

BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE.*

A.D. 1689.

THE Revolution of 1688, one of the most remarkable events in British history, which placed William Prince of Orange

* Macpherson's Collection of Original State Papers; Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee, by an Officer in the Army, printed in *Miscellanea Scotica*; Chambers' History of the Rebellions, in Constable's Miscellany; Mackay's History of the Clan Mackay; Mackay of Rockfield's Life of Lieutenant-General Mackay; General Mackay's Memoirs, written by Himself; General Stewart's History of the Highlanders; Balcarras' Memoirs.

on the throne, was opposed in Scotland by a great and powerful party, and especially by the great majority of the Highland chiefs and their clans. It once more summoned them to attempt the restoration of that illustrious Family in behalf of whom they had on former occasions distinguished themselves, and they took arms under a commander as able to guide their energies and to lead them to victory as the great Marquis of Montrose. This leader was not a Highlander, yet, like the Marquis, he won the confidence of the clans, and as he bore the same name, and was a cadet of the same family, they beheld in him a character as enterprising as his illustrious predecessor. Graham of Claverhouse, who in 1686 had the rank of a brigadier-general, and two years afterwards that of major-general, was the individual who became the idol of the Highlanders, and for whom they would have literally gone through *fire and water*. When with King James II. at London, he was created a peer by the title of Viscount of Dundee, and by this title we are now to speak of Graham of Claverhouse, the *Bloody Clavers* of the southern and western counties, on account of his zeal in putting down or dispersing conventicles and seditious meetings. But the Highlanders knew him not by this soubriquet, one which he well knew was bestowed upon him; to them he was always kind and condescending, and they regarded him with the most devoted admiration.

It would be out of place in this narrative to follow the Viscount of Dundee through all the incidents of the Revolution previous to the battle of Killiecrankie, or Renrorie, as it is called by the Highlanders. In January 1689 his Lordship was in Edinburgh, when the Convention of the Estates was sitting to ratify the new Government, and as it was currently reported that there was a design to assassinate him, which was very probable, he required as a means of personal security the removal of all strangers from

the city. This demand was refused, and Dundee retired from the Convention, leaving Edinburgh at the head of about thirty troopers, after an interview with the Duke of Gordon, then governor of Edinburgh Castle in the interest of King James, at the postern gate of that fortress. But the reader must not suppose that it was the mere refusal of the Convention to clear the city of strangers which influenced Dundee in his subsequent movements. He was a Cavalier and an adherent of King James from principle, and as such he would have given to the Revolution settlement, as it is called, his strenuous opposition.

The departure of Lord Dundee from Edinburgh on his chivalrous, and, as he considered, loyal expedition to raise the Highland clans for King James, is the theme of an admirable ballad by Sir Walter Scott, which appeared in one of those elegant publications called *Annuals*, namely, the "Friendship's Offering" for 1828. It utters the very sentiments of the Cavaliers of the Revolution period, and the feelings of the illustrious hero of Killiecrankie in particular. No apology is necessary for introducing this fine ballad in the present narrative.

To the Lords of Convention, 'twas Clavers who spoke,
 Ere the King's crown go down, there are crowns to be broke;
 So each cavalier, who loves honour and me,
 Let him follow the bonnets of bonnie Dundee.
 Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
 Come saddle my horses, and call up my men;
 Come open the West Port, and let me gae free,
 And it's room for the bonnets of bonnie Dundee.

Dundee he is mounted—he rides up the street,
 The bells are rung backwards, the drums they are beat;
 But the Provost, douce man, said, "Just e'en let him be,
 The town is weel quit of that de'il of Dundee."

As he rode down the sanctified bends of the Bow,
 Each cariine was flyting and shaking her pow;
 But some young plants of grace, they looked couthie and slee,
 Thinking—Luck to thy bonnet, thou bonnie Dundee.

With sour-featured saints the Grassmarket was pang'd,
 As if half of the West had set tryst to be hang'd :
 There was spite in each face, there was fear in each e'e,
 As they watch'd for the bonnet of bonnie Dundee.

These cowls of Kilmarnock had spits and had spears,
 And lang hafted gullies to kill cavaliers ;
 But they shrunk to close heads, and the causeway left free,
 At a toss of the bonnet of bonnie Dundee.

He spurr'd to the foot of the high Castle rock,
 And to the gay Gordon he gallantly spoke—
 “ Let Mons Meg and her marrows three vollies let flee,
 For love of the bonnets of bonnie Dundee.”

The Gordon has ask'd of him whither he goes—
 “ Wheresoever shall guide me the spirit of Montrose ;
 Your Grace in short space shall have tidings of me,
 Or that low lies the honnet of bonnie Dundee.

“ There are hills beyond Pentland, and streams beyond Forth,
 If there are lords in the Southland, there are chiefs in the North ;
 There are wild dunnie-wassels, three thousand times free,
 Will cry *Hoigh!* for the bonnet of bonnie Dundee.

“ Away to the hills, to the woods, to the rocks,
 Ere I own a usurper I'll couch with the fox ;
 And tremble, false Whigs, though triumphant ye be,
 You have not seen the last of my bonnet and me.”

He wav'd his proud arm and the trumpets were blown,
 The kettle-drums clash'd, and the horsemen rode on ;
 Till on Ravelston crags and on Clermiston lee
 Died away the wild war-note of bonnie Dundee.

 Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
 Come saddle my horses, and call up my men ;
 Fling all your gates open, and let me gae free,
 For 'tis up with the bonnets of bonnie Dundee.

As soon as it was ascertained that Dundee and his thirty troopers had departed peaceably from Edinburgh, the Duke of Hamilton, as President of the Convention, sent a party of eighty horsemen, under the command of Major Bunting, to insist upon the Viscount's immediate return, or to compel him if he refused. Major Bunting

overtook Dundee and his troopers riding leisurely near Linlithgow on the Stirling road. The Viscount ordered his men to continue their march, and falling back he entered into conversation with the Major, who delivered to his Lordship the message of the Convention, and intimated the other disagreeable alternative if he was not obeyed. Dundee advised him to return to his masters by the way he came, and to offer no molestation, otherwise he would send him back to them in a pair of blankets. Bunting prudently took the hint, and left the Viscount to his own meditations. On the 30th of March, twelve days after his departure from Edinburgh, and after some other attempts had been made to induce him to return, he was declared a traitor by the Convention, and proclaimed such at the Cross of Edinburgh—a procedure which gave Dundee not the slightest uneasiness.

But the friends and supporters of King James did not exhibit that zeal in his cause which animated Dundee, and which he was induced to expect. Some went over to the Revolution party, others retired to their country seats, and very few resolved to join the Viscount, whose intentions were well known, and who in the meantime proceeded to his own residence near the town of Dundee, where he lived in apparent idleness, though he was secretly in active correspondence with the Highland chiefs for the purpose of a *rising* in favour of the exiled monarch. In this manner he was spending the spring of 1689, when the Convention thought proper to send a body of troops from Edinburgh, under Sir Thomas Livingstone, to apprehend him at his mansion, and the Earl of Balcarres at his residence in Fife. The Earl was seized, brought to Edinburgh, and committed a prisoner to the Castle, where he was treated with such rigour that no one was permitted to converse with him except through the keyhole; but Dundee procured intelligence of the intended visit to him, and had

time to make a safe retreat to the Highlands before the soldiers crossed the Tay at the modern village called Newport, opposite the town of Dundee.

The Viscount was thus compelled to commence hostilities some time before he actually intended to appear in arms, and the Convention despatched against him Lieutenant-General Hugh Mackay of Scoury, a gallant officer who had some considerable experience in the Continental wars of the Prince of Orange, now William III. of Great Britain. Of this gentleman's early history little is known. He was born about 1640 at Scoury, a romantic and beautiful residence in the parish of Eddrachillis, on the west coast of Sutherland, which was the property of his paternal ancestors, a branch of the numerous and powerful clan Mackay. He seems to have imbibed a love of military life from hearing such of his relations as lived to return delighting to recount their exploits under the *Lion of the North*, as the great Gustavus of Sweden was commonly designated, and at the Restoration he procured a commission as ensign in Douglas' or Dumbarton's Regiment, at one period so called from Lord George Douglas, fourth son of the Marquis of Douglas, who was created Earl of Dumbarton in 1675, but who having followed King James to France was removed from the colonelcy in 1690. This regiment, perhaps the oldest and the most celebrated regiment in Europe, is now the gallant Royal Scots, or First Foot of the British Line, originally formed out of the Scots Guards, employed more than three centuries in the service of France. In 1672, Mackay was a captain in the Royal Regiment, which had been lent by Charles II. to the French King soon after the Restoration in virtue of a treaty, and it was still in the service of France; but he was speedily induced by a love affair to transfer himself from the Royals with his rank of captain to the Scottish Brigade in the service of the States General, and he was received with the utmost dis-

tinction by the Prince of Orange. The first battle in which he was engaged under his new master the Stadtholder was that of Seneff, and the siege of Grave, where the Prince of Orange was opposed by those celebrated commanders the Duke of Luxemburg and the Prince of Condé, under both of whom Mackay had formerly served. It is worthy of notice that Lord Dundee, then Graham of Claverhouse, was also an officer in the Scottish Brigade in the service of Holland, and in the battle of Seneff he had the good fortune to save the life of the Prince of Orange, by rescuing and bringing him off on his own horse. Shortly after this a lieutenant-colonelcy of one of the regiments of the Scottish Brigade became vacant, and two candidates started for it—Graham and Mackay. The latter was preferred. Claverhouse instantly quitted the Dutch service, and returning home he entered into the service of Charles II., in which, previous to the battle of Killiecrankie, he was chiefly engaged in Scotland against the Covenanters.

Without following Mackay throughout his eventful career, it may be stated that in the spring of 1689 the Prince of Orange sent that General to Scotland with detachments from three regiments of the Scottish Brigade, amounting to 1100 men, and 200 dragoons. Mackay also brought with him a commission to act as commander-in-chief, but he prudently refrained from exercising it till the Prince had been proclaimed King, as he had been in England, and he contented himself with acting under the authority of the Convention, which had commenced its sittings a few days before he arrived at Edinburgh. There was at this time a very inconsiderable military force in Scotland, the Royal Scots and the Royal Dragoons, the two most efficient regiments, not having returned since they were ordered to England by King James in the preceding year. By authority of the Convention, General Mackay issued letters of service to the Earls of Leven and

Annandale, Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Belhaven, all staunch supporters of the Revolution. Leven in 1689 was appointed governor of Edinburgh Castle, when the Duke of Gordon resigned that fortress into the hands of King William's Government, and fought with his regiment at the battle of Killiecrankie, where he greatly distinguished himself. The Earl of Annandale was one of the first in Scotland to join the Revolution, and raised a troop of horse for its service, though he, notwithstanding, in 1689 was induced by his brother-in-law Sir James Montgomery to join in the association for the restoration of King James, but he repented, confessed the whole matter to King William, and was restored to favour. Viscount Kenmure must have been drawn into the Revolution party by private considerations, for his family were noted for their attachment to King James, and his son, the sixth Viscount, was beheaded on Tower Hill for engaging in the enterprise of 1715. Lord Belhaven was the same nobleman who was afterwards celebrated for his speeches in the Scottish Parliament against the Union. He raised a troop of horse, which he commanded at Killiecrankie. It is remarkable that though Belhaven's principles must have been well known, yet in 1708, when there was a threatened invasion by the exiled monarch, he was suspected of favouring the project, and was arrested and carried prisoner to London—an indignity which speedily caused his death. The Earls of Leven and Annandale were empowered to raise each a battalion of foot, and Kenmure and Belhaven each an independent troop of horse. General Mackay also empowered the three skeleton Dutch regiments to complete their numbers to 1200 men each—a measure, however, which he was never able fully to accomplish, on account of the preference given by Scotsmen to regiments in the service of their own country. With these levies, and some expected reinforcements from England, General

Mackay proposed to lay siege to Edinburgh Castle, and compel the Duke of Gordon to surrender.

But the proceedings of Dundee compelled the General to alter his plans, while the surrender of Edinburgh Castle concluded the siege or blockade of that fortress. The Viscount was now openly engaged in rousing the northern counties, and particularly the Highland chiefs, to declare for King James. It would be tedious to enter into all the details, the marches and counter-marches, pursuits, crossings, and other manœuvres, previous to the meeting of Mackay and Dundee at Killiecrankie. On the 26th of July the General commenced his march from Perth into the Highlands at the head of about 4500 men, a considerable portion of whom were cavalry, and he expected six other troops of dragoons to join him very soon. Dundee, who had been duly apprized of the General's motions, descended from the higher district of Badenoch into Athole with a force of about 2500 men, one-fifth of whom were Irish, who had recently landed at Inverlochy under Brigadier Cannan; the rest were Highlanders. Some of the clans had not yet joined, as some time was to elapse before the day appointed for the rendezvous: but Dundee considered it of the utmost importance to prevent Mackay establishing himself in Athole, and he resolved, in his usual chivalrous manner, to meet him with his inferior force, little more than half of Mackay's army in point of number, on the 27th of July.

There is a variety of interesting anecdotes still preserved, illustrative of the feeling which pervaded and animated both parties. General Stewart mentions a singular instance of the desertion of a Highland chief by his people—a chief “powerful in influence and in property, yet neither the one nor the other was able to act on his followers in opposition to what they considered their loyalty and duty to an unfortunate monarch. Lord Tallibardine

eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, collected a numerous body of Athole Highlanders, together with three hundred Frasers, under the command of Hugh Lord Lovat, who had married a daughter of the Marquis. These men believed that they were destined to support the abdicated King, but were in reality assembled to serve the government of William. When in front of Blair Castle, their real destination was disclosed to them by Lord Tullibardine. Instantly they rushed from their ranks, ran to the adjoining stream of Banovy, and filling their bonnets with water, drank to the health of King James, and then, with colours flying, and pipes playing, fifteen hundred of the men of Athole, as reputable for arms as any in the kingdom, put themselves under the command of the Laird (Stewart) of Ballechin, and marched off to join Lord Dundee, whose chivalrous bravery, and heroic and daring exploits, had excited their admiration more than those of any other warrior since the days of Montrose."

The Viscount of Dundee arrived in his march at the Castle of Blair, where he was informed that General Mackay had reached the celebrated Pass of Killiecrankie, which at that time and long after it, as it still does, though made more accessible by a proper road, exhibited one of the wildest and most stupendous displays of mountain scenery to be found in Scotland. A council of war was held in the Castle, Lord Tullibardine having been compelled to break up the partial blockade which he had hitherto been able to keep up against his father's castellated mansion, by the defection of his Highlanders and the near approach of Dundee, and the Viscount was strongly advised by the majority of his officers to dispute the passage of the Scottish Thermopylæ, as the Pass has been appropriately termed. They urged that it was hazardous, considering the immense superiority of the enemy, to allow the General to enter Blair Athole before the arrival of the

reinforcements, which might be expected in a very few days. But the romantic gallantry, as well as the military skill of Dundee, induced him to oppose this advice. He appealed to their feelings as Highlanders, reminding them that their ancestors—and he at the same time declared that he meant no reflection on them—always disdained to attack an enemy who could not defend himself upon equal terms. But besides that national maxim which had ever honourably distinguished them, the Viscount contended that one principal reason for allowing the General to march through the Pass unmolested, was the great advantage they would gain by engaging him on the open ground before he was joined by the English dragoons, who were at all times formidable to the Highlanders, and who, if allowed to come up, would more than compensate for any accession of force which Dundee might receive. The Viscount assigned another reason, namely, that in the event of Mackay sustaining a defeat, his army would in all probability be ruined, as it was almost impossible to retreat through the Pass without the hazard of evident destruction, whereas if the Highlanders were defeated they could easily retire to the mountains, and bid defiance to the enemy. Dundee added, that in anticipation of victory he had already issued orders to certain friends in the neighbourhood to cut off the stragglers in their attempt to escape. These reasons were satisfactory to the chieftains.

It ought to be mentioned that there were secret friends of Dundee in Mackay's army, and in all probability there would have been a battle while both parties were in pursuit of each other in Aberdeenshire, if Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone and sundry other officers had not stationed two dragoons near the mansion-house of Edinglassie to give Dundee warning. The dragoons were found concealed in the woods, and their information led to discoveries which completely implicated Livingstone and the others.

General Mackay arrested them, and sent them to Edinburgh, to be dealt with according to the pleasure of the Government. They confessed their guilt, but it is not ascertained in what manner they were ultimately disposed of. The Viscount had contrived to capture two gentlemen who were keen supporters of the Revolution—William Blair of Blair and Sir John Maxwell of Pollock. The former had raised at his own expense and commanded a troop of horse, and Sir John Maxwell was his lieutenant. They were taken prisoners at Perth, with two infantry officers, when Dundee, through the good offices of his friend Stewart of Ballechin, made a rapid march through Athole to Perth, surprised that city early one morning, and seized as a lawful prize all the public money he found. He carried Blair and Pollock about with him under a severe restraint during his marches for about six weeks, and then sent them to the Island of Mull, where the Laird of Blair died, in consequence, it is said, of the fatigue he had encountered. When it was reported to the Viscount that some of the officers whom General Mackay had sent prisoners to Edinburgh were to be executed, he is alleged to have written to the Privy Council, intimating that if a hair of their heads was touched he would cut the Lairds of Blair and Pollock joint by joint, and send their limbs in hampers to the Council. Lieutenant Colt, one of the infantry officers taken prisoner at Perth, and who was afterwards a Government witness against a number of Dundee's adherents, deponed that when he was taken prisoner he heard the Viscount say—"You take prisoners for the Prince of Orange, and we take prisoners for King James, and there's an end of it."

It is already noticed that the number of Mackay's forces is generally stated at 4500 men, but he tells us himself in his "Memoirs" that he had with him only "six battalions of foot, making at the most 3000 men, with four troops of

horse and as many dragoons." He afterwards specifies them, namely, his own, Balfour's, and Ramsay's Dutch infantry, Hastings', now the 13th, or First Somerset Light Infantry, and Leven's Foot, now the 25th, or the King's Borderers, and Kenmure's, both newly raised and incomplete. The troops of horse were those commanded by the Earl of Annandale and Lord Belhaven; other two, with four troops of dragoons ordered to follow from Stirling, did not overtake the General. It is appropriately observed in the "Life of Lieutenant-General Hugh Mackay," that "the two Scottish regiments of foot, as well as the horse, were not only new levies, but were also commanded by noblemen and gentlemen wholly destitute of military experience, and selected for their respective commands solely on account of their power of raising men: little more, therefore, than one-half of the whole number could be said to be disciplined." General Stewart mentions other two regiments as composing Mackay's army—Sir James Leslie's Foot, now the 15th, or York East Riding Regiment of Infantry, and the 21st, now the Royal North British Fusileers; but these regiments, it is satisfactorily ascertained, were not present, though they were in Scotland, and under General Mackay's command. The General expressly states that on the battle-field he stationed 200 Fusileers, picked men, from the Dutch Brigade, on a rising ground under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, and these must be the corp mistaken by General Stewart for the Scotch Fusileer Regiment, which is never mentioned by General Mackay at all, and therefore could not have been in the action. Sir James Leslie's Foot (the 15th) was left with Sir Thomas Livingstone at Inverness, as were also 300 of Leven's (the 25th) and of Hastings' (the 13th). The two regiments of horse mentioned by General Stewart were in all probability the two troops commanded by Annandale and Belhaven, which were mere *troops*, and not regiments.

General Mackay passed the night previous to the battle amid the magnificent scenery of Dunkeld, and here at midnight he received a letter from Lord Tullibardine, or Lord Murray, as he is oftener called, informing him that he had been unable to expel the garrison of King James' friends in Blair Castle. Sundry hints are thrown out about his Lordship's fidelity, and it appears that the General, depending on him, had no opinion that Dundee would offer him battle. Speaking of his Lordship's retreat from Blair Castle, "which till then," says the General, "he had made the fashion to keep blocked, and his passing a strait and difficult pass two miles below the said house, leaving it betwixt him and the enemy; the farther side thereof he affirmed to have left guarded for our free passage to Blair, where he supposed Dundee to be already, although Lieutenant-Colonel Laudet, whom the General ordered, presently upon Murray's advertisement, for the better securing of the Pass, denied to have met with any of his men there." Lord Tullibardine was son-in-law of the Duke of Hamilton, and is generally understood to have been a great supporter of the Revolution, being also nearly related to King William, and there is little foundation for the charge of treachery. We are told that "hitherto the General harboured no suspicion of Murray's fidelity, whose lady and her mother were *zealous Presbyterians*, 'though he began already,' he says, 'to have ill thoughts of the expedition in gross.'" But it is more candidly stated by Mr Mackay of Rockfield.—"At midnight he (the General) received an express from Lord Murray, communicating intelligence of the arrival of part of Dundee's force at Blair that morning, and of his having himself in consequence been obliged to raise the blockade of the Castle and retreat towards the Pass of Killiecrankie, at the upper end of which he left some of his adherents to guard the Pass, and keep it clear. The General, though much pleased with

this proof of Murray's zeal and attention to the service, had no confidence in his guards, and therefore immediately detached Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder with 200 Fusiliers, picked men from the Dutch regiments, to strengthen or replace them according to circumstances. At break of day, Saturday 27th July, he resumed his ill-fated march towards the Pass, and a little below it met with Murray, who accounted for the small retinue with which he was attended, by stating that his few adherents followed the rest of the country people to the hills with their cattle, according to the custom of the country on the approach of hostile armies. With this explanation the General was satisfied, having never expected more from Murray than that he would prevent his people from openly joining the standard of Dundee. Some of the most zealous friends of Government about Edinburgh doubted the fidelity of this young Lord, suspecting him to be in league with his father; but the General, though at first he lent an ear to these suspicions, was now convinced of their being groundless, and lost no opportunity of doing justice to Murray's good faith." There can be little doubt that Lord Tullibardine's father, who was the second Earl and first Marquis of Athole, deserted the Revolution party, when he was disappointed of being elected President of the Convention of Estates, which the Duke of Hamilton, by the influence of the Presbyterians, carried by a majority of fifteen.

When Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder arrived at the other end of the Pass, he found that the guard Murray left had disappeared, which they had probably done willingly, on account of their predilections in favour of the exiled sovereign. Here, however, he descried some forces, who appear to have been a body of four hundred of Dundee's men under the command of Sir John Maclean, whom Dundee, on learning that the advanced guard of Mackay's army, after traversing the Pass, and taking up a position

near the northern extremity, had despatched from Blair Castle to keep them in check. At ten o'clock in the morning the General reached the lower end of the Pass, where he halted, and sent the lieutenant-colonel of the Earl of Leven's regiment with an additional force of two hundred men to reinforce Colonel Lauder, and transmit intelligence of the movements of Dundee. After allowing his men two hours for refreshments, and receiving a report from Lauder that the Pass was clear, he recommenced his march, and entered the Pass at twelve o'clock. Balfour's, Ramsay's, and Kenmure's battalions marched first; then Lord Belhaven's troop of horse, followed by the Earl of Leven's regiment, and the General's own battalion commanded by his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel James Mackay; next came the baggage horses, about 1200 in number; then the Earl of Annandale's troop of horse; and Hastings' foot regiment, left for the protection of the baggage, brought up the rear.

In this manner the General led his army into the stupendous Pass of Killiecrankie, the road through which was at that time of the most wretched description, along the east banks of the Garry, confined on the one hand between a wild range of craggy precipices, and on the other by the mountain stream tumbling and dashing from rock to rock in a channel considerably lower than the road. A handful of men, provided with no other ammunition than stones, and stationed at intervals on the summit of the precipices, could easily impede the progress of any troops in that irregularly wild and even terrific locality. Language can hardly describe this remarkable Pass. If even at the present time, with the advantages of the present excellent road, formed nearly sixty years afterwards, it still astonishes the traveller, it must have been much more so in General Mackay's time, when it was in a state of the wildest and most savage desolation. It is appropriately said by a competent authority—" Scarcely any scene could be more im-

pressive than the march of this little army through the deep and long withdrawing vale which they were now entering. Let the reader suppose himself standing on the boundary betwixt a level and a mountainous country—a den-like recess falling back into the boundless waste of hills before him, and an army winding its slow and devious way, as if they were mass by mass and man by man precipitating themselves into a labyrinthine cave. Let him conceive them soon after got clear of the close embracing indentations of the Pass, and entered into a vale of considerable space, through the centre of which runs a majestic mountain stream, while hills rise on both sides to an immense height.—It is a peculiarity of the long vale by which Mackay was entering the Highlands that at Dunkeld, and also at Killiecrankie, fifteen miles farther up, it becomes contracted to a very small space, through which the road and the river have scarcely room to pass. At Killiecrankie, which is about four miles on this side of Blair Castle, the bold dark hills, which range all along the vale on both sides, advance so near, and shoot up with such perpendicular majesty, that the eagles call to each other from their various tops, and the shadow of the left range lies in everlasting gloom upon the face of the right.—The scene is altogether one which might make the boldest soldier pause before entering it, supposing him to be in the least degree uncertain of the disposition of the country towards his party, or of the motions of the enemy. When the Pass of Killiecrankie is traversed, the country beyond is found to open suddenly up into a plain, which is expressively called the Blair or *field* of Athole. Immediately beyond the Pass this plain is not very spacious, but is confined to that description of territory which in Scotland is called a *haugh*, or a stripe of level alluvial soil by the brink of a river. The road debouches upon this narrow plain; the river runs along under the hills on the left; on the right rise other hills, but not

of so bold a character. Mackay no sooner arrived at a space sufficiently wide for drawing up his army than he halted, and began to intrench himself. He left his baggage at a blacksmith's house near the termination of the Pass, so as to have the protection of the army in front."

When the army was marching through the Pass, an ominous circumstance occurred. A Highlander, who rejoiced in the names of Ian Ban Beg MacRaa, deliberately fired across the water from the hills, and killed a horseman. The place where this bold deed was done is distinguished by a well, called in Gaelic the *Well of the Horseman*.

The information which Dundee received, that the General had entered the Pass with his whole force, induced him to march directly against his opponent. As an instance of his activity, it is said that on the night before the battle, knowing that the Highlanders had not been tried in the field since the time of Montrose, forty years previously, he put their courage to the proof by giving a false alarm, as if a sudden attack had been made on his camp. In a moment he found every man at his post, and by this stratagem he not only satisfied himself, but increased the confidence of his men. Instead of keeping the direct road from Blair Castle to the field of battle, he turned to the left at Glen Tilt, and made a detour round the hill behind the castellated mansion of Lude. Marching onward, he gradually ascended the rising grounds, till he gained an elevated position near Urrard House, from which he perceived General Mackay preparing for battle on the level ground below.

The order of the General's line is no where accurately stated, and the details are of little consequence. Some anecdotes are preserved, which are worthy of being here introduced. "Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel," says General Stewart, "had joined Lord Dundee in the service of the abdicated King, while his second son, a captain in the

Scotch Fusileers, was under General Mackay on the side of Government. As the General was reconnoitring the Highland army, drawn up on the face of a hill, a little above the House of Urrard, and to the westward of the great Pass he turned round to young Cameron, who stood next to him, and pointing to the Camerons—‘ There,’ said he, ‘ is your father with his wild savages. How would you like to be with him?’ ‘ It signifies little,’ replied the other, ‘ what I would like; but I recommend to you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like.’”

The Highland army was saluted by a loud shout of defiance by Mackay’s soldiers, who were drawn up in one line six men deep, leaving no reserve except the guard of the baggage. Dundee drew up his men also in one line, three deep, so as to extend the line to the same length as that of the General. On the Viscount’s right he placed Sir John Maclean with his regiment of two battalions, on the left Sir John Macdonald’s regiment, commanded by a son of that gentleman and by Sir George Berkeley. The main body consisted of four battalions—being the clans of Lochiel, Glengarry, and Clanronald, and the Irish regiment, with a troop of horse. The Viscount had also his own body of horse, which, although recruited on his irruption from Lochaber into the Low Country, must have been reduced by hard service and want of supplies. He had also a number of Highland gentlemen, and some persons of distinction, among whom was the Earl of Dunfermline, well mounted, and acquainted with cavalry duty, who all served as volunteers. General Mackay was aware of those dangerous antagonists, and he assigns as his reason for placing his cavalry on his rear till the fire should be exhausted on both sides, that he did so from a dread of the Viscount’s horse, who, he says, were all gentlemen, officers,

or such as had deserted from Dundee's regiment when in England, and with whom it was not to be expected that his own newly raised levies could cope.

General Mackay was recognised by the Highlanders briskly riding along his line from one battalion to another giving orders, and they often attempted to bring him down, but he escaped unhurt, though some of his soldiers were wounded. After the line was formed, Mackay rode along the front, from the left wing, which he had committed to the charge of Brigadier Balfour, to the right, and finding every thing in readiness to receive the Highlanders, he addressed his battalions in an appropriate speech, earnestly beseeching them to stand firm in their ranks, assuring them that if they did so they would soon see the Highlanders turn their backs; but if, on the contrary, they suffered the line to be broken, they would be undone. As the General was a very pious man, he concluded with some observations of a religious tendency. While he was thus engaged the Viscount of Dundee was equally busy ranging his men in order of battle, and his Lordship was particularly distinguished among his officers by a favourite dun-coloured horse which he rode, and by his armour, glittering in the sunbeams. Mackay, expecting that Dundee would begin the attack, was ready to receive him, but the latter showed no disposition to move, and the two armies lay some hours of a long summer afternoon in July looking at each other, with the exception of some slight skirmishing here and there caused by disputed points of ground. The apparent irresolution of the Highlanders to begin the action was considered intentional by the General, and he conjectured that their chief design was to wait till nightfall, when, by a sudden and tumultuous descent from their elevated position, and setting up their customary loud shouts, they would attempt to frighten his men, and throw them into disorder. While indulging in their popping shot at the

General, a party of Highlanders, to obtain a more certain aim, took possession of some houses on the brow of the hill in front of their left wing, which induced him to order his brother Colonel Mackay to detach a captain with some firelocks to dislodge them. The officer selected for this purpose was the General's nephew, the Hon. Robert Mackay, who performed the duty with great gallantry, killing and wounding some, and chasing the rest back to their main body. But the result of this exploit did not appear to influence the commencement of the action, and as General Mackay very naturally feared a night attack in such a wild country, and still more a night retreat—one third of his men being young soldiers who had never before been in the field, and even the disciplined portion of his troops unaccustomed to the Highland mode of fighting—he felt anxious to bring on the action with day-light, and he tried in vain several expedients to induce them to fight. The General could not, without the most certain danger, advance up the hill and commence the action, and as the hazard was equally great if he attempted to retreat and cross the stream, he resolved to remain in his position whatever were the consequences, although with impatience, as he says in his Memoirs, till Dundee should either attack him or retire, which he had a better opportunity of doing.

It was now nearly eight o'clock, and up to this time Dundee was not to be diverted from his purpose, which was evidently to spin out till near sunset. But the Viscount had revolved all his plans in his own mind. Some of his officers advised him to delay the battle till the ensuing day, both as the men were fatigued, and as they expected considerable accessions of force from Rannoch; but Dundee would listen to neither of these suggestions, alleging that his men could be no more fatigued than their antagonists must be; that if he expected reinforcements, so did Gene-

ral Mackay, and those reinforcements would consist of horse—a force which the Highlanders had particular occasion to dread. There was some fear also that if the battle were delayed, Mackay would be able to intrench himself in such a position that it would be impossible to dislodge him, or even to get at him, without a great and disastrous loss of men.

These considerations had their due effect, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed throughout the Highland army. A little after eight o'clock, when the sun was throwing his parting beams down the slope of the hills on which the contending parties were stationed, the Viscount delivered a speech to his men, in which he told them that they were now to fight in behalf of the best of causes—that of their King, their religion, and their country—against the foulest usurpation and rebellion. He exhorted them to recollect that the fate of their country now depended on their exertions, to behave like true Scotsmen, and to redeem the credit of their nation, which had been laid low by the treachery and cowardice of some of their countrymen. He asked them to imitate his example on the present occasion, and reminded them that those who fell would have the honour of dying in the path of duty, as became true men of valour and conscience. He then prepared to lead them on to the attack, regardless of the entreaties of the chiefs and gentlemen, who earnestly implored him not to engage in person, reminding him that their mode of fighting was quite different from the practice of regular troops, and, above all, requesting him to consider that if he fell, the interest of King James would be annihilated in Scotland. No argument could dissuade him from engaging at the head of his troops. We are told by an eye-witness that “General Mackay’s army outwinged Dundee’s nearly a quarter of a mile, which obliged the clans to leave large intervals between each clan, and by declining towards the wings, they wanted troops

to charge the centre where a detachment of Leslie's and Hastings' regiments were."

It was with the most intense anxiety that General Mackay beheld the sun rapidly sinking towards the horizon, and when this feeling was excited to the highest pitch, he perceived an extraordinary motion among the Highlanders, and all at once they moved slowly down the hills barefooted, and stripped of their coats. They soon rushed forward with tremendous fury, uttering such a yell as the wild solitudes of Killiecrankie probably never before heard. They commenced the attack by a discharge of their fire-arms and pistols, which, on account of their being drawn up without regard to regularity, made little impression on Mackay's men, who were marshalled according to the strictest rules of discipline then followed, and who reserved their fire until within a few paces of the Highlanders, when they poured it into them. They discharged in platoons, they were enabled to take a steady aim, and their fire told with dreadful effect on the disorderly masses opposed to them.

But this was almost all they were allowed to do. At that time the present plan of fixing the bayonet was not known, and before the troops had time to screw their side-arms on their guns, and present a shining array of steel to their assailants, the Highlanders rushed in upon them sword-in-hand. It is said that General Mackay invented the present plan of firing with the bayonet screwed on from the complete defeat which he was now destined so briefly to experience, for the whole affair lasted only a few minutes, and may be described as a general discharge of fire-arms and then a carnage. The artillery, which was captured by the Earl of Dunfermline did no execution, not only from the suddenness of the defeat, but because it was clumsily wrought, and disadvantageously situated. Before the battle the brave Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel spoke to his clan individually, and took their solemn promise

that they would conquer or die on the field. Mackay's army met the yell of the Highlanders by a shout, when Lochiel exclaimed to his followers—"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 quickly spread among the Highlanders, and greatly animated them. A Highland gentleman of Glen Urquhart was knocked down by a ball which came against his target, but he immediately rose, making the slight remark—"Och! sure the *boddachs* are in earnest!"—the word *boddach* being an epithet of contempt, and he advanced with the rest, regardless of the momentary interruption. At the outset the advantage was completely in favour of General Mackay, but the Highlanders soon turned the aspect of affairs, when, after discharging their pieces, they threw them away according to custom, and drawing their broadswords, they rushed in upon the soldiers, who, according to their own General, "behaved like the vilest cowards in nature, with the exception of Hastings' and Leven's regiments." Those regiments maintained their ground till night, but a Jacobite eye-witness has been careful to record that "the first officer that left his post in Mackay's army was the Lord Leven; the glistening and clashing of the Highlandmen's swords and targets scared his horse so much that he ran six miles before he could draw bridle, which the brave Pittarthy can witness." He adds of this nobleman in a strain of bitter irony and sarcasm—"No doubt, if her Majesty had been rightly informed of his care of the Castle of Edinburgh, where there were not ten barrels of powder when the Pretender was on the coast of Scotland, and of his courteous behaviour to the ladies, particularly how he whipped the Lady Mortons, she would have made him General for life." But the gallantry of Hastings' and Leven's regiments availed them nothing, for as

they marched back through the Pass of Killiecrankie they were so furiously attacked by the Athole men in front and the Highlanders in the rear, that most of them fell, and a few were made prisoners. It is only justice, however, to the others to say, that if they had been as brave as they are said to have been pusillanimous, their courage would not have availed them, as their arms were insufficient to parry off the tremendous blows of the axes and the broad and double-edged swords of the Highlanders, who with a single stroke often felled the soldiers to the earth, and completely disabled them. The eye-witness already quoted says—"There were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down from the skull and neck to the very breasts; others had skulls cut off above their ears like night-caps; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at one blow; pikes and small swords were cut like willows; and whoever doubts of this may consult the witnesses of the tragedy."

While this carnage was carrying on the Viscount of Dundee at the head of his horse made a furious charge against Mackay's own battalion, and broke through it, on which the English cavalry stationed behind fled without firing a single shot. When the General perceived that the Viscount's chief point of attack was near the centre of his line, he resolved to charge the Highlanders in flank with two troops of horse which he had placed in his rear; and he ordered Lord Belhaven to proceed round the left wing with his own troop, and attack them on their right flank, ordering the other troop to proceed in the contrary direction, and assail their left. The General led Belhaven's troop in person, but scarcely had he got in front of the line when it was thrown into disorder, which was soon communicated to the right wing of Lord Kenmure's bat-

talion, which soon gave way. At this moment the General was surrounded by a crowd of Highlanders, and he called to his cavalry to follow him, that he might get them again formed, but only one person made the attempt—a servant, whose horse was shot under him. Putting spurs to his horse he galloped through the Highlanders, pressing against him to cut him down, and when he had got sufficiently out of immediate danger, he turned round to observe the appearance of the field. To his astonishment he saw none of his troops but the dead, the wounded, and the dying. The conduct of his men appeared to him like magic. “In the twinkling of an eye, in a manner,” he says, “our men were out of sight, being got pell-mell down to the river-side, where our baggage stood.” All were now engaged in a flying fight, or were hurrying downwards to the Pass below. The flight of his men must have been truly rapid, for although his left wing, which had never been attacked, had begun to flee before he rode off, his right wing and centre had still kept their ground. The General was now in one of the most extraordinary situations in which the commander of an army was ever placed. All his men had disappeared as if by some supernatural agency, and their commander, the only one who now made an attempt to fight, was standing a solitary individual on the mountain side, not knowing what to do, or whither to direct his course. But when he recovered from his surprise, and the smoke had cleared away, he discovered on the right a small number of his troops, and galloping up to them, found them to be a part of Leven’s regiment, with the Earl and his principal officers at their head, whom the General thanked for their conduct. Perceiving the men to be in confusion, chiefly caused by the mingling of stragglers from other regiments with them, he directed the Earl and his officers to put them in order to receive the Highlanders, whom he expected to make another attack. The General

then galloped farther to a portion of Hastings' regiment, and found their Colonel marching them to the ground they had originally occupied at the commencement of the action. This officer told him that "they had left it in pursuit of the enemy, who having thought proper to fall on their flank, he wheeled about with his pikes to the right upon them, whereby they left him and repaired to the rest of their forces, the plundering of which gave time to many of our runaways to get off." Having formed a junction of those men with Leven's, he sent his nephew, Captain Robert Mackay, who was still on horseback, though he had received eight broadsword wounds on his body, to order all officers he could meet with to collect as many of their men as they possibly could, and bring them back, assuring them at the same time of the General's favour. But as the united corps of Hastings' and Leven's regiments, whether from the trepidation of the officers or the alarm of the men, could not be brought into any kind of order, the General at one time thought, during the absence of his nephew, whose return he was resolved to wait, to intrench them within the walls of a garden behind his position, and there remain till the stragglers who might be found in the vale below made their way thither; but as there would have been great difficulty in effecting escape if he had shut himself up within the inclosures, and as he could not depend on succours, he resolved to remain where he was till his nephew returned. After nearly an hour's absence Captain Mackay made his appearance, and informed the General that he had met with several officers—that some of them whom he addressed took no notice of him—and that other survivors were far beyond his reach. At this moment General Mackay perceived by the twilight a large body of men forming along the edge of a wood, where Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder had been posted with his two hundred men. Ignorant of the fate of this corps, who were among the first who fled, and think-

ing that they might be another body of his men who had retired to the wood on the descent of the Highlanders, he ordered the officers to put their men in a condition to fire if attacked, and rode off to reconnoitre. He soon saw that this body in the wood were Dundee's men, and walked his horse slowly back, that he might not exhibit any signs of fear to the Highlanders. The General had now only four hundred of his men with him, and was in a very embarrassing situation, where he could not but expect that he might meet with parties of the Highlanders, who would fall upon the dispirited and fatigued wreck of his army, yet he extricated himself with considerable ingenuity. He exhorted his men that, as the only way to secure a safe retreat, and to make the enemy respect them, was to evince no signs of fear, they were to march slowly and keep firmly together, especially showing no inclination to run, as that would only induce the Highlanders to break in upon them, and take advantage of their terror. He observed that the darkness of the night was also in their favour, as the enemy would suppose their numbers to be greater than they really were. When marching down the hill he was joined by Lord Belhaven and two officers of Annandale's troop, with a few horsemen, the latter of which proved very useful as scouts. He then marched his men slowly down the hill, and retired across the Garry with no interruption except from one Highlander, a powerful fellow, who suddenly appeared armed with a Lochaber axe. He knew the General, and was standing in the river to cut him down. As the General was the last who passed the river, having halted on the other side to see whether he was pursued, he stood still, and ordered his servant, who was also a man of great bodily strength, to clear the ford. He immediately went up, and with one blow cut off the Highlander's head, exclaiming in Gaelic—"This is hard work, my father's brother!" The General, in opposition to the opinion of seve-

ral of his officers, who advised him to march through the Pass of Killiecrankie to Perth, proceeded several miles up Athole with the intention of crossing over the hills to Stirling. When about two miles beyond the river Garry he fell in with a party of about a hundred and fifty of his soldiers without arms, under the command of Colonel Ramsay, who was totally ignorant of the country, and of what direction he ought to take. Continuing his march along a rivulet which falls into the Garry, he came to a little village, where he procured from the inhabitants such information as enabled him with the assistance of his map to decide upon the route he intended to follow. He reached early in the morning Weem Castle, the seat of his friend the chief of the clan Menzies, whose son had been in the action at the head of a company of Highlanders, and here he obtained some sleep and refreshment after his fatigues and harassing march. On Sunday the 28th of July, the General continued his march with very little halting, and on Monday he arrived at Stirling with about four hundred men.

The Viscount of Dundee fell in the battle, and this melancholy event is subsequently noticed. His friend Halyburton of Pitcur, who, it is said, "like a moving castle in the shape of a man, threw fire and sword on all sides against his enemy," Colonel Gilbert Ramsay, Macdonald of Largo, his tutor, and all his sons, five cousins of Sir Donald Macdonald of the Isles, the brother and son of Alister Dhu, or *Black Alexander*, and several relatives, all fell in the battle on the side of Dundee. Glengarry's son, who was called Donald Gorm, or Donald the *Blue-eyed*, it is said killed eighteen of Mackay's soldiers with his own hand. The loss on the side of Dundee could never be accurately ascertained, nor was any estimate ever formed of it, but it is admitted by the Cavalier writers that it was considerable. General Mackay states that "the enemy lost on the field six for our one." The severity of his fire

fell upon the Macdonells of Glengarry, with whom the action commenced, and who were the principal sufferers. On the side of Mackay it is commonly asserted that no fewer than two thousand of his men fell, and five hundred were made prisoners. Among the persons of rank and distinction slain were his brother Colonel Mackay and Brigadier Balfour. A Highland tradition relates that the latter was killed by a Roman Catholic priest named Robert Stewart, nephew of Stewart of Balleclin. This clerical warrior is said to have been a powerful and muscular man, and he followed the fugitives in their flight down the river and towards the Pass wielding a huge broadsword, cutting down numbers of them. So fearfully did he exert himself, that at the conclusion of the carnage his hand was so swollen as to make it necessary to cut away the net work of the hilt of the sword before it could be extricated. He cut down Brigadier Balfour for contemptuously refusing to receive quarter from him. The Hon. Captain Mackay had been left for dead on the field of battle, and was found by Glengarry and his men, who, perceiving him still alive, carried him on a barn-door to the nearest hut, where he remained some days till he could be removed in safety to Dunkeld. This gentleman, who was then a captain in his uncle General Mackay's regiment, never completely recovered the effects of his wounds at Killiecrankie, and after serving and being repeatedly wounded in several of King William's battles in Flanders, he died at Tongue, the seat of his family, in December 1696, in the 30th year of his age. General Mackay says that "the most part of the slaughter and capture of the officers and soldiers was in the chase," and on the following morning the field of battle, the ground between it and the river Garry, as far as the Pass, and the Pass itself, presented an appalling spectacle of hundreds of dead bodies, mutilated in a most dreadful manner by the Highlanders, while interspersed were

broken pikes, swords, and muskets, which had been snapt asunder by blows of the Lochaber axe and the broadsword.

If it had not been for the plunder of the General's baggage, which was too irresistible a temptation to the Highlanders, whose destructive career it at once arrested, it is more than probable that almost every man of his army would have been cut off. An anecdote is related on this subject which is a very severe reflection on the Highlanders. "When General Wade was engaged, amongst other Government services in the Highlands, in superintending the erection of Tay bridge, happening to fall in with an old Highlander who had been at the battle of Killiecrankie, and in talking of that engagement the abilities of General Mackay were mentioned. 'I think,' said the Highlander, 'that General Mackay was a great fool.' 'How so?' asked Wade: 'he was considered the best man in the army in his time.' 'That may be,' answered the other, 'but he was a fool for all that. Did he not put his men before his baggage at the battle of Killiecrankie?' 'Certainly,' said Wade, 'and I would have done the same thing.' 'Then you would have been a fool also,' replied the old man: 'The baggage should have been put foremost; it would have fought the battle itself far better than the men. We ken weel that the Hielandmen will run through fire and water to get at the baggage. If the General had put it first, our men would have fallen upon it, and then he might have come wi' his men and cut us all down. Och! the baggage should have been put first; indeed it should.'"

General Mackay was not positively informed that the Viscount of Dundee had fallen till he reached Stirling, though he had heard some rumours of it on the day after the battle. We are informed by Sir John Dalrymple, on the authority of the General himself, that on ascending the

first eminence, and perceiving there was no pursuit, the General said to those around him that he was sure the Highlanders had lost their commander. But nothing of this is to be found in his Memoirs, and he expressly says that "he apprehended more the pursuit of Dundee (whom he knew not to be killed) with his horse, than of the Highlanders, whom he knew to be so greedy of plunder, that their General could not get them that night to pursue us." It appears that he fell at the very commencement of the action. After he had charged at the head of his horse, and driven the enemy from their cannon, he was about to proceed up the hill to bring down Sir Donald Macdonald's regiment, when he received a musket-shot in his right side below his armour. He attempted to ride a little, but he fell from his horse mortally wounded, and almost immediately expired. Such is one account, and it seems to be the most authentic, as it is corroborated by a letter from King James to Stewart of Ballechin, dated 30th November 1689, in which Dundee is stated to have fallen at the *entrance of the action*. Another account is, that the wound was not thought mortal, and it did not occasion much inconvenience to him. He continued some time after it to give directions, and to receive his officers, on a little knoll still indicated by a stone, and called *Tombh Clavers*, or the *Mound of Clavers*. A third account is, that when he fell mortally wounded from his horse, he was carried to a house in the neighbourhood, where, amid the noise and tumult of the victory, he was nevertheless able to write a short but dignified account of the battle to King James. He survived during the night, and in the morning, when a friend told him that the victory was complete, and that all would be well if he were well, he exclaimed, "Then I am well," and instantly expired. But there is much reason to doubt the authenticity of this letter, which is said to have been discovered among the Nairne Papers. There is every

evidence to induce us to believe that the gallant Viscount fell at the commencement of the action. Dundee and his friend Halyburton of Pitcur were interred in the parish church of Blair of Athole.

The death of the noble Viscount of Dundee was a fatal blow to the prospects of King James. Lieutenant-Colonel Cannan took the temporary command, but the campaign was soon at an end. The Viscount was the life of the cause, which expired with him. He was the idol of the Cavaliers, and was animated by all the enthusiasm of his great family chief Montrose. The elegant tribute to his memory by the celebrated Dr Archibald Pitcairn is well known, in which he is designated "*Ultrine Scotorum*," the *Last of the Scots*. The translation of it by Dryden forms an appropriate conclusion to this narrative, making due allowance for the Cavalier principles of both Poets.

Oh, last and best of Scots ! who didst maintain
 Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign ;
 New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
 New gods the temples, and new kings the throne.
 Scotland and thou didst each in other live,
 Nor wouldst thou her, nor couldst she thee survive.
 Farewell, who dying didst support the state,
 And couldst not fall but with thy country's fate.

END OF VOL. II.

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