, who, with great intelligence, an open and generous mind, and a personal appearance the most prepossessing, exhibited in every view, according to the opinion of an old Highlander, a perfect model of one of the heroes described by Ossian. In Egypt Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall, nephew to the Earl of Dumfries, died of his wounds. Major Lawrie was killed at Burgos, and Captain Purves, ~~only~~ son of Sir Alexander Purves, at Toulouse. These were officers whom their regiment and friends had much cause to lament.

Colonel Cameron's second son, a Major of his regiment, died of sickness caught in the service, but the veteran himself, who entered the army at an advanced period in life, never lost one day's duty with his regiment when any service was to be performed, till his promotion rendered his regimental duty incompatible with his rank of Major-General. He accompanied his regiment to Flanders, to the West Indies, to Holland, Egypt, Portugal, and Spain, at a period of life when men of less strength of mind, and of common constitutions and habits, would have been incapable of encountering such changes of climate, and such exhausting duties.

separately, each on its own ground, independently of the support of others, the enemy pouring down in separate columns of attack on the different corps as they reached the ground, so that each regiment had to stand or fall by its own individual exertions. In these trials of courage and firmness the Cameron Highlanders were uniformly successful. Not satisfied with repelling the enemy, they followed up the blow, and drove them off the ground, yet at the same time, preserved such regularity of formation, that they were prepared for every fresh attack. These attacks were repeated, and received sometimes in position;—at other times they advanced to meet the charge of the French infantry, which never stood the onset. The cavalry were received in squares, and with equal success. It is remarkable, that, on this day, the enemy never combined their different arms. When the infantry advanced, the cavalry were at a distance, which again pushed forward in their turn, but never in any combined effort. If the cavalry had followed close upon the attacks of the infantry, and made their charge so immediately succeeding the repulse of the latter, as to prevent the proper formation of a square, our troops must have found a greater difficulty in presenting a proper resistance to such bold and experienced squadrons.

At Waterloo, this regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Neil Douglas, was in Major-General Kempt's brigade, with the 28th and 32d regiments, and formed the centre of Lieutenant-General Picton's division. The 32d and 79th were stationed 150 yards in rear of a hedge occupied by a corps of Belgians and part of the Rifle brigade. About two hours after the commencement of the battle, three heavy columns of the enemy, preceded by artillery and sharpshooters, advanced with a seeming determination to take possession of the hedge. The Belgians fired a volley, and retreated in great confusion. The 32d, 79th, and Rifle corps, instantly pushed forward, occupied the ground left by the Belgians, and, forming upon the hedge, fired a volley, and charged. This threw them into confusion, as the ene-



my were deploying into line. They then made an attempt to get towards their right, but were received by the 28th, which made a desperate attack upon the right of the enemy as they advanced. The other two regiments pursued their advantage, each attacking the column opposed to them, till at length the enemy gave way in the greatest confusion. At this moment General Picton was killed, and General Kempt severely wounded; but the latter never left the field. Like his old commander, Sir Ralph Abercromby, to whom he had been confidential secretary, he allowed no personal consideration to interfere with his duty; and, although unable to sit on horseback from the severity of the wound, he would not allow himself to be carried away from his soldiers, whose situation, pressed by a brave and powerful enemy, required every assistance from his presence and talents.

The enemy, anxious to gain the position behind the hedge, repeated their attempts, but every attempt was repulsed. It was less, however, by these desperate attacks of the enemy, than by the cannonading and skirmishing of sharpshooters, that the regiment suffered. An enemy who is so quickly driven back will seldom fire steadily. Not so with the artillery and sharpshooters, whose distance enables them to take a better and cooler aim. This regiment, which had been warmly engaged on both days, suffered severely; but what they lost in numbers was compensated by the honour which, in common with other corps, they acquired in this decisive battle.

The regiment remained some time in France, and returned to Britain in 1818. As they had been more successful in recruiting than any other Highland corps, and as a number of the old and disabled men have been discharged, two-thirds of those who now compose the regiment are in the prime of life, active and efficient. Although the Highlanders have not lately enlisted readily in their own country, Major James Campbell, of this regiment, enlisted nearly 200 young men in Edinburgh and Glasgow in a few weeks,

They had come up from the North in search of work ; and, having been unsuccessful, they engaged with him.

The casualties will, in all probability, be so few for many years, that they will be easily supplied, and none but good men received. The returns and lists in the Appendix will show the number of killed and wounded. There are also 342 discharged men on the strength of Chelsea Hospital, receiving pensions for length of service, and from being disabled by wounds or disease. But many of the pensioners have suffered so little, that they have been again called to serve in veteran battalions.

The number of soldiers killed, from 1793 to the peace of 1814, has been 89 ; and at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, 55 ; in all 144 ; down to the final peace of 1815, an eventful period of twenty-two years' warfare, in the course of which this regiment bore an active share, in Europe, Africa, and the West Indies.

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## NINETY-SEVENTH,

OR

## STRATHSPEY REGIMENT.

1794.

I SHALL have occasion to mention an early offer made by the Laird of Grant, in 1793, along with the Duke of Gordon, the Marchioness of Stafford, and the Earl of Breadalbane, to raise Fencible regiments in the Highlands. As soon as Sir James Grant's Fencible regiment was embodied, he made further proposals to raise a regiment for general

service. After the exertions recently made to complete the Grant Fencibles, this was an arduous undertaking.

The difficulty soon appeared. Though the corps was numerically completed to 1000 men within the stipulated time, all of them were not of that class which formed the Fencible corps. The Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and others of the officers, were not natives of the North, and without local knowledge or influence; their commissions depending on their success in recruiting, their principal object was to procure a sufficient number capable of passing muster, and, as money in manufacturing towns effected what influence did in the North, many men were recruited whose character and constitutions could bear no comparison with men of regular and hardy habits raised in the agricultural districts. However, there was among them a number of very good men: the flank companies were excellent.

The regiment was inspected and embodied at Elgin by Major-General Sir Hector Munro, and numbered the 97th; and thus a private gentleman added 1300 soldiers to the force of the country, besides those raised by the officers in the Southern districts. From this, and several other instances at this period, we may, without going back to the days of chiefs and clansmen, estimate the great importance of family, territorial, and personal influence. When exercised by such men as the late Sir James Grant—honourable, humane, and hospitable in his private character, as well as a kind and generous landlord to a numerous and grateful tenantry—Great Britain may calculate on commanding the willing services of the youth of the mountains.

The 97th was ordered to the south of England in 1794, and served a few months as marines on board Lord Howe's fleet in the Channel. In autumn 1795, the men and officers were drafted into different regiments, and the two flank companies turned over to the 42d, when preparing to embark for the West Indies.

NINETY-EIGHTH,  
OR  
ARGYLESHIRE HIGHLANDERS;  
NOW THE NINETY-FIRST REGIMENT.

1794.

On the 10th of February 1794, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Campbells of Lochnell received Letters of Service to raise a regiment in Scotland, with permission to select his officers: he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.

The regiment was embodied at Stirling in the autumn of that year. I know not exactly how many men were from the Highlands; but, judging from the captains of companies, of whom seven were of the name of Campbell, besides two others natives of Argyle, the proportion must have been considerable. The regiment was early removed to the Cape of Good Hope, and remained there till that colony was restored to the Dutch in 1801. In 1798 the number was altered to the 91st, and in 1809, the Highland garb was discontinued; consequently, the future movements do not come within my plan. As no county is more purely Highland than Argyle, which comprehends every characteristic of mountains, glens, and language; it has excited some surprise that such a district could not supply a sufficient number of men, and that the garb of the Gael should be taken from the regiment of a county which has, both in ancient and modern times, produced so many Highland warriors of talent and celebrity, and of as true Celtic origin as any race in Gaelic history.

The regiment formed a part of the army under Lord Wellington, and in the actions from the Pyrenees to Toulouse was actively engaged. On the latter occasion, the support given by this regiment to the 42d, when attacked by overwhelming numbers, was as prompt as it was effectual. \*

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NINETY-SECOND,

OR

GORDON HIGHLANDERS.

1794.

WHATEVER notions might have been entertained regarding the loyalty of the family of Gordon, in the year 1715, when the Marquis of Huntly was an active leader in opposition to the Government of that time, or in the year 1745, when Lord Lewis, the Duke of Gordon's brother, was equally zealous in the same cause, and in supporting, what he believed, the just claims of an unfortunate Prince; the loyal-

\* A soldier of this regiment deserted, and emigrated to America, where he settled. Several years after his desertion, a letter was received from him, with a sum of money for the purpose of procuring one or two men to supply his place in the regiment, as the only recompense he could make for "breaking his oath to his God, and his allegiance to his King, which preyed on his conscience in such a manner, that he had no rest night nor day."

This man had good principles early instilled into his mind, and the disgrace which he had been originally taught to believe would attach to a breach of faith now operated with full effect. The soldier who deserted from the 42d at Gibraltar, in 1797, exhibited the same remorse of conscience after he had violated his allegiance. In countries where such principles prevail, and regulate the character of a people, the mass of the population may, on occasions of trial, be reckoned on as sound and trust-worthy.

ty and patriotism of the present representative of this great family—which has been, for upwards of four hundred years, so distinguished in the annals of Scotland, and particularly of the Highlands—have made ample atonement for those ebullitions of attachment to a legitimate but expatriated race of Princes, evinced by the conduct of some of his ancestors.

Soon after the reign of Robert Bruce, this family became powerful in the North. By the extinction of the Cummings, (of whom there were thirty-two Noblemen and Barons in that reign), the Gordons acquired large possessions in Badenoch and Strathspey, in addition to those which they had previously held in the Lowlands of Elgin, Banff, and Aberdeen ;—possessions which were greatly increased and extended in the Highlands by those of the Lords of the Isles, part of whose estates, in Lochaber, came into their hands by purchase and by royal grants, on the failure of that great and powerful family. In this manner the Gordons acquired a property extending from the east coast of Scotland to Inverlochay on the west ; indented here and there by the lands of several smaller proprietors, but not so entirely as to prevent a circuitous line from being drawn, so as to connect the Gordon estate, without interruption, from the Atlantic on the west, to the German Ocean on the east. This extensive territory, with its numerous population, secures to the Duke of Gordon an influence which few British subjects enjoy. His feudal power was indeed small in proportion to the number of people and the extent of territory. The patriarchal sway of the chiefs of families, or, as they were called, natural-born chiefs of their own blood, superseded the authority of the feudal lord, of whom several chiefs and lairds held their lands. Independently of any vassalage or subjection, these chiefs commanded their own followers, acknowledging no power as superior, except that of the Sovereign. But although they did not publicly acknowledge a superior power in the Chief of the Gordons, of whom they held, they, on

many occasions, allowed him to influence their actions, particularly if his measures did not run counter to their peculiar feelings and political prejudices. Thus, in 1715, a number of the Badenoch and Lochaber Highlanders were ready to follow the Marquis of Huntly in support of the claims of the exiled Royal Family; but, when the father of the present Duke of Gordon attempted to call out his people in arms to support Government, in the year 1745, none of the Highlanders of his estates moved, except to follow their own immediate Chiefs and Lairds, all of whom took the opposite side. In this manner, many of the Duke's vassals and tenants were at Culloden opposed to his brother Lord Adam Gordon, who was in the Duke of Cumberland's army. But although these circumstances lessened the power of the Gordon family (so far as regarded the command of men), in comparison with the families of Atholl and Argyll, each of which could assemble in the field three thousand men, supported by as many more of their adherents and friends; yet the influence of this family has been ever pre-eminent. Personal ascendancy frequently ruled where feudal powers would have been disregarded; and in later times, when the feudal system had ceased to exist, many instances of this influence have occurred.

It will be seen that three regiments were raised by the influence of this family in the years 1759, 1779, and 1793. The last, being a Fencible corps, the Marquis of Huntly, then a Captain in the 3d Foot Guards, offered to raise a regiment for more extended service. For this purpose he received Letters of Service on the 10th of February 1794. On recollecting the celerity with which regiments have at various times been assembled in the North, and in endeavouring to account for the fact, I have been led to assign different causes; on the present occasion, it is only necessary to say, that the Duke and Dutchess of Gordon, and the Marquis of Huntly, recruited in their own persons. On the 24th of June, the corps was inspected at Aberdeen by Major-General Sir Hector Munro, and embodied under the denomina-

tion of the Gordon Highlanders. Three-fourths of the men were from the estates of Gordon and others in the Highlands; the other fourth was from the Lowlands of Aberdeenshire and the adjacent counties. The following list will show the original officers:

*Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant*, George Marquis of Huntly, date of commission 10th of February 1794.

*Majors.*

Charles Erskine of Cardross, killed in Egypt in 1801.  
Donald Macdonald of Boisdale, died in 1795.

*Captains.*

Alexander Napier of Blackstone, killed at Corunna in 1809.  
John Cameron, Fassafem, killed at Quatre Bras, 16th June in 1815.  
Honourable John Ramsay, son of Lord Dalhousie, Colonel on half-pay.  
Andrew Paton, retired.  
William Mackintosh of Aberarder, killed in Holland in 1799.  
Alexander Gordon, son of Lord Rockville, killed at Talavera in 1808, Lieutenant-Colonel 83d regiment.  
Simon Macdonald of Morer, retired, dead.  
*Captain-Lieutenant*, John Gordon, retired as Major.

*Lieutenants.*

Peter Grant, died in 1817 Major on half-pay.  
Archibald Macdonell, died in 1813, Lieutenant-Colonel of Veterans.  
Alexander Stewart, Colonel on half-pay.  
Sir John Maclean, Major-General, K. C. B. 1825, ditto.  
Peter Gordon, died 1806.  
Thomas Forbes, killed at Toulouse in 1814, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 45th regiment.  
Ewan Macpherson, Lieutenant-Colonel of Veterans.  
George H. Gordon.

*Ensigns.*

Charles Dowle, died of wounds in Egypt in 1801.  
George Davidson, killed at Quatre Bras in 1815, then Captain in the 42d regiment.  
Archibald Macdonald, retired.  
Alexander Fraser, killed 2d October 1799.  
William Tod, retired.  
James Mitchell, Lieutenant-Colonel in 1815, retired in 1819.  
*Chaplain*, William Gordon.  
*Adjutant*, James Henderson, died in 1796.



*Quarter-Master*, Peter Wilkie, died in 1806.

*Surgeon*, William Findlay, died in Egypt in 1801.

That this body of men were what is usually called serviceable, has been proved in a course of twenty-four years of unremitting employment, in almost every part of Europe, where the British army has been called into action. Moral, well principled, and brave, they have never failed in any kind of duty intrusted to them, and on several occasions, where an opportunity offered, they have, by their uniform intrepidity and firmness in the field, contributed to raise the military character of their native districts. Few of the men who laid the foundation of the character of this corps, which has been so well sustained, now remain in the regiment; but although they have disappeared, and given place to others, their example has been powerful in its effects, and will no doubt be permanent in its operations. No good soldier of the Gordon Highlanders will tarnish the fair fame so nobly obtained, and so steadily upheld by his predecessors. It is well known that corps, who have been unfortunate in the field, or defective in their internal economy, require much time, judgment, and unwearied attention, to restore them to a proper state. On the other hand, the management must indeed be deplorably bad which lowers the character of a corps, whose good name has been long established. So strong is the motive which impels a good soldier to preserve the reputation of his corps, that nothing but the destruction of his own sense of shame, and the utter loss of all principle, will ever make him resist it; or, if he wavers, it is when he is affected by the force of example, and when he sees men of loose habits, and careless of their own honour, and that of the corps, introduced into the ranks. The 92d regiment has not suffered this misfortune, for their different reinforcements have been always composed of excellent materials.\* Although not now commanded by their

\* Since the first edition was published, this corps has not been fortunate in the reinforcements sent to it, and has thus afforded a full but painful confirmation of the truth and correctness of the opinion stated in the text. No care

original Colonel, they are connected with him by many kindly ties. By many considerations of vital importance, he is powerfully induced to watch over the preservation of

has been taken in the choice of recruits, or rather of the drafts of men with which the regiment was filled up from other corps which had been stationed in Jamaica, and which, when the 92d embarked for Britain, transferred to it several detachments of the most dissolute and worst-behaved of their men. Thus the old stock of that regiment, who had always maintained the honour and character of the corps, saw themselves debased and contaminated by the comrades introduced into their ranks, men whose crimes brought disgrace upon them all: they also saw themselves held in such small consideration by their superiors, that any men, however low in character, were considered as fit companions for them. Hence they believed their fair fame, and original good name to be tarnished, if not irrecoverably lost. The consequences have been, not a favourable change in the character of the strangers, whose misdemeanours and crimes were, indeed, too numerous and too various to be checked or influenced by the example of the good men among whom they were placed; but that the force of bad example has prevailed, and in this corps, in which, under more auspicious management, and when purely a national regiment, disgraceful punishments were unknown, because unnecessary, now that matters are differently managed, upwards of two hundred have been brought to the halberts in one twelvemonth; and the country where the Gordon Highlanders originally sprung, compelled to disown the actual successors of the brave and honourable men who originally composed the corps, and established that character which has been thus tarnished and disgraced.

An experience of eighty-five years, since the Black Watch was formed into a regiment in 1740, has fully proved, that no system has more eminently contributed to excite an honourable spirit of emulation, and to produce a consequent high character among soldiers, than that of National and District corps; but then the system must be rigidly acted on; a mixture destroys all. If such distinctions are to be preserved, let them be so in reality, and not in form and appearance. Unless the ranks be filled by men from the districts whose names are born by different corps, better far would it be to put an end to the system at once. We have before us a recent and deplorable instance of the ruinous effects of mixing bad soldiers with good. In pages 408 and 428 of volume first, I have given similar instances which happened to the 42d regiment in the year 1780 and 1795, and noticed the fatal change which followed in the honourable feeling and conduct previously displayed. It would be painful to give more instances of this sort, to many of which I have been an eyewitness. With the warmest feelings for the honour and welfare of a profession to which I have many years belonged, I have now to express my fervent hope, that the National Corps will either be entirely dissolved and discontinued, or preserved pure and unmixed, both in officers and men.

that poor, but virtuous peasantry, whose sons have so frequently filled the ranks of his family regiments; and if high example, and a generous regard to their happiness and independence, can avert the extirpation of the ancient race, it is such men as the Duke of Gordon and the Marquis of Huntly that can effect so desirable an object, and check the engrossing system, which is rapidly placing many districts in the hands of a few wealthy individuals, and lowering the condition, breaking the spirit, or extirpating the whole race of the ancient peasantry.

It may, probably, appear to some that I recur too frequently to the necessity of preserving the people independent, virtuous, and loyal; but the extreme importance of the subject must plead my apology. A population which has filled the ranks and supported the character of the Gordon Highlanders, deserves some consideration, if not protection, and better treatment than expulsion from their native country, to say nothing of the scurrility with which the morals, religion, and character of the Highlanders are assailed.\* The ranks of this regiment have not been always filled with men from the same part of the country, but ever since the organization of the corps, the proportion has continued so equal, that the same characteristic traits and habits have been uniformly preserved.

But to return to the military service of the corps. From Aberdeen they marched to Fort George, embarked there on the 9th of July 1794, and, landing at Southampton in August, were ordered to join the camp on Netley Common. It was not until that period that the Gordon Highlanders were put on the list of numbered corps as the 100th regiment.

On the 5th of September they embarked, under the command of Colonel Lord Huntly for Gibraltar, and perform-

\* In the reports of some religious societies recently published, the Highlanders are represented as guilty of "the basest vices," as "Christians only by name," as "savage heathens; and it is gravely stated, that in many parts of that unfortunate country, the people know not the name of their Saviour!

ed the usual duties of that garrison till the 11th June 1795, when they were removed to Corsica, and stationed in that island, having a detachment in Elba. In September 1796, they returned to Gibraltar, and resumed their former station and duty till the spring of 1798, at which time they embarked for England, landed at Portsmouth in the middle of May, and were soon after embarked for Ireland. During the unhappy troubles in that country, the regiment was actively employed, and was kept in constant motion, till the re-establishment of tranquillity.\* In the whole of this service, as well as in the garrison duties of Gibraltar and Corsica, they received unvarying testimonials of high approbation from every commander. The similarity of language in which all express themselves, indicates an undeviating line of conduct on the part of the regiment, which was "exemplary in all duties; sober, orderly, and regular in quarters." In an address to the Marquis of Huntly, by the magistrates and inhabitants, on leaving one of the stations in Ireland, it was said that "peace and order were re-established, rapine had disappeared, confidence in the Government was restored, and the happiest cordiality subsisted, since his regiment came among them."

While this honourable body of men received such high marks of approbation, and secured the esteem of the commanders whom they obeyed, and of the people whom they were unhappily sent to coerce, they had not yet had an opportunity of proving—what, indeed, required no proof—that as they were trust-worthy and steady in quarters, they would be equally brave and firm in the field. This, however, happened in the course of the following year. In June 1799, they were ordered to Cork, to embark for England, and join an armament preparing there for a descent on the coast of Holland.

Some months previous to this, the late 91st, 92d, and other

\* On one occasion, the regiment, when under the command of General Moore, marched ninety-six *Irish miles* in three successive days, with arms, ammunition, and knapsacks.

regiments, were reduced. On this account, the number of the Gordons was changed from the 100th to the 92d, under which they have often distinguished themselves, and on twenty-six occasions, in which they met the enemy (several of these, to be sure, being very trifling affairs, while others were very desperate), from 1799 to 1815, the latter invariably gave way before them. \* This fact has, in a very particular manner, attracted the notice of the brave and experienced enemy to whom this country was so long opposed.

The first division of the expedition to the Helder sailed from Ramsgate on the 11th of August, but, owing to tempestuous weather, a landing was not effected till the morning of the 27th. No opposition was made to the landing; but the troops had scarcely formed on a ridge of sand hills, at a short distance from the beach, when the enemy made an attack, and persevered in it till five o'clock in the evening, when they retired, after a hard contest. The 92d, which formed part of Major-General Moore's brigade, was not engaged; but in the great action of the 2d of October it had an active share, and displayed conduct so much to the satisfaction of General Moore, that, when he was made a Knight of the Bath, and obtained a grant of supporters or his armorial bearings, he took a soldier of the Gordon Highlanders, in full uniform, as one of these supporters, and a lion as the other.

As I have not been able to procure minute details of the movements, nor any anecdotes or circumstances relative to this respectable corps, either individually or collectively, I can do little more than mention the principal services in which they have been subsequently engaged. The loss in Holland, as well as in all other places where they were opposed to the enemy, will be found in the general list of casualties. †

\* The defence of the Pass of Maya in the Pyrenees, when the troops were attacked by a greatly superior force, was one of the finest examples of determined resistance and intrepidity exhibited in the course of these campaigns.

† See Appendix for List of Casualties.

On the conclusion of this service, the regiment returned to England, and was again embarked on the 27th May 1800, and sailed for the coast of France. Nothing decisive was done on that occasion, and the fleet proceeded to Minorca, where the 92d landed on the 20th of July. The farther movements of the corps, up to the 13th of March 1801, will be seen in the article on the 42d Regiment. On the morning of that day the army was formed in three columns of regiments, and in this formation, moved forward to the attack. The 90th (or Perthshire) regiment led the advance of the centre column, and the Gordon Highlanders the left, the Reserve marching on the right, parallel with the other two columns. The enemy were seen drawn up on a rising ground, seemingly strong in cavalry and artillery. The regiments in advance immediately formed line, which was hardly completed when the enemy opened a heavy fire of cannon on the 92d, and advanced with great boldness to the attack. This was received and resisted with coolness and intrepidity; and though they repeated their attack, supported by a powerful and well served artillery, they were driven back with loss; and this regiment singly maintained its ground against every effort till the line was formed, and moved forward. The loss, as might have been expected in such circumstances, was considerable.

The regiment had previously suffered much from sickness while on the passage from Minorca to Egypt. Before embarking in England, a number of young recruits joined from the Highlands, whose constitutions suffered a severe shock from the confinement and heat on board the transports in a Mediterranean summer, and from the salt provisions, so different from the milk and vegetable diet to which they had been accustomed in their native country. At this time a notion was very prevalent that the Highland garb was highly improper for soldiers in any situation, particularly in hot climates. Colonel Erskine gave in to this opinion, and put his men in trowsers of the

strong thick cloth, of which the great-coats are made. In this he was strongly supported by the advice of the surgeon and many others; but this new dress was too much for the constitutions of young men who had been recently so thinly clothed even in a cold climate. The increased warmth and confinement were followed by an inflammatory fever, which broke out in the transports of the regiment. Of this malady a number of the finest young men died, and a great many were so debilitated as to be totally unfit for service in Egypt. Their brave commander saw how inadvertently he had followed this advice, and declared he would never again alter the uniform. But, unfortunately for his corps and the service in general, he did not long survive, for he died of the wounds he received on the 13th March 1801, leaving, in his profession, few officers of higher spirit and greater promise.

Another circumstance contributed to confirm the resolutions of this spirited and excellent officer. When his regiment lay in Minorca in 1800, the men made a most unmilitary appearance in their grey pantaloons, which, in addition to the thick texture of the cloth, were loose and badly shaped. The 42d, which had been some time stationed in the island, was quartered in the same barrack, and had been recently supplied with new clothing. The martial appearance of the men, their erect air, walk, and carriage, were striking; the late absurd deviation from the original national garb \* had not then commenced, and no attempts

\* One of these deviations ought to be discontinued, as it endangers the health of the soldiers in hot weather. Several years ago the shape of the soldiers' coats was altered, and they were made to button close round the body. This was an improvement in the English uniform, as it gave additional warmth to the back and bowels; but when it was adopted by Highland corps, the nature of the garb was overlooked. The numerous plaits and folds of the belted plaid and little kilt form so thick a covering, that when the coat is added, the warmth is so great, that on a march it debilitates those parts of the body; whereas the former cut of the jacket, with the skirts thrown back, and the breast open, left them uncovered; and the waistcoat being white, relieved the uniform, which, from the dark shade of green in the plaid, and the

had been made to throw ridicule on the Celtic uniform, by covering the hose with white spatterdashes, and forming the bonnet into the shape of a German grenadier's cap; with other innovations, as unnecessary as they are in bad taste.\*

By the action of the 13th March, and the previous sickness, the regiment was so reduced in numbers that General Abercromby ordered it to the rear to take post on the shore at Aboukir. This was the night before the battle of the 21st of March. Major Napier, who then commanded in consequence of the death of Colonel Erskine, † left his ground an hour before the action commenced. When he heard the firing, and understood from its extent that the

blue and green facings of the 42d and 97th regiments, gave those corps a rather sombre appearance when drawn up in line.

\* Colonel Cameron of the 79th was, at the same time, and in the same manner as Colonel Erskine, prevailed upon, altogether contrary to his inclination, to put his men in pantaloons. A field-officer of his regiment, his principal adviser, enforced his argument, by saying, that he understood the 42d never wore a dress so improper in hot climates.

When the fleet was off Cadiz, and the troops were descending into the boats for the landing, Colonel Cameron was standing on deck with this officer by his side, when the Colonel perceived the men of the 42d going down to the boats in kilts. He hastily turned round to his adviser to ask how this happened, but he was gone. He ran down below, and took care not to show himself again before his Colonel any more that day. This was the last time the Cameron Highlanders ever appeared in pantaloons.

† This estimable young officer was so desperately wounded in the leg, that amputation was necessary. Having an excellent constitution, the surgeons expected a complete and speedy recovery; but Colonel Erskine himself was deeply impressed with the belief that the loss of his leg would render him incapable of future service, and he considered his military career for ever closed. His high and ehalvrous mind could not brook this disappointment of his hopes, and his spirit sunk under it: he lost his rest, and with that his strength. He died the ninth day, literally of a broken heart, while the wound was healing most rapidly. Another valuable man, and excellent officer, Colonel Maedowall of the 79th, having also lost a leg on the 21st of March, died in similar circumstances. Colonel Erskine was son of Mr Erskine of Cardross, in Perthshire, who lived to lament the loss of another son this year. He was first Lieutenant to Lord Keith in the Queen Charlotte, and was one of the unfortunate sufferers when she was burnt by accident off Leghorn in 1800.



action was general, he hurried back and took up his former position in the line.

The regiment soon recovered its health and strength, and shared in all the movements of the army in Egypt till the conclusion of hostilities, when they embarked for Ireland, and landed at Cork on the 30th of January 1802. From thence they were removed to Glasgow, and soon after the renewal of hostilities in 1803, marched to Leith, and embarked for Harwich and Weely Camp.

At this period, a second battalion of 1000 men was embodied. The men raised by the Army of Reserve Act, for the counties of Nairn, Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen, were sent to this battalion; which, along with those recruited in the usual manner, speedily completed the requisite number. This battalion was a nursery of good recruits to supply the casualties consequent on the more active duties of the 1st battalion, till the peace in 1814.

The first of these duties in the late war was the expedition against Copenhagen in 1807, where the regiment served in Sir Arthur Wellesley's brigade.\* In 1808 they embarked again, under Sir John Moore, for Sweden. This expedition came to a speedy and unexpected conclusion; and immediately on the return of the army to England, they were ordered for Portugal, under the same commander, accompanying all his movements till the close of the whole at Corunna on the 17th of January 1809, where this regiment was unfortunate in losing another excellent commanding officer, Colonel Napier of Blackstone, who was killed on that occasion.

After landing in England, they were marched to Weely, where a reinforcement of good recruits joined the corps. This increased the number to 1001 soldiers; but, in the next service in Walcheren, the fever and ague were found a more deadly enemy, and did more execution, than this re-

\* On this service, the only instance offered was one in which this regiment distinguished itself by a spirited and successful charge with the bayonet, and by driving back an enemy greatly outnumbering their assailants.

giment ever experienced from the French. The loss sustained was, however, again speedily repaired by recruits from the second battalion. On the 21st of September 1810, they embarked for Portugal, and in the following month joined the British army under Lord Wellington at the lines of Torres Vedras.

Having, as already stated, received no notice of the service of this regiment beyond what may be seen in the general details of events, I can only add, that, in the course of all the numerous trials of courage and military discipline to which the corps was exposed during the eventful period that elapsed till the war was terminated by the peace of 1814, they preserved that honourable line of conduct which both justified, and added to the estimation in which they were formerly held. The same spirit existed, and was conspicuous at Quatre Bras and Waterloo.

At Quatre Bras the 92d, under the command of Colonel Cameron, was in brigade with the Royal Scots, the 42d, and 44th regiments, under Major-General Pack. At this village the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Ligny, intersect each other. The right of the Prussian army extended to Ligny, and therefore Quatre Bras, which united so many communications, was of great importance. To preserve this important position, the Duke of Wellington placed General Pack's brigade, and that of Major-General Kempt, consisting of the 28th, 32d, 79th, and 95th regiments, supported by a brigade of Hanoverians, the Brunswick cavalry and infantry, and a corps of Belgians. The French army, under Marshal Ney, was drawn up on an almost parallel position, and in great force. A thick wood (Bois de Boissu) covered a portion of the plain which divided the opposing forces: the part clear of wood was covered with corn.

General Kempt's brigade extended on the plain to the left, being formed into separate columns of regiments, and were soon hotly engaged with an enemy possessing a great preponderance of numerical force, which was nevertheless re-

sisted with firmness and success. The enemy continuing to push forward fresh troops, the 42d and 44th were ordered out to the plain, in support of those engaged; a desperate conflict ensued, and every charge of an impetuous enemy, whether of cavalry or infantry, or whether directed against a single battalion, or more, was equally unavailing.

The Gordon Highlanders were formed in line in a ditch bounding the great Namur road, with their right on the farm of Quatre Bras, and the Hanoverian brigade and Brunswick infantry on their left, but a little to the rear; the Brunswick cavalry were drawn up on the road, covered by a few field-pieces. While in this position, the Brunswick Hussars pushed forward to check a column of French cavalry considerably in advance of the main body. In this spirited charge their brave Prince was mortally wounded,—an irreparable misfortune at such a moment; and, although it was the means of rendering his followers more desperate, and desirous of revenge at an after period, in the present instance it threw them into a confusion of which the enemy taking advantage, charged them with redoubled vigour, and forced them to retire hotly pursued, in the direction of the Gordon Highlanders, who were concealed by the ditch along which they had been drawn up. Coolly waiting till the enemy came within reach, they opened a well directed and most destructive fire. Surprised by this unexpected attack, the enemy got into ir retrievable confusion and fled, having suffered such a loss in killed and wounded, as might be expected from repeated volleys of musketry, aimed with the correctness of such experienced soldiers, as were those of the 92d regiment. It was now six o'clock in the evening. The battle had continued three hours, and had consisted chiefly in a succession of numerous charges and repulses, each charge being made with the desperation of an enemy seemingly determined to conquer; but they were met by men resolved to die on the ground they occupied, rather than sully their own honour, or forget their duty to their King and country.

When troops are thus opposed, the contest must be desperate, and unless there is a great preponderance of force to overwhelm the lesser number, it must be also of long duration. In this case, the preponderance on the side of the enemy is said to have been great; indeed, remarkably so, which enhances the credit of the successful resistance made to their bold and desperate attacks. But, at six o'clock, this disparity of force was lessened by a reinforcement from Brussels, consisting of a brigade of Guards, and of the 30th, 33d, 69th, and 73d regiments, together with a brigade of Hanoverians, and one of the German Legion. The Guards were stationed on the right of Quatre Bras, and the other brigades on the left. This reinforcement, however, did not intimidate the enemy, who commenced a fresh attack by a general discharge from a numerous artillery, which were so stationed as to cover the whole of the British line. Either with a view of thinning the ranks of the allies, before the columns advanced to the attack, or of waiting for reinforcements, nearly an hour elapsed before the enemy pushed forward in two columns, directing their march, the one on the high road, the other through a hollow along the skirts of the Bois de Boissu. Covered by the wood and hedges, the enemy had silently and unperceived occupied a house on the Charleroi road, some hundred yards distant from the village; they had also got possession of a garden, and of several thickset hedges, contiguous to the house. Without waiting to be attacked, the 92d prepared to drive the enemy from the house and hedges. One part headed by Colonel Cameron, and accompanied by General Barnes (then Adjutant-General), who was eager to witness this trial of strength, of men who had served in his brigade in the Peninsular war, rapidly moved forward on the road, while another party pushed round by their right. The enemy possessing the advantages of the house and hedges, by which they were partly covered, it was not without considerable time, and the greatest exertions of resolution and personal courage combined, that the Highlanders were enabled to

drive the French from their position. This they at last accomplished, with the loss of their brave commander, Colonel Cameron, and some other valuable lives.\* But while battles are fought, and there is a brave enemy to be overcome, lives must be sacrificed. In this case, an enemy greatly more numerous than their assailants, covered by houses and hedges, and, consequently, more able to take deliberate aim, were driven from their post with a loss to the Highlanders of only 11 men killed, and were pursued more than a quarter of a mile along the route by which they had advanced. The pursuit continued till checked by the advance of a large body of French cavalry and infantry, preceded by artillery, when the Highlanders, unable to resist such a force, retired along the edge of the wood of Boissu, and occupied their original position. Although the enemy had hitherto made no progress, and, indeed, had failed or been driven back in all their principal attacks, Marshal Ney still preserved and attempted to force the wood, now defended by the Guards, a corps of Brunswick infantry, and the 92d. Every attempt failed, and at nine o'clock, the enemy, despairing of success, finally retired, leaving their opponents on the ground they had occupied when the battle commenced at three o'clock.

After such proofs of the determination of the enemy, no time was to be lost in bringing forward all the disposable troops of the Allied army. Accordingly, the whole were assembled before eight o'clock the following morning, in the neighbourhood of Quatre Bras. But it was not on this spot that the great and final struggle was destined to take place;—a struggle which settled the fate of empires, sealed the destiny of one of the greatest, most ambitious, and most successful conquerors, of this or almost any other age;

\* As a mark of respect for the talents and eminent services of this brave officer, his Majesty granted a patent of baronetcy to his father, Ewen Cameron of Fassfern, with two Highlanders as supporters to his armorial bearings, and several heraldic distinctions indicating the particular services of Colonel Cameron.

put to the test the courage, discipline, and firmness, of the choicest troops of Europe; and proved to this country, that in the day of trial the most perfect confidence may be reposed in her sons,—that no excitement beyond a sense of duty is required for its performance,—and that, if commanded with judgment, and their courage and physical powers be properly directed, it is probable that no foe of equal numbers will ever be victorious over them. It was on the field of Waterloo that the commander of the Allied army, with his usual prescience, fixed for the great trial. On that ground there was an open field, no woods to cover the advance of an enemy, no natural or artificial impediments to check the full exercise of British courage and discipline, or to interrupt the charges of an enemy.

As if it were in prelude to the approaching terrestrial warfare, that of the elements the night previous to, and the morning of the battle, was awful and sublime. The thunder and the lightning were such as few had witnessed, and reminded those who had been at Salamanca in July 1812, of the similar ushering in of the morning of that memorable battle. If superstition be at all allowable, it must be on such occasions as this, when the soldiers anticipated the same success as had crowned their exertions at Salamanca. This anticipation of success raised the hopes and invigorated the spirits of the army, although drenched and chilled by a deluge of rain from as furious a tempest as any on record.

At Waterloo, as at Quatre Bras, the Gordon Highlanders, under the command of Major Donald Macdonald, in consequence of Colonel Cameron's death, and the wound of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, were in the 9th brigade, with the Royal Scots, the Royal Highlanders, and the 44th regiment. This brigade was stationed on the left wing of the army on the crest of a gentle eminence, which formed one side of the hollow, or low valley, that divided the hostile armies. Along this crest, for nearly two-thirds of its length, ran a hedge. In front of this hedge were posted a brigade

of Belgians, a brigade of Hanoverians, and General Ponsonby's brigade of the 1st or Royal Dragoons, Scots Greys, and Inniskillings. It was not till about two o'clock that this part of the line was attacked. Under cover of a heavy fire of artillery, the enemy advanced in a solid column of 3000 infantry of the Guard, with drums beating, and every accompaniment of military array, directing their march on the position of the Belgians, who immediately opened a fire, which, together with that of the artillery, checked the advance of the enemy. But the check was temporary. The troops of Nassau gave way, and retired behind the protecting ridge or crest of the eminence, leaving a large space open for the enemy. To occupy this space, and, if possible, force the enemy to retreat, the third battalion of the Royal Scots, and second battalion of the 44th, were ordered up. A sharp conflict of some duration ensued. The enemy's columns continuing to press forward, these two regiments lost many men, and expended their ammunition. General Pack observing this, ordered up the Highlanders, calling out, "Ninety-second, now is your time—charge!" The order was repeated by Major Macdonald, the soldiers answering by a shout. The regiment, then reduced to less than 250 men, instantly formed and rushed to the front, against a column equal in length to their whole line, which was only two men in depth, while the column was ten or twelve. The enemy stood, as if in suspense, till the Highlanders approached, when, panic-struck, they wheeled to the rear, and fled in the utmost confusion. Their flight was too rapid for the Highlanders to overtake them,—for a flying enemy generally runs faster than his pursuer. But however rapid the retreat, (and in this case the French threw away their arms and every other incumbrance), the cavalry overtook the fugitives. General Ponsonby, seizing on the moment, darted forward at full speed, and, cutting into the centre of the column, killed numbers, and took nearly 1800 prisoners. When the Greys galloped past the Highlanders, there was a mutual cheer, "Scotland for ever!" The word was elec-

tric. The name of their country, with its accompanying recollections, animated all to a degree of enthusiasm that made their efforts in the present case irresistible; and Napoleon had some reason when he expressed surprise and admiration at the movements of these regiments—"Qu'ils sont terribles ces Chevaux Gris!" When he saw the Greys cut down his best troops, and when the small body of Highlanders forced one of his chosen columns to fly in terror and confusion, the feelings of a gallant soldier overcame his disappointment, and he openly declared his admiration of "les braves Ecosais." In the enthusiasm of the moment, the Greys pushed forward, passed the column which had surrendered or were destroyed, and charged up to the line of the French position; but, being unsupported, they suffered considerably before they got back to their own ground.

The 92d was engaged in the further movements and fatigues of the day; but I cannot conclude this short and unsatisfactory account of the regiment better than with this charge, which was crowned with merited success;—a success our troops may always expect, if, animated with the same spirit, they close upon their enemy with equal alacrity and courage. A column of such strength, composed of veteran troops, filled with the usual confidence of the soldiers of France, thus giving way to so inferior a force, and by their retreat exposing themselves to certain destruction from the charges of cavalry ready to pour in and overwhelm them, can only be accounted for by the manner in which the attack was made, and is one of the numerous advantages of that mode of attack I have had so often occasion to notice. Had the Highlanders, with their inferior numbers, hesitated and stood at a distance, exposed to the fire of the enemy, half an hour would have been sufficient to have annihilated them, whereas, in their bold and rapid advance, they *lost only four men!* The two regiments, which for some time resisted the attacks of the same column, were unable to force them back. They remained stationary to receive



the enemy, who were thus allowed time and opportunity to take a cool and steady aim, and, encouraged by a prospect of success, they doubled their efforts; indeed, so confident were the enemy, that, when they reached the plain on the summit of the ascent, they ordered their arms, as if to rest after their victory. The handful of Highlanders soon proved on whose side the victory lay. Their bold and rapid charge struck their confident opponents with terror, paralyzed their sight and aim, and deprived both of point and object. The consequence was, as it will always be in nine cases out of ten in similar circumstances, that the loss of the 92d regiment was, as I have just stated, only four men, while the other corps in their stationary position lost *eight times that number*. The almost certain success of this mode of attack, the consequent honour to our troops, and the saving of lives, will, I trust, render an apology for my frequent recurrence to the subject the less necessary.

This was the last military service of the Gordon Highlanders. May all Highland corps imitate their example, and may they continue to preserve the same principles and conduct which at that time particularly attracted the notice of the inhabitants of Flanders! A favourable impression had indeed been early produced in that country by the conduct of the Seaforth Highlanders, who had been eighteen months stationed there, and who had so conducted themselves as to be considered by the inhabitants as "*enfants de la famille*."

Several authors who have given an account of the march of the troops from Brussels to Quatre Bras, on the morning of the 16th of June, notice the warm interest which the Highlanders excited in the spectators. The warlike appearance of the garb must have considerably increased this sentiment, but it was produced by their quiet and regular habits. Mr Simpson, in his account of his visit to Flanders, states that, on that morning, "his friend was most affected with, and loved most to recount the steady, serious, and business-like march of the Highland regiments, who were about to justify, and exceed the utmost that has been said

and expected of them in the Netherlands: 'God protect the brave Scotch,' 'God cover the heads of our gallant friends,' were exclamations often repeated as they passed along, and many a flower was thrown by many a fair hand into their ranks." The same author says that, at Antwerp, "a gentleman, whom he saw, had seen the wounded arrive. He himself had been recognised, and spoken to by a poor wounded Highlander, which absolutely gave him a kind of consideration in the crowd. He felt prouder than if a prince had smiled upon him."

In the same manner it is said, in the "Circumstantial Detail," that regiment after regiment formed with the utmost regularity, and marched out of Brussels about four o'clock in the morning. "The 42d and 92d Highland regiments marched through the Place Royale and the Park. One could not but admire their fine appearance, their firm, collected, steady, military demeanour, with their bagpipes playing before them, and the beams of the rising sun shining upon their glittering arms. On many a Highland hill and Lowland valley long will the deeds of these men be remembered.\* It was impossible to witness such a scene unmoved."

A character that calls forth such feelings is worth preserving. So long as these corps are preserved as national, the character of their country is deeply interested in their conduct. If a corps retrograde in reputation and conduct, men will believe that the country whence they came is also descending in the scale, and will judge of the soil from the produce. If the produce continue the same as that exhibit-

\* This "Near Observer," perhaps, did not know that, on many a Highland hill, and in many a Highland glen, few are left to mourn the death, or rejoice over the deeds of the departed brave. New views of Highland statistics have changed the birth-place of many a brave soldier, and defender of the honour, prosperity, and independence of this country, to a desolate waste, where no maimed soldier can now find a home or shelter, and where the sound of the pipes, and the voice of innocent gaiety and happiness, are no longer heard.

ed in the Gordon Highlanders, the character of the country is safe.

In the Appendix is a list of officers killed and wounded, and of the number of soldiers who have fallen in battle from 1794 to 1815 inclusive: the number of officers killed previous to the peace of 1814 was 7, and of soldiers 181; at Quatre Bras, the loss was 5 officers and 33 soldiers, at Waterloo, 13 soldiers; in all, from 1794 to 1815 inclusive, 12 officers and 227 soldiers. Of the soldiers discharged, 329 are on the strength of Chelsea Hospital. Of these a great proportion has been called out to serve in the Veteran Battalions, as they are still fit for military duty.

This regiment is now stationed in Jamaica, where they lost more officers and men by climate in four months, than by the hand of the enemy in an active war of twenty-two years, in the progress of which it was twenty-six times in battle. The same intrepidity which made the fire of the enemy so comparatively harmless, did not avail against the fevers of Jamaica. But the men were unfortunately introduced into that climate at the most unhealthy season of the year. Had they landed there in the beginning of winter, and had some months' seasoning to prepare them for the heat, heavy rains, and consequent diseases of summer, it is probable that their constitutions would have withstood the climate as well as those of their countrymen of the 42d, who, in a harassing warfare under Sir Ralph Abercromby, in different Islands, in 1796 and 1797, only lost 49 men by fever and dysentery, 14 from accidents and sores in the legs, or incurable gangrenes, 38 from diseased liver and general debility, and 25 from various causes, in all 121, besides killed and dead of wounds;—a moderate loss considering the circumstances, that the yellow fever was raging at the time, that the men were living on salt provisions, and that fourteen months were spent in the woods without tents or covering, except temporary huts built by themselves.

But while the recent loss of the 92d is to be considered

only as the inevitable consequence of the nature of their professional duty, it must be matter of regret that Black corps have been removed from the service. The prejudice against arming any part of the black population is strongly felt in the colonies; but an experience of twenty-five years has shown that the black soldiers showed no disposition towards those of their own colour, that could lead to danger in the event of any disturbance. On the contrary, there was more of jealousy and hatred than of cordiality betwixt the black soldiers and the negroes. The former saw themselves on a footing with British soldiers; they were well dressed, well fed, had the command of money, and looked with a contempt, which they did not conceal, on their less favoured black brethren, who in return regarded them with hatred and envy. These feelings were increased by the gay appearance of the black soldiers attracting the notice of the negro women,—a fertile and never failing source of jealousy, hatred, and revenge. So long as these causes existed, the danger of black troops joining in any negro insurrection must have been small; and although it is not to be expected that they can oppose European troops without hazard, yet they are regular in quarters, and have shown few symptoms of insubordination. If their ignorance of the English language, and incapability of comprehending instructions, had been recollected, a mild system of discipline would, in the first instance, have been more efficacious, and probably those acts of insubordination would have been avoided. The black regiments would have formed a valuable addition to our West India garrisons, by placing a proportion in each colony, along with the white troops, who would thus have been relieved from the most unhealthy duties; for, while hot, close, low situations, such as many West India towns present, destroy the health of European troops, they agree best with the blacks; and while the latter could have performed the duties there, the former might have been kept in those high, cool, and healthy spots, which abound in all the islands;

and in this way many of our European soldiers would have been saved. Certainly any plan that would tend to preserve the lives of such soldiers as those of the 50th and 92d regiments, (who had served together under Sir Ralph Abercromby, Sir John Moore, and the Duke of Wellington), is worth some risk, even if there were any, which, in the present case, it is hoped there is not. The 92d are now healthy, and have a prospect of a long continuance of this blessing, which may enable them to return to England, as the 42d did from the West Indies in 1797, with scarcely one in 507 on the sick list. And when, in future, the Gordon Highlanders receive recruits, may they be such men as those, who, in the early service of the corps under Lord Huntly, so conducted themselves, that, when a short time quartered in disturbed countries, "peace and order were established, rapine had disappeared, confidence in the Government was restored, and the happiest cordiality subsisted, since his regiment came among them."

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## SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS,

OR

## NINETY-THIRD REGIMENT.

1800.

THERE are few regiments in his Majesty's service, which, in all those qualities requisite to constitute good soldiers, and valuable members of society, excel this respectable body of men. None of the Highland corps is superior to the 93d regiment. I do not make comparisons in point of bravery, for, if properly commanded, they are all brave; but it is in those well regulated habits, of which so much has been already

said, that the Sutherland Highlanders have for twenty years preserved an unvaried line of conduct. The Light infantry company of this corps has been nineteen years without having a man punished. This single fact may be taken as sufficient evidence of good morals; for, although the Light company is composed of picked men, the choice depends less on character than on personal appearance, and these companies are frequently the most irregular; perhaps as much from that overflow of animal spirits peculiar to men in the prime of life, as from any great degree of immoral propensity. Such, however, is the character and conduct of this Light company, and of nineteen men out of every twenty in the regiment. Indeed, the few exceptionable characters in the corps were men raised in large towns, but the proportion of these has been small. On their first formation in 1800, the strength of the regiment was 596 men, and 34 sergeants. Of the soldiers 460 were Sutherland men; the others were principally from Ross, and the neighbouring counties. In 1811 the number of Scotch and Highlanders was 1,014, of Irish 17, and of English 18, and in these proportions they have continued down till the present time.

A Fencible regiment of Sutherland men, embodied in 1793, was disbanded in 1798, without any attempt to encourage the men to re-enlist in regiments of the line; but in May 1800 Major-General William Wemyss of Wemyss, who had been Colonel of that corps, received authority to raise a regiment of 600 men, with instructions to endeavour, if possible, to prevail on the men of the Fencible corps to return to their ranks in this new regiment, which was to be of the line. This was an arduous undertaking, for the men had been already eighteen months settled in different situations, which they were unwilling to relinquish. However, the complement required was raised, (of which, as I have said, 460 were men of Sutherland), and the corps was soon afterwards augmented, first to 800, and then to 1000 men, with officers in proportion.

The regiment was inspected by Major-General Hay at

Inverness in August 1800, and in September embarked for Guernsey, where it was stationed till September 1802, when it was ordered to Scotland to be reduced. But symptoms of a renewal of the war appearing, the order for reduction was countermanded, and the destination changed for Ireland. In that station nothing worthy of notice occurred, till the month of July 1805, when this battalion formed part of an armament embarked at Cork, under the command of Major-General Sir David Baird, intended for the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope. This expedition consisted of three companies of artillery, 200 men of the 20th Light Dragoons, and the 24th, 38th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d regiments, with the 59th, destined for India.

The troops were embarked, and sailed in the beginning of August 1805, and after a boisterous passage reached the Cape, and anchored in Table Bay on the 4th of January 1806, when they were immediately brigaded. The 24th, 38th, and 83d, were under the command of Brigadier-General Beresford, and the Highland brigade of the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments, under Brigadier-General Ronald C. Ferguson. The surf being violent, Brigadier-General Beresford, with the cavalry and 38th regiment, was detached to Saldanha Bay on the 5th, to effect a landing there. This was done without opposition, and on the 6th, the surf having somewhat abated, the Highland brigade landed in Lospard Bay, experiencing a slight opposition from a light corps of the enemy scattered along the heights bordering on the shore. On this occasion Lieutenant-Colonel Pack of the 71st and a few men were wounded, and 35 men of the 93d lost by the upsetting of a boat in the surf.

The stores being landed on the 7th, the troops advanced on the 8th, and ascending to the summit of the Blaw-Berg, (or Blue Mountain), the enemy was perceived drawn up on a plain, in two lines of about 5000 men, with twenty-three pieces of cannon. General Baird quickly formed his troops in two columns, and directed the first brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Baird, (in the absence

of Brigadier-General Beresford), to move towards the right, while the Highland brigade, thrown forward on the high road, advanced on the enemy, who opened a heavy fire of grape, round shot, and musketry. Seemingly determined to retain their position, the enemy kept up a smart fire as our troops approached, till General Ferguson gave the word to charge. The order was instantly obeyed. The charge was so impetuous, and apparently so irresistible, that the enemy, appalled and panic-struck, fired the last volley in a manner without aim or effect, gave way at all points, and fled in great confusion, having sustained a loss of more than 600 men killed and wounded, while that of the British was only 16 killed, and 191 wounded. The 93d lost 2 soldiers killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Honeyman, Lieutenants Scobie and Strachan, Ensigns Hedrick and Craig, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 51 privates, wounded. The enemy made no further resistance, and thus easily was this important colony acquired.

From that period the Sutherland regiment remained in garrison at the Cape till embarked for England. \* In August 1814 it landed at Plymouth, and in the following month was placed under the command of Major-General Keane, along with other troops destined to reinforce the army in North America. The fleet sailed on the 18th of September, and touching at Barbadoes, reached Jamaica, and there joined the squadron under Vice-Admiral the Honourable Alexander Cochrane, with 3500 troops on board. General Keane assuming the command of the whole, amounting to 5400 men, sailed from Jamaica on the 27th November, and, on the 13th December, landed

\* In 1813, a second battalion was added to this regiment. It was formed at Inverness, and, after some instructions in discipline, was destined to join the army under the Duke of Wellington in France; but, owing to the peace of 1814, this destination was changed to North America. The battalion was embarked, and landed in Newfoundland, where it was stationed sixteen months; and then returning to Europe in 1815, was reduced soon after landing.



near Cat Island, at the entrance of a chain of lakes leading to New Orleans. After a few preparatory arrangements, the troops were landed at the head of the Bayou on the 23d without opposition; but on the following night they were attacked by a considerable force of infantry, supported by a strong corps of artillery. After repeated efforts, the enemy were repulsed with loss. On the 25th Major-General the Honourable Sir Edward Pakenham arrived, and took the command of the army. On the 27th the troops made a forward movement, in two columns, and took up a position within six miles of the town, and immediately in front of the enemy's lines. Here they were strongly posted, with a morass and thick wood on the left, and the Mississippi on the right. Their front was protected by a deep and broad ditch, bounded by a parapet and breast-works, extending in a direct line about 1000 yards, and mounted with artillery, and a flank battery on the right bank of the river. The army being reinforced on the 7th of January 1815 by the arrival of the 43d regiment, the General determined to attack this position in front, and with that view detached a force under Colonel Thornton, with the 85th regiment, across the river, to take the enemy in flank, and attack some vessels which supported their right. The arrangements for the attack were as follow: General Gibbs, with the King's Own, Scotch Fusileers, 44th regiment, and three companies of the Rifle Corps, to lead the attack; the Sutherland Highlanders, with two companies of the English Fusileers, two of the 43d, and two of the Rifle Corps, under Major-General Keane, to form the second brigade, and the English Fusileers and 43d regiment to form the Reserve; a party of Black troops were ordered to the wood on the right, to occupy the attention of the enemy on that flank, and keep up a skirmishing fire. Fascines and rafts to fill up, and enable the soldiers to cross the ditch, were prepared, and in readiness, and also scaling ladders to mount a parapet raised on the inner bank of the ditch. The attack was to have been made on the 8th before day-break, but unexpected dif-

difficulties causing a delay, and it being necessary to wait for the co-operation of Colonel Thornton, whose passage across the river had been greatly retarded by the breadth, force, and rapidity of the stream, which carried the boats below the proper landing point, it was considerably after sun-rise before the troops could advance to the attack. Thus exposed to full view (the troops advanced on an open plain), the enemy opened a heavy fire from their whole line, and a battery on the right bank of the river; but when our troops reached the ditch, their farther progress was checked, as it was found impassable, the fascines and rafts having been left in the rear. In this state, unable to advance, and losing many men from the fire of an enemy beyond their reach, and completely under cover, they began to waver. The Commander had fallen, and Generals Gibbs and Keane, with many officers, were wounded. Discouraged by these losses, and unable to close upon the enemy, whose fire was the more formidable as it came from invisible hands, the troops retired in such confusion, that Major-General Lambert, on whom the command devolved, and who pushed forward with the Reserve, did not find himself justified, on a consideration of all the difficulties yet to be surmounted, to renew the attack. He, therefore, recalled Colonel Thornton, who had succeeded in gaining his position on the right bank of the river, and retired to the post whence the army had marched in the morning. There they remained till the 18th, when the wounded, (with the exception of those in too dangerous a state to be moved), and the artillery and stores, were embarked, and the army retired to the head of the Bayone (where they first landed), and re-embarked without molestation on the 27th of January. The loss, as in almost all unsuccessful attacks, was severe. Besides the high spirited and brave Generals Pakenham and Gibbs (the latter died of his wounds), 3 field officers, 5 captains, 4 subalterns, 11 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 266 rank and file, were killed; and 1 general officer, 10 field officers, 21 captains, 47 subalterns, 1 staff officer, 54 ser-

geants, 9 drummers, and 1126 rank and file, wounded. The 93d lost 1 field officer, 2 captains, 2 sergeants, and 58 rank and file, killed; and 4 captains, 8 subalterns, 17 sergeants, 3 drummers, and 348 rank and file, wounded.

Some other movements followed this disastrous attempt, but peace soon afterwards putting an end to all hostilities, the troops were ordered home. The 93d were sent to Ireland, and landed at Cork on the 28th of May 1815.

Thus ended the military service of this regiment, bearing no comparison in point of variety, extent, or fatigue, to that of some other corps of the same designation, who had so frequent opportunities of facing the enemy during the war.

From the relative situation of the assailants and defenders, the affair of New Orleans bore a striking resemblance to that of Ticonderoga, in the year 1758. The analogy was equally marked in the nature of the post and of the defences, in the manner of attack, and in the disastrous result. Ticonderoga was surrounded on three sides by a deep impassable morass, and approachable only by a long narrow slip of land, strengthened and defended in such a manner as to make an advance without a previous breach by artillery (which had not been brought forward) impossible in the face of a resolute enemy, or indeed of any enemy with a sufficient command of nerve to avail themselves of such formidable defences. This want of artillery at Ticonderoga and of the necessary means for surmounting the enemy's defences at New Orleans, may be assigned as the causes of failure in both instances. But, although so similar in some respects, the parallel is not complete. At New Orleans the high spirited commander was the first in the attack, animating all by his example, and was one of the first who fell, followed by his second in command (an officer well qualified to inspire and preserve confidence in his troops), together with several valuable officers killed and disabled, which so dispirited many of the soldiers, that they retired without orders, and in great confusion. At Ticonderoga the Commander-in-chief did not lead, but the troops persevered in

the attack for four hours, with a determination and courage that deserved a better fate, and when farther exertions were considered unavailable, it was difficult to recal them, as they disdained to retreat while life or the least hope of success remained. It was not till after the third order that Colonel Grant could prevail on the soldiers of the 42d to give up the contest and retire, taking with them 306 of their number wounded, and burying 233 in the field.

It was unfortunate that the discipline of duty did not allow the Sutherland regiment any share in the actions during the war, to which success has given such brilliant effect. Garrisoned at the Cape during eight years of constant and active warfare, and returning to Europe after hostilities with France had ceased, their duties, with the exception of the short service at New Orleans, were of the most peaceable description. How they performed these duties is in the recollection and esteem of those who witnessed their uniformly excellent conduct.

Judging from the establishment of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands, and others with the same design, and also from the recent reports of missionaries, whose vocation (it may be observed) would fail if they stated that their hearers were pious and intelligent, it may perhaps be believed by many, that, previous to these apostolic expeditions and visitations, Christianity must have been little known or practised in the North. But, as the best proof of the existence of religious knowledge and general intelligence is exhibited by the moral character and actions of a people, we may apply this criterion to the case in question, so far, at least, as regards the Highlands, where, notwithstanding many disadvantages, and the confined means of religious instruction, from the great extent of parishes, the consequent scarcity of clergymen, and the frequent practice, which cannot be too strongly reprobated, of placing ministers in churches who preach in a language unintelligible to their parishioners; notwithstanding this custom, unknown, I believe and sincerely

hope, in any other Christian country, \* we find, by the conduct and character of the people, that these disadvantages have been in a great measure overcome, and, in the present instance, that the Sutherland men were so well grounded in moral duties and religious principles, that, when stationed at the Cape of Good Hope, and anxious to enjoy the advantages of religious instruction agreeably to the tenets of their national church, and there being no religious service in the garrison, except the customary one of reading prayers to the soldiers on parade, the men of the 93d regiment formed themselves into a congregation, appointed elders of their own number, engaged and paid a stipend (collected from the soldiers) to a clergyman of the Church of Scotland (who had gone out with an intention of teaching and preaching to the Caffres), and had Divine Service performed agreeably to the ritual of the established Church. Their expences were so well regulated, that, while contributing to the support of their clergyman from the savings of their pay, they were enabled to promote that social cheerfulness which is the true attribute of pure religion and of a well spent life. While too many soldiers were ready to indulge in that vice which, more than any other, leads to crime in the British army, and spent much of their money for liquor, the Sutherland men indulged in the cheerful amusement of dancing, and in their evening meetings were joined by many respectable inhabitants, who

\* This mode of teaching people a knowledge of the gospel in a foreign and unintelligible language, is not new in the Highlands, as we find, that, in the reign of King William, acts were passed "for rooting out the Erse language, and for other *pious* uses." Probably it was owing to such acts as these that this King was so unpopular, and his memory so detested in the Highlands. After the suppression of Episcopacy, a part of the revenues of the bishopric of Argyle and the Isles was given for erecting English schools, but the people were very refractory, and slow in paying them for that purpose. "Had the rents, says Mr Jamieson, in his edition of Burt's Letters, "been applied for making the word of God accessible in the *language of their fathers, and other pious uses*, the rents would have been cheerfully paid, and the government endeared to the people."

were happy to witness such scenes among the common soldiers in the British service. In addition to these expenses, the soldiers regularly remitted money to their relations in Sutherland.

In the case of such men, disgraceful punishment is as unnecessary as it would be pernicious. Indeed, so remote was the idea of such a measure in regard to them, that, when punishments were to be inflicted on others, and the troops in camp, garrison, or quarters, assembled to witness their execution, the presence of the Sutherland Highlanders, either of the Fencibles or of the Line, was often dispensed with, the effect of terror as a check to crime being in their case uncalled for, "as examples of that nature were not necessary for such honourable soldiers!" Such is the character of a National or District corps of the present day. What they have been in former days I have also endeavoured to show.

It has been said that our regiments ought to be mixed, as the good men will, by their example, improve the bad. Certainly the latter object is desirable; but the price, perhaps, may be too high, and the efficacy of the means uncertain.\* To degrade or lower the proper pride of a virtuous and honest soldier, by making him a companion to the dissolute and unprincipled, in the expectation that the latter will be improved, is rather a questionable measure. I have already noticed the change which took place in the habits and manners of the 42d by the great influx of indifferent subjects in 1795. Except when before an enemy, there was a visible alteration, particularly in their common conversation, which was previously so correct and so free from all indecency, that I do not recollect an instance of a man making use of improper language, without being reprov'd by his companions, and taxed with bringing disgrace upon himself and the corps.

\* The instance just noticed in the 92d regiment, will show how uncertain, as well as how improper, such means are.

But to return to the Sutherland regiment. Their conduct at the Cape did not proceed from any temporary cause. It was founded on principles uniform and permanent. When these men disembarked at Plymouth in August 1814, the inhabitants were both surprised and gratified. On such occasions it had been no uncommon thing for soldiers to spend in taverns and gin-shops the money they had saved. In the present case the soldiers of Sutherland were seen in booksellers' shops, supplying themselves with Bibles, and such books and tracts as they required. Yet, as at the Cape, where their religious habits were so free of all fanatical gloom, that they indulged in social meetings and dancing, so here, while expending their money on books, they did not neglect their personal appearance, and the haberdashers' shops had also their share of trade from the purchase of additional feathers to their bonnets, and such extra decorations as the correctness of military regulations allow to be introduced into the uniform.

While they were thus mindful of themselves, improving their minds and their personal appearance, such of them as had relations in Sutherland did not forget their destitute condition, occasioned by the loss of their lands, and the operation of the *improved state of the country!* During the short period that the regiment was quartered at Plymouth, upwards of L.500 were lodged in one banking-house, to be remitted to Sutherland, exclusive of many sums sent home through the post-office, and by officers. Some of these sums exceeded L.20 from an individual soldier.

There has been little change in the character of this respectable corps. Courts-martial have been very unfrequent. Twelve and fifteen months have intervened without the necessity of assembling one; and, in the words of a general officer who reviewed them in Ireland, they exhibited "a picture of military discipline and moral rectitude;" and, in the opinion of another eminent commander, "although the junior regiment in his Majesty's service, they exhibit an ho-

nourable example, worthy the imitation of all." \* On another occasion, the character, discipline, and interior economy of the 93d regiment, were declared to be "altogether incomparable;" and in similar language have they been characterized by every general officer who commanded them. General Craddock, now Lord Howden, when this corps embarked from the Cape of Good Hope in 1814, expressed himself in the following terms when describing "the respect and esteem of the inhabitants, with their regret at parting with men who will ever be borne in remembrance as *kind friends* and *honourable soldiers*:" "The Commander of the Forces anxiously joins in the public voice, that so approved a corps, when called forth into the more active scenes that now await them in Europe, will confirm the well known maxim, that the most regular and best conducted troops in quarters are those who form the surest dependence, and will acquire the most renown in the field."

Such were these men in garrison, and such the expectation founded on their principles. How thoroughly they were guided by honour and loyalty in the field was shown at New Orleans. Although many of their countrymen, who had emigrated to America, were ready and anxious to receive them, there was not an instance of desertion; nor did one of those who were left behind, wounded or prisoners, forget their allegiance, and remain in that country, at the same time that desertions from the British army were but too frequent. Men like these do credit to the peasantry of their country, and contribute to raise the national character. If this conclusion is well founded, the removal of so many of the people from their ancient seats, *where they acquired those habits and principles*, may be considered a public loss of no common magnitude. It must appear strange and somewhat inconsistent, when the same persons who are loud in their professions of an eager desire to promote and preserve the religious and moral virtues of the people,

\* General Beckwith's General Orders.



should so frequently take the lead in approving of measures which, by removing them from where they imbibed principles which have attracted the notice of Europe, and place them in situations where poverty, and the too frequent attendants, vice and crime, will lay the foundation for a character which will be a disgrace, as that already obtained has been an honour to this country. In the new stations, where so many Highlanders are now placed, and crowded in such numbers as to preserve the numerical population, while whole districts are left without inhabitants, how can they resume their ancient character and principles, which, according to the reports of those employed by the proprietors, have been so deplorably broken down and deteriorated; a deterioration which was entirely unknown till the recent change in the condition of the people, and the introduction of that system of placing families on patches of potato ground, as in Ireland, a system pregnant with degradation, poverty, and disaffection, and exhibiting daily a prominent and deplorable example, which might have forewarned Highland proprietors, and prevented them from reducing their people to a similar state? It is only when parents and heads of families in the Highlands are moral, happy, and contented, that they can instil sound principles into their children, who, in their intercourse with the world, may once more become what the men of Sutherland have already been,—“an honourable example, worthy the imitation of all.”

## SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT,

OR

## ROSS-SHIRE HIGHLANDERS,

SECOND BATTALION.

1804.

WHILE the first battalion of the 78th was employed in India in the year 1804, under the Honourable Major-General Arthur Wellesley, orders were issued to add a second battalion of 800 men to the regiment. The officers were to raise men in certain proportions, according to the rank they were to hold, and to recruit them in Scotland, and, if possible, in the Highlands.\* The latter injunction, however, was not strictly observed, as upwards of forty men were from Ireland, and from the south side of the Border. Of these, twenty-two were old soldiers received from the veteran battalions, for the purpose, as was said, of laying the foundation of discipline in a regiment of very young soldiers, as this was expected to be.

The head-quarters were established at Fort George; this being the fourth battalion embodied in that garrison, under the influence of the family of Seaforth, in the course of thirty years.\* But as Lord Seaforth was, at this time, in the West Indies, his influence was less exerted than on former

\* The proportions or quotas, for each rank, were 100 men for a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, 90 for a Majority, 50 for a Company, 25 for a Lieutenancy, and 20 for an Ensigny; officers to take rank according to the dates of their former commissions.

\* The 78th regiment in the year 1779, the 78th in the year 1794, a second battalion of 960 men in the same year, and this battalion in 1804.

occasions when he himself, like his predecessor, commanded in person. However, two hundred men were raised in the island of Lewis, part of the Seaforth estates; and several other detachments were brought from other parts of this extensive property.

In December 1804, a battalion of 850 men was assembled at Fort George, and inspected by Major-general the Marquis of Huntly in November 1804, when the following officers were appointed :

*Colonel*, Major-General Alexander Mackenzie Fraser of Castle Fraser, died a Lieutenant-General in 1809.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*, Patrick Macleod, (Geanies), killed in 1807 at El Hamet.

*Majors.*

David Stewart, (Garth), Major-General 1825:

James Macdonell, (Glengarry), Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, Coldstream Guards.

*Captains.*

Alexander Wishart, dead.

Duncan Macpherson, Major 78th regiment.

James Macvean, retired.

Charles William Maclean, retired.

Duncan Macgregor, Lieutenant-Colonel on half-pay.

William Anderson, dead.

Robert Henry Dick, Lieutenant-Colonel 42d regiment.

Colin Campbell Mackay, (Bighouse), Major on half-pay.

George Mackay, Do.

*Lieutenants.*

William Balvaird, Major Rifle Brigade.

Patrick Strachan, dead.

James Macpherson, killed in Java in 1813.

William Mackenzie Dick, killed in 1807 at El Hamet.

John Matheson, Captain on half-pay.

Cornwallis Bowen, dead.

William Mackenzie, Captain on half-pay.

Malcolm Macgregor, Captain 78th regiment.

James Mackay, Captain on half-pay.

Thomas Hamilton, dead.

Robert Nicholson, dead.

Charles Grant; Captain on half-pay.

Horace St. Paul, Lieutenant-Colonel on half-pay.

George William Bowes, dead.  
 William Matheson, dead.  
 William Cameron, Captain on half-pay.

*Ensigns.*

John Mackenzie Stewart, retired.  
 John Munro, killed in 1811 in Java.  
 Christopher Macrae, killed in 1807 at El Hamet.  
 Roderick Macqueen, dead.  
 Neil Campbell, Captain on half-pay.  
 John L. Strachan, dead.  
 Alexander Cameron, dead.  
 Alexander Gallie, retired.  
 Robert Burnet, Captain 14th Foot.  
*Paymaster*, James Ferguson, dead.  
*Adjutant*, William Mackenzie, Captain:  
*Quartermaster*, John Macpherson, retired.  
*Surgeon*, Thomas Draper, Deputy-Inspector.  
*Assistant-Surgeon*, William Munro, Surgeon on half-pay.

Several of the officers recruited their quotas very quickly; others were not so successful, which is less a matter of surprise, than that so many men should have been enlisted, considering the number drawn from the Highlands in the same year, and during the first five months of the preceding, being nearly double the number that fought under the Duke of Wellington at the battle of Assaye, under General Stuart at Maida, or under General Graham at Barossa.\*

\* The numbers were,

|   |       |   |   |      |
|---|-------|---|---|------|
| For the army of Reserve,  | -     | - | - | 1651 |
| Militia,—Inverness, Ross, Argyle, Perth, &c. &c.                                  | -     | - | - | 2599 |
| Supplementary ditto,  | -     | - | - | 870  |
| Canadian Fencibles,   | -     | - | - | 850  |
| 2d Battalion of the 78th regiment,  | -     | - | - | 714  |
| 2d Battalion of the 79th ditto,   | -     | - | - | 618  |
| Highlanders as substitutes in Militia regiments,                                  | -     | - | - | 963  |
| Recruits enlisted by the parties of the Line, not exactly known, but estimated at | -     | - | - | 350  |
|   |       |   |   | 8615 |
|   | Total | - | - |      |

This corps, and the second battalion of the 79th, raised the same year, were the last corps recruited in the North, under the influence of any particular family, or by officers for commissions. The system of recruiting for rank has been frequently reprobated, and has, indeed, in many cases, been the means of introducing bad subjects into the Service, as was experienced in 1793 and 1794, when officers, in their eagerness to recruit their complement of men, resorted to large towns; but that this mode of employing gentlemen of family, rank, and influence in the North, was admirably adapted to the character, habits, and circumstances of the people; and that it had been eminently successful there, is manifest from the character of the regiments embodied in the Seven Years' War, and in that of the American Revolution; and still more recently in the last war, in which were raised the 78th, 79th, 92d, and 93d, and many other regiments of the Line and Fencibles. The system upon which these regiments were raised could not, at that period at least, have been a bad one, as it was the means of introducing them into the service; but whether it shall meet with equal success in future, is a question which experience alone can decide.

When this battalion was embodied, General Moore was stationed at Hythe with his Brigade, consisting of the 43d and 52d regiments. At that time these two regiments were the most perfectly disciplined in the service, having been completed in that system of field exercise which, as I have already noticed, was first suggested and put in practice by Lieutenant-Colonel (now Lieutenant-General) Kenneth Mackenzie. Desirous to initiate a young corps in this system, before they had been practised in any other, the General, in a fortunate hour for these young men, applied for their removal to his Brigade. The battalion was, accordingly, embarked

In these numbers the native Highlanders only are included; as, for instance, in the Perthshire army of Reserve, there were only 189, and in the Militia only 204 Highlanders, whereas the total number of both forces raised in 1803 for that county was 1469 men.

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at Fort George in February, and reached Hythe in March 1805.

Few young corps were ever instructed in military discipline under more favourable auspices than this which was trained under the immediate direction of Sir John Moore, assisted by the non-commissioned officers of his Brigade. He began by instructing the officers and non-commissioned officers in the first principles of regular and connected movements, and in the firelock exercise; and when they were so far complete that they could communicate what they had acquired, they were sent to teach the soldiers. Those that were deficient in the necessary duties, or were slower in acquiring them, remained in the ranks with the soldiers, and no officer was allowed to quit them till he had become a thorough proficient in that in which he was to direct and instruct others. The men were called out four times a day, but never much beyond an hour at a time. During these short periods they went through their task with spirit and without fatigue; their minds were on the alert, and their attention was not suffered to wander.

The General himself was indefatigable, and was frequently four times in one day on the drill ground, going from squad to squad giving directions, and often forming the men in positions with his own hands. Strict and rigorous when necessary, no man was more easy and indulgent when that necessity ceased, or when an officer or soldier properly understood and performed his duty. Of these young soldiers he entertained a very favourable opinion; and often mentioned, that they were, in every way, such as he would wish to mould and form. His firm opinion was, that they would never fail in the hour of trial. Unfortunately, however, the regiment was too early removed from his Brigade, and before their discipline was completely confirmed; as the pressure of the service called them to another quarter. \*

\* As one of the objects I have in view, is to point out such characteristic traits of disposition, principle, and habits, as may be in any way interesting, I shall notice the following circumstance, which occurred while this regiment

General Fox, Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar, having applied for a change of garrison, two Highland regiments, the 42<sup>d</sup> and 78<sup>th</sup>, were ordered on that duty, and, in September 1805, embarked at Portsmouth, being then under the command of the Honourable Major-General John Hope. The fleet, under the convoy of Captain Charles Ogle, encountered part of the bad weather which occasioned such destruction after the battle of Trafalgar, took shelter in the Tagus, and, sailing from thence in the beginning of November, in a few days landed at Gibraltar. \* In the month

lay at Hythe. In the month of June, orders were issued for the Senior Major and four subalterns to join the 1st battalion in India. The day before the field-officer fixed on for this purpose left the regiment, the soldiers held conferences with each other in the barracks, and, in the evening, several deputations were sent to him, entreating him, in the most earnest manner, to make application either to be allowed to remain with them, or obtain permission for them to accompany him. He returned his acknowledgments for their attachment, and for their spirited offer; but stated that, as duty required his presence in India, while their services were at present confined to this country, they must, therefore, separate for some time. The next evening, when he went from the barracks to the town of Hythe, to take his seat in the coach for London, two-thirds of the soldiers, and officers in the same proportion, accompanied him, all of them complaining of being left behind. They so crowded round the coach as to impede its progress for a considerable length of time, till at last the guard was obliged to desire the coachman to force his way through them. Upon this the soldiers, who hung by the wheels, horses, harness, and coach-doors, gave way, and allowed a passage. There was not a dry eye amongst the younger part of them. Such a scene as this, exhibited by more than 600 men, and in the streets of a town, could not pass unnoticed, and was quickly reported to General Moore, whose mind was always alive to the advantages of mutual confidence and esteem between officers and soldiers. The circumstance was quite suited to his chivalrous mind. He laid the case before the Commander-in-Chief; and his Royal Highness, with that high feeling which he has always shown when a case has been properly represented, ordered that at present there should be no separation, and that the field-officer should return to the battalion in which he had so many friends ready to follow him to the cannon's mouth, and when brought in front of an enemy, either to compel them to fly, or perish in the field.

\* I have already mentioned the inflammatory disorders and tumours by which the young men were attacked at Hythe, in consequence of a larger allowance of animal food than they had been in the habit of using. The same

of May the regiment was ordered for Sicily, and embarked in good health. But their arrival at Messina was a disappointment to Sir John Stuart, then in command there, who, instead of a corps of boys, expected the 42d, having, at that time, in contemplation, the expedition to Calabria. Though I have reason to believe that his disappointment was great, it was not lasting.

Some time previous to the arrival of this regiment in Sicily, the Royal Family of Naples had been forced to take shelter in Palermo, principally under the protection of the British troops then stationed in Sicily. General Stuart was warmly solicited, by the Queen of Naples, to attempt a landing in Calabria, in support of the Calabrese, who had preserved, unshaken, their loyalty to the King, and had continued to oppose the French.

The peninsula of Calabria is mountainous, broken with numberless rocky eminences and deep ravines, and, consequently, extremely well adapted for defensive warfare. The people are a warlike, hardy race; among whom may be discovered many traces of the feudal institutions, and of the rivalry common between the tribes in the North of Scotland previous to the middle of the last century. But, although, in some traits, they bore a resemblance to our Highlanders, in others they greatly differed from them, and in none more than in attachment to their chiefs. The Calabrese nobles, residing much at Court, were unknown to their people, except through the exactions of inferior agents, the severity of which tended to alienate their affections. But, although many were estranged from their immediate superiors, they were loyal to their King, and now declared themselves ready to join any British armament that might land on their coast to support his government.

Encouraged by these assurances, urged by the Queen, and perhaps desirous of performing some exploit calculated

disorder continued in Gibraltar for some months, although the 42d was remarkably healthy. But the men of that corps had been longer absent from their native country, and had become habituated to animal food.



to give eclat to his command before the arrival of General Fox appointed to supersede him, General Stuart, fortunately for his military fame and that of his country, determined on a landing in Calabria, with the view of encouraging the Calabrese, and of destroying the military stores, and extensive magazines of provisions which had been established by the French at Monte Leone, and other parts of the province.

The troops intended for this expedition embarked at Melazzo in the end of June 1806. These consisted of the Grenadier and Light infantry battalions, formed of all the Grenadier and Light infantry companies of the army in Sicily, (except those of the 78th, which remained with the regiment), together with the 27th, 58th, 78th, 81st, and Watteville's, regiments, with two companies of the Corsican Rangers, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery under Major Lemoine, amounting in all to 4200 men, exclusive of the 20th regiment, which embarked afterwards, making the whole force 4790 men. The Admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, being employed to the northward on the Neapolitan coast, this armament sailed from Melazzo under convoy of Captain Brenton, and anchored in the extensive bay of St Euphemia on the 1st of July.

The Grenadiers, Light infantry, and Highlanders, were immediately landed without opposition; but as the troops advanced into the country, some resistance was made by a body of the enemy, who were quickly driven back. The army soon followed, and took up a good position close to the village of St Euphemia, where they remained till the evening of the 3d, when information was received that General Regnier had advanced to the neighbourhood of the village of Maida, with an intention of attacking the British the following morning. General Stuart, desirous to anticipate the intentions of his opponent, ordered the troops under arms, and marched along the edge of the bay till eleven o'clock at night, when he halted till day-light of the 4th, and then, resuming his march, crossed the mouth of the

Amato, fordable at all points at that dry season, and halted on an extensive plain, where he made his arrangements for an attack.\*

The army was drawn up, having in its rear the head of the bay, and in front a broad and extensive valley, level in the centre, and bounded on both sides by high, and, in some places, precipitous hills, with woods covering their sides in many parts, and, in others, with corn fields up to a considerable height. This valley, which is of unequal breadth, being in some places four miles, and in others not more than two, runs across the Calabrian peninsula, from St Euphemia to Cotrona, on the Adriatic, intersected, at intervals, to nearly one-half its breadth, by high ridges, which run out at right angles from the mountains forming the lateral boundaries of the plain. These were now covered with ripe corn, part of which had been cut down, while, in different fields, parties of the inhabitants were reaping. The nearest of these collateral ridges, which jut out from the mountains, was steep on the sides, and covered with wood, except on the summit, which was clear and level. On the summit of one of those ridges, at somewhat more than four miles distance, the army of General Regnier was seen drawn up in columns, apparently ready, either to descend to the plains, or to await the attack of the British. General Stuart had now to come to an instant decision. Disappointed of the support of the Calabrese, of whom not more than one thousand had joined, and these badly armed and worse disciplined; and being also informed that a reinforcement of

\* This little army was brigaded as follows;—The Light brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel James Kempt, was composed of the Light infantry companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, and 81st regiments, of two companies of Corsican Rangers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hudson Lowe, and of 150 chosen men of the 35th regiment, under Major George Robertson. The first brigade, Brigadier-General Auckland, consisted of the 78th and 81st regiments. The second, Brigadier-General Lowrie Cole, was formed of the Grenadier companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, and 81st, under the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel O'Callaghan, and the 27th regiment. The Reserve, Colonel John Oswald, consisted of the 58th and Watteville's regiment.

3000 men was expected by the enemy, on the following day, he had no alternative but an immediate advance; or a retreat, either to the ships or to some strong position.

To retreat was little congenial to the spirit of the Commander; and, accordingly, actuated by the same confidence in his little army, which had encouraged him to engage in the enterprise, he resolved upon advancing, little aware that the expected addition to the enemy's force had already taken place. While General Stuart's ignorance of this fact confirmed his resolution to attempt the strong position of the enemy, the consciousness of superior numbers gave additional confidence to General Regnier, who, looking down upon his enemy from his elevated position, could now count every file below; and who, as it is said, called out to his troops to mark his confidence in their invincible courage, and his contempt for the English, whose presumption in landing with so small a force, he was determined to punish by driving them into the sea. Accordingly, giving orders to march, he descended the hill, in three lines, through narrow paths in the woods, and formed on the plain below. His army consisted of more than 7000 men, with 300 cavalry, and a considerable train of field artillery. He drew up his troops in two parallel lines of equal numbers, with artillery and cavalry on both flanks, and with field pieces placed in different parts of the line. To oppose this force, General Stuart placed in the front line the Light brigade of Lieutenant-Colonel Kempt on the right, the Highland regiment in the centre, and the 81st on the left.

At eight o'clock in the morning, the corps composing the first line advanced, the enemy commencing his forward march (presenting a parallel front) nearly at the same moment. The distance between the armies was, at this time, nearly three miles, and the ground perfectly level, intersected only by drains, to carry off the water in the rainy season, but not so large as to intercept the advance of the field-pieces. When the first Brigade moved forward, the second halted for a short time, and then proceeded, followed by the

Reserve. The forward movement of the opposing lines lessened the intervening distance in a double ratio. The first brigade passed over several corn fields, with parties of reapers, who eagerly pointed out the advance of the enemy, then at the distance of less than a mile.\* On a nearer approach they opened their field-pieces, and, contrary to the usual practice of the French artillery, with little effect, the greater part of the shot passing over the first line, and not reaching the second.

This was an interesting spectacle. Two armies in parallel lines, in march towards each other, on a smooth and clear plain, and in dead silence, only interrupted by the report of the enemy's guns; it was more like a chosen field fixed upon by a General officer for exercise, or to exhibit a sham-fight, than, as it proved, an accidental encounter, and a real battle. No two rival commanders could ever wish for a finer field, for a trial of the courage and firmness of their respective combatants; and as there were some present who recollected the contempt with which General Regnier, in his account of the Egyptian expedition, had chosen to treat the British, there was as much feeling mixed up with the usual incitements, as perhaps in any modern engagement, excepting that most important of all modern battles, where Buonaparte, for the first and the last time, met a British army in the field.

To the young Highlanders, of whom nearly 600 were under age, the officers, with very few exceptions, being equally young and inexperienced, it was a critical moment. If we consider a formidable line, which, from numbers, greatly out-flanked our first line, supported by an equally strong second line, the glancing of whose bayonets was seen over the heads of the first; the advance of so preponderat-

\* The stubble was so rank and long, that, catching fire from the burning fuses of the guns and musket cartridges, several of the enemy who lay wounded in the field were burnt to death; or rather, I hope that the wounds were so desperate, that the unfortunate men were either dead, or in such a state as to be insensible to pain.

ing a force on the three regiments of the first Brigade, (the second being considerably in the rear), was sufficiently trying, particularly for the young Highlanders. Much depended on the event of the first onset; if that were successful, their native courage would be animated, and would afterwards stand a more severe trial. In this mutual advance, the opposing troops were in full view of each other, which enabled our men to make their remarks on the marching, and on the manner in which the enemy advanced. They did not always preserve a correct steady line, but sometimes allowed openings and intervals by careless marching; showing, as the soldiers observed, that they did not march so steadily as they themselves did. Additional circumstances inspired still greater confidence. I have already noticed that the enemy's guns were not well served, and pointed too high: not so the British. When our artillery opened, under the direction of Major Lemoine, and Captain Dougal Campbell, no practice could be more perfect. Every shot told, and carried off a file of the enemy's line. When the shot struck the line, two or three files, on the right and left of the men thrown down, gave way, leaving a momentary opening before they recovered and closed up the vacancy. The inexperienced young Highlanders, believing that all in the vacant spaces had been carried off, shouted with exultation at the evident superiority. This belief I endeavoured to strengthen by observation, tending to render the comparison more favourable and more strikingly conspicuous. It is not often, that, in this manner, two hostile lines in a reciprocally forward movement, at a slow but firm pace, can make their observations while advancing, with a seeming determination to conquer or perish on the spot. Those criticisms were, however, to be soon checked by the mutual forward movement on which they were founded. The lines were fast closing, but with perfect regularity and firmness. They were now within three hundred yards distance, and a firehaving commenced between the sharpshooters on the right, it was time to prepare for an immediate shock. The enemy

seemed to hesitate, halted, and fired a volley. Our line also halted, and instantly returned the salute; and when the men had reloaded, a second volley was thrown in.\* As soon as the smoke had cleared off, so that the enemy could be seen, the line advanced at full charge. The enemy, with seeming resolution to stand the shock, kept perfectly steady, till, apparently intimidated by the advance, equally rapid and firm, of an enemy too, who, they were taught to believe, would fly before them, their hearts failed, they faced to the right about, and fled with speed, but not in confusion. When they approached within a short distance of their second line, they halted, fronted, and opened a fire of musketry on our line, which did not follow up the charge to any distance, but halted, to allow the men to draw breath, and to close up any small breaks in the line. They were soon ready, however, to advance again. A constant running fire was now kept up on the march, the enemy continuing the same, but retiring slowly as they fired, until they threw their first line on the second. They then seemed determined to make a resolute stand, thus giving our line the advantage of sooner closing upon them; but they would not stand the shock; they gave way in greater confusion than in the first instance. They had now lost a considerable number of men.

At this period the enemy's cavalry attempted to charge, but, either from the horses not being properly broke, or rather, from the sharp running fire kept up in their faces, the dragoons could not, with all their exertions, bring them to the charge. At last, finding their efforts unavailing, they galloped round the flanks of their line to the rear, turned their horses loose, and fought on foot.

\* The precision with which these two volleys were fired, and their effect, were quite remarkable. When the clearing off of the smoke (there was hardly a breath of wind to dispel it) enabled us to see the French line, the breaks and vacancies caused by the men who had fallen by the fire appeared like a paling, of which parts had been thrown down or broken. On our side it was so different, that, glancing along the rear of my regiment, I counted only fourteen who had fallen from the enemy's fire.

Both the lines of the enemy were now completely intermixed, and Regnier, who was observed riding about, and, from his violent gesticulations, apparently in great agitation, seeing himself completely foiled in his attack on the front, and being driven back more than a mile, made an attempt to turn the left flank. For this purpose, he brought some battalions, by an oblique movement to the British left, and gained so much on that flank, that the second line (the Grenadier battalion, and 27th regiment, which now came up under Brigadier General Cole) could not form the line in continuation. Throwing back their left, they therefore formed in an angle of about sixty degrees to the front line, and, in this position, opened a most admirably directed and destructive fire, which quickly drove back the enemy with great loss. While in this angular formation, the fire was incessantly and admirably sustained, till a circumstance occurred in the centre which gave the enemy a momentary advantage, but from which they afterwards suffered severely.

On the side of the French there was a Swiss regiment, commanded by an officer of the family of Watteville;—a family which had also a regiment in our service, and in the field that day. The Watteville regiment in the French service was dressed in a kind of light claret-coloured uniform, something like scarlet when much worn, and with hats so much resembling those of the band of our Watteville's, that, when this corps was seen advancing from their second line, the young Highland lads, in their inexperience, believed they were our own, who had, in some manner, got to the front; and a word passed quickly to cease firing. The fire had accordingly slackened, before the voice of the mounted officers, whose elevated position enabled them to distinguish more clearly, could be heard, and the enemy, believing this relaxation to proceed from a different cause, advanced with additional boldness. This brought them so close, that when the men were undeceived, and recommenced firing, it was with such effect, that in ten minutes the front was completely cleared, and the enemy driven back with

great precipitation. Indeed, the precision with which the men took their aim, during the whole action, was admirable, and clearly established the perfect self-possession and coolness of their minds.

Unwilling to break the continuity of the narrative of the proceedings on the centre and the left, where the action was now nearly finished, I have delayed noticing the movements of Lieutenant-Colonel Kempt's Light brigade. This corps had for some time been exercised in an uniform manner, under the training of that officer, and they now even exceeded the high expectations formed of them and their spirited Commander. The party of the Corsican Rangers attached to the Light infantry were on the right. When the line advanced within reach of musketry, they were sent out on the flank and in front to skirmish, but, on the first fire from the enemy's sharpshooters, they retreated in great haste.\* This, in some cases, would have been an inauspicious, if not a fatal commencement of a battle, when so much was to be done, and so superior a force to be opposed. But here, this repulse did not extend beyond those who gave way to the panic, and the Light company of the 20th regiment, who had the right of the line, rushed forward, and, in an instant, drove off the party which had advanced on the Corsicans, but with the loss of Captain Maclaime, the only officer killed on that day. In a few minutes after this, the hostile lines came within charge distance; and the left of the enemy pushing forward, both lines had nearly met,

\* The extended scale of British warfare, in proportion to our population, renders the employment of foreign troops indispensable. But the practice of filling up the numbers of an armament, or expedition, need not be carried so far as to place untried troops of other nations in the front, or in situations where their failure must endanger the safety or success of an army. It would be unpleasant to state instances of such failures, but I could give several of which I have been an eyewitness. It is not easy to see the necessity of placing foreign troops, many of whom have deserted their own standards, among the choice of the British army, before their courage and fidelity had been fairly proved. I believe General Stuart heartily repented the arrangement he had made.



when, " at this momentous crisis, the enemy became appalled, broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late; they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter." \*

I now return to the centre and left, which continued hotly engaged, always vigorously pushing the enemy, who still endeavoured to gain upon the flank. But in this they were frustrated by the continued advance of the British, who preserved the same angular formation, the first line moving directly on its original front, and the second in an oblique direction, with its right touching the left of the first.

The fire now slackened, the enemy having lost much ground, been repulsed in every attempt, and sustained an unusual, and, indeed, altogether an extraordinary loss of men. But General Regnier, despairing of success against Colonel Kempt's Light corps on the right, and still pushed by the troops in the centre and left, prepared to make a desperate push, in order to take our line in flank on the left. † At this moment the 20th regiment marched up, and formed on the left, nearly at right angles to General Cole's brigade. This regiment had, that morning, disembarked in the Bay from Sicily, (the scarcity of transports preventing their earlier arrival), and Lieutenant-Colonel Ross (afterwards killed in America) having landed with great promptitude, moved forward with such celerity, the moment he heard the firing, that he reached the left of the line as the enemy were pushing round to turn the flank.

\* General Stuart's Dispatch.

† The order of battle in both armies happened to be such, that the first Light infantry of the French, who might be called the *élite* of their corps, were immediately opposed to the British Light corps. It was probably owing to this circumstance, and their idea of their own superiority, that they advanced to the charge on Colonel Kempt's Brigade, while the troops to their right stood without advancing to meet the charge of the Highlanders and the 81st regiment. It is hardly worth while to notice the casual coincidence of the names of the corps of both armies; but the French had a Light corps, a 42d, a Grenadier battalion, an 81st, and a Watteville's regiment. Our Watteville's, being in the Reserve, was never brought forward to the front.

Colonel Ross formed his regiment with his right supported by the left of the 27th, and opposed a full front to the enemy. This reinforcement seemed to destroy all farther hopes of the enemy. So feeble was this last attempt, that when Colonel Ross ordered out 80 men to act as sharpshooters in his front, their usual spirit was gone, and they could not face even this small number.

The battle was now over. The confidence which had animated the enemy during the greater part of the action appeared to have at last utterly forsaken them; they gave way at all points, in the greatest confusion; numbers, to assist their speed, throwing away their arms, accoutrements, and every incumbrance. The length of the action; the excessive heat of a mid-day sun in the south of Italy on the 4th of July; the want of rest, and the fatigue during the previous night, the men having lain on their arms; and, above all, the rapidity with which the enemy retreated, rendered the capture of many prisoners impossible. The Light infantry and the Highlanders were ordered out in pursuit, but in vain; the fugitives ran too swiftly; neither the Highlanders, with their light loose garb, nor the Light infantry, the choice of the army, could overtake them. I have more than once had occasion to mention, that few things increase a man's speed more effectually than the terror of a bayonet or bullet in his rear. The pursuer, having no such excitement, will not, perhaps, so eagerly exert his speed. If General Stuart had on this day had a few hundred cavalry to gallop round the flank, and intercept the flying enemy in front, while the infantry were pursuing in their rear, the whole must have surrendered. \*

\* Any person who has seen the banks of the Tay in the Highlands of Perthshire, can form some idea of the ground occupied by both armies previous to the battle, as well as of the field on which it was fought, by imagining that General Regnier had stationed his troops on a height at the eastern point of the wooded hill or ridge north of Taymouth Castle, looking down towards the Point of Lyon, where that river joins the Tay, and that he descended from this high and commanding position, and fording the Lyon, formed his army on the opposite

The disadvantage so frequently experienced in the transmarine expeditions of England occasioned by the want of ships for the conveyance of a sufficient number of troops, was now severely felt; for although the field was most favourable for the operations of cavalry, that arm was, on the present occasion, entirely wanting. As soon as the ships had landed the infantry at St Euphemia, they were ordered back for the cavalry, who arrived the day after the battle. Few victories, however, have been more complete; and as under equal advantages of ground, of discipline in the troops, and ability in the commanders, a hard fought battle is the more honourable, if gained with little loss to the victors, and with great destruction to the vanquished; so that engagement must be particularly so in which a greatly superior force of tried and veteran troops is totally routed with a loss in killed of more than 30 to 1;—that is, on the present occasion, with a loss of 1300 killed of the French to 41 of the British. The disparity of numbers being so great, the proofs

bank of the river at the extremity of a plain of five miles in length and one in breadth, perfectly level, and bounded on right and left by hills and rocky precipices thickly covered in many places by woods of large growth; while, on the other hand, General Stuart had stationed his army at Tay Bridge, at the farther extremity of the plain or valley. Both armies being thus upwards of four miles distant, the ground between them being a dead flat, they formed their line of battle, and commenced a forward movement, towards each other, almost at the same moment; and so equal was their rate of marching, at a slow and steady pace, that the first conflict took place, as it were, two miles west of Castle-Menzies, half-way between Tay Bridge, and the Point of Lyon, their original position. When the enemy were finally routed, without a hope of rallying, they fled through a valley quite in the direction and distance in which Garth Castle and the surrounding grounds lie from the valley just described, protected in their flight from a close pursuit by woods, ravines, and precipitous rocks. Indeed, the resemblance and appearances of both countries, with the nature of the mountains, and the direction of the river and valleys, is altogether striking and remarkable; and no plan or description can afford so vivid an idea of the scene of action, and of the grounds on which the various movements took place, as by a reference to those glens of Perthshire, with their fertile plain, encompassed by mountains and picturesque accompaniments, so much in character with that district of Calabria in which Maida is situated.

of courage and other military qualities, on the part of the victors, are conclusive. Equally decisive were the advantages on the side of the victors, in regard to the subsequent operations of the campaign; for while the English army was, on the following morning, but little diminished, and quite prepared to meet a fresh opponent, if such could have been brought against it, the enemy were so dispirited, that, on no after occasion, did they attempt to make a stand, which indeed, their reduced numbers rendered impossible. Their loss was 1300 killed, and 1100 wounded, left on the field, besides the slightly wounded who retired to their rear. Upwards of 200 of the latter were taken afterwards, in the hospital of Cotrona, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic.

The loss of the British was, Captain Maclaime, a high-spirited officer, of the 20th regiment, 3 sergeants, and 41 rank and file, killed; and 11 officers, 8 sergeants, and 261 rank and file, wounded. The loss of the Highlanders was 7 rank and file killed, Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Macleod, Major David Stewart, Captains Duncan M'Pherson and Duncan M'Gregor, Lieutenant James Mackay, Ensigns Colin Mackenzie, and Peter M'Gregor, 4 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 69 rank and file, wounded.

It was not till after the action that the full extent of the advantages acquired, and the numerical superiority of the French, were completely known. The reinforcement expected by the enemy,—the supposed non-arrival of which had induced Sir John Stuart to attack, without waiting for the cavalry and the 20th regiment,—had joined General Regnier the preceding evening, and had augmented his army to upwards of 7000 men. \* But this accession of force, instead of securing to the French General the certain conquest he expected, was, in fact, the probable cause of his de-

\* One of the prisoners, an officer of rank, told me that their force exceeded 8000, but returns found after the battle stated the number at 7600. General Regnier's second in command, a Lieutenant-General, with several field officers, were taken prisoners.

feat. The additional confidence inspired into a mind already disposed to look on his enemy with contempt, made him descend from a position so easily defensible, and so difficult of approach, that, had he maintained it, the boldest attempts of his opponents would, in all probability, have been fruitless, or, if successful, attended with a loss which would have rendered further operations impossible. But, blinded by excessive confidence, he surrendered this great natural advantage, and marched down to the plain, "to drive the English into the sea." \*

In this battle, the whole force of the enemy was brought into action. On the side of the British, the Reserve was not brought into the line at all. Colonel Kempt's brigade, and the Highlanders, and 81st regiment, composing the first line, amounting to about 2060 men, drove the enemy to a considerable distance, forcing back their first line on their second, and had completely defeated Regnier's object in front, before our second line, of 1145 men, came up. These soon drove the enemy from their front, so that, when the 20th regiment, consisting of 564 men, arrived, the battle was so far finished, that, as has been mentioned, when the 80 men ordered by Lieutenant-Colonel Ross to his front advanced to clear the ground, the total rout took place. And thus, in fact, 2060 men of the front line discomfited the enemy in

\* The remarks on the British army, in General Regnier's work on the expedition to Egypt, and his attempts to lessen the honour of that conquest, are well known. It will be recollected, that, in his account of the battle of Alexandria, he stated, that the Highland soldiers (of the 42d) took shelter under the bellies of the French horses. I cannot fully contradict this assertion, as it is impossible to see every circumstance in a field of battle. I can only say, I saw nothing like the fact thus asserted, nor have I ever met with any who did; and it may easily be supposed, that a better expedient for attaining personal safety might have been devised than that of creeping under the bellies of furious horses. Indeed, it must have required some courage to adopt it, considering that well armed dragoons were on the backs of these novel protectors. General Regnier, when he left Monte Leone to meet General Stuart, invited the inhabitants to a grand fête, which he was to give them in honour of the victory he was confident of gaining.

the first instance, and gave a complete shock to their sanguine hopes, while the whole number of British engaged only amounted to 3769 firelocks, besides 50 artillery men.

But however complete were the defeat and dispersion of the enemy, this short campaign ended, as was then but too common in our expeditions, from the want of a sufficient force to *preserve* what had been previously *acquired*. In a few days the army marched to Monte Leone, where a quantity of stores was seized and destroyed, and after traversing all the southern peninsula of Calabria, embarked in August at Reggio for Sicily, but not before the malaria or pestilential air of the country, which is so deadly at that season of the year, had attacked some of the troops. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone and eight officers of the 58th regiment fell a sacrifice, before the troops passed over to Sicily, where Lieutenant-General Fox had arrived and taken the command, on the 29th of July. In a few months afterwards, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore arrived from England, with a reinforcement of troops.\*

Sicily now contained a considerable British force, but no active operations were attempted till March 1807, when Major-General Mackenzie Fraser embarked with a detachment of artillery, the 20th Light dragoons, the 31st, 35th, the Highland, and De Rolle's regiment only, and the corps

\* The ophthalmia, from which the troops in the Mediterranean suffered so much a few years before, had now entirely disappeared in that part of the world, and a case did not occur till the 52d and other regiments, then arrived under General Moore, brought the disease from England, where they had caught it from those who had been in Egypt in 1801; and thus the men in these corps, who had never been from home, now spread the contagion among the troops in Sicily. It seems extraordinary, that a disease, supposed to originate from the sun, and a white, hot soil, should be retained in the gloomy, cloudy, climate of England and Scotland, (Dundee barracks were strongly infected with it for several years,) and totally disappear in the sunshine of the Mediterranean,—more particularly in Malta, where the white rocks, reflecting the rays of the sun with force, must necessarily be prejudicial to the eyes. An inquiry, by a competent individual, into the causes of this remarkable fact, could hardly fail to prove very interesting.

of Chasseurs Britanniques, having with him Major-General Wauchope and Brigadier-Generals the Honourable William Stewart and the Honourable Robert Meade.

The object of this armament was to occupy Alexandria, Rosetta, and that part of the coast of Egypt. The troops sailed on the 6th of March. Some bad weather occurring on the passage, the Apollo frigate, with nineteen transports, parted company, but the Commodore, with the others, anchored on the 16th off Arabs Tower; to the west of Alexandria. Major Misset, who had been left as British Resident, when General John Stuart, with the army, evacuated Egypt in 1802, immediately sent off letters to the commanders, pressing them to land immediately, as the inhabitants were favourably disposed, and informing them that the troops in garrison did not exceed 500 men. Owing, however, to the absence of so large a proportion of his force, the General hesitated to comply; but the Resident, making more urgent representations on the danger of delay, part of the troops were landed on the 17th, and the remainder on the 18th. On the same evening they moved forward with an intention of attacking the city, or of getting round to the eastward, beyond Pompey's Pillar, in order thus to be nearer their supplies from the fleet in Aboukir Bay.

The troops attacked and forced an entrenchment with a deep ditch, having Fort de Bains on its right flank, mounted with thirteen guns, which played with little effect. When they reached Pompey's Pillar, they found the garrison prepared to receive them, and the walls lined with troops. This preparation for resistance to his small force induced the General to proceed farther to the eastward; and accordingly, on the morning of the 19th, he took up a position on the ground which had been occupied in March 1801. On the 20th the town was summoned, and surrendered on the same day. In the evening the Apollo, with the other transports which had parted company in the gale, anchored in Aboukir Bay; and, on the 22d, Vice-Admiral Duckworth, with a fleet from the Dardanelles, arrived at the same anchorage.

On the 27th of March, Major-General Wauchope and Brigadier-General Meade, with the 31st regiment, and the corps of Chasseurs Britanniques, were detached for the purpose of taking possession of the forts and heights of Aboumondour on the banks of the Nile, at a short distance above Rosetta, and from thence of Rosetta itself. The first part of the service was accomplished without opposition.

A town, like Rosetta, with high houses, flat roofed, and windows like loop-holes, and with streets only a few feet wide, forms a better defence to a weak enemy, than a walled town which brave troops might scale in the face of strong opposition. General Wauchope, in the firmness of his own mind, slighted these defences, and forgetting that an imbecile enemy may become formidable if placed out of danger, he marched into the town at the head of the 31st regiment, directing his course to an open space or market place, in the centre of the town. The streets were totally deserted, not a sound was to be heard, nor a person to be seen. When they had proceeded half-way to the market place, in an instant every house was in a blaze from the first floor to the roof; showers of musketry were fired from every part, while the troops were unable to return a shot with any effect. There was not a man in sight, nor had they any thing to direct their fire but the smoke, and flashes from the muzzles of their opponent's guns, pointed out of the loop-hole windows, and over the eaves and roofs of the houses. To remain in this situation, exposed to an invisible and sheltered enemy, would only have been a sacrifice of the troops. They, therefore, retired with the loss of the brave General killed, General Meade wounded, and nearly 300 soldiers and officers killed and wounded.

This repulse disconcerted the whole enterprise, and the troops retired to Aboukir, whence they were ordered to Alexandria. The General being still anxious to get possession of Rosetta, a second attempt was made, and the 35th, 78th, and De Rolle's regiment, were ordered on this service, under the command of Brigadier-General the honourable



William Stewart and Colonel Oswald; General Fraser remained at Alexandria, with the 31st and the Chasseurs.

This detachment marched on the 3d, and, after some trifling skirmishes, took possession of Aboumondour on the 7th of April. The enemy were quickly driven into the town, which, on the following day, was summoned to surrender. The summons being ineffectual, batteries were commenced, and, on the soft sandy soil, were soon ready to open. From the extent of the town, in comparison of the limited number of troops, it was impossible to invest the whole, or to prevent a free communication across the Nile to the Delta, whence reinforcements, and supplies of provisions, could be easily received. A line was taken up between the Nile and the gate of Alexandria. The batteries opened their fire, but with little effect, on the heavy and strong masses of buildings. The shot, plunging and burying itself in the houses, did but little damage, as they contained scarcely any furniture. The Turks and Albanians gave themselves no concern about the fate of the inhabitants, looking upon them with the same indifference as the Dey of Algiers did on his subjects, when a British Admiral threatened to bombard and blow the town about his ears. He asked what would be the probable expense to the English of destroying the town, and being informed, answered, "At that rate, and to save them some money, I will undertake to do it myself for half the sum."

There was but little chance that such an enemy would be affected by the destruction of lives or houses. General Stewart was wounded at the commencement of these operations, but with his usual spirit and zeal, he refused to retire on account of a wound that did not totally disable him, and kept the field during the whole time. At this period, much was expected from the cooperation of the Mamalukes from Upper Egypt, but no intelligence had hitherto been received respecting them.

On the 16th, Major James Macdonell, of the 78th, with 250 men, and Lieutenant John Robertson, with 40 seamen

from the Tigre, were detached across the river opposite to Aboumondour, to destroy some batteries which the enemy had erected on the Delta, for the purpose of taking our batteries in flank. After a considerable circuit to prevent his movements from being observed, Major Macdonell came upon the rear of the batteries at sun-rise, and attacked the enemy with such spirit and vigour, that an effectual resistance was impracticable. He immediately turned the guns upon the town; but the enemy soon collecting in force, he destroyed the batteries, embarked the guns, and recrossed the river, with only 4 men wounded.

On the 19th, little impression was made on the town, nor was there any appearance of the Mamalukes; while the enemy were increasing in number and boldness, and made several attacks on the picquets, and advanced posts between the Lake Etko and El Hamet. One of the picquets commanded by Captain Rheinach of De Rolle's, was cut off, and the whole either killed or taken.

El Hamet is a village on the Nile, nearly six miles above Rosetta. A dry canal, with a broad dike or embankment, runs between the Nile and the Lake Etko, a distance of about two miles. Major Vogelsang of De Rolle's, with a detachment of his regiment, had been sent to El Hamet, and, on the 20th, Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, with five companies of the Highlanders, two of the 35th regiment, and a few cavalry and artillery, was ordered to reinforce and take the command of the position. When Colonel Macleod arrived, he stationed his men, amounting to 720, in three divisions, proportioning the dragoons and artillery between each: one party on the banks of the Nile, one in the centre, and the third on the dry canal. The ground was well adapted for the movements of cavalry, without any impediment except what the dike and dry canal presented. On the evening of the 20th all was quiet; but on the morning of the 21st, about seventy gherms, or large boats, full of troops, were seen slowly descending the Nile, and numerous bodies of cavalry collecting round the British posts,

which remained in their different detached positions. Colonel Macleod proceeded to the post on the right, occupied by a company of the 35th and the Highland Grenadiers, with an intention of concentrating his force, and, if unable to make an effectual opposition, of retreating to the camp at Rosetta.

The enemy landed from their boats with unusual alertness, and advanced on the left and centre posts, while the cavalry, with a body of Albanian infantry, surrounded the right of the position, and attacked it from all points with great fury. Forming a circle round the position, they fired in their usual confused manner, and directing their shot with so little aim to the centre, that, passing over, it struck their own men and horses on the opposite side. But their numbers and their bravery supplied the deficiency of discipline. The cavalry, charging up to the points of the bayonets, attempted to cut the soldiers down in the front of the square, which was every minute thinning in numbers, and lessening in extent, the soldiers closing in upon the vacancies, as their comrades fell. Completely surrounded as they were, they could not venture to charge to either front of the square; for, if they attempted to advance on one front, an equal number of the enemy were ready to attack them in the rear the instant they faced. Thus were they beset on every front by a force so numerous, that the cavalry, in their different evolutions, as they advanced on the square, and were forced to retreat by its fire, frequently impeded their own movements by crossing and jostling each other. But the boldness of their attacks, however irregular, and the dexterity with which they handled the sword, proved destructive to the British. Colonel Macleod and all the officers were killed except Captain Colin Mackay of the Highlanders, who was severely wounded. \*

\* Sergeant John Macrae, a young man, about twenty-two years of age, but of great size and strength of arm, showed that the broad sword, in a firm hand, is as good a weapon in close fighting as the bayonet. If the first push of the

But neither the loss of their officers, nor the perseverance of the enemy, could dismay the few now remaining, or shake their firmness, which was then the more necessary, as their diminished numbers gave fresh animation to the enemy. At length, when there were only eleven of the Highlanders, and an equally small number of the 35th, left standing, Captain Mackay, seeing that farther resistance would only expose the whole to speedy destruction, determined to make a desperate push to join the centre. He charged through the enemy, when several succeeded in gaining the position, but others dropped on the way, either killed or wounded. Captain Mackay was wounded in two places before he pushed off to the centre position. When he had nearly reached the post, an Arab horseman cut at his neck with such force, that, had it not been for the cape of his coat, and a stuffed neck-cloth, both of which were unusually thick, his head would no doubt have been severed from his body. As it was, the sabre cut to the bone, and laid him flat on the ground, when he was taken up and carried in to the post by sergeant Waters, afterwards a lieutenant in the regiment, the only individual who escaped unhurt. The muscles of the neck

bayonet misses its aim, or happens to be parried, it is not easy to recover the weapon and repeat the thrust, when the enemy is bold enough to stand firm; but it is not so with the sword, which may be readily withdrawn from its blow, wielded with celerity, and directed to any part of the body, particularly to the head and arms, while its motions defend the person using it. Maerae killed six men, cutting them down with his broad sword (of the kind usually worn by sergeants of the Highland corps), when at last he made a dash out of the ranks on a Turk, whom he cut down; but, as he was returning to the square, he was killed by a blow from behind, his head being nearly split in two by the stroke of a sabre. Lieutenant Christopher Maerae, whom I have already mentioned as having brought eighteen men of his own name to the regiment as part of his quota of recruits for an ensigney, was killed in this affair, with six of his followers and namesakes, besides the sergeant. On the passage to Lisbon, in October 1805, the same sergeant came to me one evening, crying like a child, and complaining that the ship's cook had called him English names, which he did not understand, and thrown some fat in his face. Thus a lad, who in 1805, was so soft and so childish, displayed in 1807 a courage and vigour worthy a hero of Ossiau.

were so much unjured, that they could not bear the weight of the head without support, till some time afterwards, that the parts had united and gained strength.

Having been successful on the right, the enemy attacked the other posts with less vigour, being apparently satisfied with surrounding each till the fate of the operations on the right should be decided, and thus preventing any movement for its relief. Unfortunately the officers in charge of these posts, either from want of orders, or some other cause, made no attempt to close on each other, or on the post so hotly engaged. The enemy, by the destruction of that post, having gained an accession of disposable force, turned their whole weight on the centre, which made less resistance. The commanding officer hung out a white handkerchief as a token of submission, and the signal being understood, the firing ceased. The same took place on the left; and now an extraordinary scene followed, in the struggle and scrambling of the enemy for prisoners, who, according to the custom of the Turks, became the private property of the person who took them, and for each of whom a ransom was expected. In this contest for prize-money, the men were pulled and hauled about with little ceremony, and were immediately marched a short distance up the river, when every Turkish soldier received payment on the spot for his prisoners, at the rate of seven dollars a head. During these transactions, a number of horsemen were galloping about, each with the head of a British soldier stuck on the point of his lance. \*

\* It has been frequently observed, that when a military commander is unsuccessful, his account of the operations is generally longer and more in detail, than the reports of the greatest victories. The dispatches of the Dukes of Marlborough and Wellington, are remarkable for their concise, artless, and clear statements. Accounts have been seen of a bush-skirmish with Brigands in the West Indies, or of driving a party of Hindoos from a jungle in the East, covering as much paper as was occupied in describing the operations at Ramilies or Vittoria. Suwaroff's dispatch to the Empress Catharine on the capture of Ismael is a masterpiece of brevity.

In attempting a detail of the unfortunate affair at El Hamet, I have been

The treatment on the way to Cairo was such as might have been expected from such ferocious conductors, who, on the morning after the battle, exhibited in front of the place of confinement a pile of upwards of one hundred stuffed scalps, arranged in regular order. When the captives arrived at Cairo, they were paraded through the city for seven hours, exposed to all kinds of scoffs and insults of the people, who cried, "There are our English *friends*, who came from their ships to kill us and our children!" This was a melancholy contrast to the esteem in which the British were held in the same country a few years preceding; and perhaps it was not without cause that the people complained of this unexpected attack and invasion of their country by those whom they had looked upon as their friends and deliverers. However, at the conclusion of this mortifying procession, the officers were conducted to the presence of the Pacha, who expressed great regret that any change of measures in England should have occasioned such an attack on their an-

necessarily short and general, as, owing to the death of the officer commanding, I have lost the means of procuring proper information as to his plans and intended mode of proceeding; and in this ignorance it would be unsatisfactory, and indeed unfair, to pronounce conjectural opinions. He had a clear and animated style of writing, and had he survived that day, he would have given a full and satisfactory account of transactions, of which I have only attempted a mere outline, confining myself to a few leading facts, interesting in themselves, but which would have been incomparably more so, could a connected account of the whole have been given by the commanding officer.

However much success adds to the brilliancy and eclat of men's actions, as much determined resolution, talent, and honourable conduct, may be exhibited in a thorough defeat, as in a complete victory; and while the affair of El Hamet was a thorough discomfiture, no general or commander need ever ask for a finer display of the best parts of a soldier's character, than was exhibited on that day, by the invincible little band who stood their ground against multitudes; for, as I have noticed on another occasion, nothing can well be more nearly allied to invincibility, than that firmness of nerve, and that strength of arm, which resists an enemy while life remains, or, until overwhelmed by a superiority of numbers, which no human strength or courage can oppose: And in no victory of the late war, so fruitful in gallant actions, was more honour gained than by those who, on the 21st April 1807, fought at El Hamet against the most fearful odds, till they fell on the ground they occupied.

cient allies and friends, adding, that he was himself friendly to the English, and promised them protection and good usage while under his command; a pledge which he honourably and completely redeemed.\*

During the proceedings at El Hamet, General Stewart, aware of the critical situation of the detachment, immediately got under arms, and marched towards Etko, on the supposition that Colonel Macleod had retreated in that direction; but seeing no appearance of the detachment, he turned towards El Hamet, where, on his arrival, nothing was seen but the wrecks of the recent disaster. No alternative now remained, but to retire to Alexandria, surrounded by the enemy, who sallied out from Rosetta when the retreat commenced. The march was over a sandy plain, affording great advantage to the enemy's cavalry, of which they boldly, but ineffectually, endeavoured to avail themselves; the 35th and 78th opening so steady a fire as to repulse them on every advance, and to keep them at such a distance, that they could make no impression, while the regiment itself suffered little or no loss. This was the last hostile attack on either side. The army remained in Alexandria till the 22d of September, when the whole embarked (the prisoners at Cairo having been restored by capitulation), and sailed for Sicily.

The troops were comparatively healthy while in Egypt, and the deaths few. Lieutenant Thomas Hamilton, a promising officer of the Highlanders, died of fever, and a

\* Several of the soldiers were not released, and remained in the country, where they were in general well treated. A young man, a drummer in this regiment, of the name of Macleod, who enlisted with me at Perth, had been in the habit of frequenting the regimental hospital, and being a smart lad, made himself useful to the surgeon, who occasionally employed him to administer medicines, applying poultices, and the like. With this knowledge of surgery, and the Egyptians not being good judges of medical science, he began to prescribe to his master's family, and thence extending his practice, Macleod was in full employment as a physician in Cairo when he was last heard of, three years ago; and being very handsome, he made a respectable appearance in his Turkish robes and turban.

number of the men were affected with ophthalmia. After the army returned to Sicily, the regiments were sent to different destinations; the 78th joined an expedition under Sir John Moore intended for Lisbon, but they were afterwards ordered for England, where they landed, and were quartered in Canterbury in the spring of 1808. From this place they proceeded to Little Hampton in Sussex, preparatory to the drafting of the men to reinforce the first battalion in India. \*

At this time several changes took place among the field-officers of this regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Hercules Scott of the 1st battalion was removed to the 103d regi-

\* The men were still subject to ophthalmia, the disease sometimes breaking out, and then subsiding so suddenly, as within two days to leave no other appearance than a slight weakness in the eyes. These attacks were frequently occasioned by the north-east wind; and, being temporary, the surgeon reported those only who were actually unable to perform their duty. A circumstance occurred, however, which led to an investigation as to the cause of the frequent recurrence and disappearance of this disease. A medical inspector, going round the district to view the different hospitals, came to the barracks of the 78th one morning, after a field exercise, the wind having come round to the north-east while the men were in the field. Without reporting his arrival, he went immediately to the barracks, and was astonished to find upwards of 200 of the men labouring under an apparently virulent ophthalmia, with yellow matter discharging from their eyes, which were at the same time in a state of high inflammation; while only three cases had been reported by the surgeon. This appeared so extraordinary, that he immediately left the barracks, and stated the circumstance to the Medical Board, who called upon the surgeon to account for his conduct. At that time I commanded the regiment; and, being partly implicated, both from my having inadvertently been the occasion of this particular access of disease, by keeping the men in the field after the wind had changed, and having also recommended to the surgeon not to return such ophthalmia cases as never kept the men from their duty, I therefore stated the case very fully to the Medical Board; adding, that, on any day when the wind was easterly, I could show half the regiment affected with an apparently virulent ophthalmia, while, in two days afterwards, if the weather was mild, and the wind south or west, all appearance of disease would have wholly disappeared.

The surgeon's conduct was approved, and directions given not to expose the men unnecessarily in the state of the weather which seemed to affect them so peculiarly.



ment, and was succeeded by Major John Macleod from the 56th. Major David Stewart was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the Royal West India Rangers, and was succeeded by Major Robert Hamilton from the 79th Highlanders.

The imperfect sketch which I have thus attempted to give of the service of this battalion, will convey some idea of the character of the young men who composed it. They had now been together four years, and had assumed the form and manners of experienced troops. When they embarked at Portsmouth less than three years before, they were in reality boys in their habits, as well as in their appearance. This manly character was acquired at the expense of no material loss of their original simple habits. Indeed, I may say that there was no change of principles or of morals. Notwithstanding the buoyancy of spirits, and the happiness experienced on returning in safety to their native country, and a considerable supply of money saved during their long confinement on board ship from Egypt, not an individual came under the notice of the commanding officer for any fault deserving of punishment. For many months the guard-house, the usual place of confinement, was empty; the only restraint required for any negligence or breach of orders, was a confinement for a day or more within the barrack-yard, while their comrades were under no restraint. The officers, who were as young and inexperienced as the soldiers, had now also acquired professional knowledge and experience, and lived together in the habits of friendship, and in the confidential intimacy of a family. The same happy cordiality extended to the men, and influenced their conduct. This was so well known at head-quarters, that, from the recollection of the feeling exhibited at Hythe in 1805, and the regret expressed by the men when the same field-officer was promoted to another regiment, he was directed to remain for a certain time in the command of men between whom and himself such sentiments existed; it being considered desirable that no

separation should take place till the soldiers were reconciled to it, and the causes and circumstances explained. The officer who was appointed to the battalion was directed not to join or interfere in the command. But, to men actuated by such feelings and principles as these, it was only necessary to explain their duty, and what their King and country expected of them, as was seen in this instance. After remaining some time with the battalion, the officer in question applied for leave to join his new corps; the officer recently promoted joined, and took the command of the battalion; and the former parted with his old friends, impressed with those sentiments of regret, esteem, and attachment, which their conduct in general, and towards him in particular, called for from him.

A short time previous to this period, a detachment of 400 men embarked for India to reinforce the first battalion in Bombay.\* The second battalion was ordered to the Isle of

\* The personal appearance of this detachment attracted particular notice. Of the 400 men, 350 were volunteers from Perthshire, Ross-shire, and other Scotch militia regiments; and of these 280 were six feet and upwards, with strength of limb and person equal to their height.

In consequence of a wound received at Maida, which annoyed me for many years, I was obliged to return to Scotland, and did not join my regiment again till after the expedition to Egypt in 1807; but, as the wound was in the arm, it did not disable me for travelling. I therefore employed part of the time I was absent in procuring men for the regiment; and when the act passed for allowing volunteers from the militia, I went to the quarters of several Scotch militia regiments, and got a considerable number of volunteers, particularly from my county regiment the Perthshire, then stationed in Kent.

As these volunteers were destined for India, they expressed a strong desire to return to Scotland and visit their friends once more. I therefore represented the circumstance to the Duke of York, through General Calvert, the Adjutant-General, when his Royal Highness, with that kind and gracious feeling he has ever shown towards soldiers, complied with their request, and all the volunteers were accordingly ordered to Perth. I mention the circumstance more particularly on account of the influence this attention to their wishes had upon the soldiers and their conduct. While their personal appearance was such as I have already described, they were equally conspicuous for regularity and every duty becoming good soldiers; and, as they often declared, they were anxious to prove, by their conduct, that they were worthy of the kindness

Wight, and remained there till August 1809, when a detachment of 370 men, with officers and non-commissioned officers, was incorporated with a battalion commanded by the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane, and ordered to join the expedition to Zealand, under the Earl of Chatham. At the conclusion of this service, they returned to the Isle of Wight, considerably affected by the Walcheren fever and ague. Although few died, it was not till the following year that the men recovered their usual strength and vigour. In 1810, all who were fit for service in an eastern climate were embarked, and joined the first battalion at Goa a short time previous to the embarkation of the expedition against Batavia in 1811. This reinforcement, in addition to the fine detachment just mentioned, and which had joined some time previously, enabled the 78th to take the field under General Achmuty in as complete condition as any regiment ever seen in the East Indies; indeed, few battalions have exceeded them in appearance, character, and efficiency, in any service.

The officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, left behind with the second battalion, were ordered to Aberdeen, where they were stationed nearly four years, employed in the necessary duty of recruiting, but with very moderate success in respect to numbers; although the recruits were of a good description, being all healthy country lads, with dispositions unadulterated, and ready to receive every good impression. They were also, what all national corps ought to be, natives of the Highlands whose name they bore. It was not, however, till December 1813, that they mustered 400 men, when they embarked for Holland, landed there,

shown them. When the orders for their removal to England, to embark for the East Indies, arrived in Perth, all to a man expressed their gratitude to the Duke of York for allowing them to see their native country and friends before their departure. Such are the happy consequences of condescending attention to the feelings of good men, and so easy a thing is it to secure the dutiful gratitude of a true soldier, who, when thus treated, will die at his post rather than fail in his duty to his King and his country.

and joined the army under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham.

Early in January 1814, the Prussian General Bulow, intending to circumscribe the operations of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, attacked them on the morning of the 11th, and, after an obstinate resistance, drove them to the neighbourhood of the Brischat, whence they retired the following day, on the farther advance of the Prussians, and took up a position close to Antwerp. During these operations, General Graham moved forward the divisions of Major-Generals Coke and Kenneth Mackenzie, to cover the right of the Prussians, and to be ready to cooperate with and support their attack. While they were engaged on the morning of the 13th to the left of Merexem, General Mackenzie, with a detachment of the Rifle Corps, and the 78th regiment, supported by the second battalion of the 25th, and the 33d regiment, attacked this village, occupied by a considerable body of troops. The only approach was by the high road, which entered the village at the centre. On this point the enemy were drawn up in force, seemingly prepared to make a determined resistance. The Highlanders leading, advanced in column, both flanks of which were exposed to the fire of the enemy, who occupied the houses to the right and left of the entrance into the village. If the advance, in such circumstances, had been slow or hesitating, the loss must have been considerable; but "an immediate charge with the bayonet by the 78th, ordered by Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, decided the contest."\* The enemy were routed at all points with considerable loss, and forced to take shelter in Antwerp, while that of the Highlanders was trifling in comparison of the nature and importance of the service performed. "No veterans ever behaved better than those men who then met the enemy for the first time. The discipline and intrepidity of the Highland battalion, which had the good fortune to

\* General Graham's Dispatch.

lead the attack into the village, reflect equal credit on the officers and the men. The same spirit was manifested by the other troops employed."

Thus it will be seen, that, although the individuals were changed, there was no change of character, and that the honour and good name of their native country were nobly upheld by those boys, of whom only forty-three exceeded twenty-two years of age.

The loss was, Lieutenant William Mackenzie, Ensign James Ormsby, and 9 rank and file, killed; and Lieutenant-Colonel John Macleod (commanding a brigade), Lieutenants William Bath, John Chiskolm, and 26 rank and file, wounded. †

The battalion was not employed in the attempt on Bergen-op-Zoom on the 8th of March following. Had the result of that bold enterprise been as successful as the previous plan was admirably conceived, and had it not been discontinued by one of those unforeseen misfortunes which often ruin the best laid designs, and this, too, after the commander had completely accomplished his share of the duty by lodging his troops within the walls, and after they had got possession of eleven of the fifteen bastions which compose the garrison; the capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, which had resisted so many sieges, and had been the grave of so many brave soldiers, would have been a noble conclusion of the war in the north; while the battle of Toulouse, and the possession of the capital of Languedoc, had completed the career of honour and success in the south.

† The number of the enemy at Merxem was estimated at 3000 men. Buonaparte, who was not prone to miscalculate against himself, acknowledged four battalions in his account of this affair. Taking the lowest calculation, a sufficient number is left to show the spirit of the young men who led this attack, which so quickly defeated the enemy with a loss of killed, wounded, taken, and drowned in the ditches in their hasty flight, exceeding 1100 men. This proved the just estimate General Graham had formed of their character; and that his confidence in this corps of boys was not misplaced when he appointed them to attack so great and preponderating a force of an enemy, approached only by a causeway, posted advantageously, and supported by artillery.

Hostilities were now hastening to a conclusion; and this battalion was no more employed except on garrison duties, in the course of which the men conducted themselves so as to secure the esteem of the people of Flanders, as their countrymen of the Black Watch had done seventy years before. It is interesting to observe, at such distant periods, the similarity of character on the one hand, and of feelings of respect on the other. In examining the notices of what passed in 1744 and 1745, we find that an inhabitant of Flanders was happy to have a Highlander quartered in his house, as he was not only kind and peaceable in his own demeanour, but protected his host from the depredations and rudeness of others. We find, also, that, in Germany, in 1761 and 1762, in regard to Keith's Highlanders, much was said of "the kindness of their dispositions in every thing, for the boors were much better treated by those savages than by the polished French and English." When such accounts are read and compared with those of what passed in 1814 and 1815, in which it is stated, that "they were kind as well as brave,"—"*Enfans de la famille*,"—"Lions in the field, and lambs in the house;"—when these accounts of remote and recent periods are compared, they display a steadiness of principle, not proceeding from accidental occurrences, but the result of natural dispositions originally humane and honourable.

It is only justice to mention, that it was the conduct of this battalion, for eighteen months previous to June 1815, that laid the foundation of that favourable impression in the Netherlands, \* which was confirmed by the 42d, and the other Highland regiments who had arrived just previously

\* The following testimony is from the chief magistrate of Brussels:—"As Mayor of Brussels, I have pleasure in declaring, that the Scotch Highlanders, who were garrisoned in this city during the years 1814 and 1815, called forth the attachment and esteem of all, by the mildness and suavity of their manners and excellent conduct, insomuch that a representation was made to me by the inhabitants, requesting me to endeavour to detain the 78th regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by other troops."

to the battle of Waterloo; so that little could have been known to the Flemish of what their conduct in quarters might have proved. Enough was known, however, to cause a competition among the inhabitants who should receive them into their houses.

The 78th, which was removed to Nieupoort, and quartered there in the summer of 1815, had not the good fortune to be called up to the battle of Waterloo, and to have an opportunity of proving whether the spirited conduct of the battalion at Merxem proceeded from an innate principle of intrepidity, or from momentary impulse. The corps had the more cause to regret their absence on such a day, as ages to come may not afford to soldiers such another opportunity of displaying their firmness and discipline. In the unhealthy quarters of Nieupoort, more men were lost by sickness than would probably have fallen by the enemy in the hottest of the fight of Waterloo. †

In 1816 the battalion was ordered to Scotland, and, in the course of that year, the officers were put on half-pay. All the men who had been disabled by the fevers and agues of West Flanders were discharged, while the rest were stationed in Scotland till the arrival of the first battalion from India in summer 1817.

† Other Highland corps marched to the interior of France, after the battle of Waterloo, and formed a part of the hostile garrison that occupied Paris after its fall. As a Scots Highlander, I may perhaps be pardoned for inserting a stanza in which that circumstance is recorded. Most of my readers know the old Jacobite song called "Bannocks of Barley." The verse with which it usually concludes is as follows:

" Wha, in his wae days, were loyal to Charlie?  
Wha but the lads wi' the bannocks o' barley?  
Bannocks o' bear meal," &c.

In allusion to the unparalleled event which I have just mentioned, the following stanza has been added, as I understand on good authority, by Sir Walter Scott:

" Wha now keep guard at Versailles and at Marli?  
Wha but the lads wi' the bannocks o' barley?  
Bannocks o' bear meal," &c.

*Return of Killed and Wounded of the Second Battalion of the 78th or Seaforth's Highland Regiment, from 1804 to 1814.*

| TIME AND PLACE OF ACTION.  | KILLED.         |           |             |            |           | WOUNDED.       |                 |           |             |            |           |                |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------------|
|                            | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| Maida, July 4, 1806, -     |                 |           |             |            |           | 7              | 2               | 2         | 3           | 4          | 1         | 69             |
| Rosetta, April 1807, -     |                 |           |             |            |           |                | 1               | 1         | 1           | 2          | 1         | 7              |
| El Hamet, April 1807, -    | 1               | 3         | 4           | 2          |           | 61             |                 |           |             |            |           | 18             |
| Merexem, January 13, 1814, |                 | 2         |             |            |           | 9              | 1               | 1         | 2           | 1          |           | 26             |
| Total; - -                 | 1               | 5         | 4           | 2          |           | 77             | 3               | 4         | 6           | 6          | 2         | 120            |

*Names of Officers Killed.*

El Hamet, Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Macleod.  
 Lieutenant William Mackenzie Dick.  
 Christopher Maerac.  
 Archibald Christie.  
 Merexem, Lieutenant William Mackenzie.  
 Ensign James Ormsby.

*Names of Officers Wounded.*

Maida, Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Macleod.  
 Major David Stewart.  
 Captain Duncan Maepheron.  
 Duncan Macgregor.  
 Lieutenant James Mackay.  
 Ensign Colin Mackenzie.  
 Peter M'Gregor.  
 Rosetta, Captain Robert Henry Dick.  
 El Hamet, Captain Colin Campbell Mackay.  
 Ensign Joseph Gregory.  
 Merexem, Lieutenant-Colonel John Macleod.  
 Lieutenant William Bath.  
 John Chisholm.



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| Drummers.      |     |
| Rank and File. |     |
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|                | 7   |
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|                | 26  |
|                | 120 |

GENERAL REMARKS.

QUEEN'S HIGHLANDERS, &c.

I HAVE now completed that part of my plan which embraces a sketch of the military service of the regular corps raised since the year 1740, under the denomination of Highland. These were 50 battalions;—and of this number 34 battalions were employed on foreign service, and 33 have been introduced separately to the notice of the reader in the succession in which they were raised. \*

Besides these 33 regiments, Major Colin Campbell of Kilberrie raised a Highland regiment, which was embodied at Stirling in 1761, and placed on the establishment as the 100dth regiment of the line. Immediately after inspection, the regiment was ordered for Martinique; and, having been stationed there till 1763, was ordered to Scotland, and reduced.

Colonel David Græme of Gorthy, who had been appointed

\* These battalions were the Black Watch, and Loudon's Highlanders, of the War ending in 1748; Montgomery's and Fraser's, the second battalion of the 42d, Keith's Campbell's, Johnstone's, and the 89th regiments, of the Seven Years' War; Fraser's, (two battalions,) Macleod's, (two battalions,) Argyle, Macdonald, Athole, Seaforth, Aberdeenshire, Royal Highland Emigrants, (two battalions,) and the second battalion of the 42d, of the War ending in 1783; Campbell's and Abercromby's, or 74th and 75th regiments, of 1787; Seaforth's, (three battalions,) Cameron's, Strathispey, Argyle, Gordon, second battalion of the 42d, and Sutherland, (two battalions,) of the War ending in 1815.

to attend her late Majesty Queen Charlotte to England in 1761, raised a corps of two battalions, which were embodied at Perth in 1762, under the designation of the Queen's Highlanders, and numbered the 105th regiment. Both battalions were ordered to Ireland, and reduced in 1763. In 1761, a corps was raised and called the Royal Highland Volunteers, and numbered the 113th regiment. Major James Hamilton was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant. This corps was never sent on foreign service, and was disbanded at the peace. Captain Allan Maclean of Torloisk also raised a regiment, of which he was appointed Major Commandant. This corps furnished a good supply of recruits to the Highland regiments serving in Germany and America, and was reduced in 1763.

The Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment of 1775 was not embodied in Scotland; but consisting entirely of native Highlanders, or the sons of Highland emigrants, and having proved itself true to its King and country, it is introduced here as forming a part of the Highland military of that period.

In the year 1794, Major-General Alexander Campbell of Monzie raised a regiment under the designation of the Perthshire Highlanders, which was numbered the 116th. After being a short time stationed in Ireland, the men were drafted into other regiments. Some of the officers accompanied the soldiers, while others remained on full pay, and unattached till provided for in other regiments. In 1794, also, Colonel Duncan Cameron of Callart raised a regiment, which was numbered the 132d. This corps was soon reduced, and the men and officers transferred to other regiments. In the same year, Colonel Simon Fraser (afterwards Lieutenant-General) recruited a regiment, which was placed on the establishment immediately after the 132d. The 133d was broken up in the same manner as the 132d, and the men and officers transferred. The second battalions of the 71st, 72d, 73d, 74th, 79th, 91st, and 92d regiments contained in their ranks a numerous and efficient body of Highlanders;

but, as the garb and designation of several of them were changed, and the 79th and 92d not having been on service, they are not included. The second battalion of the 91st was employed in Holland, under General Graham in 1814, and in Flanders in 1815. The second battalion 73d served also in Flanders in 1815, commanded by the Honourable Colonel Harris; but I regret that I was precluded, by the change in their name and uniform, and the nature of my plan, from noticing the share those battalions had in the duties of that short but brilliant campaign. At Quatre Bras and Waterloo, the loss of the 73d in killed and wounded was considerable: in officers killed, the regiment was nearly as unfortunate as the third battalion of Royal Scots, which had 8 officers killed, and 26 wounded.

Besides the 50 Highland battalions embodied since the year 1740, there were numerous other bodies of troops raised in the Highlands. Two regiments were raised in Argyleshire in 1745, under the designation of the Campbell or Argyle Highlanders. These two battalions were actively employed during the Rebellion, and were reduced at the peace. The other troops were not regimented, but acted independently, in one or more companies, under the command of the gentlemen who raised them, or served together when assembled for any general purpose. In the year 1745, there were twenty companies, of 100 men each, raised in the counties of Inverness and Ross. The following list will show the names of the officers, accompanied by a certificate from the Lord President, who was appointed to recommend proper officers, and to superintend the recruiting.

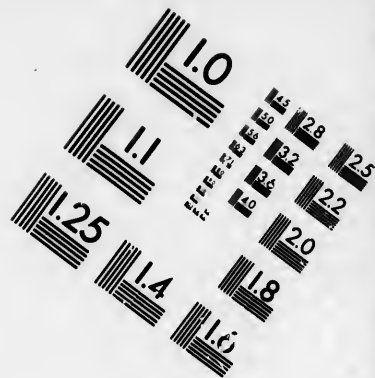
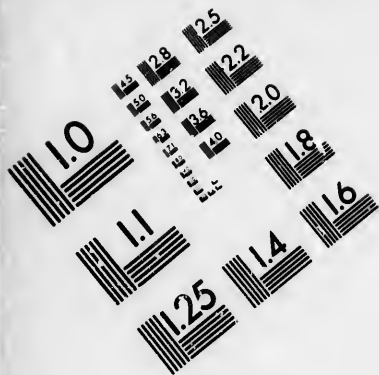
*List of Officers of Independent Companies raised in the year 1745.*

*Captains.*

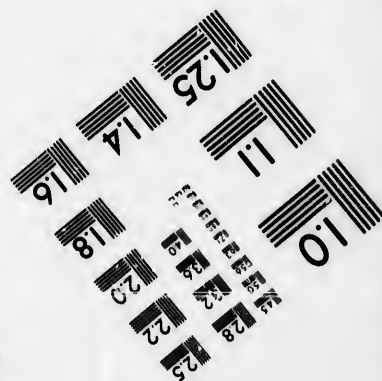
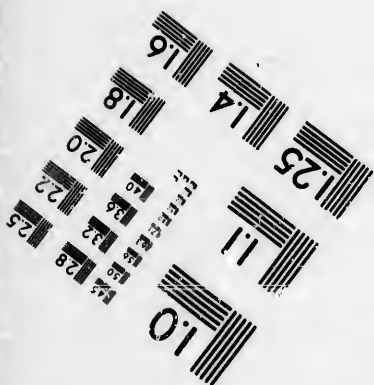
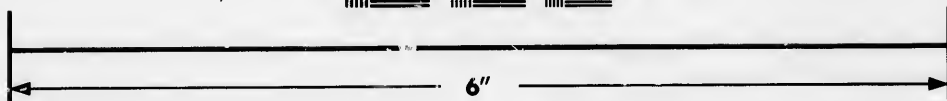
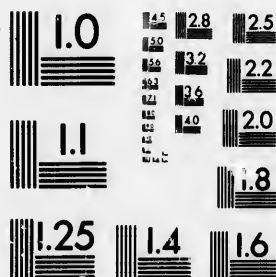
George Monro, Esq.  
Alexander Gun, Esq.  
Patrick Grant, Esq.  
George Mackay, Esq.  
Peter Sutherland, Esq.

William Mackintosh, Esq.  
Hugh Macleod, Esq.  
Alexander Mackenzie, Esq.  
Colin Mackenzie of Hilltown, Esq.  
James Macdonald, Esq.





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



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|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| John Macleod, Esq.                    | John Macdonald, Esq.  |
| Norman Macleod of Waterstein,<br>Esq. | Hugh Mackay, Esq.     |
| Norman Macleod of Bernera, Esq.       | William Ross, Esq.    |
| Donald Macdonald, Esq.                | Colin Mackenzie, Esq. |

*Lieutenants.*

|                    |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Adam Gordon.       | Kenneth Mathison.   |
| John Gordon.       | George Monro.       |
| William Grant.     | John Mathison.      |
| John Mackay.       | Alexander Campbell. |
| William Mackay.    | Allan Macdonald.    |
| Alexander Macleod. | Allan Macdonald.    |
| Donald Macleod.    | John Mackay.        |
| John Campbell.     | Charles Ross.       |
| William Macleod.   | Donald Mackattlay.  |

*Ensigns.*

|                     |                    |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| Hugh Monro.         | William Baillie.   |
| Kenneth Sutherland. | Rodrick Macleod.   |
| James Grant.        | Simon Murchison.   |
| James Mackay.       | John Macrae.       |
| John Mackay.        | James Macdonald.   |
| John Macaskill.     | Donald Macdonald.  |
| John Macleod.       | Angus Mackay.      |
| John Macleod.       | David Ross.        |
| Donald Macleod.     | Kenneth Mackenzie. |

## (CERTIFICATE.)

I certify, that, pursuant to the trust reposed in me by his Majesty, Commissions were by me delivered to the officers of the Independent Companies above mentioned; and that these Commissions were not delivered until their respective companies were complete.

(Signed) DUN. FORBES.

At the same period, also, the Laird of Grant assembled 1100 men, but only 98 joined the Duke of Cumberland's army. The Laird of Macleod was nearly as unsuccessful, as he was only followed by 200 out of 1000 men whom he had assembled at his Castle of Dunvegan. But, in the county of Ross, Munro of Culcairn, and other gentlemen of that loyal clan, were very successful, and armed a considerable body of men. The Earl of Sutherland raised and appoint-

ed a brigade of 2400 men at his own expense. In Perthshire, the influence of the loyal proprietors completely failed. The Duke of Atholl and the Earl of Breadalbane could not bring out a man in arms. Powerful as the Duke of Atholl was by feudal rights and privileges, popular in his personal character, and attracting the notice of the people, in a peculiar manner, by his affability and graceful majestic appearance, he could not raise a man, as his principles and opinions were contrary to those of his people; while his brother, Lord George Murray, found himself in a few days at the head of a brigade of 1400 men of Athole, anxious to be led to the field. So little did the people regard feudal authority, and so independent were they when submission to their superiors interfered with what they called their loyalty: And yet these people are generally believed to have been such slaves to the caprice and will of their imperious chiefs, that whichever side they took their vassals followed. The Duke of Atholl's agents were particularly active in the service of Government; the clergy also, with one exception, were zealous in their exhortations, and exerted themselves in support of the Duke's authority, but to no effect. \*

The Earl of Breadalbane was equally unsuccessful, although highly respected as an honourable, humane, and indulgent landlord. While such was the case in Perthshire, in Argyleshire it was different; two battalions, or a brigade of 1200 men, were raised, and were actively employed during the whole of the troubles of that unfortunate period.

In the Seven Years' War, many independent companies were raised, and a great number of men recruited by Highland officers, for which they got commissions of different ranks in the new regiments formed in the south, in which

\* Previous to the commencement of the Rebellion, upwards of 300 men were raised in Athole and Breadalbane, for Loudon's Highland regiment, by Captain John Murray, afterwards Duke of Atholl; by Lieutenant Robertson, afterwards of Strowan; Stewart of Urrard; Macdonell of Lochgarry; the late Generals Reid and Macnab; and other officers in that corps.



the Highland recruits were embodied. Previous to this period, large bodies of Highland youths enlisted for the Scotch Brigade in Holland, and followed the fortunes of those young gentlemen of family, and others, who could get no employment under their own Government; but, in consequence of the war, the recruiting for the brigade in Holland was suspended. \*

Having in the preceding sketch endeavoured to give a general view of the military service of that portion of the Highland population embodied with the regular army, I shall now give a few short notices of the Fencible Corps, raised for the internal defence of the country, with an enumeration of the whole corps of Fencible infantry, wearing the garb of the ancient Gael, commencing with the Argyle and Sutherland Fencibles of 1759, the first corps of this description raised in Scotland.

\* It was remarked that Colonel Macleod of Talisker, and the gentlemen of the Isle of Skye, who joined the brigade in Holland, were particularly successful. They always found a ready supply of young soldiers,

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## FENCIBLE REGIMENTS.

VOL. II.

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## FENCIBLE REGIMENTS.

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### ARGYLE.

1759.

In 1759 the spirit of the nation, which had been roused by the danger of our Colonies, and exasperated by the disasters and defeats of our fleets and armies in the years 1756, 1757, and 1758, loudly called to arm in order to retrieve the national character. The direction of the hostile operations was intrusted to an illustrious statesman, whose vigorous measures, and successful prosecution of the war, laid the best foundation for an honourable peace.

The family of Argyll, which had exhibited so many eminent examples of patriotism and loyalty, was now called upon to exert the great influence which it enjoyed in the Highlands. So soon as the system of raising Fencible corps was determined upon, (as will be mentioned in the next article), the Duke of Argyll received Letters of Service for raising a regiment within the county of Argyle. As the attempt was experimental, and to be confined to the Highlands, only two,—the Argyle and Sutherland regiments, were raised. At that time the Duke of Argyll, as has been already noticed, was very powerful in Scotland. Few appointments were disposed of without his recommendation or knowledge; and consequently, his regiment, in this instance, had a priority of rank,—the commissions of the Argyle officers being dated in July, and those of Sutherland in

August 1759. But this priority extended only to the date of the commissions. While the Sutherland men flocked round the standard of Morar Chattu,\* much in the same manner as a Highland clan of old assembled round their chief, it was more than three months before the ranks of the Argyle regiment were completed to 1000 men.

It has been said, that although the gentlemen of Argyleshire have always shown a strong predilection for a military life, the common people are more inclined to the naval service. The reason assigned is the insular nature of the country, and the number of inlets of the sea, which run far up and intersect the country; thus accustoming them, from their youth, to seafaring habits. If there be any foundation for this remark in the case of the Argyleshire-men, it does not extend to the northern isles of Ross-shire and Inverness-shire, nor to the Mainland districts, which are in a manner inclosed by arms of the sea. No people in the North are better or more willing soldiers than those of the Isles of Skye, Lewis, &c., † or the men of Kintail, and similar districts on the Mainland, which are so much indented by deep bays and salt water lakes, as to be almost surrounded by them, and to assume a peninsular form. But, whether the common people be more inclined to the sea than the land service, there can be only one opinion as to the military disposition of the gentlemen of Argyle, and the chieftain-like and paternal support they have always received from their

\* The name of Sutherland is unknown in the Gaelic. The Highlanders call that country Chattu, and Lord Sutherland Morar Chattu. Caithness is also unknown in that language; that county is Gallu, or the land of strangers. That this northern point of Scotland was occupied by strangers, is evident from the language, &c. of the inhabitants, differing in every respect from that of the Gaels who surround them.

† In the Island of Lewis, Lord Seaforth's estate alone furnished 732 men for one regiment (Seaforth Highlanders) in the first twelve years of the late war. In like manner, upwards of 1600 men enlisted in the Isle of Skye and North Uist for the regiments of the line and fencibles; and more than 2000 men entered for the regular militia, volunteers, and local militia, of the same Isles, and Rasay.

chief and protector. Of thirty-seven officers in the Argyle regiment, twenty-two were of the name of Campbell.

This regiment consisted of 1000 men, and was quartered in different parts of Scotland till the peace of 1763, when it was reduced.

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### SUTHERLAND.

1759.

WHILE Scotland, at this period, sent forth many able and active soldiers, to fight the battles and support the honour of their country abroad, its internal defence was not neglected. County militia regiments had been recently established in England, but this measure was not extended to Scotland. National jealousies still existed, and it was imagined that the people could not yet be safely trusted with arms. A mode of embodying troops, somewhat different from the militia, was therefore had recourse to; and thus the system of Fencible regiments commenced. The officers were to be appointed, and their commissions signed, by the King, while the men were to be raised by recruiting in the common manner, and not by ballot in the particular counties, as in the case of the militia. The influence of individuals supplied the place of compulsion. Property, rank, or personal consideration and character, recommended the leaders to their followers. In the front of Scottish Chiefs and Landlords stood the late Earl of Sutherland, who, by his personal accomplishments and amiable disposition, possessed in the hearts and affections of his adherents a great and powerful influence, in addition to that which he enjoyed from hereditary succession and great property.

The reciprocal duties of protection and obedience were then acknowledged and observed, and the common interests of chieftain and clansmen had not as yet been diminished by considerations of political expediency, or private emolument. The chief was satisfied with that species of dominion,—the power of surrounding himself with a contented and attached tenantry, and of influencing the mind and the will; whilst the clansmen were happy in acknowledging the kindness of their chiefs, not only by a complete devotion to their service, but by giving such value for the territorial possessions they held, and paying such rents for their lands, as enabled the noblemen and gentlemen of the Highlands to support with dignity and independence an honourable station in general society. In what manner the poor, but hardy and economical tenantry of the North enabled the great chiefs and lairds to support their independence, preserve their estates, and convey them from father to son for so many centuries, is evident from the remarkable circumstance, that, in no part of the kingdom, containing an equal number of inhabitants, have families and estates been so long preserved as in the Highlands, where, as I have already noticed, the heirs of eighteen chiefs who fought at Bannockburn, in 1314, are at this day in possession of their estates. The Chief of Sutherland had the honour of bearing a part in that great battle, which may be said to have fixed the independence of Scotland as a nation. Waterloo and Bannockburn were similar in the desperate valour displayed, and similar in their results. As the former sealed the destiny of Buonaparte, so Bannockburn destroyed the hopes of a proud invader, and established the independence of Scotland on a foundation which kept it firm, till the Union with a more powerful kingdom rendered the independence of the one inseparable from the other.

In the year 1759 the Earl of Sutherland received proposals from Mr Pitt to raise a Fencible regiment on his estate. The offer was readily accepted, and in nine days after his Lordship arrived in Sutherland with his Letters of Service,

1100 men were assembled on the lawn before Dunrobin Castle. The martial appearance of those men, when they marched into Perth in May 1760, with the Earl of Sutherland at their head, was never forgotten by those who saw them, and who never failed to express admiration of their fine military air. Some old friends of mine, who often saw these men in Perth, spoke of them with a kind of enthusiasm. Considering the abstemious habits, or rather the poverty of the Highlanders, the size and muscular strength of the people are remarkable. In this corps there was no Light infantry company; upwards of 260 men being above five feet eleven inches in height, they were formed into two Grenadier companies, one on each flank of the battalion.

On the peace of 1763, the regiment was marched back to Sutherland, and there reduced in the month of May, with this honourable distinction in the course of their short service, that, in a regiment of 1050 men, no restrictions had been required, and no man had been punished; and, as they had assembled as a corps, with the primitive habits of a pastoral life, so they separated with these habits unchanged, and had the happiness of returning to their native glens without a single individual from the mountains having disgraced his corps, kindred, or district. These facts I have received from the best authority; from officers who served in the regiment, from soldiers, and from intelligent and respectable gentlemen, who saw the regiment in quarters, who were intimate with many of the officers, and who had great pleasure in talking of and describing the height, strength, and fine military appearance of these men, and their peaceable domestic habits in quarters.



ARGYLE,  
OR  
WESTERN FENCIBLE REGIMENT,  
1778.

It was not till the third year of the American War, that Government ordered Fencible regiments to be raised for the internal defence of the country, and to relieve the regiments of the line from this duty, and increase the number of disposable troops for service abroad. One of the first corps of this description in the kingdom was raised, under the influence of the Duke of Argyll, in 1759; and, in 1778, the first Fencible regiment was raised by Lord Frederick Campbell, a son of that family. Archibald Earl of Eglinton, who had been so active a partisan, and had proved himself so able and high-spirited an officer when he commanded his regiment of Highlanders in America during the Seven Years' War, applied at the same time for permission to raise a regiment of Fencible Highlanders; but it was not thought expedient that two regiments of Fencibles should be raised in the West Highlands, as it might interfere too much with the recruiting for the line. It was therefore determined that only one corps should be raised in the West; and Lord Eglinton having got the appointment of the officers of two companies, Mr Montgomery of Coilsfield, afterwards Earl of Eglinton, was appointed major, and the late Earl of Glencairn captain; the other companies being filled up from Argyleshire, in which, and in other parts of the Highlands, 700 men were recruited: the rest were from Glasgow and the south-west of Scotland. This regiment

was embodied at Glasgow in April 1778. Both officers and men were animated with more than ordinary zeal and spirit, which were kept in full activity by Colonel Montgomery and Major Campbell of Melford, who commanded the regiment alternately in the absence of the colonel and lieutenant-colonel, Lord Frederick Campbell and Sir James Campbell of Ardinglas, who were occasionally employed on other duties. Part of this spirit was exhibited in a voluntary offer of the corps to extend their services to any part of the world where their country required them; having thus had the honour of setting an example which has since been frequently followed by regiments whose service was limited to the immediate defence of their native country. Besides this patriotic offer, the corps exhibited another trait of character not uncommon among their countrymen, namely, so much economy in the expenditure of their daily pay of sixpence, as to be able to remit considerable sums of money to their relations, and, when disembodied at Glasgow in 1783, to possess so much money, that, if the whole had been reckoned in one sum, it would have appeared very remarkable, considering the moderate means from which it had been saved.

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GORDON.

1778.

It will be recollected, that the Duke of Gordon had, at the age of sixteen, offered his personal services as captain in the 89th Highland regiment, and had intended to have accompanied it to the East Indies, when he was prevented by George II. He now made proposals to Government to raise a regiment of Fencibles on his estates in the counties

of Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen. These proposals being accepted, a regiment of 960 men was recruited with great expedition, and embodied at Aberdeen in the year 1778. This corps was so healthy and efficient, that, in five years, till the reduction in 1783, only 24 men died of the 960 of which the corps was composed.

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### SUTHERLAND.

1779.

It has been already stated, that, twenty years before this period, the last Earl of Sutherland raised a regiment of Fencibles with unexampled ease and rapidity; unexampled except in the days of chivalrous fidelity to chiefs, whose signal, when danger was immediate, or the enemy at the door, was sufficient to rouse to arms all who could use them. As both the danger and the enemy were in this case distant, such rapid levies were unnecessary; but when nine days sufficed for assembling 1100 men, it must be allowed that the call to arms was obeyed with sufficient promptitude and celerity.

Soon after that period the Earl of Sutherland died, lamented by all who knew him, and more especially by his own people. His only child was then an infant. To her, however, as their future protectress, they looked up for a continuation of the same patriarchal protection which they and their forefathers had for six hundred years experienced from her family; and they now showed that this protection had not been thrown away on ungrateful objects. Though their superior was too young to be sensible of their attachment, or capable of rewarding it, their zeal was not, on that account, the less warm: they appeared as ready to obey as when the object of their regard was present, either to ap-

prove, reward, or punish. But, as the house of Sutherland had no near relative of the name to command the followers of the family, William Wemyss of Wemyss, nephew of the late Earl, was appointed colonel of the Fencible regiment to be raised on the estate of Sutherland.

The duty of recruiting was easily executed. In the parish of Farr alone, 154 men enlisted in two days. Two companies from Caithness, commanded by William Innes of Sandside, and John Sutherland of Wester, were added to the regiment, which was embodied at Fort George in February 1779.

In the following summer they were marched to the southward, and remained stationed principally in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, always distinguished for sobriety, probity, and the most scrupulous and orderly attention to duty. " Desertions, or crimes requiring the check of courts-martial, were totally unknown in this regiment. Such was their economy, that if any officer, in whom they had any confidence, required a temporary supply of money, one thousand pounds could be raised among the men. They were always remitting money, and sending home little presents to their friends." Men of this character and disposition may be depended upon as trustworthy in all situations; whether marching up to the cannon's mouth, or discharging the less arduous, but equally necessary, duties of private life, they will not fail to acquit themselves with honour.

Samuel Macdonald, \* commonly known as Big Sam, was

\* This man was a native of the parish of Lairg, in the county of Sutherland. He was seven feet four inches in height, and every way stout in proportion. His parents were of good size, but in nothing otherwise remarkable. Macdonald had fortunately a quiet, equable temper: had he been irritable, he might, from his immense strength and weight of arm, have given a serious blow, without being sensible of its force. He was considered an excellent drill, from his mild and clear manner of giving his directions. After the peace of 1763, he enlisted in the Royals. From thence he was transferred to the Sutherland Fencibles of 1793. The Countess of Sutherland, with great

a soldier in the Sutherland Fencibles. He was too large to stand in the ranks, and generally stood on the right of the regiment when in line, and marched at the head when in column, but was always accompanied by a mountain deer of uncommon size. This animal was so attached to Macdonald, that, whether on duty with his regiment, or on the streets, the hart was at his side.

The regiment was ordered to the North, and reduced at Fort George in 1783.

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GRANT,

OR

STRATHSPEY.

1793.

I AM perfectly aware, that an objection may be made to the opinions which I have, with too much presumption, urged as to the value and importance of preserving undisturbed an ancient, faithful, and attached tenantry, and of that personal influence possessed by many former Highland noblemen and landed proprietors, by which they could, at any time, command the personal service in the field of their tenants and kinsmen. It has been alleged, that these services were not unbought, as the sons of tacksmen and tenants were sent by their parents to fill up the ranks of High-

kindness, allowed him 2s. 6d. per diem, extra pay; judging, probably, that so large a body must require more sustenance than his military pay could afford. He attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales, and was for some time one of the porters of Carlton House. When the 93d was raised, he could not be kept from his old friends; and, joining the regiment, he died in Guernsey in 1802, regretted by his corps as a respectable, trust-worthy, excellent man.

land regiments, on a direct or implied stipulation of abatement of rent, or some pecuniary or other advantage to be received, for the services of the youths who came forward to take up arms at the call of their chiefs and landlords. Circumstances do not confirm this view of the subject. As tenants, occupying land on feudal tenure, the Highlanders paid rents, according to the value of the land, in full proportion to the best lands in the Carse of Gowrie, the properties of Lords Gray and Kinnaird, and others, which, as I have already noticed, did not yield, seventy years ago, more than six or eight shillings the acre. Lord Kinnoul's, and that part of the Duke of Atholl's estates in the Lowlands, were still lower. The lands of Lords Gray and Kinnaird now average £.6 Sterling per acre. Yet neither these noblemen, nor the Duke of Atholl from his Lowland estates, ever could call on the personal service of their tenants on account of these low rents, which, indeed, if we consider the disproportion in climate and soil, were lower than those of the Highlands, where the sentiments of the landlords and their tenants, and their mutual confidence and dependence on each other, were so remarkably different. Of this difference several instances occurred in 1745. The Duke of Perth engaged in the Rebellion of that year; yet, though possessed of a valuable, extensive, and populous estate, he had not influence enough to carry along with him 150 men from the Lowland portion of his property to support the cause he warmly espoused. Lord Strathallan, who lost his title, his estate, and his life, in the same cause, did not bring so many men to the field as did two young gentlemen, the one a son of the Laird of Ballechin, the other a son of the Laird of Glenlyon, whose fathers' estates were not equal to one-third of the value of his. Lord Nairne also, whose estate lay at the foot of the Grampians, close to the Highland boundary, was followed by very few of his people when he joined the Prince, (so different were the dispositions and feelings of the inhabitants of those adjoining districts,) and entailed ruin on him-

self and family, without strengthening the cause to which he was so ardently devoted, by any great addition of men. So much was this the case, that, as he had few followers of his own, Lord George Murray, the Commander-in-Chief of the rebel army, gave to his Lordship the command of one of the Athole regiments. These facts can only admit of one interpretation, namely, that the Highland chiefs and landlords were not followed from mercenary motives, but from a patriarchal, hereditary, and chivalrous attachment to their persons and families. While thus, in feudal times, chiefs and landed proprietors did not suffer any material diminution of rent by the personal service of their followers, we find that, in later times, the promptitude with which the Highland tenantry engaged in the service of their country, contributed to raise the celebrity of their landlords, and this without any sacrifice of rent or pecuniary loss, nothing being asked or expected by the soldiers, except a preference to their families in retaining their farms on paying an equal rent with any that might be offered. Of this we have many instances, and particularly on Lord Breadalbane's estates, from which great numbers engaged on similar conditions; and that a preference of occupancy was the only favour expected by the soldiers, is proved by the circumstance of a considerable augmentation of rent having taken place during the time the regiments were embodied, the rents paid by the fathers and brothers of the soldiers having been increased in the same ratio with those paid by the other tenants.

I deemed it necessary to notice briefly the foregoing facts, which clearly prove that the mind of the Highlander, who obeyed the call of his chief or landlord, and came forward in a season of difficulty or danger, was not actuated by those sordid and mercenary motives which some would ascribe to him, and that Highland proprietors did not submit to any loss of rents, when they acquired political consideration and importance by bringing forward their brave and hardy mountaineers.

I have had frequent occasion to mention the family of Grant, and particularly the late excellent chief Sir James Grant, to whom may justly be applied the character given an unfortunate monarch by a celebrated Judge and historian: "He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian," \* of the district to which he was an honour and a blessing.

This good man, and patriarchal chief, lived at Castle Grant, respected and beloved by all around him. † Few

\* Clarendon's Charles I.

† A recent instance has shown that this feeling still exists, and extends to Sir James Grant's family.

At the late general election, there was a keen contest for some of the northern burghs; and in Elgin particularly, some political intrigues and squibs were played off by the agents of the candidates, of whom one was supported by the Chief of the Grants, now Earl of Seafield, by his succession to that estate and Earldom. The agents of the other candidates, not satisfied with some political squibs within the burgh, contrived to inveigle a Bailie of Elgin, a voter for the opposite interest, on board a vessel, and landed him safely on one of the Orkney Isles, to amuse himself there till the election was over. This exploit, with some other ingenious expedients to secure victory, made some noise, and an exaggerated account of the transactions, with several groundless additions, reached Strathspey, the "Grant's Country." Among other things, it was said that Lord Seafield's sisters were besieged, and kept as state prisoners in Grant Lodge, a house belonging to the family in Elgin. The spirit of the clansmen caught fire, and believing that the rights of the Chief were invaded, and his sisters in jeopardy, upwards of 900 men assembled in a few hours, as if under the guidance of one feeling; and without the least communication with, or knowledge of the country gentlemen, they put themselves under the guidance of two or three of their own number, and marched off in a body to Elgin to support the cause and interest of their Chief. Had this contest been carried on by the sword, as in old times, so numerous a body might have secured success; but when the Highlanders reached the scene of action, they had none to combat; for, although it was true that the unfortunate Bailie was stolen away, the ladies at Grant lodge were respected and unmolested; and on a proper explanation, the clansmen returned home with the same order, regularity, and quietness, with which they had commenced and carried through their expedition.

Sir James Grant has been dead more than twenty years, but his memory lives, and is preserved by the remembrance of his character.



men therefore could, with more confidence of success, step forward with an offer to his King of a regiment of loyal men to support the Crown, the Constitution, and the Independence of the country. The offer was early made and accepted, and two months after the declaration of war, the Grant Fencibles were assembled at Forres in the end of April 1793, being so complete in numbers, that seventy men were discharged as supernumeraries in May; but it was not till the 5th of June that the regiment was finally inspected and embodied by Lieutenant-General Leslie.

Of the men, forty-one were from the Lowlands of Scotland, three from England, and two from Ireland. The regiment was marched to Aberdeen in August, and from thence to the south of Scotland, and stationed in Linlithgow, Glasgow, Dumfries, Musselburgh, and almost every town of any note south of the Forth.

The correctness of the observation, that a Highlander will be led, but not driven, was unfortunately verified in the case of this regiment at Linlithgow in 1794. At that time it was proposed to extend the service of the Scotch Fencible regiments, which was confined to Scotland. With this view directions were given to sound the men of the Grant Fencibles on the subject, and ascertain if they would agree to a proposal of this nature. Measures were accordingly taken, but unfortunately not with that care, precaution, and ample explanation, so necessary when men's feelings and prejudices are to be consulted, and any previous agreement or understanding to be altered or renewed on another and different basis. In this case, when the commanding officer issued the orders on the subject, some officers thought it

How far the remembrance of the character and kindness of other proprietors will descend, and serve as a shield to protect their family, time only can show; but much cannot be expected, where, it is said, that the appearance of their superiors is hailed with cries imitating the bleating of sheep, instead of the joyous acclamations of better times for clansmen, and where the accounts of any accident or misfortune are received with silent, but deep congratulation, as a judgment from above.

unnecessary to offer any explanation to their men; others entirely mistook the meaning and import of the proposals. The consequence was a degree of jealousy and distrust; and, as busy and meddling advisers are not wanting on such occasions, the soldiers became alarmed; they knew not what to believe, or what was intended; and even the explanations of those officers who understood the nature of the proposed measure lost much of their effect. The result of the whole was a division and difference of opinion among the men; some were for volunteering, others opposed it; the proposal was therefore abandoned, and no volunteering took place. But it was not the mere volunteering, and the consequent loss of more general and extended duty that was so much to be regretted, as the want of confidence which this misunderstanding caused, and the effect it had on the conduct of the men for a considerable time afterwards. And here was exemplified another of the marked characteristics of the Highlander which I have had frequent occasion to notice. Reposing a confidence almost unlimited in those whom he regards with respect, if that confidence be not reciprocal, and if he discover any approximation to disingenuousness, no man is more suspicious. However, this unpleasant and unexpected circumstance passed away; and, by the presence of Sir James Grant, who hurried up to join his regiment when he heard of the affair, it was in some measure forgotten, and confidence re-established. But when quartered in Dumfries in 1795, it was unfortunately again broken, and unpleasant feelings renewed, by a cause somewhat peculiar to this singular race of people; or which, if not peculiar, has always had a powerful influence on their character and habits.

I fear it will be thought that I recur too frequently to the more marked traits of character peculiar to this people; but without a knowledge of those peculiarities which I have attempted to bring under the view of the reader, in the introductory sketch of character, &c. the motives which guided many of their actions could not be generally known. And

farther, not to explain it would be unjust towards officers whose conduct, discipline, and treatment of the soldiers would, in many cases, be quite proper. In instances where the usual discipline of the army was applied to the Highland soldier, the officers acted agreeably to the usual instructions in so doing, and particularly those officers who were ignorant of their language and dispositions. And when they have been blamed for an apparent harshness, which occasioned much irritation, their conduct, in general, proceeded more from ignorance than from unnecessary severity. Soldiers are often like children, and require to be treated as such. The wholesome and severe coercion which is highly necessary for some children would destroy others. Thus it is with soldiers. The beating with canes, and the blows so liberally applied by their officers, to correct the Austrian, French, and other continental soldiers, would totally ruin a British soldier, and either render him desperate, or so break his spirit that he would never face his enemy. In the same manner, the corporal punishments which are indispensable in restraining the unprincipled and shamelessly depraved, who sometimes stand in the ranks of the British army, would have struck a Highland soldier of the old school with a horror that would have rendered him despicable in his own eyes, and a disgrace to his family and name. The want of a due regard to, and discrimination of, men's dispositions, has often led to very serious consequences.

I know not how this matter stood in the Strathspey Fencibles, whether any unnecessary severity had been exercised, whether the men believed that they were teased with long drills and fatiguing discipline, not required for soldiers who were never to meet an enemy, or perhaps not very necessary for any service, whether the individuals themselves were of a character different from, and inferior to, that of many others whom I have had occasion to mention; or whether, as is most probable, some unpleasant recollections of the affair at Linlithgow still existed:—Be these things as they may, at Dumfries a circumstance, very trifling in itself, ori-

ginating in a remark by a soldier in the ranks, which might pass for a joke, or a piece of wit, according as the thing was taken, led to a series of misunderstandings, of violence on the part of the soldiers, and of threats and punishments on the part of the officers, which ended in the trial, condemnation, and execution of several of the men. \*

On the first appearance of this improper spirit among the soldiers, Sir James Grant was sent for, but unfortunately he arrived too late; such acts of turbulence, and disobedience of orders had taken place, that an example was considered necessary. The regiment was marched to Musselburgh, where corporal James Macdonald, and privates Alexander Fraser, Charles Mackintosh, Duncan Macdougall, and A. Mackintosh, were tried and found guilty of mutinous conduct. The corporal was sentenced to a corporal punishment, and the four soldiers to be shot. The corporal was pardoned. On the 16th of July 1795, the Scotch Brigade; (afterwards the 94th regiment,) and the Sutherland, Breadalbane, and Grant Fencibles, were ordered to assemble on Gullane Links, in East Lothian, to witness the execution of the four soldiers. When they arrived on the ground, they were told that only two were to suffer, and that two were to draw lots: (Alexander Fraser, who was the most violent, was not permitted to draw.) That for execution fell on Charles Mackintosh, who with Fraser suffered accordingly. The other two prisoners were ordered to join regiments abroad. After this unfortunate affair, which cast such a slur on the character of a body of men who, in every other respect, conducted themselves in an exemplary manner, the regiment was quartered in Dundee, Ayr, Musselburgh, &c. The soldiers were afterwards quiet, orderly, and attentive to all duties. In spring 1799, it was resolved to discharge all Fencible regiments whose service did not extend beyond Scotland, and in consequence the Grant, Gordon, Breadal-

\* See a few particulars of this affair in the article on the Mutinies of the Highland Regiments.

bane, (two battalions), Sutherland, Rothsay and Caithness, (1st battalion), Argyle, and Hopetoun regiments, were disbanded.

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## BREADALBANE.

### THREE BATTALIONS.

1793 and 1794.

“ HE who gave glory to his country,” said an illustrious statesman, “ gave that which was far more valuable to it than any acquisition whatever. Glory alone was not to be taken away by time or accidents. Ships, territories, or colonies, might be taken from a country, but the mode of acquiring them could never be forgotten. The acquisitions that were the consequence of the glorious days of Cressy and Poitiers, had long since passed to other hands, but the glory of these illustrious achievements still adhered to the British name, and was immortal.” \*

Such being the imperishable attributes of military glory, those men may well be styled patriots, who essentially contributed to its attainment, if not by their personal services in the field, at least by the proper application of that influence which their rank, property, and general estimation in society, ensure to them. In this high station stood several Highland noblemen and gentlemen, who, with much barren land and moderate revenues, but with great personal and family influence, could, on any emergency, step forward at the head of a body of brave and hardy men, to assert and support their country's claim to the glorious distinction so

\* Mr Wyndham's Speech on the vote of thanks for the battle of Maida.

eloquently described by the enlightened statesman whose opinions have been just quoted.

Among Highland proprietors the Earl of Breadalbane holds a pre-eminent rank. Possessing an estate superior in extent to many Continental principalities, and but little inferior to some of them in the number of its people, he made an early offer of his services to raise two Fencible regiments, which were rapidly completed in the summer of 1793. † In a few months afterwards, a third battalion was embodied; the whole force amounting to 2300 men, of whom 1600 were from the estate of Breadalbane. Thus, while Lord Breadalbane managed his great estate so as to preserve many able men in those pastoral and agricultural occupations which generally ensure virtuous contentment and happiness; they, in gratitude for such patriarchal kindness, and in the hope that the same fatherly protection would be continued, came forward, at the call of their Chief, in the numbers just mentioned. And certainly the man who can command the services of such a body contributes in no small degree to lay the foundation of that "glory to his country which is far more valuable to it than any acquisition whatever;" for, without good and brave men to fight our battles, we should soon have neither country, independence, nor glory. And next to the commander, whose talents and courage lead the soldiers of his country to victory, is the person who, by a humane and judicious management of a numerous body of people placed by Providence under his charge and control, promotes

† Lord Breadalbane's estate, which supports a population of 13,537 persons, commences two miles east of Tay Bridge, in the county of Perth, and extends westward ninety-nine and a half miles to Easdale, in Argyleshire; varying in breadth from three to twelve and fifteen miles, and interrupted only by the property of three or four proprietors, who possess one side of a valley or glen, while Lord Breadalbane has the other, so that, varying his direction a little to the right or left, he can travel nearly one hundred miles from east to west on his own property, on the Mainland, besides several small islands on the coast of Argyleshire.

those habits, and that prosperity and independence, which are necessary to form virtuous men and good soldiers. Such was Lord Breadalbane when he presented his King and country with 1600 able men; nor is it to be doubted that he will continue the same course, and preserve an independent, virtuous, and high-spirited peasantry, and not, like more northerly proprietors, forget the claims of an ancient and valuable race; banish them from their native land, or reduce those who are permitted to remain to the situation of day-labourers; \* a situation not well calculated to foster that independence of spirit which lays the foundation of the "glory of those illustrious achievements which adhere to the British name, and are immortal."

Some persons, probably from a wish to depreciate the character of the Highlanders, in extenuation of their own conduct towards them, have observed, as I have more particularly noticed in the last article, that there is much of self-interest in those voluntary, or rather, as they call them, involuntary services; as the men expect some reward in the shape of small settlements for themselves when disabled or discharged, or some favour in behalf of their aged parents in their absence. All this may be very true; for we are not to suppose that the Highlander is careless of his own interest, or that he willingly undervalues any services he may perform. When a man confers a favour, it is quite natural that he should expect some return from a person who has ample power to repay him; and when a young Highlander makes a voluntary surrender of his personal services to his landlord, it is rather too great a refinement on generosity to accuse him of selfish motives, because he may expect a small spot of that land, of which the other has so much to spare, as a future settlement for himself if he lives to return home, or for his aged parents, should he be killed, or die, and they lose his support. Nor will this expectation be deemed unreasonable when the boon amounts to no more

\* See Note N, in the Appendix.

than a simple preference of occupancy, the tenant who had served his country paying as good rents as the land is worth:—in short, the preference being only on the condition of paying equal rent with a stranger. These stipulations, accompanied by a small bounty of twenty shillings, surely cannot be held to indicate a greater degree of selfishness than is reasonable in a people who are believed to be nowise indifferent to their own welfare, or deficient in parental or filial affection.

But in whatever light we may view these conditions, sanctioned merely by the word of the Chieftain, which was sufficient, without any written contract, they were effective; for, in a few days, and indeed as quickly as the oaths could be administered by several neighbouring gentlemen who attended as justices of the peace, 500 men were attested at Taymouth Castle, the rest quickly following. They were then removed to Perth, where they were joined by those raised there and in different parts of the country; and the whole were embodied, and formed into two battalions, called the 1st and 2d Breadalbane Fencible Highlanders.

Seeing with what facility these battalions were raised, it was a matter of subsequent regret that their terms of service were limited to Scotland. Five years afterwards (in 1798), when political affairs offered no prospect of a speedy termination of hostilities, and when the inefficiency of the Scotch Fencibles, from their confined sphere of service, was perceived, they were disbanded. In this reduction the first and second battalions of Breadalbane were included. The third battalion was retained, as the service had, from its origin in 1794, been extended to Ireland.

This battalion was accordingly removed to Ireland in 1795, and was stationed in different parts of that country till 1802, when it was reduced. In support of the opinion which I have, with perhaps too much presumption, offered on the superior value and virtue of an agricultural population, and in justification of the feelings with which I have viewed the proceedings of those who have depopulated so



many Highland valleys, I state the following fact, which is well worthy the notice of the nobleman whose estates produced so great a proportion of these three corps, and equally deserving the attention of Government. The fact to which I allude is, that, in the five years during which those corps were embodied, only five men of those recruited in the Highlands were subjected to punishment. The state of society, on which those principles were formed, has a claim to some notice; and an increase of revenue may cost too much, if obtained by the destruction of those habits, and of that loyalty to the King, and attachment to landlords, which produced such good effects. As the men of Breadalbane have long possessed those virtues, and as they will no doubt receive full encouragement and protection from their immediate superior,—we may, in the next war, expect to see 1600 men of that district assembled for several years, without the commission of a disgraceful act. The unfortunate misunderstanding which occurred in Glasgow\* was of a different cast, and would probably not have happened, had the character of the men been properly appreciated, and their dispositions studied; for that severity of punishment which is necessary, and without which it would be impossible to curb and preserve in due discipline certain descriptions of men, would totally destroy others, and produce the very crimes which it was intended to prevent. It will be seen in another article, that the attempt to enforce this power, which every commander of a corps ought to have, (though it should be used with great discretion, and not without extreme necessity), was attended with the worst effects; for the horror excited by this sort of punishment in the minds of men who viewed it, as all such punishments ought to be viewed, namely, as a misfortune and disgrace, occasioned in the Breadalbane Fencibles an open violation of all order and military discipline. The conduct of the men on this occasion, after the first burst of indignation and

\* See article on the Mutinies of the Highland Regiments.

horror had subsided, and after they had become sensible of the breach of duty which they had committed, was manifested in the voluntary surrender of a few, who offered themselves for punishment as an atonement for their comrades. This was a conclusive proof of the principles on which they acted; and as contrition for a crime is often admitted as a proper satisfaction, more particularly when originating in honourable, though mistaken motives, military discipline would not probably have suffered had these men been pardoned. Officers who have violated the laws by killing an antagonist in a duel, are allowed the plea of honour as a sufficient defence; therefore, when soldiers act from a principle of honour, why should not the same excuse be extended to them? By thus admitting them within the pale of honour, would not an additional security for their future conduct be obtained? Might not the generous self-devotion and sacrifice of life of the soldier Macmartin, to save from censure his officer and friend, who had conceded so much to his solicitation, have been accepted as a sufficient expiation for the crimes of the whole, including Sutherland, the soldier who was shot?

But the circumstance was not publicly known at the time. Had it been so, it would undoubtedly have been duly appreciated by those who had the power to direct, and whose duty it was to see that the discipline was applicable to the character of the troops; to foster and preserve honourable feelings and principles among them; and to reward, by proper notice and encouragement, every instance in which those desirable characteristic traits were exhibited. How well this soldier merited pardon for his offence is evident, from his voluntary sacrifice of life, merely to screen his officer from the reprimand to which his neglect of duty would subject him. Had the officer's life been at stake, the devotion of the soldier would have been conspicuous. When the responsibility was so trifling, the magnanimity of mind was perfect; and, had it been known, would certainly

have saved him from being sent to the colonies as a *degraded man*.

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SUTHERLAND.

1793.

I HAVE already stated the zeal and spirit with which the youth of this distant country engaged in his Majesty's service in the years 1759 and 1770. On the occasion in question there was no deficiency of spirit, and when it was known in Sutherland that their Countess was expected to call forth a portion of the most able-bodied men on her extensive estates, the officers whom she appointed had only to make a selection of those who were best calculated to fill up the ranks of the regiment, which was completed in as short a time as the men could be collected from the rugged and distant districts they inhabited.\*

The regiment was embodied at Fort George, and, including a company from Ross-shire, commanded by Mr Macleod of Cadboll, amounted to 1084 men, with drummers and pipers. Colonel Wemyss of Wemyss, who commanded the Sutherland regiment of 1779, was appointed Colonel, and the Honourable James Stuart, brother of the Earl of Moray, Lieutenant-Colonel.

This regiment was fortunate in having a Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel who understood the character of the men, and the discipline which suited them. The Adjutant

\* An instance of this selection of men was seen in Perth when the regiment was stationed there some time after it was established. So numerous a band of fine young men came up from Sutherland, that all could not be received, as the regiment did not require so many recruits. They were consequently obliged to return home. However, several enlisted into other regiments,

did not, in the first instance, attend to this, and, resorting to a system of coercion which experience proved to be unnecessary, the same horror at the thoughts of disgraceful punishments, and the same symptoms of resistance occurred as had been exhibited in other Highland corps in similar circumstances; but the judicious interference of the commanding officer checked the proceedings of the Adjutant, and this threatening storm instantly subsided. † With the exception of the men put into confinement on this occasion, and that of a sergeant and two men for the escape of a deserter whom they were escorting, this respectable body of men saw five years pass without an individual offending in a manner that could be called crime.

In 1797 the regiment extended their services to Ireland. In that country, except some rapid marches, and one skirmish with the rebels, they had little opportunity of proving themselves in the field; but it was said of them, that "their conduct and manners softened the horrors of war, and they were not a week in a fresh quarter, or cantonment; that they did not conciliate and become intimate with the people."

Immediately after the conclusion of the disturbances, the regiment was ordered from Ireland, marched to Fort George, and there reduced. Considering the great demand for men at that period, and the character the corps had sustained, it

† This man afforded an example of the propriety of keeping a vigilant eye over the conduct of some men, when suddenly or unexpectedly placed in authority. He had been upwards of twenty years in the 42d, and was Sergeant-Major when I joined; he conducted himself with propriety, and was extremely attentive to his duty, but occasionally rather too imperious in his manner towards the soldiers. However, he was in a good school in that respect, and had he not followed the example of his superiors, he would have been quickly checked; but when he was promoted to a commission, and was appointed Adjutant to the Sutherland regiment, where he had full scope for the exercise of authority, his natural disposition broke forth, and although he perfectly knew the character and dispositions of the men, and that no severity was necessary, he irritated the soldiers by his harsh language and manners, to a degree that their spirit would not brook; and had not Colonels Wemyss and Stuart interfered, the consequences might have been of that kind of which there were too many instances in Highland regiments, all originating in the same cause.

was a matter of subsequent regret that no attempt had been made to encourage them to re-engage on a more enlarged scale of service. There is every reason to believe that almost all of them would have re-enlisted. Two thirds of the men returned to their native country. This oversight, however, was in some measure remedied, and their service again called for. In what manner they answered this call will be seen by the service of the 93d regiment.

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## GORDON.

1793.

IN the course of a long life, the Duke of Gordon has seen his country engaged in three successive wars, for the prosecution of which he, by his territorial and personal influence, contributed to raise four regiments, composed of men well qualified for such a purpose. The 89th and 92d regiments have proved this in their service both abroad and at home. The Gordon Fencibles of 1779, although confined to a more limited sphere of service, was composed of equally good materials. The Fencible regiment of 1793 was the same. It was quickly raised and embodied at Aberdeen. The Duke of Gordon's commission as Colonel was dated the 3d of March. The uniform was the full Highland garb. Upwards of 300 men were raised on the Gordon estates in Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber. An equal number was recruited from gentlemen's estates in the neighbourhood, and about 150 from the Lowlands of Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin; all of them men of good character, and though not in general tall, yet stout and well made. The service of the regiment was confined to Scotland, but the men having volunteered to extend it, the offer was accepted, and accordingly, in

1794, they were removed to England. When quartered in Kent, the King, who had never seen a Highland regiment, ordered the Gordon Fencibles up to London, where they were reviewed in Hyde Park in the presence of his Majesty, who expressed himself highly satisfied with their appearance. As this was the first Highland regiment reviewed near London, with the exception of the review of the Black Watch on Finchley Common in 1743, the novelty of the sight attracted a great crowd of people from all parts of the town and neighbourhood.

The Gordon Fencibles remained in England till ordered to Scotland in 1798, where they were reduced with the other Fencible corps.

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## ROTHSAY AND CAITHNESS.

1794.

ALTHOUGH the county of Caithness is within the Highland boundary, yet, in its natural appearance, being in general low, and destitute of mountains, it has more of a Lowland than a Highland character; and, as if the Highland garb were to be worn, and the Gaelic language to be spoken only by mountaineers, there has always been more of the Lowland costume and of the Saxon or Scotch language, in that than in any other Highland county. It is rather remarkable that, apparently for the same reason, the Highland dress has been always little worn (even when it was not illegal) in the low and flat peninsula of Kintyre, in Argyleshire.

But, though Caithness differed so much in dress and language from more mountainous districts, there was little or

none in the general principles which guided the Highlanders; and as fidelity and attachment to their chiefs and lairds were preserved, it was to be expected, that, when the country had occasion for the services of the men of Caithness, they would be found ready; and, having a chieftain so patriotic as Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, the head of an ancient and respectable family, to lead them, there could be no difficulty in raising a sufficient number of men to constitute a regiment. Nor was there any, as was shown in the year 1794, when Sir John Sinclair received Letters of Service to raise a regiment of Fencible Highlanders, whose duty should extend to England. As both officers and men were principally natives of Caithness, no name could be more appropriate than the "Caithness Fencibles." But the counties of Bute and Caithness being united in sending alternately a Member to represent them in Parliament, and the Prince of Wales having been pleased to grant permission that Rothsay, his chief title in Scotland, should be added, the battalion was called the Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles.

Though this regiment was not completed with the same expedition that the ranks of the Breadalbane, Sutherland, and other regiments had been filled up, an excellent efficient battalion was assembled at Inverness in October 1794, and embodied by Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Munro. Among the circumstances connected with this corps which attracted notice, was the appearance of the officers, nineteen of whom averaged six feet in height.

The uniform of this regiment was different from that worn by other Highland corps. It was a bonnet and feathers, with a plaid thrown across the shoulders, and tartan pantaloons, in imitation of the truis, \* (which is said by some to be the

\* The following anecdote tends to show that the truis or breeches were worn in Caithness in the reign of Charles II. at a time when the kilt and plaid were the universal garb of the rest of the Highlands; consequently, there is the greater reason for the Caithness regiment having assumed the truis for their uniform.

garb of the ancient Gael and Celts), surmounted with a stripe of yellow along the seams, a fringe of tartan on the outside of the thigh, and the same round the ankle.

About the period of the Restoration, the Earl of Caithness had been reduced to great straits and pecuniary difficulties. His debts were so heavy, that he was obliged to execute a disposition of his estate in favour of Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, who purchased the greatest part of his debts, and thus became the principal creditor; and in consequence of the disposition, a charter was passed in 1673 investing Glenorchy with the estate of Caithness. The Earl died in 1676, and in 1678 his widow, a daughter of the Marquis of Argyll, married Sir John Campbell, who took possession of the estate, and assumed the title of the Earl of Caithness, as being territorial, and attached to, and unalienable from, the possession of the land. He accordingly got a patent of the earldom from the Crown, and was created Earl of Caithness. This, however, was an assumption of right to which the Sinclairs would not submit, and, in the true spirit of clansmen, determined to support the distressed, to preserve the sinking family of their Chief, and to assert the claims of his legitimate heir. These were not mere words; and the arm of the law being neither so long nor so strong in those days as in latter times (when, according to the old Highlanders, it has reached Ross-shire), the new Earl of Caithness was obliged to take to the sword to gain possession of his acquisitions; and, instead of repairing to Edinburgh to employ lawyers (mercenary and hired troops, as they, no doubt, would be called by our modern revolutionists), to fight for and maintain his claims, he followed the Highland fashion; and collecting 1100 Breadalbane men, including the followers of the immediate descendants of his family, Glenlyon, Glenfalloch, Lochdochart, Achallader, &c., and those of his neighbour and brother-in-law, the Laird of Macnab, marched with this array to Caithness, and, in a pitched battle with the Sinclairs (who rose to oppose him), fought for his title, and, having gained the victory, quartered his men in the country for three years, levying rents and taxes, as if in a conquered country. But though the Sinclairs were forced to yield in the first instance, they so harassed the invaders, and showed such hostility and determined resolution in opposition to the claims of Glenorchy, that he at last yielded; and, after a long negotiation, and a reference to the King in Council, by whom it was found that the title was unalienable from the male-heirs, the Sinclairs got possession of their Chief's estate. The King created Sir John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane on a new patent, and the ancient earldom of Caithness went to the legitimate heir, George Sinclair of Keiss.

I have now come to the reason for telling this long story, namely, to show that in the reign of Charles II. breeches were worn in Caithness.—In the heat of the battle, and when the Caithness men were beginning to give way, Glenorchy's piper struck up a voluntary, the inspiration of the moment, when the



This battalion was in the usual manner stationed in different quarters, and reduced in the year 1799.

In the year 1795 Sir John Sinclair again received Letters of Service for raising a second battalion of Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles, which was inspected and embodied by Lieutenant-General Hamilton at Forfar in May. The establishment was the same as that of the first battalion, but the service was extended to Ireland. In this battalion there were only about 350 men from Caithness and Sutherland; and, consequently, a greater proportion from the southern counties than in the other battalion. The uniform of both was the same. Immediately after the inspection they were marched to the south of Scotland, and from thence crossed over to Ireland, where the regiment did duty in camp and barracks throughout all the troubles; and in the year 1799, Sir John Sinclair obtained a warrant to augment the regiment to 1000 effective men, under the designation of Caithness Highlanders, with field officers, captains, and subalterns in proportion. Captain Benjamin Williamson was appointed second Lieutenant-Colonel.

sounds of the instrument seemed to express in a very remarkable manner the words, "bodach na brigan," &c.; \* "the breeches men are retreating—the men with the breeches are flying." The tune has ever since been called Lord Breadalbane's March to Battle, and, when well played, appears, to a person conversant with the Gaelic language and pipe music, to articulate the words just mentioned. There is another reason for believing that the Saxon, the breeches, and the truis, have been long the language and dress of Caithness. The Highlanders call the country Gaullu,—the country of the strangers, or of the Saxons or Goths. Lord Caithness is called Morar Gaullu—Caithness being a word unknown in the Gaelic. Morar is the Gaelic for Lord; but Morar, or Lord, is not, as in English, applied to Almighty God: the Great Lord of All is *TRON*.

\* Although Bodach literally means an Old Man, it conveys to a Highlander a great deal more. It is quite an untranslatable word. A Lowland vulgar clown comes nearest to the Highlander's meaning of the word. When the Breadalbane men saw men with breeches, they were in their eyes Lowlanders or Goths—Bodach Gauld—the Goth or Stranger. Bodach is a term expressive of great contempt.

Lieutenant Colonel Williamson was ordered to Scotland to conduct the recruiting of this new force, and, in the month of December 1799, he joined the regiment in the county of Cork, with 526 recruits. They had been previously inspected in Dublin by Major-General Sir James Henry Craig, and, having received marked approbation from that strict disciplinarian, and accurate judge of the physical capability necessary for a soldier, it may be believed that these recruits formed very good subjects for the necessary duties of the profession.

I have had frequent occasion to mention, that want of space, and the nature of my plan, oblige me to suppress many circumstances and anecdotes which tend to illustrate character, and show the spirit, turn of mind, and principles of action of the people of the North, both in their military and civil capacity. I am, therefore, in each article, under the necessity of confining myself to one or two instances out of a very great number which various circumstances enable me to give. In the present case, I take the following extract from an address presented to Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser of Culduthill, who commanded the regiment for several years in Ireland, by a meeting of the magistrates of the county of Armagh, in the year 1798, the Lord Viscount Gosford the Governor in the Chair: "We beg leave to testify our highest approbation of the conduct of the Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles during a period of fourteen months, and under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. Divided, from the unfortunate necessity of the times, into various cantonments, and many of them stationed in a manner most unfavourable to military discipline, they yet preserved the fidelity of soldiers, and the manly rectitude of their national character. It is with pleasure and satisfaction we declare, that the tranquillity which this county is now happily beginning to enjoy must, in many respects, be ascribed to the ready obedience and proper deportment of the officers and men under your command.

"For reasons thus honourable to them, and grateful to

ourselves, we return you our most sincere thanks, and request you will communicate to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, this testimony of our esteem and acknowledgment of their exemplary conduct."

The regiment continued to maintain the character and conduct which called forth this tribute of approbation; and although, "from the nature of the service, and state of the country, they were much detached, often removed from the control of their officers, and thus left in a manner to themselves, yet there was no difference, nothing that could be called a crime ever occurred." This was the opinion (founded on a knowledge of facts) of a respectable officer who commanded the corps for several years. The soldiers were fortunate in being placed under the charge of Colonel Williamson, whose judgment and knowledge of the habits and dispositions of his men, enabled him to make the necessary distinction between unintentional or slight breaches of discipline, and those proceeding from depraved habits, or hardened guilt. Of the latter, indeed, he had none, consequently courts-martial were not frequent, and punishments slight. For neglects, trifling offences, &c. he generally called on the soldiers of their respective companies to bring the offenders to account; to award some slight punishment, and to keep a sharp eye over them afterwards. This mode has prevailed in many Highland regiments, and with the happiest effects, but no small caution is required in the selection of proper men for this moral superintendence. They must be correct in their own conduct, for punishments or advice from men who require both themselves, and show an example of the very conduct they reprobate, cannot be expected to be received even with common patience, far less with respect, and a resolution to benefit by them. Precaution is also required in another point of view, namely, in what manner the men exercise their authority, and that they do not punish too severely, to which, remarkable as the circumstance may appear, they often show no small propensity.

This regiment enjoyed a remarkably good state of health. During seven years, part of which time they were 900 and 1000 strong, the number of deaths were only 2 officers and 37 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, not being three-fourths of a man out of every hundred in each year.

In 1797, the regiment, with the exception of about 50 men, (all the 50 were from the North,) volunteered their services to any part of Europe. The offer being accepted, it entitled the soldiers to pensions when disabled, in the same manner as if in regiments of the line. Neither at that period, nor for many years afterwards, were there any pensions to officers, however severe their wounds, or however much disabled.

In the summer of 1800, Government directed that a proportion of men from the Scotch Fencible regiments should be allowed to volunteer into regiments of the line, an ensign to be appointed to every fifty men who volunteered. In consequence of this order, the 79th and 92d regiments got 200 men and 4 officers from the Caithness Highlanders.

In 1802, the regiment returned to Scotland, and was reduced in that year.

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## DUMBARTON.

1794.

IN pursuance of the resolution to raise Fencible corps whose service was to extend over the whole of the British Isles, Colonel Campbell of Stonefield received permission to raise a regiment, to be called the Dumbarton Fencibles, of which he was to be appointed colonel. The orders were dated the 11th of October 1794, and in summer 1795 the

regiment was inspected by Major-General Sir James Stewart, and reported complete.

The regiment was immediately removed to Guernsey, and, in 1796, was reduced to 500 men—orders being issued to discharge all above that number. In consequence of this measure the regiment was benefited by the dismissal of some indifferent characters recruited in Glasgow and other adjacent towns; so that, although reduced in numbers, it gained in character. It was now an efficient body of men, and in 1797 was removed to Ireland. At this period Lieutenant-Colonel Maclaine of Lochbuy was removed to the Argyle Fencibles, and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott,† an officer

*† Scott of Mossblair* of much experience, succeeded him. *from the 8th Infantry*

During the Irish rebellion, this corps was actively occupied; and, after this unpleasant service, was employed as a Light infantry corps in the mountains, under Sir John Moore, who kept it constantly near his person. It was a gratifying compliment to a young corps to be thus noticed by so correct a judge of military merit, under whom they might expect to be kept in constant activity while action was necessary, and their military experience and habits improved both by precept and example. By the recommendation of General Moore, a detachment of the regiment was ordered as a guard to 400 rebel prisoners sent to Prussia, with directions that “the detachment should consist entirely of Highlanders, as the service required confidential, trust-worthy men.”\* After the party had performed this duty, and delivered their prisoners, instead of being landed at Leith, as originally directed, they were sent to Deal, on their return from the Continent, and disembarked in Kent, without either money or necessaries. In this state they marched to Holyhead, and crossed over to Ireland, the officer commanding drawing subsistence at the different military stations as he marched along. He joined his regiment with his party com-

\* For a similar reason, a party of this regiment, under Captain Alexander Graham, then quartered in Dublin, was chosen to accompany the Magistrates when Lord Edward Fitzgerald was apprehended.

plete, and without a complaint against any individual during this long march.

The regiment remained in Ireland till 1802, when they crossed over to Scotland, and were reduced. In testimony of the character of this regiment, I give the opinion of a respectable officer and good judge, the late Colonel Scott of Horseleyhill. "In my long service, I knew not more sober trust-worthy soldiers than those of the Dumbarton regiment, and if at any time any unpleasant circumstance occurred, *the men enlisted in the country were exempted.*"

Thus every concurring testimony, the experience of every officer of observation, and the unerring evidence of time and of innumerable examples in our army, tend to prove that it is to the agricultural population we must look for the best soldiers, and best defenders of the country. They will not only fight with courage in the field, but will raise and preserve the National character by their conduct in quarters, and in no small degree contribute to the safety of the State; for no State is more safe or free from foreign invasion, or in less danger of attack, than when rival or neighbouring nations look on her soldiers with a respect not un-mixed with fear. Encroachments and all causes of offence will be avoided and guarded against; and our garrisons may be less numerous, and less expensive, and our military establishments reduced. Such could not be the case, if our troops were of dissolute habits, and of courage as unsteady as their principles. Thus, by employing a proper description of men, the character of the nation is maintained with honour, its defence is supported at less expense, and a smaller number of men will be drawn from the productive labour of the country. It has often happened that our colonial conquests have been retaken, owing to the sickness, mortality, and disorganized discipline of those left to defend them, originating in a great measure from intemperance and immoral habits. The cheapness of spirituous liquors in the colonies admitting of an intemperate use of them, dissipation has frequently occasioned mortal diseases, aggravated by the

deleterious nature of the spirits, (being generally, hot, fiery, and fresh from the still, as these are the cheapest and readiest to be obtained), to such an extent as not only to weaken the garrison by sickness and death, but to inspire with hope an enemy incapable of resisting our attacks while temperance and discipline were preserved. After the conquest of Guadeloupe in 1794, General Thomas Dundas was left in the command of the island. His talents, zeal, and animated example, preserved order and discipline in his garrison; but when he died, disorganization followed, and the inhabitants who had been friendly, and invited Sir Charles Grey to make a descent on the island, were now irritated by the conduct of the troops. They rose, and with the assistance of Victor Hugues, and a small body of men arrived from France, attacked and defeated the troops in detail, and retook the colony. \* Unfortunately, such instances are not singular.

\* The enemy were fully sensible of the talents of General Dundas, of which they saw proof in the spirit with which he made his attacks when the island was taken; but, instead of respecting, like a generous liberal enemy, the memory of a gallant soldier, they showed so different a feeling, that, with the revengeful and savage ferocity of the revolutionary and republican school, they disinterred his body when they got possession of the island, and, after burning it publicly, scattered the ashes in the air; thus paying a greater compliment to this brave and chivalrous soldier, whom the grave could not shelter from their revenge, than if they had raised a monument of brass to prove, that he "was wise, yet unassuming,—brave, mild, and generous." \*

When Guadeloupe was taken by General Beckwith and Admiral Cochrane in 1810, I commanded a brigade of Light infantry, and being anxious to show a mark of respect to an officer whom military men might take as their model, and under whom I served early in the war in Flanders, I proposed a subscription among the officers, who united in similar sentiments, to erect a monument to his memory. A sufficient sum was quickly obtained, the General and Admiral warmly joining in this tribute, and an elegant marble monument, executed by an eminent artist in London, was sent out; but as the cession of Guadeloupe at the peace was contemplated, the monument was put up in Trinidad, a colony permanently established as a part of the British dominions.

\* Mr Secretary Dundas's Speech, 5th June 1795, on a motion to erect a monument to General Dundas in St Paul's.

To such an excess was drunkenness carried in the garrison of Gibraltar, before the government of the Duke of Kent, (by whose exertions that vice was greatly checked), that it greatly diminished, if not destroyed, the high respect the Spaniards formerly entertained for the British troops; and it was not till after the experience of more than one campaign under the Duke of Wellington, that the conduct of the army restored the confidence of that jealous nation. That the character of British troops should be lowered in the esteem of the world by the prevalence of a vice which may be said to be the root and principal cause of immorality, crime, and unmilitary conduct, whenever such has happened in our army, is a subject of deep importance, and greatly to be deplored. When temperance prevails among the troops, the men are orderly, quiet, and exemplary; crimes, misdemeanours, and unmilitary conduct, rarely occur; and, as the vice generally originates, and is encouraged by a comparatively small proportion, it is certainly an object of vital importance to prevent as much as possible the introduction into our military ranks of such men as not only vitiate the principles, but, by their example, promote such habits as destroy the health and constitution of our troops. On a reference to the conduct and habits of the Highland regiments included in the preceding notices of military Service, it will be found, that, without an exception, their original habits were so temperate, and free from any tendency to excess in the use of liquor, or otherwise, as to attract general observation; that this sobriety withstood many years of example and temptation; that many corps, whose career of service was short, never changed to the last; and that others preserved the same line of conduct till the introduction of men of different characters, the force of example, and the influence of climate, caused a relaxation. It was not till after many years' service in India that climate so changed the habits of the 78th regiment, that directions to drink their own allowance of spirits, and not to dispose of it to other soldiers, or to the inhabitants, was no longer necessary.



The same moderation in the use of liquor prevailed in the 42d during the American War, when their allowance was served out twice a week ; whereas to the other troops it was done daily, with an officer present to direct the proper delivery and proper use of it; and it was not till the recruits from Chatham, and the draft from the 21st and 26th regiments, were received, that any change took place. Therefore, as there can be but one opinion as to the propriety of preserving temperance among our troops, it is certainly of high importance that so desirable an object should be accomplished. In the Highlands many of the people are deplorably vitiated by smuggling, and the operations of the Excise laws, with their train of false swearing, hatred, jealousy, and revenge against informers ; by fraudulent habits, bad payments, lying and deception, forced upon them, as they say, by these laws ; by the demands of landlords ; and by the new customs and manners now getting into fashion. Yet, notwithstanding these appalling appearances, and the approach of a new order of things, (*“the encouraging and reviving prospect of Highland civilization,”* as the changes are termed by some reporters of the state of religion and moral improvements in the North), the evil may be checked, and pure religion, morality, and fair dealing between man and man, may yet be preserved, if a warning be taken from the fearful state of Ireland, where, as in the Highlands, politics form no part of the complaints of the people. The example of the peasantry of Ireland shows, in too strong colours, that no increase of revenue to the Government, no increase of rent to the landlord, can be equivalents for the disaffection, demoralization, and despair of subjects and tenants, who contemplate relief only from the destruction of those who, they think, cause their distress. It is a calculation worthy of notice, what proportion of high revenue or high rents is lost, or how much they are lessened in their value, when collected, as in Ireland, under the protection of the bayonet, and when tenants cannot take new farms without the risk of being shot at their own doors. The Highlanders are yet far

from this state; but the approach, however distant, should be guarded against. We have still much honourable principle and moral feeling. These may be destroyed, but they may also be preserved; so that, when a regiment is raised in the Highlands, a party of them may be selected for important duties, (as in the case of the Dumbartonshire), because "the nature of the service requires confidential, trustworthy men."

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**REAY.**

1794.

THE history of the wars of Gustavus Adolphus and the Imperialists gave celebrity and distinction to the regiments raised at different periods by the family of Mackay, Lords Reay, in consequence of the estimation in which these corps were held by the greatest Captain of his age. For many centuries an intimate connexion and correspondence had subsisted between Scotland and several of the Continental nations. The long and friendly intercourse with France, first established by the Ancient League, \* as it was called in

\* In the Introduction to Beague's History of the Campaigns in Scotland in the years 1548 and 1549, printed in Paris in 1556, the author states, that, in consequence of the alliance between France and Scotland, unlimited confidence was placed in the Scots by the kings of France, who had always a strong body guard of that nation. He adds, "This guard alone continued to attend the French kings till the reign of Charles the Seventh, who joined some French companies with them in the honourable employment; yet, so as to give the Scots the place and pre-eminence in all things;—for example, the Captain of the Scots Guards, so called to this day, (1556,) is always designed the first Captain of His Majesty's Guards. He begins to attend the first day of the

the days of Robert the First of the Stewarts, nearly five hundred years ago, was so well preserved, that, in the year 1629, when English officers travelled through France, they "found it very convenient to call themselves Scotch instead of English; for nothing was so much caressed as the Scotch; and a man had no more to do in France, if he would be well received there, than to say he was a Scotchman." \* In the North of Europe the case was nearly the same. The Highlanders had their share of the beneficial consequences of this

year, and, when others are on duty, he may take the first rank, and officiate accordingly. When the king is anointed, the Captain of the Scots Guards stands by him, and when the ceremony is over, he takes his robes as his due. When the keys of any town or fortress were presented to his Majesty, he returned them that minute to the Captain of the Scots Guards. Twenty-five of this guard wear always, in testimony of unspotted fidelity, white coats, overlaid with silver lace, and six of them in their turns stand next to the Royal Person at all times, and all seasons,—in the church, at the reception of ambassadors, in the courts of justice, and generally on all public and solemn occasions whatever. It is the privilege of twenty-five of these gentlemen to carry the corpse of the French kings from Paris to their burial-place at St Dennis. In a word, that guard has ever been in possession of all the honour and confidence the King of France can bestow upon his nearest and dearest friends."

The above was written by a French author, consequently there can be no doubt either of its authenticity or impartiality.

The recollection of this friendly alliance is not lost in France, particularly in the southern provinces, where ancient manners and feelings have been less changed by the Revolution. The appearance of the Highland regiments revived these recollections, and when travelling through Gascony, Languedoc, and Provence, in 1814, I generally found the mention of my name met with a desire to know if I was descended of the Royal Family of Scotland, accompanied by a number of observations on the friendly connexion which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland, and with more knowledge of circumstances and more of anecdotes on the part of the people, than could have been expected; concluding always with an expression of regret on account of the interruption of the ancient intimacy and long-continued friendship and alliance.

\* *Memoirs of an English Cavalier.*—It may perhaps be proper to mention, that this English Cavalier was a fictitious person. The real author was Daniel De Fos; and although he was not present at what he describes, his authority is no more to be doubted than that of other historians, who relate what they never saw.

friendly feeling. After the year 1624, and early in the Thirty Years' War, Lord Reay, the Laird of Fowlis, and other gentlemen of the Highlands, passed over to Germany with 3000 followers, of whom one regiment of 1000 men consisted of Lord Reay's own immediate clansmen. \* These served in Count Mansfeldt's army, and were so frequently opposed to the enemy, that, in two years, more than half their number had fallen in battle. Reinforced, however, to their original strength, they joined the army of Gustavus Adolphus in 1629. "They were his right hand in battle, brought forward in all dangerous enterprises; and they may, like himself, be said to have fallen in the field, and to have been buried with the honours of war."† In confirmation of these allegations, the author of the Military History of Gustavus Adolphus gives several instances. At the battle of Leipzig, on the 7th September 1631, between the Swedes, under Gustavus, and the Imperialists, commanded by the celebrated General Count Tilly, when the battle had continued for some time, the Saxon troops, auxiliaries of the Swedes, had been driven from the field, and other corps much pressed; "in short, all that wing was shattered, and in an ill condition. At this juncture came the King, and, having seen what havock the enemy had made of Cullenbach's troops, he came riding along the front of our three brigades, and himself led us on to the charge; when the Scots advanced, seconded by some regiments of horse, which the King had also sent to the charge, the bloodiest fight began that ever

\* An eye-witness of the conduct, and a sharer in the campaigns of this regiment, speaks in the following terms: "And thus exercised they were, that their enemies in all rencounters could not but duly praise them, calling them the invincible old regiment, which always rencountered with them on all occasions, so that Mackay's name was most frequent through the glorious fame of their never-dying fame and regiment, never wronged by fortune in their fame, though divers times by their enemies' valour they sustained great loss; but would to God they had always met man to man, or that our army consisted of such men, and such officers, of which I was the most unworthiest!"—Colonel Munro's Expedition. London, printed 1641.

† Jackson's Characteristics of the Highland Soldiers.

man beheld; for the Scots brigade, giving fire, three ranks at a time, over one another's heads, poured in their shot so thick, that the enemy were cut down like grass before a scythe; and, following into the thickest of their foot, made a most dreadful slaughter, and yet there was no flying. Tilly's men might be killed, but no man turned his back, nor would give an inch of ground, but as they were wheeled, or marched, or retreated, by their officers; and, though they knew all was lost, would take no quarter, but fought it out to the last; the men were found dead, next day, in rank and file as they were drawn up."\* There is honour in overcoming an enemy, but it must be enhanced, beyond all comparison, when the victory is gained over such a steel-hearted enemy as these brave Germans. The same author states, that, "when the King was before the strong castle of Marienburgh, which was thought impregnable, the enemy, defying the Swedes to do their worst, it was well provided with all things necessary, and a strong garrison in it. The castle stood on a high rock, and on the steep of the rock was a bastion, which defended the only passage up the hill into the castle. The Scots were chosen to make this attack, and the King was an eye-witness of their gallantry. I observed that most of the Scots officers, who were not called upon this duty, prepared to serve as volunteers, for the honour of their country. I was determined to see this piece of service, and join myself to the volunteers. It was a piece of service that seemed perfectly desperate,—the advantage of the hill,—the precipice we were to mount,—the height of the bastion,—the resolute courage and number of the garrison, who, from a complete covert, made a terrible fire upon us,—all joined to make the action hopeless; but the fury of the Scots was not to be abated by any difficulties. They mounted the hill, scaled the works like madmen, running upon the enemy's pikes; and, after two hours' desperate fight, took it by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. The volunteer officers also had their

\* *Memoirs of an English Cavalier.*

share, and of the loss too. Fourteen officers were killed out of thirty, and almost all were wounded. The King received us as we drew off at the bottom of the hill, calling the soldiers his brave Scots, and commending the officers by name." \*

By repetition of such services as these, the King quickly diminished the number of "his brave Scots;" and, at the battle of Lutzen, on the 16th of November 1633, where this great and true soldier, "the saviour of Germany, the soul of the war," was killed, the brigade was reduced to a perfect skeleton, nine-tenths of the men having preceded or accompanied the King in his honourable death. The destruction of the Mackays in particular was accelerated by a separate piece of service, the storming of New Brandenburg. On this occasion, although successful, "half of Lord Reay's regiment was here cut to pieces, almost without a single exception." Such, immediately before and after the year 1630, was the military service of the clan Mackay. To be the favourite troops of such a consummate judge of military merit as Gustavus Adolphus, and in an army composed of veteran troops, who had fought and gained so many battles,—to maintain a character of such pre-eminence as to be employed on occasions of the greatest difficulty, was certainly an honourable distinction. † This

\* Memoirs of an English Cavalier.

† In 1629, Colonel Munro of Fowlis raised 700 men on his own and the neighbouring estates, as a reinforcement to those sent to Germany in 1626. They embarked at Cromarty, but meeting with very bad weather, were shipwrecked near Rugenwall, between Staten and Dantzic. All their stores and arms were lost, with the exception of their swords, and a few muskets which were thrown into one of the boats. No ammunition was saved. In this state, Colonel Munro determined to attempt Rugenwall by assault, although defended by a strong garrison of Imperialists. The enemy had troops quartered all round the country; therefore no time was to be lost. He pushed forward after it was dark, scaled the walls at midnight, and, entering the place sword in hand, killed all that resisted, and made the rest prisoners. He immediately supplied his men with arms and ammunition from the garrison stores, in which was included an ample stock of provisions. He fortified and obstructed all the passages into the place, and maintained this post for nine weeks, repulsing

being the character of the Mackays of the seventeenth century, it is to be regretted that their descendants, of the eighteenth, had not a more enlarged field than the limited service of a Fencible regiment, to show how far the character of their ancestors had descended with their blood.

At the commencement of the late war with France, the then Lord Reay being incapable, through mental weakness, of managing his own affairs, and Government wishing to form a regiment from those districts which had formerly sent forth so many brave soldiers, directed that a Fencible corps should be raised in "Lord Reay's country," (as that district is called), and gave instructions to select as officers a few respectable gentlemen of this clan, whose influence might, in the absence of their Chief, be effectual, and whom, it was supposed, the men would readily follow. For this purpose no man was better qualified, by respectability of character and personal influence, than the late George Mackay of Bighouse, who was appointed lieutenant-colonel; and Mackay Hugh Baillie of Rosehall, colonel.

The expectations formed of the dispositions of the people were quickly realized, and a few weeks only were necessary for assembling 800 Highlanders, of whom more than 700 men had the word *Mac* prefixed to their names. But these men had a better claim to notice than their names. They were brave, moral, and humane. Happily the opportunities they had of evincing their courage and humanity were few, but sufficient to show what might have been expected from a severer trial. Their moral conduct was coexistent with

every attempt to retake it, till he was relieved by a Scotch regiment under Colonel Hepburn, and a body of Swedish troops. Although this instance of courage and military talent is foreign to the service of the Reay Fencibles, it is given here as an example to the countrymen and descendants of those men, and as an incentive to maintain the honour of their hereditary name. Such a stimulus as this would have been more appropriate to, and effective on, the Highlanders of other times, than of the present, seeing that in those districts where Colonel Munro raised his men, examples of heroism and loyalty are unnecessary, as few of the descendants of these brave men are left to benefit by them.

their military career, and, as it was excellent at the beginning, so it continued praiseworthy to the last.

The regiment was inspected by Sir Hector Munro, embodied at Fort George in March 1795, and immediately removed to Ireland, where it remained till the end of the war. During the Rebellion, this corps acquired the confidence of the Generals commanding, in a very remarkable manner; and, as Gustavus Adolphus employed Lord Reay's regiment in all dangerous enterprises, so did Generals Lake and Nugent place a firm dependence on the service of the Reay Fencibles. General Lake had always his own guard formed of these men, to whom he became so much attached, that he seldom passed any guard or post when they were on duty, without alighting from his horse, going among them, and holding conversation with them. At the defeat of Castlebar he frequently exclaimed, "If I had my brave and honest Reays here, this would not have happened." The unfortunate service in which they were engaged afforded little opportunity of showing their firmness. At Tarra Hill, on the 26th of May 1798, three companies of the Reays, under a spirited and judicious veteran, Captain Hector Maclean, who had served nearly thirty years in the 42d regiment, supported by two troops of Lord Fingal's and the Tower Hill Yeomanry, drove back and scattered a body of rebels who were "in great force on this strong and elevated position." But it was not in driving back an unfortunate and misguided multitude that General Lake, and other officers of judgment, formed their opinion of this corps; it was on their uniform, well-regulated, and well-principled conduct.

I have already stated, that in every case where I have had occasion to state facts and circumstances, from the necessity of abridgment I have seldom given more than one or two of a great number of instances. On the present occasion, I shall mention only one of the many traits of character which impressed the commanders of that time in Ireland with a favourable opinion of these men. When quartered in Bel-



fast, a regiment of militia, 1100 strong, were in the same barracks. Several soldiers of this corps had been tried and executed as united Irishmen, and strong suspicions were entertained of the whole regiment. The Reay Fencibles had the duty of the main guard on the night previous to the execution. A report had gone abroad that the militia regiment was to rush out at midnight, overpower and murder the guard, which was under the command of Captain Maclean, and set their condemned comrades at liberty. At 10 o'clock that night, a party of the Reays, sufficient to fill the guard-house, slipped silently out of their barracks, with their arms under their plaids, and sat up with the guard, while those who remained in the barracks put out all lights, and continued in arms on the watch till day-light, ready to start out on the smallest alarm. All this was done without any order or hint from their officers, and with such prudent caution, that the circumstance was not known to the other corps, and no ill will or jealousy existed, in consequence, between the soldiers of either regiment. But this was not always the case, for a dispute which took place between them and another militia regiment, might have ended very seriously, had it not been checked by the prompt interference of Generals Lake and Mackay Baillie. But here, instead of taking their arms, as on the occasion just mentioned, they laid them aside, and supplied themselves with sticks and cudgels. Notwithstanding this instance of improper feeling, and bad blood between this and one of the Native corps, with the people they were so conciliating, and on such a friendly footing, that it was remarked in those parts of the country where they were cantoned, that "the inhabitants were quiet, apparently less disaffected, and more regular in their habits," than elsewhere. Thus, while their manners and habits were such as to render the exertion of strict military discipline unnecessary, so far as regarded any coercive measure, other traits of character attracted particular notice. For instance, a practice prevailed, as in other corps of the same country and character, of remit-

ting to their relations at home sums of money, small in themselves, but large in proportion to the means of supply, from the savings of a soldier's daily subsistence, (at that period only sixpence per day.) But, while these soldiers indulged their naturally affectionate disposition in assisting their relatives by acts of liberality, they retained enough of money to enable them to pursue their social amusements; and it was a frequent practice to subscribe among themselves, and give dances to their acquaintances, not only in the barracks, but frequently in public rooms and places allotted for the purpose, which they hired. On these occasions the officers attended, as also many respectable inhabitants of the different towns in which they were at the time quartered, attracted by curiosity, and a feeling of satisfaction from seeing men conduct themselves in such a manner as to reflect credit on the profession to which they belonged. Among these men crimes which require severe punishments had no existence. "Indeed, the men would have considered it a banishment for ever from their native country, where they could not show themselves in day-light, if degraded by disgraceful punishments." Several men however deserted, and several received corporal punishment, during the seven years the regiment was stationed in Ireland, but these were individuals not originally enlisted in the corps; they were a party by themselves, and the "standard and original men of the regiment would not associate with them." Perhaps many military men will be of opinion, that in such cases the addition of numbers is attained at the expense of too great a sacrifice, and that, whether a regiment be one hundred men more or less, is an object of secondary importance, compared with the disgrace which even a few bad men bring on a corps, and the baneful influence of their example. Six or eight men, by their crimes, tarnished the good name, and brought a slur on the character of this most respectable regiment. Was the value of their service equal to the sacrifice?

It is said, that men of bad character will fight as well as

men of good; but will their courage be uniform and steady? Will it not fail perhaps in the day of the greatest need; or will a man of dissolute and depraved habits be able to withstand continued fatigue? Or, can a man, without the fear of God, and without religion, be intrusted with a duty beyond the observation and unremitting control of superiors? \* It has been said by very able officers, that if they had men, they would soon model them to good soldiers, supposing the machine to be fit for work; or, in other words, the physical constitution and capability to be equal to the necessary duties. Certainly the discipline of zealous judicious officers has done much; but while men of proper habits and good feelings can be recruited in the Highlands, let not the character and good name of 800 or 1000 men be injured by the misconduct of a few strangers, as in the case of the Reays; who, but for such an intrusion, would have had the satisfaction of returning to their native glens without a man of their number having been disgraced. But, as it was, those degraded men were not of *their* country or of *their* kindred.

\* On this subject I have had much personal experience while serving with, and commanding, men of the best character in the 42d and 78th regiments; and in the Royal West India Rangers, where I had charge of men who exhibited a perfect contrast to the well regulated habits of the other corps. The difference in the principles which guided the men of these regiments was striking, and afforded many remarkable traits of character, a detail of which might be both interesting and instructive. Three-fourths of the Rangers were men of reprobate habits, who had served in other regiments, and whom it was impossible to reclaim; they were in consequence sent to the West Indies, and banished there as incurables, or to avoid severer punishments.

I intended to have put together some notices on this interesting subject, (for no subject can be more interesting than comparing the conduct of men in a primitive unadulterated state, with that of men debased and void of principle,) and also on the different modes of discipline I found necessary to adopt in carrying on military duty with men of such opposite characters; but I gave up the idea, for the same reason that made me suppress many anecdotes and incidents which occurred in the course of my military duties, because I was myself often a party concerned, and unwilling to introduce my name, I found that, by stating facts in the third person, much of the stamp of authenticity was lost.

The Reay Fencibles were removed to Scotland, and reduced in 1802.

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### INVERNESS-SHIRE.

1794.

GOVERNMENT having determined to raise Fencible regiments on a more extended scale of service than those embodied in 1793, Major Baillie of Dunean received Letters of Service to raise a Fencible corps of 600 men, with the privilege of appointing one field officer with permanent rank in the army.

The service of the men was to extend to England, Ireland, and the British Isles. Major Gordon Cumming of Pitlurg was appointed to the permanent step of lieutenant-colonel. The Letters of Service were dated the 21st of November 1794, but the corps was not completed till October 1795, when the whole was embodied at Inverness, under the name of the Loyal Inverness Fencible Highlanders. Though the uniform was the full Highland garb, there were not more than 350 Highlanders in the regiment. A considerable proportion of the men was from the Lowlands of Aberdeenshire; a few from the South Lowlands; and some from England; with about forty Welshmen, who appeared more partial to the plaid than some of the Highlanders. To the Lowlanders of Aberdeen, as well as Perthshire, it was more objectionable than to either the English or Irish. When dislikes and jealousies subsist between neighbouring countries or districts, the nearer they are, the more bitter their animosities. The Spaniards and Portuguese hate one another more cordially than they do any other people on earth. Not seventy years ago, antipathies of this nature were very prevalent among this now united

people of the Lowland and Highland borders of Angus, Perth, and Stirling; nor was there a town in Scotland where prejudices ran stronger against the Mountaineers than in Perth. Any anecdote favourable to character or conduct was received with a kind of credulous contempt, or ascribed to that species of virtue sometimes seen among savages. In no town in England, or in any other country wholly strangers, could they be more ridiculed for their poverty, their dress, and all their real or supposed characteristics of ferocity, ignorance, indolence, and superstition, than by the people of that city, in the daily view of the Grampians, and in constant communication with the inhabitants. I know not if it was any remnant of this feeling that made some of the Lowlanders assume the garb with some degree of sulky dislike, while the young men of Wales wore it with great cheerfulness, and seemed to be quite pleased with their own appearance when they put it on.

Immediately after the final inspection, the corps was ordered for Ireland, without waiting for clothing or arms, which were delivered to them at Glasgow, as they marched through to embark. Kilkenny was their first quarters in Ireland; but, in the course of a few years, they traversed the greatest part of that country. Colonel Baillie died in 1797, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon Cumming was appointed Colonel.\*

The recital of the intestine commotions of distant ages, with their characteristic incidents, and the chivalrous fidelity of each party to the cause in which it had embarked, seldom fails to command fixed attention, and to inspire a deep interest. Their remoteness softens down the more unpleasant sensations ready to be awakened at the idea of the misery of a country in such a state, where perhaps brother was arrayed against brother, and friend against friend: And when we read of the battles between the houses of

\* Colonel Gordon offered to raise a regiment at the same time as Colonel Baillie, but lest their recruiting should interfere with each other, they united, and formed one corps.

York and Lancaster, of the feuds between the Borderers of England and Scotland, of those of the Clans, and of the chivalrous exploits of Montrose and others, in the different intestine commotions and feuds down to that of 1745; the interest with which the imagination views the heroism displayed, outweighs the painful consideration of individual suffering, and mitigates the regret, that talents and courage, which ought only to be exerted against an enemy, and in support of the honour, liberty, and independence of the country, should be wasted by intestine conflict.

The Rebellion in Ireland is too recent to be read with any feeling but that of regret; nor does the recital of the battles in America, however successful, cause any very agreeable emotions. But on those occasions when the Americans behaved with more than usual bravery, it affords a satisfaction to perceive, that the descendants of our forefathers retain a part of their ancient character, although transplanted to a distant region. The well known anecdote of James II. at the battle of La Hogue, shows that, however blinded by religious bigotry, he felt strongly for the honour of his country's arms; and although so much depended on the success of that battle, and in overpowering or scattering the English fleet; yet, when he was informed that one of the English line of battle had fled, he exclaimed, in a rage, that it was false, *as an English man of war never ran away.*

The Inverness-shire Fencibles were actively employed during the Rebellion, and on every occasion behaved with spirit. But, actuated by the considerations I have just noticed, and from the unpleasant feelings which many of the events of the late unhappy insurrection creates, with so few circumstances to relieve them, I wish to abstain from all the details of the particular duties of the different corps employed on that occasion; and following the same rule in this instance, I shall only add, that, when placed in what was called free quarters, as in an enemy's country, the soldiers composing this corps conducted themselves throughout with

great and conciliating moderation towards the misguided and unfortunate inhabitants.

After the suppression of the Rebellion, in compliment to their good behaviour, the designation of the corps was changed to "the Duke of York's Royal Inverness-shire Highlanders." The establishment was increased, and blue facings were substituted for the former, which were yellow. In 1801, the whole regiment made a voluntary offer of their service for any part of the world. This spirited offer of the corps is highly creditable to the discipline of Colonel Gordon and his officers. Thus ready for the service of their country will British soldiers always be found when they are properly treated, when their feelings are consulted, and when the nature of their duty, and what may be expected of them, are fully explained. In cases where this spirit has failed in producing the proper effect, the fault has generally, if not always, consisted in the want of address, of proper management, and of proper attention to the soldiers on the part of those who had the immediate command, or who had been specially intrusted with such orders and instructions. In those instances of failure, or apparent want of spirit in corps, which I have had occasion to notice, (in the course of my attempt to give an account of the conduct, character, and service of Highland regiments), it invariably proceeded from a want of previous explanation, and a consequent misapprehension on the part of the soldiers, or the misrepresentations of malicious and designing men. As I will more fully explain afterwards, no improper spirit would have been displayed by the detachments of the 42d and 71st regiments, or by the Athole Highlanders, Grant Fencibles, &c. had it not been for these causes; and as they are so easily avoided, and as a proper British spirit may be easily preserved among our regiments, these circumstances have been more frequently alluded to, as a warning not unworthy the attention of those who may henceforth be intrusted with the command of a spirited,

generous soldiery, emulous of glory, and jealous of the character of their native country.

This voluntary offer of the Inverness-shire Fencibles, on which the preceding reflections are founded, could not be accepted, as the speedy termination of the war put an end to all active operations, and the regiment had no opportunity of showing how far their regular and approved conduct in quarters could be confirmed by their courage, and success in the field.

In 1802, the regiment was removed from Ireland, and reduced at Stirling in the month of March.

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FRASER.

1794.

THE name of Fraser, as connected with the military annals of this country, must be familiar to all who are conversant with the history of the two wars on the continent of America. Connected always with honour and a military name, and remembered with feelings of respect, founded on the coincident opinion of friends and enemies, the examples shown by those two corps, the Fraser's Highlanders of the Seven Years' War, and that of the American Revolution, afforded a gratifying proof of the influence of honour, derived from moral principles, on the minds and actions of men, uneducated in the general acceptance of the word, but with an education that served every purpose of more formal instruction.

With the recollection of the name and character thus obtained, when the youth of the nation were called to arms at the commencement of the last war, the clan Fraser did not forget how their kindred and clansmen had obeyed the call



in former times. The then Chief of the clan Fraser, the youngest son of the last Lord Lovat, and brother of the late General Fraser, being advanced in years, Letters of Service were issued to James Fraser of Belladrum, the head of a respectable branch of the family, and who had served under his Chief in Canada during the Seven Years' War. The orders were dated in the latter end of 1794; and in the following spring, Colonel Fraser, supported by Lovat and the principal gentlemen of the clan, completed his regiment. On the 14th of June 1795, the whole were inspected and embodied at Inverness. Of the soldiers, 300 bore the name of Fraser, and were chiefly from the Fraser's country, the districts of the Aird and Stratherrick. The others were from the neighbouring districts, except 30 Lowlanders and 18 English and Irish, old soldiers, enlisted by some officers to fill up their complement.

The uniform was the usual Highland garb, with belted plaids and philibegs of the Fraser tartan, but without broad swords, which, as I have already noticed, were laid aside at the commencement of the American War.

The regiment was marched south in July, and, crossing over to Ireland, landed there on the 1st of August. In that country, "the general character of the corps was excellent: they had a high degree of the *esprit du corps*; were obedient, active, and trusty; gaining the entire confidence of the generals commanding, by whom they were always stationed in the most disturbed districts, previous to and during the Rebellion. Many attempts were made to corrupt them, but in vain; no man proved unfaithful. The men were not in general large, but active, well made, and remarkable for steady marching, never leaving any stragglers, even on the quickest and longest marches." Such is the character given of this corps by an able and intelligent officer, who knew them well.\*

In November 1797, Colonel Fraser of Belladrum re-

\* Major Fraser of Newton,

signed, and Simon Fraser, the younger of Lovat, was appointed colonel. Soon after this period, the disturbances which had so long agitated Ireland began to assume a more formidable appearance; and Government found, that, in attempts to keep down the spirit of disaffection and disloyalty, some of the troops showed symptoms of the same disposition. In this situation, full confidence was placed in the Fraser Fencibles. When invasion was attempted by the French, and a landing effected at Killala, this regiment, along with others, was pushed forward; and, in the unfortunate rencounter at Castlebar, they were so circumstanced, that a just opinion of their conduct cannot well be formed, farther than that they were the last to retreat.

In Musgrave's History of the Rebellion, the following instance is given of intrepid execution of duty intrusted to "a Highland Fraser sentinel, whom his friends desired to retreat with them, but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was elevated, with some steps leading to it. He loaded and fired five times successively, and killed a Frenchman at every shot; but, before he could charge a sixth time, they rushed on him." If all the soldiers at Castlebar had behaved with equal firmness, the French invasion would have ended on that day.

This corps remained in Ireland till the conclusion of the war. In barracks, their conduct was uniformly good, and, except in such cases as I have had frequent occasion to notice, corporal punishments were equally unnecessary and unknown, and in this respect there was no deviation till the reduction of the regiment at Glasgow in July 1802.

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### LOCHABER.

1799.

THIS year Donald Cameron of Lochiel was appointed Colonel of a regiment of Fencibles, to be raised in the north

of Scotland, and to be called the Lochaber Fencible Highlanders.

The ready zeal with which this gentleman's ancestors had entered into every measure which tended to support the Royal Family of Scotland, is well known. This zeal was equally exerted to preserve them on the throne, and to restore them when driven from it. In the Rebellion in the reign of Charles I., Sir Ewen Cameron was the last who held out against the power of Oliver Cromwell, to whom, indeed, he never fully submitted, constantly annoying and cutting off the supplies of the garrisons planted in the country during the continuance of the Commonwealth.

The share which his grandson had in the Rebellion of 1745 brought ruin on his family. He was attainted, and escaped to France, where he died in 1757. \*

No gentleman in the Highlands was more respected for his virtues and accomplishments, or commanded more influence in proportion to his property, than this Chief. To this day the name of Lochiel is never mentioned in Lochaber without a sigh of regret, and an expression of respect. † There was, therefore, reason for the belief that some family influence still remained. But Colonel Cameron laboured under great disadvantages. Born and educated in a distant country, he was almost a stranger in the land of his ancestors; but his name, which, sixty years before, would of itself have raised a warlike host, still excited a feeling of respect and attachment to his family, which only required his appearance to turn it to the best advantage. Colonel Cameron accordingly found, that, in Lochaber, all were ready to

\* A brother of this gentleman, also an exile in consequence of the Rebellion, believing that the terrors of the law, which had for some years hung over him, would be softened by the lapse of time, returned to London in 1752. But he was apprehended, tried, and executed on his original attainder.

† The generous attachment of his tenants, who remitted to him their full rents, while they paid to Government those which it demanded, has been already noticed, as also the affection shown towards his son, when a company was raised for him in Fraser's Highlanders in 1775.

support him. By this means, and the exertions of officers in other parts of the country, a body of 800 men was assembled at Falkirk in May 1799. Of these the Highlanders exceeded 560 men. This number was afterwards increased, to fill up vacancies occasioned by men volunteering into regiments of the line; making the total number 740 Highlanders.

The regiment was immediately removed to Ireland.

In the course of remarking on the character and conduct of different corps, there has been, I fear, too much sameness and repetition, as, indeed, must necessarily happen, when there is a similarity of subject throughout. But, as it may be interesting to many to mark the character supported by corps, either collectively or individually, I have generally noticed only the most prominent traits. I was also desirous of inquiring whether the people who form my subject, preserved the same character in corps of limited and home service, as in those which were called to meet the enemy. With regard to the Lochaber regiment, it may be said of them, as of many others, that three-fourths of the men were not only irreproachable, but exemplary, in their conduct; but as little interesting can be said of the service of a regiment in country quarters among friends, I shall add a few notices of the military character, capability, and talents exhibited by the Chief of the Camerons and his clan in the seventeenth century, as an example to those of the name who remain in their native country, and to show that courage, loyalty, and independence of spirit, enabled this clan to set at defiance the troops of a man no ways disposed to show mercy to those opposed to his usurpation; and that, at last, when Lochiel entered into a treaty with Cromwell, no oath was required of him, his word of honour being deemed sufficient.

Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel was born in 1629, and educated at Inverary Castle, under the guardianship of his kinsman the Marquis of Argyle, who took charge of him

in his tenth year, \* and endeavoured to imbue him with his own political principles, and prevail with him to join the Covenanters and Puritans. But the chivalrous spirit of his pupil was ill adapted to the cant and gloomy fanaticism of that party; and, at the age of eighteen, he broke loose from Argyle, with an intention of joining the Marquis of Montrose,—a hero more congenial to his own character. He was too late to be of service to that great but unfortunate general, whose reverses had commenced before Lochiel left Inveraray. But he was not idle. He kept his men in arms, and completely protected his estate from the incursions of Cromwell's troops. In the year 1652, he was the first to join the Earl of Glencairn, who hoisted the royal standard in the Highlands. In different rencounters with General Lilburne, Colonel Morgan, and others, he highly distinguished himself, and in particular in a smart skirmish between Lord Glencairn and Lilburne in Brae-Mar, where Lochiel was posted at a pass, which he defended till the royal army had retreated to a distance. In the mean time, Lilburne came round and attacked Lochiel in the flank. This he also resisted for some time, till at last, finding himself unable to repel the enemy, who now brought an additional force against him, he gradually retreated up the hill; showing a front to the enemy, who durst not follow him far, as the ground was steep and covered with snow. Glencairn's army was at that time in a disorganized state, owing principally to the conflicting pretensions of a number of independent chiefs and gentlemen, who would not yield to one another, and sometimes not even to the General. Lochiel kept clear of the whole, and, stationing himself on the outposts, was uniformly successful in skirmishes with the ene-

\* Agreeably to an ancient custom in the Highlands, he lived the first seven years with his foster-father, whose children became the foster-brothers and sisters to the young laird. The foster-fathers were generally at the charge of the education of gentlemen's children, while they remained with them; and when their pupils returned home, these fathers often gave them a portion equal to what they gave to their own children.

my, whom he constantly harassed. How his services were estimated by Glencairn we learn from a letter of Charles II. to Lochiel, dated 3d November 1653.

“ CHARLES R.

“ *To our trusty and well-beloved the Laird of Lochiel :*

“ We are informed by the Earl of Glencairn with what courage, success, and affection to us, you have behaved yourself in this time of trial, when the honour and liberty of your country is at stake; and therefore we cannot but express our hearty sense of such your good courage, and return you our thanks for the same; and we hope all honest men, who are lovers of us and of their country, will follow your example, and that you will unite together in the ways we have directed, and under that authority we have appointed to conduct the prosecution of so good a work: so we do assure you, we are ready, as soon as we are able, signally to reward your service, and to repair the losses you shall undergo for our service, and so we heartily bid you farewell.—Given at Chantilly, Nov. 3, 1653, in the fifth year of our reign.”

In pursuance of this line of conduct, Lochiel kept his men constantly on the alert, and ready to act wherever his service might be required. In 1654 he joined Lord Glencairn's army, with a strong regiment, to oppose Generals Monk and Morgan, who had marched into the Highlands. Lochiel being opposed to Morgan, a brave and enterprising officer, he was often hard pressed, and encountered many difficulties; but his presence of mind and resolution never forsook him. General Monk made several attempts to negotiate, and made the most favourable proposals to Lochiel on the part of Cromwell, which he uniformly despised and rejected. At length Monk resolved to establish a garrison at Inverlochay, in Lochiel's neighbourhood, to force him and other loyal chiefs to surrender, or at least to give them so much employment in their own country as would prevent

their undertaking expeditions against those who had submitted to Cromwell in the Lowlands. Colonel Bigan, the commander of the expedition, carried his troops, stores, and materials for building, by sea, and soon raised a small fort, forming a temporary defence against the musketry, swords, and arrows of the Highlanders. Lochiel watched their motions from a hill north of the fort, and had spies who informed him of all that was passing among the strangers. On the fifth day he was told that 300 men were to embark and sail a few miles along the coast, for the purpose of landing at Achdalew, and of cutting down his wood, and carrying away his cattle. He had only 38 men with him at the time; and, there not being a moment to lose, he hurried along in a line with the vessel, but covered by the woods, came close to the place where they landed, and was soon able to count 140 armed men, besides a number with axes and working instruments. He immediately consulted with his friends. The younger part were for an instant attack, but the elder and more experienced remonstrated against it as a rash and most hazardous enterprise. Lochiel then asked two of his people who had served under Montrose, whom he wished to consider as his model, and whose name was seldom out of his mouth, if they had ever seen him engage against such odds?—The men declared they never had. However, Lochiel, eager to signalize himself, and to be thought worthy of being ranked in the same class with the hero he wished to imitate, addressed his men in a few energetic words, and called on every man, who loved his King and country, to follow him, adding, "If every man kills his man, I will answer for the rest." On this they all started up, and declared they would instantly attack the English, but entreated that he and his brother Allan would remain behind; as, in case of any serious accident happening to them, no victory over the English could compensate their loss; and, as to any casualties among themselves, they would be soon supplied and forgotten. Lochiel, as might be expected, spurned at the proposal with regard to himself, but ordered that his brother

Allan should be tied to a tree, and a little boy left to attend him; but young Allan flattered or terrified the boy to release him, and was immediately with his friends.

The Camerons were armed partly with muskets, and partly with bows, but all with broad swords. They rushed forward close to the enemy, keeping up their fire till they almost touched their breasts; when, on the first round, every shot told. They then attacked with their swords, the English defending themselves with the bayonet. The skirmish was long and obstinate. At last the English gave way, but retreated slowly, contesting every step, with their faces towards their enemy. Lochiel, with a view of alarming them, and to prevent their escape to their boats, sent two men round the flanks to the rear, to fire and make a noise, as if a fresh party had arrived. This made the English desperate. Instead of throwing down their arms, however, they only fought the harder, expecting no quarter from such determined savages: but, at last, being completely borne down, they fled, and were pursued by the Camerons chin-deep into the sea, till the people in the boats received their friends and drove back the Highlanders. Of the enemy 138 were killed, more than three times the number of Lochiel's men, who lost only 7, some accounts say only 5, men. They had here the advantage of being the assailants, and, from the first surprise, pressed forward on the enemy, who had not an instant's remission to recover from the confusion in consequence of the rapidity and force of the attack. \*

\* Lochiel made several narrow escapes. When the English retreated, one of the officers retired behind a bush. While in this situation, Lochiel passed alone, when the officer sprung out and attacked him. He had the advantage in size and strength, but Lochiel was active, and master of his weapon. After a short contest, he jerked the sword out of the hand of his antagonist, who closed upon him and threw him down. The officer got uppermost, when Lochiel seized him by the collar with his left hand, and, making a spring at his throat, he bit it quite through with his teeth, and kept such fast hold that the officer was obliged to yield.

After this rencounter, he joined his men, who were by this time chin-deep in



In a few days afterwards, and before the alarm and surprise of this disaster had subsided, Lochiel cut off a small foraging party from the garrison. But he was now called away to join Lord Glencairn, and, collecting his men, joined the General's army in Athole. He had not been long with his Lordship, when he heard that the garrison had taken advantage of his absence, and sent parties to harass and plunder his people. He returned in great haste with 150 men, leaving the greater part with the General in Athole, and received a report, the day he arrived, that the troops were the following day to visit his kinsman Cameron of Glenevis's lands. Early that morning, he took post, with 190 of his own and Glenevis's men, near the river side at the foot of Ben Nevis, then covered with wood near half a mile up the mountain. He had not waited long, when about 500 of the enemy passed him. He gave the signal to his men, who rushed upon the soldiers like furies, totally routed them, and continued the pursuit close to the fort. Upwards of 100 were killed, and many wounded, but the killed always doubled the wounded in these close and desperate encounters. Not one officer escaped; the soldiers had now suffered so much from his attacks, that it required the greatest exertions on the part of the officers to keep them to their duty, consequently, they were the more exposed, and suffered accordingly. In this manner, he gave the garrison no rest; for, when they did not send out parties for fear of meeting with him, he frequently opened a fire of musketry upon the garrison at night, as if he meant to attack by assault; thus depriving the soldiers of rest, as well as preventing excursions into the country. Indeed, his name now carried so much terror, that a report of himself or his men being in the neighbourhood prevented all egress from the fort, and his country and people were not disturbed for a long time.

the sea, in pursuit of the enemy. One of Lochiel's foster-brothers, observing a man on board the vessel aiming at him, leaped forward in his front, and received the shot in his mouth and breast. This was the father of the man who acted in the same manner towards Lochiel at Killiecrankie.

General Middleton being unsuccessful in a skirmish with General Morgan at Lochgarry, sent for Lochiel to come to his assistance. Upwards of 300 Camerons were immediately assembled, and joined the General, who had retreated to Brae-Mar. In the course of this expedition, Lochiel had several rencounters with General Morgan, but the judgment and promptitude with which the Chieftain took the advantage of the nature of his ground, the great activity of his men, and the consequent celerity of his movements, gave him such decided advantage, that he lost very few men, while he slew a considerable number of the enemy, who were often attacked both on the flanks and the rear, when they knew not that an enemy was within many miles of them.

An instance of this happened at Lochgarry, in the Braes of Athole, in August 1653, when Lochiel, passing north with only a few men, was joined by about 60 or 70 Athole men to accompany him through the hills; at the same time, with the hope of some opportunity offering to revenge the defeat of their friends, a short time previously, on the same spot. Cromwell's troops were marching southward, and had encamped on the plain of Dalnaspidel, north of the lake; the Highlanders divided themselves into three parties, one on each point of the two hills divided by the river, and the third on the face of the hills north of the present high road. They were posted in this manner at midnight, and preserved perfect silence. A short time before sunrise, the party on the point west of the river quietly slipped down to the plain, and fired several shots at the camp. This gave the alarm, and they got quickly under arms. Being now daylight, the Highlanders retired slowly, followed by the enemy, who did not perceive the other two parties, as they had kept themselves out of view till they saw the enemy well advanced in pursuit of their friends along the side of the lake. The party above the road then dashed down to attack those who remained in the camp, while the others hastily crossed the river at the end of the lake, and followed up in the rear of those who had attacked their first party. The

enemy in advance being thus between two fires, and the camp attacked at the same time, a desperate and deadly conflict must have ensued, had it not been that the handful of men of which the Highlanders consisted, were only about 50 or 60 men in each party, while there were two complete regiments of Cromwell's troops. But the thing was only intended for a surprise, and one of those kind of alarms with which the Highlanders constantly harassed the troops. In this case the object was completely accomplished; they killed a number of the enemy, who got entangled in the mosses of Lochgarry, and had no small difficulty in regaining their camp, where also they lost many men by the fire of the party which had attacked them from the hill. On the whole, the enterprise was planned with judgment, and executed with gallantry.

But all their exertions could not avail; and General Middleton being without money, and the exhausted country furnishing but small supplies of provisions, he was at length obliged to submit, and the war was now finished, except with Lochiel, who still stood out, and would neither forswear his allegiance to the King, nor submit to the encroachments of the troops quartered in a garrison so near him. Encouraged by the submission of General Middleton, and the absence of Lochiel, who had accompanied Middleton to the Isle of Skye, whence he embarked for England, the garrison sent out hunting parties to Lochiel's lands, and not always satisfied with killing the deer and small game, they occasionally made a sweep of the cattle and goats. When Lochiel heard of this, he hurried back from Skye, and being told of an intended hunting party from the garrison, he determined to disturb their sport. He arranged as many men as he thought necessary in different places, and giving directions how to act, waited the appearance of the military. He had not to remain long, when the Highlanders seeing the party within proper distance, rushed out in their usual manner, killing several, and taking the others prisoners, without allowing a man to escape back to the garrison.

Soon after this rencounter with the hunting party, he received accounts that General Monk had sent four English and two Scotch Colonels, with a number of other officers and attendants, to survey the estates of the Lairds of Macnaughton, Maclachlan, and those of some other loyalists in Argyleshire, and that they intended to build forts to keep down the King's friends. Lochiel resolved to interrupt their design, and assist his friends. He picked out 100 chosen men of his clan, and marched to Argyleshire, keeping the tops of the hills to prevent a discovery, but at the same time sending notice of his intentions to the Laird of Macnaughton, who accordingly met him on the hills behind Ardkinglass. He then gave him the welcome intelligence that all the officers were to be the following night at a house on the side of Lochfyne, with a strong guard of soldiers, as they were to commence their operations of surveying and taking possession of the estates. He accordingly made his dispositions, which were so well understood by his people, and executed with such skill, activity, and success, that the officers and soldiers were all taken and carried, without halting, to the Camerons' country, and placed in security before they had recovered from the surprise which their unexpected capture had occasioned. The officers were at first terrified at falling into the hands of such a savage people, from whom their friends had suffered so much, and of whose ferocity they had heard so many tales. In this expectation, however, they were greatly and agreeably disappointed. Their treatment was kind and gentle. Lochiel contributed to make their time pass agreeably, and formed different hunting matches in the Highland style for their amusement. This brought on an intimacy, in the course of which they recommended a treaty with the General. But he declared he would never submit to their canting, hypocritical, and ambitious Protector. He resisted several attempts to prevail with him to yield, and although he was most anxious for an honourable treaty, as his country was impoverished, and his people nearly ruined, he continued to protest,

that rather than disarm himself and his clan, abjure his King, and take oaths to a usurper, he would live as an outlaw, without regard to the consequences. To this it was answered, that if he only showed an inclination to submit, no oath would be required, and he should have his own terms. Soon afterwards General Monk, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, drew up certain conditions, and sent them to Lochiel, who made a few slight alterations, and sent them back by Colonel Campbell of \_\_\_\_\_, \* one of the prisoners released on parole, to General Monk, with his acceptance;—and well he might accept of them, for they were of the following honourable tenor, as we learn from General Monk's letter :

“ No oath was required of Lochiel to Cromwell, but his word of honour to live in peace. He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms, as before the war broke out; they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Lochiel for the wood cut by the garrison of Inverlochay. A full indemnity was granted for all acts of depredation, and crimes committed by his men. Reparation was to be made to the tenants for all the losses they sustained from the troops. All tithes, cess, and public burdens which had not been paid, to be remitted.” All that General Monk demanded of Lochiel was, that he and his men should lay down their arms in the name of King Charles II., before the garrison of Inverlochay, and take them up again in name of the States, without mentioning the Protector, and that he would afterwards keep the peace, pay public burdens, and suppress all tumults and depredations.

Such was the reward of his chivalrous gallantry, unconquerable zeal, and honourable fidelity to the cause he had espoused. The day the treaty was to be signed, Lochiel drew up his men in companies, led by the heads of the

\* I have heard two or three gentlemen of Argyleshire mentioned as the person who was prisoner, and carried the letter to General Monk at Dalkeith; but not being certain which of those mentioned was the person, I decline giving any names;

most respectable families of the clan, such as Cameron of Glenevis, Callart, Lindevra, Errach, Dungallon, &c. marched to Inverlochay as if going to battle, with pipes playing, and colours flying, and formed them in line in front of the garrison, while the troops marched out to receive them in the same manner. The commanders saluted each other as friends, the treaty was read, the ceremony of laying down and taking up the arms performed, and both parties dined together, the Governor having prepared a great entertainment for the occasion. This was in June 1654.

Lochiel and the Camerons lived in peace till the Restoration. The celebrity which the name of Cameron had acquired, the respect in which the character of the Chief was held, and his readiness always to redress the grievances of his clan, and to prevent encroachments on his property, formed the best guarantee of a permanent peace.

Lochiel joined the standard of King James in 1689, although General Mackay offered him, by orders of King William, a title and a large sum of money; and at the battle of Renrorie, (or Killiecrankie, as it is called in English), he had a conspicuous share in the success of the day. Before the battle, he spoke to each of his men individually, and took their promise that they would conquer or die. When General Mackay's army shouted at the commencement of the action, Lochiel cried out, "Gentlemen, the day is our own; I am the oldest commander in the army, and I have always observed something ominous or fatal on such a dull, heavy, feeble noise, as the enemy made in their shout." These words spreading quickly through the army, animated the troops: they rushed on the enemy, and the battle was finished, as has been already noticed, in half an hour. After this battle, Lochiel, disgusted with the want of capacity of Colonel Cannon, who succeeded Lord Dundee, retired to Lochaber, and left the command of his men to his son. This chivalrous hero, and honourable chief, died in 1718, in the 89th year of his age.\*

\* Energetic and active as was the mind of Sir Ewen Cameron, it yielded to

He was thrice married—first to a daughter of Macdonald of Sleate, a second time to a daughter of Maclean of Dowart, and a third time to a daughter of Barclay of Urie; and, as it is an honour to be descended from such a man, and as I have so much of what is called Highland superstition about me, as to wish that his descendants, like the ancient Gael, would believe themselves bound to support the honourable character of their ancestor, and be, like him, loyal, high-spirited, and independent—disdaining to submit to oppression, or to accept of dishonourable terms, I now subjoin the names of the gentlemen to whom the daughters were married. By his three wives he had four sons and eleven daughters. The eldest of the daughters was married to Macgregor Drummond of Balhaldie, the second to Maclean of Ardgour, the third to a brother of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleate, the fourth to Grant of Glenmoriston, the fifth to Cameron of Glendessary, the sixth to Macpherson of Clunie, the seventh to Cameron of Dungalton, the eighth to Campbell of Barcaldine, the ninth to Campbell of Achallader, the tenth to Barclay of Urie, and the eleventh to Macdonald of Morer. His four sons also married and had families, and as each of his daughters had also several sons and daughters, his progeny must have been numerous at his death.

A narrative, such as the foregoing, may, as I have already said, appear somewhat out of place in filling up the service of a fencible regiment; but as few corps can boast of a service displaying such courage and enterprise, I cannot, at least it appears to me that I cannot, produce any example more worthy the imitation of the clan. Various causes and circumstances, which have had too great prevalence in the Highlands, have contributed to thin the name of Cameron, in the glens where this spirit of independence originated, and was cherished and preserved till a very late period.

the inroads of age. Some years before his death he became a perfect child, and was rocked to sleep in a kind of hummock, or cradle.

Should the circumstances of the times, at any future period, render it necessary to arm his clan, and should there be so many left as would furnish a body of them, sufficiently numerous to establish for themselves a distinct character—that character, whether good or the reverse, will be their own. But they should remember, that the undaunted courage of their ancestors was productive of peace to their district, restitution of all their losses, and security and happiness for a long succession of years.

Part of the account of Lochiel's campaigns is taken from a manuscript preserved in the family, and the rest from tradition; but tradition so uniformly and so fully confirmed, that there cannot be a doubt of the correctness of the details. Lord Glencairn's and General Middleton's letters, General Monk's frequent attempts to enter into a friendly alliance with Lochiel, and his last letter, dated at Dalkeith, stating the terms of the treaty, are sufficient proofs of the facts. The treaty itself, with a great number of curious family papers, was unfortunately destroyed when Lochiel's castle was burnt in 1746.

The military duty of the last Lochaber regiment was short. In 1800, the corps was removed to Ireland, and remaining there till 1802, returned to Scotland that year, and was reduced in the month of July at Linlithgow.

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### CLAN ALPINE.

1799.

THIS regiment was commanded by Colonel Alexander Macgregor Murray. As the clan of Macgregor are supposed to be descendants of the ancient Alpine kings, who,



for so many centuries, ruled the mountains of Scotland, the "Clan Alpine" was an appropriate name for a corps commanded by a Macgregor, and having a great proportion both of officers and men who bore that name. The history of this unfortunate clan is pretty generally known, as well as the acts of Parliament passed for suppressing the name; and the proscriptions and oppressions they suffered in consequence, form a part, and not an uninstrucive part, of the history of Scotland. If "oppression maketh a wise man mad," no wonder that the relentless ferocity, with which this unfortunate race were for so many ages pursued, should have rendered them desperate. Even the patient inoffensive steer may be driven to madness by frequent goading; and as the descendants of this race of ancient Albion are not supposed to have had more patience than was necessary, under their sufferings, the law of retaliation was not forgotten, and being a brave and warlike race, with arms in their hands, and with hearts not afraid to use them, they were not slow in taking their revenge. It has been said by friends of the clan, that many of their misfortunes originated from the circumstance of their being surrounded by powerful and ambitious neighbours, not always over scrupulous about the means by which they accomplished their purposes, or increased their property; and hence the encroachments which rendered the Macgregors desperate, and led to those acts of violence which caused the interference of the legislature, and the suppression of the name. In turbulent times, when law sometimes confirmed what the sword had acquired, it acted as an encouragement to spoliations, and to the hopes of obtaining permanent possession of a neighbour's property; but it should be observed, that there were many other clans and families similarly situated with the Macgregors, possessing estates in the heart of the territories of powerful neighbours, who yet neither suffered from their oppressions nor from legal proscriptions, but retained their estates entire through a succession of centuries sufficiently turbulent. Thus the family of Stewart of Appin preserved their estate

entire for four centuries, although nearly surrounded on all sides by the lands of the great Clan Campbell.\* The Clans of Maclachlan and Macnaughton, also, quite in the neighbourhood of Inveraray, suffered nothing from feudal turbulence and rapacity. In the same manner the Clan Macnab have preserved what remained of their estates since the reign of Robert Bruce, although completely surrounded by the lands of the Campbells of Glenorchy, to whom the Macnab estates would have been a great and tempting acquisition; but the thing was never tried. † From these

\* In this case there was more than common incitement to rivalry. The first Laird of Appin was a natural son of Lord Lorn, the last of the name of Stewart who possessed that title and estate. Lord Lorn having no legitimate son, his estate went to his three daughters, as coheirresses. The eldest daughter married the Earl of Argyle, who by her got the lordship and estate of Lorn. The second daughter married Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, uncle to Argyle, and ancestor of the Breadalbane family, who by her got the lands on the north side of Lochowe, and part of Nether Lorn. The third married Campbell of Ottar, and dying without children, her share of the Stewarts' estate went to the children of her sister, the Countess of Argyle.

It was said that Lord Lorn intended to marry the mother of his son, and thus legitimate him, but the marriage was prevented by his sudden death; not without suspicions that it was hurried to prevent the proposed marriage. The son, seeing his hopes destroyed, seized on a portion of his father's estate, and, as disputes were not in those times often referred to legal decisions, he resorted to the law of the sword, and being supported by some of his father's tenants, sent for assistance to his mother's friends. She was of the Maclarens, a tribe at that time numerous in Balquhider, in Perthshire. They joined Stewart their kinsman in Argyleshire, and in a pitched battle beat off the forces of his brothers-in-law, and thus established his right by the sword to the lands he claimed, and settled them on his posterity, who kept possession of them till sold by the last Laird of Appin, in the year 1705. Tradition says that the Maclarens lost 150 men killed in this battle, besides the loss among Stewart's own men. It was fought at the foot of Bendouran, at a short distance from the present high road passing through Glenorchy.

† The estates of this family were greatly reduced from another cause. The Macnabs joined the party of John Baliol against Robert Bruce, and were with Macdougall of Lorn when he fought and vanquished Robert Bruce at Dalree, in Breadalbane, in 1306. Having thus supported the views of Edward the First, who wished to usurp the crown of Scotland, it is rather matter of surprise that either Macdougall or Macnab should have been allowed to

and many other instances which might be adduced, it is clear that those smaller proprietors suffered no material injury from the spoliations or conquests (if I may so call them) of their more powerful neighbours, and, therefore, it may be supposed, that there must have been some pre-existing cause—some violence on the part of the Macgregors—in short, although they were not perhaps so fierce as their enemies represented them, they must yet have been guilty of frequent violations of, and encroachments on, the peace, property, and persons of their neighbours,—practices greatly too common in those turbulent times. But whatever may have been the actions or character of this proscribed clan, an ample punishment was inflicted on them. As early as 1563, the Parliament of Scotland passed an act of attainder and forfeiture against the Laird of Macgregor, then in possession of the estate of Glenstrae, in Glen-

retain any part of their lands, and that the whole were not forfeited as after the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. In the retreat from Dalree, the king was hotly pursued by one of the Macdougals, who got hold of his cloak, or plaid, which was fixed across his breast by a large brooch. The king turned round and killed the man with his battle-axe, but in his haste left the mantle and brooch, which were torn off by the dying grasp of Macdougal. This highly prized trophy was preserved till destroyed when the castle of Dunolly, the family residence, was burnt in the seventeenth century. But a remarkable piece of antiquity still remains. This is a small bronze equestrian figure of a Chief of Macdougal. It is of elegant workmanship, and both figures, particularly the horse, are executed with great spirit and taste; and, if the tradition be correct as to the period, with skill altogether extraordinary. The Chief is called by the country people Ian Bachach, or John the Lame. He is represented in the statue as affected with a remarkable degree of lameness, his leg and thigh being apparently without bones, or locomotive power, and instead of hanging down the horse's side, are laid across, and fixed on the pommel of the saddle. The exact period when this Chief lived cannot now be ascertained, as the family papers, and all the ancient records and documents, were destroyed by fire. This figure being of bronze, and lying in a small press, or recess in the wall, was not injured. Tradition gives a period of 325 years, or thirteen generations, at the rate of twenty-five years for each, for the age of this equestrian figure. In these traditionary calculations the Highlanders reckon a generation twenty-five years, and in this manner calculate the dates of past events with tolerable accuracy.

orchy. Other severe enactments succeeded the first, and in 1633 an act was passed, declaring it unlawful for any man to bear the name of Macgregor; that no signature bearing that name, no act or agreement entered into with a Macgregor, was legal; that to take the life of a man of that clan was not an act of felony, or any way punishable; and that no minister or preacher should at any time baptize or christen any male child of the Macgregors: And, to facilitate their extirpation, they were hunted with blood-hounds, taught to follow on the tract, and thus discover the haunts and hiding-places of the unfortunate clan.\* But this species of Algerine law, with all its severities, did not destroy, or apparently influence in any manner, that spirit of loyalty so characteristic of the Highlanders, which the Macgregors evinced in the great rebellion. All of them who could carry arms joined Montrose (although under other names), and through his whole campaigns proved themselves loyal and true; always ready to bear a part in the execution of his most daring attempts; and, after the establishment of the Commonwealth, they would not submit, and were ever annoying the troops stationed in the country to keep down the people. Of the value of their services to himself and his father, Charles II. was fully sensible; and one of the first acts of Parliament, after his restoration, was passed to repeal that of 1633, and re-establish the name of Macgregor, with all its natural and legal rights; "considering," as the act expresses, "that those who were formerly designed by the name of Macgregor had, during the troubles, carried themselves with such loyalty and affection to his Majesty, as

\* Blood or slough-hounds were not in that age confined to the Macgregors. In a commission dated the 29th of November 1619, granted by Sir Wilfred Lawson and Sir William Hutton; knights, two of the commissioners for the middle marches, to John Musgrave, Provost Marshal, he is directed to provide slough-hounds as a protection against the lawless Scotch, the number of dogs for each parish being stated, and an assessment on the inhabitants ordered for their expenses.

might justly wipe off all memory of their former miscarriages, and take off all mark of reproach put upon them for the same."

But this relief was not permanent; for, in King William's reign (in 1693), the original act was renewed, and the Macgregors placed in the same state as in 1633 and the following years; and this law, although not enforced, was allowed to remain on the statute-books till the year 1775.\* But however calamitous the state to which they were reduced, we still find the Macgregors a numerous clan. The law itself was so savage, that it was not strictly enforced. The persecuted clan found protection and friendship among their countrymen; and though few remained in Glenorchy, where, as we have just stated, the last Laird of Macgregor's estate of Glenstrae lay, there are many of the name in Breadalbane, Glenlyon, Monteith, and other parts of Perthshire and the neighbouring counties. They are now reviving and increasing in numbers and respectability. Much of this prosperity is owing to the fostering and zealous friendship of Sir John Macgregor Murray, the elder brother of the respectable officer who was placed at the head of the Clan Alpine regiment.

In December 1798, Colonel Alexander Macgregor Murray received Letters of Service for raising a regiment of Fencible Highlanders; and in May 1799 the men, amounting to 765, were assembled at Stirling, and inspected by Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, who expressed in handsome terms his approbation of the appearance of the men, and of the exertions of the officers.

\* In the session of 1774-5, a bill was brought into Parliament by William Adam, Esq., now Chief Commissioner of the Jury Court, for restoring the name, rights, and immunities of the clan Macgregor. The bill, founded, as is stated in this act, "on the humble petition of Gregor Drummond, Esq. and many others," passed, as might be expected, without a dissenting voice, and the clan were placed in the same situation as the rest of his Majesty's subjects. I have already had occasion to mention this gentleman as being the handsomest Highlander in a corps said to have been composed of very handsome men, and as such presented to George II. in 1743.

This regiment was raised on terms of service extending to any part of Europe, and, like other corps of the same description, one of the field-officers was to have permanent and progressive army rank. Captain Alexander Macgregor Murray of the 90th regiment (son of the Colonel, and Major-General in 1825), was appointed Major, with the permanent step of promotion. To the soldiers, also, their service in this corps was to count as if in the regular army, should they afterwards enter it; thus, if a soldier did duty in the Clan Alpines for three years, and at any future period enlisted in a regiment of the line, and served there fourteen, seventeen, or twenty years, the three he had been in the Fencibles strengthened his claim to a pension.

This regiment was ordered for Ireland, and quartered there in the usual manner, occupying different stations; and, in 1800, Colonel Macgregor Murray received instructions to augment the strength of the corps to 1050 men. To accomplish this was no easy undertaking, at a period when so many men had been raised, particularly in the Highlands, and required no small share of zeal and address. It would seem that both were, in this instance, successfully exerted. But two considerable detachments having volunteered into the regular regiments, it was necessary to recruit again. This was also successful, and thus there were, in all, 1230 men in the ranks of this regiment. Of these, about 780 were Highlanders, 30 English and Irish, and the others Lowland Scotch; a lesser proportion of Highlanders than might have been expected in an Alpine regiment, had it been raised in other years than 1799 and 1800, when there had been such a drain from the Highland population for the army; \* as also to supply the great and unprecedented demand for labourers in the Lowlands, exclusive of an ex-

\* In 1799 and 1800 were raised north of the Forth (three-fourths being from the north of the Tay), the Clan Alpines, the Regiment of the Isles, the Lochaber, Banffshire, Argyle, the 93d, or Sutherland Highlanders, Ross and Cromarty Rangers, Macleod Fencibles. In 1798 had been embodied the Fife, Perth, Stirling, Argyle, Inverness, and Aberdeen regiments of militia.

tensive emigration; but still recruiting, when conducted with address, was successful, as we find in the case of Colonel Macgregor Murray, and his officers.

As there was a considerable difference in the character and habits of the one portion of this regiment compared with the other, the commanding officer made a judicious distinction in his preventives and punishments. Those men who had little sense of shame (and they were few), and to whom personal fear, or the dread of painful punishments, was the only check, he kept in restraint by an endeavour to deprive them of the means and opportunity of committing crimes; but when no preventive was sufficient, he then punished with exemplary severity. There was another small portion in the regiment whose character was not absolutely bad. Among them several misdemeanours of a slight description occurred; and although these were not of a very criminal nature, checks were necessary. After a short confinement, these men were generally given in charge to their comrades, who, under certain conditions, were to become answerable for them. While such was the system established for two sorts of character in the corps, there was a third, and fortunately the most numerous class, for it composed nearly nine-tenths of the whole, for whom there was hardly any check necessary beyond admonition and a representation of the disgrace they would bring on themselves and their kindred, by discreditable conduct. In this easy manner, punishing with severity, however, when necessary, the duty of this regiment was carried on: the officers were respected, and the men contented, and prepared to show themselves good soldiers if called to meet an enemy. But this was not their fortune; and however desirous a true soldier may be to distinguish himself in the field, happily for this country, our internal defence corps have never had that duty to perform. War having been long at a distance, its miseries were only known by report. To keep war at a distance from our own doors, and to know of its miseries only through the reports of others, an army of such men as

the Clan Alpines, when weeded by the volunteering of supernumeraries into other regiments, is not a bad, if it be not one of the best and most certain securities. Among these volunteers were included the bad and suspicious characters, leaving the regiment with 850 men of good moral habits, efficient, obedient, and attached to their officers. Respectful to their superiors, they were prepared to be loyal and devoted to their King and country's service.

When officers and men were thus united by mutual confidence, the former might always calculate on the support of the latter, and that in the day of trial they would not fail. In their days of trial no men had more occasion for support than the old chiefs and chieftains of the Macgregors. From their own people they always found it; and although at last overpowered by oppression and persecution, they were always true to each other. Had the chieftains and gentlemen of the clan kept at a distance from their people, and assumed the cold distant manner towards the lower orders, which is called the habits of civilized life, it may be doubtful if they could have so well secured the attachment and support of their adherents, nor could they have expected the same fidelity as was exhibited towards the "Captain of Clan Chattan," after an inroad of that clan into the Lowlands of Moray. This happened in the reign of James V., and was accompanied by the usual ravages and pillage of the times. The Earl of Moray, exasperated at the frequency of these forays, immediately raised his people and followed the freebooters, who, incumbered with their spoil, were overtaken, and a desperate conflict ensued. The Clan Chattan (the Mackintoshes and Macphersons) were overpowered, and 200 prisoners taken. The number of prisoners was a remarkable occurrence among the light-footed Highlanders; but in this case they made a longer stand to enable their chief, who was said to be aged and corpulent, to get to a place of safety, which had been named as the rendezvous after the battle. Lord Moray, with a view of striking terror into his troublesome and lawless neighbours,



determined to take a terrible revenge, and ordered 130 of the prisoners to be hanged on the spot; but, anxious to discover the chief's hiding-place, he directed that the Highlanders should be taken out singly for execution, and when at the foot of the gallows, to be told that, if they would disclose the secret of their chief's retreat, their lives would be saved. All refused life on such terms, and declared that no reward or punishment should induce or force them to be unfaithful to a man to whom they all owed so much. Some denied all knowledge of the chief's retreat, but added, that, if they did know, they would rather sacrifice their own lives than bring that of their chief into danger. The whole were executed.

Fearful lest I should have already given too many anecdotes of incorruptible fidelity, I have ventured on this as the last, out of a great many more I could give of the same nature. This anecdote is noticed by Leslie, in his book "De Origine, Moribus, &c. Scotorum," with little variation from the traditional account of the country. He states the prisoners and those executed to have been more numerous than is given in the traditional account which I have in this instance followed.

The Highlanders are now in a rapid progress to a state of civilization, with which such feelings and principles as guided them formerly are said to be incompatible. How high-minded principles, incorruptible fidelity, and a sense of honour, so strong as to make death preferable to a breach of faith or of trust, can be incompatible with civilization and a state of society, in which education and knowledge among the people are so much encouraged, is a point which must be decided by philosophers and political economists. As a plain soldier, I must acknowledge a preference of old feelings and dispositions; and, as I said in speaking of the superstitions of the Highlanders, I fear I must be accused of improper prejudices, when I lament the extinction or dormancy of those ancient feelings, and of that confidence, those conciliating manners, and that mutual support which sub-

sisted between the higher and lower orders; even although my countrymen may be better educated, and what is called more enlightened than in former days. This enlightening of the people, as practised in the Highlands, instead of improving and preserving their principles, (the best parts of them required no improvement), appears to have a perfectly different effect. Old principles are getting obsolete and forgotten, attachment to superiors, chivalrous fidelity to honour and to each other, which laid an admirable foundation for good morals, are derided as the remains of feudal manners; ridiculed often by Highland gentlemen, who may yet suffer severely from that change in the character of their people, for which they seem so anxious; and who, from too eager a desire to appear enlightened and liberal-minded, and to introduce the more approved habits of the South, overlook the necessary discrimination, and instead of an attempt to preserve the better part of ancient habits and character, make a clean sweep of the whole, trusting to chance, to the introduction of strangers, and their example for the adoption of new manners, more becoming a civilized state of society; although it may be asked, what state of civilization has produced better traits of character, than have been found among the ancient habits, superstitions, and mental recollections of the Highlanders, even in their uncultivated state? To prepare the Highlanders for this change, and to cure the evils of superstition, I hope better means will be adopted than that of the Lancasterian system, which teaches to read by rote, and neglects the religious and moral principles on which all education ought to be founded. The simple art of reading does not prove, by experience, to be effectual in the Highlands. If the number of schoolmasters were increased, the number of scholars in each school lessened, and the teachers directed to instruct their pupils in good morals and religious duties, as well as in the mechanical art of reading, the blessings of education would be full and complete, and a few traits of the old-fashioned High-

land feeling might be preserved along with the improved education.

Perhaps such observations as these may be considered as out of place, in giving an account of the service of a fencible regiment; I shall therefore only observe farther, that, as human nature is the same now as when the Highlanders were true to their word, faithful to their superiors, contented with their lot, and loyal to their King, (for the ebullitions of 1715 and 1745 were in the very spirit of loyalty), may I not ask whether the same condescending and conciliating manners on the part of the higher orders, a kindly regard to the interest of the lower class, (although they may not possess a capital equal to others more fortunate, or skill equal to those who have had better opportunities), would not meet with a corresponding and kindred return of fidelity and support in the day of need? And as the day of need may come, perhaps, such considerations as these may occupy a Highland chief and landlord's spare time as much to his ultimate profit, and with more true happiness and honour, than in consultations with land-agents and *doers*, on the best means of augmenting a rent-roll.

I now return to the Clan Alpine. As the Macgregors were of old a warlike race, it is unfortunate that this regiment had not an opportunity of meeting an enemy, and of maintaining that character for courage which had so long distinguished their ancestors. In 1802 the regiment was ordered from Ireland, and on the 24th of July reduced at Stirling.

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### REGIMENT OF THE ISLES.

1799.

No name could be more appropriate for a regiment, commanded by a Macdonald, having a number of officers and

men of the same name, and nine-tenths of both composed of Islanders, than the "Regiment of the Isles." In the traditions of the Highlanders, the Isles are so associated with chivalry, deeds of valour, and chieftainship of a superior order, that their imaginations are immediately thrown back to those days when the Lords of the Isles, assuming sovereign authority over their insular domains, frequently entered into treaties, and contracted alliances, with the Kings of England. But their possessions were not confined to the Islands. They held extensive domains on the Mainland of Scotland, great part of which is to this day possessed by their descendants, Glengarry, Clanranald, Glenco, and other families of the clan. It was in the Isles, however, where they could not be so easily attacked, that they possessed their principal power. There, as petty sovereigns, they supported a sort of regal state, being equal in power to several states in Germany, and certainly exceeding many Continental principalities in the number of disposable men at arms.

It was in Islay, the most southerly of these insular possessions, that the Macdonalds had their principal residence. A small island in Loch Finlagan, in Islay, was "famous for being once the court in which the great Macdonald, King of the Isles, had his residence. His houses, chapels, &c. are now ruinous. His garde-de-corps, called Luchtach, kept guard on the lake side nearest to the isle. The walls of their houses are still to be seen there. The high court of judicature, consisting of fourteen, sat always here; and there was an appeal to them from all the courts in the Isles. The eleventh share of the sum in debate was due to the principal judge. There was a big stone of seven feet square, in which there was a deep impression made to receive the feet of Macdonald; for he was crowned King of the Isles standing in this stone, and swore that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands, and do exact justice to all his subjects; and then his father's sword was put into his hand. The Bishop of Argyle and seven priests anoint-

ed him King, in presence of all the heads of the tribes in the Isles and Continent who were his vassals."

The preceding account of Martin will afford some idea of the estimation in which these great Chiefs were held, and the consequent power which flowed from the devotion and ready obedience of their subjects,—a power which, in times when laws were weak and inefficient, was not always exercised for the protection of their property merely, but sometimes to invade that of others, and sometimes to oppose the laws of the realm, which the King was unable to enforce. Of these inroads, and petty insurrections, there are many instances; but in the fifteenth century, an event occurred of more than usual importance in the history of this family. Walter Leslie, of an ancient family in Aberdeenshire, married the only child and heiress of the twelfth Earl of Ross, the last of that ancient house, and had by her one son, and a daughter, Margaret. The son married a daughter of Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland during the captivity of his nephew James I., and by her had an only daughter, who, being sickly and deformed, became a nun. Donald of the Isles married Margaret, daughter of the Countess of Ross, and heiress of her estate and title, when her grand-daughter became a nun; but before she took the veil, her grandfather, the Duke of Albany, prevailed upon her to make a settlement of the earldom of Ross on his son, John Stewart Earl of Buchan, afterwards Constable of France; thus setting aside the claims of her aunt Margaret. Incensed at the loss of so great a succession, the Lord of the Isles concluded a treaty of alliance with the King of England; and, supported by the Laird of Maclean, with his followers, he collected his forces, crossed over to the Mainland, marched into Ross-shire, and took possession of the estate, without opposition; the people preferring the daughter and heiress of their ancient lords to the Earl of Buchan, who was a stranger to them. Encouraged by this success, Donald of the Isles marched forward to the Lowlands of Moray, Banff, and

Aberdeen; and being joined by the Laird of Lochiel and the Camerons, and the Laird of Mackintosh, with a number of the Clan Chattan, the whole force amounted to 10,000 men. Their progress was attended with the usual ravages and pillage of the times. To quell this insurrection, the Duke of Albany sent his nephew, Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar, "who drew together, with great expedition, all the nobility and gentry between the two rivers of Tay and Spey, consisting chiefly, as they do at present, of the Lyons, Ogilvies, Maules, Carnegies, Lindsays, Erskines, Fotheringhams, Leslies, Frasers, Irvines, Gordons, Forbeses, Abercrombies, Bannermans, Arbutnots, Burnets, Leiths, Douglasses, Duguids, Mowats, Barclays, and various other clans. Being seconded by these, he met the invaders at Harlaw, a village in the Garioch, within ten miles of Aberdeen, where a long, uncertain, and bloody battle ensued: so long, indeed, that nothing but night could put an end to it; so uncertain, that it was hard to tell who had lost or won the day; and so bloody, that, to say nothing of the loss sustained by the Islanders, almost the whole country of Angus, Mearns, Mar, Buchan, and Garioch, were cut off: insomuch, that one family of the surname of Leslie, I mean that of Balwhain, is reported to have lost Leslie the father, and six of his seven sons. Vast numbers of others had the same fate: among the rest, Alexander Ogilvie, Sheriff of Angus, and his son and heir; Scrimgeour, Constable of Dundee, Irvine of Drum, Maule of Panmure, Abernethy younger of Saltoun, Straiton of Lauriston, Alexander Stirling, Thomas Murray, and Robert Davidson, Provost of Aberdeen, all knights, and some of them chiefs of honourable families in those parts. They of the Earl of Mar's party, who survived, lay all night on the field of battle; while Donald, being rather wearied with action than conquered by force of arms, thought fit to retreat, first to Ross, and then to the Isles." Thus ended the battle of Harlaw, which was fought in 1411, and is still

celebrated in the ballads and music of Scotland; \* a battle contested with such desperation, that "there fell so many eminent and noble personages as scarce ever fell in one battle against a foreign enemy for many years before." † "The event of the fight was so uncertain, that, when both parties had reckoned up how many they had lost, each counted himself the conqueror." † In no battle, where one side consisted entirely of clansmen, were they collected in so numerous a host; and in no battle in Scotch annals, except Bannockburn, and those bloody but successful

\* A very old but long neglected musical piece, called the Battle of Harlaw, is worthy the notice of those who delight in the ancient music of their native country. When played with spirit in the style of the original composition, it imitates the different movements of a battle, with the cries of the wounded, lamentations for the brave who have fallen, &c. in a remarkable manner.

† The Laird of Mackintosh was killed, with many of his followers. His son got a grant of Glenspean and of Glenroy (celebrated for the parallel roads) from the Lord of the Isles for the assistance he and his clan afforded at Harlaw. These lands have continued in the family of Mackintosh to this day. Glenspean, Glenroy, and other lands in the neighbourhood, the property of the Duke of Gordon, are also remarkable as having been occupied by Macdonell of Keppoch and his followers as tenants nearly 400 years. It is one of the most singular circumstances in the history of the Highlands, that a family without an acre of land in property, tenants only to the Duke of Gordon and the Laird of Mackintosh, could for so many centuries maintain a power which few chiefs or proprietors could equal. Keppoch could command a body of followers from 200 to 400 men, according as exigencies or circumstances might require.

Hector Maclean of Duart, and Alexander Irvine of Drum, two chivalrous knights and chiefs of their name, happened to encounter, as they marched at the head of their men, and fought in single combat till both were killed on the spot; the men on either side not interfering, each party being anxious for the honour of their chief, and that he would prove victorious solely by his own prowess.

The successors of Hector, or Eachin Rua (as he was called from his red hair), and of the Laird of Drum, afterwards exchanged the swords with which their predecessors fought, as a mark of respect to their memory, and as a token of future amity between the families, and oblivion of any inimical feelings that might arise from the fall of their chiefs,

† Buchanan.

struggles of the Caledonians and Celts for their liberty and independence against the usurping power of the Roman legions, and the equally successful resistance made by the inhabitants of the plains and Lowlands of Scotland to the later invasions of the Danes and Norwegians, were a greater number of combatants engaged.

The battle of Harlaw was followed by the submission of Donald of the Isles, who, weakened by his loss on that occasion, and probably intimidated by the preparations of the Duke of Albany, who had sent vessels round the coast to convey an army to his Isles, and attack him in his strongholds, renounced his alliance with the King of England; and some time afterwards his son Alexander obtained the Earldom of Ross, which the Governor's son had surrendered to the Lords of the Isles, as heirs (through their mother) to the ancient Earls. Soon after this period, James I. was released from his long captivity in England, and assumed the government of his kingdom. In the course of his able and energetic government, the suppression of the turbulence and feuds among the Highland chiefs formed a prominent object. In an excursion to the North, he assembled about forty of the Chiefs and principal proprietors at Inverness. Of this number was Alexander, Lord of the Isles, whom the King ordered to Perth, where, in a trial or inquiry into his conduct, he was convicted of different acts of oppression and disobedience to the laws. "Yet, such was the King's clemency, that he generously pardoned him, and dismissed him highly obliged to his country, where he might have lived, nay in some measure reigned, secure and content, had not bad counsel made him more sensible of the pretended affront, than of the real favour which he had received." \* An instance of this soon appeared; for Donald Balloch, a kinsman of the Earl of Ross, made several descents on the west coast of Scotland, in revenge for the imprisonment of his Chief, which was considered as an affront to the whole clan. To check these devastating invasions, the Earl of

\* Abercromby.



Mar, who commanded at Harlaw, accompanied by Allan Stewart, Earl of Caithness, son of the Earl of Athole, marched with a considerable force to Lochaber; and in August 1428 lay at Inverlochay, a place celebrated both for its ancient castle, and the different battles fought near it. Donald Balloch had good information from his scouts, and, learning that the Earl of Mar, neglecting the necessary precautions of an experienced and brave commander, as he had shown himself at Harlaw, and in the wars in Flanders and the Low Countries, where he commanded large armies in several campaigns with great military talents and success, or, perhaps, trusting to his numbers, and despising his enemy, *as too frequently has happened*, in modern as well as ancient warfare, kept no night-guards or out-posts; Macdonald landed from his fleet of galleys, and, at midnight, attacked the King's troops so unexpectedly, that they were totally routed with great slaughter. Of this number was the Earl of Caithness, and Mar escaped with difficulty. Retreating through the mountains to Braemar, he was two days without food, when he met with a man herding some cattle. This man had a small quantity of barley-meal, which he gave to the unfortunate Commander. He mixed the meal with a little water in the heel of his shoe, and greedily swallowed it. Lord Mar told the shepherd, that if ever he required assistance, to repair to Kildrummy Castle, where he would meet a grateful friend. The shepherd soon appeared at the Castle. He was kindly received by Lord Mar, who settled him, rent free, on a small farm well stocked, declaring that the handful of barley-meal and water in the heel of his shoe, was the sweetest morsel he had ever swallowed.\*

King James hearing of this disaster, hastened with a considerable force to Lochaber, when Donald Balloch retreated to the Isles, but not believing himself safe there, he fled to Ireland. The King having received information that he

\* This afterwards became a proverb in the Highlands, something similar to "Hunger requires no sauce."

was concealed in the house of a chief of that country, sent messengers to demand that the person of Macdonald should be delivered up to answer for his rebellion; "but the nobleman, fearing that if he should send him away alive through so long a tract, both by land and sea, he might possibly make an escape, and then his maligners might allege that it was done by his connivance, caused him to be slain, and sent his head to the King by his own messenger." \*

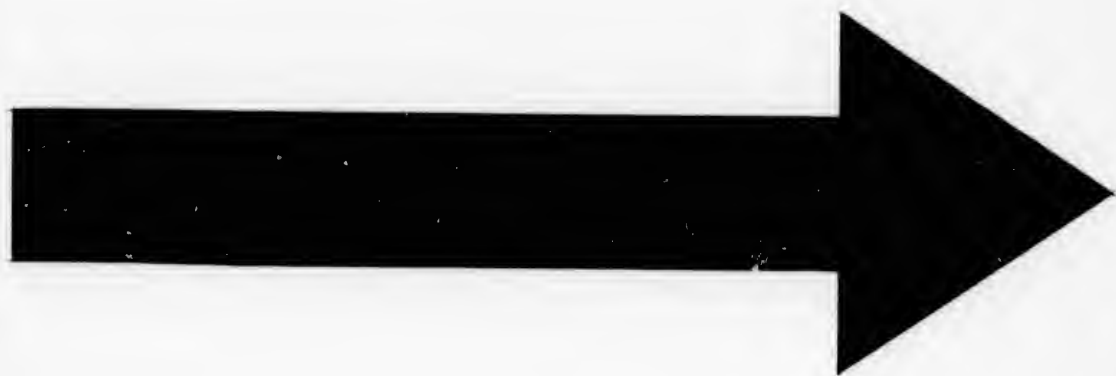
Thus these proud and turbulent Islanders were in a constant state of warfare, endeavouring to support their imaginary independence, making treaties and forming alliances, and breaking them on any supposed or real injury, insult, or encroachment, with as much facility as has been exhibited in the disputes and wars of states and kingdoms; and, while the different acts of submission which necessity or policy compelled the Lords of the Isles to make to the Kings of Scotland, rankled in their breasts as humiliating and derogatory to their claims of independence, they only required an opportunity or excuse to fly to arms. An instance of this happened in 1461, when Donald of the Isles, grandson of Alexander Earl of Ross, who had succeeded to that title after the son of the Duke of Albany had resigned it, prepared a fleet of galleys, and collecting his people from the different islands, landed in Lochaber, marched to Inverness, seized upon the castle, took the Governor prisoner, and proclaimed himself King of the Isles. He sent forth edicts into the neighbouring counties, "that the inhabitants should pay tribute to none but himself, and that they should acknowledge no other lord or master, denouncing a great penalty to those that did otherwise." He then marched southward to Athole, his route being marked by the usual accompaniments of the times, pillage, fire, and sword; he attacked the Castle of Blair Athole, burnt the church of St Brides, seized on much valuable property lodged there as a sanctuary, took the Earl of Atholl, who was uncle to the

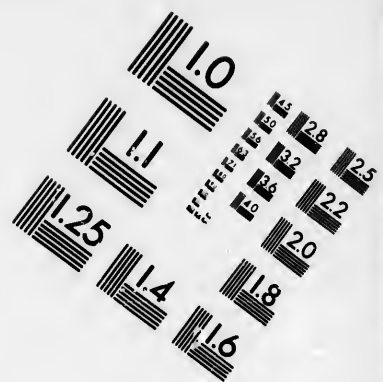
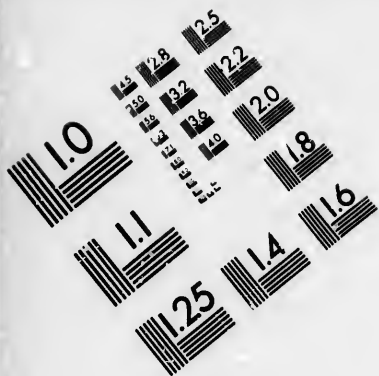
\* Buchanan's History of Scotland.

King (James III.), with his Countess, prisoners, and carried them north. He entered Athole so unexpectedly, and with such rapidity, that the Earl, taken by surprise, left the Castle of Blair, and flew to the church as a sanctuary. Macdonald having accomplished his object, retreated with as much expedition as he had advanced, and was beyond reach before the Athole men could assemble in sufficient numbers to attack him. But he met with a worse enemy when he embarked on the west coast for Islay. A fierce tempest immediately arose, which scattered and destroyed a number of his light and frail galleys, while his captives and himself narrowly escaped the same fate. He landed in Islay, but, struck with remorse of conscience for his sacrilegious destruction of the church of Blair Athole, and believing that the losses he sustained in the tempest were a judgment upon him, it so affected his mind, that he lost his reason, and died soon afterwards. The Earl and Countess of Atholl were released, and restitution was made for burning and plundering the church. But the impression was not lasting; for John Lord of the Isles, who succeeded him, forgetting his father's misfortunes, entered into a new treaty with Edward King of England, who appointed the Earl of Worcester and the Bishop of Durham to "treat with his most dear cousin John of Islay, Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles." This treaty was finally settled at Westminster the 13th of February 1462, Ronald, cousin to the Earl of Ross, and Duncan, Archdean of the Isles, being appointed to meet the Bishop and the Earl of Worcester. Encouraged by the friendship of such a powerful ally, the Lord of the Isles invaded and plundered the western parts of Inverness-shire. Incensed at these proceedings, the King (James III.) ordered his uncle, John Stewart, Earl of Atholl, then appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, to assemble a sufficient force, and proceed against the Earl of Ross, to follow him to his Islands, attack him in his stronghold, reduce his power, compel him to submit to the King's authority, and renounce his alliance with England. This was a commis-

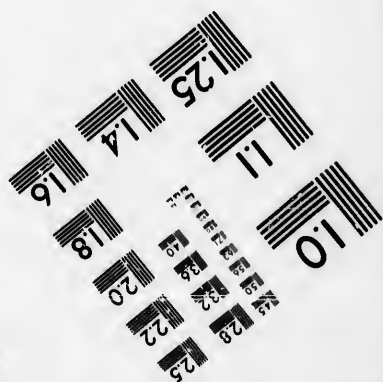
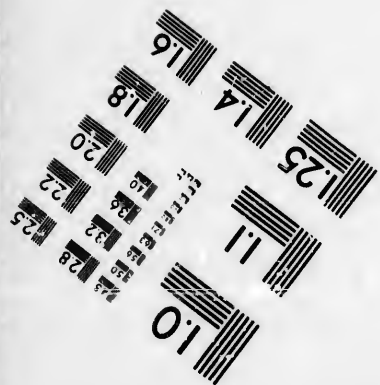
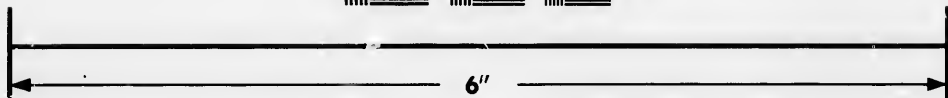
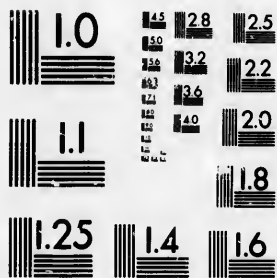
sion which Atholl would perhaps execute with the more zeal, from the remembrance of the treatment he had experienced from the last Lord of the Isles; and, according to the custom of the times, take ample revenge, and recompense himself for the captivity, affront, and loss he had sustained. His expedition was attended with complete success. He quickly overpowered his antagonist, and carried him and his chief councillors captives to Perth. For this service the King made, as an addition to the armorial bearings of Atholl, a man with his feet in fetters of iron, connected with a chain held in his left hand, as a supporter, along with a lion on the dexter side; and a crest of a demi-savage, with a wreath round his head, a key in his left hand, and a sword in the right, in allusion to the Earl of Atholl having opened the way by the sword to the strongholds of the Lords of the Isles; the whole being confirmed by a motto of "Furth, Fortune, and fill the Fetters," which have ever since been part of the heraldic achievements of the Earls and Dukes of Atholl. The Earldom of Ross was annexed to the Crown; but Macdonald, having made full submission to the King, he was allowed to keep his estates and title of Lord of the Isles. The new grant of his estates in Inverness-shire and in the Isles, was confirmed by a charter from James III. dated at Edinburgh, December 1478. But the Lord of the Isles dying without legitimate children, his great estate came into the hands of different proprietors, a very considerable portion of it descending, as I have already noticed, to different branches of the family; the greatest portion in the Islands to the ancestors of Lord Macdonald.

I shall now conclude this hasty and unsatisfactory sketch of these celebrated Chiefs in the words of Abercromby, in his *Martial Achievements of Scotland*. "Whatever may be said for or against the pretensions and conduct of these noble and potent Lords, I must own that I have a vast respect for, and a feeling sense of the exemplary and untainted loyalty, as well as prowess of their posterity,—I mean the clan and surname of Macdonald,—a clan to this day so nu-





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merous, so brave, and so generally well affected to the monarchy, that in all those respects it is equalled by few, and surpassed perhaps by none in the nation." After describing the feuds and forays which caused one clan to march with fire and sword into the country of a rival, when government was too weak, and when, during the captivity of James I. the laws were unable to reach or punish the guilty; the same author concludes: "I relate these barbarities with much reluctance, the rather because I have a very great esteem for the often tried valour, and undaunted loyalty of our Highland clans. They preserved themselves and us from conquest and slavery, in the days both of King Robert and King David Bruce; and, as they have ever been the last who laid down their arms as often as the nation has either been cheated or defeated out of their liberties, so they are always the first who took them up in opposition to domestic iniquity, or foreign encroachments. But the exorbitant power of the Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles, the independency pretended to by the last, and the impunity which they met with during the absence or minority of our king, had debauched them from all the principles of honour, humanity, and justice." \* The melancholy consequences of weak laws, and the absence of a strong and efficient government, were felt at different times over the whole kingdom. In a note, page 47, Volume I, is a view of the state of Scotland in the minority of James II., when "great cruelty of nobles among themselves, for slaughters, thefts, and murders, was their patent, and so continually, day by day, that he was esteemed the greatest man of renown and fame that was the greatest brigand, thief, and murderer."

From these times of turbulence, of feuds and rebellion, we now descend to later periods, not perhaps more peaceful, nor with less thirst of revenge; but as our wars were, in modern times, carried on against foreign enemies, when the blood

\* Abercromby's Martial Achievements. Edinburgh, printed 1710.



of the youthful and the brave was spilt at a distance, or when at home, redress and revenge were obtained by legal process, instead of resorting to the sword, the effects were less felt, and a vindictive spirit less visible. Of the many descendants of the Lords of the Isles, the Macdonalds of Sleate, now Lords Macdonald (or, as the chieftain is called in Gaelic, Macconnell), have always possessed the greatest and most populous portion of the insular domains. Along with these territorial possessions, the chieftains of this family have ever held a high station in the respect and consideration of the Highlanders. This feeling was not without cause. While the Chiefs lived on their estates, surrounded by their people, the latter were treated with a patriarchal kindness which met with a grateful return. The last of this family who made Skye his constant residence was Sir Alexander Macdonald, who died in the year 1746. The power and popularity of this chieftain was seen in the year 1745, when he was surrounded by upwards of 1300 men in arms, anxious to be led to the field under his command. Living with the hospitality of a chief, \* his personal influence and character received no small addition from his marriage with Lady Margaret Montgomery,—a lady whose virtues and condescending kindness made her so adored in Skye, “that when she travelled through the island, the people ran in crowds before and took the stones off the road, lest her horse should stumble and she be hurt.” † One of the misfortunes which has befallen the Highlands was the premature death, at the age of thirty-six, of Sir Alexander Macdonald, and of his son and heir, Sir James Macdonald, one of the most accomplished men of his own or almost of any other country. He died of a consumption at Rome in 1766, where his character stood so high, that the Pope Clement XIII., (who sent to inquire for him daily during his long illness) ordered that he should have a public funeral, and

\* It was said that a hogshead of claret was the weekly consumption of his table.

† Boswell's Tour with Dr Johnson.

be interred in consecrated ground;—an unprecedented concession to a Protestant. Cardinal Piccolomini wrote an elegant Latin poem to his memory. But his character, talents, and accomplishments, will be best understood by the elegant inscription, written by his intimate friend Lord Lyttleton, and placed on a monument executed in Rome, and erected in the church of Sleate, in Skye.

“ To the Memory of SIR JAMES MACDONALD, Bart. who, in the flower of youth, had attained to so eminent a degree of knowledge in Mathematics, Philosophy, Languages, and in every other branch of useful and polite Learning, as few have acquired in a long life wholly devoted to study. Yet to this erudition he joined what can rarely be found with it, great talents for business, great propriety of behaviour, great politeness of manners. His eloquence was sweet, correct, and flowing; his memory vast and exact; his judgment strong and acute. All which endowments, united with the most amiable temper and every private virtue, procured him, not only in his own country, but also from foreign nations, the highest marks of esteem. In the year of our Lord 1766, the 25th of his life, after a long and extremely painful illness, which he supported with admirable patience and fortitude, he died at Rome, where, notwithstanding the difference of religion, such extraordinary honours were paid to his memory, as had never graced that of any other British subject, since the death of Sir Philip Sidney. The fame he left behind him is the best consolation to his afflicted family. And to his countrymen in this isle, for whose benefit he had planned many useful improvements which his fruitful genius suggested, and his active spirit promoted, under the sober direction of a clear and enlightened understanding. Reader, bewail our loss, and that of all Britain.”

To a distant and unimproved region, like Skye, the loss of such a man was irreparable. The example of his learning and virtues, his kindly feelings towards his people, and the encouragement and improvements he contemplated for them, would, no doubt, have produced incalculable advantages. His learning and accomplishments could have been understood and appreciated by the gentlemen farmers, tacksmen, and others of his people, who, as I have already noticed, were so well educated, that conversations were frequently carried on in the Latin language. The clergymen were also of a superior class. Born of good families, zealous in the discharge of their religious duties, and learned and exemplary in their conduct, their influence over the minds and actions of their flocks was great and beneficial. Even Dr Johnson, with all his prejudices against Scotland, and the Presbyterian clergy, could not conceal his surprise at the well selected libraries and the learning he met with in Skye.

The early death of Sir Alexander Macdonald was a severe loss to Skye on another account. A few years after this event, his widow, Lady Margaret, removed to England for the education of her three sons. Sir James, the elder, was old enough, before he left his native isle, to form a strong attachment to his poor and affectionate adherents;—an attachment which would have been productive of the highest benefit to them had his life been spared. \* Sir Archibald Macdonald, a posthumous son, who had entered into a laborious profession, and had, by his talents and virtue, risen to

\* This attachment was reciprocal. Several years after Sir James's death, Mr Boswell accompanied Dr Johnson to the Isle of Skye, and one day "after dinner, when I alone was left at table with the Highland gentlemen who were of the company, having talked with very high respect of Sir James Macdonald, they were all so much affected as to shed tears. One of them was Lieutenant Donald Macdonald, of the Highland regiment raised by Colonel Montgomerie, now Earl of Eglinton, in the war before the last. From this gentleman's conversation I first learned how popular his Colonel was among the Highlanders, of which I had such continued proofs during the whole course of my Tour."

be Chief Baron of the Exchequer, did not, like his great countrymen and brother Judges, Lords Mansfield and Rosslyn, return to his native country. Sir Alexander (the successor of Sir James), afterwards Lord Macdonald, having been also educated in England, Dr Johnson observed of this mode of educating a young man, heir to a great estate, at a distance from, and in ignorance of, the country where he has so high a stake,—that he cannot acquire a knowledge of the people,—can form no local attachment,—must remain a stranger to his own property and tenants,—and must be often disgusted with both, although the one be valuable by its produce, and the other estimable in character. “A strong-minded man, like Sir James Macdonald,” says the Doctor, “may be improved by an English education, but in general they (the Highland chieftains) will be tamed into insignificance.” In continuation of the same subject, Mr Boswell says, “My endeavours to rouse the English bred chieftain, in whose house we were, to the feudal and patriarchal feelings, proving ineffectual, Dr Johnson this morning tried to bring him to our way of thinking.—*Johnson*, “Were I in your place, Sir, in seven years I would make this an independent island. I would roast oxen whole, and hang out a flag to the Macdonalds.”—Sir Alexander was still starting difficulties.—*Johnson*, “Nay, Sir, if you are born to object, I have done with you; Sir, I would have a magazine of arms.”—*Sir Alexander*, “They would rust.”—*Johnson*, “Let there be means to keep them clean; your ancestors did not use to let their arms rust.”

Four years after this conversation, Sir Alexander (created Lord Macdonald in 1776) found that arms put in the hands of his people would not be suffered to rust; and that, when an opportunity offered, they were ready to take them up in defence of their country. This was in 1777, when the Macdonald Highland Regiment was raised under the patronage of Lord Macdonald.

Upwards of twenty years posterior to the embodying of the 76th regiment, the present Lord Macdonald requested

permission from his Majesty to raise a regiment on his estates in the Isles. This request was readily granted, and a respectable body of men soon recruited.

The Regiment of the Isles was inspected and embodied at Inverness by Major-General Leith Hay, on the 4th June 1799. It would appear from the selection made, that there was no want of men on Lord Macdonald's estate, as their age averaged twenty-two years, a period of life the best calculated to enter upon military service; not too young to suffer from, or be incapable of, supporting the hardships and fatigues peculiar to the profession, nor too old to admit of the mental and personal habits of the soldier being moulded to the moral and military restraints, which the profession renders necessary. The good effects resulting from men commencing their military career at a proper age, were seen by the conduct of this regiment in garrison and quarters; for they were not called on any other duty except on one occasion, when a combination took place among the seamen of Whitehaven in 1801. The object of the seamen was to augment the rate of wages; and the ship-owners resisting their demand, the sailors persevered for several weeks in preventing vessels from leaving the harbour. The magistrates, anxious to avoid resorting to force, endeavoured, by argument and persuasion, to prevail upon the seamen to return to their duty; but their exertions having failed, the assistance of the Regiment of the Isles was called in. Without force, and more by the respect in which the regiment was held, and the imposing appearance of the men when drawn up and ready to act, than by any violence, the officers prevailed upon the sailors to give up their point; every man returned to his ship; order and tranquillity were restored; and, so far from any persons being hurt or touched, the soldiers had no occasion to take their firelocks from their shoulders. Their conduct was particularly noticed by General Musgrave, who commanded on the occasion.

In July 1802 the regiment was marched to Fort George, and reduced. "Knowing the general character of High-

landers to be very tenacious of their rights, the field officers uniformly made it a rule that every man should be made fully sensible of the nature of these rights; and that not the most trifling item should, on any pretence whatever, be withheld. In this manner, when the soldiers saw themselves and their rights respected, they, in their turn, respected and obeyed their officers, flying with cheerful eagerness to execute every the slightest command or wish of men to whom they were much attached; and hence the misunderstandings, unhappily too frequent in Highland regiments in former times, were never heard of in the Regiment of the Isles. At the reduction, the soldiers ordered out all the carriages in the garrison, and putting the officers in them, dragged them to the village of Campbeltown, where they treated them with wine, &c."

As the rugged and barren Isles of Skye and Uist have contributed a large share of the young and active of their population for the defence of their country, I shall enumerate the whole, having ascertained the number from the officers who recruited the men, from others who served with them, and from my own personal knowledge. A view of the number of those men, and of the character they exhibited, may be interesting to those who consider sound morals, respect for religion and the laws, and loyalty to the King and Government, among the bulk of the people, of vital importance to the prosperity and permanency of the state. The two great proprietors of the Isles, whose lands are occupied by a loyal and moral people, must view this subject with deep interest. They will not overlook their happiness and welfare in the progress of agricultural improvements, which have no object but the welfare of one class of people—the men of capital; nor will they adopt the opinion too often brought forward, that, in those changes which operate injuriously on the comforts of the people, by removing them from the cultivation of the soil, to throw it into the hands of the rich, and crowding them in villages and situations possessed of no sufficient means of subsist-

ence, "the misery is only temporary, that the evil will cure itself, and in time find its own level." Has the evil of giving extensive portions of land to men of capital, and confining the bulk of the people to small patches of the soil, found its level, or has it cured itself in Ireland? *There* it has been long in operation, and its effects on the condition and character of the peasantry must strike every feeling mind with horror, and afford an example which ought undoubtedly to check the progress of a similar system among the moral and peaceable inhabitants of the Highlands. Poverty is an intolerable evil in all countries; and, if occasioned by oppression, especially by the oppression of individuals, whose actions are, in a peculiar manner, under the observation of those who suffer by them, the inevitable result must ever be, hatred and a spirit of revenge against the immediate actors, and disaffection to the government which allows, or cannot protect them from systems which entail such evils as have rendered desperate the peasantry of a sister island, blessed with a more favourable climate, a better soil, and numberless natural advantages, capable of rendering a people happy; but whose desperation frequently produces such revolting scenes as ought to show the unsoundness of that sophistry which tends to smother the feelings of humanity, under the plea, that such evils *will cure themselves, and find their own level.*

I shall now return to a more agreeable subject,—the number of men who, during the *first twelve years of the late war*, entered the service from the estates of Macdonald, Macleod, Rasay, and those of the other Lairds in the Isles of Skye, Uist, and the smaller isles adjacent.

|   | No. of Total |  |
|---|--------------|--|
|   | Men.         | Nos.                                       |
| <i>Recruited for the Regiments of the Line.</i>   |              |  |
| Captain (now Major-General) Macleod recruited in the years 1793 and 1794 for the 78th regiment, | -            | 97   |
|   |              | <hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/> |
|   |              | 97   |
| Carry forward   | -            | -  |
|   |              | <hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/> |
|   |              | 97   |

|   | No. of<br>Men. | Total<br>Nos. |
|---|----------------|---------------|
| Brought forward   | 97             |               |
| Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) Campbell, Lieutenant<br>(now Colonel) Norman Macleod, Ensigns Norman Macleod,<br>Roderick Macqueen, and other officers of the 78th regiment,  | 125            |               |
| Lieutenants Neil and Norman Mac'eod of the 116th regiment,<br>Captain (afterwards Major-General) Macaskill  | 45             |               |
| Lieutenant (now Major) Macdonald,   | 30             |               |
| Major Donald Macdonald (Boisdale) received Letters of Service<br>to raise a regiment of the line in the year 1795, but he died<br>suddenly, before the regiment was nearly complete,  | 67             |               |
| The 42d, 71st, 72d, 74th, 79th, 92d, and other regiments of the<br>line, (particularly the 55th), received from these islands   | 180            |               |
| Caledonian Volunteers,  | 38             |               |
| Of the natives of Skye, North Uist, and the adjacent isles, who<br>joined the Regiment of the Isles, the Macleod and several<br>other Fencible corps, as also the regular Militia and Army of<br>Reserve, there volunteered into different regiments of the line<br>about | 190            |               |
| Total of the Line, *  | —              | 811           |
| <i>Fencibles.</i>   |                |               |
| Regiment of the Isles,  | 480            |               |
| Recruited after the formation,  | 72             |               |
| Macleod Fencibles,  | 110            |               |
| Canadian,   | 60             |               |
| Recruited by Captain A. Macdonald of Boisdale, Maclean of<br>Isle of Monk, and other officers, for different Fencible regi-<br>ments, about   | 150            |               |
| Total Fencible men,   | —              | 872           |
| Militia and Army of Reserve for 1798 and 1803,  | 180            |               |
| Carry forward   | —              | 1,863         |

\* There are now so many old soldiers settled in Skye, receiving pensions for wounds and length of service, that the circulation of so much ready money is no small advantage to their native Isles. The Collectors of Excise, who usually pay these pensions, sometimes find their collections of duties too small to meet the military payments, at their half-yearly collections. While so many old soldiers returned home to enjoy their country's reward for their services, I have access to know that an equal number settled in other parts of the kingdom after their discharge. In allusion to the Excise, I ought, in justice to the inhabitants of the Northern Isles, to mention, that illicit distillation was unknown among them till within the last twenty years.



Total  
Nos.

No. of Total  
Men. Nos.  
1,863

Brought forward . . .

*Volunteers.*

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| In the year 1795, and the following years, ten independent volunteer companies, of 80 men each, were kept on foot in the Long Island, | 800     |
| In the year 1803, two regiments of volunteers were formed:  |         |
| Isle of Skye, 1st regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel James Macleod of Rasay;  | 507     |
| Isle of Skye, 2d regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel A. Macdonald of Lynedale,   | 510     |
| Total Volunteers,   | — 1,817 |
| Total number of men in arms in Skye, &c. from 1793 to 1805,   | 3,680   |

N. B.—In Skye a regiment of Local Militia of 500 men was formed in 1811, making the total number 4180.

811

ARGYLE, GLENGARRY, &c.

BESIDES the twenty Fencible regiments, an account of which has been introduced in separate articles, there were six others of the same description raised in the years 1793, 1794, and 1799, several of which were almost entirely composed of Highlanders. Some were more mixed, while others, embodied in the Lowlands, contained many Highlanders, as, for instance, the Elgin regiment, which had about 300 men from the mountains. But as my information respecting the remaining Highland Fencible corps is very limited, I can do little more than mention their names, and the dates of their formation.

The Marquis of Lorn, following the example of his predecessors, applied for, and received Letters of Service to raise a regiment of Fencible infantry immediately after the

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declaration of war in 1793. The order was dated the 1st of March. The regiment was soon after embodied at Stirling, and after performing the usual duties, was reduced in the year 1799, along with other corps of the same description.

In 1794, a second Argyle regiment was raised, and the command given to Colonel Henry M. Clavering. This battalion did not contain so many Highlanders as Lord Lorn's, but the service was more general, being extended to Ireland, where the corps was stationed, till reduced in 1802.

In August 1794, Alexander Macdonell of Glengarry received Letters of Service for raising a Fencible regiment, of which he was appointed Colonel. This was a handsome body of men. More than one half was enlisted from the estate of Glengarry. Jersey and Guernsey were the principal stations of this corps till reduced in 1802, after which event the greater part of the Glengarry men emigrated, with their families and relations, to Canada, where they settled in a district which they have called by the name of their native glen. Every head of a family gave the name of his farm in Glengarry to his plantation in his adopted country. They also engaged two clergymen, who preach and instruct them in Gaelic, which is the only language in use in their community.\* An honourable trait of their native character was exhibited last war. They turned out in such numbers, that, along with some other emigrants, and the sons of emigrants, they formed a numerous, brave, and highly effective corps, called the Glengarry Fencibles, of whose good conduct, in Canada, the London Gazette affords satisfactory evidence.

In 1794, Sir Benjamin Dunbar of Hempriggs was au-

\* Ignorance of the English language on the part of these emigrants is perhaps the cause which has induced several travellers who visited the settlement to describe the people as uncultivated. As Highlanders are generally allowed to have a degree of native politeness, probably these gentlemen, could they have accosted them in their native language, would have found that the men of Glengarry have not lost it by their transfer even to America; a country which has not yet been remarked for the politeness and urbanity of its inhabitants.

thorized to raise a regiment which was called the Caithness Legion. This legion was removed to Ireland, and stationed there till reduced at the peace in 1802.

In 1794, also, Colonel William Robertson of Lude was appointed to the command of a regiment, which he denominated the Perthshire Highlanders. This was rather a misnomer, as the number of Perthshire Highlanders, or Highlanders of any country, was very limited. The regiment was early reduced.

The Ross-shire Fencibles were embodied in 1796, and Major Colin Mackenzie of Mountgerald appointed to the command. This was a small corps, but the deficiency of numbers was in one respect supplied by exemplary character, and physical capability. No man was punished, none died, and they were reduced as strong and efficient as when embodied.

Colonel Archibald Macneil of Colonsay was appointed Colonel of a third battalion of Argyle Fencibles raised in 1799. The name of Argyle did not properly apply to this corps, as the number of Argyleshire men was small. Their service being extended to all parts of Europe, the regiment was in 1800 removed to Gibraltar, to relieve the troops which were to embark from the garrison under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and at the peace of 1801 was ordered home and reduced.

The Ross and Cromarty Rangers were raised and placed under the command of Colonel Lewis Mackenzie, the younger of Scatwell, in June 1799. The service of this regiment was also to extend to any part of Europe, but it remained in Scotland till its reduction at the peace.

The year 1799 was rather remarkable for the number of regiments raised in the north of Scotland. In the month of June, John Macleod of Colbecks was promoted to the command of a regiment, which he denominated the Princess Charlotte of Wales's, or Macleod Fencibles. This corps was inspected and embodied at Elgin by Major-General Leith Hay, afterwards marched, under the com-

mand of Colonel Macleod, to Portpatrick, and thence embarked for Ireland, where it remained till 1802, when it returned to England, and was reduced at Tynemouth Barracks in the month of June.

Colonel Macleod's was the last Fencible regiment raised in the Highlands. This species of force has been much approved of by some, and as much condemned by others. The limited nature of their service was undoubtedly a disadvantage; but perhaps this limitation, and the certainty of not being exposed to dangers from climate, the sea, or the enemy, induced many to enlist who would have hesitated if these risks had been the immediate consequences of their becoming soldiers. But as many brave men, who, when once engaged, show no reluctance to extend their service wherever it may be required, may, in the first instance, from the persuasion of friends, and other causes, manifest a very opposite spirit; in this view, and to lead them on by degrees to encounter the most arduous duties of the profession, such preparatory and apparently easy service may have had its advantages. Indeed, the Highland Fencibles furnished a most excellent and seasonable nursery of men for regiments of the line. The 72d regiment was in a few months filled up from 200 to 800 men by Fencible volunteers. Upwards of 350 men volunteered from the Clan Alpines into different regiments; 200 men of the Caithness Highlanders joined the 79th and 92d, and so of the others. Still it was a matter of regret, that, during the most trying period of the war, so many efficient corps were so fettered by their engagements, that they could not be employed on those important occasions where they would have formed a very seasonable aid, and where their military qualities could have been exerted to the utmost advantage. To officers, also, the Fencible, like the Militia regiments, presented both advantages and disadvantages. To many young men these corps formed a kind of stepping-stone to get into the regular army. Others, again, who passed too many years in them, gained no rank, spent their daily pay, and acquir-

ed little professional knowledge, beyond the parade and drill exercise; and when, at the end of six, eight, or ten years, they thought of looking out for some permanent means of subsistence, or some commission that might secure them rank and a future provision, they found themselves as far from the mark as the first day they entered the service.

Several friends, for whose opinion I have a high respect, wished to dissuade me from noticing the Fencible Corps, as nothing interesting could be said on a service confined to Britain. But it appeared to me, that an inquiry, whether corps of limited and temporary service supported the same character as that which had been acquired by old regiments of the line, so far, at least, as concerns the more peaceable duties of the Fencible regiments, was necessary to the unity and completion of the general plan. The short notices given of the general conduct of those corps have, it is presumed, fully proved that the more marked traits of character did not rest on any accidental cause, but on steady and permanent principles, and although their service was less important, so far as regarded opposing a foreign enemy, yet during the troubles in Ireland, no duty could have been better performed. Nor, indeed, was there any service of greater importance, or executed with more prudence and proper feeling, than that which was intrusted to them; and it was fully acknowledged, that tranquillity and obedience to the laws prevailed in many disturbed districts, immediately after the Sutherland, Caithness, and other Fencible corps came upon the station. The spirit of revenge and of fierce animosity to the Government was softened by the mild and conciliatory conduct of these men towards the deluded peasantry. This, in a very considerable degree, contributed to the restoration of the peace and order which ensued. When troops are stationed in an enemy's country, or are ordered to keep down internal insurrection, the influence which their conduct exerts on those whom they are to control is, in general, conspicuous. If troops are insolent, oppressive, or cruel, the hatred and

opposition of those who were inimical before are increased and confirmed; and they may become what an eminent commander said of a part of the troops in Ireland, at that period,\* "more dangerous to their friends than to their enemies." If, on the contrary, the soldiers are careful of giving offence; if they are what has been said of the Highland soldiers, "lamb in the house," and "children of the family," they make friends of their former enemies, and their duty becomes easy, requiring only the usual military routine.

\* Sir Ralph Abercromby.

## MUTINIES

OF THE

## HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

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As the preceding details will have afforded some idea of the nature and extent of the service performed by the Highland regiments of the Line and Fencibles, I now introduce the following statements of a series of very distressing events which have occurred in the course of these military duties, —disgraceful to those with whom they principally originated, and much to be lamented on account of the impressions they have left on the minds of a race of people originally unsuspecting, and disposed to place unlimited confidence in their superiors, but who, in the cases in question, were too frequently considered as ignorant, unable to comprehend the nature of their stipulations, and incapable of demanding redress for any breach of contract. Attempts were, therefore, made to violate these engagements, both in the nature of the service expected of them, and in the pay and allowances promised. Finding their expectations disappointed, the sense of candour was diminished, and that appearance of suspicious illiberality produced which people entertain when they believe that they have not met with fair or honourable treatment from a quarter where the reverse was to be expected. When they found themselves thus treated,

their ignorance of the language rendered them more jealous, and less able to explain the nature of their grievances, or to vindicate their rights; and when their complaints would not be heard, and redress was refused, no other mode of obtaining justice occurred to them but to refuse to perform their part of the contract till the whole was fulfilled. The peculiar dispositions and habits of the Highlanders contributed to increase and to give an unusual degree of irritation to these misunderstandings, which were the more noticed, as their conduct, in other respects, had been orderly and obedient. These peculiarities I have already attempted to explain. One of the most prominent, and which most powerfully influenced their conduct, was the bond of fidelity and affection by which they were held to their superiors and to one another. Accustomed to yield implicit obedience to their immediate chiefs, who durst not break a compact with a people subject to them, chiefly through the ties of love and hereditary reverence, and accustomed also to have promises punctually fulfilled, this implicit submission was not yielded when they had rights to preserve, or agreements to be fulfilled. In later times, when they entered the King's service, they considered themselves as a contracting party in the agreements made with Government, from whom they naturally expected the same punctual performance of their engagements, as well as some degree, at least, of the kindness and attention which they and their fathers had met with, from their ancient and hereditary chieftains. When they found themselves, therefore, disappointed in these respects, and the terms which had been expressly stipulated with his Majesty's officers violated, the Highlanders, naturally irritable and high-spirited, warmly resented such unexpected treatment. Hence the real origin of the resistance to authority in Highland regiments, as will be rendered more evident by a plain narrative of facts.

The mutiny and desertion of the old Highland Regiment or Black Watch, has been already noticed; and I shall now give a brief detail of similar acts of insubordination among



other Highland corps. By placing the whole in one view, instead of introducing each under the proper section of the different regiments, the general principle will be rendered the more apparent and instructive.

## MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS,

### OR SEVENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.

In the year 1779, this corps was ordered up from Fort George for embarkation, and quartered in Burntisland and Kinghorn. Soon after they arrived there, great numbers of the Highlanders were observed in parties in earnest conversation. In the evening of the third day, each company gave in a written statement, complaining of non-performance of promises, of bounty-money unpaid, &c. and accompanied their statement with a declaration, that, till these were satisfactorily settled, they would not embark. They requested, at the same time, that Lord Macdonald, the chief and patron of the regiment, should be sent for to see justice done to them. An answer not having been returned soon enough, or in the manner they expected, they marched away in a body, and took possession of a hill above the town of Burntisland, continuing firm to their purpose, but abstaining from all violence; and when several other young soldiers wished to join them, perhaps as much for the sake of the frolic as any thing else, they ordered them back to their quarters, telling them they had no cause of complaint, and no claims to be adjusted; and that, therefore, they ought to obey their officers, and do their duty, and leave them (the Highlanders) to answer for their own conduct.

Things remained in this state for some days, the Highlanders regularly sending parties to the town for provisions, and paying punctually for what they received. It happened fortunately, that the regiment was at that time commanded by Major Alexander Donaldson, an officer of great

experience, and not less firm than conciliating. Born in the Highlands, he had served for nineteen years in the 42d regiment, and understood perfectly the peculiar habits and dispositions of his countrymen. Aided by Lieutenant David Barclay, the paymaster, an investigation took place, and every man's claim was clearly made out. When this statement was laid before Lord Macdonald on his arrival, his Lordship and Major Donaldson advanced the money, and took the risk of recovering it from those whose conduct had nearly ruined a brave and honourable body of men, as they afterwards proved themselves to be; and it is a fact that ought not to be overlooked, and which I have from the best authority, (as, indeed, I have all I state), that, when the individual claims were sent to the Isle of Skye, *all, without exception, were found to be just*;—a circumstance which, no doubt, was taken into consideration by those who had to form a judgment of this act of insubordination. No man was brought to trial, or even put into confinement; and when all was settled, the Highlanders embarked with the greatest cheerfulness; but, before they sailed, all the men *of Skye and Uist sent their money home to their families and friends.*

### ATHOLE HIGHLANDERS,

#### OR SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

At the peace of 1783, this regiment was marched to Portsmouth, to be embarked for the East Indies, although the terms on which they had enlisted were to serve for three years, or during the war. They showed, however, no reluctance to embark, nor any desire to claim their discharge, to which their Letters of Service entitled them. On the contrary, when they came in sight of the fleet at Spithead, as they marched across Portsdown Hill, they pulled off their bonnets, and gave three cheers for a brush with Hyder

Ali. But no sooner were they quartered in Portsmouth, to wait till the transports should be ready, than distrust and discord appeared. Emissaries from London, it is affirmed, expatiated on the faithlessness of sending them to such a distance, when their term of service had expired, and inflamed them by reports of their being sold, for a certain sum per man, to the East India Company. Some of the officers, it was added, were to divide the money among themselves. Had their confidence in their officers not been thus undermined, they would not have been so easily stirred up to disobedience and disregard of their authority, and disbelief of the explanation given by those to whom they had hitherto shown the greatest attachment. But the influence of these motives having been destroyed by false insinuations against their officers, there was the less restraint on their indignation at what was but too true—that no regard was paid to the engagement by which they had bound themselves. The consequence was, a determination on the part of the soldiers to adhere to their terms of service, and not to embark for India. After some days of disorganization and misrule,\* in which the officers lost all command, Government acquiesced, and countermanded the order to embark.

The following account of this affair, dated at Portsmouth, was published in February 1783: “The Duke of Atholl, his uncle, Major-General Murray, and Lord George Lennox, have been down here, but the Athole Highlanders are still determined not to go to the East Indies. They have put up their arms and ammunition into one of the magazines, and placed a very strong guard over them, whilst the rest of the regiment sleep and refresh themselves. They come regularly and quietly to the grand parade, very cleanly dressed, twice a day, their adjutant and other officers parading with them. One day it was proposed to turn the

\* A soldier of the garrison invalids was killed, and several others wounded, in an attempt to prevent the Highlanders from obtaining possession of the main-guard and garrison parade.

great guns, on the rampart, on the Highlanders, but this scheme was soon overruled. Another time it was suggested to send for some marching regiments quartered near the place, upon which the Highlanders drew up the draw-bridges, and placed sentinels at them."

Another account states,—“ You may be assured I have had my perplexities since the mutiny commenced in the 77th regiment; but I must do the men the justice to confess, that, excepting three or four drunken fellows, whose impudence to their officers could only be equalled by their brutality, the whole regiment have conducted themselves with a regularity that is surprising; for what might not have been expected from upwards of one thousand men let loose from all restraint? Matters would never have been carried to the pitch they have, but for the interference of some busy people, who love to be fishing in troubled waters. The men have opened a subscription for the relief of the widow of the poor invalid, for whose death they express the greatest regret. On their being informed, that two or three regiments were coming to force them to embark, they flew to their arms, and followed their comrade leaders through the town, with a fixed determination to give them battle; but on finding the report to be false, they returned in the same order to their quarters. The regiment is not to go to the East Indies contrary to their instructions, which has satisfied them, but will be attended with disagreeable consequences to the service; and since the debates in the House of Commons on the subject, I should not wonder if every man intended for foreign service refused going for the reasons there given, which, you may depend on it, they are now well acquainted with.”

In the course of the Parliamentary debates on this subject, Lord Auckland, then Mr Eden, and Secretary of State for Ireland, said, “ He had happened to have the 77th regiment immediately under his observation during sixteen months of their garrison duty in Dublin, and though it was not the most agreeable duty in the service, he must say

that their conduct was most exemplary. Their officers were not only men of gentlemanly character, but peculiarly attentive to regimental discipline. He having once, upon the sudden alarm of invasion, sent an order for the immediate march of this regiment to Cork, they showed their alacrity by marching, at an hour's notice, and completed their march with a dispatch *beyond any instance in modern times*; and this, too, without leaving a single soldier behind."

It is difficult for those who are not in the habit of mixing with the Highlanders, to believe the extent of the mischief which this unhappy misunderstanding has occasioned, and the deep and lasting impression it has left behind it. In the course of my recruiting, many years afterwards, I was often reminded of this attempt on the Athole Highlanders, which was always alleged as a confirmation of what happened, at an earlier period, to the Black Watch. This transaction, and others of a similar description, have created great distrust in the intentions of Government, and in the integrity of its agents.

If Government had offered a small bounty, when the Athole Highlanders were required to embark, there can be little doubt they would have obeyed their orders, and embarked as cheerfully as they marched into Portsmouth. The regiment was marched to Berwick, and disbanded conformably to the original agreement. No man was tried or punished. An inference in consequence has been drawn, and never forgotten, in the Highlands, that however unjustifiable in the mode of redress, *the men had just cause of complaint.*

#### SEAFORTH.

In the year 1778, the Seaforth Highlanders were marched to Leith, where they were quartered, for a short interval, though long enough to produce complaints about the

infringement of their engagements, and some pay and bounty which they said were due to them. Their disaffection was greatly increased by the activity of emissaries from Edinburgh, like those just mentioned as having gone down from London to Portsmouth. The regiment refused to embark, and marching out of Leith, with pipes playing and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, took a position on Arthur's Seat, of which they kept possession for several days, during which time the inhabitants of Edinburgh amply supplied them with provisions and ammunition. After much negotiation, in which the Earls of Dunmore and Seaforth, Sir James Grant of Grant, and other gentlemen connected with the Highlands, were actively engaged, the causes of the soldiers' complaints were investigated and settled to their satisfaction; they then marched down the hill in the same manner in which they had gone up, with pipes playing, and "with the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene, at their head. They entered Leith, and went on board the transports with the greatest readiness and cheerfulness."

In this case, as in that of the Athole Highlanders, none of the men were brought to trial, or even put into confinement, for these acts of open resistance; consequently, similar inferences have been drawn, accompanied by that feeling of distrust in their future transactions which I have just noticed, and which has contributed to give strangers an unjust and prejudiced view of the real character of this race of people; for when a seemingly ungenerous want of confidence and narrowness of mind has, in a manner, been forced on men, by meeting with breaches of faith and with deception at the hands of their superiors, it cannot, with justice, be called their original native character.

DETACHMENTS OF THE  
FORTY-SECOND AND SEVENTY-FIRST  
REGIMENTS.

IN April 1779, two strong detachments of recruits belonging to the 42d and 71st regiments were ordered from Stirling Castle, for the purpose of embarking at Leith to join their regiments in North America. When they arrived at Leith, it was notified to them that they were not to join their own regiments, but were to be turned over to the 80th and 82d, the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments. The men remonstrated, and declared openly their firm determination to serve in no corps but that for which they had engaged. After some negotiation and delay, troops were sent to Leith, with orders to carry the Highlanders as prisoners to Edinburgh Castle, if they persisted in refusing to be transferred. The soldiers having refused to comply, an attempt was made to enforce the orders. The Highlanders flew to arms, and a desperate affray ensued. Captain Mansfield of the South Fencible regiment; and 9 men, were killed, and 31 soldiers wounded. At last the mutineers were overpowered and carried to Edinburgh Castle.

On the 6th of May following, three of these prisoners, Charles Williamson and Archibald Macivor, soldiers in the 42d regiment, and Robert Budge, soldier in the 71st regiment, were brought before a court-martial on the following charge: "You, and each of you, are charged with having been guilty of a mutiny at Leith upon Tuesday, the 20th of April last past, and of having instigated others to be guilty of the same, in which mutiny several of his Majesty's subjects were killed and many wounded."

An extract from their defence will show their reasons for resisting the orders to embark. "The prisoners Archibald

Macivor, and Charles Williamson, enlisted as soldiers in the 42d, being an old Highland regiment, wearing the Highland dress. Their native language was Gaelic, the one being a native of the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the other of the western parts of Inverness-shire, where the language of the country is Gaelic only. They have never used any other language, and are so ignorant of the English tongue, that they cannot avail themselves of it for any purpose of life. They have always been accustomed to the Highland habit, so far as never to have worn breeches, a thing so inconvenient and even so impossible for a native Highlander to do, that, when the Highland dress was prohibited by act of Parliament, though the philebeg was one of the forbidden parts of the dress, yet it was necessary to connive at the use of it, provided only that it was made of a stuff of one colour and not of tartan, as is well known to all acquainted with the Highlands, particularly with the more mountainous parts of the country. These circumstances made it more necessary for them to serve in a Highland regiment only, as they neither could have understood the language, nor have used their arms, or marched in the dress of any other regiment."

The prisoner Robert Budge stated, that he was a native of the upper parts of Caithness, and being ignorant of the English language, and accustomed to wear the Highland garb, he enlisted to serve in Fraser's Highlanders, and in no other regiment; and in continuation of their defence, the three prisoners stated, that, "when they arrived at Leith, they were informed by their officer, Captain Innes, who had conducted them, that they were now to consider the officers of the 82d, or Duke of Hamilton's regiment, a regiment wearing the Lowland dress, and speaking the English tongue, as their officers; but how this happened they were not informed. No order from the Commander-in-Chief for their being drafted was read or explained to them, but they were told that they must immediately join the Hamilton and Edinburgh regiments. A great number



of the detachment represented, without any disorder or mutinous behaviour, that they were altogether unfit for service in any other corps than Highland ones, particularly that they were incapable of wearing breeches as a part of their dress. At the same time, they declared their willingness to be regularly transferred to any other Highland regiment, or to continue to serve in those regiments into which they had been regularly enlisted. *But no regard was paid to these remonstrances*, which, if they had had an opportunity, they would have laid before the Commander-in-Chief. But an order for an immediate embarkation prevented this. The idea that naturally suggested itself to them was, that they should insist on serving in the same regiment in which they had been enlisted, and not to go abroad as part of the Duke of Hamilton's regiment, till such time as these difficulties were removed. They accordingly drew up under arms on the shore of Leith, each respective corps by itself. The prisoners were informed, that the orders issued were to take them prisoners to the Castle; had these orders been explained to them, they would have submitted, and, with proper humility, have laid their case before those that could have given them redress. But unfortunately the sergeant who undertook to explain to them in Gaelic, represented that they were immediately to go on board as part of the Hamilton regiment, but which they do with great deference say, that they did not at the time conceive they could lawfully have done." After the defence was read, "Captain Innes of the 71st regiment showed an attestation to the court, which he said was in the uniform style of the attestations for that regiment, and it expressly bore, that the persons thereby attested were to serve in the 71st regiment, commanded by General Simon Fraser of Lovat, and that they were to serve for three years only, or during the continuance of the present war."

The three prisoners were found guilty, and sentenced to be shot; but his Majesty gave them a free pardon, "in full

confidence that they would endeavour, by a prompt obedience and orderly demeanour, to atone for this atrocious offence."

The three men afterwards joined the 2d battalion 42d, where their character was remarked for steadiness and good conduct. The rest of the detachment also joined the same battalion.

### BREADALBANE.

In the year 1795, a serious disturbance broke out in Glasgow, among the Breadalbane Fencibles. Several men having been confined and threatened with corporal punishment, considerable discontent and irritation were excited among their comrades, which increased to such violence, that, when some men were confined in the guard-house, a great proportion of the regiment rushed out and forcibly released the prisoners. This violation of military discipline was not to be passed over, and accordingly measures were immediately taken to secure the ringleaders. But so many were equally concerned, that it was difficult, if not impossible to fix the crime on any, as being more prominently guilty. And here was shown a trait of character worthy of a better cause, and which originated from a feeling alive to the disgrace of a degrading punishment. The soldiers being made sensible of the nature of their misconduct, and the consequent necessity of public example, *several men voluntarily offered themselves to stand trial*, and suffer the sentence of the law as an atonement for the whole. These men were accordingly marched to Edinburgh Castle, tried, and four condemned to be shot. Three of them were afterwards reprieved, and the fourth, Alexander Sutherland, was shot on Musselburgh Sands. The following demi-official account of this unfortunate misunderstanding was published at the time: "During the afternoon of Monday, when a private of the Light-company

of the Breadalbane Fencibles, who had been confined for a *military* offence, was released by that company and some other companies who had assembled in a tumultuous manner before the guard-house, no person whatever was hurt, and no violence offered; and however unjustifiable the proceedings, it originated not from any disrespect or ill will to their officers, but from a mistaken point of honour, in a particular set of men in the battalion, who thought themselves disgraced by the impending punishment of one of their number. The men have, in every respect, since that period, conducted themselves with the greatest regularity, and strict subordination. The whole of the battalion seemed extremely sensible of the improper conduct of such as were concerned, whatever regret they might feel for the fate of the few individuals, who *had so readily given themselves up as prisoners, to be tried for their own and others misconduct.*"

On the march to Edinburgh, a circumstance occurred, the more worthy of notice, as it shows a strong principle of honour and fidelity to his word and to his officer in a common Highland soldier. One of the men stated to the officer commanding the party, that he knew what his fate would be, but that he had left business of the utmost importance to a friend in Glasgow, which he wished to transact before his death; that, as to himself, he was fully prepared to meet his fate; but with regard to his friend, he could not die in peace unless the business was settled; and that, if the officer would suffer him to return to Glasgow, a few hours there would be sufficient, and he would join him before he reached Edinburgh, and march as a prisoner with the party. The soldier added, "You have known me since I was a child; you know my country and kindred, and you may believe I shall never bring you to any blame by a breach of the promise I now make, to be with you in full time to be delivered up in the Castle." This was a startling proposal to the officer, who was a judicious humane man, and knew perfectly his risk and responsibility in yielding to such an extraordinary application. However, his confidence was such,

that he complied with the request of the prisoner, who returned to Glasgow at night, settled his business, and left the town before day-light to redeem his pledge. He took a long circuit to avoid being seen, apprehended as a deserter, and sent back to Glasgow, as probably his account of his officer's indulgence would not have been credited. In consequence of this caution, and the lengthened march through woods and over hills by an unfrequented route, there was no appearance of him at the hour appointed. The perplexity of the officer when he reached the neighbourhood of Edinburgh may be easily imagined. He moved forward slowly indeed, but no soldier appeared; and unable to delay any longer, he marched up to the Castle, and as he was delivering over the prisoners, but before any report was given in, Macmartin, the absent soldier, rushed in among his fellow prisoners, all pale with anxiety and fatigue, and breathless with apprehension of the consequences in which his delay might have involved his benefactor.

In whatever light the conduct of the officer (my respectable friend Major Colin Campbell) may be considered, either by military men or others, in this memorable exemplification of the characteristic principle of his countrymen,—fidelity to their word,—it cannot but be wished that the soldier's magnanimous self-devotion had been taken as an atonement for his own misconduct, and that of the whole, who also had made a high sacrifice, in the voluntary offer of their lives for the conduct of their brother soldiers. *Are these a people to be treated as malefactors, without regard to their feelings and principles?* And might not a discipline, somewhat different from the usual mode, be, with advantage, applied to them?

#### GRANT.

THE year 1795 exhibited another instance of insubordination, originating in horror of the disgrace which, accord-

ing to Highlanders' views, could not fail to attach to themselves and their country from an infamous punishment for crimes not in themselves infamous, in the moral sense of the word: for it is necessary to make a distinction between this and the feeling excited among these men when punishments are awarded for disgraceful crimes. In cases where soldiers were guilty, or were suspected of bringing shame on themselves by actions unbecoming good men, I have always observed that the soldiers were anxious they should be brought to the punishment their crimes deserved.

The mutiny of the Grant was, in every respect, similar in its cause, object, and consequences, to that of the Breadalbane Fencibles. Several men were put into confinement, and threatened with punishment. The idea was insupportable to many of the soldiers, who, in defiance of their officers, broke out and released the prisoners. Sir James Grant, the colonel and patron of the regiment, hurried to Dumfries, where the regiment was then quartered. But he was too late; and the violation of order and of military discipline was too glaring to be passed over. The regiment was removed to Musselburgh, where Corporal Macdonald, Charles and Alexander Mackintosh, Alexander Fraser, and Duncan Macdougall, were tried and condemned to be shot. The corporal was pardoned, and the three soldiers were ordered to draw lots (Alexander Fraser was not permitted to draw), when the fatal chance fell on Charles Mackintosh, who, with Fraser, was shot on Gullane Links, on the 16th July 1795; and thus affording another striking instance of the necessity of paying a due regard to the feelings of soldiers, and of treating them as men of good principles, whose culpability may proceed more from mistaken notions than from depravity. It also affords a striking instance of the paramount call on those under whose direction they are placed in their native country, that their treatment be not such as to loosen and destroy those finer feelings, and render the people desperate, regardless of their own character, disaffected to the

government, and transplant a spirit of hatred and revenge, instead of the fidelity, confidence, and attachment of other times.

### CANADIAN.

IN the year 1804, orders were issued to raise a regiment in the Highlands, to be called the Canadian Fencibles, and to serve in Canada only. Owing to several circumstances the corps was speedily filled up. One extensive glen in Inverness-shire was in that year improved in the modern merciless style, and depopulated. Several other detached parts of the country had been similarly treated. To the young and active, who had thus lost their homes and their usual mode of subsistence, this corps appeared to present the means of reaching a country whither many of their friends and immediate neighbours had gone before them, and where they were taught to expect a permanent settlement without being subject to the "summary ejection still practised in some parts of the north, when tenants prove refractory," namely, burning their houses about their ears,—a mode of ejecting a virtuous peasantry, for which the civilized revivers of this obsolete, but efficient practice, have not received the notice they deserve.

The men of this corps were ordered to assemble in Glasgow, where it was discovered that the most scandalous deceptions had been practised upon them, and that terms had been promised which Government would not, and could not sanction. The persons who had deceived these poor men by representing the terms in a more favourable light than truth would justify, obtained a great number of recruits without any, or for a very small bounty.

When these men discovered their real situation, they were loud in their remonstrances, and, becoming very disorderly and disobedient, were ready to break out into open mutiny. But an immediate inquiry being made into the foundation of

their complaints by General Wemyss of Wemyss, who then commanded in Glasgow, they were found to be of such a nature, that it was necessary to satisfy them; in the mean time the regiment, consisting of 800 men, was marched to Ayr. The ordering them so far south from Greenock, the port of embarkation for Canada, gave a kind of confirmation to the previous report, that they were to be sent to the Isle of Wight, and thence to the East or West Indies. However, after a full inquiry, the whole were discharged; the promises made could not be confirmed, as they were founded on the grossest deception, and inconsistent with the objects of Government and the terms proposed. But it was an additional cause of discontent that they had been sent so much farther from home, and that those who still intended to go to Canada were so much farther removed from the usual place of embarkation. As the second battalions of the 78th and 79th regiments were, at that time, recruiting, numbers of the men enlisted with Colonel Cameron, and a few (twenty-two) with me, for the 78th. Several, who had money to pay for the passage, emigrated to America. Those who had not the means spread themselves all over the country, proclaiming their wrongs, and thus helping to destroy the confidence of their countrymen, not only in Government, but in all public men, whom they now began to think utterly unworthy of credit.

The happy auspices under which the British army is now placed, the justice done to the soldier, and the regard paid to his comforts, and even to his feelings as a man, are the best and most certain security against future acts of insubordination. It is, therefore, the less necessary to point out the baneful effects of using any deception towards soldiers, as the thing is now unknown; but, should any individuals be base enough to make such an attempt, the certain infamy that would follow a discovery forms an effectual preventive. It may however be useful, indeed my great object in adverting to the unfortunate misunderstandings which occurred so close upon each other in the American War is, to convince

the soldier of the present day how different, and how much more honourable his treatment now is, contrasted with the deceptions practised on credulous and unsuspecting men, which, by rendering them jealous and distrustful, were so pernicious in their effects to the service in general, and tended, as I have frequently noticed, to give an unfavourable impression of their character, where these circumstances were unknown.



## NATIONAL CORPS,

AND

## HIGHLAND GARB.

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ALTHOUGH so much has been already said about national corps, distinguished by their garb, or otherwise, I may still add a few observations on the effect the Highland regiments have had in directing the notice of the public to the military character of Scotland, which is now so much blended with the sister kingdom, that, while we hear of the English Parliament, and the English Navy and Army, Scotland is never once mentioned. In the great naval victories of Britain, we have never heard of Scotch sailors; and were it not for those corps distinguished by national marks, the northern part of the kingdom would have been as low in military as in naval fame, and as unnoticed at Alexandria and Waterloo as at Aboukir and Trafalgar. In Keith's and Campbell's corps in Germany in the Seven Years' War, 1200 Highlanders gave celebrity to the warlike character of Scotland; at the same time that, calculating from the usual proportions, there were at least 3000 Scotch soldiers intermixed with the English regiments under Prince Ferdinand; but, although each of these men had been as brave as Julius Cæsar, we should never have heard a syllable of Scotland. Fortunately, however, there was no mistaking "the brave band of Highlanders," with their plaids and broadswords. The assault of St Sebastian was most desperate, and called forth

stronger proofs of resistless intrepidity and perseverance, than almost any other achievement in the Peninsular Campaigns. On that occasion there were (besides the commander, General Graham of Balgowan, Generals James Leith, John Oswald, Andrew Hay, and many others) three times the number of Scotch officers and soldiers belonging to the different regiments engaged, that there was at Arroyos de Molinos, where the Gordon Highlanders were engaged, and where a detachment of the French army was surprised and dispersed. This was a mere skirmish in comparison of the assault at St Sebastian, in which Scotland was never mentioned, while the other affair, in which the men were distinguished by the Highland garb, is introduced into the ballads of the country, and the tune of "Hey Johnnie Cope" has gained additional celebrity by being played that morning, when the piper struck up the advance, in quick time, to the attack. It is well known that no regiment was more distinguished in the Duke of Wellington's campaigns than the late 94th, or Scotch Brigade, a great proportion of the men, and two-thirds of the officers of which were Scotch, and yet that courage, of which the French saw so many examples, never furnished them with one idea favourable or unfavourable to Scotland; because the Scotchmen had not a distinguishing mark. Neither the enemy nor our allies could know from what country they came. In short, if there were no Scotch regiments, and no Highland uniform, we should hear no more of the military character than we do of the naval exploits of Scotland. There might be, as there always have been, many individual instances of distinguished merit, but there would be no national character.

Few regiments are more purely Scotch than the Greys have ever been; and it is a curious fact, that in no part of Scotland is the broad Scotch dialect spoken in greater purity\* than by the soldiers of this regiment, which has now for

\* Perhaps they retain a kind of regimental dialect, coeval with the formation of the regiment, when the language was very different from the present

144 years reflected honour on the south, as the Highland corps have more recently on the north, of Scotland. It is a question whether there ever has been twenty Highlanders in the regiment since the first formation under General Dalzell in 1681. When the invincible charges made by this regiment at Waterloo called forth the admiration of Buonaparte, who exclaimed, "Qu'ils sont terribles ces Chevaux Gris," he knew not of what country they were. But, when he saw the Gordon Highlanders, in their kilts and bonnets, charge his solid columns, he at one glance discovered their country, and, while they contributed so much to blast his earthly glory, he could not suppress his admiration of "*Les braves Ecossais.*"

If the men of the Black Watch had been distributed among other regiments in the year 1740, instead of being kept together as a separate corps, and if no Highland corps had been subsequently formed, the extent to which the Scotch retain the martial character of their ancestors would have been unknown. But this individualization of national corps has afforded a fair opportunity of appreciating character. The regiments who served under Gustavus Adolphus, and the brigades who were in the service of Holland, reflected honour on the Scottish name. National corps are accordingly respected to this day. In Scotland this feeling is still strong, and many look back with sentiments of additional esteem for the memory, and respect to the sagacity, of the Lord President Forbes, who contemplated these advantages, and first proposed their establishment in the North.

Except in two instances in the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns, where the Greys are mentioned, Scotland or Scotch soldiers are no more noticed than the soldiers of the ancient kingdom of the Picts, nor are they mentioned in the later battles of Dettingen, Minden, &c. In one word,

Scotch. Is it from a similar cause, that in the Scotch Brigade in Holland, and in the Irish Brigades in Austria and France, the national accent and pronunciation were found remarkable for strength and peculiarity?

were it not for these national bodies of men in distinct corps, Scotland must look back to the days of Wallace, Bruce, Chevy Chase, Flodden, and the campaigns of Monro, for its military character. In the Highlands, indeed, there have been insulated cases, such as that of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel; while the events of 1745 and 1746 gave the clans some opportunities of showing their courage; but undisciplined, almost unarmed, and without the confidence inspired by the consciousness of supporting a legal, (although they believed it to be an honourable) cause, they were in many respects unfortunate; and in the last struggle at Culloden, were brought into the field under great disadvantages. It is to after times, therefore, that we are to look for the consolidation of the present military character of Scotland; and although the people of this country cannot talk of their sailors or their ships, they can look to their soldiers and regiments without a blush, and exhibit them as a sample of the national character. Now, where could the sample be found in sufficient numbers to form a proper estimate, were it not for corps so marked that they could not be mistaken? When these national corps were properly constituted; when men believed that the preservation or loss of their own character was reflected on their corps and native country, the effect was conspicuous. The dress, too, had its influence, not only on the soldiers, but on individuals, in reviving and maintaining a love of their country. \*

\* When the late Gordon Fencibles were reviewed in 1794 by his Majesty in Hyde Park, an old friend of mine, a native of the Highlands, which he had left in early life, resided in London. At the commencement of the French Revolution, he imbibed many of the new opinions, became an imaginary citizen of the world, and would not allow that he had any country. When the Highland regiment was reviewed, he refused to accompany a friend to the review, saying, in his usual style, that he had no country or countrymen, and that good men only, friends of liberty and independence, were his countrymen. However, he was prevailed upon to go; and when he saw the regiment, the plaids, and the bonnets, and heard the sound of the bagpipes, the memory of former days returned with such force, that his heart swelled, his eyes filled with tears, and bursting away from his friend, he exclaimed, "I have a country,

The only Highland regiment we have, who can look back to deeds in former wars, is the 42d. Even the few English and Irish who have latterly been found in the ranks, have been roused and warmed by recollecting the character of their predecessors, (though not of their country), but which, at the same time, they considered themselves bound to support. How much greater, then, must be the effect of this talisman, if properly applied by an officer of judgment, to the feelings of mountaineers, in all countries enthusiastically attached to their native land? The Black Watch was established in the days of our great-grandfathers, and we have heard our fathers and grandfathers speak with enthusiasm of the manly and chivalrous virtues and personal appearance of these men. Hence it is, that in the North the people look with the same respect and regard to this corps, as they do to their ancestors and to men of their own blood and kindred. There are few who have not at some period had a relation who served in it, and it is no doubt from this circumstance, that so much regret is expressed at the introduction of strangers into the regiment of their forefathers, as the 42d is called. With respect to the Highland regiments in general, if mixed with other men, however brave and excellent soldiers they may be, the charm, as I have noticed in another place, is broken, the incentive is gone; they are no longer the representatives of the sons of the Gael. Of this the Highlanders think with deep feeling, and dread that, if their national corps are broken up, no national standard of Scotch military character will remain. If the Greys, the Royal Scots, the two Inniskilling regiments, cavalry and infantry, the Scotch and Welsh Fusileers, the Connaught Rangers, and the Highland regiments, are preserved distinct, each county or district connected with those corps will have something

after all: the sight of these poor fellows has given me a truer lesson than all my boasted philosophy." Ever afterwards, he used to smile at his sudden conversion, and never missed an opportunity of visiting his native country.

on which to found a military character, and to prevent them from being lost in the general name of Britain. Then the proper pride which delights in the honour of a native country will encourage emulation, stimulate to the achievement of honourable actions, and tend to preserve the best principles, in opposition to the modern ideas of being citizens of the world, without any predilection or partiality for any country.

If such views accord with the opinion of those who have the power either to suppress or preserve distinct corps, it is desirable that measures were adopted to prevent the introduction of men from any other than the districts the names of which they bear.\* We have seen that, in the Highlands, the most beneficial effects resulted from the belief, that a man had not only his own character to support, but that of his clan and country. When turbulent, uncivilized, and without laws, their simple institutions, founded on love of country and kindred, and desire to maintain their honour and good name, was sufficient to make a man die on the spot rather than yield to an enemy. This belief also controlled the vicious and the mean, and produced many estimable traits of character. Might not the same result be expected in more civilized life, when the harsher features have been softened down or removed? Might not men believe that, in supporting a good name, they ought to look beyond self-interest and self-preservation? Such has been the case in Highland corps, when a call to remember their country, their honour, and their duty, elicited

\* It would certainly be desirable, that, while there are national or district corps, they should be so in reality, and not assume a name and garb unsuited to the birth, habits, and character of the soldiers. When Highland gentlemen complain of a surplus population on their estates, it were well that officers commanding Highland regiments sent recruiting parties to other places besides the disaffected districts in Ireland. If corps are to be distinguished by names, the Inniskillings and Connaught Rangers should get their ranks filled from Ireland, the Welsh Fusileers from Wales, the Greys, Royal Scotch, Royal Borderers, &c. from the south and centre of Scotland, and the Highland corps from within their mountain boundaries.

a display of courage, and produced a line of conduct not always seen in cases where no such stimulating excitement exists.

Such are the views taken of this subject by many people in the North; and, unless measures are adopted to show that the national corps will be preserved distinct in the same manner as the 42d was in former times, recruiting parties of other regiments need not now assume the disguise of the Highland uniform in order to induce men to enlist. The feeling of respect which facilitated that deception is still so strong, not only in the North, but in many distant parts of the world, that, in cases where the misconduct or disobedience of the Highland soldier is mentioned, it has generally called forth an expression of surprise, as a thing wholly unexpected, and which must have arisen from some cause of no common description. Inquiry is made into the cause—explanations are asked to account for this dereliction from general character. This sentiment being so strong, and so universal, it must surely be an object of importance to preserve the characteristic feeling, both moral and warlike, on which it is founded; more especially when the thing is not only simple and harmless in itself, but productive of the happiest consequences.

It has been remarked by high authority, that, in the late campaigns, the Highland corps showed an unbecoming jealousy of each other; and this feeling was, it seems, carried to such an extent as to cause some to doubt the wisdom of preserving them distinct; while others, again, pretended to detect in it symptoms of the degeneracy of the Highland character, and the absence of that spirit which marked the earlier regiments from the North.

Having been employed in a distant part of the world, during the greater part of the late Continental campaigns, I had little means of observing personally the nature and extent of this jealousy, or whether it existed at all. But I can safely affirm, that the feeling, if there be any such, is recent, and has more probably proceeded from an aban-

donment of the ancient system, than from the observance of it. So little attention had in fact been paid, even to the outward appearance of the soldiers of these corps, that, in some instances, the name was the only character of nationality they possessed; and the obvious absurdity of retaining the name alone, has very properly occasioned the change of denomination and garb.\*

In Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders, in Germany, and in the 42d, Montgomerie's, and Fraser's Highlanders, during the Seven Years' war, the only rivalry or jealousy was, who should be the most successful against the common enemy. During the American War it was the same with the 42d, Fraser's, Macdonald's, and all the Highland regiments. Each corps was eager to promote the fair fame of the others. It was "clan na Gael guallen," &c. the sons of the Gael, arm to arm, shoulder to shoulder, all in mutual support. It will be recollected, that, when Macdonald's Highlanders joined Lord Cornwallis's army in Virginia, they bitterly lamented that they were compelled to return home, without having had an opportunity like Fraser's of distinguishing themselves. "They looked down upon

\* When a Highland regiment was reviewed by an illustrious personage some years ago, he remarked, that they might be very good and very true Highlanders, but apparently they exhibited no characteristic of Scotland *except the officers' bonnets*. It was certainly high time to change the designation of this corps.

The importance Government attached to the dress, and to its influence on the feelings and habits of the people, will be seen by the extraordinary oath administered to the Highlanders in the year 1747. If, therefore, the Highland garb is to be preserved in corps, the innovations introduced by commanding officers should be checked, and a warlike national uniform not rendered ridiculous by any absurd alteration, or desire to exhibit something new, that may strike the fancy of commanders.

The effect of this garb on the Highlanders, even of the present day, is curious. However clownish a young man appears in his pantaloons walking with a heavy awkward gait, and downcast look, if he dresses in the kilt and bonnet on a Sunday, he assumes a kind of new character, holds his head erect, throws his shoulders back, and walks with a strut and mien that might become a Castilian, or a knight of Old Spain.



themselves in comparison of their more fortunate countrymen, of whose gallantry they had heard so much." But not a whisper was heard of any jealousy, and nothing but an emulous desire to acquire and deserve the same name. In Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to Egypt, the same cordiality and friendship existed between the 42d, 79th, and 92d Highlanders. The 92d was brought forward in the action of the 13th, and the 42d was in the first line on the 21st of March, and each rejoiced and congratulated the other on their good fortune in being so placed, and the opportunity they had of facing the brave, the numerous, and hitherto almost invincible enemy immediately opposed to them. But who ever heard of so much as an allusion to such ungenerous jealousies as have been lately spoken of? It has also been remarked, with what truth I know not; that, in some cases, a few of the soldiers, and, perhaps, some of the officers, have indulged themselves in speaking of their own deeds. These should be left to the notice of others, who are better, at least, more impartial judges. The world has shown every disposition to do full justice to the military actions of the Highland regiments. In this justice and discrimination they should confide; and if individuals choose to put forth their own actions or those of their corps, they may rest assured they will lose more than they will gain by every such assumption of merit.

The popularity which the Highland regiments obtained in former wars, and the ease with which their ranks were filled, induced several noblemen and gentlemen to attempt raising regiments in the same manner, habited in the ancient Celtic garb. Government having given great encouragement to the measure, more Highland corps were embodied than what, perhaps, the districts whose name they bore could supply with men in the consumption of an active and lengthened warfare, when great numbers entered into other corps, and engaged in other avocations,—the consequence of the spirit of improvement and speculation that rose and increased with the war. It was therefore found necessary,

as has been more than once mentioned, to change the designation and garb of six Highland regiments, and assimilate them to the English uniform. But now, when there are only five Highland regiments, a sufficient supply of men for the vacancies occasioned by natural casualties, (which in healthy stations must be few) ought to be obtained from a country containing, as is said, a surplus population. But that a difficulty of doing this exists, is evident from the circumstance of Highland regiments having recruiting parties in Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c. Various causes may be assigned for this seeming want of patriotism and disinclination to a military life among the Highlanders.\* I shall notice one which materially influences successful recruiting; and that is, the idle and too general reports of the destruction of lives in the Highland regiments. It has been stated in newspapers, and firmly believed in the North, that, during twelve years of the late war, nearly 14,000 men were killed or disabled in the 42d alone; when, in fact, the whole number which *belonged* to the regiment in a service of *seventy-five years*, was only 8792. † The 79th and other Highland corps are said to have suffered in the same manner. So firm and prevalent is this belief, that, when young

\* I shall have occasion to mention a supposed want of military spirit noticed by different writers. Sir George Mackenzie, in a Report of the County of Ross, says, "The Highlanders are trumpeted forth as our only resource for soldiers, whilst it is notorious that the inhabitants have a strong aversion to a military life." In the Islands, also, the military spirit is asserted to be so completely broken, that, according to Dr Macculloch, who states that he speaks from abundant information, "it may be truly said, that the population of 60,000 Highland insulars, which, according to the ordinary average of European military supply, would have afforded 600 soldiers, was defended, during the late war, by the artizans and manufacturers of England and the low country." Such, on the authority of these writers, and of others whom it is not necessary to mention, is the low state of patriotism and courage among the once chivalrous, warlike, and high-minded Highlanders. The time has been when they were not afraid or unwilling to defend themselves or their country without the assistance of Perth, Paisley, or Manchester weavers.

† See Appendix.

men enter those regiments, it is considered much the same as if sentence of death had been passed upon them. Now, allowing young men a fair share of courage and military ardour, they may hesitate to enter on duties where death is said to be the certain consequence; and even should they evince an inclination for the army, they will find their families and friends decidedly hostile to their wishes. This would not be the case, nor would arguments be used to damp the spirit of young men, if the truth were known. But so misled are the people on these points, that they believe the 42d left 500 men dead on the field at Fontenoy, although only 30 were killed; that half the regiment fell at Alexandria, (only 48 were killed); and that more than 500 men were destroyed at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, when, in fact, there were only 40 men killed in the one and 5 in the other. This prejudiced view of the subject does not give full play to the military spirit of young men; and while it principally originates in the idle vanity of young soldiers, who talk loudly of the heavy lists of killed and wounded, under an erroneous idea, that the more men killed in battle, the greater credit to those engaged; when, in fact, *it is quite the reverse*. With a few exceptions in peculiar emergencies, as that of the 42d at Ticonderoga and Alexandria, their loss has in no manner exceeded that of other regiments, and in many cases has been much less,—as at Fontenoy, where they were engaged in almost every part of the field where the greatest resistance and danger were expected, and at last covered the retreat, and kept the enemy at a respectful distance; and all this with the trifling loss just mentioned, while other regiments, who were almost stationary, never charged the enemy, or resisted a charge, sustained a loss five times greater than that of the Highlanders.

In the late war of twenty-one years, ending in 1814, the number killed of the 42d regiment amounted to 235, of the 78th (first battalion) to 103, of the 79th to 89, of the 92d to 181, and of the 93d to 60; in all, 668 men of these five regiments killed in battle. The number of men who served

in these five regiments was about 20,500, of whom 668 have, in twenty-one years, been lost to their country by the hand of the enemy, being nearly in the proportion of 1 man of every 30; or, taking the compound ratio of the numbers, (20,500), and of the time (twenty-one years), the proportion of killed to the sum total of men would be as 1 to 661 annually. If 1 man out of every 30 had been killed annually instead of in twenty-one years, the war would not have been so bloody as it has often been called. It is fortunate for the military character of this country that the scale is so moderate; for, so far from a long list of casualties being a proof of bravery, it is generally a proof of the very reverse. The greatest loss is almost always sustained in a defeat, and more are wounded when men are stationary, or in a slow and hesitating advance, than in a bold and rapid attack. Experience has shown, and in nine cases out of ten it will be found, that numerous wounds inflicted on individuals have usually been received when they were not in their proper place in their corps, but either in the rear, out of the line of their duty, or separated by some means from their comrades. When men boldly face their enemy in a compact body, in close support of each other, they are so equally exposed to danger, that it is very rare indeed for any individual to receive many more wounds than those close to him. If officers and soldiers keep steady with the body of their regiment, there will be less danger, and fewer wounds, than if they allow themselves to be separated. When men are in a line, for example, the enemy's shot, after passing it, can do no farther mischief, the surface exposed being rendered less by the linear formation. But when men are broken and separated, they become like the pieces on a chess board; the shot which passes one will hit another, and the same shot may thus disable a considerable number of individuals. By firing into the rabble of a crowd, more men will suffer than by firing against the same individuals, at the same given distance, after these individuals have been drawn up in military array.

When men talk of heavy loss sustained in battle, it should be remembered, that the smaller the loss the greater the honour, if successful, and, *vice versâ*, the more loss the less honour. The killed and wounded of a Native army in India, in the time of Hyder Ali, would carry away the palm from the bloodiest of our battles; yet we do not find that the great losses of the army of the Sultan were considered as a proof of courage or military conduct. On the contrary, they are considered as improving in military skill when they fight with smaller loss than formerly. The French understand these matters well; and while they loudly proclaim their victories, and omit nothing that can give them an air of importance, they do not talk of their losses, nor endeavour to swell them by detailing every casualty, however trifling, afraid lest any should escape notice. They act differently; and justly believing that victory is more valuable, and more honourable, if gained with small loss, they rather lessen than exaggerate the amount. Hence, by the country and the army being told that their battles are easily won, an idea of great superiority is entertained.

Many men are cool, collected, and firm, whatever the danger may be; nothing, on the other hand, makes some men more brave, than when they think there is no danger. Hence we may discover one cause of the rapidity with which the ranks of the French army were so easily and so frequently completed, even after their most disastrous defeats. Would young men have served so readily had they been told that the enemy annihilated a whole corps in one battle, and that one regiment lost near 14,000 men in the course of twelve years? Would they not have also been startled, and felt hesitation in joining a regiment called, as the 42d has been in the Highlands, the "graves of the brave," or, in more homely language, "the slaughter-house of the youth of the North?" Such accounts of death and destruction disparage and deteriorate the national character. They are unjust towards our brave troops, damp their ardour, check recruiting, and would lower their

military fame, were it true that they cannot overcome an enemy without great destruction to themselves. How different this is from the fact, will be seen by reference to Maida, Salamanca, Vittoria, Quatre Bras; in short, to every occasion where the troops have been led on with judgment and spirit, or have not been met by overwhelming numbers. At Maida, only 1 man out of every 104 engaged was killed; at Salamanca, 1 out of 95; at Vittoria, 1 out of 74; and at Quatre Bras, 1 out of 40.\* Without noticing fractions, these are the proportions, and they cannot be called deadly. Wherever British troops have sustained a heavy loss, it has been occasioned, in four cases out of five, by some untoward accident, some error in judgment, or some unexpected obstruction. The only instance in which Fraser's Highlanders of the American War gave way before an enemy was at Cowpens in South Carolina. In this case,

\* In our navy all the great victories have also been gained with small comparative loss, while that of the enemy was frequently great beyond all proportion. The loss in some of the single actions was hardly worth notice, except in the great superiority proved by a comparison of the number which fell on each side. In the instance of the Guerrier frigate, captured by Captain Robert Barlow, with only 11 killed and wounded, the loss of the French frigate was about 300 men. The Guerrier, to be sure, was crowded with men, but still no disparity of numbers could balance the difference of killed and wounded. This must have proceeded from the ability with which the commander manœuvred his ship, the courage and coolness of the officers and sailors, and the precision with which they took their aim. In Lord Howe's battle of the 1st of June 1794, the number of British engaged was 26 sail of the line, with 17,000 men. Of these 281 were killed; that is, in the proportion of nearly 1 to 60. In Lord Bridport's action of the 23d of June 1795, there were 14 sail, with about 10,000 men, of whom 113 were killed, or 1 of 87 of those present. In the action off Cape St Vincent's, there were 15 sail, with about 10,000 men, of whom 73 were killed, being 1 to 136. In Lord Duncan's action, on the 11th of October 1797, there were 16 sail, (including two 50's), with about 8,000 men, of whom 191 were killed; being as 1 to 41 of those in action. In the battle of the Nile there were 14 sail of the line, with about 8,000 men, of whom 218 were killed, or 1 in 36. In Lord Nelson's attack on Copenhagen, 1801, there were 11 sail of the line and 5 frigates engaged, with about 7,000 men, of whom 251 were killed, or 1 in 28.

the loss was treble the amount of that in any other of those severe struggles in which that brave and estimable corps was engaged during the war, and in all of which, except the one just mentioned, the enemy were defeated. The loss of the 42d at Toulouse was principally occasioned by the inadvertency of occupying a wrong position; and at Quatre Bras, the greatest loss was sustained by permitting the enemy's cavalry to come too near, from an impression that they were Belgians,—a mistake originating in the similarity of their respective uniforms. Both at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, the casualties of the Cameron and Gordon Highlanders, in resisting the most desperate charges of the enemy, and in the rapid advances by which they were driven back, were light. It was from the succeeding desultory and distant firing,—a mode of warfare in which the French excel,—that the men suffered so severely. Had circumstances permitted, and had it been possible to support the corps who fought independently at Quatre Bras, there is not a doubt, that they would have completely repulsed the enemy with very little comparative loss. Hence, while reports of great losses, which are seldom well founded, check recruiting, lower the character of our troops, and raise the confidence of the enemy, the extreme correctness with which our lists of casualties are frequently drawn up may be noticed. It is certainly impossible to object to correctness, but perhaps it is going beyond the mark, to include all trifling scratches and bruises which no way disable men from the performance of their duty. Instances have occurred where reported losses were so quickly replaced, without an additional recruit, as to seem like resurrections,—as, indeed,

battle of Trafalgar, there were 27 sail, with about 17,000 men, of whom 412 were killed, being as 1 to 41; and in this proportion was the loss in almost all other actions of the year 1793 and 1811. In the last action, that of Algiers, there were 5 sail of the line, and 5 frigates, with about 4850 men, of whom 131 were killed, being as 1 to 37, a heavier loss than any of the others; but this is to be attributed to the ships being exposed to the fire of batteries, and not to any difference in firmness or manner of fighting.

they have been sometimes called. Few will be disposed to believe, that our troops fight less desperately at present than they did sixty or seventy years ago; yet a comparison of the killed and wounded in different battles might lead to such an inference. In many of the engagements of the late war, the wounded have been six to one of the killed, and in some cases ten and twelve to one. At Fontenoy the amount of the killed and wounded was 1269 of the former, and 2141 of the latter, officers included. At Culloden, where there was some desperate fighting, the Athole brigade had 19 officers killed and 4 wounded, and Stewart of Appin's regiment had 14 officers killed and 11 wounded, with men in nearly the same proportion. Now, the difference of the present proportions of wounded to killed may in part be ascribed to the over accuracy of our reports.\* In distant firing, wounds may be more numerous, but they will in general be less severe, and, as has been already stated, the fewer killed, the more honourable the victory. If a race-horse gain the stakes with ease, his superiority is greatly enhanced. If a cool and scientific boxer repel every blow of his opponent, and cover him with blood and bruises, while he suffers little himself, his prowess is established.

When the British lost 41 men killed at Maida, and the enemy more than 1300 buried in the field, both armies consisting of disciplined troops, (and there being a great superiority of numbers on the part of the enemy), on a fair field, without any natural advantage on either side,—to whom should the palm of superiority be awarded? And would this superiority be so conspicuous had the British had 1300 killed, and wounded in proportion? Their victory would have been so dearly bought, that another such would have

\* On two occasions, my reports of wounded were returned for correction. I had included those only who required surgical aid, and had not mentioned one man with a contusion in his great toe, nor another whose arm had been grazed by a musquet ball, nor, indeed, any of those whose wounds were so slight as not to cause the loss of an hour's duty.



been their ruin, \* whereas they were quite ready, the same evening, to follow up the blow, while the enemy were entirely scattered, cowed, and totally unable to show themselves. So completely was their spirit broken, that whenever a man with a red coat appeared, they fled with precipitation and terror. † These were the consequences of the heavy loss they had sustained in the battle.

But let it not be believed that I argue in this manner from any apprehension of diminished courage. If our soldiers are commanded by men who understand their character, and can work upon their feelings, they will prove, that, if placed in front of an enemy on equal terms, they will conquer, as their predecessors have frequently done, with a loss so small, as not to lessen their strength in any material degree, or to disable them from pursuing their future operations.

\* After the battle of Malplaquet, Marshal Villars, in his dispatch, consoles the King of France, that, by six more such victories as the English had gained, they would be destroyed.

† Several instances of this occurred. Two days after the action, a corporal and three soldiers, escorting General Stuart's baggage, mistook their road, and, instead of taking that to Monte Leone, followed the road to Cotrona, on which a corps of the enemy had retreated, and were resting themselves in a field near a rising ground. When the corporal was seen advancing on the summit, a cry of "The English are coming, the English are coming!" was passed, and without waiting to see their number or strength, the enemy instantly fled. The corporal, seeing his mistake, and perhaps equally alarmed, retired by the road he had advanced, and followed the proper route.

## VOLUNTEERS

AND

## LOCAL MILITIA.

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HAVING thus endeavoured to place in one view that portion of the military array of the Highlands whose career of duty called them abroad, as well as those whose service was limited to a certain distance from their native country, I have now much pleasure in noticing those who, by their avocations, were confined to a particular district, but who, with patriotic spirit, formed themselves into an excellent species of internal defence in the corps of Volunteers and Local Militia. In the Highlands this force is the less necessary, on account of the well regulated and peaceable habits of the people, and their contentment with their lot: at the same time that it is more difficult to be organized, in a rugged country, thinly sprinkled with inhabitants, who live at a distance from the places of rendezvous, while the expense and loss of time is greater than that experienced in the populous, level districts of the Lowlands. Yet, in the mountains, the volunteer corps were numerous, and their ranks well filled. Previous to the peace of 1801, the volunteers in the Highlands and Islands exceeded 11,500 men. When the war recommenced, 13,323 volunteers were embodied, and placed in corps,

as stated below. \* In this enumeration, only the native Highlanders are included, as, for example, in the case of the Dundeld and Stormont regiment only 190 men are stated, although the corps was upwards of 700 strong. The same calculation has been made with regard to the Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, and other corps on the Borders, where the population on each side was united in one regiment.

In the year 1811 the Local Militia were instituted. Although military duty was seldom required of the Highland

## • VOLUNTEERS.

| Regiments.                                       | Commanding Officers.  | No. of Men. |
|--|---|-------------|
| Colonel-in-Chief of the Volunteers of Argyle     | John Duke of Argyll   |             |
| Argyle, 1st Battalion                            | Lord John Campbell  | 1,272       |
| Campbelltown Company                             | Dun. Stewart of Glenbucky   | 63          |
| Argyle Oban Regiment                             | Alexander Maclean of Ardgour, with Capts. Macdougall and Macneill's Companies | 756         |
| Bute   | J. Moore  | 380         |
| Caitness, 1st and 2d Battalions                  | Sir John Sinclair   | 742         |
| Do. 3d Battalion                                 | Sir Benjamin Dunbar   | 530         |
| Cromarty   |   | 320         |
| Luss and Rowe Companies                          |   | 178         |
| Bonhill and Kilmarnock                           |   | 83          |
| Elginshire                                       |   | 80          |
| Inverness, 1st Regiment                          | Culloden  | 619         |
| 2d do.   | Lovat   | 447         |
| 3d do.   | Glengarry   | 415         |
| 4th do.  | Lochiel   | 407         |
| Badenoch & Strathspey, 7 Comps.                  |   | 590         |
| Isle of Skye, 1st Regiment                       | J. Macleod of Rasay   | 507         |
| 2d do.   | Alexander Macdonald of Lynedale   | 500         |
| Harris 3d do.                                    |   | 346         |
| Island of Rum Company                            |   | 100         |
| Nairn, 200; Moray, 150; Banff, 80; Aberdeen, 120 |   | 550         |
| Athole   | Archibald Butter of Pitlochry   | 372         |
| Breadalbane                                      | Earl of Breadalbane   | 396         |
| Blairgowrie                                      | A. Macpherson of Blairgowrie  | 152         |
| Dunkeld and Stormont                             | Sir Alex. M. Mackenzie of Delvine   | 190         |
| Monteith   | Sir J. M. Murray of Lanrick   | 396         |
| Strathern  | Sir P. Murray of Ochertyre  | 220         |
| East Ross  | Donald Macleod of Geanies   | 640         |
| West do.   | Sir G. Stewart Mackenzie of Coul  | 440         |
| Black Isle                                       | Sir Hector Mackenzie of Gairloch  | 320         |
| Island of Lewes                                  |   | 160         |
| Lochalsh Company                                 |   | 60          |
| Sutherland                                       | David Campbell of Combie  | 1,092       |
|  |   | 13,329      |

volunteers and local militia, \* we may include them in the military array of the Highlands. The number being 34,784 men, it formed an important addition to the force already enumerated. It was important in another respect; namely, in accustoming the youth of the country to the use of arms, and so preserving a warlike feeling, which had been greatly cooled and broken by the acts for depriving the people of their arms and garb, and by other irritating causes; the effects of which were increased in no small degree by those false and absurd reports of the death and destruction that awaited them should they enter the army, and which, as has been stated, were too generally credited. But so numerous a body as thirty-four thousand men from among so limited a population, could not fail to infuse a proper spirit, not only among the youthful and the active, but among all the inhabitants of the country.

## LOCAL MILITIA.

| Regiments.                      | Commanding Officers.         | No. of Men. |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------|
| Inveraray Regiment              | Duke of Argyll               | 732         |
| Light Infantry Regiment         | Alexander Maclean of Ardgour | 738         |
| Third Battalion                 | Lord John Campbell           | 714         |
| Bute                            |                              | 366         |
| Caithness                       | Earl of Caithness            | 726         |
| Dumbartonshire                  |                              | 240         |
| 1st Regiment Inverness          |                              | 800         |
| 2d do. Fort-William Battalion   |                              | 644         |
| 3d do. Isle of Skye             |                              | 500         |
| 4th do. Arisaig                 |                              | 360         |
| Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, & Nairn |                              | 230         |
| Athole and Breadalbane Regiment | Robert Stewart of Fincastle  | 1,276       |
| Monteith and Strathearn         |                              | 389         |
| Wester Ross                     | Duncan Munro of Culcairn     | 810         |
| Easter Ross                     | D. Macleod                   | 906         |
| Sutherland                      | Earl Gower                   | 900         |
|                                 |                              | 10,031      |

\* The Volunteers of Sutherland,—a county conspicuous for willing and excellent soldiers,—showed in 1801 that the name of Volunteer was well applied to them; for the regiment, 1000 strong, volunteered a march of 300 miles to the south of Scotland, and back to their native county, in all 600 miles. They marched to Linlithgow, and, after being disciplined there for some time, returned to Sutherland.

The Fencible regiments, also, contributed in a very eminent degree to promote and invigorate this spirit. The corps of this description mentioned in the foregoing pages are those considered as exclusively Highland. There were, however, other regiments raised in the North, not nominally Highland, but in whose ranks were a number of men from the mountains; as, for instance, Lord Elgin's regiment, which, as I have already mentioned, had about 300 Highlanders, wearing a part of the Highland garb,—the bonnet and truis; the Aberdeenshire, Colonel (afterwards Lieutenant-General) Sir James Leith; the North Lowland, Colonel Balfour; and the Banffshire, Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Andrew Hay. There were also the Tay, Angus, and other Fencible corps, bordering on the Highlands. We thus find, that, independently of Colonel Macneil's Argyle, Colonel Robertson's Perthshire, both having very few Highlanders, and the Ross-shire Fencibles, which are not included, as the number was small, the whole corps embodied in the Highlands amounted to twenty-six battalions of Fencible infantry, which, in addition to the fifty battalions of the Line, three of Reserve, and seven of Militia, formed altogether a force of eighty-six Highland regiments embodied in the course of the four wars in which Britain had been engaged since the Black Watch was regimented in the year 1740. From a first glance, the allowing of 1000 men to each of the eighty-six regiments would appear to come near the truth; but, on a closer view, it will be found to be far short of the actual number. Leaving out of our estimate the men who have, at different times in the course of seventy-five years, from 1740 to the conclusion of the late war in 1815, joined the 42d, \* several of the regiments had, in the course of their service, treble or quadruple their original number in their ranks. Thus, the 71st, the 72d, and the 73d, which, during the thirty-one years they were Highland,—that is, from their formation in 1778 till 1809,—had at least 3000 High-

\* See Appendix.

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landers each; and other regiments had numbers in proportion to the length and nature of their service, both in tropical and temperate climates. But, without coming to a close calculation, we have sufficient evidence to show that the eighty-six battalions, including their numerous reinforcements, contained a very large and efficient body of men, who have contributed, in a very eminent degree, to preserve Scotland in the recollection of Europe as once an independent, and still a brave nation.

It is only necessary to mention farther, that thirty regiments of the Line \* and Fencibles, and three regiments of Militia, were raised during the first six years of the last war, from 1793 to 1799; and, from 1800 to 1804, both years inclusive, seven battalions of the Line, four of Militia, and three of the Army of Reserve, were raised in the Highlands; in all, forty battalions of the Line, Fencibles, and Army of Reserve, seven regiments of Militia, and 34,785 Local Militia and Volunteers, during the late war.

It is fortunate for the poor Highlanders that so large a portion of their number served their country, during the eventful period referred to, as the publicity and notoriety of their military services furnish the best answer to the statements published by different authors, whose opinions might lead the public to believe that their military character is annihilated; that they are indolent and useless as cultivators and shepherds, incapable of becoming manufacturers,

\* The second battalions of the 71st, 72d, 73d, and 74th, are not included, although they were raised within this period, and had a great many Highlanders in each; but the garb having been changed, they ceased to come within the line I had found it necessary to draw. The number of Highlanders in these corps, and also in the Royal Scots, and many other regiments of the Line, as well as a considerable number in the Elgin and other Fencibles, will in some measure counterbalance the number of Lowlanders in the Highland regiments. Were this a correct supposition, (and there are good grounds for it,) the number of Highlanders who have served in the late war in all regiments would greatly exceed the number of men not Highlanders in the ranks of the forty-seven battalions. Of the twenty-nine battalions raised in the two former wars, nine-tenths of the men were Highlanders. In twenty-one battalions the whole were Highlanders.

too impatient for mechanics, and averse to the duties of a military life. It appears, therefore, highly necessary that the real facts should be known; that the Government of this country should have a full knowledge of the true character of those they govern; and that the inhabitants of one part of the kingdom should be made acquainted with the dispositions, and civil and military habits of the other part. This is but justice to a people who may suffer, without pity or sympathy, if their character and principles were taken from the views given by Mr Pinkerton and several other authors, whose statements have made a most unfavourable impression on the public mind; not generally, but to such an extent as to afford a justification of the acts of oppression and cruelty of which the Highlanders complain, and which are so rapidly generating a *spirit of hatred and revenge against the higher orders of society*. But, if there be any truth in the character drawn of this race, revenge, and all the worst passions of our nature, might be expected from "mere radical savages," as Mr Pinkerton describes the Celts. "Look at them," says he, "for they are just as they were, incapable of industry or cultivation, even after half their blood is Gothic, and remain as marked by the ancients, fond of lies, and enemies to truth." If a Highlander offers to state what he believes to be true, as I have presumed to do, then "to say that a writer is a Celt, is to say that he is a stranger to truth, morality, and modesty." Another delineator of Highland manners and capability says, "They are so deficient in intelligence, so slow, *heavy-footed*, and inert in their movements, that one Lowland shepherd will do more work than five indolent Highlanders." Then, being so unqualified for the duties of a pastoral life,—a life of all others for which they have been supposed peculiarly well calculated— if they are placed on fishing stations on the coast, we are assured that "a decided preference will be given to strangers." Thus, while they are noted for being enemies to truth, worthless as cultivators, as fishers, and as shepherds, and incapable of industry, "they are everywhere," says an author who

advances strong opinions on the subject, “notedly averse to the army, and I do not say, *without abundant information*, that it probably would be impossible to raise a single recruit by beat of drum, or a single volunteer for the navy, throughout the Islands. It is doubtful if the whole Islands possess at this moment one hundred men in both services. Skye, with a population of 16,000, *has not a man in the army.*” \* And again, with regard to the state of religion in the Highlands, we are told by one authority, that they are “Christians only in name;” while, as the natural consequence of this deplorable state, it was to be expected that another authority should meet with the “basest vices” in a country where the people are “enemies to truth,” and “savage heathens,” as they have also been called; and where, we are told by some reverend preachers,—not surely of the Gospel of truth—that there are many who “*know not the name of Jesus!*” †

My personal information and experience of the state and extent of religious knowledge among these people, with the beneficial influence thereof on their principles and character, leads me to a perfectly opposite conclusion; but from my not having practical experience of farming, of the management of sheep, or of fisheries, it is necessary for me to speak with caution, when giving an opinion on the capabilities of the Highlanders for these occupations; as a soldier, however, I can speak with some confidence, and beg leave to refer to the statement in page 468, as an answer to the allegation, that “*Skye, with a population of 16,000, has not a man in the army.*”

As I have served with many a good and brave soldier from that island, and as I have observed a strong sense of religion, a clear knowledge of their faith, and more gene-

\* Dr Macculloch’s Western Isles.

† See Reports of different Societies for the Encouragement of *Religion, Education, and Morals* in the Highlands. If these societies teach the morality some of their members practise in publishing slanderous and lying reports, better would it be for the Highlanders to remain in their original ignorance, than to be so taught and instructed.



ral intelligence, than is usually found among the common people of many countries, combined with much moral feeling, industry, and capability in the Highlands, I may be allowed to doubt the accuracy of statements which militate against the evidence of my own senses—of what I have seen with my own eyes; and I may also be allowed to express pity and sympathy for an unfortunate race who suffer so severely, and who are in the progress of suffering still more, from prejudiced and distorted views of their character. *But they will not suffer alone.* If the modern system is pursued; if all the kindness and encouragement of landlords are to be bestowed on monied men alone; if they are to be nourished and protected, and the people rejected and despised; if two castes, capitalists and cottars, are formed without common interests, feelings or sympathy; if the system of traducing and calumniating this poor unfortunate race be continued; if Government and the proprietors of the soil continue to give credit to the statements laid before the public, and to withdraw their countenance from them as a people altogether worthless;—the rich farmers will learn to look with contempt on the poor ejected Highlanders, who, in their turn, will attribute their depression and poverty to the avarice of the landlords, and to the encroachments of the great monopolists of the soil: And thus, as I have more than once had occasion to notice, mutual jealousies and hatred will be generated; the moral ties which connected intimately the landlord, tacksman, and small tenant, will be dissolved; and the Highlands of Scotland may have to witness the painful contrast of a *virtuous and contented, with a demoralized and disaffected population*; and this, too, in an enlightened age, when the influence which a kind regard to the welfare of the lower orders exerts upon their character ought to be understood and practised. In that country, the cordial intimacy which subsisted between the higher and lower orders had the best influence on the feelings and habits of the latter. It must, therefore, appear remarkable, that, in times when so much is said and written on the liberty, independ-

ence and education of the people, we should find them too often treated with a cold, haughty, distant reserve, totally unknown during the slavish dependence of the clans, as their former state is generally and improperly called.

I have already quoted the opinion of an author on the warlike spirit of the Highland Islanders, who, according to him, are so deficient in this respect, that, during the last war, they were defended by the manufacturers of the Lowlands, as they would not take up arms themselves. In prosecution of the subject, it is farther stated, that, "If recruits should be raised in the islands, they would be found in Islay, *not in Skye or in the Long Island.*" Now, in twenty-five years of regimental duty, besides six years on half-pay, during which I have had full knowledge of the circumstances in question, I found the case to be entirely the reverse, and that there no dependence can be placed on what this author states with regard to the facility and manner in which soldiers are obtained in the southern islands; for, during the twenty-one years I belonged to the 42d and 78th, we had not twenty men from Islay in both regiments, while the best and most exemplary soldiers were those from the northern isles: and these were so numerous, that, as I have already noticed, 732 men enlisted for the 78th regiment even from the estate of one landlord (Lord Seaforth's) in the Long Island, and upwards of 1500 men for other regiments from Lord Macdonald's estate in Skye. And yet we are told not to expect soldiers in Skye or in the Long Island!

In a Report of the county of Ross, we find the same want of spirit alleged to exist in that part of the country. "The Highlanders are trumpeted forth as our best resource for soldiers, although it is well known that they are *notoriously averse to the army.* The second battalion of the 78th, commanded by my lamented brother-in-law Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, was raised in a very short time, yet this was not owing by *any means to the spirit of the people.* Indeed, some bands of young Highlanders, who went to join the re-

giment, declared, rather indiscreetly, perhaps, that they had enlisted merely to save their parents from being turned out of their farms." \* The best and purest motives may thus be overlooked or perverted. If these youths were not inclined to a military life, the greater was the sacrifice to filial piety, in order to save their parents from being ejected from their farms. But as, no doubt, *the terms of their agreement were fulfilled*, (there are great doubts on this head,) and their parents permitted to remain undisturbed, there could be no discretion in mentioning them. The same Report farther observes, that "there were many fine fellows, however, who enlisted out of pure regard for some of their officers, and their connections, but their number was small when compared with the total amount."

If they were thus actuated by a rooted aversion to a military life, I confess myself unable to ascertain the motives which induced these young men to enlist, though no man had a better opportunity, as I was a Major in the regiment, and had added 419 men to its strength by recruits and Militia volunteers. It is probable, that, when the Reporter estimated the warlike spirit of his countrymen so low, it did not occur to him that the chiefs and chieftains of his own clan and name had, in the course of a few years, raised six battalions, of which about 11,500 men, including the different reinforcements, were Highlanders; and, although Lord Macleod, the Colonel of two of these battalions, had no lands or farms with which young men might be encouraged to enlist from the hope of a future settlement for themselves, or compelled by threats of removing their parents, each battalion (the number of Highlanders in both being 1750) was completed in a few weeks. † In my battalion, also, 240 men, as good soldiers as ever left the Highlands, enlisted in a few days from the Island of Lewes, one portion of Lord Seaforth's estate on *the Long Island*. If these men, and the many thousands of Highlanders who

\* Report to the Board of Agriculture, by Sir G. Stewart Mackenzie, Bart.

† See article Macleod's Highlanders.

enlisted in the Mackenzie regiments, were notoriously averse to a military life, their conduct displayed an inconsistency not easily accounted for on any common principles of action. If the young men who engaged with me had the same feelings, they so completely concealed their aversion, that I could discover nothing but the best spirit and a desire to learn and discharge their duty. The recruits from the country enlisted sometimes five and six together, when I gave them only *twelve guineas*, whereas they would, *the same day, have received twenty or twenty-four guineas* as substitutes for the Perthshire and other militia regiments. Did this preference of a distant, dangerous, but honourable service, for which the regiment was destined when completed, evince any want of spirit? On the contrary, was it not more like the pure spirit of brave soldiers, regardless of danger, and exhibiting a generous desire to serve their King in the most effectual manner, and to connect themselves with the fortunes of an individual from whom they expected friendship and protection, in return for the fidelity, obedience, and respect they showed him? If this was not a proper spirit, I know not by what name it ought to be designated. I am sure their conduct on all occasions merited as honourable a name, and as much distinction as a soldier can well obtain, and fully proved the nature of the feelings and principles with which they entered the service.

When the information received by Sir George Mackenzie, a Highlander by birth, and proprietor of an extensive inheritance, once occupied by a numerous tenantry, has led him to form the opinion he has given of his countrymen; and when Dr Macculloch, who had made the Highlands one of his principal studies, and had lived on the Mainland and Islands for months, nay, for whole seasons, produces statements so easily refuted; certainly those whom he consulted must have concealed the truth, or been themselves ignorant, and thus led to the opinions adopted with regard to the men of Skye, and the warlike disposition of the men of Islay, which are at total variance with the personal know-

ledge of all military men whom I have ever heard speak on the subject.

When gentlemen who have published so much on these subjects are ignorant of circumstances of public notoriety, can correct reports be expected from land agents and others, who are generally ignorant of the country, the people, and their language, and who often run over a district in one day, speaking to none except those appointed to meet them, and who, of course, will be careful not to communicate any thing but what is agreeable to their employers, more especially of the capabilities of the people, with whose ejection from their farms the first step of these agents commences? Neither can the best information on the state of morals and religion be expected from itinerant preachers and missionaries, such as are often employed (or rather who sometimes take up the task of their own accord) to instruct the Highlanders. They are frequently very ignorant persons, especially of human nature, avoiding all communication with gentlemen and well informed individuals, associating chiefly with the weak and ignorant, whose imaginations they so bewilder and inflame by their incoherent harangues on faith, and the eternal punishments of unbelievers, that the poor creatures, thrown into a perplexity of doubt, terror, and shame for their former state of sin and wickedness, are ready to confess themselves guilty of all the crimes forbidden in the Decalogue, and, till they knew their present teachers, ignorant of religion, of the gospel of salvation, and of the name of Jesus. Then comes the statement of these new teachers of the ungodly mountaineers, on whose alleged want of religion and morality their *own future employment depends*. Reports from such sources would, therefore, deservedly pass unnoticed, were they not too often countenanced by respectable persons, who know not, perhaps, from their own experience, the correctness of what appears under their sanction, and from whom it might have been expected that a whole people would not have been vilified, and exhibited to the world as an unchristian.

tian race, degraded by the basest vices, without sufficient cause, and on the best foundation. That in any part of Scotland there are people who *know not the name of Jesus*, is a strong assertion, and ought not to be hazarded, far less sanctioned, in the absence of all proof. Without presuming to offer my own personal experience in opposition to these statements, extensively circulated, to the great prejudice of a people who have not the means of defending themselves, I now appeal to all liberal and intelligent Highlanders, if they ever met with even ONE INSTANCE in their native country, where the name of Jesus was unknown; or with the basest vices, and with savage heathens. Such reports, unless founded on indisputable facts, injure the cause they are intended to support, especially where the general conduct of a people offers so ready and full a contradiction. So far as regards the Highlands, they ought to be received with extreme caution. It is difficult to conceive,—indeed many think it impossible to believe,—that a people who have enabled me to bring forward so many honourable traits of their native character, and to produce instances equally honourable to them as soldiers, can be, indeed, *without religion, without military spirit, enemies to truth, degraded by the basest vices, and ignorant even of the name of their Saviour.*

It will be equally difficult to believe, that in this country, with such uninterrupted and general means of communication, men should be found intelligent in many respects, yet so deficient in correct knowledge of the state and character of the inhabitants of a large portion of their native country, as to doubt whether they are Christians, and if they ever heard the name of Jesus in their families; for it must be solely to an ignorance of facts that the false and unfounded reports published by societies and individuals on the religion and morals of a whole people can be ascribed. Many very good men, with the best intentions, are not aware of the injury they do by thus lending their name to defame, as unprincipled and base, the unfortunate objects of these cruel animadversions, and the misery they contribute to entail

upon them by the countenance they give to those who are too ready to consider the lower orders of their country as a burthen which must be borne with, or as an evil to be removed with the most convenient speed. Men, who were before irresolute, and, perhaps, afraid to encounter public odium by harsh measures, will have their resolutions strengthened when they hear it proclaimed by societies, and in meetings, that their dependents are affected with the basest vices; and thus their plans of reducing their station in society,—breaking their spirit of independence, by making them cottagers, and subservient to the men of capital, will be enforced, and will occasion more crimes and demoralization than the united exertions of all the societies in the country to educate and enlighten will be able to counteract. Instead of slanderous aspersions, equally unjust as they are injurious, it might have been expected that men, who profess much Christian charity, would abstain from injuring and slandering the character of an unoffending people, who have always shown themselves ready to receive instruction, and who ought rather to be commended for the religious knowledge, moral rectitude, and general intelligence which they exhibit under the greatest disadvantages. When the people are represented as base and worthless, why are those who have the power, and yet neglect, or refuse, to provide the means of instruction, exempted from blame? When parishes in the Highlands are twenty, forty, and, in some cases, even more than sixty miles in extent, the cause of ignorance, wherever it is found to exist, ought to be traced to a source different from the supposed innate depravity and incapacity of their poor inhabitants; and when a few thousand pounds annually in the erection of new parishes, and in support of clergymen, would remedy this evil, are those who draw the whole produce of the country in the rents they exact, and withhold these benefits to pass without animadversion, and those only who are in poverty and unable to pay clergymen, and who suffer from this disregard to their spiritual welfare, to be reprobated, and to be made to suffer still more, by cruel and unjust misrepresentations

of their character? That itinerant preachers, and others who oppose the established church, should represent the state of religion in the Highlands, where the people are, with the exception of the few Catholics, strongly attached to the National Faith, as grossly ignorant of what they call Evangelical truth, is no more than was to be expected, since thereby they promote their own objects; and therefore, if they can make the world believe that they found the people sunk low in heathenish practices and ignorance, and that their rivals, the parish ministers, are ignorant of the true faith, and regardless of their sacred duties, they expect to have the better chance of being themselves employed, and the greater triumph, should they make converts to their own tenets; so that, although the barbarism, the ignorance, and the immorality of the Highlanders form the basis of such Reports, their correctness may with perfect propriety be doubted.\*

\* One of the most remarkable of all the new discoveries with regard to the Highlands was one said, to have been made some time ago, of a population, consisting nearly of 2000 persons, living sequestered in the mountains of Sutherland, paying no rents, acknowledging no superior, and existing in a kind of independant freedom, like the Indians in the wilds of America. Such, on the authority of the advocates for the new improvements in the North, was the state of this numerous body, some of whom must no doubt be of those unfortunate Scotchmen who know *not even the name of their Saviour*. If the circumstances were true, what opinion must be formed of the landholders and clergymen, who allowed the people to remain in such a deplorable state, unprecedented in any other Christian country?

Expressing my astonishment, some time ago, to a gentleman of considerable influence, and a frequent speaker at public meetings, how he could be a party to such Reports as he had countenanced, when, by his frequent excursions to the Highlands, he must have seen how false and perfectly contrary they were to the real state of the case; his excuse was, that he did not *know the whole of the country*,—that, although he never met with an instance of the kind himself, others might,—and that a strong case was NECESSARY TO MAKE PEOPLE ADVANCE MONEY! Is it for the sake of a strong case, and to make the world approve of the changes in the Highlands, that near 500 families are described as living like savages in the mountains, under no control or obligation? And is it to forward the cause of religion, that lying statements are published, and people falsely calumniated as being unchristian? The Christian religion is founded on truth, and ought to be supported by truth; and it is a bad example



But that the established clergy should give in to those unfounded calumnies and thus prejudice their own church and brethren, the ministers of Highland parishes, was not to be expected; for, if the people are in the state represented, the character of the clergymen of the church of Scotland must be greatly changed, since much of the fault must be theirs, from a neglect of duty—a neglect of which they were never accused till itinerant preachers began to traverse the Highlands, and the publication of the Reports on which these observations are founded. The people of this country are naturally charitable, and only require to be told a plain and faithful statement of facts to call forth and rouse the most benevolent feelings. Let the poverty of the Highlanders, the shameful neglect of their superiors, the want of clergymen and of schools, and the consequent privations to which they are subject, be fairly and honestly stated, and it will be sufficient for the purpose intended, without making unjust and unfounded reflections on morals and character, and making assertions which it is impossible to prove. In the Highlands, attempts to calumniate and underrate the capability and morals of the people may do, and have already done, incalculable injury.

Oppression is unjustifiable on any grounds, but if exercised on a worthless and unprincipled race, the indignation naturally excited is softened. If the Highland character were to be taken from recent statements, any oppression, even to extirpation, would meet with little reprehension, and excite no pity for the victims.\* I have endeavoured to place

to that morality which is expected from the diffusion of religious instruction, and the prosperity from agricultural improvements, to publish statements which every intelligent person in the country can contradict as not founded on fact; and the nature of those improvements, which must be so defended, and which cost so much money in vindicatory publications, must be very doubtful, and must be very different in their nature and effects from the improvements of some honourable friends of mine, which require no apology. These improvements speak for themselves in the prosperity of the landlords, and the contented and happy condition of the people; and the state of religious knowledge, with its practical effects, is best proved by the character, conduct, and well regulated established principles of those who profess it.

\* The black Caribbs of the Island of St Vincent were a Negro-African

the character of my countrymen in what appears to me its true light, and I regret, for their sake, that the task to unveil the truth, to vindicate the injured, and, by an honest and plain narrative of undoubted facts, to point out the wrongs of the oppressed, has not fallen into abler hands, and that, among all the philanthropists whom this age has produced, none has stepped forward to advocate the cause of the calumniated Highlanders. This task devolved upon me, as I have noticed in the preface, from my compliance with the accidental request of a professional friend; and I hope this attempt will at least show, that the subject is worthy of some notice; and, if followed up by a man of talent and research, it will be found that I have given a sketch merely of a great mass of matter of no common interest. The military part of the subject presents a wide and interesting field, and much both of the past and the present state of the Highlands, fitted to awaken the strongest and tenderest sympathies of the heart, still remains untold. The present state of that country is indeed well worthy of the attention of the moralist, the philanthropist, the patriot, and the rural economist. In any age but the present, when every evil *is to be cured by finding its own level*, and when so

race, and had committed great excesses during the insurrections in the years 1795 and 1796. Indeed, the persons and properties of the white inhabitants were in constant risk of murder and conflagration from their black neighbours; and when they were rooted out, and banished to the Island of Ratan, it was considered a measure of indispensable necessity, and met with general approbation. The yellow Carribbs, the aborigines of the West Indies, are, on the contrary, of a mild disposition, remarkable for their regular and proper conduct. Had they been extirpated, something of the same indignation would have been expressed as has ever been in all Christian countries against the horrible cruelties of the Spaniards after the discovery of those islands. But in St Vincent the yellow Carribbs were cherished and protected as their character and exemplary habits deserved, and the few of them who remain are now in possession (as I hope they will always be) of the woods and forests of their forefathers. It is unnecessary to follow up the illustration, as it is evident that if the character of the Highlanders were such as is too often represented, their extirpation would be a happy riddance to this country.

much is said and written to *subdue all feelings of humanity*, or regard for the happiness of the people, when supposed to come in opposition to any plan for individual advantages, or general improvements in the Highlands; a full exposition of the plans pursued, the slanders and falsehoods on which they are founded, the callous manner in which they are carried into execution, with their lamentable effects as they have already shown themselves, and still more to be dreaded in their further progress, would perhaps create a stronger impression in favour of the poor Highlanders. But still, as it is to be hoped that many will not allow themselves to be deluded by those specious views of expected prosperity to the proprietors of the land, and the monied men who are to occupy it, (as, by the views of modern economists, none but men of capital ought to be agriculturists and cultivators,) we may look forward in the hope that some person, capable of doing justice to so interesting a subject, will undertake it, and introduce many facts and much important information, which, in this first attempt to call the public attention to the state of the Highlands and the inhabitants, I have been induced, for various reasons, to suppress.

And now I cannot conclude these Sketches better than by noticing the obligations which the public in general, and Scotland in particular, owe to the author of those exquisite pictures of life called the Scotch Novels; from the great moral effect produced on the mind, by exhibiting the pleasing, the homely customs of our country, and the feelings of our common nature, as they appear in his specimens of the Lowland peasantry, and of all the lower orders of his countrymen. Many of the highest qualities of the human mind, as he has shown, are called forth by the very privations and difficulties to which their humble lot subjects them: fortitude, kept in continual exercise by having always much to endure,—gratitude, more lively as obligation is more deeply felt,—fidelity, very frequent, and more meritorious as resisting strong temptations,—acuteness and sagacity, sharpened by frequent exigencies,—and, above all,

that humble and earnest piety which forms the basis of their virtues and the solace of their hardships. It is melancholy to observe, that, when so many have taste enough to be, or fashion enough to seem, delighted with these fine pictures of rustic worth, so few should seek out and cherish the originals from which they were drawn. Let us hope that this feeling, once awakened, and seconded by sound reason, will produce in the Highlands a revival of that kindness and protection which preserved the attachment and confidence of the peasantry, and prevent that demoralization, and that dissolution of those mutual feelings between the different orders of society which appear in so threatening an aspect as to afford some plea for the extirpation of a brave, loyal, and estimable race, of whom, if once banished, we may truly say, that "*we shall not look upon their like again.*"

What the Highlanders have been, and what they may still be, I have endeavoured to show; and while I have presumed to differ in opinion with many, in exhibiting the character and capability of my countrymen, I trust I have not done so without producing some well authenticated facts in support of opinions, which militate against those of men conspicuous for talents and acquirements, and to whose judgment I would readily yield, were I not sensible that I speak with more knowledge of facts illustrative of the subject, originating principally from the circumstances of my being a native of the country, and having from early infancy associated much with the people. Speaking their language, and keeping an attentive ear and observant eye to what was said or done in my presence, I have been enabled to acquire a considerable knowledge of their habits, dispositions, and traditional histories. Descended by both parents from families in which all I have said of patriarchal kindness and devoted attachment had for ages been exemplified with the happiest reciprocal results; and still farther, having had occasion, in the course of my professional duties, to come into daily contact with the same people, and thus had an opportunity of witnessing their moral worth, and steady courage, and of experiencing their

fidelity and friendship,—I should consider myself ungrateful and unworthy of that fidelity and friendship, of which I have so frequently been the object, if I had not availed myself of those opportunities of calling the public attention to an interesting subject, in the hope of arresting, if possible, the extirpation, or, what is equally to be deprecated and lamented, the destruction of the moral feelings and unshaken loyalty of a valuable race.

Having made use of these combined means of information, when my profession offered no employment, I shall consider my spare time and humble talents as having been well occupied, if I have succeeded in affording some idea of the character, capability, and importance to the state, of an interesting part of the population, *when treated with justice and kindness*. I also feel gratified in having been able to exhibit in one view the military force embodied in the barren and unproductive mountains of Scotland; and how far these eighty-six battalions, with their numerous reinforcements, have, by their numbers and physical force,—by their courage, and by their moral character,—contributed to uphold the honour, and to maintain, what has been often threatened, the very existence of this country as an independent state.



APPENDIX  
TO  
VOLUME SECOND.

VOL. II.

*a*

## NO. I.

*Return of Killed and Wounded of the 43d Regiment, or Black Watch, now 42d, or Royal Highland Regiment, from the first formation, in the year 1740, to 1815, distinguishing the Number in each War.*

| BATTLES, ACTIONS, AND SKIRMISHES.   | KILLED.         |           |             |            |                      | WOUNDED.       |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |
|---|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------------------|----------------|
|   | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. |
| WAR ENDING 1748.  |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |
| Fontenoy, May 11, 1745, . . . . .   |                 | 1         | 1           |            |                      | 30             |                 | 1         | 2           |            |                      | 86             |
| L'Orient, September 1746, . . . . .   |                 |           |             |            |                      | 20             |                 |           |             |            |                      | 5              |
| Hulst, May 1747, . . . . .  |                 |           |             |            |                      | 5              |                 |           |             |            |                      | 11             |
| South Beveland, May 1747, . . . . .   |                 |           |             |            |                      | 2              |                 |           |             |            |                      | 5              |
| Total, . . . . .  |                 | 1         | 1           |            |                      | 40             |                 | 1         | 2           |            |                      | 107            |
| SEVEN YEARS' WAR.   |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |
| Ticonderoga, July 7, 1750, . . . . .  | 1               | 1         | 6           | 9          | 2                    | 297            | 5               | 12        | 10          |            |                      | 306            |
| Martinique, January 1759, . . . . .   |                 |           |             |            |                      | 8              |                 | 1         | 2           |            |                      | 22             |
| Guadaloupe, February and March 1759, . . . . .                                  |                 |           | 1           | 1          |                      | 25             |                 | 4         | 3           |            |                      | 57             |
| General Amherst's expedition to the Lakes, July and August 1759, . . . . .      |                 |           |             |            |                      | 3              |                 |           | 1           |            |                      | 4              |
| Martinique, January and Feb. 1762, . . . . .                                    |                 | 1         | 1           | 1          |                      | 12             | 1               | 1         | 7           | 3          | 1                    | 72             |
| Havannah, June and July 1762, . . . . .   |                 |           |             |            |                      | 6              |                 |           |             |            | 1                    | 12             |
| Expedition, under Colonel Bouquet, to Fort Pitt in August 1763, . . . . .       |                 | 1         | 1           | 1          |                      | 26             |                 | 1         | 1           | 2          | 2                    | 30             |
| Second Expedition, under Brigadier General Bouquet, in 1764 and 1765, . . . . . |                 |           |             |            |                      | 7              |                 |           |             | 1          |                      | 19             |
| Total, . . . . .  | 1               | 3         | 9           | 12         | 2                    | 384            | 1               | 7         | 25          | 22         | 4                    | 522            |
| AMERICAN WAR.   |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |
| Long Island and Brooklyn, August 22 and 27, 1776, . . . . .                     |                 |           |             |            |                      | 5              |                 | 1         | 1           |            |                      | 19             |
| York Island, September 16, 1776, . . . . .                                      |                 |           | 1           |            |                      | 3              |                 | 1         | 2           | 3          |                      | 47             |
| Fort Washington, Nov. 16, ——— . . . . .   |                 |           | 1           | 1          |                      | 10             |                 | 3         | 4           | 1          |                      | 66             |
| Black Horse, Delaware, Dec. 22, ——— . . . . .                                   |                 |           |             |            |                      | 1              |                 |           | 1           |            |                      | 6              |
| Amboy, February 13, 1777, (Grenadier company), . . . . .                        |                 |           |             |            |                      | 3              |                 |           | 3           |            |                      | 17             |
| Piscataua, May 10, 1777, . . . . .  |                 |           | 3           |            |                      | 9              |                 | 1         | 1           | 3          | 1                    | 35             |
| Brandy Wine, Sept. 11, ——— . . . . .  |                 |           |             |            |                      | 6              |                 |           | 1           |            |                      | 15             |
| Germentown, October 5, ———, (Light company), . . . . .                          |                 |           | 1           |            |                      |                |                 |           |             |            |                      | 4              |
| Jersey's skirmishing, March 22, 1778, . . . . .                                 |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |                 |           |             |            |                      | 4              |
| Monmouth, June 28, ——— . . . . .  |                 |           | 2           |            |                      | 20             |                 | 1         | 1           |            |                      | 17             |
| Elizabethtown, Jersey, Feb. 26, 1779, (skirmishing), . . . . .                  |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |                 |           |             |            |                      | 9              |
| Charlestown, April and May 1780, . . . . .                                      |                 | 1         |             |            |                      | 12             |                 |           |             |            |                      | 14             |
| Jesays, March 26, 1781, (skirmishing), . . . . .                                |                 |           |             |            |                      |                | 1               | 1         |             |            |                      | 3              |
| Yorktown, Virginia, September and October 1781, (Light company), . . . . .      |                 |           | 1           |            |                      | 5              |                 |           |             |            |                      | 6              |
| Total, . . . . .  |                 | 1         | 9           | 1          | 1                    | 74             | 1               | 3         | 8           | 17         | 2                    | 257            |



Watch,  
in the

ED.

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
|  | Rank and File. |
|  | 86             |
|  | 5              |
|  | 11             |
|  | 5              |
|  | 107            |
|  | 306            |
|  | 22             |
|  | 57             |
|  | 4              |
|  | 72             |
|  | 12             |
|  | 30             |
|  | 19             |
|  | 522            |
|  | 19             |
|  | 47             |
|  | 66             |
|  | 6              |
|  | 17             |
|  | 35             |
|  | 15             |
|  | 4              |
|  | 4              |
|  | 17             |
|  | 9              |
|  | 14             |
|  | 3              |
|  | 6              |
|  | 257            |

| BATTLES, ACTIONS AND SKIRMISHES.                                     | KILLED.         |           |             |            |                      | WOUNDED.       |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |
|--|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------------------|----------------|
|  | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Sergeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. |
| <b>FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR.</b>                                     |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |
| Nieuport, November 1793, . . . . .                                   |                 |           |             | 1          |                      | 1              |                 |           |             |            |                      | 2              |
| Gildermalsen, January 1795, . . . . .                                |                 |           |             |            |                      | 1              |                 | 1         |             |            |                      | 7              |
| Banks of the Waal Jan. ——— . . . . .                                 |                 |           |             |            |                      | 2              |                 | 1         |             |            |                      | 7              |
| St. Lucia, April and May 1796, . . . . .                             |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |                 | 1         |             |            |                      | 2              |
| St Vincent, June ——— . . . . .                                       |                 |           |             | 2          |                      | 12             |                 | 1         | 2           | 1          |                      | 29             |
| Do. Aug. and Sept. ——— . . . . .                                     |                 |           |             |            |                      | 4              |                 |           |             |            |                      | 7              |
| Egypt, March 8, 1801, . . . . .                                      |                 |           |             |            |                      | 31             | 1               | 1         | 6           | 7          | 4                    | 140            |
| Do. 13, ——— . . . . .  |                 |           |             |            |                      | 3              | 1               | 1         | 1           |            |                      | 4              |
| Do. 21, ——— . . . . .  | 1               |           | 5           |            |                      | 48             | 1               | 1         | 6           | 6          |                      | 247            |
| Corunna, Jan. 16, 1809, . . . . .                                    |                 |           | 1           |            |                      | 36             |                 | 3         | 3           | 1          |                      | 104            |
| Fuentes de Honor, May 3 and 5, 1811, (second battalion), . . . . .   |                 |           |             | 1          | 1                    | 2              | 1               | 1         |             | 2          |                      | 27             |
| Salamanca, June 22, 1812, . . . . .                                  |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |                 | 3         | 3           | 11         | 1                    | 33             |
| Burgos, Sept. 19, and Oct. 30, ——— . . . . .                         |                 |           | 3           | 2          |                      | 44             |                 | 3         | 3           |            |                      | 230            |
| Nivelle, November 10, 1813, . . . . .                                |                 |           |             |            |                      | 1              |                 | 1         | 1           | 2          |                      | 23             |
| Passage of the Nive, Dec. 9, ——— . . . . .                           |                 | 1         | 1           | 1          |                      |                |                 |           |             |            |                      | 11             |
| Orthés February 27, 1814, . . . . .                                  |                 |           | 1           | 1          |                      | 3              | 1               | 1         | 2           | 5          |                      | 85             |
| Toulouse, April 10, ——— . . . . .                                    |                 | 1         | 3           | 3          |                      | 47             | 1               | 3         | 17          | 14         | 1                    | 231            |
| <b>Total from 1793 to 1814,</b>                                      | <b>1</b>        | <b>2</b>  | <b>13</b>   | <b>11</b>  | <b>1</b>             | <b>235</b>     | <b>6</b>        | <b>15</b> | <b>43</b>   | <b>50</b>  | <b>7</b>             | <b>1159</b>    |
| Quatre Bras, June 16, 1815, . . . . .                                | 1               |           | 2           | 2          |                      | 40             | 1               | 5         | 9           | 14         | 1                    | 213            |
| Waterloo, ——— 18, ——— . . . . .                                      |                 |           |             |            |                      | 5              |                 | 1         | 4           | 6          |                      | 33             |
| <b>Total Quatre Bras and Waterloo,</b>                               | <b>1</b>        | <b></b>   | <b>2</b>    | <b>2</b>   | <b></b>              | <b>45</b>      | <b>1</b>        | <b>6</b>  | <b>13</b>   | <b>20</b>  | <b>1</b>             | <b>246</b>     |
| <b>RECAPITULATION.</b>   |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |                 |           |             |            |                      |                |
| Total of the War ending in 1748, . . . . .                           |                 | 1         | 1           |            |                      | 40             |                 | 1         | 2           |            |                      | 107            |
| Seven Years' War, . . . . .  | 1               | 3         | 9           | 12         |                      | 384            | 1               | 7         | 25          | 22         | 4                    | 522            |
| American War, . . . . .  |                 |           | 1           | 9          | 3                    | 74             | 1               | 3         | 8           | 17         | 1                    | 257            |
| French Revolutionary War, from 1793 to 1814, . . . . .               | 1               | 2         | 12          | 11         | 1                    | 235            | 5               | 15        | 41          | 50         | 7                    | 1159           |
| Quatre Bras and Waterloo, . . . . .                                  | 1               |           | 2           | 2          |                      | 45             | 1               | 6         | 3           | 20         | 1                    | 246            |
| <b>Total killed and wounded from the year 1740 to the year 1815,</b> | <b>3</b>        | <b>6</b>  | <b>26</b>   | <b>34</b>  | <b>4</b>             | <b>778</b>     | <b>9</b>        | <b>32</b> | <b>92</b>   | <b>109</b> | <b>13</b>            | <b>2291</b>    |

*Names of Officers Killed and Wounded of the 43d Regiment, or Black Watch, now the 42d, or Royal Highland Regiment, from the year 1740 to 1815.*

| BATTLES, ACTIONS, AND SKIRMISHES.                              | KILLED.  | WOUNDED.   |
|--|--|--|
| WAR ENDING 1748.   |  |  |
| Fontenoy, May 11, 1745,  | Captain John Campbell of Carrick.<br>Ensign Lach. Campbell, son of Craignish.  | Captain Robert Campbell of Finab and Monzie.<br>Ens. R. Campbell, nephew to Craignish.<br>Ja. Campbell, son of Glenfalloch.  |
| SEVEN YEARS' WAR.  |  |  |
| Ticonderoga, July 7, 1758,                                     | Major Duncan Campbell of Inneraw.<br>Capt. John Campbell.<br>Lt. Geo. Farquharson.<br>H. Macpherson.<br>William Bailie.<br>John Sutherland.<br>Ens. Patrick Stewart, son of Bonekeid.<br>George Rattray. | Capt. Gordon Graham of Drainie.<br>Thomas Graham of Duchray.<br>John Campbell of Strachur.<br>James Stewart of Urrard.<br>James Murray of Strowan, son of Lord George Murray.<br>Lieut. James Grant.<br>Robert Gray.<br>John Campbell.<br>William Grant.<br>John Graham.<br>Alexander Campbell.<br>Alexander Mackintosh.<br>Archibald Campbell.<br>David Milne.<br>Pat. Balneaves, son of Edradour.<br>Ens. John Smith.<br>Peter Grant.<br>Lieut. George Leslie. |
| Martinique, January 1759,<br>Guadaloupe, Feb. and March 1759,  | Ens. J. Maclean.   | Lieut. A. Maclean.<br>George Leslie.<br>J. St. Clair.<br>A. Robertson.   |
| Martinique, January and February 1762,                         | Capt. Will. Cockburn.<br>Lieut. David Barclay.   | Major John Reid of Straloch, afterwards General.<br>Capt. James Murray of Strowan.<br>Thomas Stirling, son of Ardoch.<br>Lieut. Alexander Mackintosh.<br>David Milne.<br>Pat. Balneaves, son of Edradour.<br>Alex. Turnbull of Strickathro.<br>John Robertson, son of Lude.<br>William Brown.<br>George Leslie.  |
| Expedition under Colonel Bouquet, to Fort Pitt in August 1765, | Capt. John Graham.<br>Lieut. Ja. Mackintosh.   | Capt. John Graham, brother of Duchray.<br>Lieut. Duncan Campbell.  |
| AMERICAN WAR.  |  |  |
| Long Island, Aug. 22, 1776,                                    |  | Lieut. J. Crammond.  |
| York Island, Sept. 17, 1776,                                   |  | Brevet-Major Duncan Macpherson.<br>Capt.-Lieut. John Mackintosh.<br>Ens. A. Mackenzie, died of wounds.   |

## APPENDIX.

v

| BATTLES, ACTIONS, AND SKIRMISHES.                                 | KILLED.   | WOUNDED.   |
|---|---|--|
| AMERICAN WAR.<br>Fort Washington,<br>Nov. 16, 1776,               |   | Lieut. Norman Macleod.<br>Pat. Graham, son of Inchbrackie.<br>Alexander Grant.   |
| Pitscutia, May 10,<br>1777,                                       |   | Capt. Duncan Macpherson.<br>Lieut. William Stewart.  |
| Brandy Wine, Sep-<br>tember 11, 1777,                             |   | Volunteer George Mackenzie.  |
| Monmouth, June<br>28, 1778,                                       | Lieut. Alex. Macleod.   | Lieut. Harry Gilchrist, died of his<br>wounds.   |
| Charlestown, April<br>and May 1780,<br>Jersey, March 26,<br>1781, |   | Colonel Thomas Stirling of Ardoch.<br>Capt. David Anstruther; son of Arditt.   |
| FRENCH REVOLU-<br>TIONARY WAR.<br>Gildersnalsen, Jan.<br>5, 1793, |   | Lieut. Coll Lamont.  |
| Banks of the Waal,<br>Jan. 7, 1795,                               |   | Lieut. John Raitt.   |
| St Lucia, Ap. 1796,<br>St Vincent, June<br>10, 1796,              |   | Lieut. James J. Fraser.<br>Lieut. Simon Fraser, Junior.  |
| Landing in Egypt,<br>March 8, 1801,                               |   | Lieut.-Colonel James Stewart.<br>Capt. Charles Macquarrie.<br>Lieuts. Alexander Campbell.<br>John Dick.<br>Fred. Campbell.<br>Stewart Campbell.<br>Charles Campbell. |
| Egypt, March 13,<br>1801,   |   | Ensign William Wilson.<br>Lieut.-Col. Will. Dickson of Kilbucho.<br>Capt. Arch. A. Campbell.<br>Lieut. Simon Fraser, Senior.   |
| Alexandria, March<br>21, 1801,                                    | Brev. Maj. Rob. Bisset,<br>Lieut. A. Anderson.<br>Alex. Stewart.<br>Alex. Donaldson.<br>Colin Campbell.<br>Donald Macnicol. | Major James Stirling.<br>Capt. David Stewart.<br>Lieuts. Hamilton Rose.<br>J. M. Sutherland.<br>A. M. Cunningham.<br>Frederick Campbell.<br>Maxwell Grant.           |
| Corunna, Jan. 16,<br>1809,  |   | Ensign William Mackenzie.<br>Capt. Dun. Campbell, died of wounds.<br>John Fraser.<br>Maxwell Grant.  |
| Fuentes de Honor,   |   | Lieuts. Alexander Anderson.<br>William Middleton.<br>Thomas Macinnes.  |
| Burgos, Sept; and<br>Oct. 1812,                                   | Lieut. R. Ferguson.<br>P. Milne.<br>Ensign David Cullen.  | Lieut.-Col. R. H. Dick<br>Capts. Donald Macdonald.<br>Donald Williamson, died of<br>wounds.<br>Archibald Menzies.<br>George Davidson.                                |
| Passage of the Ni-<br>velle, Nov. 10, 1813,                       |   | Lieuts. Hugh Angus Fraser.<br>James Stewart,<br>Robert Mackinnon.<br>Capt. Mungo Macpherson.<br>Lieut. Kenneth Macdougall.   |

| BATTLES, ACTIONS, AND SKIRMISHES.  | KILLED.  | WOUNDED.   |
|--|--|--|
| FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR.<br>Passage of the Nivc,<br>Dec. 9, 1813,<br>Orthés, Feb. 27,<br>1814,<br><br>Toulouse, Apr. 10,<br>1814, | Capt. George Stewart.<br>Licut. James Stewart.<br>John Innes.<br><br>Capt. John Swanson.<br>Lieut. William Gordon.<br>Ens. John Latta.<br>Don. Maccrimmon. | Major William Cowell.<br>Capt. James Walker.<br>Lieuts. Duncan Stewart.<br>James Brander.<br>Lieut.-Colonel Robert Macara.<br>Capt. James Walker.<br>John Henderson, died of wounds.<br>Alexander Mackenzie.<br>Lieuts. Donald Mackenzie.<br>Thomas Munro.<br>Hugh Angus Fraser.<br>James Robertson.<br>R. A. Mackinnon.<br>Roger Stewart.<br>Robert Gordon.<br>Charles Maclaren.<br>Alexander Strang.<br>Don. Farquharson, died of wounds.<br>James Watson.<br>William Urquhart.<br>Ensign Thomas Macniven.<br>Colin Walker.<br>James Geddes.<br>John Malcolm.<br>Mungo Macpherson. |
| Quatre Bras, June<br>16, 1815,   | Lieut.-Col. Sir Robert<br>Macara, K. C. B.<br>Lieut. Robert Gordon.<br>Ens. William Gerrard.   | BLtC. R. H. Dick.<br>Capts. A. Menzies.<br>Geo. Davidson, died of wounds.<br>Donald Macdonald.<br>Daniel Mackintosh.<br>Robert Boyd.<br>Lieuts. Donald Chisholm.<br>Duncan Stewart.<br>Donald Mackenzie.<br>Hugh Angus Fraser.<br>John Malcolm.<br>A. Dunbar.<br>Ensigns William Fraser.<br>A. L. Fraser.  |
| Waterloo, June 18,<br>1815,  |  | Adjutant James Young.<br>Capt. Mungo Macpherson.<br>Lieuts. John Orr.<br>George Gunn Munro.<br>Hugh Angus Fraser.<br>James Brander.<br>Quartermaster Donald Mackintosh.  |
| Total, 35 Officers killed, 92 Officers, 1 Staff, 1 Volunteer, wounded.   |  |  |

N.B.—The undernamed officers were detached from the regiment on the Staff, or on other duties, and are not included in the general list, which comprehends only those cases where the regiment was actually engaged. Captain Malcolm Fraser, killed at Bergen-op-zoom, in 1747; Lieuts. Thomas Munro and William M'Beath, wounded at Talavera, (the latter died of his wounds); Capt. T. F. Wade, wounded at Albuhera, and Capt. George

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LIST of OFFICERS who served, and who rose

| When Removed. | Rank when Removed. | NAMES.                              | Remarks, relative to Promotions. |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Dec. 25, 1740 | Captains.          | Robert Campbell of Finab            | Died 1783                        |
| pr. 25, 1745  | —                  | John Campbell of Glenlyon           | en. Colonel and                  |
| —             | —                  | John Campbell of Strachur           | 1771                             |
| —             | —                  | Robert Gray                         | iders), Half-pay 17              |
| an. 29, 1820  | —                  | James Abercromby                    | 3                                |
| —             | —                  | James Grant                         | at Ft. Lt.-Col. Com              |
| —             | —                  | John Small                          | Foot. Retired.                   |
| une , 1745    | —                  | Alexander Turnbull of Stracath      | Foot. Removed to                 |
| ay 23, 1749   | —                  | James Abercromby, son of Gen.       | 77th, (Athole Hig                |
| Dec. 25, 1755 | —                  | James Murray of Strowan, son of     | th and 7th. Colon                |
| uly 9, 1762   | —                  | Alexander Earl of Balcarras         | 1777. Retired 17                 |
| Dec. 12, 1770 | —                  | Alexander Donaldson                 | Died 1786                        |
| ept. 7, 1771  | —                  | George Mackenzie, son of the E      | ed 1789                          |
| ar. 21, 1782  | —                  | Archibald Erskine of Cardross       | Major and Lieutena               |
| — 1786        | 2d Bat. 1780       | John R. Napier of Milliken          | 1816                             |
| Dec. , 1796   | 1st Bat.           | William Johnstone                   | ntly's Indep. Comp               |
| ar. , 1808    | —                  | Alexander Grant                     | enant-Colonel ditto              |
| ept. 19, 1804 | —                  | Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn     | enant-Colonel of                 |
| une 4, 1814   | —                  | James Campbell                      | Colonel Buffs. K                 |
| ay 6, 1813    | —                  | James Mutter                        | Lieutenant-Colone                |
| pr. 14, 1812  | —                  | David Stewart                       | ed                               |
| —             | —                  | Robert Campbell                     | ation                            |
| Dec. 25, 1814 | 2d Bat. 1780       | Simon Fraser                        | a 73d, (late 2d Batt             |
| —             | 2d Bat. 1804       | James Spens                         | ve. Lieutenant-Co                |
| une , 1746    | —                  | John Dalrymple                      |                                  |
| Oct. 3, 1745  | —                  | James M. Sutherland                 |                                  |
| —             | —                  | Alexander Lord Saltoun              | ent. Ditto in the                |
| Feb. 10, 1770 | 1st Bat.           | James J. Fraser                     | et rank of Lieutena              |
| —             | —                  | John Campbell                       | et rank of Major.                |
| —             | —                  | Murdoch M'Laine                     |                                  |
| —             | —                  | Alexander Anderson                  |                                  |
| March 1763    | Lieutenants.       | J. J. Wade                          | et rank of Lieutena              |
| —             | —                  | Thomas Fletcher                     | ny's Service. Kill               |
| Oct. 5, 1777  | —                  | Daniel Robertson                    | 1 Regiment in 177                |
| Aug. 25, 1778 | —                  | Alexander M'Lean                    | landers. Killed in               |
| —             | —                  | Thomas Keating                      | 1797                             |
| —             | —                  | James Eddington                     | into the East Indi               |
| Mar. 16, 1791 | —                  | James Graham, son of Airth          | 37th. Retired in                 |
| — 1786        | —                  | Geo. Mackenzie, son of the Laird    | of the Highlanders).             |
| Jan. 1795     | —                  | John Spens                          | for on Half-pay 1                |
| —             | —                  | Alexander M'Gregor of Balhalding    | to 65th. Die                     |
| Oct. 1, 1795  | —                  | John Ritchie                        | for and Lieutena                 |
| — 1804        | —                  | George Stewart                      | d 1793                           |
| — 1811        | —                  | Alexander Loraine                   | Foot. Major an                   |
| Nov. 1805     | —                  | James Alstone                       | Retired                          |
| July 14, 1808 | —                  | John Naysmith, son of Sir J. Nathe  | 7th West Indi                    |
| —             | —                  | Alexander Cummine                   | or and Lieutenant-               |
| Dec. 25, 1814 | —                  | Henry D. Fraser, son of Fraser      | in 1791. Comp                    |
| May 3, 1811   | —                  | Arch. Lord Montgomerie, son of Hs.  | Major and Co                     |
| —             | —                  | Patrick M'Leod, son of Geanies      | Major and Lieuten                |
| Dec. 24, 1814 | —                  | James Rose                          | Major in the 39th a              |
| —             | —                  | Donald M'Niven                      | giment. Remove                   |
| —             | —                  | Hector Munro                        | giment                           |
| —             | —                  | James Blair                         | and Major. Ret                   |
| —             | Ensigns.           | Arch. Macnab, son of the Laird      | anders. Do. to 87th              |
| —             | —                  | Alexander Campbell of Monzie        | Highlanders). 3d                 |
| —             | —                  | Colin Campbell                      | the 6th Foot. Lie                |
| —             | —                  | Hn. Sir W. Stewart, K. C. B. son of | ation                            |
| —             | —                  | John Lamont, son of the Laird of    | of Clan-Alpine at                |
| —             | —                  | Sir Archibald Chrystie              | Commandant-Gen                   |
| —             | —                  | Sir Alex. Leith, K. C. B. son of    | id to 31st Regimen               |
| —             | —                  | Hercules Scott, son of Brotherton   | Colonel ditto.                   |
| —             | —                  | Donald Williamson                   |                                  |
| —             | —                  | Mungo Macpherson                    |                                  |



CH, now the 42d or ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT, from the 25th October 1739 till the 24th November 1820.

| Positions in the Regiment. |                 |                | When Removed.  | No. of Years' Service in the Regiment. | Remarks, relative to Promotion, Resignation, Exchange, or otherwise.         | Present Rank, or that which the Officer held at his Death. |
|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|--|--|--|
| Major.                     | Lieut.-Colonel. | Colonel.       |                |  |  |  |
| —                          | —               | Oct. 25, 1739  | Dec. 25, 1740  | 1                                      | Promoted to the 2d Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards. Died 1748                | Lieut.-General   |
| —                          | —               | Jan. 24, 1741  | Apr. 25, 1745  | 5                                      | Do. to the Command of the 25th Regiment. Died 1747                           | Major-General  |
| —                          | —               | Apr. 25, 1745  | —              | 42                                     | Died in June 1787  | General  |
| —                          | 1793            | June 6, 1787   | —              | 19                                     | Died in January 1806   | Ditto  |
| —                          | —               | Jan. 3, 1806   | Jan. 29, 1820  | 14                                     | Removed to the Command of the Royals   | Ditto  |
| —                          | —               | Jan. 29, 1820  | —              | 5                                      | Colonel of the Regiment in 1820. Died in 1823                                | Ditto  |
| —                          | 1803            | Sept. 6, 1823  | —              | 2                                      | —  | Lieut.-General   |
| —                          | Oct. 25, 1739   | —              | June , 1745    | 6                                      | Promoted to the 37th Regiment. Killed at Falkirk, 1746                       | Colonel  |
| —                          | July 9, 1745    | —              | May 23, 1749   | 9                                      | Exchanged to Half-pay  | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —                          | May 24, 1749    | —              | Dec. 25, 1755  | 6                                      | Promoted to the Command of the 54th Reg. Died Col. of the 3d Guards, 1806    | Field-Marshal  |
| —                          | Dec. 17, 1755   | —              | July 9, 1762   | 23                                     | Do. to the Command of the 90th Reg. Died Col. of the 63d Reg. 1782           | Lieut.-General   |
| —                          | July 9, 1762    | —              | Dec. 12, 1770  | 31                                     | Retired December 1770  | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —                          | Mar. 31, 1770   | —              | Sept. 7, 1771  | 30                                     | Do. December 1771  | Ditto  |
| —                          | Dec. 12, 1770   | —              | Mar. 21, 1782  | 25                                     | Promoted to the 1st Bat. of the 71st Reg. Died Col. of the 41st Reg. in 1809 | General  |
| —                          | —               | —              | Dec. , 1786    | 6                                      | Died Lieutenant-Colonel of the 73d Regiment, 1801                            | Lieut.-General   |
| —                          | Aug. 25, 1778   | Apr. 28, 1782  | Dec. , 1796    | 36                                     | Promoted, and died Colonel of a West India Regiment in 1798                  | Ditto  |
| —                          | Jan. 14, 1795   | Sept. 1, 1795  | Mar. , 1808    | 28                                     | Retired March 1808. Died in 1816   | Colonel  |
| —                          | Oct. 21, 1795   | Dec. 14, 1796  | Sept. 19, 1804 | 27                                     | Retired September 1804. Died in 1819   | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —                          | Dec. 4, 1796    | Sept. 7, 1804  | June 4, 1814   | 37                                     | Promoted to Major-General in 1814  | Major-General  |
| —                          | —               | Sept. 19, 1804 | May 6, 1813    | 9                                      | Exchanged to Half-pay  | Maj.-Gen. 1819   |
| —                          | July 9, 1803    | Mar. 3, 1808   | Apr. 14, 1812  | 25                                     | Retired April 1812. Lieutenant-Governor of Carlisle                          | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —                          | Nov. 14, 1805   | Apr. 16, 1812  | —              | 12                                     | Killed at Quatre Bras in June 1815   | Ditto  |
| —                          | —               | May 6, 1813    | Dec. 2 , 1814  | 2                                      | Half-pay 2d Battalion, 1814  | Maj.-Gen. 1819   |
| —                          | July 14, 1808   | June 18, 1815  | —              | 16                                     | Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment   | Colonel 1825   |
| —                          | Oct. 25, 1739   | —              | June , 1746    | 7                                      | Retired June 1746  | Major  |
| —                          | June 24, 1743   | —              | Oct. 3, 1745   | 7                                      | Do. October 1745. Died 1782  | Ditto  |
| —                          | Dec. 17, 1755   | —              | —              | 14                                     | Killed at Ticonderoga in July 1758   | Ditto  |
| —                          | Aug. 5, 1759    | —              | Feb. 10, 1770  | 25                                     | Exchanged to Half-pay. Died Colonel of the 88th Regiment in 1806             | General  |
| —                          | —               | —              | —              | 3                                      | Died in the West Indies, 1761  | Major  |
| —                          | —               | —              | —              | 4                                      | Died in the West Indies, 1762  | Ditto  |
| —                          | July 9, 1762    | —              | —              | 20                                     | Died at the Siege of Havannah, 1762  | Ditto  |
| —                          | Aug. 15, 1762   | —              | March 1763     | 19                                     | Half-pay on the Peace, 1763. Full-pay in the 36th Reg. Died 1795             | Lieut.-General   |
| —                          | Feb. 10, 1770   | —              | —              | 1                                      | Retired March 1770   | Major  |
| —                          | Sept. 7, 1771   | —              | Oct. 5, 1777   | 19                                     | Promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of the 27th Regiment. Died 1777               | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —                          | Dec. 5, 1777    | —              | Aug. 25, 1778  | 33                                     | Retired August 1778  | Brev. Lieut.-Col.  |
| —                          | Mar. 26, 1780   | —              | —              | 10                                     | Died in 1782   | Major  |
| —                          | Oct. 23, 1781   | —              | —              | 3                                      | Died in 1784   | Brev. Lieut. Col.  |
| —                          | Apr. 28, 1782   | —              | Mar. 16, 1791  | 9                                      | Retired March 1791. Died in 1802   | Major  |
| —                          | Mar. 24, 1786   | —              | —              | 7                                      | Lost at Sea, 1809, coming from the East Indies                               | Lieut.-General   |
| —                          | Mar. 16, 1791   | —              | Jan. 1795      | 22                                     | Died Lieutenant-Colonel 19th Regiment. Died 1801                             | Colonel  |
| —                          | Sept. 1, 1795   | —              | —              | 11                                     | Died in St Lucia in 1796   | Major  |
| —                          | Sept. 2, 1795   | —              | Oct. 1, 1795   | 6                                      | Lieutenant-Colonel on the Half-pay of the Caithness Legion. Died 1820        | Lieut.-General   |
| —                          | June 24, 1796   | —              | —              | 29                                     | Retired in 1804, and died in 1808  | Brev. Lieut.-Col.  |
| —                          | July 9, 1803    | —              | —              | 24                                     | Died February 1809   | Major  |
| —                          | Sept. 7, 1804   | —              | —              | 16                                     | Retired May 1811   | Brev. Lieut.-Col.  |
| —                          | Sept. 7, 1804   | —              | Nov. 1805      | 2                                      | Do. November 1805  | Major  |
| —                          | Mar. 3, 1805    | —              | July 14, 1808  | 5                                      | Exchanged to Bradshaw's Levy. Killed in 1811                                 | Ditto  |
| —                          | Feb. 9, 1809    | —              | —              | 16                                     | Died in Portugal in 1811   | Major  |
| —                          | Oct. 10, 1811   | —              | Dec. 25, 1814  | 19                                     | Died 1823  | Brev. Lieut.-Col.  |
| —                          | May 2, 1811     | —              | May 3, 1811    | 3                                      | Exchanged to the Half-pay of the Royal Regiment of Malta                     | Brev. Lieut.-Col.  |
| —                          | May 30, 1811    | —              | —              | 10                                     | Major of the Regiment  | Brev. Lieut.-Col.  |
| —                          | Apr. 10, 1812   | —              | Dec. 24, 1814  | 9                                      | Reduced with 2d Battalion December 1814. Died 1824                           | Major  |
| —                          | June 18, 1815   | —              | —              | 20                                     | Major of the Regiment  | Ditto  |





REGIMENT, from 25th October 1739 to 26th December 1820, and who rose, after their Removal, to the Rank of General or Field Officers.

| or<br>Lieut. | When Removed.  | No. of<br>Years' Service<br>in the<br>Regiment. | Remarks, relative to Promotion, Resignation, Exchange, or otherwise.  | Highest Rank in the Army<br>at their Decease; when<br>retired; or still holding. |
|--------------|----------------|---|---|--|
| 744          | 1748           | 4   | Half-pay. Died 1787   |  |
| 748          | 1748           | 4   | Half-pay. Exchanged to Marines. Died 1783   |  |
| 56           | Aug. 1, 1739   | 4   | Major of the 17th Regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel of the 57th Regiment. Died 1806                          | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 758          | Aug. 2, 1759   | 14  | Promoted to 55th Regiment. Died 1771  | Do.  |
| 756          | Sept. 16, 1760 | 4   | Major in the 78th, (Fraser's Highlanders), Half-pay 1763. Killed at Bunkershill in 1775, Adjutant-Gen. to that Army | General  |
| 760          | Aug. 13, 1762  | 16  | Fort-Major Limerick. Died in 1778   | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 62           | March 1763     | 16  | Half-pay 1763. Full-pay of the 21st Ft. Lt.-Col. Command. 84th Reg. 1775. Died in 1796. Lt.-Gov. of Guernsey        | Do.  |
| 762          | —              | 11  | Half-pay 1763. Full-pay of the 32d Foot. Retired. Died 1804   | Major  |
| 57           | 1763           | 6   | Half-pay 1763. Full-pay of the 3d Foot. Removed to a Company of Invalids. Died in 1800                              | Major-General  |
| 771          | 1770           | 13  | Captain 3d Guards. Colonel of the 77th, (Athole Highlanders), and 73d, (Highland Regiment). Died 1794               | Major  |
| 770          | Mar. 29, 1776  | 5   | Major 53d. Lieutenant-Colonel 24th and 7th. Colonel of the 63d Regiment   | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 770          | Aug. 5, 1777   | 10  | Major 76th, (Highland Regiment), 1777. Retired 1781. Died 1696  | Lieut.-General   |
| 770          | Aug. 18, 1778  | 8   | 73d (Lord Macleod's Highlanders), Died 1786   | General 1803   |
| 71           | Dec. 6, 1778   | 7   | 22d Regiment. Retired 1780. Died 1789   | Major  |
| 82           | Nov. 9, 1785   | 3   | Exchanged to the 63d Regiment. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel ditto. Died 1799  | Colonel  |
| 85           | Aug. 28, 1789  | 4   | Exchanged to the 3d Guards. Died 1816   | Major  |
| 93           | Jan. 24, 1791  | 18  | Exchanged to Half-pay of Lord Huntly's Indep. Companies 1791. Major 78th Reg. Retired 1797. Died 1807               | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 7            | Aug. 21, 1793  | 2   | Major in the 78th Regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel ditto. Exchanged to 36th Regiment                                    | Lieut.-General   |
| 7            | July 3, 1799   | 2   | Major in the Argyll Fencibles. Lieutenant-Colonel of the 94th Regiment  | Major  |
| 74           | July 23, 1802  | 8   | Major in the 6th Foot. Lieutenant Colonel Buffs. Killed at Albuera 1811   | Lieut.-Gen. in 1810  |
| 96           | Apr. 24, 1804  | 17  | Major in the 78th Regiment 1804. Lieutenant-Colonel Royal West India Rangers 1808.                                  | Maj.-Gen. in 1819  |
| 3            | Aug. 28, 1804  | 1   | Major in the 71st Regiment. Retired   | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 100          | Sept. 20, 1804 | 13  | Major in the 6th Royal Veteran Battalion  | Maj.-Gen. in 1825  |
| 83           | 1786           | 8   | Major and Lieutenant Colonel in the 73d, (late 2d Battalion 42d Regiment). Retired 1798                             | Brevet-Lieut.-Col.   |
| 3            | 1804           | 1   | Major in the 4th Battalion of Reserve. Lieutenant-Colonel 22d Regiment  | Major  |
| 1            | Sept. 14, 1804 | 4   | Major 35th Regiment   | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1            | Nov. 23, 1804  | 2   | Exchanged to 1st Foot Guards  | Maj.-Gen. in 1819  |
| 9            | June 24, 1810  | 17  | Major in the 8th West India Regiment. Ditto in the 7th Veteran Battalion. Fort-Major Gibraltar                      | Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel  |
| 7            | 1821           | 11  | Captain in the Regiment, with Brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel   | Colonel 1825   |
| 9            | Dec. 25, 1814  | 13  | Captain in the Regiment, with Brevet rank of Major. Died 1821   | Major  |
|              | March 1763     | 5   | Portuguese Service  | Major  |
|              | 1763           | 3   | Captain in the Regiment, with Brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel   | Brev.-Lt.-Col. in 1815   |
|              | 1759           | 1   | Half-pay 1763. East India Company's Service. Killed under Colonel Baillie in 1780                                   | Ditto  |
|              | 1763           | 1   | Half-pay 1763. Captain in the 8th Regiment in 1775. Major in the 60th Regiment. Died in 1801                        | Col. E. I. Comp. Ser.  |
|              | Feb. 10, 1770  | 8   | Captain and Major in Keid's Highlanders. Killed in Germany 1762   | Colonel  |
|              | May 8, 1777    | 7   | Half-pay 1763. Retired. Died in 1797  | Major  |
|              | Dec. 10, 1777  | 2   | Resigned February 1770. Entered into the East India Company's Service. Died in 1802                                 | Lieut.-Colonel   |
|              | May 19, 1780   | 4   | Captain in the 57th. Major in the 37th. Retired in 1778. Died in 1784   | Lt.-Col. E. I. Comp. Ser.  |
|              | Mar. 21, 1780  | 5   | Captain in the 73d, (or Lord Macleod's Highlanders). Died 1786  | Major  |
|              | Apr. 28, 1781  | 1   | Captain in the 95th Regiment. Major on Half-pay 1783  | Do.  |
|              | May 4, 1782    | 2   | Promoted to 2d Battalion. Exchanged to 65th. Died in 1795   | Lt.-Gen. in 1814   |
|              | Dec. 25, 1783  | 5   | Captain in the 37th Regiment. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel, in the 60th Regiment. Killed in St Vincent in 1795      | Major  |
|              | Dec. 25, 1783  | 4   | Captain in the 33d Regiment. Died 1793  | Lieut.-Colonel   |
|              | Dec. 25, 1783  | 4   | Half-pay 1783. Full-pay of the 9th Foot. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel 91st Regiment. Retired                        | Major  |
|              | Dec. 25, 1787  | 1   | Captain and Major 63d Regiment. Retired   | Lieut.-Colonel   |
|              | Feb. 1, 1791   | 13  | Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel in the 7th West India Regiment. Retired. Died 1818                                   | Major  |
|              | June 7, 1793   | 5   | Promoted to 75th Regiment. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel. Retired. Died in 1815                                      | Lieut.-Colonel   |
|              | Aug. 20, 1794  | 4   | Promoted to Independent Companies in 1791. Company in the 47th. Portuguese Service. Died 1811                       | Do.  |
|              | Jan. 28, 1795  | 14  | Exchanged to the Coldstream Guards. Major and Colonel 132d Regiment. Died 1812                                      | Brig.-Gen. Portuguese  |
|              | July 22, 1795  | 13  | Promoted to the 76th Regiment. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel. Killed in Egypt in 1807                                | Major-General  |
|              | Sept. 9, 1795  | 4   | Promoted to the 78th Regiment. Major in the 39th and 6th Royal Veteran Battalion                                    | Lieut.-Colonel   |
|              | Aug. 29, 1791  | 7   | Promoted to the 4th West India Regiment. Removed to the 63d Regiment. Major. Died 1799                              | Major  |
|              | 1745           | 6   | Promoted to the 4th West India Regiment   | Do.  |
|              | Mar. 10, 1771  | 2   | Exchanged to the Royals. Captain and Major. Retired   | Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel  |
|              | Dec. 31, 1772  | 1   | Promoted to Lord Loudon's Highlanders. Do. to 87th, (Campbell's Highlanders), 1759. Col. of the 41st. Died 1791     | Major  |
|              | Oct. 20, 1787  | 1   | 2d Royals. Major 74th, (Argyle Highlanders). 3d Guards. Colonel 32d Regiment  | Lieut.-General   |
|              | July 31, 1793  | 1   | 14th Foot. Lieutenant-Colonel in the 6th Foot. Lieutenant-Governor Gibraltar. Died in 1814                          | General in 1812  |
|              | July 31, 1794  | 1   | 67th Foot. Colonel of a Rifle Battalion   | Lt.-Gen. in 1812   |
|              | June 10, 1795  | 3   | Independent Company. Promoted to Clan-Alpine and Gordon Highlanders   | Lt.-Gen. in 1813   |
|              | June 10, 1795  | 2   | Lieutenant in the 78th Regiment. Commandant-General of Hospitals  | Maj.-Gen. in 1819  |
|              | —              | 11  | Captain 109th Regiment. Removed to 31st Regiment. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel. Half-pay 1816                       | Colonel in 1814  |
|              | —              | —   | Captain 78th. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel ditto. Removed to the 103d. Killed in Canada in 1814                     | Lt.-Col. in 1811   |
|              | —              | —   | Killed at Burgos 1812   | Colonel in 1813  |
|              | —              | —   | Captain in the Regiment   | Brevet-Major   |
|              | —              | —   |   | Do. in 1819  |

e, after their Removal, to the Rank of General or Field Officers.

| tion, Resignation, Exchange, or otherwise.                        | Highest Rank in the Army at their Decease; when retired; or still holding. |
|---|--|
| Colonel of the 57th Regiment. Died 1806                           | Lieut.-Colonel<br>Do.  |
| 63 Killed at Bunkershill in 1775, Adjutant-Gen. to that Army      | General<br>Lieut.-Colonel  |
| Command. 84th Reg. 1775. Died in 1796. Lt. Gov. of Guernsey       | Do.<br>Major   |
| Died 1804<br>a Company of Invalids. Died in 1800                  | Major-General<br>Major   |
| b a Highland Regiment. Died 1794                                  | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| c of the 63d Regiment   | Lieut.-General   |
| d. Died 1696  | General 1803   |
| Lieut.-Colonel ditto. Died 1799                                   | Major<br>Colonel   |
| Companies 1791. Major 78th Reg. Retired 1797. Died 1807           | Major<br>Lieut.-Colonel  |
| e, Exchanged to 36th Regiment                                     | Lieut.-General   |
| f the 94th Regiment.  | Major  |
| g killed at Albuera 1811  | Lieut.-Gen. in 1810  |
| h Royal West India Rangers 1803.                                  | Maj.-Gen. in 1819  |
| i (Colonel 42d Regiment). Retired 1798                            | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| j Colonel 22d Regiment  | Maj.-Gen. in 1825  |
| k 7th Veteran Battalion. Fort-Major Gibraltar                     | Brevet-Lieut.-Col.   |
| l Lieut.-Colonel  | Major  |
| m Died 1821   | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| n Lieut.-Colonel  | Maj.-Gen. in 1819  |
| o ed under Colonel Baillie in 1780                                | Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel  |
| p Major in the 60th Regiment. Died in 1804                        | Colonel 1825   |
| q Germany 1762  | Major  |
| r a Company's Service. Died in 1802                               | Lieut.-Col. in 1815  |
| s 778. Died in 1784   | Major  |
| t Died 1786   | Brev.-Lt.-Col. in 1815   |
| u 83  | Ditto ditto  |
| v d in 1795   | Col. E. I. Comp. Ser.  |
| w t-Colonel, in the 60th Regiment. Killed in St Vincent in 1795   | Colonel  |
| x d Lieutenant-Colonel 91st Regiment. Retired                     | Major  |
| y Regiment. Retired. Died 1818                                    | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| z Colonel. Retired. Died in 1815                                  | Major  |
| aa any in the 47th. Portuguese Service. Died 1811                 | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| ab Colonel 132d Regiment. Died 1812                               | Do.  |
| ac ant-Colonel. Killed in Egypt in 1807                           | Brig.-Gen. Portuguese  |
| ad and 6th Royal Veteran Battalion                                | Major-General  |
| ae d to the 63d Regiment. Major. Died 1799                        | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| af retired  | Major  |
| ag h, (Campbell's Highlanders), 1759. Col. of the 41st. Died 1791 | Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel  |
| ah Guards. Colonel 52d Regiment                                   | Major  |
| ai Lieutenant-Governor Gibraltar. Died in 1814                    | Lieut.-General   |
| aj and Gordon Highlanders   | General in 1812  |
| ak eral of Hospitals  | Lt.-Gen. in 1812   |
| al t. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel. Half-pay 1816                 | Lt.-Gen. in 1813   |
| am Removed to the 103d. Killed in Canada in 1814                  | Maj.-Gen. in 1819  |
|   | Colonel in 1814  |
|   | Lt.-Col. in 1811   |
|   | Colonel in 1813  |
|   | Brevet-Major   |
|   | Do. in 1819  |

## No. IV.

*Return of the Numbers of Killed and Wounded under the Command of Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, from the first meeting with the Enemy at Brilos, after he disembarked in Portugal, in August 1808, till the last Battle of the War, at Toulouse, on the 10th of April 1814.*

| BATTLES, SIEGES,<br>AND SKIRMISHES.   | KILLED.              |                    |           |             |        |  | WOUNDED.             |                    |           |             |        |  |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|--------|--|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|--------|--|
|                                       | General<br>Officers. | Field<br>Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants.<br>Drummers.<br>Rank and<br>File. | General<br>Officers. | Field<br>Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants.<br>Drummers.<br>Rank and<br>File. |
| 1808.                                 |                      |                    |           |             |        |  |                      |                    |           |             |        |  |
| Brilos, Aug. 14, -                    |                      |                    |           | 1           |        | 1  |                      |                    | 1         |             |        | 5  |
| Roleia, 17, -                         |                      | 1                  | 2         | 2           |        | 3  |                      | 4                  | 7         |             | 1      | 295  |
| Vimiera, 21, -                        |                      | 1                  | 1         | 2           |        | 3  |                      | 3                  | 10        |             | 22     | 466  |
| Total in 1808, -                      |                      | 2                  | 3         | 5           |        | 6  |                      | 7                  | 18        |             | 31     | 766  |
| 1809.                                 |                      |                    |           |             |        |  |                      |                    |           |             |        |  |
| Albergaria Nova, May 10,              |                      |                    |           |             |        |  |                      | 1                  |           |             |        | 2  |
| Heights of Grijon, 11,                |                      |                    |           | 1           |        | 19   |                      |                    | 3         |             | 3      | 63   |
| Passage of the Douro, 12,             |                      |                    |           |             |        | 23   | 1                    | 3                  | 3         |             | 3      | 96   |
| Talavera, July 27, -                  |                      | 1                  | 1         | 4           |        | 122  |                      | 2                  | 6         | 14          | 2      | 1465   |
| Do. 28, -                             | 2                    | 2                  | 7         | 10          | 3      | 26   | 4                    | 6                  | 13        | 2           | 17     | 153072                                       |
| Total in 1809, -                      | 2                    | 3                  | 9         | 14          | 3      | 28   | 4                    | 25                 | 61        | 109         | 13     | 163698                                       |
| 1810.                                 |                      |                    |           |             |        |  |                      |                    |           |             |        |  |
| Barba del Puerco, March<br>19, - - -  |                      |                    |           | 1           |        | 3  |                      |                    |           |             |        | 10   |
| Ciudad Rodrigo, July 11.              |                      | 1                  |           |             |        | 8  |                      |                    |           |             |        | 23   |
| Busaco, September 25 and<br>26, - - - |                      |                    |           |             |        |  |                      |                    | 1         | 1           |        | 5  |
| Do. 27, - - -                         |                      | 1                  | 1         | 3           |        | 5  |                      | 8                  | 10        | 17          | 2      | 434  |
| Coimbra, Oct. 7, - - -                |                      |                    |           |             |        | 1  |                      |                    |           |             |        |  |
| Do. 16, - - -                         |                      |                    |           |             |        | 2  |                      |                    |           |             |        |  |
| Obidos, 9 to 14,                      |                      |                    |           |             |        | 19   |                      |                    | 5         | 2           |        | 77   |
| Evora, Dec. 9,                        |                      |                    | 1         |             |        |  |                      |                    |           |             | 7      |  |
| Almeida, July 24, -                   |                      | 1                  | 1         | 2           |        | 3  |                      | 1                  | 7         | 13          | 1      | 164  |
| Total in 1810, -                      |                      | 3                  | 3         | 6           |        | 9  |                      | 9                  | 23        | 33          | 1      | 713  |

Munro, killed at Badajos; thus making the total number of officers killed 37, and of wounded 95, in seventy years, including every death by the enemy, whether present or detached from the regiment.



|    |      |     |
|----|------|-----|
| 5  | 4    | 936 |
| 2  |      | 342 |
|    | 7    |     |
|    | 4    |     |
| 1  | 145  |     |
| 9  | 766  |     |
| 2  | 117  |     |
|    | 15   |     |
|    | 11   |     |
| 3  | 347  |     |
| 1  | 92   |     |
| 9  | 2426 |     |
|    | 48   |     |
|    | 127  |     |
|    | 65   |     |
| 1  | 85   |     |
| 1  | 54   |     |
|    | 47   |     |
|    | 18   |     |
| 26 | 5653 |     |
|    |      |     |
|    | 17   |     |
|    | 17   |     |
|    | 179  |     |
| 5  | 403  |     |
| 2  | 447  |     |
| 4  | 256  |     |
|    | 36   |     |
| 1  | 117  |     |
|    | 26   |     |
| 7  | 333  |     |
| 1  | 273  |     |
| 3  | 2387 |     |
|    | 52   |     |
|    | 6    |     |
|    | 36   |     |
|    | 9    |     |
| 3  | 6902 |     |

| BATTLES, SIEGES,<br>AND SKIRMISHES.           | KILLED.              |                    |           |             |            |           |                   | WOUNDED.             |                    |           |             |            |          |                   |        |       |
|---|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------|-------------------|--------|-------|
|   | General<br>Officers. | Field<br>Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and<br>File. | General<br>Officers. | Field<br>Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers | Rank and<br>File. |        |       |
| Brought forward, . . .                        | 2                    | 8                  | 37        | 70          | 1          | 99        | 31573             | 16                   | 46                 | 132       | 382         | 15         | 400      | 53                | 6,902  |       |
| 1812.   |                      |                    |           |             |            |           |                   |                      |                    |           |             |            |          |                   |        |       |
| Burgos, Sept. 20 to 26,                       |                      | 1                  | 2         | 2           |            | 2         | 47                |                      |                    | 6         | 5           |            | 10       |                   | 217    |       |
| Do. 19, . . .                                 |                      | 1                  |           | 2           |            | 2         | 41                |                      |                    | 4         | 6           |            | 16       |                   | 214    |       |
| Do. 27 to Oct. 3,                             |                      |                    |           |             |            | 2         | 17                |                      |                    |           |             |            | 1        | 1                 | 99     |       |
| Do. Oct. 4 to 5, . .                          |                      |                    |           |             |            | 2         | 31                |                      | 1                  | 2         | 6           |            | 8        | 2                 | 148    |       |
| Do. Oct. 6 to 10, . .                         |                      | 1                  | 1         | 2           | 1          | 4         | 82                |                      |                    | 5         | 7           |            | 7        | 3                 | 200    |       |
| Do. 11 to 17, . . .                           |                      |                    |           |             |            | 1         | 23                |                      |                    |           | 3           |            | 3        |                   | 39     |       |
| Do. 18 to 21, . . .                           |                      | 1                  | 1         | 2           |            | 4         | 81                |                      |                    | 4         | 5           |            | 2        |                   | 119    |       |
| Alba de Tormes, 22 to 29,                     |                      |                    | 2         | 2           |            | 10        | 75                |                      | 4                  | 4         | 26          |            | 26       |                   | 314    |       |
| Do. to Nov. 11,                               |                      |                    |           |             |            |           | 13                |                      |                    |           | 1           |            | 3        |                   | 52     |       |
| Ciudad Rodrigo, 15 to 19,                     |                      |                    | 2         |             |            | 2         | 7                 |                      |                    | 2         | 2           |            | 4        |                   | 86     |       |
| Total in 1812, . . .                          | 2                    | 15                 | 45        | 80          | 2          | 129       | 31990             | 16                   | 51                 | 159       | 443         | 15         | 489      | 61                | 8,360  |       |
| 1813.   |                      |                    |           |             |            |           |                   |                      |                    |           |             |            |          |                   |        |       |
| Castalla, April 12 and 13,                    |                      |                    | 2         |             |            | 2         | 65                |                      | 2                  | 1         | 9           |            | 15       | 1                 | 258    |       |
| Morales, June 2, . .                          |                      |                    | 1         |             |            | 1         | 1                 |                      | 1                  |           |             |            | 1        |                   | 13     |       |
| Villa Franca, June 18,                        |                      |                    |           |             |            | 2         | 8                 |                      |                    | 2         |             |            | 1        |                   | 51     |       |
| Do. 19, . . .                                 |                      |                    |           |             |            | 1         | 1                 |                      |                    | 1         | 1           |            | 1        |                   | 11     |       |
| Vittoria, 21, . . .                           |                      | 1                  | 10        | 14          | 1          | 15        | 460               |                      | 12                 | 40        | 109         | 5          | 123      | 13                | 2,504  |       |
| Tolosa, 21 and 25,                            |                      |                    |           |             |            |           | 21                |                      | 1                  | 5         | 8           |            | 4        | 4                 | 120    |       |
| Fort St Phillips, 3 and 7,                    |                      |                    | 1         |             |            |           | 4                 |                      |                    |           |             |            | 1        | 1                 | 37     |       |
| Puerto de Maya, July 4<br>and 8, . . .        |                      |                    |           |             |            |           | 6                 |                      |                    |           | 1           |            | 3        | 1                 | 80     |       |
| St Sebastian, July 7 to 20,                   |                      |                    | 1         |             | 1          | 1         | 11                |                      | 1                  | 2         | 5           |            | 9        | 1                 | 107    |       |
| Do. 21 to 27, . . .                           |                      | 1                  | 1         | 5           | 1          | 7         | 85                |                      | 1                  | 11        | 10          | 2          | 12       |                   | 272    |       |
| Pyrenees, 25 to 28,                           |                      | 7                  | 14        | 3           | 30         | 2         | 324               |                      | 1                  | 16        | 31          | 96         | 3        | 105               | 5      | 2,192 |
| Do. 30, . . .                                 |                      | 1                  | 2         |             |            | 6         | 72                |                      | 1                  | 4         | 9           | 22         | 3        | 32                | 4      | 394   |
| Do. July 31 and Au-<br>gust 1, . . .          |                      |                    |           |             |            | 6         | 40                |                      | 1                  | 7         | 4           |            | 24       | 4                 | 229    |       |
| Do. Aug. 2, . . .                             |                      |                    | 1         | 1           |            | 4         | 26                |                      | 5                  | 4         | 13          | 1          | 17       | 1                 | 278    |       |
| St Sebastian, July 28 and<br>Aug. 31, . . .   |                      | 3                  | 6         | 27          |            | 31        | 1                 | 503                  | 3                  | 3         | 15          | 49         | 51       | 6                 | 973    |       |
| Do. Aug. 31 and Sept. 1,                      |                      |                    | 3         | 2           |            | 3         | 43                |                      | 3                  | 6         | 16          |            | 25       |                   | 284    |       |
| Do. Sept. 8, . . .                            |                      |                    | 1         |             |            |           | 1                 |                      |                    |           | 1           |            |          |                   | 8      |       |
| Passage of Bidassoa, Oct. 7<br>to 9, . . .    |                      |                    | 1         | 3           |            | 5         | 1                 | 69                   |                    | 1         | 12          | 26         | 1        | 33                | 3      | 419   |
| Attack on the fortified po-<br>sitions, . . . |                      |                    |           | 1           |            | 1         | 15                |                      |                    |           | 2           |            | 9        |                   | 45     |       |
| Passage of Nivelle, . . .                     |                      | 3                  | 4         | 14          |            | 23        | 4                 | 229                  | 2                  | 5         | 30          | 79         | 4        | 104               | 19     | 1,534 |
| Passage of the Nive, Dec.<br>9 and 13, . . .  |                      | 2                  | 3         | 13          | 1          | 8         | 2                 | 250                  | 2                  | 9         | 30          | 89         | 1        | 131               | 20     | 1,964 |
| Total in 1813, . . .                          | 18                   | 50                 | 84        | 34          | 116        | 13        | 2234              | 10                   | 65                 | 198       | 510         | 17         | 701      | 83                | 11,793 |       |

| BATTLES, SIEGES,<br>AND SKIRMISHES.   | KILLED.              |                    |           |             |        |            |                                | WOUNDED.             |                    |           |             |        |            |           |                   |
|---|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|-----------|-------------------|
|   | General<br>Officers. | Field<br>Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants. | Drummers,<br>Rank and<br>File. | General<br>Officers. | Field<br>Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Rank and<br>File. |
| 1814.   |                      |                    |           |             |        |            |                                |                      |                    |           |             |        |            |           |                   |
| St Sever, Feb. 14 to 17,  |                      |                    |           | 1           |        | 2          | 22                             | 1                    | 1                  | 7         | 8           | 1      | 8          | 3         | 126               |
| Do. 23 to 26,   |                      |                    | 2         | 1           |        | 2          | 16                             |                      | 1                  | 1         | 10          | 1      | 9          | 3         | 110               |
| Orthés, 27,   |                      | 1                  | 6         | 7           | 1      | 21         | 169                            | 2                    | 9                  | 30        | 63          | 2      | 67         | 11        | 1,203             |
| Evening of 27,  |                      |                    |           |             |        |            | 4                              |                      |                    |           | 2           |        | 4          |           | 30                |
| Ayre, February 28 to<br>March 2,  | 1                    | 1                  |           | 2           |        | 1          | 16                             | 1                    | 1                  | 4         | 7           |        | 9          | 2         | 112               |
| Do, Feb. 7 to 20,   | 1                    |                    |           | 2           |        | 3          | 35                             |                      | 2                  | 6         | 18          | 2      | 26         | 4         | 246               |
| Bayonne, April 14,  | 1                    | 1                  | 3         | 3           |        | 3          | 129                            | 1                    | 4                  | 10        | 18          | 1      | 27         | 5         | 370               |
| Advance to Toulouse,<br>March 22 to April 8,  |                      |                    |           |             |        |            | 3                              |                      | 1                  | 1         | 1           |        | 4          |           | 24                |
| Toulouse, April 10,   |                      | 2                  | 6         | 8           |        | 17         | 1                              | 2                    | 7                  | 31        | 91          | 3      | 86         | 11        | 1,564             |
| Total in 1814,  | 2                    | 5                  | 17        | 24          | 1      | 49         | 5 627                          | 7                    | 26                 | 90        | 218         | 10     | 240        | 39        | 3,785             |
| RECAPITULATION.   |                      |                    |           |             |        |            |                                |                      |                    |           |             |        |            |           |                   |
| Total loss in 1808,   | 2                    | 2                  | 3         | 5           |        | 6          | 192                            |                      | 7                  | 18        | 31          | 3      | 47         | 4         | 766               |
| 1809,   |                      | 3                  | 9         | 14          | 3      | 28         | 4 777                          |                      | 25                 | 61        | 109         | 13     | 165        | 16        | 3,698             |
| 1810,   |                      | 3                  | 3         | 6           |        | 9          | 159                            | 4                    | 9                  | 23        | 33          | 1      | 40         | 3         | 713               |
| 1811,   | 1                    | 2                  | 14        | 48          | 1      | 53         | 8 1401                         | 2                    | 31                 | 104       | 234         | 15     | 314        | 26        | 5,652             |
| 1812,   | 2                    | 12                 | 45        | 80          | 9      | 129        | 3 1090                         | 16                   | 51                 | 159       | 443         | 15     | 489        | 61        | 8,360             |
| 1813,   |                      | 18                 | 50        | 84          | 34     | 117        | 13 2234                        | 10                   | 65                 | 198       | 540         | 17     | 704        | 83        | 11,793            |
| 1814,   | 2                    | 5                  | 17        | 24          | 1      | 49         | 5 672                          | 7                    | 26                 | 90        | 218         | 10     | 240        | 39        | 3,785             |
| Total loss in the Duke of<br>Wellington's campaigns<br>in Portugal, Spain, and<br>France, | 7                    | 45                 | 141       | 261         | 41     | 390        | 33 7449                        | 46                   | 216                | 663       | 1621        | 81     | 2006       | 282       | 34,767            |

N. B.—Of the above number killed of rank and file, 1064 were of the German Legion and other foreign corps in the pay of Great Britain in Spain. Thus the number of British killed has been 6385 soldiers, in the whole of the Peninsular campaigns.

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*Return of the Numbers Killed and Wounded of the British Army, under the Command of Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, in Flanders in 1815.*

| TIME AND PLACE OF EACH ENGAGEMENT. | KILLED.           |                 |             |             |            |            |             | WOUNDED.       |                   |                 |            |             |            |            |             |                |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|----------------|
|                                    | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains.   | Subalterns. | Staff.     | Sergeants. | Drummers.   | Rank and File. | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains.  | Subalterns. | Staff.     | Sergeants. | Drummers.   | Rank and File. |
| 1815.                              |                   |                 |             |             |            |            |             |                |                   |                 |            |             |            |            |             |                |
| Quatre Bras, June 16,              | 1                 | 1               | 420         | 1           | 17         | 3          | 269         |                | 11                | 36              | 91         | 4           | 100        | 5          | 1909        |                |
| — 17,                              |                   |                 | 1           |             | 1          |            | 24          |                |                   | 1               | 2          |             | 8          |            | 41          |                |
| Waterloo, — 18,                    | 2                 | 10              | 4645        | 5           | 102        | 13         | 1536        | 10             | 53                | 107             | 249        | 17          | 333        | 36         | 5087        |                |
| <b>Total British,</b>              | <b>3</b>          | <b>11</b>       | <b>5066</b> | <b>6</b>    | <b>120</b> | <b>16</b>  | <b>1829</b> | <b>10</b>      | <b>64</b>         | <b>144</b>      | <b>342</b> | <b>21</b>   | <b>441</b> | <b>41</b>  | <b>7037</b> |                |

N. B.—10 officers, 9 non-commissioned officers, 1 drummer, and 311 rank and file, killed; 86 officers, 47 non-commissioned officers, 11 drummers, and 1963 wounded, of the German Legion, included in the above number.

*Total Loss in the Duke of Wellington's Campaigns in Portugal, Spain, France, and Flanders.*

|   | KILLED.           |                 |            |             |           |            |           | WOUNDED.       |                   |                 |            |             |            |             |            |                |
|---|-------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|----------------|
|   | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains.  | Subalterns. | Staff.    | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains.  | Subalterns. | Staff.     | Sergeants.  | Drummers.  | Rank and File. |
| Portugal, Spain, and France,  | 7                 | 4               | 142        | 33          | 41        | 391        | 33        | 7449           | 46                | 216             | 663        | 1621        | 81         | 2006        | 232        | 34,316         |
| Quatre Bras and Waterloo,   | 3                 | 11              | 50         | 66          | 6         | 120        | 16        | 1829           | 10                | 60              | 144        | 342         | 21         | 441         | 41         | 7037           |
| <b>GRAND TOTAL.</b><br>Grand Total of the Duke of Wellington's Campaigns from 1808 to 1815 inclus., | <b>10</b>         | <b>56</b>       | <b>192</b> | <b>329</b>  | <b>47</b> | <b>511</b> | <b>49</b> | <b>9278</b>    | <b>56</b>         | <b>276</b>      | <b>807</b> | <b>1963</b> | <b>192</b> | <b>2447</b> | <b>273</b> | <b>41,853</b>  |

N. B.—From the total number of 9,278 soldiers killed, 1375 of the German Legion, and other foreign troops in the pay of Britain killed in Spain, France, and Flanders, are to be deducted. Hence 7903 natives of Great Britain and Ireland have fallen in battle in the course of the Duke of Wellington's campaigns, from their commencement in Portugal till the conclusion at Waterloo.

| Drummers. | Rank and File. |
|-----------|----------------|
| 8         | 126            |
| 9         | 110            |
| 37        | 1,203          |
| 4         | 30             |
| 9         | 112            |
| 26        | 246            |
| 37        | 370            |
| 4         | 24             |
| 6         | 1,564          |
| 0         | 3,785          |
| 7         | 4              |
| 5         | 16             |
| 0         | 3              |
| 4         | 26             |
| 6         | 61             |
| 83        | 11,793         |
| 39        | 3,785          |
| 282       | 34,767         |

gion and o-  
h killed has

No. V.—LIST of OFFICERS who served in the 78th, or ROSS-SHIRE  
Rank either Regimentally

| NAMES.                                 | From what Regiment Received. | Dates of Commissions in the Reg. |      |       |      |          |      |
|--|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|-------|------|----------|------|
|  |                              | Ens.                             | Lt.  | Capt. | Maj. | Lt. Col. | Col. |
| F. H. Mackenzie, Lord Scaforth         |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1793 |
| A. Mackenzie Fraser of Castle Fraser   | 73d Regiment                 | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1796 |
| Sir James Henry Craig, K. G. B.        | 22d                          | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1793     | 1809 |
| Sir Samuel Auchmuty, K. G. B.          | 103d                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1812 |
| Sir Edward Barnes, K. G. B.            |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1822 |
| Sir Alex. Mackenzie of Fairburn, Bart. | 42d                          | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | —    |
| John Randal Mackenzie of Suddie        | Marines                      | —                                | —    | —     | 1793 | 1794     | —    |
| Alexander Malcolm                      |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1793 | 1794     | 1795 |
| John Mackenzie, son of Gairloch        |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1793 | 1794     | 1795 |
| John Mackenzie, junior                 |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1793 | 1794     | 1795 |
| Hay Macdowall                          |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1793 | 1794     | 1795 |
| Alexander Adams                        | 36th                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1797 |
| Patrick Macleod, son of Geanies        | 42d                          | —                                | —    | —     | 1793 | 1798     | 1802 |
| Hercules Scott of Benholm              | 42d                          | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1803     | 1804 |
| John Macleod                           |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1800     | 1807 |
| James Macdonell, son of Glengarry      |                              | 1793                             | 1794 | 1795  | —    | —        | 1808 |
| Sir Edward Michael Ryan, Knight        | 5th Foot                     | —                                | —    | —     | 1804 | 1809     | —    |
| James Fraser                           | Garrison Battalion           | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1811 |
| Martin Lindsay                         |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1797 | 1807     | 1813 |
| David Forbes                           |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1803     | 1810 |
| George Earl of Errol                   |                              | 1793                             | 1794 | 1803  | 1811 | 1814     | —    |
| Michael Monypenny                      |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1793     | —    |
| Alexander Grant                        | 42d                          | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1794     | —    |
| William Montgomery                     |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1795     | —    |
| David Stewart                          | 42d                          | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1795     | —    |
| William Campbell                       |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1804     | —    |
| Robert Hamilton                        | 79th                         | 1793                             | 1794 | 1794  | 1804 | —        | —    |
| Duncan Macpherson                      | 35th                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1806     | —    |
| James Macbean                          | 94th                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1804     | 1811 |
| Duncan Macgregor                       | 55th                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1804     | 1813 |
| Colin Campbell Mackay                  | 52d                          | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1804     | 1813 |
| Honourable George Cochrane             |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1805     | 1813 |
| Gabriel Murray                         |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1793     | —    |
| Alexander Rose                         |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1794     | —    |
| Sir William Douglas, K. C. B.          |                              | 1793                             | 1794 | —     | —    | —        | —    |
| John Mackenzie Scott                   |                              | —                                | 1793 | —     | —    | —        | —    |
| Patrick Lindsay                        |                              | 1793                             | 1794 | 1795  | —    | —        | —    |
| James Rose                             | 42d                          | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1795     | —    |
| Sir Archibald Christie                 | 42d                          | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1795     | —    |
| Hon. W. Douglas Gordon Halyburton      |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1793     | —    |
| Norman Macleod                         |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1794     | —    |
| George Macgregor                       |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1794     | —    |
| Basil Fisher                           |                              | 1794                             | 1795 | —     | —    | —        | —    |
| Sir Colin Campbell, K. C. B.           |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1796     | —    |
| Robert Henry Diek                      | 42d                          | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1802     | —    |
| George Mackay                          |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1804     | —    |
| William Balvaird                       |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1797     | 1801 |
| William Henry Heneage St Paul          |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1804     | —    |
| C. Grant Falconer                      | 61st                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1804     | —    |
|  |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1806     | 1823 |



HIGHLAND REGIMENT, as FIELD-OFFICERS, or who rose to that or by Brevet, from 1793 to 1825.

| in the Reg. |      | When removed. | Years' Service in the Regiment. | Remarks, relative to Promotion, Resignation, Exchange, &c. | Highest Rank in the Army at their Decease; when retired; or still holding. |
|-------------|------|---------------|---------------------------------|--|--|
| Lt. Col.    | Col. |               |                                 |  |  |
| —           | 1793 | 1796          | 3                               | Resigned com. of Reg. retaining his rank. Died 1816        | Lieut.-General   |
| 1793        | 1796 | —             | 16                              | Died 1809  | Lieut.-General   |
| —           | 1809 | —             | 3                               | Died 1812  | Lieut.-General   |
| —           | 1812 | 1822          | 10                              | Died 1822  | Lt.-Gen.   |
| —           | —    | —             | 3                               | Colonel of the Regiment in 1825                            | Lieut.-Gen. 1825   |
| 1794        | —    | 1797          | 4                               | Exchanged to 36th Regiment                                 | Lt.-Gen. in 1810   |
| 1794        | —    | —             | 16                              | Killed at Talavera, 1809                                   | Major-General  |
| 1795        | —    | —             | 5                               | Died 1798  | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1795        | —    | —             | 6                               | Half-pay   | Lt.-Gen. in 1814   |
| 1795        | —    | —             | 2                               | Half-pay   | Lieut.-Gen. in 1825  |
| 1797        | —    | 1802          | 5                               | Promoted to 40th. Lost on pas. from India in 1809          | Lieut.-General   |
| 1802        | —    | 1811          | 21                              | Promoted to Major-General                                  | Maj.-Gen. in 1814  |
| 1801        | —    | —             | 13                              | Killed in Egypt in 1807                                    | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1807        | —    | 1808          | 14                              | Removed to 103d. Killed in Canada, 1814                    | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1808        | —    | 1800          | 18                              | Major in Macleod's Fencibles. Lieut.-Col. in 78th          | Maj. Gen. in 1819  |
| 1809        | —    | 1810          | 6                               | Exchanged to Coldstream Guards, 1810                       | Colonel in 1819  |
| 1811        | —    | —             | 1                               | Died in 1812   | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1813        | —    | —             | 16                              | Killed in 1813   | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1813        | —    | —             | 17                              | Lieut.-Col. commanding the regiment in 1825                | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1814        | —    | —             | 23                              | Reduced on Half-pay, 1816                                  | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —           | —    | 1794          | 1                               | 1st Regiment of Foot Guards. Died 1799                     | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —           | —    | 1798          | 4                               | Promoted to 73d regiment. Died 1808                        | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —           | —    | —             | 3                               | Retired 1798. Died 1807                                    | Major  |
| —           | —    | —             | 5                               | Promoted to 64th Regiment. Died 1800                       | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —           | —    | 1808          | 4                               | Promoted to Royal W. Ind. Rang.                            | Maj.-Gen. 1825   |
| —           | —    | —             | 17                              | Killed at Java, 1819                                       | Brevet-Lieut. Col.   |
| —           | —    | —             | 2                               | Retired 1810   | Major  |
| —           | —    | —             | 16                              | Major of the Regiment in 1810                              | Brv.-Lt.-Col. 1819   |
| —           | —    | 1821          | 16                              | Retired 1821   | Ditto ditto  |
| —           | —    | —             | 12                              | Half-pay in 1816   | Lieut.-Col. 1825   |
| —           | —    | —             | 11                              | Half-pay in 1816   | Major  |
| —           | —    | 1799          | 6                               | Promoted to 87th Regiment. Retired 1805                    | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —           | —    | —             | 1                               | Killed January 1795  | Brevet-Major   |
| —           | —    | 1796          | 3                               | Promoted to 87th Reg. and to Royal Veterans                | Major  |
| —           | —    | 1794          | 1                               | Major and Lt.-Col. in the 91st. Died Sept. 1818            | Colonel  |
| —           | —    | 1796          | 3                               | Removed to 87th Reg. Killed at Albuhera, 1811              | Brevet-Major   |
| —           | —    | 1796          | 1                               | Removed to 39th Regiment. Major of do. 1807                | Brv.-Lt.-Col. 1811   |
| —           | —    | 1798          | 3                               | Promoted to Veterans                                       | Major  |
| —           | —    | 1796          | 2                               | Promoted to Veterans. Com. Gen. of Hospitals               | Colonel in 1813  |
| —           | —    | 1795          | 1                               | Captain 113th. Removed to 1st Foot Guards                  | Colonel in 1819  |
| —           | —    | 1796          | 2                               | Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Scots                             | Colonel in 1819  |
| —           | —    | 1797          | 3                               | Promoted to 59th Reg. Lt.-Col in 59th in 1813              | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —           | —    | 1803          | 7                               | Promoted to Scots Fusileers                                | Major in 1814  |
| —           | —    | 1805          | 3                               | Capt. 75th; Maj. 63d. Removed to Colds. Guards             | Maj.-General 1825  |
| —           | —    | 1808          | 4                               | Major in 42d, 1808. Lieut.-Col. in ditto, 1815             | Colonel 1825   |
| —           | —    | 1812          | 15                              | Half-pay   | Brev.-Maj. in 1819   |
| —           | —    | 1805          | 1                               | Half-pay   | Brevet-Lieut.-Col.   |
| —           | —    | 1805          | 1                               | Retired 1825   | Colonel  |
| —           | —    | —             | 19                              | Major of the Regiment in 1825                              | Brev.-Maj. in 1819   |

No. VI.—LIST of OFFICERS who served in the 79th, or CAMERON  
Rank either Regimentally

| NAMES.                              | From what Regiment Received. | Dates of Commissions in the Reg. |      |       |      |          |      |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|-------|------|----------|------|
|                                     |                              | Ens.                             | Lt.  | Capt. | Maj. | Lt. Col. | Col. |
| Sir Allan Cameron, K. C. B.         | -                            | -                                | -    | -     | 1793 | 1794     | 1805 |
| Honourable A. Cochrane Johnstone    | -                            | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1794     | -    |
| William Ashtou                      | -                            | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1794     | -    |
| Patrick Macdowall                   | -                            | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1794     | -    |
| Sir Fitzroy Grafton Maclean, Bart.  | Indep. Companies             | -                                | -    | -     | 1793 | 1794     | 1796 |
| William Eden                        | -                            | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1795     | -    |
| Archibald Maclean                   | 55th Foot                    | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1795     | 1798 |
| Philips Cameron                     | H. p. Argyle Highl.          | -                                | -    | -     | 1793 | 1794     | 1796 |
| Sir John Murray, Baronet            | -                            | 1792                             | 1793 | 1794  | 1801 | 1804     | -    |
| Robert Fulton                       | 84th                         | -                                | -    | -     | -    | -        | 1806 |
| W. M. Hervey                        | Scots Fusileers              | -                                | -    | -     | 1800 | 1805     | 1807 |
| Neil Douglas                        | 1st W. India Reg.            | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1806     | 1811 |
| Nathaniel Cameron                   | 95th Foot                    | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1804     | 1811 |
| Gilbert Waugh                       | -                            | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1806     | 1812 |
| Honourable George Carnegie          | -                            | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1793     | 1794 |
| Francis Stewart                     | -                            | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1793     | 1794 |
| Sir Edward Barnes, K. C. B.         | 125th                        | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1799     | -    |
| Lord Jas. Murray, now Lord Glenlyon | 99th                         | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1800     | -    |
| Robert Hamilton                     | 15th Hussars                 | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1805     | -    |
| William Sullivan                    | 123d Foot                    | -                                | -    | -     | 1795 | 1799     | 1805 |
| Alexander Petrie                    | 8th Gar. Battalion           | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1807     | -    |
| Henry James Riddel                  | Royal Scots                  | -                                | -    | -     | 1800 | 1807     | -    |
| Andrew Laurie                       | 50th                         | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1808     | -    |
| Donald Cameron                      | 61st                         | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1804     | 1810 |
| Honourable E. C. Cocks              | -                            | 1794                             | 1795 | 1801  | 1811 | -        | -    |
| Andrew Brown                        | 16th Dragoons                | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1812     | -    |
| Duncan Cameron                      | -                            | 1795                             | 1795 | 1803  | 1812 | -        | -    |
| Aeneas Mackintosh                   | -                            | 1799                             | 1802 | 1803  | 1812 | -        | -    |
| Ewan Macpherson                     | 85th                         | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1813     | -    |
| Donald Campbell                     | 92d                          | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1813     | -    |
| James Campbell                      | -                            | 1800                             | 1803 | 1805  | 1814 | -        | -    |
| Archibald Bertram                   | 91st                         | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1808     | 1819 |
| Thomas Milne                        | 37th                         | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1800     | -    |
| James Campbell                      | -                            | -                                | -    | -     | 1800 | 1805     | -    |
| Hugh Macgregor                      | -                            | -                                | -    | -     | -    | 1805     | -    |
| Alexander Cameron                   | -                            | 1804                             | 1804 | 1806  | -    | -        | -    |
|                                     | -                            | 1804                             | 1807 | 1815  | -    | -        | -    |

HIGHLAND REGIMENT, as FIELD-OFFICERS, or who rose to that or by Brevet, from 1793 to 1825.

AMERON  
mentally

in the Reg.

Lt.  
Col.

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| When removed. | No. of Years' Service in the Regiment. | Remarks, relative to Promotion, Resignation, Exchange, &c. | Highest Rank in the Army at their Decease; when retired; or still holding. |
|---------------|--|--|--|
| —             | 32                                     | Colonel of the Regiment 1825                               | Lt.-Gen. in 1819   |
| 1798          | 4                                      | Promoted to the 8th West India Reg. Retired                |  |
| —             | 2                                      | Died in the West Indies, October 1796                      | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —             | 8                                      | Killed in Egypt 1801                                       | Ditto  |
| 1795          | —                                      | Promoted to the 82d Regiment                               | Lieut.-Gen., 1814  |
| 1806          | 11                                     | Exchanged to 84th Regiment                                 | Lieut.-Gen. in 1821  |
| —             | 14                                     | Retired M <sup>r</sup> 1807. Died 1817                     | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —             | 18                                     | Killed at Fuentes d'Honor, May 1811                        | Ditto  |
| 1809          | 3                                      | Promoted to Malta Reg. and Colonel 56th Reg.               | Lt.-Gen. in 1812   |
| —             | 12                                     | Retired December 1812                                      | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —             | 7                                      | Died June 1813   | Ditto  |
| —             | 16                                     | Lieut.-Colonel commanding the Reg. in 1825                 | Colonel 1825   |
| —             | 8                                      | Half-pay 1814  | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1795          | 2                                      | Promoted to a Corps in St Domingo. Died 1797               | Ditto  |
| —             | 2                                      | Retired 1795   | Major  |
| 1800          | 1                                      | Half-pay 99th Regiment. Died 1823.                         | Maj. Gen. in 1814  |
| 1807          | 7                                      | Promoted to 46th Regiment, and Rifle Brigade               | Lieut.-Gen. 1825   |
| 1806          | 1                                      | Do. to Manx Fencibles.                                     | Maj.-Gen. 1819   |
| 1808          | 15                                     | Exchanged to 78th Regiment. Retired in 1810                | Major  |
| —             | 3                                      | Retired October 1810                                       | Ditto  |
| —             | 12                                     | Do. February 1812  | Ditto  |
| 1811          | 3                                      | Quartermaster-General's Department                         | Lieut.-Col. in 1813  |
| —             | 8                                      | Killed at Burgos 1812                                      | Major  |
| —             | 18                                     | Retired April 1812   | Ditto  |
| —             | 1                                      | Killed at Burgos, October 1812                             | Ditto  |
| —             | 30                                     | Major of the Regiment in 1825                              | Brevet. Lieut.-Col.  |
| —             | 20                                     | Retired June 1819.   | Ditto  |
| —             | 1                                      | Died January 1814  | Ditto  |
| —             | 1                                      | Half-pay 1814. Lieutenant-Colonel Veterans                 | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| —             | 14                                     | Half-pay 1814  | Major  |
| —             | 16                                     | Half-pay   | Lieut.-Colonel 1824  |
| 1806          | 6                                      | Promoted to 101st Regiment. Lost at sea 1807               | Major  |
| —             | 14                                     | Retired  | Brev.-Maj. in 1815   |
| —             | 20                                     | Do. Do.  | Ditto 1819   |
| 1812          | 8                                      | Exchanged to 2d Battalion 91st. Half-pay                   | Ditto ditto  |
| 1815          | 11                                     | Do. to Scots Fusileers                                     | Ditto ditto  |

No. VII.—LIST of OFFICERS who served in the 100th, now the 92d  
rose to that Rank either Regimentally

| NAMES.                            | From what Regiment Received. | Dates of Commissions in the Reg. |      |       |      |          |      |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|-------|------|----------|------|
|                                   |                              | Ens.                             | Lt.  | Capt. | Maj. | Lt. Col. | Col. |
| George Marquis of Huntly          | Foot Guards                  | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1791     | 1796 |
| John Earl of Hopetoun             | North Low. F. Inf.           | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1806 |
| Sir John Hope, Knight             | 60th                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1820 |
| Honourable Alexander Duff         |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1823 |
| Charles Erskine of Cardross       | 77th                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | —    |
| James Robertson                   | 71st                         | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1795     | —    |
| Alexander Napier of Blackstone    |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1798 |
| Sir J. W. Gordon, K. C. B.        | 85th                         | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1796     | 1801 |
| John Cameron, son of Fassafearn   | 43d                          | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1804 |
| John Lamont of Lamont             | Clan Alpines                 | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1801     | 1808 |
| James Mitchell                    |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1801     | 1809 |
| Sir Francis Stovin, K. C. B.      | 28th                         | 1794                             | 1797 | 1803  | 1809 | 1815     | —    |
| Donald Macdonald, son of Boisdale | H. p. Indep. Comp.           | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1819 |
| Simon Macdonald of Morer          |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | —        | —    |
| John Gordon                       |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1795     | —    |
| William Morris                    | 73d                          | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1799     | —    |
| Honourable John Ramsay            |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1803 |
| Archibald Macdonell               | 79th                         | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1803     | —    |
| James Watson                      | 25th                         | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1799     | 1805 |
| Peter Grant                       | Fusileers                    | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1806 |
| Archibald Campbell                | Cape Regiment                | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1799     | 1808 |
| Donald Macdonald                  | H. p. 42d                    | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1803 |
| William Phipps                    |                              | 1798                             | 1799 | 1803  | 1812 | —        | —    |
| John Macpherson                   |                              | 1799                             | 1800 | 1805  | 1813 | —        | —    |
| James Lee, now Harvey             |                              | 1799                             | 1799 | 1803  | 1813 | —        | —    |
| George W. Holmes                  |                              | 1799                             | 1799 | 1804  | 1814 | —        | —    |
| Archibald Ferrier                 |                              | 1799                             | 1799 | 1805  | 1815 | —        | —    |
| John Blaney                       | 21st                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1813 |
| Peter Wilkie                      | 91st                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1818 |
| George Cooper                     |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | 1818 |
| Andrew Paton                      | 10th                         | 1799                             | 1801 | 1806  | 1819 | —        | —    |
| Alexander Gordon of Rockville     |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1808 | 1819     | —    |
| Sir John Maclean, K. C. B.        |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1791 | —        | —    |
| Thomas Forbes                     |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | —        | —    |
| Ewan Macpherson                   |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | 1797     | —    |
| William Erskine, son of Cardross  |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | —        | —    |
| George Davidson                   |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1794 | —        | —    |
| Ralph Gore                        |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1795 | —        | —    |
| William Alexander Gordon          |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1795 | 1801     | —    |
| Charles Cameron                   |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1796     | —    |
| Dugald Campbell                   |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1799 | 1801     | —    |
| Alexander Mackay                  |                              | 1798                             | 1799 | —     | —    | —        | —    |
| Alexander Anderson                |                              | 1798                             | 1799 | 1805  | —    | —        | —    |
| Alexander Cameron                 |                              | —                                | —    | —     | 1800 | —        | —    |
| James Scaton                      |                              | 1799                             | —    | —     | —    | —        | —    |
| Robert Nugent Dunbar              | 12th                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1803     | —    |
| Andrew Geils                      | 20th                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1803     | —    |
| Samuel Maxwell                    | 73d                          | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1803     | —    |
| James Bent                        | 11th                         | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1804     | —    |
| Donald Macpherson                 |                              | 1799                             | 1799 | —     | —    | —        | —    |
| Sir Ulysses Burgh                 |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1803     | —    |
| Alexander Stewart                 |                              | —                                | —    | —     | —    | 1808     | —    |

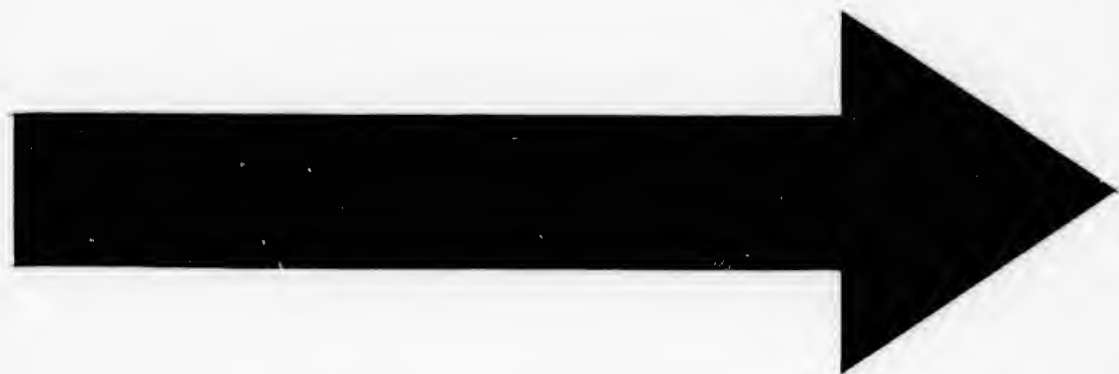
OF GORDON HIGHLAND REGIMENT, as FIELD-OFFICERS, or who  
or by Brevet, from 1794 to 1825.

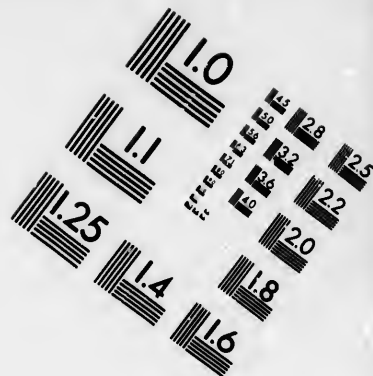
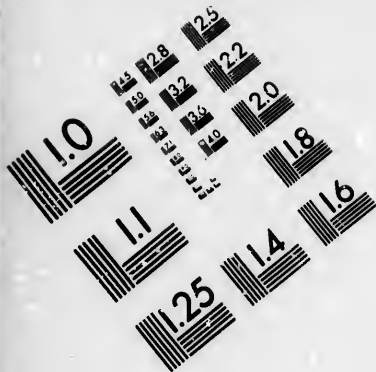
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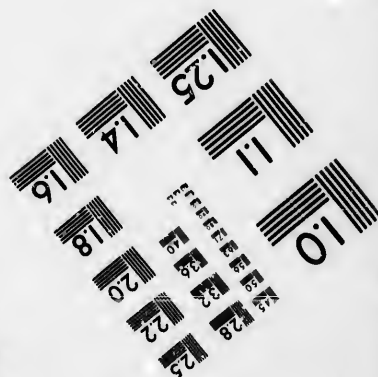
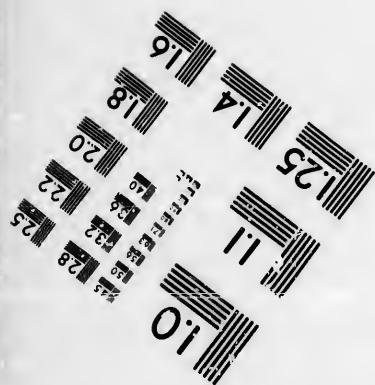
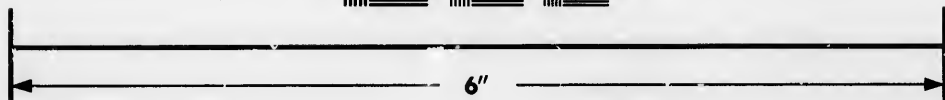
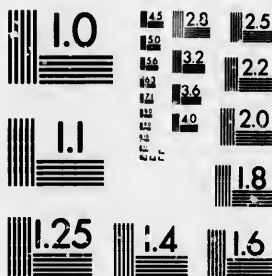
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| When removed. | No. of Years' Service in the Regiment. | Remarks, relative to Promotion, Resignation, Exchange, &c. | Highest Rank in the Army at their Decease; when retired; or still holding. |
|---------------|--|--|--|
| 1806          | 12                                     | To the Royal Highland Regiment                             | General in 1819  |
| 1820          | 14                                     | Ditto. Died 1823   | Do. do.  |
| 1823          | 3                                      | To the 72d Highland Regiment                               | Lieut.-Gen. do.  |
|               | 2                                      |  | Do. do. 1821   |
|               | 7                                      | Killed in Egypt in 1801                                    | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1804          | 6                                      | Promoted to Major-General                                  | Lt. Gen. in 1814   |
|               | 15                                     | Killed at Corunna January 16, 1809                         | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1808          | 4                                      | Colonel 85th Regiment. Quarter-Master-General              | Lieut.-Gen. in 1825  |
|               | 21                                     | Killed at Quatre Bras, June 1815                           | Colonel  |
| 1814          | 10                                     | Promoted to Major-General                                  | Maj.-Gen. in 1819  |
| 1819          | 25                                     | Retired in 1819  | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1821          | 2                                      |  | Do.  |
|               | 1                                      | Appointed to raise a new regiment. Died 1795               | Do.  |
| 1799          | 5                                      | Retired  | Major  |
| 1806          | 12                                     | Retired  | Brevet-Lieut.-Col.   |
| 1805          | 2                                      | Removed to Veterans  | Colonel  |
| 1804          | 10                                     | Half-pay   | Do. in 1819  |
| 1813          | 19                                     | Veterans. Died in 1814                                     | Brevet-Lieut.-Col.   |
| 1810          | 4                                      | Retired  | Major  |
| 1812          | 19                                     | Do. on Full-pay. Dead                                      | Do.  |
| 1813          | 10                                     | Do. Dead   | Do.  |
| 1818          | 20                                     | Half-pay   | Brv.-Lt.-Col. 1815   |
| 1814          | 15                                     | Do.  | Major  |
|               | 15                                     | Died of Wounds 1813  | Brevet-Lieut.-Col.   |
|               | 15                                     | Half-pay 1814  | Major  |
|               | 19                                     | Retired 1818   | Do.  |
|               | 6                                      | Died in Jamaica 1819                                       | Do.  |
|               | 1                                      | Do. do.  | Brevet-Lieut.-Col.   |
| 1823          | 23                                     | Retired  | Major  |
| 1824          | 16                                     |  | Do.  |
| 1804          | 10                                     | Promoted to 45th Regiment. Retired                         | Do.  |
| 1803          | 9                                      | Do. to 85d do. Killed at Talavera                          | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1804          | 10                                     | Do. to 27th  | Maj.-General 1825  |
| 1796          | 2                                      | Do. to 37th and 45th. Killed at Toulouse 1814              | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1799          | 5                                      | Do. to 17th Regiment, and Veterans                         | Do.  |
| 1796          | 1                                      | Do. to 16th and 71st Regiments. Dead                       | Major  |
| 1805          | 10                                     | Remov. to 42d Reg. Killed at Quatre Bras 1815              | Brevet-Major   |
| 1799          | 3                                      | Do. to the 9th Regiment                                    | Lieut.-Col. in 1810  |
| 1802          | 3                                      | Half-pay   | Brevet do. in 1813   |
| 1800          | 2                                      | Promoted to 5d Fgt. or Bulls                               | Do. in 1819  |
| 1818          | 20                                     | Dead   | Brevet-Major   |
| 1800          | 1                                      | To 95d Regiment. Retired 1817                              | Major  |
| 1801          | 2                                      | Promoted to 42d Reg. and Portuguese Service                | Brv.-Lt.-Col. 1816   |
| 1801          | 2                                      | To Rifle Corps. Half-pay                                   | Do. in 1812  |
|               | 10                                     | Died of Wounds in 1813                                     | Brevet-Major   |
|               | 9                                      | Retired in 1812  | Do.  |
| 1804          | 1                                      | To 75d Regiment. Half-pay                                  | Lt.-Col. in 1813   |
| 1818          | 14                                     | Retired  | Brevet-Major   |
| 1802          | 3                                      | Promoted to 20th Regiment. Killed in Spain                 | Major  |
| 1806          | 3                                      | To 10th Veterans   | Lieut.-Colonel   |
| 1814          | 6                                      | To Guards  | Brevet-Lieut.-Col.   |
| 1795          | 1                                      | Half-pay   | Colonel in 1819  |





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

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No. VIII.—LIST of OFFICERS who served in the 93d, or who rose to that Rank, either Regimentally

| NAMES.                        | From what Regiment Received. | Dates of Commissions in the Reg. |      |      |      |          |      |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|------|------|----------|------|
|                               |                              | Ens.                             | Lt.  | Capt | Maj. | Lt. Col. | Col. |
| William Wemyss of Wemyss      | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | —    | —        | 1800 |
| Sir Thomas Hislop, Bart.      | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | —    | —        | 1822 |
| Sir Hudson Low                | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | —    | —        | 1822 |
| Alexander Halket              | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | —    | —        | 1800 |
| George Johnstone              | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | —    | —        | 1810 |
| Andrew Creagh                 | 104th                        | —                                | —    | —    | —    | —        | —    |
| William Wemyss, junior        | Rifle Corps                  | —                                | —    | —    | 1800 | 1814     | —    |
| John Graham                   | .                            | —                                | 1805 | —    | —    | 1815     | —    |
| Robert Honeyman               | 90th                         | —                                | —    | —    | 1800 | —        | —    |
| Samuel Brown                  | York Fusileers               | —                                | —    | —    | 1803 | —        | —    |
| Robert Dale                   | 2d West Ind. Reg.            | —                                | —    | 1800 | 1806 | —        | —    |
| Alexander Gordon              | 39th                         | —                                | —    | —    | 1806 | —        | —    |
| Alexander Mackay              | 16th                         | —                                | —    | —    | 1800 | 1814     | —    |
| Richard Ryan                  | 92d                          | —                                | —    | —    | 1800 | 1814     | —    |
| William Sutherland            | .                            | —                                | 1801 | 1805 | 1815 | —        | —    |
| Edward Fawcener               | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | 1814 | 1817     | —    |
| P. O. K. Boulger              | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | 1807 | —        | —    |
| A. Douglas                    | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | 1807 | —        | —    |
| J. Tyler                      | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | 1808 | —        | —    |
| Honourable Sir Charles Gordon | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | 1814 | —        | —    |
| John Allen                    | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | —    | —        | 1822 |
| Mark A. Bozon                 | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | —    | —        | 1823 |
|                               | .                            | —                                | —    | —    | —    | —        | 1824 |



## No. IX.

*Return of the Killed and Wounded of the 79th Regiment, from the first formation, in 1793, to the Conclusion of the War in 1813.*

| PLACE AND DATE OF THE ENGAGEMENTS.         | KILLED.         |           |             |        |            |                          | WOUNDED.        |           |             |        |            |                          |
|--|-----------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|--------------------------|
|  | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants. | Drummers. Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants. | Drummers. Rank and File. |
| 1799.                                      |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Bergen, October 2, . . . . .               |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 13                       | 1               | 3         |             |        | 4          | 54                       |
| Total in 1799, . . . . .                   |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 13                       | 1               | 3         |             |        | 4          | 54                       |
| 1801.                                      |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Aboukir, March 13, . . . . .               |                 |           |             |        |            |                          | 1               |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Alexandria, March 21, . . . . .            |                 |           |             |        | 1          |                          |                 | 2         | 1           |        | 2          | 18                       |
| Rhamanich, May 10, . . . . .               |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 1                        |
| Total in 1801, . . . . .                   |                 |           |             |        | 1          |                          | 1               | 1         | 3           |        | 2          | 19                       |
| 1810.                                      |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Busaco, September 27, . . . . .            |                 |           |             |        |            | 7                        |                 | 2         |             |        |            | 41                       |
| Total in 1810, . . . . .                   |                 |           |             |        |            | 7                        |                 | 2         |             |        |            | 41                       |
| 1811.                                      |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Fuentes d'Honor, May 3, . . . . .          | 1               | 1         |             |        |            | 4                        |                 | 1         | 2           |        |            | 17                       |
| Villa Formosa, May 5, . . . . .            |                 |           |             |        | 1          | 26                       | 1               | 2         | 6           |        | 5          | 121                      |
| Total in 1811, . . . . .                   | 1               | 1         |             |        | 1          | 30                       | 1               | 3         | 8           |        | 5          | 138                      |
| 1812.                                      |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Burgos, September 19, . . . . .            |                 |           |             |        |            | 5                        |                 |           | 2           |        | 3          | 29                       |
| Do. 20 and 26, . . . . .                   | 1               |           |             | 1      |            |                          |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 18                       |
| Do. Sept. 27 to Oct. 5, . . . . .          |                 |           |             |        |            | 1                        |                 |           |             |        | 1          | 3                        |
| Do. October 4 to 5, . . . . .              |                 |           |             |        |            | 3                        |                 |           | 1           |        |            | 7                        |
| Do. 6 to 10, . . . . .                     | 1               |           |             |        |            | 6                        |                 |           |             | 1      |            | 27                       |
| Do. 11 to 17, . . . . .                    |                 |           |             |        |            | 1                        |                 |           |             |        |            | 1                        |
| Do. 18 to 21, . . . . .                    |                 |           |             |        |            | 1                        |                 |           |             |        |            | 1                        |
| Do. July 25, . . . . .                     |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            | 1                        |
| Total in 1812, . . . . .                   | 2               |           |             | 1      |            | 17                       |                 | 1         | 3           |        | 5          | 87                       |
| 1813.                                      |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Nivelle, November 10, . . . . .            |                 |           |             |        |            | 1                        |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 5                        |
| Passage of the Nive, December 9, . . . . . |                 |           |             |        |            | 5                        |                 | 1         |             | 2      |            | 24                       |
| Total in 1813, . . . . .                   |                 |           |             |        |            | 6                        |                 | 2         |             | 2      |            | 29                       |

from the  
813.

| PLACE AND DATE OF THE ENGAGEMENTS.                              | KILLED.         |           |             |        |            |                          | WOUNDED.        |           |             |        |            |                          |     |
|---|-----------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|--------------------------|-----|
|   | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants. | Drummers. Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants. | Drummers. Rank and File. |     |
| 1814.<br>Toulouse, April 10, .                                  |                 | 2         | 2           |        |            | 16                       |                 | 4         | 9           | 1      | 12         | 2                        | 165 |
| Total in 1814, .  |                 | 2         | 2           |        |            | 16                       |                 | 4         | 9           | 1      | 12         | 2                        | 165 |
| 1815.<br>Quatre Bras, June 16, .                                |                 |           |             | 1      |            | 28                       | 3               | 6         | 7           |        | 10         |                          | 248 |
| Waterloo, June 18, .  |                 |           | 2           |        | 2          | 27                       |                 | 3         | 8           |        | 7          | 4                        | 121 |
| Total in 1815, .  |                 |           | 2           | 1      | 2          | 55                       | 3               | 9         | 15          |        | 17         | 4                        | 369 |
| RECAPITULATION.   |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |     |
| Total loss in 1799; . . .                                       |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 13                       | 1               |           | 3           |        | 4          |                          | 54  |
| 1801, . . .   |                 |           |             |        | 1          |                          | 1               | 1         | 3           |        | 2          |                          | 19  |
| 1810, . . .   |                 |           |             |        |            | 7                        |                 | 2         |             |        |            |                          | 41  |
| 1811, . . .   | 1               | 1         |             |        | 1          | 30                       | 1               | 3         | 8           |        | 6          |                          | 138 |
| 1812, . . .   | 2               |           |             |        | 1          | 17                       |                 | 1         | 3           |        | 5          | 1                        | 87  |
| 1813, . . .   |                 |           |             |        |            | 6                        |                 | 2         |             |        | 2          |                          | 29  |
| 1814, . . .   |                 | 2         | 2           |        |            | 16                       |                 | 4         | 9           | 1      | 12         | 2                        | 165 |
| Total before the Peace of 1814, .                               | 3               | 4         | 2           |        | 3          | 89                       | 3               | 11        | 28          | 1      | 31         | 3                        | 533 |
| Total in 1815, . . .  |                 |           | 2           | 1      | 2          | 55                       | 3               | 9         | 15          |        | 17         | 4                        | 369 |
| Total killed and wounded during<br>twenty-two years of the war, | 3               | 4         | 4           | 1      | 5          | 144                      | 6               | 20        | 43          | 1      | 48         | 7                        | 902 |

*Names of Officers Killed.*

| Rank.          | Names.              | When Killed.   | Where Killed.   |
|----------------|---------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Captain        | James Campbell      | Oct. 2, 1799   | Bergen          |
| Lieut.-Colonel | Phillips Cameron    | May 3, 1811    | Fuentes d'Honor |
| Captain        | William Imlach      | do             | do              |
| Major          | Honourable E. Cocks | Oct. 3, 1812   | Burgos          |
|                | Andrew Laurie       | do             | do              |
| Captain        | Patrick Purvis      | April 10, 1814 | Toulouse        |
|                | John Cameron        | do             | do              |
| Lieutenant     | Duncan Cameron      | do             | do              |
|                | Ewan Cameron        | do             | do              |
| Adjutant       | John Kynock         | June 16, 1815  | Quatre Bras     |
| Lieutenant     | D. Macpherson       | do 18 do       | Waterloo        |
|                | E. Kennedy          | do             | do              |

## Names of Officers Wounded.

| Rank.       | Names.                | When Wounded.  | Where Wounded.     | Whether Dead. |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Colonel     | Allan Cameron         | Oct. 2, 1799   | Bergen             |               |
| Lieutenant  | Colin Macdonald       | do             | do                 |               |
|             | D. Macneil            | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Stair Rose            | do             | do                 |               |
| Lieut.-Col. | Patrick Macdowall     | Mar. 13, 1801  | Egypt              | Died of Wnds. |
| Lieutenant  | George Sutherland     | do             | do                 | March 19      |
|             | John Stewart          | do             | do                 |               |
| Volunteer   | Alexander Cameron     | do             | do                 |               |
| Lieutenant  | Patrick Ross          | do 21 do       | Alexandria         |               |
| Captain     | Samuel Macdowall      | May 10, do     | Rhamanieh          |               |
|             | Neil Douglas          | Sept. 27, 1810 | Busaco             |               |
| Lieutenant  | Alexander Cameron     | do             | do                 |               |
|             | James Calder          | May 3, 1811    | Fuentes d'Onor     |               |
|             | Hugh Grant            | Sept. 19, 1812 | Burgos             |               |
|             | Angus Macdonald       | do             | do                 |               |
|             | K. J. Leslie          | do 20 do       | do                 |               |
|             | Alexander Robertson   | Nov. 10, 1813  | Pass. of the Nive  |               |
| Ensign      | John Thomson          | Dec. 13, do    | Passage of Nivelle |               |
| Captain     | Thomas Mylne          | April 10, 1814 | Toulouse           |               |
|             | Peter Innes           | do             | do                 |               |
|             | James Campbell        | do             | do                 |               |
|             | William Marshall      | do             | do                 |               |
| Lieutenant  | William Macbarnet     | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Donald Cameron        | do             | do                 |               |
|             | James Fraser          | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Duncan Macpherson     | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Ewen Cameron (Senior) | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Ewen Cameron (Junior) | do             | do                 |               |
|             | John Kynock           | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Charles Macarthur     | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Allan Macdonald       | do             | do                 |               |
| Ensign      | Allan Maclean         | do             | do                 |               |
| Adjutant    | Alexander Cameron     | do             | do                 |               |
| Lieut.-Col. | Neil Douglas          | June 16, 1815  | Quatre Bras        |               |
| Major       | Andrew Brown          | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Donald Cameron        | do             | do                 |               |
| Captain     | Thomas Mylne          | do             | do                 |               |
|             | William Marshall      | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Malcolm Fraser        | do             | do                 |               |
|             | John Sinclair         | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Neil Campbell         | do             | do                 |               |
| Lieutenant  | Donald Macphee        | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Thomas Brown          | do             | do                 |               |
|             | William Maddock       | do             | do                 |               |
|             | William Leaper        | do             | do                 |               |
|             | James Fraser          | do             | do                 |               |
|             | W. A. Reach           | do             | do                 |               |
| Ensign      | James Robertson       | do             | do                 |               |
| Captain     | James Campbell        | do 18, do      | Waterloo           |               |
|             | Neil Campbell         | do             | do                 | Do. in July   |
|             | John Cameron          | do             | do                 | Do. June 27   |
| Lieutenant  | John Powling          | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Donald Cameron        | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Ewen Cameron          | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Alexander Cameron     | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Charles Macarthur     | do             | do                 |               |
|             | Alexander Forbes      | do             | do                 |               |
| Ensign      | John Nash             | do             | do                 |               |
|             | A. S. Crawford        | do             | do                 |               |

## No. X.

*Return of the Killed and Wounded of the 92d Highland Regiment,  
from the Formation, 1794, to the Conclusion of the War, 1815.*

| PLACE AND DATE OF THE ENGAGEMENTS.     | KILLED.         |           |             |        |            |                          | WOUNDED.        |           |             |        |            |                          |
|--|-----------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|--------------------------|
|  | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants. | Drummers, Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants. | Drummers, Rank and File. |
| 1799.                                  |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Zype, September 10, . . .              |                 |           |             |        |            | 1                        |                 | 1         |             |        |            |                          |
| Bergen, October 2, . . .               |                 | 1         | 2           |        | 3          | 54                       | 1               | 4         | 6           |        | 6          | 1                        |
| Total in 1799, . . .                   |                 | 1         | 2           |        | 3          | 55                       | 1               | 5         | 6           |        | 6          | 1                        |
| 1801.                                  |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Aboukir, March 13, . . .               |                 |           |             |        |            | 19                       | 1               | 2         | 8           |        | 10         |                          |
| Alexandria, March 21, . . .            |                 |           |             |        |            | 3                        |                 | 1         | 1           |        |            |                          |
| August 29, . . .                       |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Total in 1801, . . .                   |                 |           |             |        |            | 22                       | 1               | 3         | 9           |        | 10         |                          |
| 1807.                                  |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Copenhagen, August 16, . . .           |                 |           |             |        |            | 1                        |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Total in 1807, . . .                   |                 |           |             |        |            | 1                        |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| 1809.                                  |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Corunna, . . .                         | 1               |           |             |        |            | 3                        |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 12                       |
| Total in 1809, . . .                   | 1               |           |             |        |            | 3                        |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 12                       |
| 1811.                                  |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Fuentes d'Honor, May 3, . . .          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           | 1           |        |            | 9                        |
| Villa Formosa, May 5, . . .            |                 |           |             |        |            | 7                        | 1               | 1         |             |        | 2          | 33                       |
| Arroyo del Molino, October 28, . . .   |                 |           |             |        |            | 3                        | 1               | 3         |             |        |            | 7                        |
| Total in 1811, . . .                   |                 |           |             |        |            | 10                       | 2               | 3         | 2           |        | 2          | 49                       |
| 1812.                                  |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Alvarez, May 19, . . .                 |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            | 2                        |
| Alba de Tormes, Nov. 10 and 11, . . .  |                 |           |             |        |            | 8                        |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 33                       |
| Total in 1812, . . .                   |                 |           |             |        |            | 8                        |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 35                       |
| 1813.                                  |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Vittoria, June 21, . . .               |                 |           |             |        |            | 4                        |                 |           |             |        | 1          | 15                       |
| Pyrenees, July 25, . . .               |                 |           |             |        | 2          | 32                       | 3               | 3         | 13          |        | 10         | 258                      |
| Do. July 30, . . .                     |                 |           |             |        |            | 9                        |                 | 1         |             |        |            | 26                       |
| Do. July 31, and August 1, . . .       |                 |           |             |        | 2          | 8                        | 1               | 3         | 2           |        | 3          | 66                       |
| Passage of the Nive, December 9, . . . |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            | 2                        |
| Do. December 13, . . .                 |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |                 |           |             |        |            |                          |
| Puerto de Maya, July 4 and 8, . . .    |                 | 3         |             | 1      |            | 27                       | 1               | 3         | 6           |        | 7          | 136                      |
| Total in 1815, . . .                   |                 | 3         |             | 5      |            | 80                       | 5               | 10        | 21          |        | 21         | 504                      |

| PLACE AND DATE OF THE ENGAGEMENTS.                             | KILLED.         |           |             |        |            | WOUNDED.  |                |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |
|--|-----------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|-----------|----------------|
|  | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| 1814.  |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |
| St Sever, February 14, -                                       |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |                 |           | 1           |        |            |           | 7              |
| Do. do. 15, -  |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |                 |           |             |        |            |           | 10             |
| Do. do. 17, -  |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |                 |           |             |        |            |           | 3              |
| Orthes, do. 27, -  |                 |           |             |        |            |           | 2              |                 | 1         | 2           |        | 1          | 1         | 33             |
| Ayre, March 2, -   |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |
| Total in 1814, -   |                 |           |             |        |            |           | 2              |                 | 2         | 3           |        | 1          | 1         | 53             |
| 1815.  |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |
| Quatre Bras, June 16, -  | 1               | 1         | 3           |        | 2          | 33        |                | 3               | 15        |             | 13     | 1          |           | 212            |
| Waterloo, do. 18, -  |                 |           |             |        | 1          | 13        |                | 2               | 4         | 1           | 3      |            |           | 19             |
| Total in 1815, -   | 1               | 1         | 3           |        | 3          | 46        |                | 5               | 19        | 1           | 15     | 1          |           | 231            |
| RECAPITULATION.  |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |
| Total loss in 1799, -  |                 |           | 1           | 2      | 3          |           | 55             | 1               | 5         | 6           |        | 6          | 1         | 178            |
| 1801, -  |                 |           |             |        |            |           | 22             | 1               | 3         | 9           |        | 10         |           | 140            |
| 1807, -  |                 |           |             |        |            |           | 1              |                 |           |             |        |            |           |                |
| 1809, -  | 1               |           |             |        |            | 3         |                |                 |           | 1           |        |            |           | 14             |
| 1811, -  |                 |           |             |        |            |           | 19             | 2               | 3         | 2           |        | 2          |           | 49             |
| 1812, -  |                 |           |             |        |            |           | 8              |                 |           | 1           |        |            |           | 35             |
| 1813, -  |                 |           | 3           |        | 5          |           | 80             | 5               | 10        | 21          |        | 21         |           | 504            |
| 1814, -  |                 |           |             |        |            |           | 2              |                 | 2         | 3           |        | 1          | 1         | 53             |
| Total before the peace of 1814, -                              | 1               | 1         | 5           |        | 8          | 181       | 9              | 23              | 43        |             | 40     | 2          |           | 971            |
| Total in 1815, -   | 1               | 1         | 3           |        | 3          | 46        | 1              | 5               | 19        | 1           | 16     | 1          |           | 231            |
| Total killed and wounded during twenty-two years of the war, - | 2               | 2         | 8           |        | 11         | 227       | 10             | 28              | 62        | 1           | 56     | 3          |           | 1202           |

## Names of Officers Killed.

| Rank.          | Names.                | When Killed.  | Where Killed. |
|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Captain        | William Mackintosh    | Oct. 2, 1799  | Bergen        |
| Lieutenant     | Alexander Fraser      | do            | do            |
|                | Gordon Machardy       | do            | do            |
| Lieut.-Colonel | Alexander Napier      | Jan. 16, 1809 | Corunna       |
| Lieutenant     | Duncan Macpherson     | Dec. 13, 1813 | Pyrenees      |
|                | Thomas Mitchell       | do            | do            |
|                | Allan Macdonald       | do            | do            |
| Lieut.-Colonel | John Cameron          | June 16, 1815 | Quatre Bras   |
| Captain        | William Little        | do            | do            |
| Lieutenant     | J. J. Chisholm        | do            | do            |
| Ensign         | Abel Becker           | do            | do            |
|                | John M. R. Macpherson | do            | do            |

## Names of Officers Wounded.

| Rank.       | Names.              | When Wounded.  | Where Wounded.    | Whether Dead.              |
|-------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Captain     | Hon. John Ramsay    | Sept. 10, 1799 | Zype              |                            |
| Colonel     | Marquis of Huntly   | Oct. 2, —      | do                |                            |
| Captain     | John Cameron        | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Alexander Gordon    | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Peter Grant         | do             | do                |                            |
|             | John Maclean        | do             | do                |                            |
| Lieutenant  | George Fraser       | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Charles Chadd       | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Norman Macleod      | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Donald Macdonald    | do             | do                |                            |
| Ensign      | Charles Cameron     | do             | do                |                            |
|             | John Macpherson     | do             | do                |                            |
|             | James Bent          | do             | do                |                            |
|             | G. W. Holmes        | do             | do                |                            |
| Lieut.-Col. | Charles Erskine     | Mar. 13, 1801  | Aboukir           | Died of Wnds.<br>March 23. |
| Captain     | Hon. John Ramsay    | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Archibald Macdonald | do             | do                |                            |
| Lieutenant  | Norman Macleod      | do             | do                | do. April.                 |
|             | Charles Doule       | do             | do                | do. March 16.              |
|             | Donald Macdonald    | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Tomlin Campbell     | do             | do                | do. do. 17.                |
|             | Alexander Clarke    | do             | do                | do. do. 24.                |
|             | Ronald Macdonald    | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Alexander Cameron   | do             | do                |                            |
| Ensign      | Peter Wilkie        | do             | do                |                            |
| Captain     | John Cameron        | do 21, do      | do                |                            |
| Lieutenant  | Stewart Matheson    | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Archibald Macdonald | Jan. 16, 1809  | Corunna           | do.                        |
|             | James Hill          | May 3, 1811    | Fuentes d'Onor    |                            |
| Major       | Peter Grant         | do. 5, do      | do                |                            |
| Lieutenant  | Allan Macrae        | do             | do                | do. May 10.                |
| Lieut.-Col. | John Cameron        | Oct. 28, do    | Arroyo del Molino |                            |
| Captain     | Donald Macdonald    | do             | do                |                            |
|             | John Macpherson     | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Nugent Dunbar       | do             | do                |                            |
| Lieutenant  | Andrew Will         | Nov. 11, 1812  | do                |                            |
| Lieut.-Col. | John Cameron        | July 25, 1813  | Pyrenees          |                            |
| Major       | James Mitchell      | do             | do                |                            |
|             | John Macpherson     | do             | do                |                            |
| Captain     | G. W. Holmes        | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Ronald Macdonald    | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Samuel Bevan        | do             | do                | do. August                 |
| Lieutenant  | William Fyfe        | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Donald Macpherson   | do             | do                |                            |
|             | John J. Chisholm    | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Donald Macdonald    | do             | do                |                            |
|             | John Durie          | do             | do                |                            |
|             | James Kerr Ross     | do             | do                |                            |
|             | Robert Winchester   | do             | do                |                            |
|             | George Gordon       | do             | do                |                            |
|             | John Grant          | do             | do                |                            |
| Ensign      | Alexander Macdonald | do             | do                | do. do.                    |

| ED.       |           |                |
|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Sergants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
|           |           | 7              |
|           |           | 10             |
|           |           | 3              |
| 1 1       |           | 53             |
| 1 1       |           | 53             |
| 13 1      |           | 212            |
| 3         |           | 19             |
| 15 1      |           | 231            |
| 6 1       |           | 178            |
| 10        |           | 140            |
|           |           | 19             |
| 2         |           | 49             |
|           |           | 35             |
| 21        |           | 504            |
| 1 1       |           | 53             |
| 40 2      |           | 971            |
| 16 1      |           | 231            |
| 156 3     |           | 1202           |

## e Killed.

|           |
|-----------|
| Sergen    |
| do        |
| do        |
| Corunna   |
| Pyrenees  |
| do        |
| do        |
| Atre Bras |
| do        |
| do        |
| do        |
| do        |



*Names of Officers Wounded.*

| Rank.         | Names.                   | When Wounded. | Where Wounded. | Whether Dead.              |
|---------------|--------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| Ensign        | George Mitchell          | July 25, 1813 | Pyrenees       | Died of Wnds.<br>August 6. |
|               | Ewen Kennedy             | do            | do             |                            |
| Captain       | G. W. Holmes             | do 30, do     | do             | do                         |
| Major         | John Macpherson          | do 31, do     | do             |                            |
| Captain       | James Seaton             | do            | do             |                            |
|               | James Lee                | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Dougald Campbell         | do            | do             |                            |
| Lieutenant    | James Hope               | do            | do             |                            |
| Captain       | G. W. Holmes             | Dec. 13, do   | Bayonne        |                            |
|               | Ronald Macdonald         | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Donald Macpherson        | do            | do             |                            |
| Lieutenant    | J. J. Chisholm           | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Robert Winchester        | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Ronald Macdonald         | do            | do             |                            |
|               | John Cattanaugh          | do            | do             |                            |
|               | George Mitchell          | do            | do             |                            |
| Ensign        | William Fraser           | do            | do             |                            |
| Lieutenant    | Richard Macdonald        | Feb. 14, 1814 | St Sever       | do February.               |
| Captain       | James Seaton             | do 15, do     | do             |                            |
|               | William Fyfe             | March 2, do   | Ayre           |                            |
| Lieutenant    | J. A. Durie              | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Richard Macdonnell       | do            | do             |                            |
| Major         | Jas. Mitchell (Lt.-Col.) | June 16, 1815 | Quatre Bras    |                            |
| Captain       | G. W. Holmes             | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Dougald Campbell         | do            | do             |                            |
|               | W. C. Grant              | do            | do             | do June.                   |
| Lieutenant    | Thomas Hobbs             | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Thomas Mackintosh        | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Robert Winchester        | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Ronald Macdonnell        | do            | do             |                            |
|               | James Kerr Ross          | do            | do             |                            |
|               | George Logan             | do            | do             |                            |
|               | John Mackinlay           | do            | do             |                            |
|               | George Mackie            | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Alexander Macpherson     | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Ewen Ross                | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Hector M'Innes           | do            | do             |                            |
| Ensign        | John Barnwell            | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Robert Logan             | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Angus Macdonald          | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Robert Hewitt            | do            | do             |                            |
| Assist. Surg. | John Stewart             | do            | do             |                            |
| Captain       | Peter Wilkie             | do 18, do     | Waterloo       |                            |
|               | Archibald Ferrier        | do            | do             |                            |
| Lieutenant    | Robert Winchester        | do            | do             |                            |
|               | Donald Macdonald         | do            | do             |                            |
|               | James Kerr Ross          | do            | do             |                            |
|               | James Hope               | do            | do             |                            |

## NOTE to Page ii of the Appendix.

*General Statement of the Number of Men that belonged to the 43d, now the 42d, or Royal Highland Regiment, from the 24th of April 1740, to the 24th of June 1815.*

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| In the year 1740, when the regiment was embodied at Aberfeldy, in Perthshire, and quartered near Tay Bridge and the Point of Lyon, these being their places for exercise, the ten companies consisted of 5 sergeants, 2 pipers or drummers, and 80 men each,  | 870   |
| In 1745, three companies, of 5 sergeants and 100 men each, were added,  | 315   |
| These companies remained at home, and sent reinforcements to the regiment when required.  |       |
| Recruits raised from 1746 to 1748,  | 90    |
| Total from 1740 to the peace of 1748  | —1275 |
| In 1748, the three additional companies were reduced, and about 500 men were discharged.  |       |
| Recruits from 1749 to 1755,   | 89    |
| In 1756, the regiment was placed on the war establishment. The number of recruits raised in nine weeks was  | 750   |
| In 1758, seven companies, of 120 men each, were raised and formed into a second battalion at Perth, on 20th October,  | 840   |
| In 1759, a detachment of recruits joined,   | 125   |
| In 1761, do. do.  | 90    |
| Total from the peace of 1748 to the peace of 1763,  | —1894 |
| When the regiment left America in 1767, all the soldiers who preferred remaining, either volunteered into other regiments or were discharged in that country. So many made this choice, that, along with the deaths and those who had been previously discharged, the regiment was very weak in numbers. However, in a few weeks, the recruits raised amounted to | 200   |
| In 1770, the strength of the regiment was augmented, and there were added, including sergeants,   | 144   |
| Recruits from 1770 till 1775,   | 96    |
| In 1775, the regiment was again placed on the war establishment, and in ten weeks there were recruited, including sergeants,  | 876   |
| A part of this number remained at home, and reinforcements sent to America as occasion required.  |       |
| In 1779, drafts from Chatham were sent to the regiment, These were removed to other regiments, and Scotchmen received in exchange.  | 152   |

|   |   |      |
|---|---|------|
| In 1781, a detachment of recruits from Scotland,  | - | 120  |
| Also a draft from the Scotch Fusileers, &c.   | - | 30   |
| Total from the peace of 1763 to the peace of 1783,  | - | 1618 |
| At the latter period, a number of men were discharged,<br>and the establishment reduced to 350 men. The corps<br>being very healthy in Nova Scotia, no recruits were sent<br>out. The regiment came home in 1789, when there<br>joined  | - | 230  |
| In 1790, recruits,  | - | 29   |
| In 1791, an independent company, raised by the Marquis<br>of Huntly, was ordered to the regiment,   | - | 97   |
| Recruits in 1791,   | - | 34   |
| Recruits in 1792,   | - | 47   |
| From 25th June 1793 to 24th June 1815, the number of<br>men discharged was 1485; the number killed in action,<br>280; died by sickness and wounds, 1135; unaccount-<br>ed for, having been left sick in an enemy's country,<br>prisoners, &c. 138 men; and the number remaining in<br>the first battalion on the 24th June 1815 was 530 men.<br>Thus, as the dead, discharged, missing, and still re-<br>maining in the regiment on that day, must include the<br>whole who joined within the period, we find the num-<br>ber of men to have been | - | 3563 |
| Total from the peace of 1783 to the peace of 1815,  | - | 4005 |
| Grand Total of men in the Black Watch, and 42d or Royal<br>Highland Regiment, from its origin at Tay Bridge in April<br>1740 to 24th June 1815,   | - | 8792 |

N. B.—The second battalion of the year 1758 is included in the number of men in the first battalion, as, with the exception of the expedition of the second to Martinique and Guadaloupe in 1759, both battalions were always employed in the same service.

The second battalion of 1780 is not included, as there was no exchange of men or officers between it and the first battalion.

The second battalion of 1803 is also kept separate. The number of men who died in this battalion from December 1803 to 24th October 1814, was 322. The number discharged and transferred to the first battalion and to other regiments, from 1803 till the reduction in 1814, was 965 men.

*General Statement of the Number of Men received by the 78th, or South-  
forth Highlanders; also of the number Dead, Discharged, Deserted,  
or Prisoners, and transferred to other Regiments; from the date of  
the issuing of the Letters of Service, on the 8th of March 1793, till  
the 24th June 1820.*

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Number of men recruited from the formation till the 24th<br>December 1793,  | 1090 |
| Recruits from 25th December 1793 till the peace of 1801,                    | 225  |
| Drafted from the second battalion and other corps in 1795<br>and 1796,      | 1104 |
| Recruits from 1801 till the peace of 1815,                                  | 408  |
| Volunteers from the Perth, Ross, and other militia regi-<br>ments in 1808,  | 290  |
| Drafts from the second battalion from 1808 till 1814,                       | 646  |
| Transfers from other regiments till this date,                              | 26   |
| Recruits from the peace of 1815 till the 24th of June 1820,                 | 168  |
| Drafts from the second battalion within this period,                        | 412  |
| Total increase,   | 4369 |
| Number of men killed and dead from the formation till the<br>peace in 1801, | 573  |
| Discharged within this period,  | 449  |
| Transferred to other regiments,   | 353  |
| Deserted or taken prisoners,*   | 71   |
| Number of men killed and dead from 1801 till the peace<br>of 1815,          | 1382 |
| Discharged within this period,  | 305  |
| Deserted or taken prisoners,*   | 10   |
| Transferred,  | 1    |
| Number of men dead from 1815 till 24th June 1820,                           | 96   |
| Discharged,   | 224  |
| Deserted,   | 1    |
| Transferred when the regiment embarked from India in 1817,                  | 234  |
| Do. to other regiments in 1818,   | 32   |
| Total decrease from 1793 till 1820,   | 3731 |
| Effective strength of the regiment, 24th June 1820,                         | 638  |

This statement includes all the changes in the 78th regiment for twenty-seven years. Similar statements respecting the other High-

\* It is proper to mention, that the men stated as prisoners or deserters, previous to 1801, were those who fell behind in the harassing marches through Holland and Westphalia during the almost unprecedented falls of snow in 1794 and 1795. The enemy being close in the rear of the army, the soldiers fell into their hands; but whether they voluntarily surrendered, or were incapable of marching, was not ascertained, though there can be little doubt that the exhaustion of the young soldiers was the cause of their falling into the hands of the enemy. The same remark applies to those who fell behind in the heavy marches in the East Indies.

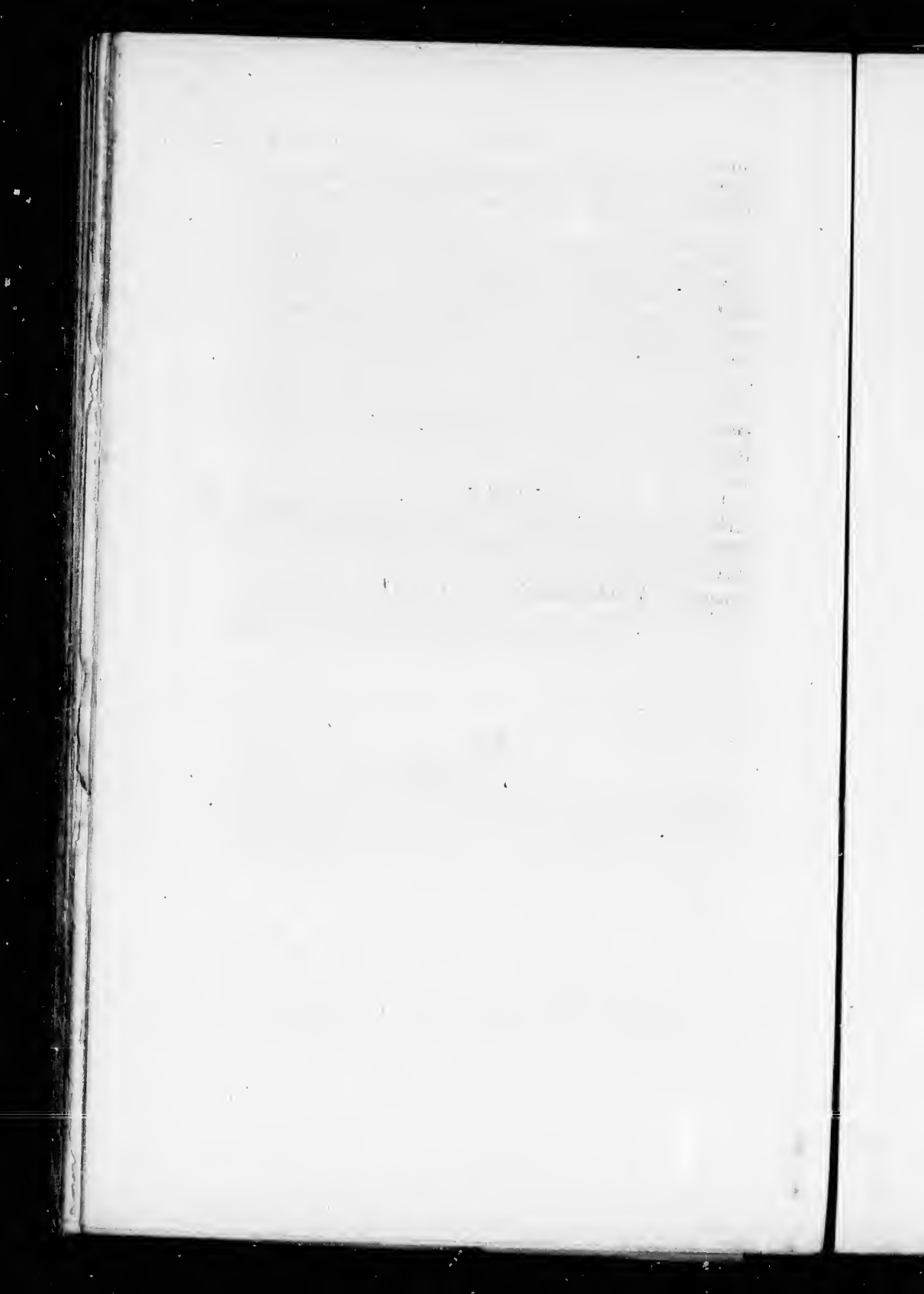
land regiments would give similar results. It has been already stated, that the number of men received by the 42d from 1783 till the 24th of June 1815, was 4005.

The service of the 42d, 79th, and 92d, was very similar, these regiments having been much employed together, and subject to the same casualties. Those of the 92d have been less, as, during the war, the regiment was not employed in the West Indies along with the other two corps. Indeed, it is not probable, that, in the Highland corps, there was any difference of vigour or of capability to support the trials of constitution incident to the profession; consequently, there could have been no material difference in the consumption of lives. Enough, therefore, has I hope been stated, to afford some idea of the loss of lives to which a body of men is subject by engaging in the military profession. This comparative statement may also afford data for calculating the duration of life in a service such as that of the 78th, which, in the course of twenty-seven years, lost by sickness, by the hand of the enemy, and by accidental causes, 2033 men, out of 4369, being less than one-half, while exposed to every variety of climate and fatigue, marching through the snow of Westphalia in the winter of 1794 and 1795, and afterwards stationed twenty-two years in the East Indies, six of which were in Batavia, considered one of the most unhealthy stations in the East. We may also take into the account the many long and admirably conducted, but harassing, marches under Sir Arthur Wellesley, of which a brief and imperfect sketch will be found in the article on this regiment.

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