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REGIMENTAL UNIFORM IN 1795.

(From a Coloured Drawing by the Author.)

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Scotlan

An Old Highland Fencible Corps

The History of the Reay Fencible Highland
Regiment of Foot, or Mackay's Highlanders
1794-1802

With an Account of its Services in Ireland
during the Rebellion of 1798

BY

CAPTAIN I. H. MACKAY SCOBIE

F.S.A. Scot.

THE ESSEX REGIMENT



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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1914

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR DONALD JAMES MACKAY,
11TH LORD REAY,
K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., &c.
CHIEF OF THE CLAN MACKAY,
THIS HISTORY OF "REISIMEID MHIC AOIDH" IS
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

PREFACE.

AT the present time, when so many histories of regiments still in existence are being written, I have been induced to set down one dealing with a Highland corps long since disbanded and the force to which it belonged wellnigh forgotten.

The services rendered to their country by the Fencibles throw an interesting sidelight on a critical period of British history, "when wars with France were frequent, and the ambition of Napoleon threatened to overwhelm every country in Europe, and reduce them to the domination of France." Raised for the most part in Scotland, these corps, which were in reality regular troops but for the internal protection of the country only, played an important part in the defence of our islands, worthy of more notice than has hitherto been accorded them.

The limited service of the Fencibles, debarring them as it did from participating in the stirring events then passing in Europe, has led many to believe that their life was in consequence uneventful and not worthy of notice. Of some whose services were confined to England and Scotland this may be partly true, but not so those who served in Ireland during the troublous times of '98.

The career of the regiment whose life-story I have endeavoured to describe has been briefly referred to in more

than one work dealing with the military history of the Highlands, and has also been the subject of a short sketch from the pen of that noble and patriotic Highlander, the late Mr John Mackay of Hereford. It was partly on reading the latter work—impelled at the same time by the fact of so many of my forebears having served in the regiment, and also that no *full* account of a fencible corps had yet appeared—that decided me to write an extended history of “Mackay’s Highlanders” should sufficient information be forthcoming to do so. In this I have been fortunate, and the matter thus collected has been treated with a detail not possible in a regiment of more prolonged service.

The discovery of the regimental order books which belonged to Major Scobie of Melness, giving the daily life of the regiment from start to finish with but few gaps, has immeasurably assisted in making the work of lasting value and interest. Indeed, without them this history could scarcely have been written. For the discovery and loan of these books I am deeply indebted to my relative, Mr James M. Scobie, J.P., Smoo House, Durness, Sutherland.

As may be readily understood, material for such a work as this has not been easy to obtain, owing in a great measure to so many of the descendants of those who composed the regiment being now scattered all over the world; added to which the changed conditions of the Highlands, and the disappearance of the tacksmen (who supplied the bulk of the officers of the old Highland regiments), has resulted in the loss of a vast amount of documentary evidence of first importance to the regimental historian, the whereabouts of which is now wellnigh impossible to trace.

In my hunt for information in the north of Sutherland, among such of the descendants of those who had served in the regiment as are still to be found in the district, I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of the late Mr John

Murray, Island Roan.¹ Mr Murray was my able guide and cheery companion in many a search round Tongue—the centre of the old Mackay Country and of the district from which the regiment was raised. His invaluable services to me at the time (1910) I shall not readily forget. Through his intimate acquaintance with the older generation of the people, not a few of such anecdotes and stories relating to the regiment as still linger in the Reay Country have been rescued from oblivion, and will be found set down in these pages.

My warmest thanks are also due to Mr Hugh Nicol (whose grandfather served in the Reays), Stratford, Ontario, Canada; the Rev. Adam Gunn, M.A., Durness; Dr Hew Morrison, LL.D., Edinburgh; Captain William Morrison, late A.M.S., Edinburgh; and the Rev. H. Macaulay, Strathy, for several interesting anecdotes which might otherwise have been lost.

I am deeply indebted to Lord Reay, Chief of Mackay, and to Dr George Mackay, of the Bighouse family, for their great encouragement and assistance to me since the work was started. Lord Reay, as will be seen, has done me the honour of writing a "Foreword" to this history of the regiment raised by his family.

To Dr Kenneth Cameron, Montreal, the present representative of Major-General Mackay Hugh Baillie of Rosehall (who actually raised the regiment), I owe all my information regarding that officer, as well as others of the family who served in the regiment, and I take this opportunity of expressing my great indebtedness to him.

I am also under a deep obligation to Mr J. C. Leask, Newcastle-on-Tyne (who is at present engaged on a new history of the Royal Scots), not only for his valuable assist-

¹ Mr Murray, whose literary and antiquarian knowledge of the Reay Country was equalled by few, died in August 1913.

ance and kindly interest in the work all along, but also for the great help I have derived from the researches he kindly had made on my behalf at the Record Office in Dublin and in the Irish newspapers of the day.

To Dr Hew Morrison, LL.D., of the Public Library, Edinburgh, I owe a deep debt of thanks for much valuable aid and helpful advice whilst making researches in the Scottish newspapers and journals of the period.

I am much indebted to Dr Gordon Campbell, LL.D., Cambridge University, the present representative of Lieutenant Donald Campbell, for information concerning that officer; and to my relative, Mr J. A. Mackay Scobie, London, for information regarding Captain Kenneth Scobie.

To Mr Andrew Ross (Ross Herald), Mr Skeoch Cumming, Major Lachlan Forbes (late Royal Fusiliers), and Captain H. M'Cance (late Royal Scots), my acknowledgments are due for much encouragement and helpful advice.

My best thanks are also due to the following for their interest in the work and assistance generally—viz., Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, Bart.; Dr Kenneth Cameron, Montreal; Mr James Macdonald, W.S., Edinburgh; Mr David MacRitchie, C.A., Edinburgh; Colonel Johnston, C.B., Newton Dee, Aberdeen; Colonel Mackay J. G. Scobie, C.B., Hereford; Colonel J. Morrison, Rhives, Golspie; Lieut.-Colonel G. Gunn, Q. O. Cameron Highlanders; Captain D. G. Fowler, late 91st Highlanders, Stirling; Mr Allan Gilmour, yr. of Rosehall; Sir John Fowler of Braemore, Bart.; Rev. D. Munro, Ferintosh; Dr Joass, Golspie; Sheriff G. J. Campbell, Dornoch; Mr William Mackay, jun., Inverness; Mr David N. Mackay, Hon. Sec., Clan Mackay Society, Glasgow; Mr Alex. Mackay (Sandy), Edinburgh; Mrs Mackay, 'Celtic Monthly,' Glasgow; Mr George Clark Mackay, Tongue; Mr Hector Mackay, Dornoch; Mr John M'Kay, Victoria, B.C.; Mr Hugh Mackenzie, Corrie Kinloch,

Lairg; Mr J. Robertson, Edinburgh; Mr J. Orr, bookseller, Edinburgh; Mr Minto Wilson, London; Mr J. O'Reilly, Sligo; and Miss Mona Ross, Washington, U.S.A.; and to many others both at home and abroad who have kindly replied to my inquiries I herewith tender my grateful acknowledgments.

I have to thank the following for the use of portraits and illustrations: Lord Reay; Dr George Mackay, Edinburgh; Miss Mina Mackay, Edinburgh; Dr Kenneth Cameron, Montreal; Dr Gordon Campbell, Cambridge University; Rev. Boys Johnston, Cheltenham; Sir Robert Farquhar, Bart., London; Mr Andrew Ross, Ross Herald; Mr Francis J. Bigger, Belfast; Mr Robert M. Young, Belfast; Mr J. C. Leask, Newcastle-on-Tyne; Mrs Angus Mackay, Thurso; Messrs Bell & Sons, London; and Mr George A. M'Kay, Washington, U.S.A.

I cannot pass by without referring to the sad loss sustained in recent years to Highland literature by the death of two such well-known Highlanders as Mr John Mackay of the 'Celtic Monthly,' and the Rev. Angus Mackay, Westerdale, Caithness, both of whom had been kind enough to encourage my earlier efforts and had promised what assistance they could.

The coloured plates of uniform in this work, as well as some of the full-page illustrations and tail-pieces to chapters, are from my brush and pen, and although without any pretensions to artistic merit, I have endeavoured to make them accurate as to detail. The coloured drawings and sketches of the regimental uniform in particular have been carefully prepared after much research, and are believed to be correct representations of the dress worn by the regiment at different times. Exception may perhaps be taken to the size of the bonnets in some cases, but as the manner of mounting this head-dress varied in different regiments according to the tastes

of commanding officers and the dearness or otherwise of the materials used, no fixed rule can be laid down in this respect. According to the two supporters on Bighouse's monument at Reay, the regiment appears to have worn (at one period, at any rate) bonnets of an exceptionally large size for that time, if the general accuracy of the sculptor is to be relied upon. This latter, however, is doubtful, as these figures are shown in breeches and gaiters, whereas the regiment wore the kilt.

With regard to the maps reproduced in the work, I here express my indebtedness to Dr Hew Morrison (a recognised authority on everything pertaining to the Reay Country) for having kindly inserted on the map of Sutherland the boundaries of the Reay, Bighouse, and Strathy estates as they appeared in 1794. The map of Ireland I have filled in myself, and for the sake of clearness have only included those names which were connected with the services of the regiment, some of which are not to be found on a modern map.

I take this opportunity of thanking the officials at the War Office, Record Office, British Museum, Advocates' Library, and Edinburgh Public Library for their uniform assistance and courtesy to me while making my researches.

To the publishers I owe a deep debt of thanks for the pains they have been to, and the able manner in which they have assisted me in bringing out this volume, notwithstanding the fact that I was abroad the whole time it was passing through the press. I here record my appreciation of the clearness and accuracy with which they have printed the work, and the handsome manner in which they have turned it out.

The task of writing up this history was at first extremely laborious, owing to the scarcity of information at the start. This was accentuated by the fact of my being in India at the time. The necessary material, however, began to accumulate gradually, while kind friends at home made research on my behalf. During the course of two furloughs at home I managed

to complete these researches on the spot, and to finish the work sufficiently for it to be handed over to the publishers before returning to the East.

As already mentioned, this volume could not well have been written but for the discovery of the regimental order books. These have been carefully edited, and only those orders bearing directly on the life of the regiment and of general interest have been included. They are given exactly as written up by the different orderly sergeants, and show how the life, interior economy, and discipline of a typically Highland Corps of the time was carried on. These orders have been interspersed with incidents and anecdotes, and such historical references and details of Irish history as are necessary to the narrative as a whole. The footnotes and appendices are a feature of the work, and have been carefully compiled after no little trouble and research. The index I have been at great pains to make as complete and clear as possible, and a handy key to the contents of the book.

I have taken as a pattern of what a Highland regimental history *should be* Colonel Gardyne's well-known history of the Gordons, and have shaped mine as far as possible on that model work.

Regarding the progress of events in Ireland during the service of the regiment in that country, I have endeavoured to treat the subject from an impartial standpoint, especially in regard to the atrocities committed by both sides during the actual course of the rebellion. With this in view I have been at some pains to read up all the reliable works on that sanguinary period of Irish history.

Among the numerous books, articles, pamphlets, &c., to which I have had recourse (and which are duly noted hereafter), I have obtained much valuable assistance from Fortescue's monumental work on the History of the British Army. Indeed, the list of fencibles in my appendix is largely based

on that work, as well as on Ross's 'Old Scottish Regimental Colours,' General Stewart of Garth's 'Sketches of the Highlanders,' and my own researches in contemporary newspapers, &c. I have also derived much information regarding the uniform distinctions (facings, &c.) of the different corps from the illustrated list of Fencible Infantry given by Colonel Hamilton Smith in his (manuscript) tabular statement of the British Army in 1800—now in the South Kensington Art Library; for details of which I am deeply indebted to Mr J. C. Leask, Newcastle-on-Tyne, who first brought the list to my notice.¹

I have to thank Mr Fortescue for having kindly allowed me to make use of his "British and Irish Military Establishments, 1793-1802," which appears in the Appendix.

It may be easily seen that this is my first attempt at book-writing, and in consequence I crave my readers' indulgence for any slips or literary inaccuracies that may appear.

I herewith tender my deep apologies for the delay in the publication, due in a great measure to publisher and author having been so widely separated. My warmest thanks are extended to all those who have been kind enough to support my efforts, and these are not few, as the list of subscribers printed herein shows.

Although this book is intended principally for those connected with Sutherland and the Northern Highlands, it may

¹ The drawings in this list are themselves not of much value, but they show the facings of most of the regiments, and, in the case of Scottish corps, whether the kilt, truis, or ordinary line uniform was worn. Each corps is represented by a three-quarter length figure, all similar in design, coloured by hand, and very small and imperfect. The looping (lace) on the coats is roughly indicated in the same manner for all figures, without showing either the form or spacing of the loops. All the figures are in red coats. In the Scottish corps sporrans are put to the regiments in truis as well as the kilted ones. These, however, are mere indications, all alike, and evidently not regimental variations. All the Highlanders have the same tartan and the same bonnet.

perhaps also appeal to others to whom Highland and military history in general are subjects of interest.

In conclusion, I can only add that should this account of "Mackay's Highlanders" be considered a sufficiently worthy addition to the list of works bearing generally on the martial history of Scotland, and more particularly on that of the far northern county of Sutherland—a district ever famed for the bravery and integrity of its soldiers—then my labours will not altogether have been in vain.

IAIN H. MACKAY SCOBIE.

ARTILLERY BARRACKS,
PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA,
July 1914.

FOREWORD.

THE story of the Reay Fencibles is but a short one if it be measured only by the lapse of years. It was enlisted, mainly in the Reay Country, in 1794; and it was disbanded upon the signature of the short-lived Peace of Amiens in 1802. But the rush and stir of affairs during those eventful years was so great that the record of them might appear to cover a lifetime. When the Reay Fencibles were raised, Napoleon was a General of Artillery in disgrace; when they were disbanded, he was Arbiter of Europe, Dictator of France, and soon to become its Emperor. During their period of service they heard of the great naval battles of St Vincent, Camperdown, the Nile, and Copenhagen; they saw Ireland invaded by the French; and they hoisted the flag of the Union at Galway.

It was only one small scene of this great drama in which the Reay Fencibles played a part—namely, the culmination of the disaster of Irish misgovernment in the Rebellion of 1798, and its sequel, the Union of 1800. In the present volume the story is told, from the point of view of the regiment's history, with quite admirable care and detail. The work has evidently been a labour of love, and it constitutes a monument of devoted patience in research.

The interest of the book extends far beyond the range of mere political history. Its central theme is the clansmen, and

a vivid picture is presented of these hardy hillmen, imbued with a spirit of military discipline which was almost instinctive, quartered in a country in which military discipline was, for the time being, at its lowest ebb; of their splendid courage in the face of danger, and of the humanity and kindliness that rendered them not unpopular, even in the land of the enemy. There are also to be found in this volume copious details concerning the military life and organisation and the social conditions of a period which is almost as far removed from the customs and modes of thought of the present day as the customs and modes of thought of the eighteenth century were separated from those of the Middle Ages.

This careful study of a most interesting period should therefore appeal, not only to students of political, military, and social history, but also to all readers who are interested in details of the life and manners of days that have long passed away.

REAY.

CAROLSIDE, EARLSTON, BERWICKSHIRE, N.B.,
July 1914.

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Reays inspected for the last time by General Meyrick—Large numbers of people present—Appearance of the regiment greatly praised—Head-quarters of the regiment leave Galway much to the regret of the inhabitants—Farewell address presented to Major Scobie—A farewell garrison order published—The Grenadiers march from Tuam, and Captain Morison's company from Ennis and Clare—These companies earn the repeated thanks of the authorities for their firm and conciliatory manner towards the people—The regiment once more united on arrival at Belfast—Embarks for Scotland—Lands at Stranraer—Marches to Stirling—Lieut.-Colonel Campbell reassumes the command—Issues a complimentary order—The Reays inspected by General Baillie—Their fine appearance on parade—Officers and men entertained by General Baillie—His farewell order to the regiment—Preparations for the disbandment—Orderly conduct of the men gains the respect and thanks of the townspeople—The regiment disbanded by Major-General Don—Highly praised for its soldier-like appearance—Strength on being disbanded—Officers present with the regiment—The men disperse to their homes—Warm welcome on their arrival in the Mackay country—Celebrations in honour of the occasion—The name of the Reays a familiar and honoured one for many years after—Still remembered among their descendants—Many of the officers and men respond to their country's call on the renewal of hostilities—Some go to the county regiment—Others see service in all parts of the world—Conclusion

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MAPS.

1. MAP OF SUTHERLAND, CAITHNESS, AND PART OF ROSS, SHOWING
THE ANCIENT TERRITORY OF THE MACKAYS, AND THE REAY,
BIGHOUSE, AND STRATHY ESTATES IN 1794 *At end.*
2. MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE MOVEMENTS OF THE REAYS IN IRELAND "

*NOTE.—The regimental badge appears on the front cover of
this work, while the blue facings of the regiment are
commemorated by the hue of the binding.*

ERRATA.

- Page 6, note 1.—*For* “and South Sutherland (2nd)” *read* “Sutherland (2nd).”
- Page 33, note 4, lines 10, 11.—This sabre is now in the possession of Dr George Mackay, Edinburgh.
- Page 58, note 1, line 11.—*For* “Colin Campbell Mackay, Esq., Morinish, Queensland, Australia,” *read*, “Colin Campbell Mackay, Esq., Morinish, Wilmer, East Kootenay, British Columbia.” The pipe bannerets in question were placed in the Scottish Antiquarian Society’s Museum, a few years ago, on behalf of Mr Colin C. Mackay, British Columbia, by Dr George Mackay, Edinburgh, as a loan exhibit from the Clan Mackay Society. Mr Colin C. Mackay, British Columbia, is the present head of the Sandwood-Bighouse Branch of the Mackays.
- Page 171, note 2, line 4.—*For* “Lieutenant Rupert Mackay” *read* “Lieutenant Wm. Baillie.”

ADDENDA.

- Page 48, line 1.—The pike was carried by all sergeants of the Guards and Infantry regiments, except Rifle battalions. It was a seven-foot spear with shaft of seasoned wood, and had a steel head with cross-piece to prevent over-penetration after a thrust.
- Page 48, note 1.—The halbert (under which name the pike was often incorrectly known) differed from the pike in having an edge as well as a point, and was thus used for cutting as well as thrusting.
- Page 48, note 2.—The “Brown Bess” (also known as the “Tower musket”) was not nearly so accurate as the rifle then in use, but it was a far stronger made and more accurate weapon than the flint-lock used by Continental armies. Its calibre was sixteen. The leaden bullet or ball was made up with a stout hand-made paper cartridge. In order to fire the piece and to make certain that the charge would ignite by the snapping of the flint, the butt-end of the cartridge had to be pinched open by the fingers before it was forced down the musket barrel by the iron ramrod, and a splash of loose powder had to be placed in the pan to communicate the spark from the flint to the cartridge. Cumbersome as this method was, a trained soldier soon attained a wonderful speed in loading and firing. In connection with the above, a correspondent, Mr Hugh Nicol, Stratford, Ontario, Canada, writes me that his grandfather (Corporal Wm. Nicol), who served in the Reays, often told him “that in the heat of fighting the men had no time to load correctly or to ram the charge home down the barrel; instead, they bit off the end of the cartridge with their teeth, emptied it into the muzzle along with the ball, and gave three smart stamps with the butt on the ground, then fired again, until the enemy appeared to be giving way, and *then* only would they take time to pinch the end off the cartridge with their fingers and use the ramrod.” It was not uncommon for a recruit, when excited, to forget to withdraw his ramrod after loading, and to shoot it away—thus leaving him helpless! Rainy weather was a great hindrance to good musketry, as the wet spoilt the priming powder in the pan so that it would not catch fire, while a heavy or continuous downpour was liable to penetrate the cartouche-box or ammunition-pouch, and damp its contents, so that every cartridge missed fire.
- Page 78, note 2, line 33.—Since this note was written, the King’s Colour of the 2nd set of Colours has been presented by Sir Robert Farquhar to Lord Reay, who intends to present it to St Giles’ Church, Edinburgh, where it may rest alongside its companion Colour. Lord Reay has kindly had the Colour photographed for this work, and a reproduction of it appears on page 302.
- Page 276, line 4.—Major Colin Campbell belonged, paternally, to the Glenfalloch family. (From information kindly supplied by Sir Duncan Campbell of Barchaldine and Glenure, Bart., C.V.O.)
- Page 349.—Extract from ‘Scots in Canada,’ by John Murray Gibbon, “Settlements in Pictou,” pp. 45, 46: “In 1803 the *Favourite* of Kirkcaldy arrived from Ullapool with five hundred passengers on board. Many emigrants arrived from Sutherlandshire, having been disbanded in the previous year from Lord Reay’s Fencibles.”

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An Old Highland Fencible Corps.

CHAPTER I.

THE Highlanders of Scotland have been famed from the earliest times for their warlike spirit, and for those inherent qualities which go to make up the ideal soldier.

Never in the history of these singular people did that spirit or those qualities shine forth with greater lustre than during the critical times at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, when the great French and Napoleonic wars shook Europe to its foundations, and threatened the very existence of Britain as a nation.

Regiment after regiment was formed from these hardy people for the defence of the country, and their exploits have become a by-word for courage and intrepidity amongst the nations of the world.

As the great William Pitt said in the course of his famous speech on the Highland Regiments in Parliament, "they served with fidelity as they fought with valour and conquered in every part of the world."

The first of the Highland regiments, the famous Black Watch (*Am Freiceadan Dubh*), was formed into a regiment in 1739. The nucleus of this regiment was obtained from the six independent companies,¹ which had been embodied in 1729, from the Old

¹ The duties of these six independent companies were the same as those of the old Highland Watch. Three of the companies had each 100 men, and were respectively commanded by Lord Lovat, Grant of Ballindalloch, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell. The three other companies consisted of 75 men each, their commanders being respectively, Alexander Campbell of Fonab, John Campbell of Carrick, and George Munro of Culcairn.

Highland Watch. This latter corps, as its name implied, was a kind of rural police, organised by General Wade in 1725, from those clans who favoured the Hanoverian cause. Its duties consisted in keeping the Jacobite clans in check, preventing cattle-lifting, and in general preserving law and order throughout the various Highland districts.

From the time the Black Watch was regimented, and until the end of the Napoleonic wars, the total corps raised in the Highlands amounted to 50 Battalions of the Line, 3 of Reserve, 7 of Militia, besides 26 Battalions of Fencibles, and 34,785 local militia and volunteers.¹ The total number of Regular, Reserve, Fencible, and Militia Battalions, if added together, amount to 86 battalions, which, including their numerous reinforcements, says General Stewart of Garth, "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 independent, and still a brave nation."

In 1763, there were enlisted 65,000 Scotsmen, and of these a great proportion were Highlanders.²

The second Highland corps to be raised was Loudoun's Highlanders. They were embodied in 1745, and disbanded in 1748.

Until 1757 no more Highland regiments were raised. Between 1757 and 1761 nine regiments were embodied, some of which saw service abroad. They were all disbanded on the conclusion of peace in 1763.

In 1759 the nation had become seriously alarmed and exasperated by the disasters and defeats which had attended its arms both by land and sea during the three years previous. Our colonies were in danger of being taken from us, and our enemies the French, elated by their successes, menaced our shores with invasion.

At this crisis it was necessary to make great efforts to retrieve the national character and prestige, and the direction of the hostile operations was entrusted to Mr Pitt, afterwards Earl Chatham, who at once commenced reorganising the army and navy, and by his vigorous measures and successful prosecution of the war forced France to sue for peace in 1763.

¹ General Stewart of Garth, 'Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland,' vol. ii. p. 439.

² 'Scots Magazine' for 1763.

To Mr Pitt must be given the credit of being the first minister of the Crown to persuade the Government to carry into effect the scheme originated by Lord-President Forbes of Culloden, to utilise the military instincts and martial qualities of the Highlanders in the service of Great Britain, and it was he who first proposed and carried out the plan of raising *Fencible Corps* in the Highlands, in the year 1759.¹ Before we go further it will be well to explain exactly what Fencibles really were.

Owing to practically the whole of our regular troops being required for service abroad it was necessary, for the internal defence of the country, to replace them in some way. In England this was easily managed by embodying the Militia, a force that had long existed in that country. In Scotland, however, there was no such body,² and accordingly what were termed Fencible Regiments, both of cavalry and infantry, were raised at various times, some for service in Scotland only, others for the defence of the three kingdoms, or even for general service in Europe.³

¹ The hasty levies raised in the '15 and '45 had been styled "Fencible men or Militia," and it was decided to follow the old precedent.—'Military History of Perthshire,' p. 146.

² Militia were introduced into Scotland in 1797 by Act of Parliament, and at first was strenuously opposed "under the erroneous impression that the ballot was to be used so as to enable the Crown to remove the people from the country." On its formation the Scottish Militia numbered 6000 men. This number was considerably added to in subsequent years.

³ Fencible Regiments of cavalry and infantry were also raised in England and Wales, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, but they were far fewer in number than those raised in Scotland. England and Wales, as we have already seen, possessed a large auxiliary force, suitable for internal defence, in the shape of the militia, and in 1793 the Irish militia were formed, at first 16,000 and later 20,000 men.—Fortescue's 'History of the British Army.'

The system of raising Fencibles was applied at first only on a small scale. From 1759 to 1783, a period covering the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence, only eight fencible infantry regiments were raised, of which Scotland supplied six and England two. On the outbreak of war with France in 1793, however, it "received great and sudden expansion." From February 1793 till the conclusion of the war in March 1802, no less than 33 regiments of Fencible Cavalry were embodied, of which 18 were English, 14 Scotch, and 1 Welsh; while of Fencible Infantry there were raised 68 battalions, of which 44 were Scotch, 17 English, 4 Irish, 1 Welsh, and 2 Manx.

The services of those regiments embodied in 1793 were confined to their own country, under the terms by which they were raised. A few, however, volunteered to extend their services anywhere in Great Britain or Ireland, or even abroad. They were all disbanded (except the 1st Royal Manx) in 1799.

The regiments of Fencible Infantry raised in 1794-1802 were liable for service anywhere in Great Britain and Ireland, with the exception of a few raised on terms of service extending to any part of Europe; and one (Skinner's) recruited for service in Newfoundland and North America only. The men were not to be drafted from the regiments into which they enlisted.

After their formation some of the regiments raised for service in Great Britain and Ireland voluntarily offered to extend their services to Europe, and one Irish corps went to Egypt for a time. These regiments when they had so volunteered were put on the same footing as those

These regiments were disciplined, armed, clothed, and paid like troops of the line.¹ Their officers at first ranked junior to the Militia, but by a clause in an Act of Parliament in 1778, "were declared to rank with those of Militia, according to the dates of their commissions; consequently they ranked with the army as youngest of each degree."² In April 1795, however, officers of Fencibles were given precedence of the Militia,³ ranking with those of the army according to the dates of their commissions. By an additional Article of War, dated 25th July 1798, officers of fencibles, militia, yeomanry cavalry, and volunteer corps "shall rank together according to the dates of their respective commissions," the officers of regular corps "to take precedence of and command the officers of equal degree of all others." At the same time, such officers of the fencibles, whose commissions were dated on or before the 25th July 1798, were to continue to rank with officers of the regular army of equal degree, according to the dates of their commissions, except when acting together.

General Stewart of Garth in commenting upon the Fencibles says:⁴ "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, . . . induced many to enlist who would have hesitated . . . otherwise of 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

who were originally raised for service abroad—*i.e.*, one of the field officers was to have permanent and progressive rank, and the soldiers' services were to count as army service towards pension should they afterwards transfer to the army (General Stewart of Garth). For complete list of Fencibles see Appendices I. and II.

¹ In his 'History of the British Army,' the Hon. J. W. Fortescue thus defines Fencibles: "They were regular troops originally enlisted for service at home, and for the duration of the war only, and were designed to liberate the regular army from the United Kingdom for service abroad."

The last corps to be styled Fencible was the Royal Malta Fencible Artillery, its designation only being changed in 1889, when the term Fencible was dropped.

² Grose's 'Military Antiquities.'

³ Except embodied militia, when they ranked according to the dates of their commissions.

⁴ 'Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland,' vol. ii. p. 399.

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 72nd 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 92nd; 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 those 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 acquired 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."

"The first of these corps," says Grose in his 'Military Antiquities,' "were the fencible men of Argyllshire, who were raised on 21st of July 1759. Their services were restricted to the country in which they were raised.¹ The Adjutant and Quartermaster of this corps were the only officers entitled to half-pay."

Formed practically at the same time, and under the same conditions, were the Sutherland Fencibles raised by the Earl of Sutherland. The commissions of the Argyll officers were dated in July and those of Sutherland in August, the seniority in rank therefore falling to the Argyll men. "But this priority extended only to the date of their commissions," writes General Stewart of Garth, "for while the Sutherland men flocked round the standard of Morar Chattu, much in the same manner as a Highland clan of old

¹ Except in case of an invasion of England, but in no event were they to be called upon to serve outside Great Britain. The men were not to be drafted to other regiments, and were to be disbanded in their own country. The same applied to the fencibles of 1778 and 1793.

assembled round their chief, it was more than three months before the ranks of the Argyll regiment were completed to 1000 men."

These two regiments were disbanded on peace being declared in 1763.

In 1778-79 four more Fencible regiments were raised in Scotland¹ and two in England. They were all reduced at the peace of 1783.

In 1789 the French Revolution broke out, and soon became the cause of much anxiety and concern to the rulers of European countries, for the revolutionists, not content with their own success, called on all nations to rise and overthrow their kings and governments, promising them their aid if necessary.

"In Britain," says the author of 'The Book of Mackay,' "there were two danger spots: discontented Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. In the former the danger was real enough, but in the latter it existed only in the apprehension of a Government who had not yet forgotten the rising of 1745."

On war breaking out between Britain and France in 1792 a call to arms was made, "and nowhere was that call more heartily responded to than among the mountains of the North, where clans formerly divided now presented a loyal and united front to the common foe."²

In 1793 nine fencible infantry regiments were embodied, five being raised in the Highlands, of which one, the Breadalbane Fencibles, had two battalions.³

During the year following no less than thirty-two battalions were added to the establishment, of which eleven were drawn principally from the Highlands.⁴

From 1795 to 1802 eighteen more regiments of fencible infantry were embodied, of which five came from the Highlands.

At the same time be it remembered regular regiments were also

¹ They were the Argyll (2nd), Gordon, and South Sutherland (2nd), and South Fencibles.

² 'The Book of Mackay,' p. 222: "It has often been repeated," writes the author of 'The Life of a Regiment,' "and probably with some truth, that military service was unpopular in England, where the ancient jealousy of a standing army was the origin of the dislike. There was, however, no such prejudice in the Highlands, where the best youth of the country formed the bulk of the old Highland regiments."—Gardyne, 'The Life of a Regiment' (History of the Gordon Highlanders), vol. ii. pp. 391, 392.

³ A third battalion was added in 1794.

⁴ One of these, the Ross-shire Fencibles, had only a strength of two companies.

being raised, and the years 1793-94 alone saw the birth of eight Highland regiments of the line, of which four are still in existence to this day.¹

Amongst the fencible corps raised in 1794 was the REAY FENCIBLE HIGHLANDERS, or LORD REAY'S HIGHLANDERS,² a regiment which throughout its eight years of existence in the service of king and country, and during a period which marked a crisis in the history of our island kingdom, fully maintained the high traditions of its race, and proved itself to be, indeed, a worthy descendant of Mackay's Old "Invincibles."³

The life-history of the Reays from 1794-1802 it will presently be my endeavour to narrate, but before going further it is necessary to notice that part of the Highlands from which this corps was raised and mainly recruited,—its martial records, and the occupations, social state, and characteristics of its people at the time.

¹ The four are: the 78th Highlanders or Ross-shire Buffs (now 2nd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders), raised by Francis Humberstone MacKenzie of Seaforth in 1793; the 79th Cameron Highlanders (now the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders), raised by Alan Cameron of Erracht in 1793; the 98th (afterwards 91st) Argyllshire Highlanders (now the 1st Battalion Princess Louise's Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders), raised by Duncan Campbell of Lochnell in 1794; and the 100th (afterwards 92nd) Gordon Highlanders (now the 2nd Battalion Gordon Highlanders), raised by the Marquis of Huntly in 1794.

² Officially known as the "Reay Fencible (Highland) Regiment," although we find that in General, Garrison, and Regimental Orders it is frequently designated the "Reay Fencible Highlanders," or "Reay's Fencible Highlanders." In Gaelic it is known as "*Reisimeid Mhic Aoidh*," or "Mackay's Regiment," and under this name I have often heard old people refer to it. In English it was also sometimes called the "Mackay Fencibles," or "Mackay's Highlanders."

³ This famous regiment was raised by Sir Donald Mackay in 1626 on a warrant granted by King Charles I. The series of struggles in which it took part became known in history as the "Thirty Years' War," during which "Mackay's Regiment" earned for itself undying fame, and in recognition of its magnificent bravery became known as "Mackay's Regiment of Invincibles," or the "Invincible Regiment." The remnant of this splendid corps was afterwards merged in "le Regiment d'Hepburn," or "Hepburn's Regiment," which is now represented by the Royal Scots, our oldest line regiment. (For further information regarding Mackay's Regiment, see 'An Old Scots Brigade,' by John Mackay (Ben Reay)). In recognition of his valuable services, Sir Donald Mackay of Strathnaver (who had been knighted in 1616) was made a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1627. In 1628 he was raised to the Peerage by Charles I., with the title of Lord Reay.

CHAPTER II.

LORD REAY, or "Mac Aoidh" as he was termed in Gaelic, was the chief of the Clan Mackay (Clann Mhic Aoidh),¹ a hardy and valiant race of Celtic origin, who dated back to the twelfth century and inhabited "Duthaich Mhic Aoidh," or "The Mackay Country."²

This tract of country lies on the north and west coasts of Sutherland, and "from Drumholstein which divides it from Caithness on the north-east, to Kylescu, an arm of the sea dividing it from Assynt on the south-west, is about eighty miles in length, and, at an average, about eighteen miles in breadth. It stands separated from the rest of Sutherland by the high mountains Bengrime, Ben Clibrig, Ben Hee, and the forest from thence to Ben Leod in Assynt."³

Previous to and some time after the Reformation the Mackay country contained only two parishes, Durness and Farr;⁴ but in 1724 it was divided into four—viz., Farr, Tongue, Durness, and Eddrachilis.

¹ "There are few clans," says Skene, "whose true origin is more uncertain than that of the Mackays." According to some authorities they originally hailed from Moray, and share a common ancestry with the Forbesees. The founder of the clan, Iye, or Aoidh, appears to have been a descendant of the old Mormaers or Earls of Ross, and flourished in the twelfth century. By the end of the twelfth century the Mackays, or Clan Morgan as they were sometimes called, had settled down in Strathnaver, which then included not only the Strath of that name, but practically all of what was afterwards known as the Mackay Country, and by the middle of the thirteenth century had become a very powerful clan.

The name Mackay is supposed to mean the son of the "fiery or impetuous one" ('Book of Mackay,' p. 5). It was variously spelt 'McKay,' 'M'kay,' or as is now more common, 'Mackay.'

² Also called "Lord Reay's Country," or "The Reay Country." Although this ancient territory has long since passed into other hands, it is still known under its old names, and will probably be so known for ages to come.

³ 'House and Clan of Mackay,' by Robert Mackay.

⁴ The district of Strathnaver, the most fertile and populous portion of the territory of the Mackays, forms a considerable part of the parish of Farr. It was sold to the Earl of Sutherland in 1642 by Donald, first Lord Reay, to help to pay the latter's debts incurred during the Thirty Years' War. The people of Strathnaver, however, still continued to regard the Lords Reay as their rightful chiefs, and in proof of this numbers joined the Reay Fencibles when that regiment was raised. The population of Strathnaver in 1794 was nearly 2000 souls, the proportion of males to females being about equal.

These parishes, together with a portion of the Caithness parish of Reay* and possessions in the parishes of Golspie, Rogart, Dornoch, and Creich, formed at one time Lord Reay's territory, and comprised five-eighths of the whole area of the county of Sutherland.¹

The residence of the Chiefs was at Tongue,² a sheltered, fertile, and well-wooded spot on the north coast, close to the shores of the Bay, or Kyle, of that name.

"Mackay's Country," says the author of 'Sketches of Sutherland Characters,' "is a wild rugged district, intersected by valleys of much natural beauty and pastoral fertility, and interspersed with mountain ranges,³ the highest in Sutherland, and large lakes, feeders to rivers abounding in salmon and trout."

"Its inhabitants," continues the same writer, "were termed 'Clann MhicAoidh' (the Clan Mackay), a doughty race of men, who aided in the expulsion of the Norse invaders, and contributed their part in asserting the independence of Scotland on the field of Bannockburn. They opposed the Lords of the Isles previous to the battle of Harlaw, and held their own in all the clan conflicts of Sutherland and Caithness up to the Reformation era. Their chief was amongst the first in the north to embrace the doctrines of the Reformation, adopt its principles, and provide for their propagation. Clan conflicts then ceased. The reign of law and order began to prevail, but the martial prowess, love of adventure, and warlike exploits remained with chief and clansmen as they were. Germany,

* Bighouse, or Strathalladale, then formed part of the parish of Reay.

¹ Donald, 1st Lord Reay, added considerably to the ancestral property, and, in 1624, his possessions extended from the hill of Skail in Caithness to Glencoul on the borders of Assynt—a stretch of about 100 miles (Ben Reay). By the time he died in 1649, however, he had been obliged to sell a considerable portion of this magnificent estate.

² The House of Tongue, the seat of the Chiefs of Mackay for many years, has been added to and enlarged at various periods. In 1656 it was burnt down by the forces of the Commonwealth, when the Mackays were in arms under Middleton for the King, but was rebuilt in 1678 by Donald, Master of Reay. The house is picturesquely situated amidst trees not far from the ferry, and its "green lawns, ancient sundial, well-laid-out gardens and sheltering trees, in a part where such things are rarities, combine to make a real oasis." "Tongue is, in every respect," says the author of the 'House and Clan of Mackay,' "a residence befitting a nobleman."

The Reay family had also a seat at Balnakiel, in the parish of Durness, built about 1740, by Donald, then Master, afterwards Lord Reay.

³ Lord Reay's deer-forest forms a considerable part of the Clan territory. It extends from Ben Loyal in the north to Ben Leod in the south, a distance of over thirty miles. In breadth it measures, on an average, fifteen miles. The forest consists of high and precipitous mountains and narrow Alpine-like glens. In 1797 there were supposed to be over 2000 deer in the forest. The chief mountains in it are Ben Hope, Ben Stack, Fionaven, Ben Hee, and Ben Loyal.

Bohemia, and Hungary were then in the throes of religious wars. Austria, goaded on by the Pope, initiated, as a last resource, a war of extermination against religious liberty. The Elector of Bohemia, who had married a daughter of the Scottish king, became the elect champion of the Protestant religion, assisted by the King of Denmark. The Chief of the Mackays, prompted by feelings of loyalty and religion as much as by martial inclination, espoused the Protestant cause. He obtained royal permission to raise men to go to the assistance of the Elector, who was attacked by the Roman Catholic imperialists, bent upon the extirpation of the reformed religion. His uncle, Sir Robert Gordon, jealous of the great influence possessed by the Chief of the Mackays in Sutherland and Caithness, encouraged him to undertake this adventure, that he might be out of his way, and possibly be killed in battle, or involve himself financially to such a degree as to favour his designs, of humbling this powerful chief, and so pave the way to aggrandise the family and territory of his nephew the young Earl of Sutherland, whose curator he was. What was impossible for Sir Robert to accomplish by force was at last brought about by chicanery, fraud, and corrupt Court influence.

“The Chief of the Mackays, now raised to the dignity of baronet, having obtained the royal mandate to enrol a body of 2000 men of his own clan, and others willing to join them, in a few months raised 3000 men, fully equipped, and embarked them for Germany, where they took a leading part on the Protestant side in the ‘Thirty Years’ War.’ Under the heroic leadership of the renowned Gustavus Adolphus, the regiment performed prodigies of valour never surpassed in military history. He regarded the Mackay Regiment ‘as his right hand in battle, brought forward in all dangerous enterprises; and they might, like himself, be said to have fallen in the field, and to have been buried with the honours of war,’ few of them ever surviving to retread their native heaths. It is not only in Germany the military services of the Mackays are recorded; they are found in the annals of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark, Sweden,¹ France, and of Holland, where the name is ennobled to this day,

“They assisted the Prince of Orange in resisting and repelling the

¹ There is a Swedish family of Mackays (now called *von Key*), descended from a Lieut.-Colonel James Mackay of the Reay family, who accompanied Lord Reay’s regiment to Sweden, and settled there. Two of the present members of this family have kindly become subscribers to this work.



TONGUE HOUSE AND BEN LOYAL FROM THE KYLE OF TONGUE.

(From a Print belonging to the Author.)

French invasions of Holland.¹ They aided William III. in effecting the Revolution of 1688, which secured to Great Britain civil and religious liberties, and helped the Hanoverian Dynasty to maintain the Revolution Settlement."

Such then, in brief, was the history of the Mackays up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

From that time till the close of the century the records of this clan were, in common with the rest of Sutherland, mainly remarkable for the great strides made in matters religious and educational, which was the cause of considerable alteration in the lives and habits of the people.² In other directions, however, there was little or no change throughout the century.

"At the end, as at the beginning, of the eighteenth century," says a modern writer, "Sutherland was one great trackless moorland with small patches of cultivated ground along the coasts and in the straths.³ It is true that there was a limited intercourse by sea, specially at the excellent natural harbours on the north and west coasts, where trading-vessels and fishing-boats from Peterhead and the south side of the Moray Firth sometimes touched, especially during the herring fishing season."⁴

The Mackay country, like other districts in the Highlands, was devoid of roads, unless we except the drive made by Lord Reay earlier in the century from Tongue House to the Kirk of Tongue, a distance

¹ The history of the Scots Brigade in the service of Holland has been told by many writers. To the three regiments forming this brigade the Mackays contributed many officers and men. One regiment, indeed, "had four commanding officers of the name of Mackay between 1677 and 1775, and had also many men in the ranks and not a few officers of the same name during more than a century of its existence."—'Book of Mackay,' p. 166. This regiment, in consequence, was known as Mackay's Regiment of Scots-Dutch, and under this name distinguished itself both in Holland and in the struggle to place the Prince of Orange on the throne of Britain. It was afterwards incorporated in the British Army as the 21st or Royal North British Fusiliers, now the Royal Scots Fusiliers. (For a full account of the services of these regiments see 'The Scots Brigade in Holland,' Scot. Hist. Soc.)

² As a writer in 1750 quaintly remarks: "The common people of the McKays are the most religious of all the tribes that dwell among the mountains, South or North . . . of old, they were reckoned the most barbarous and wicked of all the clans; but they were effectually civilized in the time of the late Lord Reay, to which Lieutenant-General Hugh Mackay (Scoury), a man of eminent virtue and merit, contributed not a little . . . the McKays abhor thieving."

³ "The county contains about 18,000 acres of arable land, about 35,000 acres of green pasture, and the remainder consists of mountains, moors, and rivulets."—'General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sutherland,' by Captain John Henderson. London, 1812.

⁴ 'Notes on the County of Sutherland in the 18th Century,' by Mr H. F. Campbell, advocate, in volume xxvi. of the 'Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness.' I have quoted freely from this interesting and authoritative article in the above chapter.

of about three-quarters of a mile, and the road along the north coast from Tongue to Reay. These had been kept in repair by exacting the statute labour, under which every sub-tenant was obliged to assist in making, or keeping in repair, the roads in his district. "In the parish of Farr," says the Statistical Account of 1791, "after the statute labour was exacted in kind, they made pieces of road in different places; but these have been allowed to go into disrepair." For the most part inland communication was kept up by rough tracks, which led with little or no deviation straight over mountain, moor, and river. In fact, at this period there were few roads suitable for wheeled traffic north of Perth or Aberdeen, and it was not till 1800 that an attempt was made to establish coaches between Perth and Inverness, and Aberdeen and Inverness.

The general aspect of the country, the dwellings of the people, their methods of farming and agriculture, their implements of husbandry, their stock and unenclosed fields, were much the same as at the beginning of the century. Potatoes had been introduced in about 1750, and by 1791 had become a staple article of diet. There was little or no restriction of hill pasture, rotation of crops was not understood, houses and steadings were mostly constructed of divot or loose uncemented stones, with thatched roofs,¹ and lacked to a marked degree any regard for sanitation. Even the houses of the better class offered but limited accommodation.²

"The population being self-sustaining," says the author of 'Sketches of Sutherland Characters,' "and producing almost everything necessary within their own localities, did not experience much discomfort from the defective means of communication which existed. They were more a pastoral than an agricultural people."³ Pack-horses were the

¹ Turf was generally used for the roofing, and one end of this covering, saturated as it was with soot, was annually stript off and turned into manure. Only the houses of the tacksmen and larger farmers had slated roofs. The cottages or huts of the peasantry were divided by wicker partitions into a living-room, a sleeping-chamber, and a stable for the cattle. The smoke from the peat fire in the centre of the dwelling escaped through a hole in the roof. The window was simply a small hole in the wall covered with a piece of turf, which was sometimes removed to admit the light. The door was made of wooden planks, roughly fastened together, and the floor was of hard beaten earth, sometimes paved with flat stones. The sheep, goats, ducks, and hens were usually permitted to share the warmth of the fire with their owners.

² Some of the tacksmen lived in houses of only one storey, but the walls were harled and cemented with mortar, the windows were of glass, and the floors boarded.

³ The population of the Reay Country at this time was about 8000, that of the whole of Sutherland 22,361, or an increase of 1587 souls since 1775. There was only one town in the county, *i.e.*, Dornoch, with a population of about 500.—'General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sutherland.'

medium of carriage in the Highlands, as in other countries, before the formation of roads became general; and distances, however long, rough or rugged, were travelled on foot or horseback. To go from the north of Sutherland to Inverness, Aberdeen, or Edinburgh on foot was thought nothing of by men and lads, nor by many women. Boys going to Aberdeen College walked there and back. Men and women going to harvest work in the Lothians travelled on foot all the way, and returned in the same manner. Thus men and women were nerved to physical strength, patient endurance, and the moral fearlessness by which the Highlanders of Scotland were so strikingly distinguished. The system of agriculture which then prevailed was well enough adapted to the character and habits of the people,¹ and was directed solely to the cultivation of grain for food, oats, barley, and rye. Potatoes and turnips were unknown previous to 1750; but the majority of families had their 'kailyard,' or cabbage garden, in which cabbages, onions, and leeks were grown. The chief attention was directed to the rearing of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. Sheep were kept for home use, for their wool, and for food, few being sold. Their value not being then well understood, they were only a secondary object. Goats were valued for sale, for their milk, and for their skins, which were worth 4s. to 5s. each. Cattle was the mainstay of the family. During the summer months the herds were driven to the sheilings or 'airidhs' in the hills, and to pastures along the margin of mountain streams. Temporary erections were put up to shelter those who tended the herds and flocks, who milked the cattle, and managed the dairy processes of making butter and cheese, the surplus of which, if not needed for family use, was sold, and, along with the surplus stock of horses, cattle, and goats, formed the only sources of wealth.² The produce of the arable land was not always sufficient for the wants of a family."

"In 1782," writes the author of 'The Book of Mackay,' "the Hon. Alexander Mackay, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in

¹ The flail was still used for threshing purposes; the caschrom, or crooked spade, for turning the soil; and the quern, or hand-mill, for grinding corn.

² Skins, hides, wool, cheese, and butter were shipped to the southern markets; while the black cattle, horses, and goats were collected at certain centres and taken by drovers to the Kyle market near Bonar, or the great market at Falkirk. Any further surplus stock or produce found a sale in the fairs and markets established throughout the country. Corn, fuel, &c., were usually carried in a kind of frame called *crubags*, fastened on the backs of the sturdy country *garrans*, or Highland ponies.

Scotland, a man of large governing experience at home and abroad, became commissioner or administering factor for the Reay estates, and with great humanity devoted himself to the improvement of the lot of the smaller tenantry.¹ All over the Highlands at that time many of the smaller holders were sub-tenants of the larger tacksmen,² bound not only to pay rent,³ but to render certain services, often oppressive, and subject to capricious eviction at the hands of what was practically their masters. The sub-tenant had to do spring and harvest work for the tacksman, to cut and lead his peats, to go with letters long distances, and to take charge of some of his wintering cattle. The sub-tenant was often not at liberty to dispose of his own cattle in the open market, but had to sell to the dealer prescribed by the tacksman. This vicious system, which enabled selfish men to grind the faces of the poor with impunity, General Mackay set himself to root up⁴ with a determination which does him infinite credit." He also approached the postal authorities in London for a regular postal service from Tongue to Thurso, and from Tongue to Durness, "which may in a great measure answer all the country; and perhaps some small allowance for a post once a-week from Edderachilis to Eriboll."⁵

¹ General Mackay also took a great interest in furthering the ecclesiastical and educational schemes introduced by the third Lord Reay, some sixty years before.

² Tacksman were so called from their having a "tack" or lease of lands in distinction to the smaller tenants who had no leases. "At this period (1794)," writes Colonel Gardyne in his 'Life of a Regiment,' "the land continued as formerly to be let out in large tracts by the lairds to gentlemen tacksman, often their kinsmen, and the smaller tenants paid rent in money, kind, or labour, not to the laird, but to the tacksman, who were, in fact, middle men, and had great power over the tenants and cottars on their farms." It was from the tacksman class that the Highland regiments were mainly officered. From about 1750 onwards most of the tacksman were retired officers from the army or Fencibles, and later on from the East India Company's service. The tacksman took their titles and designations from the lands let to them by their Chiefs. Most of them were men "of high intelligence, of refined and cultured dispositions and habits, whose libraries contained books in more than one language—men who saw the world and moved with the times." Undoubtedly some of them were hard taskmasters, but the majority appear to have been kind and considerate. The tacksman period lasted for close on a century and a half, when the altered conditions of life forced them to seek a new home, either in the more southerly parts of the kingdom or across the seas.

³ Rent was paid in kind, rarely in money.

⁴ In the Statistical Account of the parish of Tongue, written about 1791, General Mackay's action in ameliorating the condition of the smaller tenantry is commented upon as follows: "Thus the last vestige of feudal domination and tyrannical oppression, in this remote northern corner of the Highlands, has been abolished under the auspices and influence of an honourable military gentleman, whose patriotic character and generous conduct shall be perpetuated while there is a M'Kay living in this country." The general had brought this great change about by commuting all services for a payment either in money or kind.

⁵ 'The Book of Mackay.'—This application to the postal authorities was made in order to do away with the existing custom of sub-tenants having to go long distances as couriers or

The General was also instrumental in improving the means of communication throughout the estate. He encouraged the fishing industry by starting a fishing company and taking a large share in it himself. This industry, including kelp, was for a time most successful, and brought a considerable amount of money into the country.

"In those days education, the education of the school, was not much diffused.¹ The early training of the Highlander was round the home fireside; he was taught to revere parents and ancestors, to be faithful to trust, to despise danger, to be respectful to superiors, to fear God and honour the king.² The scenery round his mountain home excited his imagination and feelings; adventures by flood and field were congenial and familiar. There were frequent social meetings, or 'ceilidhs,'³ at which romantic tales and the traditional poetry of his country were rehearsed, where songs of love and war were sung and tales of battle told. New Year's Day (Latha bliadhn'ur), peat-cutting time (Latha buain na moine), harvest homes, Hallowe'en and Christmas (Nollaig), were seasons of great enjoyment. The christening, banquets, and weddings were occasions of much gratification and delight." . . . "Few or no strangers were seen in the northern parts of Sutherland. The Government itself seemed to be oblivious of its geographical position, as no exciseman or revenue officer appeared in those parts; hence large quantities of spirits, gin, and brandy—from Norway,

postmen carrying the tacksmen's letters. After a long delay the General's application was partially granted, and by 1791 a letter-carrier had begun to run between Thurso and Tongue once a-week.

¹ The Parochial schools, introduced by the 3rd Lord Reay, had been more encouraged after 1740, in order that the people might be able to read the Scriptures. The salaries of the schoolmasters seldom exceeded £10 or £12 a-year even at the close of the century, but these worthy men by their labours materially assisted in improving and civilising the people. By 1799 the S.P.C.K. had a school in most parishes in addition to the parish schools.

² "The Highlanders," says Colonel Gardyne, "were distinguished from their Lowland neighbours by a natural courtesy of manner, which is remarked upon by a French traveller who visited the Highlands in 1786. He describes the people as 'poor but honest'; he had never seen 'such civility without the shadow of servility, such plain frankness without the least rudeness, such poverty and such contentment.' He also mentions their pride in being an old and unconquered race. They were not, however, without the love of gain, common to mountaineers, and were perhaps deficient in that strong sense of fair-play which is an attribute of the Saxon."

³ The "ceilidh" (lit. gossiping) did much to while away the long winter evenings in a harmless but intelligent and even intellectual manner. Sgeulachdan (stories) were told, songs sung, and poems recited, either by the dim light of the peat fire, the ruddy glare of the bog-fir candles, or the flickering flame of the cruise lamp. The music of the bagpipe, fiddle, and trumpet varied the proceedings, and dancing was often heartily engaged in.

Sweden, Holland, and France—were landed at various places along the west and north coasts of the country.”¹

The change in the life and habits of the people towards the end of the century had not been without its advantages, for “while Calvinism eclipsed the gaiety of an earlier time and rendered the life of the people more solemn, a higher standard of conduct and morality was undoubtedly attained. The various regiments raised in the county between 1759 and 1800 were invariably noted for the stalwart appearance and good conduct of the men. General Stewart of Garth gives ample testimony to this effect, and his testimony is confirmed by all who write the history of the Fencible Regiments.”²

In spite of the strict teaching and rigid discipline of Presbyterianism, however, there was still a distinct leaning towards the ancient superstitions. “There was a firm belief that the devil, or *donas*, roamed about in bodily shape. There were witches by day and ghosts by night. Fairies (*Ban-Siths*) on land, mermaids (*gruagachs*) in the sea, and the *each uisge* (water-horse) in lochs and rivers. There were omens of good and ill, observances for luck in connection with everyday occupations, such as baking, milking, and marketing. There were also regular observances at lyke-wakes and funerals,³ births, and marriages, when setting forth on a journey, or when entering a house for the first time. Certain animals were regarded as of evil omen—for example, the hare, the fox, the magpie, the yellow-hammer.” . . . “There was a superstitious belief in the healing powers of certain herbs and plants. On the other hand, as there was seldom more than one doctor in the whole country, people resorted to herbalists to relieve them in their many diseases.”⁴

At this period many people of other names than that of Mackay were to be found in the Mackay country.⁵ Some of these had been

¹ ‘Sketches of Sutherland Characters,’ by Alexander Mackay, pp. 18, 19.

² ‘Notes on the County of Sutherland in the 18th Century.’

³ In no part of the Highlands were funerals conducted with more decorum and military order than in Strathnaver and other parts of Sutherland, and nowhere was more provision made, even by the poorest persons, for a “decent” and “becoming” burial. Of death itself they spoke lightly. “*Chaochail e*” (he changed) was the common expression in conveying intelligence of death.

⁴ ‘Notes on the County of Sutherland in the 18th Century.’—The belief in the evil eye or the ill wish was still widespread, and the gift of second-sight was held in great esteem.

⁵ The population of Sutherland, however, was still mainly distributed on the old tribal

settled in that district from earliest times. Morrisons, Sutherlands, and Campbells were a numerous name in the parish of Durness, the former having at one time possessed lands there, while the latter appear to have been descendants of the followers of a certain Campbell, Bishop of Durness. In the parish of Eddrachilis¹ there were many Morrisons and Macleods. The Mackay sept-names, such as Neilson, Abrach, &c., together with a few Clarks and Calderes, were found scattered throughout the country. Murrays, Munros, Macdonalds, Mathesons, Macphersons, and Mackenzies were also found in Mackay's territory at this time, having in some cases been brought in by the third Lord Reay and General Alexander Mackay, in connection with their schemes of improvement, while the remainder had migrated from their own clan districts at different periods.

Lord Reay's estate at this time did not include the whole of the Mackay Country proper.² Strathnaver had been sold in the seventeenth century to the Earl of Sutherland, while the two branches of the Chief's family—the Mackays of Strathy³ and of Bighouse⁴—held the lands of Strathy and Strathalladale respectively.

The inhabitants of the Mackay Country, we have already seen, were mainly occupied in pastoral pursuits, but the kelp industry, fishing and droving, gave extra employment. The failure of the crops in 1782-83 had forced many to emigrate to America, or seek work

lines. In the north and north-west were the Mackays and Morrisons. There were Gunns in the Strath of Kildonan, Mathesons in the centre and west, Macleods and Mackenzies in Assynt, Rosses and Munros along the borders of Ross-shire, and Sutherlands, Murrays, and Gordons in the south-east. The only strangers to be found in the whole country were a few of the parish ministers and one or two revenue officers. The two great families were those of Sutherland and Reay.—'Notes on the County of Sutherland in the 18th Century.'

¹ Eddrachilis did not completely pass into the hands of the Mackays until 1515.

² For description of Reay Estate and principal lease-holders at this time, see Appendix III.

³ The first of this branch was John Mackay, a son of Huistean Dubh, 13th Chief of Strathnaver, who flourished in the early half of the seventeenth century. John Mackay, 5th of Strathy, died in 1783, leaving two daughters, one of whom married Patrick Honyman of Graemsay, Orkney. In 1779 Strathy disposed the estate to his grandson William Honyman, who sold it in 1813 to the Marquis of Stafford for £25,000.—'Book of Mackay,' p. 313.

⁴ William Mackay, a son of Iye Dubh, 12th Chief of Strathnaver, was the first of this family. He died in 1612. The male issue of this family eventually became extinct, and the property was portioned up amongst the children on the female side. One of these married George Mackay of Handa, who purchased from the other portioners the remainder of the estate, and was afterwards known as of Bighouse. It was this George Mackay who was Lieut.-Colonel of the Reay Fencibles. His son, Colin Campbell Mackay, sold the estate to the Marquis of Stafford in 1830 for £58,000.—'Book of Mackay,' p. 236.

in the South, and every year a good number left the country in search of employment elsewhere. Manual labour or any handicraft trades were disliked,¹ and the one outlet for enterprising young men was the army.² In the parish of Tongue, in 1794, the wages of of men-servants were from £1, 4s. to £3 yearly, besides shoes and six bolls of meal for board wages, and of women-servants from 10s. to £1, with shoes and three bolls of meal for board wages. Day-labourers received from 6d. to 7½d. a-day, and carpenters and masons 1s. The same rate applied almost equally in the other parishes. The wages being thus so low, forced numbers to migrate annually to the southern part of the kingdom for service.

Although situated for the most part near the sea, the majority of the people do not appear to have been fond of a seafaring life.

The staple forms of food were potatoes, oatmeal, fish, and mutton. Salt was scarce, and barley or beremeal the only bread. "The people here live very hardy, principally on milk, curds, whey, and a little oatmeal. Their best food is oat or barley cakes. A porridge (brochan) made of oatmeal, kail, and sometimes a piece salt meat in it, is the top fare."³ Tea was known, but seldom drunk on account of its expense.⁴ Whisky had begun to take the place of ale as the favourite drink,⁵ and brandy and other spirits were easily obtainable, owing to the extensive smuggling which went on. Excessive drinking had been sternly put down by the Church, but still prevailed,

¹ So much was this so that whenever a substantial house had to be built or repaired, the tradesmen had often to be brought up from Caithness to do the mason and joiner work.—'Book of Mackay,' p. 212.

² Colonel Gardyne, in his 'Life of a Regiment' (History of the Gordon Highlanders) makes the following interesting statement: "A woman whom I met in Sutherland in 1859, who was then 105 years old, and still active and in full possession of her senses, told me that when she was a young woman the only trades thought worthy of a man were soldiering and droving." This was pretty true throughout the whole of the eighteenth century. The statistical account of the Mackay Country, written in 1791-99, mentions that the people still had the ancient "Highland Pride," "which made them disdain to submit to hard labour, or pursue any other exercise but the chace or a military life."

³ 'Doctor Poccocke's Tour in Sutherland.'—This was written in 1760, before potatoes had come into general use. The small tenants and "scallags" (farm servants) usually had only two meals a-day.

⁴ The development of the East India trade about this time, however, led to an increased consumption of tea, and it followed hard upon potatoes as one of the chief articles of the people's diet.—'Notes on the County of Sutherland in the 18th Century.'

⁵ Illicit whisky distilling was carried on in many parts of the country, and with small fear of detection. Ale was almost a beverage of the past, except in the form of heather ale, which was manufactured from the young tops of the heath, mixed with malt and, occasionally, hops.—Mackenzie, 'Short History of the Scottish Highlands,' p. 355.

although to a diminished degree.¹ Snuff and tobacco were luxuries practically unknown.²

Every district had its miller, every township its weaver, while the shoemakers,³ like the tailors of that day, were itinerant, going from house to house to work. The few artificial and finery requirements of the population, especially those of the female portion, of the communities lying scattered in secluded and out of the way districts, were supplied by travelling packmen or pedlars,⁴ who frequented the fairs and markets, or perambulated the countryside exhibiting and selling their wares, and relating the gossip and news of the day in return for free board and lodgings.

Gaelic was the language spoken by all, but English was beginning to make considerable progress among the people.

The Act of 1747, abolishing the Highland Garb, had been at length repealed in 1782. As the Mackays, however, were a loyal clan, this obnoxious and unjust ordinance had never been enforced in their country to any extent. In 1794, many of the people still wore the Highland garb,⁵ but the lowland dress was fast coming into general use, and the gentry,⁶ and those engaged in seafaring pursuits, had worn it for some years previous to this. The bonnet, however, con-

¹ The number of licensed inns and whisky-houses in the Reay Country at this time averaged from six to eight in each parish. None of these houses could provide decent accommodation for a stranger, they were simply cottages in which liquor was sold.

² According to local tradition, snuff was introduced into the northern Highlands by the fencibles, who learnt to take it when in Ireland. It is said that many of the Highlanders first acquired the habit during the troubled times preceding the rebellion (when duties became very heavy), as they found it helped to keep them awake at night when on "sentry-go"! Tobacco superseded snuff on the introduction of matches.—Communicated by Sir John Fowler, Bart., Seaforth Highlanders, of Braemore, Ross-shire, from information supplied by the late Murdo MacLeay, Braemore, whose father served in the fencibles.

³ The trade of shoemaking had become very general, and in the 'Old Stat. Account of Scotland, 1791-99,' it was estimated that there were 30 shoemakers in the parish of Farr alone.

⁴ 'Sketches of Sutherland Characters,' p. 239.

⁵ In 1793, the Rev. J. L. Buchanan thus describes the dress of the Highlanders who still adhered to the ancient garb: "They wear," he says, "the sbort coat, the feilabeg (kilt) and short hose, round flat bonnets sewed with black ribbons around their rims, and a slit behind with the same ribbon in a knot. Their coats are commonly tartan, striped with black, red, or some other colour, after a pattern made upon a stick of the yarn by themselves or some ingenious contriver. Their waistcoats are either of the same or some such stuff, but the feilabegs are commonly of breacan, or fine Stirling plaids, if their money can afford them. . . . When going herring-fishing they dress something like sailors. They tan their brogues with the root of the tormentilla, which they dig from the hillocks by the sea."

⁶ The gentry having discarded the national garb, it was only natural that the people would follow suit. It was still, however, the recognised military dress of the Highlands, as it is to this day.

tinued to be the head-dress of the people until well on in the 19th century, when this last relic of the ancient garb finally disappeared.

The women wore the ordinary dress of their sex at the time,¹ but for best wear "all of them have a small plaid, a yard broad, called 'Guailleachan,' about their shoulders, generally fastened by a brooch." The "breid," or "curtah," a fine linen handkerchief fastened about married women's heads, with a flap behind, had given way to the "currachd," or mutch, a head-dress of linen tied under the chin. The unmarried girls were distinguished by a snood, or ribbon, which adorned their hair.

The population was kept down by constant visitations of small-pox² and other diseases, directly attributable to defective accommodation and insanitary surroundings, while the generally hard conditions of life³ prevented any but the strongest children reaching maturity. On the other hand, owing to the climate, although moist, being bracing and salubrious, longevity was common.

The people married young⁴ and had usually large families; their physique was of a high order, and their height above the average.⁵

Athletic exercises were encouraged, and trials of strength and agility essentially Highland in character frequently practised,⁶ while

¹ They had long or short gowns, with a waistcoat and two petticoats, the outer one of striped cloth or tartan, the inner one of white. Many of the poorer women went barefooted at certain seasons of the year.

² "The small-pox used to make terrible havoc, till, about five years ago, a gentlewoman by introducing inoculation was the means of preserving many lives."—'Stat. Account of the Parish of Tongue in 1791.'

³ During the famine of 1782-83, General Mackay had brought in corn from abroad to supply his tenants. Through their comparative wealth in flocks and herds, however, the condition of the people in many parts of the Highlands was much superior to other districts in Scotland. While many died of utter starvation elsewhere, none died in Sutherland. They felt the pinch of scarcity of meal, not of famine.

⁴ The women of the Reay Country, as in other parts of the Highlands, were even more industrious than the men, assisting in the outdoor work, as well as busying themselves with the more feminine pursuits of spinning wool and flax, and weaving plaiding, milking cows and goats, and making butter and cheese.

⁵ Dr Richard Pococke, writing in 1760, says, "They are mostly well-bodied men of great activity."

⁶ Shinty or "Camanachd," wrestling, lifting the "clach-neart" (stone of strength), and throwing the stone and hammer, were favourite pastimes in those days. There still lies in Strathmore of Durness, close to the ruins of the birthplace of Rob Donn, the Reay Country bard, a "clach-neart" of enormous size and weight, which only an exceptionally strong man can lift. There are two distinct grooves or "grips" on this stone, worn by generations of strong hands seeking to raise it from the ground. Shinty was a favourite game among all classes, especially on Christmas day and about the New Year time. On the north coast of the Reay Country there were two famous localities, Durness (Balnaceil) and Farr sands, along the seaboard.

poetry, music, and dancing still found willing devotees among this fine peasantry.¹

“Of their character at home one minister, writing in 1791, pays a noble tribute to his people, when he says that only one criminal case had been known in his parish within the memory of man.” . . . “Another minister is able to affirm that his parishioners were sober, serious, and industrious, attentive to their business and credit, humane in deportment, respectful to superiors, and ready to show kindness to strangers.”²

“One feature of the social life of the times,” observes the Rev. Thomson Mackay, B.D., “was the thirst for knowledge, and a love of reading, through which both classes (tacksmen and tenant) could clearly discern the merits of questions of the day and the relative importance of passing events.”³

Dr John Kemp, Edinburgh, secretary of the S.P.C.K., in his reports to that society in 1796, says, “A more active, vigorous-spirited people are nowhere to be found, nor to strangers more hospitable and obliging. In their general turn of mind they are sober and

Frequently matches were arranged by gentlemen of one parish with gentlemen of another, to bring their respective retainers to contend for the honour of deciding which parish produced the best players. These contests, in which any number of players took part, lasted through most of the day, and were generally terminated by a dance, which was carried on with vigour for several hours to the music of the violin or pipe, reels and strathspeys being the favourite dances, varied in form and steps to the cadence of the tune.

¹ The Rev. J. L. Buchanan, in his description of the Highlands, written in 1793, says: “They (the Highlanders) have a fine vein of poetry and music, vocal and instrumental; had the language been more generally understood, the Gaelic music would have been introduced on every stage on which taste and elegance prevailed. They are also spirited dancers, using the violin, or fiddle, for dancing in the house, the pipe for weddings, funerals, &c., and in great houses the piper plays before the door at meal times.” The trump, or Jew’s harp—an instrument of quite respectable antiquity—was also commonly known in the Highlands at this time. The Mackay Country, especially the parish of Tongue, had long been famous for its pipers, of which perhaps the best known were the Mackays of Gairloch and of Raasa, hereditary pipers to the MacKenzies of Gairloch and Macleods of Raasa respectively. There also appears to have been a college for piping, at some time or other, in the Mackay Country, similar to that kept at Borreraig by the MacCruimeins. “At any rate,” as the author of ‘The Highland Bagpipe’ tells us, “a peculiarly large number of Mackay pipers came from the Reay Country, just as if they had been trained in a school.”

² ‘Notes on the County of Sutherland in the 18th Century.’—Dr Richard Pococke thus describes the people: “They were in general exceedingly hospitable, charitable, civil, polite, and sensible.”

³ As an example of this, the Rev. Thomson Mackay quotes from a letter by Mrs Scobie of Keoldale, in which she writes: “I perfectly remember my maternal grandfather, who held the wadset lands of Skerray, every post-day evening go into the kitchen where his servants and small tenants were assembled, and read the papers aloud to them, and it is incredible *now* the propriety and acuteness with which they made remarks and drew conclusions from the politics of the day.”—‘Songs and Poems of Rob Donn Mackay.’

religious; their manners are orderly and decent; their thirst after knowledge is great, and ever since the Revolution their loyalty to the family on the throne has even in the worst of times been unshaken."¹

Taking up any book dealing with Mackay's Country at this period, one is struck by the extraordinary number of its inhabitants who went forth to do their country's service, either in the ranks of the regular army abroad or in the fencible regiments at home. "No part of the Highlands," says Mr John Mackay of Hereford, "sent forth more gallant soldiers in proportion to its population, than that part of Sutherland called 'Duthaich Mhic Aoidh.' The martial spirit actuating the population of this territory has often been remarked upon by historians and statisticians. . . . The periodical depletion of the population by the several regiments raised in those years was commented upon by the bards in song, and by none more comically than by Rob Donn on various occasions. When a district like the Mackay territory sent forth one-eighth of its population, the martial spirit of the clan, their affection for their Chiefs and Chieftains, and the consideration of duty they owed to them and the Sovereign, must have been of a high order. At no time since the Thirty Years' War in Germany were that spirit and relative duty so well evinced as in the latter part of the 18th century, when wars with France were frequent, and the ambition of Napoleon threatened to overwhelm every country in Europe, and reduce them to the domination of France. Then it was that Highlanders proved to the world their Caledonian prowess."

Between 1745 and the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars the Mackay territory, in conjunction with the rest of Sutherland, gave to the country no less than two Militia, one Volunteer, four Fencible, and one Line Regiment,² besides supplying numerous companies of men and recruits for other Highland corps.

After the volunteers referred to above had been raised, the scarcity

¹ The Mackays having been one of the loyal clans, their chief received a pension from the Crown of £300 a-year, which was regularly paid, but in varying amounts, to the successive heads of the family from 1707 to 1831. The last in receipt of it was Lord Eric.

² These were: The Sutherland Militia, raised on the outbreak of the rising of 1745; the Sutherland Local Militia, raised in 1808, under Earl Gower, strength 900 men; the Sutherland Volunteers, raised in 1798, of which Eric, Lord Reay, was Hon. Colonel; the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Sutherland Fencibles; the Reay Fencibles; and the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, raised by Major-General Wemyss of Wemyss in 1799-1800.

of able-bodied men in some parts of the Mackay Country was so great as to cause an employer of labour in that district to write as follows:—

“By the way, I should think they must see little who do not see this country approaching rapidly into a state of depopulation, and that by the very means once thought favourable—I mean the volunteering establishment. Such effect has the smattering of exercise upon the rising generation, aided by their pay, that not one individual able to lift a drum-stick remains unenlisted in Durness, and I am told the same is pretty true of the rest of the estate.”¹

In spite of this seeming scarcity of men, however, the Mackay Country managed to contribute its quota to the 93rd when it was raised in 1800, and also, later on, to the Sutherland Militia.

In the Statistical Account of Sutherland, 1791-99, it is mentioned that the people of the parish of Durness are fond of a military life. “Many a brave, hardy soldier has gone from Durness, and of these some have raised themselves considerably in the army.” In the parish of Farr also it is stated that “some hundreds have enlisted in the army in the course of the last twenty years.”

The gentry (*duin’ usails*), or tacksmen,² of the clan were not behindhand either in giving their services to their country, as may be seen by taking up any Army List of that period. Many indeed earned distinction and honours whilst fighting their country’s battles in all quarters of the globe.

Such, then, were the people from whom Lord Reay’s Highlanders were to be formed.

Before concluding this chapter, it may be interesting to briefly notice the services of the three Sutherland Fencible Corps, all of which were raised prior to the Reay Fencibles, and to which the Mackays contributed many officers and men.

¹ Quotation from a letter, dated 1798, from Mr Anderson of Rispond to Captain Kenneth Mackay of Torbol, which appears in the ‘Book of Mackay,’ p. 227.

² “It was the Tacksmen class in the Highlands who, under their Chiefs, officered the clans in the Risings of 1715 and 1745, and subsequently, when clans were embodied for imperial service, it was the Tacksmen and their sons who, for the most part, were commissioned as Company Officers. John Cameron of Fassifern and Allan Cameron of Erracht—two famous regimental commanders of the Peninsular era—were both born and bred on a tack, and Lord Clyde, the most illustrious soldier of the time, was, maternally, descended from the sturdy Tacksman class, . . . and the names of Tacksmen’s sons are writ largely in the early records of India, as of all other British Colonies and dependencies.”—‘Home Life of the Highlanders, 1400-1746,’ p. 35.

THE FIRST SUTHERLAND FENCIBLES. — Raised in 1759, by Earl William, the young and chivalrous Sutherland chief. The Mackays joined this regiment in great numbers, specially from the district of Strathnaver (then part of the Sutherland estate), and the parishes of Farr, Tongue, and Durness. The Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, son of Lord Reay, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and amongst the other officers were John Mackay of Strathy, Donald (Williamson) Mackay of Banniskirk, James Mackay of Skerray, and Alexander Mackay, younger of Strathy.

After doing garrison duty in various parts of Scotland, this fine regiment was marched back to Sutherland, and there disbanded, in May 1763, "with the honourable distinction of having no man punished, nor had any restrictions been required during its term of service."

Rob Donn, the famous Reay Country bard, served in this regiment, and his elegy on the premature death of its colonel, Earl William, is considered one of the finest efforts of his poetical genius.¹

THE SECOND SUTHERLAND FENCIBLES.—Raised in 1779. Owing to the Earl of Sutherland having died shortly before, and his only child being an infant girl, the command of the regiment was given to William Wemyss of Wemyss, a nephew of the late Earl, the Lieutenant-Colonel being Nicholas Sutherland. No difficulty was experienced in obtaining the required strength, which was fixed at 1000 men. The Mackays contributed many men. "In the parish of Farr alone (which includes Strathnaver) 154 men enlisted in two days." This regiment was stationed chiefly in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. At the peace of 1783 it was ordered to the North, and disbanded at Fort George in the same year.

¹ Rob Donn was rather a privileged character, and was not asked to do duty except in a way which left him very much master of his own time. He was, in fact, bard of the regiment, and while his companions were at drill he was at liberty. In one of his rambles he was accosted by Major Ross, who had only recently joined the regiment, and asked to what company he belonged. "To every company," retorted the bard. The Major next demanded his name. The bard's fitting reply was in a stanza of four lines: "I am a Sutherland among the Sutherlands, a Gordon among the Gordons, a Gunn among the Gunns, but at my own home a Mackay." He then walked off! The Major was very angry at this gross breach of military etiquette and discipline, and reported the circumstances to the Colonel, Earl William. The Earl, knowing that it could be no other than Rob Donn, explained to the irate Major that the poet was privileged, and that when he made his acquaintance he would be still more inclined to forgive him. The bard did not forget the incident; he composed several songs, in which he sarcastically rallied the Major upon his strictness of discipline. Rob Donn served in the regiment till its disbandment.—'Sutherland and the Reay Country,' p. 297.

The men of this corps, like their predecessors of the 1st Sutherland Fencibles, were "always distinguished for sobriety, probity, and the most scrupulous and orderly attention to duty. Desertion, 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 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."¹

Samuel Macdonald, commonly known as "Big Sam,"² was a soldier in this regiment. As he was too large to stand in the ranks, he generally stood on the right of the regiment when in line, and marched at its head when in column, accompanied by a mountain deer of uncommon size.³

THE THIRD SUTHERLAND FENCIBLES.—Raised 1793. As on former occasions, there was no lack of spirit shown in the recruiting and completing of this regiment. As soon as it became known that the young Countess of Sutherland had been called on to exert her influence in raising yet another fencible corps, "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 compiled in as short a time as the men could be collected from the rugged and distant districts they inhabited."⁴ The command was given to Colonel Wemyss, who had been colonel of the last-mentioned regiment. The lieutenant-colonel was the Hon. James Stuart, brother of the Earl of Moray. "The first muster-roll," says Mr John Mackay (Ben Reay),

¹ General Stewart of Garth.

² This remarkable man was a native of the parish of Lairg, in the county of Sutherland. He measured 6 feet 10 inches high, "four feet round the chest, and was extremely strong built and muscular, yet proportionable, unless his legs might be thought even too large for the load they had to bear. His strength was prodigious, but such was his specific disposition that he was never known to exert it improperly."—(Annual Register for 1802). While in the 2nd Sutherland Fencibles he was allowed 2s. 6d. per day extra pay by the Countess of Sutherland, who considered "that so large a body must require more sustenance than his military pay could afford." When the regiment was disbanded in 1783, "Big Sam" was appointed "fugelman" to the 1st Royals. In 1789, his extraordinary stature and obliging disposition attracted the attention of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who engaged him as lodge porter at Carlton House, in which situation he remained until 1793, when he was appointed sergeant in the 3rd Sutherland Fencibles. When the 93rd was raised, Samuel Macdonald joined the regiment as sergeant, and continued with it until his death. He died in Guernsey on the 6th May 1802.

³ "Many of the Highland fencible regiments were accompanied by stags of a large size, which were at once the pets of the men and the wonder of the different towns they lay in."—Kay's 'Edinburgh Portraits,' vol. ii. p. 191.

⁴ General Stewart of Garth.

“shows that there were in all 211 Mackays, including seven officers, in this regiment.”¹

After being stationed at Perth, the 3rd Sutherland Fencibles were moved to Edinburgh, where they remained until 1797, when they were ordered to Ireland, having extended their service to that country.

While in Ireland this regiment took part in the suppression of the rebellion of 1798, and in the operations against the French in Connaught; but beyond 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, as of the Reay Fencibles, 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.”²

As soon as the rebellion was over the regiment returned to Scotland, and was disbanded at Fort George in 1799.³

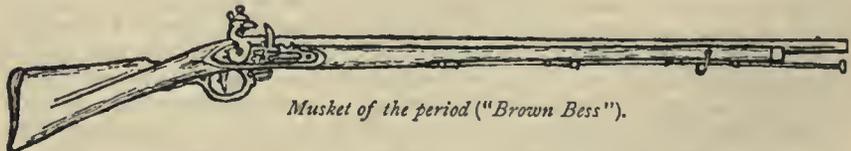
¹ With a strength of 1084 men of all ranks, the leading surnames were as follows: Mackay, 211; Sutherland, 128; Murray, 42; Ross, 34; Macleod, 29; Macdonald, 29; Munro, 28. The Clan names in the 1st and 2nd Sutherland Fencibles were in almost identical proportions.

The fact of this regiment, on being embodied, having so many Mackays, and men from the Mackay country in its ranks, undoubtedly affected the raising of the Reay Fencibles in the next year, and prevented that corps from being so purely representative as it otherwise would have been. See also page 30.

Mention should also be made of the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles, one battalion of which was raised in March and the other in November 1794; also the Caithness Legion, raised in November 1794. These corps had a good many Mackays from the Caithness-Sutherland border in their ranks.

² General Stewart of Garth.

³ The services of many of the men, however, were not yet finally dispensed with, for in April 1799 Colonel Wemyss obtained a letter of service engaging him to raise a regular regiment from the county of Sutherland, and to enlist as many of the disbanded fencible men as he could, the bounty being ten guineas for those who had served in the fencibles, and fifteen for new recruits. In this way came into existence the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders (now the 2nd Batt. Princess Louise's Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders); thus “one relic of these forgotten corps (the fencibles),” says the author of the ‘History of the British Army,’ “still lives a distinguished life amongst us.”



Musket of the period ("Brown Bess").

CHAPTER III.

ON the 24th of October 1794, the Royal Warrant¹ for raising a regiment of fencibles from Lord Reay's territory was issued to Colonel Mackay Hugh Baillie of Rosehall,² a military officer of note and experience, and a near relative of Hugh, Lord Reay, the then Chief of the Mackays.

Unfortunately the Chief was at the time incapacitated from leading his clan,³ and consequently Colonel Mackay Baillie had been chosen as being the fittest to command the regiment.

¹ For a copy of this warrant see Appendix IV.

² Colonel Baillie was the eldest son of William Baillie of Rosehall (2nd son of Alex. Baillie of Dochfour), and a grandson of the Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse. Born at Rosehall in 1751; entered the army in December 1770, as ensign in the 20th Foot; appointed adjutant 1775; accompanied his regiment to Canada, and with it took part in the disastrous campaign of 1777 under General Burgoyne, serving for a time as aide-de-camp to that general; in 1778 he received a commission as captain in the 2nd Batt. 73rd Highlanders, then being raised by Lord MacLeod, and participated with it in the siege of Gibraltar; succeeded to the estate of Rosehall in 1779; promoted major into the 94th Foot in 1780, and was on active service in the West Indies shortly afterwards; became a lieut.-colonel in the army 1790, while major on half-pay late 94th Foot (reduced in 1785); selected to raise the Reay Regiment of Fencible Highlanders, with permanent rank in the army of Colonel, 25th October 1794. A copy of Colonel Baillie's commission is given in Appendix V.

³ Hugh, 6th Lord Reay, had succeeded to the title in 1768, on the death of his brother George.

"In early boyhood Hugh was a bright, sharp fellow, foremost in youthful sports, and very fond of music, which latter he cultivated in the manse of Durness, where he was boarded under the tuition of the Rev. Murdo Macdonald. He afterwards went to reside with maternal relatives at North Berwick, and there studied for two more years. About that time he came by an accident, hurting the head and brain so seriously that he eventually became fatuous.

"In consequence of this misfortune, which rendered Lord Hugh incapable of managing his own affairs, his three uncles were appointed curators—viz., Hugh of Bighouse, George of Skibo, and General Alexander. The curators entrusted his Lordship to the care of a worthy gentleman, James Mackay, tacksman of Skerry, in whose house he lived till his death in 1797. The curators also appointed one of their number, George Mackay of Skibo, factor of the estate, with liberty to reside at Tongue House. When Skibo died in 1782, he was succeeded in the factorship by General Alexander Mackay, who continued to discharge this duty until 1789; and from the later date until 1797 Lieut.-Colonel George Mackay of Handa, afterwards of Bighouse, acted as factor."—'The Book of Mackay,' p. 216.

The Lieutenant-Colonelcy was given to George Mackay of Bighouse, also an officer of experience, whose respectability of character was so well known, and whose personal influence was so strong that his clansmen readily followed him in the absence of their Chief.

The Hon. Eric Mackay, cousin-german of Lord Reay, whom he succeeded in 1797, had, on behalf of his relative, been the originator of the offer made to Government to raise the Mackay Fencibles, which offer had been immediately accepted. It was also on his recommendation that Colonel Mackay Baillie had been selected to raise and command the regiment. The Hon. Eric being in London at the time, wrote two letters¹ in support of the new Fencible Corps, urging his clansmen to enrol themselves in it for the defence of King and country, and the honour of their Chief.

This appeal of the heir-presumptive to the Chiefship of Clan Mackay, coupled with the exertions of Colonel Mackay Baillie,² Lieut.-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse, and the officers nominated³ to the

¹ These letters, one of which was addressed to the minister of Durness and the other to the tacksmen on the Reay estate, are given in Appendix VI.

² Although the Reays had been called into existence by the old system of contract (*i.e.*, an agreement between the Crown and some noblemen or gentlemen, who undertook to raise a corps on condition of receiving the nomination of all or some of the officers), the actual work of raising the regiment had been handed over to Colonel Baillie, and had thus become more of a contract between the Crown and the Colonel, the latter receiving from the Crown a beating order, enabling him to raise recruits, and being held responsible for enlisting sufficient recruits to raise and keep up the regiment to its proper numbers. The sums for recruiting expenses and for pay and clothing were issued to him in gross; and, subject to certain limitations as to the amount of bounties, he and his officers made their own bargains with the recruits. The sums for recruiting expenses were carried to a fund called the stock-purse, the accounts of which were made up annually, and the surplus (if any) was handed to the captains of the companies. The commission to a major or colonel appointed him also to be a captain of the regiment, so that he had a company of which he shared the profits, while it was commanded by a captain-lieutenant or lieutenant. The balances, however, were seldom large, and if the cost of extra recruiting (as in time of war) exceeded the allowance, the officers were liable to heavy expenses, from which they were sometimes relieved by extra allowances.—Clode's 'Military Forces of the Crown.'

³ Those gentlemen who had received commissions had been selected by Col. Mackay Baillie and Lieut.-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse, and approved of and accepted by the Hon. Eric Mackay. For the most part they came of families well known in the Mackay country. Practically all the leading tacksmen on the Reay Estate had been given commissions as captains, and their sons or relatives commissions in the subaltern ranks. A few had seen previous service in the regular army or fencibles. Every officer had to raise a certain number of men for his rank. Thus the minimum numbers required by officers for commissions were: Captain, 35 men; Lieutenant, 8 men; and for an Ensign, 6 men. For every man short of their quota they had to pay twenty guineas, and the same amount if a man was rejected as unfit. The rest of the men required to complete the total strength were obtained by recruiting parties.

"The system of recruiting for rank," says Stewart of Garth, "has been frequently reprobated, and has, indeed, in many cases been the means of introducing bad subjects into the service . . . ; but this mode of employing gentlemen of family, rank, and influence in the



COLONEL MACKAY H. BAILLIE OF ROSEHALL
IN THE UNIFORM OF THE 94TH FOOT.

(From a Silhouette in the possession of Dr KENNETH CAMERON, Montreal.)

regiment, soon resulted in the required number of men being obtained. The regiment was not, however, as is often supposed, recruited entirely in the Mackay country, for in order to complete the establishment, which was fixed at 800 officers and men, in as short a time as possible, it was found necessary to raise men in other parts of Scotland. This fact is borne out by John Macdonald, schoolmaster and soldier, who says in his journal,¹ "At that time Colonel Mackay Baillie of Rosehall and Lieut.-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse were in London waiting for a letter of service to raise a regiment of fencibles, which was obtained on the 24th October 1794; and on the 27th I enlisted with Lieut.-Colonel Mackay as pipe-major² of that regiment, which was afterwards called the Reay Fencibles.

"I stayed in London with Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay till the 12th November, and then came with himself to Edinburgh, and was left there with Lieutenant Munro and Lieutenant Hunter of the same regiment, who were then recruiting for it in Edinburgh and the country round. I continued on the recruiting service till the 14th April 1795, when the recruiting parties belonging to the Reay Fencibles were called in to Elgin, in Morayshire, which was our headquarters."

The constant drain on the population of the Highlands at this time made it no longer easy to recruit a regiment, at short notice, from that country alone.³

In the case of the Reay Fencibles it was rendered more difficult, for not only had the Mackay territory contributed many men to the successive corps, both regular and fencible, formed at this period, but,

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, 92nd, and 93rd, 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."

¹ 'Autobiographical Journal of John Macdonald, Schoolmaster and Soldier, 1779-1830.' Edited by the Rev. Angus Mackay, M.A.

² This title was a purely honorary one, as pipers were not then officially recognised. The holder of it was usually a corporal or lance-sergeant, and the other pipers were under him for musical purposes only; for discipline they were under the drum-major. The number of pipers in a regiment depended upon the wishes of the commanding officer. In the Reay Fencibles there appear to have been two for the Grenadier Company, two for the Light Company, and one each for the Colonel's and Lieutenant-Colonel's Companies. To get them extra pay they were sometimes appointed drummers.

³ This applied, perhaps, more especially to regular corps, as the fencibles, owing to their limited service and lower standard of age and height, attracted many Highlanders to their ranks who might not otherwise have enlisted.

more important still, the 3rd Sutherland Fencibles, raised in the preceding year, had, as we have already noticed, recruited largely from the Mackay country, and especially from those of the name of Mackay.

But for these facts, the Reay Fencibles would have, in all likelihood, been *entirely* composed of Mackays, or of men from the Mackay estates.

As it turned out, however, by far the greater number of the men *were* raised in "Duthaich Mhic Aoidh." All those that could be spared came forward, in most cases cheerfully enough,¹ at the call of the representatives of their Chief. Almost every family helped to make up the numbers required. "One widow woman in Strathmore of Durness," says the author of the 'House and Clan of Mackay,' "had seven sons in the Reay Fencibles, all tall, powerful men." The following is the story in connection with this incident:—

At the time of the enrolling of the Mackay Fencibles, "Reisimeid Mhic Aoidh," the widow of the son of Angus, the son of John, went from Strathmore of Durness to Bighouse with her seven sons, all tall, stout, powerful fellows, the smallest being over six feet in height. The sight of so stalwart a family excited the admiration and curiosity of Bighouse, who inquired of the widow: "Gu de air an d'araich thu na gillean?" ("On what did you rear the lads?"); to which she answered, "Dh' araich, Bhiogais, le 'r cead, air im is cais, is feol an fheidh is iasg a' bhradain, agus aran cruaidh coirc' a' bhrathainn!" ("By your leave, Bighouse, I reared them on butter and cheese, the flesh of the deer, the belly (lit. fish) of the salmon, and the hard oat-cakes of the quern!")

Bighouse gave the widow permission to take her favourite son back with her. She selected the youngest; and on being asked why she chose him, replied: "Do bhrigh gur esan is oige, agus gur e is miosa

¹ Owing to the anxiety of those gentlemen on the Reay Estate nominated to commissions, to complete their quotas and also carry out the Hon. Eric Mackay's request to enrol every able-bodied man on their farms and estates who could be spared, some of the men may have been swept into the ranks against their will. The majority, however, seem to have been only too willing to give their services to king and country. No doubt the high bounties offered, coupled with the advantages held out by the Hon. Eric Mackay to those who enrolled themselves, afforded an extra inducement to enlist. It was not uncommon in the Highlands, as Colonel Gardyne in his 'Life of a Regiment' tells us, for officers enlisting men from their own or their fathers' estates or farms to arrange that the parents of the recruit should enjoy some little advantage, such as grazing for an extra cow, &c. That this was often done by those raising men for the Reay Fencibles is more than likely.



LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GEORGE MACKAY OF BIGHOUSE.

(From a Miniature in the possession of the Rev. BOYS JOHNSTON.)

a bheir 'n-aire air e fhein!" ("Because he being the youngest is the least able to take care of himself!")¹

Strathnaver, although at this time belonging to the Sutherland family, gave a good number of men to the regiment.²

Judging by the bounties offered in other corps raised at this period, the bounty given to the recruits of the Reay Fencibles would have probably been from three to five guineas for ordinary recruits, and up to ten guineas for those who had served in other fencible corps.³ In order, however, to complete the ranks of the regiment as expeditiously as possible, it was found necessary in some cases to add to these bounties. In the advertising columns of a local newspaper of that day, the civic authorities of the burgh of Tain resolved, upon the 16th of January 1795, to "pay a bounty of two guineas over and above all other bounties to each of the first twenty men belonging to the parish of Tain who enlists in the Reay Fencibles. The bounty to be paid by the Burgh Treasurer to each recruit on his producing a Certificate of Attestation."⁴

¹ It is further related that, on the formation of the regiment, two of the sons, owing to their unusual size and height, were placed one on each flank of the Grenadier Company. One of them afterwards transferred to the 93rd, soon after it was raised, and was placed, along with "Big Sam," at the head of the regiment, to "clear the way" when on the march!—Told by Mr David Mackenzie, crofter, Durness, a grandson of one of the sons, and communicated by the Rev. Adam Gunn, M.A., Durness.

The author of the 'House and Clan of Mackay' is not in agreement with this story as to the number of the sons who were actually enlisted.

Many of the fencible regiments had one or two men of uncommon size and strength, who were given a conspicuous position in the regiment and paraded as specimens of what the North could produce. "The Argyleshire regiment had their champion in the person of a George Buchanan, who marched at their head with a very fine stag. He was fully as tall as 'Big Sam,' but wanted the symmetry and muscle that rendered the latter so remarkable. . . . Buchanan had many wrestling-bouts, however, with strong men in various places, but uniformly threw them with great ease. When in Falkirk (during the American War) he exhibited his muscular prowess by holding a heavy cart-wheel upon his arm, which was passed through the eave, and making it spin round like a mill-wheel on its axle."—Kay's 'Edinburgh Portraits,' vol. ii. p. 191.

² I have in my possession the Discharge documents of two men from Strathnaver who served in the Reay Fencibles, both Mackays.

³ Out of his bounty-money the recruit had to furnish himself with the following necessaries: two good white shirts at 5s. 3d. each, one pair good shoes at 5s., one haversack at 1s., allowance for mending shoes 1s., while 3s. 6d. was sent with him to headquarters to purchase any other articles which he might require.—'History of the 91st Highlanders.' Dunn-Pattison, p. 24.

⁴ Mr Murray Rose in the 'Celtic Monthly,' vol. i.—So high did bounties to recruits rise, owing to the competition of officers raising men, that by a War Office circular of 21st February 1795, this practice was checked, as being "extremely prejudicial to the recruiting for the Navy." The bounties in future had not to exceed 15 guineas for recruits enlisted for general service, and 10 for those enlisted for the fencibles.—'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p.,30.

The following is a list of the officers appointed to the Reay Fencible Highland Regiment of Foot.¹ They were, with few exceptions, all gentlemen, or sons of gentlemen well known in the Mackay Country, who rented estates or farms from the Chief, and who, if not all of the name of Mackay, were connected with that clan either through inter-marriage or by reason of long residence in the clan territory.

Their Commissions were all dated 25th October 1794:—

COLONEL.

Mackay Hugh Baillie of Rosehall, from half-pay of the late 94th Foot; became Major-General 18th June 1798; died at Rosehall in 1805.²

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

George Mackay of Bighouse, had been Captain in the Duke of Gordon's North Fencibles; died at Scotstoun on the 6th September 1798 while in command of the regiment.

MAJOR.

Robert Honyman,³ Captain from the 96th Foot; exchanged to half-pay of the late York Fusiliers with Major James Stewart, 1st March 1798; Brevet Lieut.-Colonel of the 29th of April 1802; appointed as Major to the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, 20th January 1803; served at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, 1806, where he was wounded; promoted as Lieut.-Colonel into the Royal Irish Regiment (18th Foot) in 1806; died in Jamaica, 1809.

¹ The list of officers first appear in the Army List for 1796.

² General Baillie's death was hastened by a lingering illness brought on by the fatigues and arduous duties of an active military life. He was buried in the family tomb beside the chapel at Edderton, near Tain, in Ross-shire. His fortune was greatly reduced by the expenses incurred in raising the Reay Regiment, which, after his death, necessitated the sale of the estate of Rosehall to Lord Ashburton.—(From information supplied by his great-grandson, Dr Kenneth Cameron, Montreal.)

³ Second son of Sir William Honyman, Bart. of Armadale (one of the Senators of the College of Justice, under the title of Lord Armadale), and a grandson of Patrick Honyman of Graemsay, Orkney, who married Margaret, daughter of John Mackay 5th of Strathy. Major Honyman served as a volunteer during the campaign in Egypt in 1801, where he was honoured with the approbation of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and acquired the esteem and friendship of Sir John Moore, Generals Hope, Spencer, and other distinguished officers. At the attack on the Dutch lines, at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, he, under Sir David Baird, led on the 93rd Highlanders, and was severely wounded. As Lieut.-Colonel of the 18th Foot, he received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica for his active services in suppressing a mutiny of the black troops in that island. He died of fever at an early age, deeply regretted as an officer of much gallantry and the highest promise.—Kay's 'Edinburgh Portraits,' vol. ii. p. 163.

CAPTAINS.

Lamington Baillie, brother of Colonel Mackay Hugh Baillie; from Major in the East India Company's Service; resigned 31st July 1798; promoted Lieut.-Colonel in the H.E.I.C.S., and was drowned at sea on his return to India in 1806.¹

John Scobie of Melness, son of the Rev. William Scobie of Assynt, and son-in-law of John Mackay, 5th of Strathy; from half-pay of the late 71st Foot (disbanded in 1763²); Major, 22nd September 1798; disbanded 13th October 1802, and placed on half-pay; died at Melness House, 25th September 1805.

Donald Mackay of Eriboll, son of Ensign John of Moudale, the hero of the engagement of the Little Ferry in 1746; had been Lieutenant in the Duke of Gordon's North Fencibles; resigned 30th November 1796; appointed Major to the Northern Battalion of Sutherland Volunteers in 1803; died at Eriboll.

Donald Forbes of Ribigill and Balnakiel, grandson of Robert Mackay, tutor of Farr; had served as a Lieutenant in the Duke of Gordon's North Fencibles; resigned 30th November 1796; was afterwards Major in the Sutherland Volunteers.

William Munro of Achany and Auldinrinnie, grandson of Captain William Mackay of Borley; resigned 5th January 1797; was afterwards Captain in the Sutherland Local Militia.

Hugh Morison,³ disbanded 13th October 1802.

Colin Campbell Mackay (was also Quartermaster), son of Lieut.-Colonel George Mackay; disbanded 13th October 1802; raised the Bighouse Company of the Northern Battalion of Sutherland Volunteers and commanded them for a short time in 1803; Ensign 3rd Foot, 9th July 1803; Lieutenant 52nd Foot, 4th November 1803; raised men in 1805 among his Strathalladale tenantry for a company in 2nd Battalion 78th Highlanders; Captain (2nd Battalion 78th Highlanders), 9th July 1805; Major, 11th August 1814; to half-pay, 25th February 1816; Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, 10th January 1837; died 23rd June 1841.⁴

¹ Captain Lamington Baillie was at home on leave when the Reay Fencibles were being raised, and, probably on the solicitation of his brother (who wished to obtain as many trained officers as he could for his regiment), applied for an extension of leave and permission to accept a captaincy in the Reays. He appears, however, to have been little with the regiment, as he was on sick leave most of the time until he resigned.

² This regiment was raised in the North of Scotland in 1756, as a second battalion 32nd Foot, and was made a separate regiment as the 71st Foot in 1758. It served in some of the descents on the French coast in 1758, at the famous siege of Belle Isle in 1761, and afterwards in the West Indies. It was disbanded at the peace of 1763.—'Records and Badges of the British Army,' pp. 450, 731.

³ This name is also spelt Morrison. I have not been able to trace this officer, but he appears to have belonged to an Eddrachilis family.

⁴ Captain Mackay served with the 2nd Batt. 78th Highlanders in the expedition to Sicily and Calabria in 1806, including the skirmish of St Euphemia, the battle of Maida (where he commanded the Grenadier Company), siege and capture of the Castle of Scylla, and capture of Cotrone. Served in the expedition to Egypt in 1807, including the taking of Alexandria, siege of Rosetta, and the engagement of El-Hamet, where he was three times wounded, twice severely, and taken prisoner. In this latter engagement the Grenadier Company which he commanded, and which was composed largely of his own tenantry, was practically decimated, two subalterns

CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT.¹

James Mackay, of the Skerry family; from half-pay of Colonel Fanning's Regiment of Foot (reduced in 1783); Captain, 1st November 1796; appointed Lieutenant to a company of Invalids at Hull, 18th October 1797.

LIEUTENANTS.

*Alexander Clarke*² (was also Paymaster³ to the Regiment), son of the tacksman of Clashneach; Captain-Lieutenant, 1st November 1796; Captain, 1st December 1796; disbanded 13th October 1802; appointed 2nd Lieutenant of Marines on half-pay; was afterwards Captain in the Sutherland Volunteers.

Aaron Blanche (was also Adjutant), came from a regular corps; Captain-Lieutenant, 1st December 1796; Captain, 1st February 1797; remained in Ireland; disbanded 13th October 1802, and placed on half-pay.

Hector Maclean, from half-pay of the 42nd Highland Regiment. Served with the 42nd in the American War of Independence;⁴ Captain-Lieutenant, 1st February 1797; Captain, 1st November 1797; disbanded and placed on half-pay 13th October 1802.

Hugh Clarke, brother of Alexander Clarke; resigned 30th June 1797.

Angus Mackay,⁵ Kinloch, Tongue; Captain-Lieutenant, 1st November 1797; Captain, 4th August 1798, but ranked from 1st November 1797; disbanded 13th October 1802.

George Hunter, Captain-Lieutenant, 4th August 1798; Captain, 22nd Sept-

and 59 men out of a total of 70 being killed. While a prisoner in Cairo he was presented by the Pasha Mahomed Ali with a handsome Damascus sabre in recognition of his bravery and gallant resistance he made before being captured. This sabre is still in the possession of his descendant, Colin C. Mackay, Esq., British Columbia. Having recovered from his wound and regained his liberty, Captain Mackay lived to take part with his regiment in the campaign in Flanders in 1815, and was present at the actions of Merxem and siege of Antwerp.—'Book of Mackay,' pp. 334, 335.

¹ Captain-Lieutenant was the senior lieutenant, and commanded the Colonel's company. It was a separate commission from that of captain, but the officer's seniority in the army as captain counted from the date of his appointment as captain-lieutenant. This rank was done away with by a general order of June 1804, which also laid down that the practice of field officers holding the nominal command of troops or companies—a custom which had obtained from the first establishment of the standing army—should be abolished, and that in future every troop or company throughout the service should have an effective captain.—Davidson's 'Hist. of the 78th,' vol. i. p. 71.

² In the Regimental Order Books this name is sometimes spelt Clark and Clerk.

³ Paymasters were not given rank as such until 1798. Up to that time Lieut. Alex. Clarke acted as Paymaster.

⁴ According to General Stewart of Garth this officer had served nearly thirty years in the Black Watch.

⁵ Grandson of Neil Mackay of Clibrig, of the Aberach Mackays. Married Jean, daughter of Major Scobie of Melness. Settled in Thurso after the regiment was disbanded. Died at Rogart about 1834. The Aberach Banner, or famous "Bràtach Bhàn Chlann Aoidh," passed to him on the death of his elder brother Hugh (Huistean na Brataich).—'Book of Mackay,' p. 262.

ember 1798, but ranked from 4th August 1798; disbanded 13th October 1802.

Hector Mackay, of the Skerray family; from half-pay of the late 85th Foot (reduced in 1785); resigned April 1797. Obtained an appointment in the War Office, and held the rank of Captain. Died in London, 20th May 1808.

David Ross, Invercassley? out of the regiment in May 1799.

Peter Matheson, resigned March 1798.

George Duncan,¹ Inverarity? resigned 7th May 1797.

William Scobie of Ardvair, Assynt, son of the tacksman of Achimore; resigned 30th September 1799; was afterwards Captain in the Sutherland Volunteers. Drowned in Sutherland, 1826.

Duncan Maclaren,² Captain-Lieutenant, 22nd September 1798; appointed Ensign 91st Argyllshire Highlanders, 28th August 1801; Lieutenant, 25th June 1803; Captain, 18th December 1806; to 25th Foot, 10th October 1811; served with 91st in the expedition to Hanover in 1805; retired as Major, and died at Stirling about 1840.

Alexander Stronach, appointed Ensign 79th Highlanders, 18th April 1796; out of the 79th in 1799.

Colin Macdermid, resigned 7th December 1796.

Donald Munro, son of the tacksman of Achany; resigned 13th February 1796.

John Mackenzie of Badnabay, resigned 13th February 1796.

Hugh Macpherson (was also surgeon to the regiment), resigned 2nd March 1797, and became a Lieutenant, 1st May 1797; resigned November 1797.

William Mackay, of the Skerray family? resigned 10th April 1796; appointed Ensign 92nd (Gordon) Highlanders, 1799; Lieutenant, 1802; Captain, 1810; served in the Peninsular War; retired as Captain in 1814; died at Thurso.

Alexander Mackay,³ resigned 10th April 1796.

¹ Sometimes written *Gardner Duncan*.

² This name is sometimes also spelt *Maclaurin*.

³ I have not been able to trace this officer, but it is possible that he was none other than the Hon. Eric's brother, whom he succeeded as eighth Lord Reay in 1847. The Hon. Alexander Mackay joined the 92nd Highlanders in 1798, transferring as Captain to the 93rd when it was raised. He became a Major in 1814, to half-pay in 1815, and afterwards held the rank of Barrack-master of Malta; died in 1863. Although but a youth at the time of the raising of the Reays, it is quite possible that he may have started his military career in his clan corps.

At this period young officers often joined the army at the age or twelve or fourteen years, while commissions were frequently bestowed upon infants, who were "on leave" till old enough to assume their unearned rank. The Army brokers, who in the days of purchase and raising men for rank, negotiated for officers the sale of commissions, exchanges, and the like, carried on openly the most scandalous traffic. One proud parent, it is said, requested leave of absence for his infant son, who held the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, on the ground that he was not yet fit to be taken from school! Two sons of Sir Alan Cameron of Erracht, who raised the 79th, were gazetted to that regiment in June 1794, though the age of the eldest at the time could not have been more than nine. This was too much for the military authorities, who discovered what had been done, and in 1796 removed them from the service, as being still boys at school. Colonel Gardyne tells the story of a nurse of one of these embryo soldiers, who, passing through the poultry-yard, and being asked by the hen-wife after her charge, who was clinging for protection

Rupert Mackay, son of Lieut.-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse; resigned 24th November 1799; died in Jamaica, 1812.

Alexander Baillie,¹ nephew of Colonel Mackay Hugh Baillie; resigned 10th April 1796. Obtained a commission in the East India Company's service.

ENSIGNS.

Kenneth Scobie, son of Captain John Scobie; appointed Second Lieutenant in Plymouth Division of Marines, 31st December 1796; retired as Captain; was afterwards Adjutant to the Royal Montearth Volunteers; died in Sutherland about 1850.

Donald Mackenzie, Fairburn? Lieutenant, 1st May 1797; appointed Ensign in 21st Fusiliers, 16th February 1801; transferred as Captain to the 8th Royal Veteran Battalion in 1821; died at Edinburgh about 1845.

William Anderson, son of the tacksman of Rispond; resigned 4th February 1797; Ensign 79th Foot, 1799; to 78th, 1803; to half-pay, 1811; died 1816.

James Veitch (was also Acting Assistant-Surgeon or Surgeon's Mate).

Alexander Boyle (was also Acting Assistant-Surgeon or Surgeon's Mate).

John Macleod, son of Roderick Macleod, late tacksman of Balnakiel; resigned 31st March 1796; afterwards held a commission in the line.

George Mackay, son of the tacksman of Strathmelness? resigned 24th July 1796; appointed Ensign 91st Highlanders, 1799; retired 1802.

Kenneth Tod, resigned 26th October 1796.

ADJUTANT.²

Aaron Blanche.

QUARTERMASTER.

Colin Campbell Mackay.

SURGEON.

Hugh Macpherson.

ASSISTANT-SURGEONS.

James Veitch, Ensign, 25th October 1794; appointed Acting Surgeon's Mate the same day; resigned the ensigncy when appointed Surgeon, 1st April 1797; reappointed Ensign, 1st June 1798, which commission he held with Surgeon; appointed Assistant-Surgeon, 28th Light Dragoons, on the 23rd November 1801.

Alexander Boyle, Ensign and Acting Surgeon's Mate, 25th October 1794; resigned 31st August 1799.

from a warlike turkey, replied, "Oh, the captain's a fine wee mannie, but he's sair hadden down wi' the bubbly-jock!"—Gardyne, vol. ii. p. 393; 'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 213; 'Historical Records of the 79th,' vol. ii. p. 120.

¹ This officer's Christian name sometimes appears as Arthur.

² The post of Adjutant was a separate rank at this time.

CHAPLAIN.¹

David Mackay, retired on pension, 4s. 4d. per day, 29th September 1797.

On the arrival of Colonel Mackay Baillie and Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse in the Reay Country, early in December 1794, they had at once set about raising the regiment, and dividing the men into companies,² according to the different districts they came from. The severities of the northern winter,³ however, greatly retarded the recruiting in some localities until the snow had begun to leave the higher glens and hill-tracks, thus permitting freer communication between the more outlying and scattered of the townships. Proclamations were read from every parish pulpit, and at the various fairs and markets throughout the country, urging upon all able-bodied clansmen to enrol themselves without delay in the new regiment.

The first company to be formed was the "Bighouse" company, raised by Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay from among his Strathalladale tenantry. Its first headquarters was in the vicinity of Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay's house at the northern extremity of Strathalladale, and close to the township of Melvich.⁴

¹ The rank of Chaplain was usually obtained by purchase. Chaplains, like surgeons, were purely regimental officers, holding commissions from the King, and appointed on the recommendation of the colonels, who frequently made arrangements for dispensing the reverend gentlemen from their duty and putting their pay into their own pockets. By royal warrant of 1796, regimental chaplains were abolished, and general chaplains appointed for troops serving abroad or in the field, while at home the clergy in the neighbourhood of barracks performed divine service, receiving an allowance of £25 a-year. A retiring allowance of 4s. a-day was granted to all regimental chaplains who chose to resign under the altered conditions. No provision was made for Presbyterian chaplains under the new scheme, only the Church of England being recognised, and it was not until well on in the nineteenth century that their claims were allowed, and a certain number appointed in the army.—Fortescue's 'History of the British Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 925.

The Rev. David Mackay appears to have seen previous service as chaplain, but in what corps I am unable to trace. The fact of his drawing a pension of over 4s. seems to bear this out. Although the warrant abolishing regimental chaplains was dated in 1796, it was not until well on in 1797 that it was carried into effect in Ireland among the Fencibles. The Rev. David Mackay was afterwards minister of the parish of Reay.

² There were ten companies in a regiment at this period. The colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and senior major each had a company.

³ The winter of 1794 was a very severe one all over the north of Europe.

⁴ Communicated by Dr George Mackay, Edinburgh, of the Bighouse family.

It is said that while Bighouse was enlisting men for his company, one applicant of rather diminutive stature presented himself for enrolment. Bighouse would not at first receive him, but the lad was not to be put off so easily, and stoutly replied, "Loisgidh fear beag cho dìreach ri fear mòr"—"A little man will shoot as straight as a big man." The truth of the reply was

The other companies, or in some cases as many men as could be collected together to form the nucleus of a company, were raised soon after by the officers who had been appointed to command companies.

Bighouse's son, Colin Campbell Mackay, who had been given a captaincy in the regiment, raised men for his company from his father's estate of Strathalladale, and from Scoury and those parts of the parish of Eddrachilis of which his father was tacksman.

The men on the Strathy estate were recruited by Major Honyman, and probably amounted to nearly a full company.

Captain-Lieutenant James Mackay got men from the Skerray district, as well as a number from Farr and other parts of Strathnaver.

Captain John Scobie, tacksman of Melness,¹ and Captain Donald Forbes, tacksman of Ribigill, succeeded in raising two companies in and around Tongue. One of these was known as "Lord Reay's Company," from the fact of it being largely composed of men employed on the home farm and policies of the House of Tongue, the Chief's residence.

Another company was formed through the exertions of Captain Donald Mackay, tacksman of Eriboll,² from among his tenants and dependants, and from the south-west part of the parish of Durness.

Captains Donald Forbes and Hugh Morison, and other officers, obtained a number of men in the north and west portions of the same parish.

Captain William Munro, tacksman of Auldinrinnie, assisted by Lieutenants William Scobie of Ardvar and John Mackenzie of Badnabay, raised the greater part of a company in the west and south-westerly parts of the clan territory. Captain Munro also got some men from his Achany estate.

Through the exertions of Colonel Mackay Baillie and Captain

undeniable, and Bighouse, pleased at the young man's spirit, at once said: "Tha thu ceart, a bhalaich; bi 'dol as deigh chàich"—"You are right, lad; follow the rest."—Communicated by the Rev. H. Macaulay, Free Church Manse, Strathy, Sutherland.

¹ Captain Scobie of Melness, the author's great-great-grandfather, was married to Barbara, daughter of John Mackay, fifth and last laird of Strathy, who had served in the 1st Sutherland Fencibles.

² Captain Mackay of Eriboll, "a chieftain-like gentleman," was held in great regard and esteem throughout the Reay Country. His only child, Barbara, was married to Captain Scobie's eldest son, Captain Mackay John Scobie of the H. E. I. C., afterwards tacksman of Keoldale, and was well known for her literary and musical gifts.

Lamington Baillie a company was raised, partly on the former's estate of Rosehall¹ and partly from the south-west of Sutherland, which contained a good many Macleods and Mackenzies from Assynt, and Rosses from the Ross-shire-Sutherland border in its ranks.

By the end of March 1795, all the men who had been recruited in the different parts of "Duthaich Mhic Aoidh" assembled under the gentleman from that country who had received commissions in the newly raised corps, and marched in a body, headed by their pipers,² to the place where the regiment was to be embodied, which in this case was Elgin.³

On the march southwards the parties of men raised in other parts of Sutherland and in Ross-shire joined themselves to the main body, which thus increased in numbers, until, after long days of marching, the monotony of which was enlivened by the stirring notes of the pipe or Gaelic marching songs, Elgin was reached.

Here they were joined by those men raised in other parts of the Highlands, or in the Lowlands. These were at once drafted into the companies which had not been completed to strength.

Although the whole of the regiment was not yet assembled, stí. the great majority of the men were now together, and the business of drilling and instructing them in their new duties began without further delay.

The first orders to be found in the Order Books are dated Elgin, 14th June 1795. They deal with the preparing of the muster-rolls and inspection-lists of the companies, which were to be made up as soon as possible and given to the Adjutant, "observing that the commanding officers of companies are themselves to visit those reported sick, for fear of the rolls being filled up improperly, as the least inaccuracy in the companies' returns will confuse the general returns of the regiment."

As the regiment was to be shortly inspected, the officers in charge

¹ This estate is on the borders of Sutherland and Ross-shire. The mansion-house is pleasantly situated among trees close to the river Oykel.

² According to the late Miss Bessie Scobie, Keoldale, one piper, an ugly old man though a first-rate musician, was enlisted for the regiment; but when Colonel Baillie saw him he sent the man home, *because he could not allow so ungainly a person to be seen with the regiment in so conspicuous a position!*

³ When a new regiment was raised, the custom was to embody it, not in the country districts where the men were enlisted, but in some garrison town where they could conveniently be inspected by a general officer and passed as fit for service. — 'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 15.

of companies were requested to equip their men in the best manner possible before the inspection.

“The surgeon’s mates, Messrs Veitch and Boyle, to examine the supernumerary men,¹ and also those absent in quarters,² and send in a return of those sick to the commanding officer.”

“The supernumeraries to parade at one o’clock on the plainstones, when the officers who have recruited them will attend with a return of such men as have not been drawn into companies. It will be material for the interests of those officers that they immediately furnish them with such articles as may be wanting to make them appear neat and clean before the General.”

¹ Some of the officers had recruited men in addition to the quotas required of them. These men were kept on a special supernumerary list. By thus raising extra men the officers could replace any man of their quota who might be rejected. For every man approved of and passed into the ranks the officer who had raised him received five guineas.

² During the time the regiment was at Elgin the men were quartered in billets in and around the town. Those who were “absent in quarters” were sick.



Recruits on the way to join.

CHAPTER IV.

THE required number of men having now been obtained,¹ the Reay Fencibles were embodied at Elgin on the 17th June 1795.²

The strength was 46 officers, 32 sergeants, 30 corporals, 22 drummers and fifers, and 671 privates. Total, 801 of all ranks.³

Nearly 600 of the men were from the Reay Country, while some of the non-clan names are found in the adjoining county of Caithness. The remainder of the men came from other parts of Sutherland or the Highlands, except a few who, as we have already noticed, had been recruited in and around Edinburgh.

11 officers (including the chaplain) and 209 rank and file were of the name of Mackay, while in all 400 officers and men had the honourable Gaelic prefix "Mac" to their names.⁴

Some of the principal surnames,⁵ in numerical order, are as follows:—

Mackays	209 men.
Macleods	63 "
Mackenzies	40 "
Sutherlands	35 "
Morrison's	32 "

¹ So successful had been the recruiting that no less than 100 men had been raised in excess of the required strength. These were kept on the supernumerary list.

² 'Book of Mackay,' p. 223.

³ The full Muster-roll and Certificates of Muster will be found in Appendix VII. According to the Warrant for raising the regiment its full establishment should have been 46 officers, 40 sergeants, 50 corporals, 22 drummers and fifers, and 950 private men. This, however, had been afterwards reduced to the above strength. The establishments of Fencible Corps, and even sometimes those of the line, were continually being reduced and as often augmented. In consequence, it is often extremely difficult to arrive at their actual strength.—See Fortescue's 'History of the British Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 889.

⁴ General Stewart of Garth states that "more than 700 men had the word 'Mac' prefixed to their names," but this is an error, as will be seen by reference to the original muster-roll in the Appendix. It is said that some 600 of the men were *left-handed*.

⁵ There were in all 155 surnames, and of these 139 are represented by 204 individuals, or 5 less than the number of Mackays in the regiment.—Mr John Mackay ("Ben Reay").

“But these men had a better claim to notice than their names,” says General Stewart of Garth; “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.”

On the 18th June, the day following its embodiment, the Reay Fencibles were inspected¹ by Lieut.-General Sir Hector Munro² (of Novar), who expressed himself as being “highly satisfied with the fine appearance and quality of the whole,”³ and passed the regiment as an effective corps.

There were present on parade 33 officers, 32 sergeants, 30 corporals, 22 drummers and fifers, and 631 privates, besides 100 supernumeraries.⁴

Not a man was discharged as being unfit, although a few were rejected as not enlisted in conformity to the recruiting instructions.⁵ These latter were immediately replaced from the supernumeraries.⁶

The first parade of the regiment after its embodiment must have presented rather a singular appearance. Through the exertions of Colonel Baillie⁷ some of the men had received a part of their uniform and equipment—*i.e.*, their regimental jackets and

¹ This inspection probably consisted, as in other regiments, of the men running or marching past the Inspecting Officer, and was more the official acceptance of individuals than of the regiment as a whole.—‘History of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders,’ by R. P. Dunn-Pattison, p. 3.

² This officer had been in the 89th Highland Regiment, raised by the Duke of Gordon in 1759, and had served with it in India. The 89th were disbanded at home in 1765.

³ The men of the Reay Fencibles were of average height (there were some tall and some very short men in the regiment), and were strongly built, hardy, and active. Their ages ranged from sixteen to fifty-five years, although a few strong lads of fifteen had been allowed to be taken. The men engaged to serve until the regiment was disbanded, or until they were discharged as unfit for further service.

⁴ There were absent 13 officers (including the chaplain) and 40 privates. The officers and some of the men had not yet joined, while the remainder of the men marked as absent were really sick in quarters.

⁵ Regtl. Orders, Elgin, June 20: “The men rejected and ordered to be discharged are to be paid 14 days’ subsistence, when they receive their discharge, from the day of Inspection; this is agreeable to the Standing Orders of the Army. The Colonel regrets that the loss will fall on officers who recruited those men, which has been occasioned by so great deviation from the recruiting instructions.” These men were discharged on the 22nd instant.

⁶ Of the hundred supernumeraries who were shown to the General, all were approved of with the exception of six.

⁷ The clothing of a regiment at this time was supplied by the colonel, according to a pattern selected by a clothing board composed of general officers, and was paid for by him out of an allowance granted for the purpose. In 1854 the clothing was taken out of the hands of the colonel and supplied direct by the Clothing Department.

waistcoats, bonnets and bayonet-belts. The Highland clothing,¹ however, not being ready, these men had to appear in their own kilts, trousers, or breeches. The remainder of the men were in their ordinary dress. Only the officers² and a few of the sergeants had the complete uniform. The arms were not issued until some days later.

The regiment having now been passed as fit for service, it was placed on the Establishment from the 18th June 1795 as THE REAY FENCIBLE (HIGHLAND) REGIMENT OF FOOT, or REAY FENCIBLES.

It was not until the end of June, however, that the regiment was completely armed, equipped, and clothed.

Like other Highland corps, the Reay Fencibles wore the full Highland garb, combined with the Infantry uniform of the period modified to suit the Highland dress.

They had the Breacan-an-fheilidh,³ or Belted-plaid (kilt and plaid in one) of Mackay tartan,⁴ of the same *sett*, but of a lighter shade than that now worn; twelve yards (six yards double width) for the officers and sergeants, and a smaller quantity for the men.⁵

¹ The "Highland Clothing" consisted of the belted plaid, kilt (*feilebeag*), and hose. By the term "Clothing" was meant the upper part of the uniform—*i.e.*, regimental jacket and waistcoat.

² Regtl. Orders, 16th June 1795: "The officers at the inspection to be dressed in their Regimentals (*i.e.*, jacket and waistcoat, bonnet and sword), and short kilts, their hair tied and with black stocks, except the Staff Officers, who will appear with white cloath britches and boots."

³ Literally, kilt and plaid. *Breacan* meaning chequered or spotted (hence tartan or plaid), and *feilidh* or *feile*, meaning kilt. Always known in regtl. orders as "the belted plaid."

⁴ This *sett*, probably a district tartan originally, is a very ancient one.

⁵ The belted plaids were not issued to the men until they arrived in Ireland, some months after this, as the colonel had not ordered them at once, as will be seen later. Only sufficient tartan had been obtained to make up the *feilebeag* or little kilt. The tartan made at that time was the "hard" variety, the wool being "combed" and the threads hard twisted, and although of rougher material was more serviceable and lasting than the present "soft" tartans, which are made of "carded" wool with the threads loosely twisted.

Colonel Gardyne, in his 'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 21, thus describes how this ancient and now disused form of the Highland garb was put on: "The belt was laid down and the plaid over it, the centre of the plaid being over the belt; it was then neatly pleated across the belt, but leaving a part at each end unpleated; the belt was then fastened round the waist, so that the lower half of the plaid formed the *feile* or kilt, of which the unpleated part became the apron, and the upper half, falling over the belt, formed the *breacan* or plaid, which was fastened on the left shoulder, or it could be thrown round the shoulders as a cloak. By loosening the belt the whole became a blanket or plaid. (*Plaide* is the Gaelic word for blanket.)"

The belted plaid looked well on a tall man, but rather like a bundle of clothes on a little man.—'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 32.

For ordinary duties, unless the belted plaid was specially ordered, the men wore the feilebeag, or little kilt,¹ which was really the lower half of the "breacan-an-fheilidh," with the pleats permanently stitched.

The head-dress was the round Highland bonnet, worn almost square on the head, and which needed no chin-strap to keep it in position. It had a high diced border or band of red, white, and green,² and was cocked³ and ornamented (or mounted) with black bearskin⁴ fixed to the edge of the bonnet, with a slight droop over the right ear; the whole of the "fesse-check," or diced border, as well as part of the blue cloth of the bonnet, being visible. A hackle, or plume,⁵ was fastened at the side of the bonnet, over the left ear, by a black cockade with a button of regimental pattern⁶ on it. This hackle was of white for the Grenadier Company, green for the

¹ This garment is far simpler to put on and off than the somewhat cumbersome belted plaid, although for one accustomed to it the latter dress was a much more useful and healthy garb. According to Regtl. Orders the amount of tartan allowed for making up the little kilt was 3½ yards for the Grenadier Company and 3 yards for the other companies. This allowance was much the same as in other Highland regiments of that time. The officers' kilts had generally 5 yards.—(From information supplied by Mr James Mackay, Braetongue, parish of Tongue, who as a boy knew the regtl. master-tailor, Sergt. Hugh Mackenzie.)

The kilt of those days was a very scanty covering compared with the voluminous garment now worn, which takes 8 yards! The pleats were made far broader than what is customary nowadays. It was not until well on in the nineteenth century that the allowance of kilt tartan was increased to 4 yards, and towards the end of the century to 8 yards.

In this kilt the pleats were not cut out at the top, and consequently four periods of wear could be got out of the length of tartan which made the kilt. First, by turning it; then reversing it so that the part at the top became the lower edge, the pleats being unstitched and the garment repleated. Finally, by turning the kilt again! After having served its time as a kilt the tartan could then be utilised for making up into trousers or vests.—'Historical Records of the Cameron Highlanders,' vol. ii. p. 253.

² Said to represent the "fesse-chequey" in the arms of the House of Stuart.

³ The term "cocked" did not refer to the manner of wearing the bonnet, but of the way in which it was set up as opposed to the way civilians pulled it down.—'Historical Records of the Cameron Highlanders,' vol. ii. p. 257.

⁴ In most Highland corps the bonnet was ornamented with ostrich feathers, but, judging by Regimental Orders, the Reay Fencibles seem to have adopted bearskin, probably as being more economical. The officers, however, would have had ostrich feathers. In Davidson's 'History of the 78th Highlanders' it is mentioned that the 2nd Batt. of that regiment, raised in 1794, had their bonnets dressed with an imitation of feathers made of worsted, on the recommendation of their colonel, as being cheaper and "much superior in richness and appearance to real feathers, much more durable, and easily kept in order."

⁵ Known in Regtl. Orders as the "plume," or "regimental feather." It was made up from cock's feathers, which were clipped short, tied on a stem, and then dyed (see p. 104, *note*).

⁶ The military buttons of that period were flat and round in shape, and bore a closer resemblance to the present livery button than to the ordinary military button of to-day. The Reay Fencibles' buttons were of white metal for the officers and of pewter for the men, and bore in their centre the thistle and star surrounded with the words "Reay Fencibles."

Light Company,¹ red and white (the lower third red, upper two-thirds white) for the Battalion Companies, and white and red (lower third white, upper two-thirds red) for the drummers.

The jacket, or coat, was of scarlet cloth for officers and sergeants, and red for the rank and file. It was worn open in front, showing the white waistcoat underneath, and had lapels turned back with light-blue cloth (the colour of the regimental facings).² The cuffs were of the facing cloth, and had four buttons in pairs with white looped lace. The lapels were also adorned with buttons and white looped lace, arranged two and two. The jacket was hooked at the top through the shirt frill, and had a turn-down collar of the regimental facings with lace and single button.³ The corners of the skirts⁴ were sewn back, exposing the white lining. The waistcoats were of white cassimere or cloth, plain, and fastened by a single row of small regimental buttons.

The sash was of crimson silk for the officers, and of the same colour, but of worsted with a blue strip in it for the sergeants. Both officers and sergeants wore it over the left shoulder.

The officers had two small flat epaulettes⁵ of silver bullion with a fringe, ornamented with a gold-embroidered thistle for the Battalion Companies, and a grenade and bugle-horn respectively for the flank companies.⁶ These epaulettes had a binding of blue round the edge, with two stripes of blue silk in the centre of the strap. The

¹ The Grenadier and Light Companies of a regiment in those days often wore a different head-dress to the rest of the regiment; but, from what can be gathered in Regtl. Orders, the Grenadier and Light Companies of the Reays had the bonnet, the only distinction being in the plumes.

² Described as light grey-blue in the list given by Colonel Hamilton Smith in his (Manuscript) tabular statement of the dress of the British Army in 1800 (South Kensington Art Library).

³ This collar was soon afterwards changed to the straight-up pattern (of 1795), with longer bars of lace, and no buttons for the officers. (See portrait of Major Scobie in the jacket of 1794-95, and of Bighouse and Captain Colin C. Mackay in the later jacket.)

⁴ The skirts of the jacket had slashed flaps, each having four laced loops and buttons, arranged two and two; a laced triangle at the waist; and white kerseymere turnbacks (laced for the officers). On these turnbacks the officers wore regimental skirt ornaments—*i.e.*, a silver thistle for the Battalion Companies, and a silver grenade and bugle-horn respectively for the Grenadier and Light Companies, mounted on scarlet.

⁵ In all regiments except Highland only field officers wore two epaulettes.

⁶ The flank companies were the Grenadier and Light Companies, which with the eight Battalion Companies made up a regiment at this period. Flank companies were done away with in 1858. In some orders of dress the officers of the flank companies appear to have worn wings like their men, but smaller, with a silver grenade or bugle-horn on the shoulder-strap. (See portrait of Captain Colin C. Mackay.)

sergeants had fringed shoulder-straps, or epaulettes,¹ of the colour of the regimental lace. The shoulder-straps for the rank and file were blue, edged with white, for Battalion Companies, and of red, edged with white, with wings of fringe, for the flank companies.

The lace was of silver with a blue thread in the centre for the officers, and of white braid, with some coloured worm in it, for the non-commissioned officers and men.²

When on duty the officers had a gilt gorget,³ fastened round the neck by a blue ribbon with rosette, and with a crown and "G R" engraved on it.

The hose were of strong red-and-white tartan cloth,⁴ known as cath-dath (pron. ca' da') or "battle colour,"—then worn by all Highland corps and by Highland gentlemen when in full civilian Highland dress.

The garters were scarlet, about an inch in breadth, and of a material with some elasticity in it. As was then the custom, the hose were worn with a slight turn-down, which exposed most of the garter to view, and enabled it to be fastened on the outer part of the leg with an elaborate garter-knot (snaoim-gartain), fashioned either by hand or with the needle in the form of a rosette, with the ends depending down.

The shoes were of black leather, low-quartered, and had plain square brass buckles.

The officers and sergeants had purses (sporan) of badger-skin, with the head of the animal closing the mouth, surmounted by a

¹ Chevrons were not introduced for the N.-C. officers until July 1802. Previous to that date the rank of sergeant was distinguished by the fringe on the shoulder-strap and by the sash. Corporals seem to have had as a distinguishing mark two small white worsted epaulettes.

² There is no record of what pattern of lace was worn by the N.-C. officers and men, as the sealed patterns for Fencible Infantry have not been preserved. As in regiments of the line, however, it would have been of different pattern for the battalion companies, flank companies, and drummers. The "worm" was a thin stripe or line, generally of blue, black, or green, which ran through the lace, and determined its pattern. The lace (like that of the officers') would have been square-headed.

³ This duty badge, the last relic of armour to be worn (excepting perhaps the cuirass), continued in use until about 1830, when it was finally discarded.

⁴ Known as Hose tartan in distinction to Plaid tartan. The hose were not constructed like the modern stocking, but had to be cut out of the cloth, shaped to the leg, and sewn at the back. The cloth-hose, unless well fitting, soon caused blistered feet when marching, owing to the roughness of the material they were made of. Spats of any kind were unknown at this period, and did not come into use for marching purposes until some years later.

straight silver rim, and ornamented with six white goat-hair tassels of shaving-brush pattern mounted in silver or metal bells.

The purses of the rank and file were of white goatskin, with plain straight white metal top, and six short black horse-hair tassels in metal bells.¹

The officers, sergeants, drummers, and pipers were armed with the Highland broadsword,² with a steel basket-hilt,³ and black leather scabbard with brass or steel mountings. The broadsword was worn in the Highland fashion, slung at the back, in a frog,⁴ on a narrow white buff shoulder-belt. This belt was fastened in front by an oval belt-plate,⁵ having a crown with a thistle within the thistle-star, and surmounted by the words "REAY FENCIBLES." The belt-plate was of silver, or white metal, for the officers and sergeants, and of brass for the drummers and pipers.

The officers had also a silver-mounted dirk⁶ with knife and

¹ From information given by Mr William Ross, Dalcharn, Strathan-Tongue, Sutherland, whose father was head-keeper to Eric, Lord Reay, who raised the regiment. My informant also gave particulars of other parts of the uniform which he had seen as a boy. In regtl. orders purses were rarely mentioned, and even then not described. The purse was not considered such an indispensable part of the Highland garb as it is now, and was only worn in full dress for guards, reviews, inspections, &c., or if specially ordered. When on the march or in the field, the purses were either carried in the knapsacks or left with the regimental baggage. As Colonel Gardyne says: ". . . just as at home, when the kilt was commonly worn, a hill-man never thought of going to the hill with his sporan on, but kept it for high days and holidays." The Reay Fencibles were probably not issued with purses until some time after they had received the rest of their uniform. These purses were of a smaller size than those worn in Highland regiments at the present day. They were fastened close up to the edge of the waistcoat.

² Now generally known, but incorrectly so, as the claymore. The "clai-mor," or big sword, was the old two-handed weapon from which sprung the modern broadsword. According to a memorial of Colonel Baillie's, some of the sergeants and drummers do not appear to have been provided with swords until after the regiment arrived in Ireland.

³ The steel basket-hilt was changed in 1799 to one of brass or copper for the officers, and probably also for the sergeants and drummers.

⁴ As in other Highland regiments, the officers of the Grenadier and Light Companies would have had slings on the shoulder-belt instead of a frog as a distinction to the Battalion Companies.

⁵ One of these belt-plates, of rank and file quality, is at present to be seen in the National Museum in Dublin, and is the only one I have been able to trace. It was picked up by a collector in Athlone (where the regiment was at one time quartered), and presented by him to the Royal Irish Academy, who deposited it in the National Museum. This belt-plate is convex in front and has been cast. The lettering and ornamentation are sunk. The officers' belt-plate was of silver, with a raised rim, and bore a similar design to that of the rank and file, but engraved and more carefully finished.

⁶ Mr Hugh Mackenzie, Stalker, Corrie Kinloch, by Lairg, Sutherland, had (in 1910) in his possession a very fine silver-mounted dirk engraved with Lord Reay's coat of arms. This dirk, so Mr Mackenzie told me, had belonged to his great-grandfather, who was an officer in the Reay Fencibles, and known as "Huistean Og" (Young Hugh). It is possible that this weapon may

fork in the sheath, and the sergeants carried a pike¹ as well as the broadsword.

The rank and file were equipped with the flint-lock musket or firelock,² with brightly polished barrel, and long triangular-shaped bayonet.³ They had white buff cross-belts, fastened in front with an oval belt-plate of brass similar to that worn by the drummers and pipers. On these belts were carried the ammunition-pouch, of black leather, and the bayonet, the latter having a scabbard of black leather with brass tip. The knapsacks,⁴ or packs, were of goatskin with the hairy side out, and were fastened on the shoulders with buff slings and straps.

The drummers had jackets of the same pattern as the rank and file, but of the colour of the regimental facings, with lace on the sleeves and down the back. The lapels of this jacket were turned back with red, the facings being of the same colour. The wings were blue, edged with white braid, and red fringe. White waistcoats.

The pipers⁵ wore the same uniform as the rank and file.

It does not appear, judging by Regimental Orders, that the regiment had any "band of musick" until some years after it was raised. When the band was formed, however, the musicians would have probably worn, as in other Highland corps, white jackets faced with blue, with a red hackle in the bonnet. They would also have been armed with the broadsword, slung in a black leather shoulder-belt.

The mounted officers⁶ when in full dress wore white cassimere, or white cloth pantaloons or breeches, and Hessian boots with gilt spurs. They also carried a sabre instead of the broadsword, and for con-

have been worn in the regiment, as in those days officers often carried their own dirks. According to Mr Mackenzie, however, it was presented to his ancestor by Lord Reay *after* the Fencibles returned from Ireland. Sgiandubhs (stocking knives) were unknown at this period.

¹ The halbert was abolished in 1792.

² Commonly known as the "Brown Bess." It weighed about 12 pounds, and discharged a spherical ball of which fourteen went to the pound; its effective range was only about 200 yards, but it would not carry straight for more than half that distance. It was the weapon used in all our wars of the 18th and early 19th centuries, and was only replaced by the percussion lock in 1845.

³ While in the Reay Country some years ago I discovered two bayonets said to have been carried in the Reay Fencibles. One of these had been used for many years by a shoemaker, stuck in a block of wood as a candlestick!

⁴ The knapsacks were provided by the men at their own expense, and cost 8s. 4d. each.

⁵ Pipers were not officially recognised at this period, and had no separate rank as the drummers had. They were purely a regimental and not an army institution. It was not until 1854 that pipers received rank and pay the same as drummers.—'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 39.

⁶ The mounted officers were the colonel, lieut.-colonel, major, and adjutant.



REGIMENTAL BELT-PLATE. (*Exact size.*)

(*From an Original in the National Museum, Dublin.*)

venience in riding had a waist-belt with slings instead of the shoulder-belt.¹

In some orders of dress all officers wore white breeches and Hessian boots;² for undress they had grey pantaloons with Hussar or "half-boots," and for fatigues or when in camp "field-dress" jackets or frocks,³ with some form of foraging cap. Buff leather gloves were worn by officers when in full dress, or for guards, reviews, &c.

The hair was worn long, in the form of a queue, and tied with black ribbon, or clubbed with rosettes on the club. It was powdered for all regimental parades, guards, &c., and on special occasions. All ranks had shirt frills, and were clean-shaven. The stocks for the officers were of black velvet (buttoned behind) with false collars; those of the rank and file of leather.

For fatigue wear some of the men had trousers of blue or grey cloth or tartan, but as this garment was not recognised, uniformity was not expected.⁴ The men also wore the "humble (*humhle*) bonnet,"⁵ or "foraging cap" as it is called in orders, for fatigues or when in camp.

The kilt was worn with the lower edge reaching to the centre of the knee-cap in front, and rather shorter behind. The hose were gartered just above the swell of the calf.

From the time the regiment had begun to assemble at Elgin in the April previous, the men had been constantly drilled and instructed in the duties required of them. The officers were becoming acquainted

¹ The "Highland Scarf," or small shoulder-plaid, does not appear to have been worn by the field officers of Highland corps at this time, although it had certainly come into use by 1810 in most regiments.

² For court-martials, dances, &c. The Highland dress was not then considered a correct costume for balls and dances. When attending these functions, officers of Highland corps, as in other regiments, wore white breeches with Hessian boots, or knee-breeches with white silk stockings and buckled shoes.

³ Of cheaper material and plainer finish than the full-dress jacket.

⁴ Those who had no trousers turned their kilts inside out. As there was no proper dress for fatigues, the men took off their jackets, and generally their waistcoats, when employed on those duties. After a time, when the first jackets and waistcoats became old, and new ones had been issued, the old clothing was probably used for most fatigue duties.

⁵ This was simply the pork-pie-shaped Kilmarnock, with red knob or "tourie." By mounting it with bearskin, cockade, and hackle it became the full-dress bonnet. The word *humhle* signifies "humble" or "lowly," hence "plain," and was applied to the bonnet when shorn of its mountings. Similarly a stag without horns is termed "a humhle stag."

Note.—The uniform of a Highland soldier of that day consisted of the following articles: Belted plaid, kilt, 2 pairs of hose, purse and strap, 1 pair of garters, jacket, waistcoat, bonnet (mounted), 2 pairs of shoes, foraging-cap or "humble" bonnet.

with their work,¹ a good system of discipline was being established, and the appearance of the regiment, considering the short time it had been in existence, was highly creditable to those who were responsible for its training. This result was undoubtedly furthered by the fact that some of the officers and men had already served before, either in the regular army or previous fencible corps.

The formation of flank companies, *the* "compagnies d'élite" of a regiment in those days, probably caused some jealousy and rivalry both among officers and men.

The Grenadier Company, whose place was on the right of the regiment when in line and at its head when in column, was composed of the tallest and biggest men. The Light Company, on the other hand, was not necessarily made up of the smallest men, but was picked from those of the greatest intelligence and activity; the "Light Bobs" ("Cuideachd eutrom"), as they were nicknamed, took their post on the left of the regiment when in line, and in rear when in column.

Regtl. Orders, Elgin, June 20th, 1795.—The regiment to parade to-morrow for Divine Service² at eight o'clock.

The quartermaster will deliver out nabsacks (*sic*) to the commanding officers of companies, which they will give to the men who have received their cloathing.

Regtl. Orders, June 21st.—All orders relating to non-commissioned officers and men are to be read and explained to them by an officer of the company at every evening parade, after which no N.C.O. or soldier can plead ignorance.

R. O., June 22nd.—Colonel Baillie expects in the course of a few days an order for the regiment to march and be quartered at Fort George. He relies that commanding officers of companies will use every endeavour to make those men who have received their clothing appear uniform as soon as possible. In the first place, the bonnets are to be trimmed immediately, agreeable to the pattern that will be shown by the quartermaster, as far as circumstances will permit.

As yet the men had not been issued with their Highland clothing, but companies were to give in a return to the quartermaster immediately of the number of kilts and hose they might want for the men who

¹ The officers were drilled daily by the adjutant, and received instruction in their various other duties.

² The Reay Fencibles, like other Highland corps, had their own chaplain, and divine service would have been conducted in the parish church at Elgin.

have received clothing. Those who had no kilts of their own to receive the first issue.

R. O., June 23rd.—The arms to be delivered out to the regiment to-morrow, the men to parade for this purpose in their old clothing to prevent the *soy* (*sic*) on the arms from soyling their new clothing, and to wear them for one day until the arms are cleaned, any non-commissioned officer or soldier disobeying this order to be confin'd.

The colonel informs the commanding officers of companies that he will on Thursday at ten o'clock inspect the companies and their new clothing, arms, and all appointments, packs (knapsacks) included.

Each company to send a file of men, front, centre, and rear rank, with their arms, accoutrements, and packs, to parade at the Quartermaster's Office, where they will be shown how to fix the pack-belts, slings, and packs, as an hour must be sufficient in preparing for a march. The officers and N.-C. officers to attend at the same time.

The men were excused evening parade for two days in order that they might have time to get their arms and accoutrements into good order for the colonel's inspection. They were also warned that by losing or destroying any of their arms and accoutrements they would be liable not only to punishment but to be put under stoppage to pay the value of them.

R. O., Elgin, 24th June.—A captain of the week to mount until further orders, the subaltern for the day to report to him all extraordinaries in consequence of the Sick List having increased so much.¹

An orderly corporal of a company to parade daily at eleven o'clock on the plain stones, with a list of the sick men's names, and their quarters both in town and country. Mr Veitch to visit the sick in the country, and Mr Boyle those quartered in the town, and each to give in the next morning on the parade a state of the sick by companies, specifying their disorders. As soon as any man is taken sick he is instantly to inform the orderly non-commissioned officer of his company, who is, without delay, to report the man's name, company, and quarters to the surgeon's mate who may be commanded to visit the

¹ This increase was partly due to the great change in the life and habits of the men to what they had been accustomed, while in the case of a few it might be traced to excessive whisky-drinking. According to the muster-roll from 18th to 24th June the number of men present with the regiment was the same as at the inspection, but the number of those absent was one less, one man (Private Robert Johnstone) having died on the 21st inst. This was the first loss sustained by the regiment.

sick man. The commanding officers of companies will at least once in two days, betwixt parades, send a careful non-commissioned officer to visit the sick men quartered in the country to find out if they are in want of any assistance. They will also inquire in what manner their men are fed, as the colonel is apprehensive from the list of the sick that some of the men do not use a sufficient quantity of wholesome provisions, and he warns them to live here as well as their pay will admit.¹ He trusts, however, that they will soon be in a station where they can mess regularly. These orders to be read and explained to the men this evening and to-morrow morning.

R. O., 25th June.—As the colonel expects the route to march to Fort George very shortly, he recommends that the commanding officers of companies warn their men not to lay in above three days' provision. They are also to give a week's pay to those men that they think will make good use of it, the others to receive three days' pay only until Monday, on which day they will receive their pay daily till further orders. An abstract of a week's pay to be given in by companies to Lieutenant Clarke, at 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 2 drummers per company, except the colonel's at 5 sergeants,² and the Grenadiers who have 4 drummers.³

The orderly N.-C. officers of companies to be answerable that they show the Orders of the day to the whole of the officers of their companies as soon as delivered. In case any of the officers to whom the orders immediately apply are not to be found in their quarters, the orderly book, or a copy of the order, is to be left in the officer or officers' quarters. The orderly N.-C. officer of the Colonel's

¹ Although the men were billeted, they do not seem to have paid the usual billeting fee, which for the infantry soldier was 4d. per diem for food and beer. Instead, they appear to have been allowed to make their own arrangement as to feeding, and in consequence many of them had deprived themselves in order to try and save something out of their pay which they might remit home to their parents. Sir J. Sinclair, in his 'Observations on the Military System of Great Britain,' says that the men in Highland regiments are inclined to deprive themselves in order to send money to their parents. General Stewart of Garth, and other writers on the Highland Regiments, also mention this trait in the Highland soldier's character. Prior to 1794 the pay of the infantry soldier was 6d., besides an allowance of 2½d. daily for necessaries and bread-money. In September 1795 this allowance was increased to 4d., so that his daily pay amounted to 10d., out of which a deduction of 5d. per day, or 3s. a-week, was made for messing. In 1797 the pay was further increased so as to make a total of 1s. a-day, the deduction for messing being increased to a sum not exceeding 4s. a-week.—'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 42.

² The two extra sergeants in the Colonel's Company were the sergeant-major and quarter-master-sergeant, who were borne on the strength of that company for pay and mustering purposes.

³ Two drummers and two fifers, the latter receiving the same pay as drummers. There were only two fifers to a regiment at this period.

Company to show the orders regularly as above to all the staff-officers, excepting those doing duty in other companies.

After Regimental Orders, 25th June.—The regiment to parade at twelve o'clock to-morrow with arms and appointments. The men's hair to be neatly tied and powdered; ¹ shirt frills well ironed.

The men were now employed in learning the handling and use of the arms just issued to them, and in fixing their accoutrements "agreeable to orders."

R. O., 29th June.—The Surgeon's Mates have not received any reports of sick from the Grenadiers, first, third, fourth, and sixth companies; and no reports of any sick in the country excepting from the second, fifth, and seventh companies. The companies have returned no less than 78 men sick in last night's reports, and only 38 men are returned by the reports given to the Surgeon's Mates this morning. The commanding officers of companies will therefore see how necessary it is for them to inquire particularly into the state of their sick, and not allow the health of their men to suffer through the neglect of their N.-C. officers in making the sick reports regularly.

The orders lately given about the bonnets to be immediately complied with as far as circumstances will permit. A little exertion will make them have a very different appearance; they may be at least bound with leather and tied behind.²

The officers and men were now sufficiently trained to allow of a regimental quarter-guard being formed. "A guard consisting of one subaltern, one sergeant, 2 corporals, one drummer, and 20 privates

¹ Hair-dressing was a serious business in those days. The hair had to be first well greased, then combed out, and finally powdered and tied behind. It had to be long enough at the sides to friz a little, and also behind, one inch below the rosette. Special hair-powder was sometimes bought, but more often the men used flour as a substitute. Colonel Gardyne, in his history of the 92nd Highlanders, mentions that there was a barber to each company, who found soap and hair-powder, and was paid 3d. a-week by each man. The soldiers sat on a bench one behind the other and tied each other's tails, taking it in turn to be powdered. The old soldiers were privileged to come last, so the younger men were obliged to be up betimes.—'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 35.

² The binding round the lower edge of the diced-band of the bonnet was of leather for the men and of black velvet for the officers. The bonnet had a slit behind which could be opened out or contracted by loosening or tightening the ribbons which fastened it, thus making the bonnet bigger or smaller as required. The ribbons were neatly tied in a knot at the back, and had no long depending ends. The long ribbons fixed on present-day bonnets are meaningless exaggerations of this old custom. If the bonnet was not bound and tied behind properly it would come down on the wearer's head like a night-cap, presenting a far from smart appearance.

with arms and accoutrements to mount daily as soon as the morning parade is dismissed, and on Sundays and Wednesday mornings at nine o'clock, until further orders. The adjutant will deliver to the officer of the guard the Standing Orders for all guards, which are to be strictly adhered to."

The quartermaster will deliver out to the companies to-morrow evening the additional number of kilts they want to make their men look uniform, also tartan for hose. The colonel has done all in his power to provide for making the men appear uniform, and he trusts the officers will insist that the clothing, &c., is taken care of, and that they will pay every attention towards making their men dress in a soldier-like manner, which is indispensably requested for the credit and good appearance of the regiment.

R. O., 1st July.—Colonel Baillie thinks it probable that the regiment may be ordered to march for Fort George on Monday. If the commanding officers of companies cannot immediately get their men's bonnets trimmed with lether (*sic*) and tied behind, they will give such in to the quartermaster after the parade to-morrow, who will furnish materials and order the master-taylor to finish them as soon as possible. A ticket with the man's name and company to be tacked to each bonnet delivered to the quartermaster. The quartermaster-sergeant to make a daily report of the number of taylors at work, stating in what manner they are employed.

R. O., 2nd July.—All the men convalescent in quarters to attend morning and evening parades, without arms and accoutrements, and to be as clean in every respect as the rest of the men, except being powdered.

No man in the doctor's report to be absent, excepting those who are certified as not being able to attend. These men, the N.-C. officers of the different companies to be very particular in returning, and no others. The convalescents to parade on the left of the regiment under the orderly sergeant of the sick.

R. O., 3rd July.—In future, when officers mount guard they will do so in the little kilt. They will also wear gloves, a pattern of which may be seen with the quartermaster. The colonel has no objection to frock jackets being worn by officers when off duty or in camp.

R. O., 4th July.—The regiment to parade to-morrow morning at ten o'clock for Devin (*sic*) Service.

The quartermaster having given in to the adjutant the rates fixed in the 42nd Regiment of Foot for making the officers' and men's clothing, the price for making such will be the regulation for paying the taylor¹ in the Reay Fencibles.

The following are the regulated prices, viz. :—

For Officers.		For N.-C. Officers and Soldiers.	
	s. d.		s. d.
Making a Regtl. New Coat	5 0	Sergt.-Major or Drum-Major—	
Making a waistcoat	1 6	Making a coat	3 0
Making a pair britches	1 6	Making a waistcoat	1 6
To cocking a bonnet, &c.	1 0	Sergeants—	
To sewing a plaid	0 6	Making a coat	2 0
To sewing and pleating a plaid ²	1 0	Making a waistcoat	1 0
To making a kilt and thread	0 6	Drummers—	
		Making a coat	2 0
		Making a waistcoat	1 0
		Rank and File—	
		Making a coat	1 6
		Making a waistcoat	0 10
		To cocking a bonnet, &c.	0 6
		To making a pair of hose, including thread	0 2
		To sewing and pleating a plaid ²	0 6
		To making a kilt and thread	0 3

R. O., 5th July.—The regiment will parade to march for Fort George on Thursday and Friday first, the men to be informed. The N.-C. officers and men who receive pay to attend morning and evening, except such as have the commanding officer's leave.

R. O., 6th July.—The companies to select such of their sergeants as write most clearly to receive the orders and regulations to be observed on the march. The orderly sergeant of the day to give in the occurrence (*sic*) of the regiment every morning after parade to the orderly officer, in order that both their reports may correspond.

On the 8th July, the first division of the regiment, consisting of

¹ At first each company had its own tailor and shoemaker, each charging his own price, but after a time a tailors' and a shoemakers' shop had been instituted, the former presided over by Sergeant Hugh Mackenzie, and the latter under Sergeant Donald Mackay, the prices being fixed as in the 42nd Highland Regiment.

² The belted plaid having fallen into disuse after the '45, the number of officers and men who knew how to wear it was probably small. For this reason it appears to have been partly made up by the needle, to enable it to be put on the easier.

five companies, marched for Fort George, followed next day by the second division.

The first day's march was to Forres, a distance of some 13 miles, in which town the men were quartered in billets for the night. Crossing the river Findhorn next day the march was resumed by way of Nairn and Campbeltown, along the shores of the Inner Moray Firth, to Fort George, the distance covered being about 17 miles.

The first division, arriving on the 9th, took over the quarters allotted to them in the Fort, when they were joined the following day by the second division. The regiment being now reunited lost no time in settling down in its new quarters.



Private in Drill Order, 1795.

CHAPTER V.

FORT GEORGE, where the Reay Fencibles were now to be quartered for a time, is situated ten miles north-east of Inverness, at the extremity of a low point of land projecting into the Moray Firth, opposite Fortrose in the Black Isle. It was built soon after the rebellion of 1745, and formed one of three fortified posts extending down the Great Glen of Scotland (Gleann Mor na h'Albin), the other two being Fort Augustus (Kilcumein) and Fort William.

In 1795 Fort George¹ was used as a depôt for military stores, and as a convenient centre for embodying and inspecting the numerous corps raised at that period from the more northerly parts of the Highlands.²

Besides the Reay Fencibles the garrison consisted of a company of Invalids³ and some artillery, while parties of troops were continually passing through. The garrison was commanded by a Lieutenant-Governor, at that time Sir R. Sinclair.

No orders are to be found in the Order Books for the 8th and 9th July, during which time the regiment was on its way from Elgin to Fort George. The orders for the 10th are dated at Fort George, and include both garrison and regimental orders.

Garrison Orders. Fort George, 10th July 1795.—Parole: Reay.—The Reay Fencible Regiment having arrived in the garrison is taken on the strength from this day.

(Signed) R. SINCLAIR, *Lieut.-Governor.*

¹ The fortress is an irregular polygon, with six bastions, and has accommodation for 2090 men, besides officers.

² Between 1793 and 1795, the 1st and 2nd Batts. of the 78th Highlanders, and some of the Fencible Regiments (among them the 3rd Sutherland Fencibles), had been embodied and inspected at Fort George.

³ Independent Companies of Invalids were to be found in almost every garrison throughout the country. They were composed of officers and men who through infirmity, age, or wounds were unfit for further active service, but who still retained sufficient strength to perform garrison duties. Early in the nineteenth century the Invalids were merged into the Veteran Battalions.

R: O., 10th July.—The regiment to parade to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock for roll-calling. The men's hair to be neatly combed and powdered, arms and accoutrements in the best order possible (*sic*). The N.-C. officers to see that their men are furnished with pipe-clay and every necessary article wanting, so that the men may appear uniform and in every respect in a soldier-like manner.

R. O., Fort George, 11th July.—The regiment to parade to-morrow for Divine Service at eleven o'clock. Hair to be well tied and powdered, the men to be clean-shaved and shirted. Side-arms to be well cleaned, and the men to be clean in every other respect.

No piper in the Reay Fencible Highlanders to play in the garrison without leave of the commanding officer of the regiment.¹

R. O., 13th July.—The Rout to beat every morning at half-past five, when the regiment will be ready to fall in on the companies' parades, so as to be ready to march off at six o'clock. To fall in again at five in the evening, and be ready to march off at half-past five.

The men are permitted to wear their old clothing and old bonnets² betwixt the hours of every parade, but not to go out of the garrison without being dressed the same as for parade, wearing their side-arms. No man to go to Campbeltown without a pass signed by the commanding officer of his company.

¹ This is the first mention of pipers in the Order Books. Although not recognised by the authorities, the pipers were an important part of a Highland regiment and were held in great esteem by both officers and men. A piper attended all fatigue parties, and accompanied the men to and from market on market-days. At night a piper played to the officers during dinner. Marches and quicksteps were only permitted when on the march, strathspeys and reels for dancing. Piobaireachd or Ceol Mor (big music) was the recognised music at all other times. Drums and pipes were never played together. On great occasions the Pipe-Major carried a silk banneret on his pipes, with the regimental crest embroidered on it in gold. A pair of bannerets, used in the Reay Fencibles, and presumably intended for the adornment of the drone of a bag-pipe, are now in possession of the Clan Mackay Society, to whom they were gifted by Colin Campbell Mackay, Esq., Morinish, Queensland, Australia, a great-grandson and the direct representative of Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse. These bannerets are at present in the custody of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, as a loan exhibit in their museum in Edinburgh. Each of these flags consists of a double fold of silk, probably originally of violet tint, now faded into a grey mauve. Each is about 2 feet 9 inches in length by 21½ inches in breadth, stitched at one side to a thin rod, presumably of whalebone, and having three pairs of small silk ribbons attached thereto. One side of each flag bears the device of a large Scottish thistle supporting a pair of leaves worked in gold thread and sequins, surmounted by a border 4 inches in depth carrying the inscription "Reay's Fencible Highlanders" worked in similar material.

² Meaning their civilian clothing. The bonnet was then commonly worn throughout Scotland.



REGIMENTAL PIPE BANNERETTES.

(From the Originals in the possession of the Clan Mackay Society.)

During the few days the regiment has been in its new station its conduct and general bearing had been such as to call forth from the Lieutenant-Governor the following Special Order:—

Garrison Orders, 13th July.—The Reay Fencible Regiment is to have full part-liberty, the Lieutenant-Governor cannot sufficiently express his approbation of the corps and their appearance.

(Signed) R. SINCLAIR, *Lieut.-Governor.*

R. O., 14th July.—The men to be up an hour before exercise, at which time their beds are to be turned up, blankets and sheets neatly folded, and the windows opened, that the rooms may be well aired. The orderly sergeant to see that this order is attended to. The barracks and passages to be constantly kept clean and swept. Without cleanliness in the barracks the men cannot expect to keep good health.¹ The orderly officer to visit the barracks for this purpose frequently during the day, and to report such rooms and entries as are not clean. He is immediately after tattoo to make a round of the barracks, and to see that the men are in bed and the lights out, as no lights will be allowed in the barracks after that hour. Also that there is no noise allowed which will prevent the regular good men from being disturbed. The N.-C. officers of companies will confine any man disobeying these orders. The quartermaster-sergeant to parade with one corporal and 12 men at five o'clock this evening to clean the hospital rooms. Mr Veitch will give them the necessary directions.

R. O., 15th July.—George Innes, of Captain Morison's Company, and Andrew Hope, of Captain D. Mackay's Company, to be confined to the Black Hole for a week, and to be fed on bread and water, for repeated bad behaviour and disobedience of orders.²

The barracks are reported to be in a very dirty state, and officers

¹ The barrack-rooms of those days had few conveniences or comforts, and the accommodation was often extremely insanitary and bad. The men slept two in a bed. Sometimes there were no kitchens, and the food had to be cooked in the barrack-room. There were no arrangements for washing, and the men performed their ablutions in the open air under the barrack-yard pump.

² The punishments for breaches of discipline would be considered in general very severe nowadays. They varied according to the nature of the "crime," from defaulters' drill and stopping the delinquent's daily allowance of beer, to confinement in the black hole, and, in more serious cases, flogging. The latter punishment, however, was seldom resorted to in Highland regiments, as it was entirely unsuited to the Highland character and susceptibilities. Flogging could only be ordered by the sentence of a court-martial.

commanding companies will order their men's rooms to be cleaned without delay. The colonel will visit every barrack-room the day after to-morrow, when he expects to see them in good order. All the officers of the regiment to attend.

The daily sick of the regiment to parade at ten o'clock every morning, and be marched to the hospital by the orderly sergeant for the doctor's inspection.

Colonel Baillie kept a strict eye on all ranks.

R. O., 16th July.—Such of the subaltern officers as are not yet properly acquainted with their duties must feel the propriety of their punctually attending all parades and drills of the regiment until they are perfect in those duties. The colonel trusts they have been improving themselves in the Manual and Platoon Exercises:¹ The subaltern officers to march with their companies to and from the field of exercise.

R. O., 17th July.—The commanding officers of companies will to-morrow deliver armes (*sic*) to such of those men who, although not yet clothed,² are able to carry them.

The small beer to be delivered to the companies every morning immediately after exercise, by which the men will have the benefit of it for breakfast and dinner.³

R. O., 18th July.—Every man to pay 1d. a-week to the sergeant-major for pipeclay, and oil for light.

G. O., 19th July.—From this date the fort main-guard to be furnished daily by one subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal, and eighteen privates of the Reay Fencibles, and one corporal and three men from the detachment of Invalids.

The garrison to be cleaned every Thursday and Saturday. The Reay Fencibles to clean the north side and the Invalids the south side.

(Signed) JAMES W. BAILLIE,
*Major and Fort-Major.*⁴

¹ The 'Manual of Exercises for the Foot and Platoon Exercises' of 1757, a most minute and elaborate production, was still in use at this period. A copy of this work, which belonged to Major Scobie, is in the author's possession.

² These men had only recently joined the regiment, or had been in hospital sick, consequently they had not been issued with their arms, equipment, and clothing.

³ Tea was practically unknown then as a breakfast beverage. As in civil life, the men started the day with beer, or, as was sometimes the case, a morning dram of more potent uisgebaugh!

⁴ Major Baillie, of the 7th Foot, was a half-brother of Colonel Mackay H. Baillie.

R. O., 21st July.—The men's hair is not to be powdered for morning exercise, the colonel therefore expects that their hair will be well combed and neatly tied. For evening parade the hair to be well dressed and powdered.

The men were now drilled in different squads, according to the efficiency they had attained. The first and second squads were composed of those men who had made the best progress in their drill. No man was to change from one squad to another without the commanding officer's leave. The adjutant to report such men as are fit for the first and second squads, the men in other squads to be brought forward as soon as possible.

Each squad was under a drill sergeant or corporal, some of whom being from Caithness or the lowlands had no Gaelic, while often those under them were equally ignorant of English. This sometimes led to misunderstandings and discontent. The following story, which I heard in the Reay Country some years ago, affords a good illustration of this:—

One tall recruit, owing to his length of leg, found it difficult to keep in step when being drilled with others of more moderate stride, and incurred thereby the wrath of the drill-sergeant,¹ who, being a Lowlander with no Gaelic, expressed his feelings with some warmth and ridiculed the offender in English, of which language he knew the unfortunate lad was ignorant. After the drill was over, Donald, feeling that he had been made a fool of by the bullying sergeant, exclaimed to his comrades: "Ma gheibh mi greim air a'chlamhan Shassunach sin, cuireadh mi càr na amhaich!" ("If that Lowland sparrow-hawk of a sergeant drills me any more, I will twist his neck for him!"), and going to the captain of his company he complained of his treatment, adding that it was useless for him to attempt to learn his drill from one whom he was unable to understand, and who, moreover, took advantage of the fact to bully him. The officer reported the affair to Colonel Baillie, who, on inquiring into the matter, ordered that the lad should be removed to another squad, and reprimanded the sergeant for abusing the authority that had been given him as drill instructor.²

¹ This N.-C. officer was well known in the regiment both on account of his diminutive stature and bullying manners, although considered a smart "drill." Like the other instructors he had seen service in the regular army.

² Communicated by the Rev. Adam Gunn, M.A., Durness, who was told the story by Mr David Mackenzie, crofter, Durness, Sutherland.

R. O., 22nd July.—The colonel observes that several of the men who have old clothes are wearing their new clothes when employed carrying water, beer, &c.: the old clothes must only be used when employed on these duties.

R. O., 23rd July.—Colonel Baillie finds that no less than 66 men are reported sick, and believes that a number of their complaints are occasioned from the want of good diet, especially animal food.¹ As to-morrow is market-day, the commanding officers of companies will recommend to their men to buy as much fresh meat as they can afford. A report to be given in on Saturday of the quantity of meat, &c., laid in by the different companies, and in what manner the men mess, in order that regular messes may be established by the end of next week. This is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the men's health, and conformable to the King's Regulations.

A list of women and children by companies to be given in to-morrow. It is recommended that commanding officers of companies put the married people with their children in a room by themselves, in order that the men may not be disturbed by the noyse (*sic*) of the children.² They are also to look for women cooks to cook the men's victuals, wash their linen, and keep their rooms and utensils in good order, which is always the custom in barracks, and adds much to the comfort and ease of the soldier, whose allowance from the King is now so good that they can afford to live well, save a little money, and appear like gentlemen soldiers.

Although the Reays had been raised for service in the British Isles, many of the men appear to have thought they were to serve in Scotland *only*, as the following will show.

Some time after the regiment arrived at Fort George it was reviewed by Sir Robert Sinclair. When the review was over the men were formed in hollow square. Sir Robert addressed them,

¹ Evidently some of the men were still under-feeding themselves in order to save as much as they could out of their pay. As animal food, however, was seldom eaten at home, the men could not be persuaded to take to it readily. This applied especially to beef. Many of the disorders to which the men of newly raised Highland corps were susceptible could be directly traced to a sudden diet of too much fresh meat, and it took some little time for their constitutions to get used to the new feeding.

² There were no separate married quarters at this time, and the married men and their families had to share the men's quarters, part of the barrack-room being screened off for their use. Sometimes, however, when there was sufficient accommodation, a room in each company was set apart for the married people, as appears to have been done in the above case.

giving much praise for their soldierly appearance, &c. Few of the rank and file understood what he was saying. When finishing his address he took off his plumed hat and asked for three cheers, which were given with alacrity. It soon became known, however, that by cheering they assented to serve in Ireland, which was then in a disturbed state. They felt "sold," so to speak, so, after consultation together, they chose three of their number to interview the General, with a view to asking for three concessions outside of the regulations. These three were granted an audience. They told Sir Robert that few of them understood the language (English), but on being asked for three cheers, British soldiers would naturally respond. They had no desire to withdraw, but made their request, which was cheerfully granted.¹

R. O., 26th July.—Sergeant John Mackay of the Light Company to have an extra guard for neglect of duty in not inserting in his report that the sick men's hands and faces were washed, and hair tied. The supernumeraries to be inspected in the passages this evening, and not to come on the parade.

R. O., 30th July.—Colonel Baillie informs the regiment that he has received an order from the Commander-in-Chief to go to Aberdeen to take command of the encampment there,² while General Sir Hector Munro is reviewing some regiments. This will be done in the course of eight or ten days, when he will have the pleasure of returning to the regiment.³

The commanding officers of companies to read and explain the

¹ Told by Mr Hugh Nicol, Canada, who had the facts from his grandfather (Corporal Wm. Nicol). Mr Nicol adds: "The Government lived up to its promise, but I regret to say that although I heard these three requests more than once, at the present time I forget what they were. The Reays, however, were the only regiment in the army enjoying these privileges."

² At this time a considerable number of troops were encamped near Aberdeen.

With the exception of Ireland, the barrack accommodation throughout the British Isles at this date was totally insufficient for the requirements of the troops. There were barracks in forty-three fortresses and garrisons which could only accommodate 20,847 men. The remainder of the troops were constantly under canvas, even in winter, causing loud complaints, or else were quartered in billets. When in camp, instead of a free allowance of beer, the men got bread at reduced prices, and an allowance in money was also given in camp and quarters for necessaries.—'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 21.

The Barrack Department was instituted in 1792, but the insufficiency of barrack accommodation was not entirely remedied until well on in the nineteenth century. In 1795 the quarters available for troops in Scotland were as follows: The Castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton; Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Fort George; the barracks at Glasgow, Ruthven in Badenoch, Bernera in Ross, and Inversnaid; and those built at Aberdeen in 1794, and at Ayr in 1795.

³ During Colonel Baillie's absence the regiment was commanded by Bighouse.

Articles of War to their men once a-week until further orders, in order to prevent the men being ignorant of any part of their duty concerning good order and discipline, the want of which has occasioned of late the death of several men in some of the other fencible regiments.¹

The men are to remember that all lawful orders from their officers and N.-C. officers that are disobeyed is in fact mutiny (*sic*). The Articles of War make mutiny punishable by death, and, what is worse, any man guilty of such a crime is not faithful to his King and country, and therefore is guilty of taking a false oath which he believes no rale (*sic*) Highlander in the Reay Fencibles can be capable of.

On Monday next the regiment to march off for evening exercise at 5 o'clock, and to return to the garrison before Retreat beating. All the men that are awkward, inattentive, and unsteady in the ranks are to be marched down by the adjutant to attend all drills, which is to be a punishment, as the good and attentive soldiers must not be kept back in their exercises by the lazyness and inattention of a few. The sooner these men learn their exercises the better for themselves, as the Commander-in-Chief will not allow a man to get furlough until he is complete in his drill. It is far better for the men to learn their exercises in fine weather than be drilled in the winter season, which must be the case unless both officers and men exert themselves by constant attention to their work.

The adjutant to use every endeavour to bring forward the first squad, that they may be redy (*sic*) to fire powder and ball as soon as the colonel returns. If they continue their attention the colonel hopes that they may be dismissed drill in the course of a few weeks.

Colonel Baillie observes with regret that a number of the sergeants are inattentive and negligent in their duties. He is determined that so many fine men as he has got in the regiment will not long be commanded by any stupid sergeant. He hopes this may be a warning to the N.-C. officers to be active and diligent. The colonel observes several

¹ There had been several cases of mutiny and insubordination among the fencible regiments. Those raised in the Highlands were not immune in this respect. Such cases as had risen, however, were due either to a misunderstanding (or ignorance) of the Highland character and temperament, or to the attempts made by Government in certain regiments to violate the terms of the men's engagements, "both in the nature of the service expected of them," as General Stewart of Garth remarks, "and in the pay and allowances promised."

For an account of the mutinies of the Highland regiments, see 'Sketches of the Highlanders,' by General Stewart of Garth, vol. ii. p. 402 *et seq.*

of the corporals and men in the ranks that are fitter to be sergeants than some of those that are at present. He recommends to the men that think themselves qualified for N.-C. officers to be daily diligent in learning their exercises, cleanliness of dress, and every other part of their duty.

Acting-Sergeant Wilson, on account of his attention in bringing forward the men in their exercise, is confirmed a sergeant. Corporal M'Kenzie of the Grenadiers, on account of his soldier-like appearance and attention in the ranks, is confirmed as corporal, and if he behaves as he has hitherto done he will soon be promoted to sergeant.

The adjutant, on the colonel's return, to make a report of the most diligent N.-C. officers that they may be confirmed as such.¹ Any men that are prisoners to be released, and any confined from this day to be inserted in the Black Book, specifying their crimes.

R. O., 31st July.—The companies to lay in a regular mess agreeable to the orders of the 23rd instant, every man to be provided with 3 lb. of good meat at least and vegetables in proportion. The pay-sergeants² of the different companies to be answerable that this order is strictly complied with.

The men to dine every day at two o'clock till further orders, at which time the orderly officer of the day will visit the men's messes before they sit down to dinner, and mention it in his report next morning.

R. O., 2nd August.—The N.-C. officers and privates are not to powder till further orders.³

When the weather is too wet for the men to turn out for either morning or evening parades, the companies to fall in for inspection in their passages, and are to be immediately inspected by their officers and N.-C. officers. They are to be regularly dismissed after Troop or Retreat beating.

R. O., 4th August.—The N.-C. officers to pay particular attention in setting the men well up, and keeping them constantly at their duty during the drill hours, as well as upon other occasions.

The barracks in general were very dirty this day. The commanding

¹ The men who had been chosen as N.-C. officers when the regiment was raised, held their rank temporarily until finally approved of and accepted, when they became permanent.

² The pay-sergeant was generally the senior N.-C. officer of the company. The rank of colour-sergeant was not instituted until 1813.

³ This was probably owing to a scarcity of flour, which was commonly used as hair powder.

officer takes this opportunity of informing the N.-C. officers that the first one reported for uncleanliness in their rooms and passages will be confined for neglect of duty and disobedience of orders. All the tailors to attend church on Sundays, and evening parades. The officers' servants to attend roll-calling on Sunday evening, to hear the Articles of War read.

The drum to beat "Roast Beef"¹ every day at two o'clock for the men to dine. The orderly officer to report to the commanding officer if this order is not strictly attended to.

Owing to the death of the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort George the following garrison order was published:—

G. O., 6th August 1795.—The corpse of Sir Robert Sinclair, lately Lieutenant-Governor of this garrison, to be interred to-morrow at twelve o'clock. All the corps in the garrison to parade at that hour, well dressed, but not with arms, except the detachments of Invalids, as ordered. The gentlemen in the garrison are requested to attend the funeral.

(Signed) J. W. BAILLIE,
Major and Fort-Major.

R. O.—The regiment to parade to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock, without arms, in the best posable (*sic*) order, to attend the funeral of the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert Sinclair.² Officers' servants, tailors, &c., to attend. The officers to appear in cassimere britches (*sic*) and vests.

Each company to send a complete set of bedding to the hospital immediately for the use of the sick. All the sick in barracks that are not able to attend all parades are forthwith to be sent to hospital, as no excuse will be taken for convalescents in barracks being absent from any parade.

The commanding officer is sorry to have to take notice of the N.-O. officers' inattention to their sick, particularly the Major's Company. If the sergeants and corporals of that company had done their duty they would have reported the bad state of health that M'Kenzie of that company was in, so that he might have been sent

¹ This was a custom common in English regiments, which had been gradually introduced throughout the Army.

² Extract from the 'Edinburgh Evening Courant,' Monday, August 10, 1795: "Died at Fort George the 4th August, Lieut.-Governor Sir Robert Sinclair of Murkle, Bart."

to hospital where he would have received every assistance that could be given in order to restore him to health.

The officers of the Major's Company, as well as the orderly officer, to attend the funeral of the late M'Kenzie¹ of the Major's Company this afternoon at six o'clock. Five men per company to attend the funeral, exclusive of a firing-party, consisting of one sergeant, one corporal, and twelve privates, who are to be provided with three rounds of blank cartridges each.

The commanding officer expects that the officers will pay the greatest attention to every part of their duty, as it is to them he relies that all orders concerning the N.-C. officers and men be strictly complied with.

R. O., 7th August.—The companies are each of them to have the amount of fifty-three bottles of porter this evening, as a present from the Duke of Gordon² for their good behaviour and appearance. The different companies will be answerable for the bottles, that they be safe returned, and that the greatest order will be observed among the men.

R. O., 9th August.—Each company to be divided into three squads, and the sergeants and corporals in charge to carry a list of their squads constantly in their pockets.³

The eldest N.-C. officer to fall in the company ready for the officer's inspection. The companies to be drilled by the sergeant-major every morning and evening, half an hour before the long roll beats for the men to parade for exercise.

G. O., 17th August.—No persons to bathe at or near the pier or landing-place of the ferry.⁴

The sentries and soldiers on duty are to prevent the children in the garrison from throwing any stones, or in any respect defacing the

¹ M'Kenzie was a native of the parish of Durness.

² Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon. This patriotic nobleman had raised no less than four Highland regiments between the years 1759 and 1794, the latest being the 100th, afterwards 92nd, Gordon Highlanders, commanded by his son George, Marquis of Huntly, who succeeded his father as fifth and last Duke. His wife was the celebrated Duchess Jean, whose name is inseparably connected with the raising of the 92nd. The Duke was probably at Fort George to attend the funeral of Sir R. Sinclair.

³ As soon as the men had been dismissed from the drilling squads, they joined their companies where they were again divided into squads, and received further instruction until considered efficient in every way.

⁴ This was the ferry between Fort George and Chanonry Point in the Black Isle, a distance of under a mile.

barracks, or any other part of the buildings or works. If the children are found to persist in these wickednesses, they are to be brought to the officer of the main guard, who will order them to be confined in the Black Hole agreeable to the nature of their crime. Those who have children in the garrison will make this order known to them to prevent their pleading ignorance of it.

No young child will be permitted to enter the church during the time of divine service.

(Signed) J. W. BAILLIE,
Major and Fort-Major.

R. O., 17th August.—The hospital to be immediately furnished with five bushels of coal for the use of the sick, which is to be equally deducted the next coal day from the different companies. The sick men's subsistence to be paid into the hands of the sergeant of the hospital every Friday, or such other persons as the surgeon shall appoint to receive it.

The non-commissioned officer or private having charge of the hospital to diet the men agreeable to the surgeon's directions, and to give in every Sunday a weekly return of the expenditure of the same, agreeable to the form which will be delivered to him by the sergeant-major. If any soldier leaves the hospital without the permission of the surgeon he must expect to be punished for the same—if a soldier dies in the hospital the sergeant to be answerable for his effects. The surgeon to be answerable for any balance belonging to the hospital.

R. O., 20th Aug.—The N.-C. officers and soldiers are at all times on passing an officer to front him, standing square and saluting him in a graceful and soldier-like manner. After the officer has passed him he is to proceed on his duty, &c. The sentries are on no account to speak unto any persons on their posts excepting challenging at night, and to be attentive in paying compliments to all officers.

From the following order it would appear that in some cases officers were permitted to intercede with the commanding officer on behalf of their men, when the latter had rendered themselves liable to punishment but had previously borne a good character in the regiment.

R. O., 22nd Aug.—James Edward, of Captain D. Mackay's Company, confined for striking a man in the ranks under arms, and Archibald Bruce of the said company, confined for unsoldier-like and

bad behaviour, and out of his barracks all night, are, by the particular request of Lieutenant H. Mackay, to be released. George Innes, of Captain Morison's Company, confined for making away with part of a bank note entrusted to him, and for being out of his barracks all night, is by the particular intercession of Lieutenant Maclaren to be released. Archibald Murdoch, of the said company, confined for being out of his barracks all night, is likewise ordered to be released. The commanding officer will have hopes that their future conduct will merit this indulgence; they are not to have part-liberty till further orders.

On account of the brewing casks being out of repair, the regiment will receive but half an allowance of small beer for the ensuing four days, after which it will be made good to them, in the same proportion daily, till the whole is repaid.

G. O., 23rd Aug.—The following weight of bread sold in the garrison to be strictly observed till further orders, the best bread, six-penny loaf 1 lb. 6 oz., two-penny loaf 14 oz., one-penny loaf 7 oz., and 2nd bread, six-penny loaf 3 lb. 4 oz.

(Signed)

J. W. BAILLIE,
Major and Fort-Major.

The following letter was received relative to the transfer of men belonging to the fencibles to regiments of the line.

(Circular.)

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
EDINBURGH, 26th August 1795.

SIR,—It having been represented to Field-Marshal His Royal Highness the Duke of York, that several of the men belonging to the fencible corps of both cavalry and infantry have expressed a desire to enter into regiments of the line, and it being judged expedient and proper that their service should be accepted of accordingly, I have it therefore in command from General Lord Adam Gordon¹ to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure that you forthwith make it known to the fencible corps under your command that such of the privates therein as shall prefer serving in the line may declare to you their wishes to that effect, specifying at the same time the particular corps in which they choose to serve, in order that, on their being found fit for actual

¹ Lord Adam Gordon. Born 1726; was M.P. for Aberdeenshire, 1754-68; Kincardineshire, 1774-88; served with the Guards in Blight's expedition, 1758; Colonel of the 66th in Jamaica, 1762-6; Colonel of the 1st Foot, 1782-1801; Commander of the Forces in Scotland, 1782-98; died in 1801.

service, they may be incorporated into these regiments accordingly, on which occasion they will receive each a bounty of five guineas.

You will be entitled to charge the sum of ten guineas for every man entitled to serve in the corps under your command, in the room of those who may have been received into the regular regiments upon the above-mentioned conditions, after having been first inspected and found in all respects fit for active service. You are in consequence to transmit to this office, as soon as possible, a return of the number of men of the corps under your command who shall voluntarily offer to enlist into the regulars upon the said conditions, specifying the corps they wish respectively to serve in, but none are to be accepted of under the size of 5 feet 7 inches for the cavalry, and 5 feet 5 inches for the infantry, or exceeding the age of thirty years.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

ALEX. MACKAY,¹
Deputy Adjutant-General.

To Colonel M. H. BAILLIE,
Reay Fencible Highlanders, Fort George.

R. O., 31st Aug.—In consequence of the above circular letter, all volunteers fulfilling the above conditions have now an opportunity of engaging into the regular regiments of the line, from whom when approved of they will be entitled to receive five guineas bounty. The commanding officers of companies will give in the names of those men that choose voluntarily serving in the line.²

During the time that the Reays were at Fort George, many of the more religious characters in the regiment assembled regularly for worship in a building, which they hired for the purpose, not far from the barracks. At these meetings, which were frequently attended by

¹ Major-General Alexander Mackay, second son of James Mackay of Skerry; appointed ensign in the 1st Sutherland Fencibles, and after its reduction in 1763, served as a subaltern during the remainder of the seven years' war; in 1775 he was appointed lieut. and adjutant to the 69th Foot, becoming a captain in 1779; served as aide-de-camp for a short time to the Hon. Alex. Mackay when the latter was Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland; took part with his regiment in the American War, where he was severely wounded in the arm; returned to Scotland on peace being declared; in 1785 he was appointed Major of Brigade to the Forces in North Britain; and in 1793, Deputy Adjutant-General in Scotland, which office he held until his death in Edinburgh in 1809, occasioned by a mortification in the throat, through a fish bone having stuck in it, and which could not be extracted. General Mackay, who was much esteemed by all who knew him, obtained the sobriquet of "Buckram" from the stiffness of his appearance. His portrait (reckoned an excellent likeness) appears in Kay's Edinburgh Portraits.

² A few men availed themselves of this offer, and went principally to the 79th and 92nd Highlanders.

the different ministers in the neighbourhood of Fort George, as well as by others who chanced to be passing through the district, it was the custom to sing or recite the Gaelic hymns composed in the Reay Country at that time.¹

R. O., 1st September.—A review of arms, accoutrements, and necessaries will be made every Monday until further orders, commencing on Monday first. The men to parade with packs at these reviews, only one dirty shirt and a pair of hose will be permitted; shoes to be well blackened and polished.

R. O. 4th Sept.—The cornal (*sic*) hath received orders to prepare the regiment for being reviewed.² It is therefore absolutely necessary that all officers and men will see the necessity of continuing diligent in learning their exercise until the review is over, when the colonel will have it in his power, if they make a good review, to have little exercise in comparison of what they have at present. As the regiment must be exercised twice a-day until the review is over, and as the men cannot stand to the necessary exercises without being properly fed, the colonel must insist that the men do feed agreeable to the King's Orders. The commanding officers of companies will see that this is strictly adhered to, and they will give in twice a-week, on market-days, a return of the quantities of meat purchased for their men. It is the King's express orders that every foot-soldier shall lay out three shillings a-week for feeding. The colonel is convinced that the want of proper messing is the cause of many men falling sick, who otherwise would be in good health.

R. O., 5th Sept.—If the commanding officers of companies have any difficulty in finding out the dates of the attestations of their men they will apply to the officers who recruited them, who will give them the names of the men, their age, or the place or farm they came from. As there are so many men of the same name from the Reay Estate, the officers must make particular inquiry from the men what farms they came from, to prevent mistakes; and when they give the names, &c., to Lieutenant Clarke, he will give them the dates of the attestations of the whole men to the

¹ Traditional evidence.—It is said that hearing the Mackay Fencibles recite Mackay of Mudale's hymns first suggested to Dugald Buchanan (the Highland religious bard) the composition of his own very beautiful Gaelic poems.—'Sutherland and the Reay Country,' p. 355.

² This Review took place at Perth.

north of the Crask.¹ This return must be very exact, as the bread-money account is to be made out from it.

R. O., 7th Sept.—The officers will order their men to pay more attention to their hair, which the colonel observes is very much neglected. The men's hair to be made uniform before Sunday next.

R. O., 8th Sept.—The quartermaster will deliver to the commanding officers of companies tartan for two pairs of hose,² for such men as have received their cloathing; at the rate of one yard and a half for each man. The companies also to give in a return of the number of kilts wanted to compleat all the men who have received their cloathing, with new regimental kilts.³

The officers commanding companies will inform the men from the north side of the Crask that Lieutenant Clarke will give them a ticket specifying the date of their attestation, and they will book the contents of the ticket to prevent mistakes as to the dates.

The regiment to parade this evening at six o'clock, and to be as neat and clean as possible. At all parades with arms the men are to wear their regimental cloathing, and such men as have not received their cloathing are to parade in rear of their companies.

R. O., 10th Sept.—The quartermaster will deliver out to each company twenty shirts at 5s. 6d., which the officers commanding companies will furnish to such men as want them. The colonel thinks it probable that the regiment may be soon ordered to march, boath (*sic*) officers and men are therefore to be prepared. The officers commanding companies will order that every man has at least two good pairs of shoes, such as require them to be furnished as soon as possible.

R. O., 12th Sept.—Colin M'Leod of Captain Morison's Company to be confined in the Black Hole and fed on bread and water for disobeying Lieutenant Clarke's order, and behaving in a manner

¹ The Crask (*lit. pass*) is one of the chief entrances to the Reay Country from the south. It lies at the head of Strath Tirry, with Ben Clibrig on the right, and Lord Reay's Green Table, a flat-topped hill, on the left.

² The men were entitled annually to two pairs of hose from the colonel.

³ There were apparently still some men who had not received clothing, and some who had got their clothing but not their "Highland clothing." These were men who had joined the regiment recently, or who had been on the sick list for some time. Some of these men seem to have got their own kilts, and wore them with their regimental jackets and waistcoats until supplied with regimental kilts.

that deserves the most severe punishment. The adjutant will mark down his name in the black book, and inform him that should he again be guilty of such an offence he will be immediately tried by court-martial, and he may depend upon receiving every lash ordered by the Court. His conduct is a disgrace to the regiment.

William Telford is appointed corporal in the Major's Company, and the colonel will soon promote him for his attention in drilling.

R. O., 15th Sept.—Colonel Baillie will visit the different messes at the dinner hour to-morrow. All officers to be present with their companies.

R. O., 18th Sept.—The regiment to be mustered¹ to-morrow, the long roll to beat at a quarter before eleven o'clock for the guard to fall in, and the regiment to be ready to fall in at nine o'clock, according to the alphabetical lists given in by the different companies. No man to be absent that is able to attend. N.-C. officers of the different companies to fall their men in so that no mistakes may be made when the adjutant orders them to march their men up, beginning with the alphabetical letters A, B, C, &c., &c.

The gentlemen of the Reay Fencibles to attend the funeral of the late Captain Wickman² to-morrow.

Garrison Orders, 21st Sept. 1795.—To-morrow being the anniversary of His Majesty's Coronation,³ the artillery will fire a royal salute at 12 o'clock.

(Signed) J. W. BAILLIE,
Major and Fort-Major.

R. O., 21st Sept.—The N.-C. officers and old soldiers to fire a feu-de-joy to-morrow, and to parade at twelve o'clock. Each company to give in immediately a return of the number of cartridges and flints wanted for this purpose.

R. O., 22nd Sept.—The colonel has this day received a route for marching the regiment to Perth, which is part of the whole route

¹ A regiment in those days was mustered once a-month, when it had to be certified that all the officers and men borne on the pay rolls were effective; if any were absent the reasons of their absence had to be noted. This was very necessary in order to prevent unscrupulous colonels from drawing pay and allowances for men who were non-effective. Frauds in mustering, however, were frequently perpetrated and not always discovered.

² Probably an officer of the company of Invalids.

³ King George III., born 1738, succeeded to the Throne 1760; married Charlotte Sophia, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; during his long and eventful reign his extreme popularity earned for him the name of "the father of his people"; died in January 1820.

for moving the regiment to Ireland.¹ He therefore repeats the order given for preparing the men's accounts, that they may be settled with and paid before they march.

R. O., 23rd Sept.—The regiment to fire seven rounds of blank cartridges to-morrow.² The companies will give in this evening a return to the quartermaster of the number of cartridges necessary for this purpose, and a flint for each man.

R. O., 24th Sept.—The colonel desires that the men be informed that he was pleased this day with their steadiness in firing. A shot was fired in one of the barrack rooms; the offender must be found out and confined in the Black Hole.

R. O., 25th Sept.—The regiment will march from hence to Perth in the following order, viz.:—

1st Division.—Grenadiers and Captain Scobie's Company, under Captain Scobie, on Tuesday, 29th instant.

2nd Division.—The Major's and Captain Forbes's Companies, under Captain Forbes, on Wednesday, 30th instant.

3rd Division.—The Colonel's and Captain Morison's Companies, under Captain Morison, on Friday, 2nd October.

4th Division.—Captain Donald Mackay's and Captain Colin Mackay's Companies, under Captain Donald Mackay, on Saturday, 3rd October.

5th Division.—The Lieutenant-Colonel's and Light Companies, under Captain Munro, on Monday, 5th October.

R. O., 27th Sept.—The baggage of the regiment to be carried regimentally. The quartermaster will deliver all the ammunition in store to the regiment; a return of each company to be given in of the number of men that march, so that it may be equally divided.

¹ According to the route the regiment was to march *via* Perth, Stirling, Glasgow, Kilmarnock, Ayr, Stranraer, and Port Patrick; thence by ship to Donaghadee, marching from the latter town to Belfast, where it was to be quartered. The disturbed state of Ireland at the time called for the immediate strengthening of the garrison there. Most of the other fencible corps, raised under the same conditions, and in the same year as the Reays, were also ordered to Ireland about this time.

² This was done to prepare the men for firing ball. Excluding the old soldiers, many of the men would have had some previous knowledge of firearms, as game was not then so strictly preserved in the Highlands as now; and although the game laws were very severe, little notice was taken if the people took a deer or a salmon for their own sport and use, so long as they did not come for them too near the laird's residence. The feelings of the Highlanders of that day on this subject may be seen in the old Gaelic saying, "Slat as a choille, Breac as an linnhe, Fiadh as an fhreach. Méirle as nach do ghabh duine riabh naire." "A stick from the wood, a trout from the pool, a deer from the hill (lit. skyline), theft that a man was never ashamed of."—Gardyne, vol. i. p. 84.

The orders given out at Elgin relative to marching are to be strictly attended to, a copy of which the commanding officer of each division will have on his person. All the men of each company not fit for service to be ready to fall in at a moment's notice for the commanding officer's inspection.

The commanding officers of divisions are to give orders that the men under their command march from here with three days' provision, to be carried on the baggage-carts.

Sergeant A. Macpherson¹ of the Grenadiers will receive from the adjutant copies of the route, one to be left at each stage. He will march this day to the Bridge of Dulsie,² and pursue the route to Perth, making two stages a-day, which will give notice to prepare accordingly.

A serious fire having broken out in the fort, the following garrison order was published :—

G. O., 28th Sept.—On account of the serious alarm with fire yesterday, a report is to be made to Major Baillie stating in what barrack it commenced, and if from negligence or otherwise, so that he may take measures to prevent such an accident in future. Colonel Baillie³ returns his thanks to the Reay Fencibles for their alacrity in turning out and drawing water, and endeavouring to suppress the fire. He particularly thanks the four or five men, whose names he would wish to know, for their valuable assistance at the window of the building on fire, and he directs that the officers present will send the names of those men to the adjutant, that they may be rewarded for their effectual assistance in suppressing the fire.

When the drum beats to arms in future, the officers and men of the Reay Fencibles will fall in on their company parades; these are to be considered the Alarm posts unless otherwise ordered.

(Signed) J. W. BAILLIE,
Major and Fort-Major.

¹ A native of Saingo, parish of Durness. Sergeant Macpherson served in the regiment until its disbandment. He was married to Miss Joanna Nicol, daughter of Lieutenant David Nicol, Duardmore, of the Sutherland Volunteers.—See 'Register of Baptisms and Marriages and Kirk-Session Accounts of the Parish of Durness, 1764-1814.' Edited by Hew Morrison, LL.D., and printed for private circulation, 1912, p. 45.

² The Bridge of Dulsie is about 15 miles by road from Fort George, and spans the river Findhorn.

³ After the death of Sir R. Sinclair, the command of the garrison of Fort George had devolved upon Colonel Mackay Baillie, in the absence of Sir Robert's successor, Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. James Stuart of the Sutherland Fencibles.

R. O., 28th Sept.—The first division of the regiment to march tomorrow morning at ten o'clock, and every other division agreeable to the route, at the same hour.¹

The subsistence of the men that remain at Fort George to be paid into the hands of the quartermaster-sergeant up to the 24th October 1795. The adjutant to make out a return of all the men left behind at Fort George, in order that the colonel may procure a passage on board a ship for them to Ireland,² that they may join the regiment without loss of time, as it is not in his power to discharge a man without an order from the Commander-in-Chief. The new clothing, knapsacks, and new kilts of the men left behind as unserviceable, to be taken from them.³

By the 5th October all the divisions of the regiment had left Fort George as ordered,⁴ only the men mentioned above being left behind.

¹ The Reays were relieved at Fort George by the headquarters and six companies of the 2nd Battalion Breadalbane Fencibles, under Lieut.-Colonel Duncan Campbell, who arrived from Aberdeen towards the middle of October.

² To Belfast.

³ Besides the men unfit for further service, a few sick unable to march were left behind who joined the regiment later.

⁴ Before its departure, the regiment received the thanks of the inhabitants of the district for its excellent behaviour whilst stationed at Fort George.



Officer's Gorget or Duty-Badge of the Period.

CHAPTER VI.

THE first division of the Reays, under Captain Scobie, marched into Perth on the 5th October—the narrow “closes” and crooked “wynds” of the Fair City re-echoing to the rolling drums and shrilling fifes, or to the skirl of the pipes, as the travel-stained column swung through the streets to the market-place, where the men were dismissed to their billets.

The remaining divisions followed at intervals, until the whole regiment was reassembled.

The route taken from Fort George was as follows:—

1st day—Fort George to Bridge of Dulsie	. 15 miles.
2nd “ —Bridge of Dulsie to Carrbridge	. 15 “
3rd “ —Carrbridge to Kingussie	. . 17 “
4th “ —Kingussie to Dalwhinnie	. . 18 “
5th “ —Dalwhinnie to Blair Athol	. . 20 “
6th “ —Blair Athol to Dunkeld	. . . 16 “
7th “ —Dunkeld to Perth	. . . 12 “

On the arrival of the last division, the regiment was reviewed¹ by Sir Hector Munro, and received its Colours.²

¹ This was the review mentioned in Regimental Orders of 4th Sept., which should have taken place at Fort George, but owing to the Reays being ordered to Ireland, had been counter-manded until the regiment reached Perth.

² They were not fully finished, however, and were not taken into use until Oct. 1796.

Note.—It was not until 1741 that official cognisance was taken of the colours of the army, while the office of Inspector of the Colours was only created in 1806. At this time colours were included in the furnishings to be provided by the colonel, but he was occasionally relieved of the obligation by the colours being worked by the ladies of the country or territory in which the regiment was raised. “An acquaintance with the appearance of old colours,” remarks Mr Andrew Ross, “discloses the fact that a very wide diversity existed in the method of emblazoning them, an identical distinction being treated in half a dozen ways. . . . The silk embroidery upon some of the colours issued during the eighteenth and commencement of the nineteenth century is simply exquisite. Of this the Reay Fencible colours (now in St Giles’ Church), and the 82nd Duke of Hamilton’s colours, are specimens.” The Regulations of 1768 laid down that “the size of colours were to be 5 ft. 6 in. flying, and 6 ft. deep on the pike. The length of the

The first, or King's Colour, was the Great Union, 1707-1801, St George and St Andrew, and bore in its centre an Adam's Shield with "G.R." between "REAY" and "FENCIBLES," all worked in yellow embroidery, and surrounded by a wreath of thistles and roses.

The second, or Regimental Colour, was of blue silk¹ with the Union in the top left corner, and bore in its centre a circular plaque of satin, showing the thistle between two leaves within a rayed saltire (or star of the Order of the Thistle), surmounted with a crown, and with the words "REAY FENCIBLES" in gold on a scroll below.²

pike (spear and ferril included) to be 9 ft. 10 in. The cords and tassels of the whole to be crimson and gold mixed." The main alterations in infantry colours since 1768 have been in regard to their size. On new colours being presented, the old ones became the property of the colonel, or of the senior officer actually in command of the regiment at the time.—'Old Scottish Regimental Colours,' by Andrew Ross, S.S.C.

¹ The facings of the regiment being blue, the regimental colour was also of blue. The silk of this colour is now *pure white*, the material with which it was dyed having completely faded.

² It appears that during its existence the Reay Fencibles had two sets of colours.

The first set, referred to above, were carried up to a period not later than 1801, the date of the Union with Ireland. They were worked and presented to the regiment by Mrs Scobie of Melness, daughter of John Mackay, 5th and last laird of Strathy, and wife of Major John Scobie. On these colours being retired, they were presented to Major Scobie, and having been carefully preserved in his family are still in excellent order, and a perfect example of the embroidery of the period. The colouring of the silk is remarkably fresh except for the blue background of the Union, which has faded to a mauve shade all through. These colours when new were evidently full size, but now measure: King's Colour, 5 ft. 6 in. flying, and 5 ft. 8 in. deep on the pike; Regimental Colour, 5 ft. 5 in. flying, and 5 ft. 2 in. on the pike. According to Mr Andrew Ross, S.S.C., author of 'Old Scottish Regimental Colours,' a recognised authority on the subject, these colours are one of the finest specimens of Scottish Colours extant. They have been recently framed and placed in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, as a loan deposit, where they may be seen.

The second set, both colours of which are still in existence, but in different hands, probably replaced the first set on the Union in 1801, and were carried until the disbandment of the regiment in 1802. These colours also appear to have been worked previous to the Union, as St Patrick's Cross and the Shamrock have been added after the colours were finished, the cross being put in *upside down*. The King's Colour bears the Great Union 1801, St George, St Andrew, and St Patrick. The Regimental Colour was originally of blue sewed silk (now faded to a reddish colour), with the Union in the top left corner. In the centre is the thistle and star, surmounted by a crown, and surrounded with a wreath of thistles, roses, and shamrocks. Underneath on a scroll appear the words, "REAY FENCIBLE HIGHLANDERS." These colours, which are also full sized, but not such a fine example of embroidery as the first set, were worked and presented to the regiment by Miss Barbara Mackay, daughter of Major Donald Mackay of Eriboll. Miss Mackay married Captain Mackay John Scobie of Keoldale (son of Major John Scobie of Melness), "and during her long life was well known throughout the Reay Country for her enthusiastic clan feeling, sincere piety, and great benevolence."

On the disbandment of the regiment the 2nd set of colours became the property of General Baillie, and on his death were gifted by his widow to Eric, 7th Lord Reay. A copy of the letter from Lord Reay to Mrs General Baillie, acknowledging their receipt, may be seen in Appendix XIV.

Of these colours the King's is at present in the possession of Sir Robert Farquhar, a



FIRST SET OF COLOURS CARRIED BY THE REGIMENT.

(From the Originals in the Author's possession.)

During the short stay of the regiment at Perth, the quiet and orderly habits of the men—like their predecessors of the 1st and 3rd Sutherland Fencibles when quartered in the same city—called forth the highest praise from all classes of the inhabitants.

On the 14th, 15th, and 16th October, the Reays marched in three divisions to Stirling, and thence by Glasgow to Kilmarnock.¹ The orders, which are missing from the time the regiment left Fort George, now recommence.

R. O., Kilmarnock, 21st October 1795.—The pipes to play round the streets at 8 o'clock, when they are to repair and remain in their quarters.

The officers commanding companies will fix on private parades for their companies, whair (*sic*) they are to be inspected, the reports made out, and then marched to the general parade which is to be formed by the adjutant at 11 o'clock at the market-place.

The pipe to play off at 10 o'clock, when the companies will fall in immediately on their private parades. The men are to be properly sized, the tallest on the flanks, shortest in the centre, and their arms, accoutrements, and dress carefully inspected.²

The officers are to remain with their companies until the general parade is dismissed. When in close ranks, the captain or commanding officer of the company is to fall in on the right of it, covered by a sergeant; the other officers to form a fourth rank, three paces in rear, in a line with the sergeants. In open order, the officers are in front, the captain, or senior officer, covering the second file on

descendant of Eric, 7th Lord Reay, whilst the Regimental Colour now hangs in St Giles' Church, Edinburgh, where it was placed by Lord Reay in November 1883, when, with appropriate ceremony, so many other old Scottish regimental colours were deposited in that venerable edifice.—(See 'Old Scottish Regimental Colours,' by Andrew Ross, S.S.C.)

¹ This flourishing town has long been famed for the excellence of its woollen manufactures, which at this time consisted chiefly of broad and other bonnets and striped cowls, hence the name given to it of "Skull-cleeding" Kilmarnock.

² The method of inspecting a company was probably much the same as in other regiments. "When the company is fallen in and dressed, it will receive the word of command—'Fix bayonets; shoulder arms; open pans; slope arms.' The officer will then go through the company and inspect the locks. When that is done, he will order—'Carry arms; shut pans; order arms; to the right face; draw ramrods.' Each man will then draw his ramrod, and as the officer comes opposite to him he will ram it down, and after he has returned it he will face to his front. The officer will then inspect every part of the men's dress, and see that their faces and hands are all washed and their hair combed, as there can be no excuse for dirtiness. After each man has been looked at, the company will stand easy."—'Life of a Regiment, vol. i. p. 28.

the right, the lieutenant the second on the left, and the ensign or junior officer in the center (*sic*).

Colonel Baillie is sorry to observe that some of the men pay little or no attention to their dress. He requests that the officers will insist that their men do always appear in a soldier-like manner. The officers' servants not having collared (*sic*) cloathing, must always appear in the streets uniformly dressed, like the other soldiers, in their regimentals and side-arms.

The officers commanding companies to compleate (*sic*) their men immediately with two pairs of good shoes agreeable to the King's Orders, and to report in writing when this is complied with.

No N.-C. officer or soldier is to appear in the streets without his side-arms on and uniformly dressed, which is a standing order for every regiment in the service. A subaltern's guard to mount to-morrow at 11 o'clock, and also a captain of the day, until the whole of the regiment marches from hence.

R. O., Kilmarnock, 22nd October.—The regiment to march from hence in three divisions, as per route, viz.:—

1st Division.—Grenadiers, Major's, Captain Scobie's, and Captain Forbes's Companies, to-morrow the 23rd instant, under Colonel Baillie.

2nd Division.—Colonel's, Captain D. Mackay's, and Captain Morison's Companies, on Saturday, 24th instant, under Lieut.-Colonel Mackay.

3rd Division.—Lieut.-Colonel's, Captain Munro's (Light Company), and Captain Colin Mackay's Companies, on Monday, 26th instant, under Major Honyman.

The same orders and regulations to be observed on the march by the different divisions, as was given at Fort George and Perth, without the least deviation.

After R. O., 22nd October.—The 1st division to march to-morrow at 10 o'clock. The quartermaster to provide carts for the baggage, to be loaded at 8 o'clock. Returns of each company to be made out on their arrival at Ayr, to be ready when called for.

The companies that remain are immediately to have their coats mended, as far as the cloath (*sic*) delivered will admit of.

All the men to be provided with scarlet garters¹ before they pass Ayr.

The following was the route, with the names of the different halting-places² where the divisions were to be billeted for the night:—

1st day—Kilmarnock to Ayr	. . .	21 miles.
2nd day—Ayr to Maybole	, . .	8 „
3rd day—Maybole to Girvan	. . .	13 „
4th day—Girvan to Ballintrae	. . .	15 „
5th day—Ballintrae to Stranraer	. . .	15 „

The four companies of the 1st division arrived on the 27th at Stranraer, where, according to the route, two companies were to march to Port Patrick³ next day and embark for Ireland. Owing to the state of the weather, however, this was counter-ordered.

Morning R. O., Stranraer, 28th October.—As the Agent reports the passage to Ireland will not be favourable this day, the Grenadiers and Captain Scobie's Company will not march to Port Patrick till to-morrow morning.

The four companies to parade at two o'clock this day, their arms and accoutrements to be in the best order posable (*sic*).

Evening R. O., 28th October.—The commanding officers of companies will give in immediately to Captain Forbes the return ordered at Kilmarnock of the extra allowance of pay due to the men, from 25th September to 24th October, both days inclusive, at the rate of 2¼d. per day agreeable to the last regulation. This is to be paid to the men this evening. No other arrears are due to the men at present by the King's Regulations until the 24th December, when they will be entitled to receive the usual proportion of poundage and necessary money to the 24th September, when the extra allowance of 2¼d. per day commenced.⁴

¹ Although the men had got their Highland clothing, they had not all been supplied with regimental garters, those that had their own wearing them with the regimental hose.

² The first two divisions would have probably spent the whole of Sunday (24th) at Girvan and Ayr respectively, but in order not to lose a day combined the second and third days' march in one.

³ The distance by road from Stranraer, which lies at the head of Loch Ryan, to Port Patrick is about six miles.

⁴ This refers to the increase in the soldier's pay sanctioned in September 1795, by which his daily allowance for necessaries and bread-money was increased to 4d., which, added to his 6d. per day pay, made a total of 10d.

The colonel takes this opportunity of informing the men that their (belted) plaids will be at quarters (*i.e.*, Belfast) as soon as themselves, and also the shirts and ammunition (*sic*) shoes. The colonel bought the plaids at Bannockburn, near Stirling, on his way here, which are of a good quality and will last two of the English (*sic*) plaids, which is the reason they were not delivered before now, as he ordered them at first from England, but finding that they were of the same quality as the kilts he would not take them, in order to do the men every justice; thus the delay in not delivering the plaids before now will be for the interest of the men. The shirts and shoes, which were also bought at Stirling, are of better quality linen and leather (*sic*), and cheaper than those from England.¹

The colonel assures the regiment that what they are entitled to will be settled in its proper time. These orders to be read and explained to the men, who will receive at Port Patrick one shilling for each man, allowed by Government, to be given them there to buy provisions for the passage to Ireland.

On the evening of the 28th the second division of three companies arrived at Stranraer.

The next day, the weather being favourable, the Grenadiers and Captain Scobie's Company marched to Port Patrick, where they embarked, the same afternoon, on a vessel chartered by Government to take them across the narrow stretch of sea (St Patrick's Channel) which separates Scotland and Ireland. Sailing at daylight next morning they arrived off Donaghadee towards evening, after a rough passage.² The disembarkation was made on the following morning (the 31st), some considerable time being taken to get the baggage safely ashore. The two companies were billeted in the town for the night. Here they were joined next day by the two remaining

¹ On the regiment being raised, Colonel Baillie had placed the contract for supplying the clothing and Highland clothing of the regiment with a firm in England, through his London agents, Messrs Ross & Ogilvie. The tartan for the kilts, however, not being satisfactory, the colonel had refused to take the belted plaids, which were of the same quality, when they arrived, and had ordered them instead from a firm of tartan manufacturers at Bannockburn—Messrs William Wilson & Sons—who supplied tartan to many of the other Highland regiments. He had also transferred his order for shirts and shoes at the same time, and given it to a Stirling firm. The tartan supplied by the English clothiers would have probably been manufactured in Scotland, but was evidently of bad material. (*Note.*—Tartan, however, was also manufactured in England at this time.)

² So stormy was it that several men vowed they would devote a day's pay to charity should they reach land without mishap, and each bent a sixpence between his teeth for luck. On landing safely, however, these promises were soon forgotten!—Communicated by Mr Hugh Nicol, Stratford, Ontario, Canada.

companies of the division, and one company of the second division. The whole of Monday, 2nd November, was spent at Donaghadee. On the 3rd the five companies started for Belfast, halting for the night at Newtownards, a small country town about half-way between Donaghadee and Belfast.¹ Continuing the march next day Belfast was reached the same evening, the men being dismissed to their billets in different parts of the town.²

R. O., Belfast, 4th November 1795.—"The division to parade at 1 o'clock to-morrow. The arms and accoutrements are to be put in the best order possible (*sic*) without delay"—no doubt they had suffered somewhat from the continuous marching and effects of the sea passage.

"It is now absolutely necessary that the officers, N.-C. officers, and privates do constantly appear dressed in their uniform,³ and as clean as possible." A Captain of the Week and Orderly Officer were detailed—Captain Scobie to be Captain for the Week and Lieut. Hugh Clarke Orderly Officer for to-morrow.

The remaining five companies of the regiment marched into Belfast on the evening of the 5th November, having crossed over from Port Patrick to Donaghadee on the 3rd,⁴ in the same vessels that had taken the first division.

The whole regiment being now together, Colonel Baillie received information that it was to be inspected on the 7th by General Nugent, commanding the troops in Belfast.⁵

¹ The distance from Donaghadee to Belfast, *via* Newtownards, is about 18 miles.

² The arrival of the first division of the regiment is thus recorded in the 'Belfast News-Letter,' Friday, 6th November 1795: "On Wednesday evening last the first five companies of Mackay's Fencibles commanded by Colonel McKay Baillie arrived here from Scotland, the other five companies are on their way and expected daily in town. This regiment was embodied at Elgin in Murray, so that they have had a march of near 500 miles. This is reckoned one of the best Fencible regiments that has been raised, as a proof of which, when they were inspected by General Sir Hector Munro, he not only did not reject a single man but expressed the highest satisfaction on the inspection of so unexceptionable a corps."

Note.—As this newspaper was probably printed the day before issue, the news of the arrival of the remaining five companies of the regiment, on the evening of the 5th, was received too late for insertion.

³ During the time the regiment was at Elgin and Fort George, both officers and men had been allowed to wear their civilian clothing, when not on duty, in barracks. Now that they were in a large town with other troops this indulgence could no longer be permitted.

⁴ 'Autobiographical Journal of John Macdonald,' p. 89.—The regiment attracted much attention on its arrival in Belfast, as up to that time few Highland regiments had been seen in the north of Ireland. The pipers were considered a great curiosity.

⁵ As soon as the regiment landed in Ireland it was transferred to the Irish Establishment. Until the Union in 1800, Ireland was entirely self-governed and separate from the sister kingdoms. She "had her own sovereign, the Lord Lieutenant, her own Commander-in-Chief,

R. O., 6th November.—As the regiment is to be inspected by the General Officer commanding at Belfast, the colonel trusts that the officers will make every endeavour to get their men redy (*sic*) for the inspection. The arms are immediately to be put into good order, accoutrements to be well cleaned, whitened, and polished. The quartermaster to give to the companies such materials as are required for this purpose. He is also to issue out the shirts and shoes newly arrived to the men who are in want of them. The officers commanding companies to inspect their men's clothing, kilts, knapsacks, &c., and to see that they are complete in everything. Any coats in urgent need of repair to be given immediately to the taylors. The men to pay particular attention to their bonnets.

The regiment to parade for the General's inspection at 11 o'clock to-morrow, the officers commanding companies to appoint private parades for their company, whair (*sic*) they can conveniently be inspected, and the reports made out. No man to be absent on any pretence whatever. The rolls of the different companies to be made out and given to the adjutant in good time before the parade. These rolls to be very exact, mentioning any man that is absent, and the reasons of his absence, whether sick, &c. The men unserviceable¹ to parade under the orderly officer, who will receive his orders.

The pipes to play off at 10 o'clock, when the companies are immediately to fall in on their private parades, where they will be carefully inspected and then marched to the general parade which is to be formed by 11 o'clock.² The officers to be dressed in white breeches and boots. The men to be as neat and clean as possible, hair well tied and powdered. The guard³ to be ready to receive the General on his arrival.

No reference to the inspection is to be found in the Order Books, her own War Office, her own Paymaster-general, her own Board of Ordnance, her own Artillery, her own establishment for the strength of regiments, and her own rate of pay. For years this arrangement had been the distraction of administrators, as it still is of historians, giving rise to endless jobbery and incredible financial confusion. The transfer even of a single officer from the British to the Irish Establishment signified a troublesome adjustment of differences of pay; and the transfer of a regiment meant not only change of emoluments and position, but the choice of a new Agent and subjection to new and extremely capricious patronage."—Fortescue's 'History of the British Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 886.

¹ These were the men who had been left behind at Fort George as unfit for further service. Having gone round by sea, they would have arrived at Belfast some days before the regiment.

² The regiment was inspected in Linenhall Street, which seems at this time to have been used as the general parade for the Belfast garrison.

³ This was the Guard of Honour, made up of picked men, probably from the Grenadier Company.

but from other contemporary sources we learn that the regiment was highly complimented by the General, who expressed his entire satisfaction with the appearance of the men and their steadiness under arms—high praise for so young a corps.¹

Only twelve men were rejected as being unfit for service, these being the men whom the colonel had sent by ship from Fort George, as he could not discharge them until the necessary authority was obtained.² Their places were at once filled up by the supernumeraries at the colonel's disposal.

The following is the Inspection Return :—

INSPECTION REPORT OF H.M. REAY FENCIBLE HIGHLAND
REGIMENT OF FOOT.

(Commanded by Colonel MCKAY BAILLIE.)

Inspected at Belfast by Brigadier-General NUGENT, November 7th, 1795.

	Colonels.	Lieut.-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Qr.-Masters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers & Fifers.	Privates.
Commissioned officers . . .	1	1	...	6	15	6	...	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...
Fit for service . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	28	22	644
Old, but fit to serve a few years . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27
Old and totally unfit for service . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Boys, not fit for immediate service . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
Unfit for service, as certified by the surgeon of the regiment . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12
Total . . .	1	1	...	6	15	6	...	1	1	1	2	32	28	22	693

¹ Extract from the 'Belfast News-Letter,' Friday, 13th November 1795: "On Sat'day the Mackay Fencibles who arrived here last week were inspected by Brigadier-General Nugent when only twelve of the whole corps were rejected, a circumstance which reflects much honour and credit upon the officers.

"This regiment has been raised with most singular spirit and exertion. Mr Eric Mackay, the representative of the estate and of family of Reay (upon the demise of the present Lord), in the month of October last year made a tender to the Government of a Regiment of Fencibles. Colonel McKay Bailie of Rose Hall and Colonel Mackay of Bighouse, the officers recommended by him, went North in the middle of December last, and in the course of two months 100 more men were raised than entitled them to be inspected; the privates almost to a man are from the estates of Reay and Strathnaver, and are stout and hardy Highlanders whose attachment to their clan and natural high sense of honour have never failed to distinguish the native Caledonians as brave soldiers."

² These men probably joined the regiment *after* it had been embodied and inspected by Sir Hector Munro. Most of them appear to have been unfit for service on account of infirmities.

ABSENT OFFICERS.

Major.	Captain.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplain.	Remarks.
1	1	6	2	1	In Scotland.

ABSENT MEN.

Corporals.	Privates.	Remarks.
2	7	Sick at Fort George.

R. O., 8th November.—The men who were rejected by the General at the inspection to be discharged this day. They will each receive 28 days' subsistence from the day of inspection to carry them home; to be paid them by Lieut. Clarke this evening, when they will be placed on board a ship for Scotland.

Garrison Orders, Belfast, 9th November 1795.—If Linen Hall Street will contain both regiments in garrison,¹ the parades are to be there, fronting the general's house. In case of fire or any other alarm the two regiments will assemble on their parades, leaving small guards at their barracks. The picquet will join the Main Guard, and the whole are to aid and assist the magistrates as occasion may demand. Roll-calling to be at 11 o'clock, when the regiments are to appear clean and in perfect good order. The guard and picquet are to mount as soon as the roll-calling is over. Frequent patrols are to be sent from the guard and picquet, and soldiers found out of their quarters, or concerned in any disturbance, to be made prisoners and reported. If Linen Hall Street be found insufficient for two regiments formed two deep, they will form a rear rank.

R. O., 9th Novr.—When any of the men complain of their billets² they are at once to report the same to the officer commanding their company, who will immediately visit the billet, or send an officer of the company, to inquire of the cause of the complaint, which, if well founded, is to be reported to the commanding officer.

Colonel Baillie repeats the order relative to the men appearing in

¹ The other regiment quartered in Belfast was the Limerick Militia.

² The different companies were billeted by streets, the men of each squad being together as far as possible so that all orders could be quickly communicated to them. The officers were quartered near their companies, and, like the men, messed with the family on whom they were billeted until a proper mess was established.

the streets without side-arms and dressed uniformly. Any officer or N.-C. officer seeing any man—officers' servants included—disobeying this order, are immediately to confine the offender in the main guard for disobedience of orders. The general orders of this day to be particularly attended to.

R. O., 11th Novr.—Such of the men's coats as have not yet been mended to be given immediately to the taylor's who will finish them without delay. The quartermaster to furnish the cloath necessary for this purpose.

The (belted) plaids having arrived from Scotland, the officers commanding companies will send in to the quartermaster a return of the number they require for the men of their company. The men are to be warned to take good care of these plaids.¹ The new clothing is only to be worn for guards, reviews, &c., or when specially ordered, the old clothing at all other times.

The men to be informed that they are at all times to treat the people of the country in which they are now quartered, with kindness, consideration, and due forbearance, adopting a firm but conciliatory manner towards those who are known to persist in their disaffection. The orders of the kingdom relative to this to be read and explained to the men, who are to be warned that any disobedience of these orders will render them liable to the severest punishment. The colonel, however, is confident that in their conduct and manners the Reays will ever uphold the honour of their country and name, like true, honest Highlanders.

R. O., 14th Novr.—The regiment to parade for exercise to-morrow at 2 o'clock, the 1st pipe to sound at half-past twelve, the 2nd at one o'clock.² On the 2nd pipe sounding the companies are immediately to fall in on their private parades. No man to be absent that is able to attend. The men to be in their belted plaids, hair well tied and powdered, and neat and clean in every other respect.

¹ The belted plaid had no fringe like its modern representative. It was fastened on the shoulder much in the same manner as the miserable scrap of tartan (known as the "belted plaid") served out to soldiers of Highland regiments at the present day—*i. e.*, it was fixed to the button of the epaulette or shoulder-strap by a short loop of green ribbon sewed to the outside of the upper end of the plaid. Over that end of the ribbon which did not loop on to the button was fixed a small rosette of the same kind of ribbon as the loop. Brooches for fastening the plaid were unknown in Highland military dress at this time, and did not come into use until the latter part of the nineteenth century.

² The duty of the orderly piper was to play through the streets in which the different companies were billeted. The first pipe warning the men to prepare for parade, the second for them to fall in.

Shortly after the arrival of the Reays in Belfast the officers were entertained to a dinner and ball by the principal inhabitants of the town. It was probably then that the following incident occurred.

On the occasion of a ball given in honour of the Mackays in Ireland on a Saturday evening, the dancing was continued into the "sma' hours ayont the twal." A private of the regiment, a Strathnaver man, happening to pass by the rooms where the ball was being held, was thunderstruck to see that one of his officers, whom he knew well at home, was among those still engaged in the dance. Going up to him, Donald at once remonstrated with him in Gaelic for thus profaning the Sabbath, to which the officer aptly replied:—

"An tir am bithir,
'S e nithir!"

"In the land we be,
So do will we!"

i.e., "We will do in Rome as the Romans do."¹

R. O., 15th Nov.—The regiment to fire five rounds of ball cartridges to-morrow, tailors, officers' servants, &c., to attend.²

R. O., 16th Nov.—The commanding officer expects to see the men's hair well cut the first Sunday of every month, for which the N.-C. officers of the different squads must be answerable, as well as for the dress and appearance of their men at all parades. For any disobedience of these orders the N.-C. officers must expect to be punished for neglect of duty.

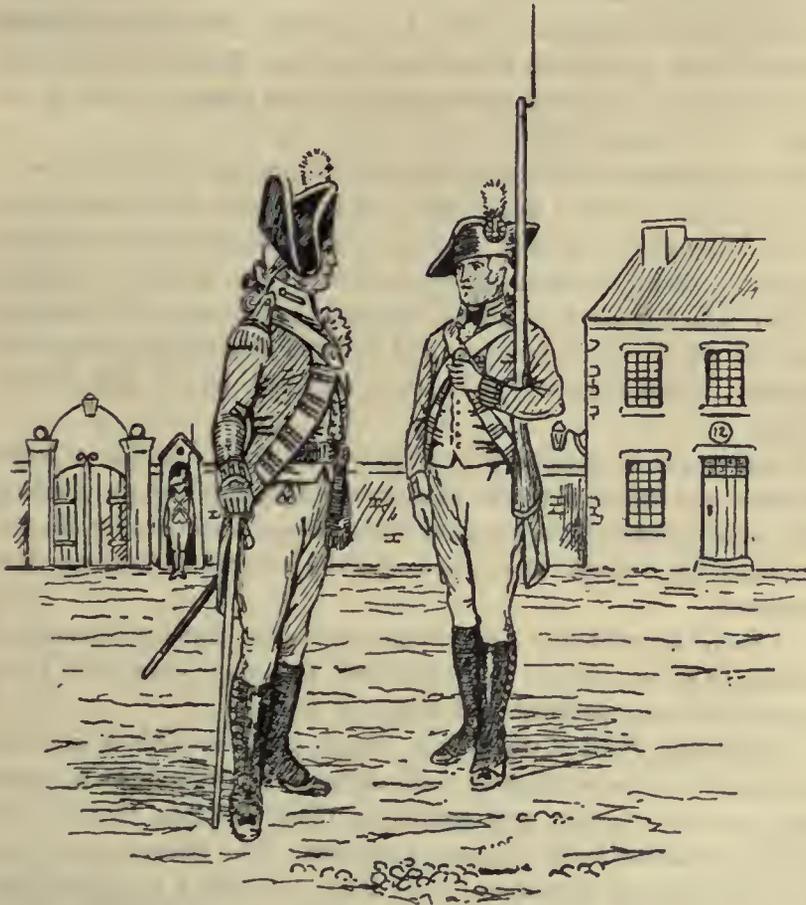
The guard in future to be more minutely inspected by the orderly sergeant and corporal of each company. Any N.-C. officer parading a dirty man for guard will be confined for neglect of duty. If one supernumerary man per company is not sufficient two must be warned. Clean men for guard the adjutant must insist upon at all times.

¹ Communicated by Dr Hew Morrison, LL.D., Edinburgh. The officer in question is said to have been the tacksman of Syre, in Strathnaver. This incident serves well to show the intimacy (without disrespectful familiarity) which existed at that time between officers and men of Highland corps, a state of affairs rarely to be met with in the ordinary marching regiments of the day, whose officers cared but little for the feelings of their men and had nothing in common with them.

² This is the first mention to be found in the Order Books of the regiment firing ball, but the men would have had some previous practice before they left Scotland. Musketry was not then considered such an important part of the soldier's training as it is now. The care of arms, however, was fully recognised, and no lenity was shown to those who injured their firelocks. The usual formation of a fire unit was three ranks, the first kneeling, the second standing "a moderate pace to the right," and the third standing "a full space to the right." So uncertain, however, was the accuracy of the musket then in use that a single enemy at eighty yards' distance was supposed to run no risk of damage, while at two hundred yards large bodies of troops manœuvred in comparative safety, and attained their correct "dressing" without undue interference.

Garrison Orders, 17th November.—In future the retreat is to beat at four o'clock, and the troop at the usual hour. Any regiments passing through town are to govern themselves by the beating of the regiment in garrison. The officer of the Main Guard to be responsible for the caution of this order.

By the end of November 1795 the Reay Fencibles had settled down in their new quarters, taking their share of garrison and other duties. At the same time, by constant attention to drill and discipline, the regiment was rapidly attaining to a high standard of efficiency, which was destined to stand it in good stead during the troublous times through which Ireland was shortly to pass.



Infantry Officer and Soldier of 1795.

CHAPTER VII.

HAVING followed the fortunes of the regiment thus far, it is necessary, for the better understanding of what follows, to briefly relate the course of events which led up to the threatening state of affairs in Ireland at the close of 1795.

Since the Revolution of 1688 Ireland had suffered much harsh treatment from the British Parliament; her own Parliament, deprived by various Acts of nearly all its powers, was merely a tool in the hands of the former body.

On the accession of George III. to the throne several reforms were brought about. Ireland was granted trading rights which placed her on a more equal footing with the sister kingdoms, and various changes were made in the methods of government. The Roman Catholics, however, who formed the bulk of the Irish nation, were still unrepresented in the Irish Parliament, and suffered from many unfair disabilities. These they sought to have removed, but at first without success.

Under these conditions it is little wonder that a feeling of bitter animosity and discontent had been aroused against Britain, a feeling which was accentuated and rendered the more dangerous by the evil example of the French Revolution and the success of the American insurgents.

As early as 1782 the Irish Volunteers had banded themselves together to secure reform of Parliament, and they were soon to be followed by other political and religious bodies.

The Presbyterians of the North, already half republicans since the American Revolution, followed with delight the events which turned France into a republic, and modelling their ideas on that country raised an agitation for Parliamentary reform. The Catholics, on their part, demanded in the name of the *Rights of Man* a complete relief from the disabilities under which they suffered.

Under these circumstances we find the two religious sects actually combining in order to better promote rebellion. This somewhat unnatural alliance was brought about by Theobald Wolfe Tone, the son of a Dublin mechanic, who in 1791 founded the Society of United Irishmen—a “confederacy which, from the extent to which it reached and the danger it occasioned, stands in British history without a parallel.”¹ The first branch of this society met in Belfast, then the chief centre of disaffection, in October 1791. Other branches were rapidly formed all over Ireland, spreading broadcast revolutionary principles of the most pronounced type.

The remnants of the Volunteers of 1782, reinforced by numerous armed bodies who took the French title of National Guards, became so dangerous in the larger towns that in some cases troops had to be called out to suppress them.

The Government, thoroughly alarmed, sought to appease the country by adopting conciliatory measures. In 1792 and 1793 two Acts were passed removing the greater number of disabilities under which the Catholics suffered.²

These concessions had their effect in quieting the country down for a time, but the outbreak of war between Britain and France aroused the bitterest indignation among the Presbyterians of the North.

Meanwhile another source of disturbance presented itself in the revival of a society called the Defenders. Originally formed as a Catholic organisation in opposition to the Presbyterian body known as Peep-of-Days Boys, it became, in 1793, a secret society of the worst type.³ A correspondence was maintained with France, all unaware that the United Irishmen had also entered into communication with that country, and with the same object—to obtain separation from Britain by means of a French invasion.

¹ Maxwell's 'History of the Irish Rebellion.'

² So many of these disabilities were removed that it seemed absurd not to abolish the remainder. Although electoral franchise was now granted to Catholics, yet they could not sit in Parliament. A Catholic who entered the army could rise to command his regiment but could never become a General. The abolition of all these grievances was repeatedly urged by the more moderate party, and as often obstinately opposed by the ruling cabal in Dublin.—'History of the British Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 515.

³ The aims of this society appear to have been purely political among the more educated classes and solely agrarian among the illiterate peasantry. All wrongs were to be avenged, and discontent spread by means of violence, crime, and lawlessness. Through its propaganda thousands of Catholic Irishmen were to be won over to the cause of disaffection and rebellion.—'History of the British Army,' vol. ii., Part I., p. 516.

Early in 1795 the country, which had been quieter during the year previous, was again thrown into a state of high excitement by the news that the Whigs under Portland had joined with Pitt, thus raising the hopes of the Catholics that they would be finally freed from all disabilities. These hopes were heightened by the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam to the Lord-Lieutenancy.

On the 4th January 1795, Fitzwilliam arrived in Ireland to take over his new duties. He found the agitation for Catholic emancipation at its height. Seeing how matters stood, he recommended that the Catholics should immediately be granted relief, and that yeomanry should be formed to maintain law and order. The Government refused to sanction these measures and a quarrel thereupon ensued. As a result, Fitzwilliam was recalled from Ireland, and left Dublin on the 25th March, to the sorrow and disappointment of the people of Ireland. His departure served to increase still further the feeling of bitter hatred against England.

Lord Camden, who was appointed to succeed Fitzwilliam, came to Ireland with strict instructions from the British Government not to allow the Catholics further emancipation. This in itself was sufficient to start a revival of the old religious bitternesses. Under the general discontent and unrest that followed, the Society of United Irishmen, whose meetings had been suppressed in 1794, renewed their efforts and became more than ever republican and treasonable. At the same time other bodies took new life. The Defenders rapidly increased in strength and vigour, and by their deep animosity towards the Protestants, not only raised a powerful alliance against them in the shape of the Orange Society, but completely upset the schemes of the United Irishmen for combining both creeds in one common object.

Such, then, was the state of affairs in Ireland on the Reays' landing in that country.

The army in Ireland at this time, although considerably reinforced towards the latter end of 1795, was still inadequate for the purposes required of it. The troops mainly consisted of Fencible Cavalry and Infantry, most of whom had only recently been raised and were consequently still raw. To these might be added a few regulars, chiefly cavalry, who for the most part were in indifferent order, and hardly likely to improve the fencibles by their example. The con-

stant demand for troops in the West Indies and elsewhere had drained the country of most, if not all, the best regular regiments. The total number of regulars and fencibles in Ireland did not number over 15,000 effective men, and these were scattered over the country in such a manner as to ruin all discipline and efficiency.¹ In addition to these troops there was the Irish Militia, some 16,000 strong. These latter, however, were for the most part badly disciplined, ill officered, and known to contain in their ranks many members of the Society of the United Irishmen and Defenders.

The army was divided into different districts, each under a general officer or colonel. The Belfast district,² commanded by Brigadier-General Nugent, with headquarters at Hillsborough,³ included the garrison of Belfast—comprising the Reay Fencibles, Limerick Militia, detachments of the Royal Irish Artillery, and Invalids—and the following garrisons and troops: *Blares Camp*,⁴ 64th Foot and 3rd Light Infantry Battalion, Carlow Militia, and Argyll (2nd) and Northampton Fencibles; *Carrickfergus*, detachments of Royal Irish Artillery and Invalids; *Newtownards*, York Fencibles; *Drumore*, Cavan Militia; *Lurgan*, Drogheda Militia; *Lisburn*, 22nd Light Dragoons. .

Belfast, the capital of the province of Ulster, was, at this time, already one of the most important towns in Ireland after Dublin, its chief source of prosperity being derived from the cotton trade, introduced in 1777, while as a seaport it was rapidly increasing in importance.⁵ The town itself was well built, with regular and spacious streets, well lighted and clean, the chief thoroughfares being the High Street, and Linenhall and North Queen Streets. The

¹ This evil was not lessened by the fact that numbers of officers were absent from their posts.

² The other districts were: *Dublin*, Major-General Craig, Commandant of the Garrison; *New Geneva*, Major-General Fawcett, Inspector of Recruits; *Cork*, Major-General Dalrymple; *Limerick*, Major-General Dundas; *Londonderry*, Colonel Lord II. Murray; *Armagh*, Lieut.-Colonel Lord Wm. Bentinck. In Nov. 1796, Ireland was divided into five districts—*i.e.*, *Northern*, General Lake; *Southern*, General Dalrymple; *Eastern*, General Crosbie; *Western*, General Smith; *Centre*, General Dundas.

³ The General also had a house in Belfast. Hillsborough is 14 miles S.-W. of Belfast.

⁴ Situated on a moor a few miles from Belfast. Also spelt Blaris.

⁵ Although comparatively a modern town, Belfast has a history extending back to 1315, when its castle, supposed to have been built by John de Courcy, was destroyed by the Scots under Edward Bruce. In 1613 it was erected into a municipal and parliamentary borough, sending two members to the Irish Parliament. Its progress was much retarded by the civil wars of Charles I., during which it was occupied successively by the royalists and parliamentarians. In 1704, one of the first editions of the Bible published in Ireland was printed there. The population of the town in 1791 was 18,320.



public buildings, including the Bank built in 1787, and the Linen Hall, were handsome structures well in keeping with the general appearance of commercial activity and enterprise. The houses of worship were numerous, and comprised every denomination.¹

At the time of which we speak Belfast was almost wholly confined to the low ground on the north bank of the Lagan, at that river's junction with the lough. Communication was kept up with the south bank by the Long Bridge, built in 1686. The harbour was suitable for vessels of small tonnage only, the larger vessels having to lie in the pool or basin of Garmoyle, four miles from the town.

Belfast being the centre of disaffection in the north, the town was in consequence under military supervision. Piquets patrolled the streets at night, and persons seen on the streets after dark were liable to be apprehended and detained in custody. There were guards by night and day on the principal government buildings, and the business parts of the town were also under military protection.²

To return to the regiment. The orders from the 17th November 1795 to 24th October 1796, a gap of nearly a year, are missing. As, however, little of consequence occurred during that period beyond the usual routine of garrison life, varied by frequent detachment and escort duties,³ their loss is of no material importance. The blank thus created can be filled up from other contemporary records which throw sufficient light on the doings of the regiment.

The constant splitting up of the companies in order to furnish the above duties must have necessarily handicapped the regiment in its

¹ The bulk of the people of Belfast, as in other parts of Ulster, were Presbyterians, being the descendants of Scotch settlers planted there in the time of James VI., or who had fled from Scotland during the religious persecutions in the reigns of the later Stuart kings. While calling themselves Irish they still retained the character and dialect of their origin, mixing but little with the original Irish race whom they had supplanted. Like other towns in Ulster, Belfast had its Scotch quarter.

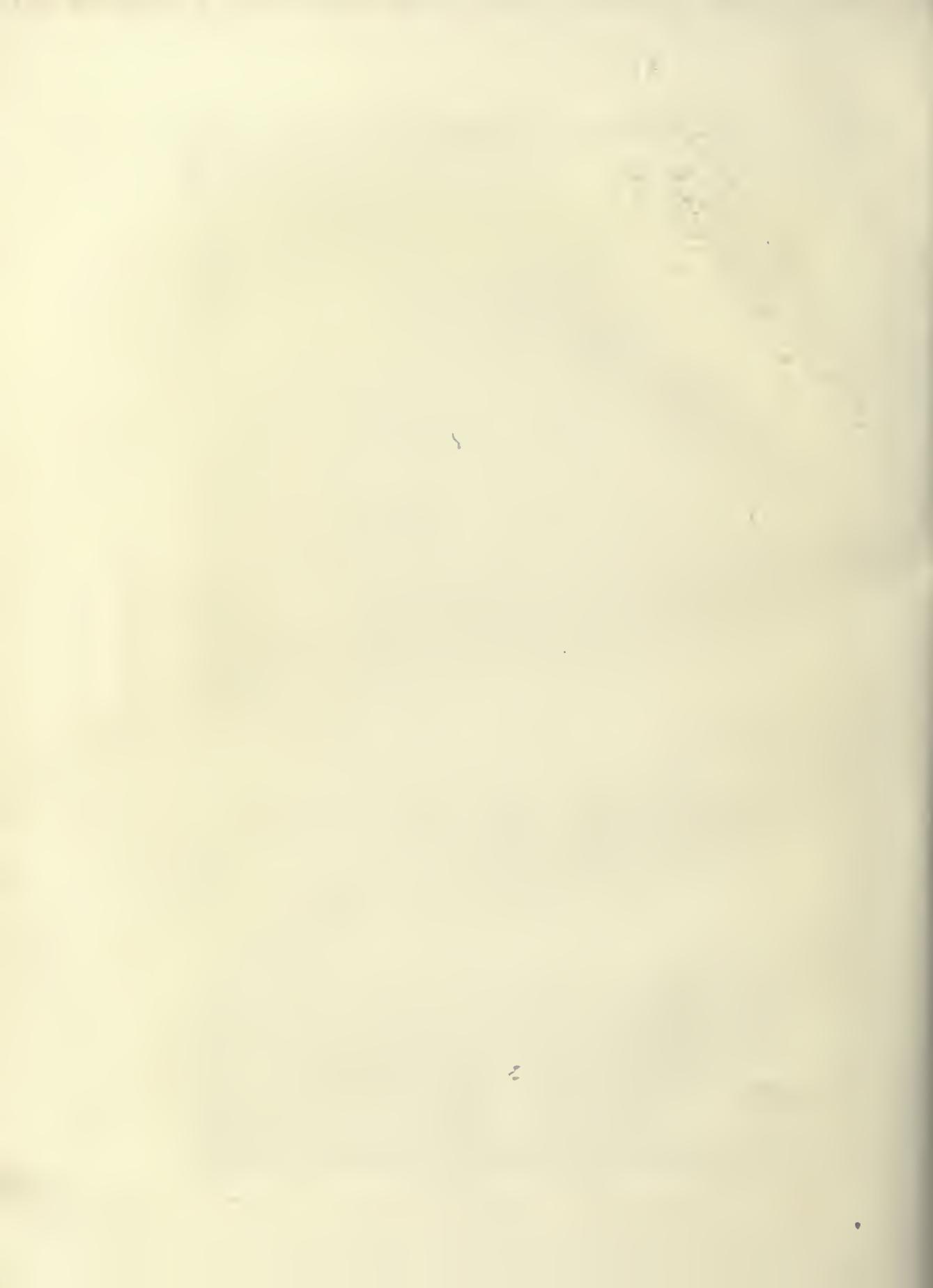
² On the Reays' arrival in Belfast, the following guards were found by the garrison: the Main or Town Guard, the Artillery, New Barracks, and Quay Guards, the latter being as a protection over the shipping and Customs House. There was also a cavalry piquet over the uncompleted George Inn and stabling in North Queen Street, from which place the mail-coaches started for Dublin, Londonderry, and other principal towns. The Bank, Post Office, Exchange, and Linen Hall had permanent guards.

³ The strength of the detachments varied according to the nature of the duty,—fifteen or twenty men under an officer or sergeant being the usual number. The escorts required for the conveyance of government stores, &c., ranged from twenty men under a subaltern officer, to six or eight men under a corporal or sergeant.



BELFAST, FROM THE SOUTH BANK OF THE RIVER LAGAN, IN 1796.

(From an old Print in the possession of FRANCIS J. BIGGER, Esq., *Ardrigh, Belfast.*)



training, but so excellent was the character of the men and the system of discipline established, coupled with the influence possessed by Colonel Mackay Baillie and Bighouse,¹ that no evil effects resulted, and the Reays continued to be distinguished as a well-conducted and respected corps.

In a collection of episodes and anecdotes connected with the Irish rebellion, the following is told about the Reay Fencibles, which occurred shortly after their arrival at Belfast:—

Mr Alexander Mackay, the proprietor of the 'Belfast News-Letter,' had occasion to go out one evening to see about an item of news which he was anxious should appear in his paper next day. He was not able to return to his office until after eight o'clock, and the town being at that time under military control, all persons walking abroad after dusk were liable to be apprehended. Mr Mackay had not gone far before he was stopped by a piquet of the Reay Fencibles, who informed him that he was their prisoner, and that he must accompany them to the guard-house. It was in vain that he protested, saying that the 'News-Letter' could not possibly appear the next morning without him, and what would his subscribers say?

On being brought before the officer on duty at the guard-house Mr Mackay was closely examined and his name demanded. As soon as the officer heard who he was, he at once shook hands with him, greeting him most cordially, and ordered that he should be immediately escorted back to his office, apologising at the same time for the delay caused, and for the mistake made in his identity. The next day Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse called on the worthy newspaper proprietor, and recognised him as a distant cousin of his own. Mr Mackay received a pass, available at any time, and was introduced to the officers' mess as a relative of the colonel's. Attending a regimental parade the following morning he was warmly received by the soldiers, who gave three cheers for the colonel's cousin!²

By the end of January or early in February the greater part of the regiment moved from their billets into the barracks which had

¹ Bighouse was away from the regiment from the middle of December 1795 to the 10th April 1796, having obtained leave of absence to Scotland, probably to arrange about the recruiting, or transact some necessary business on his estate. Captains D. Mackay and Forbes had also taken leave at the same time and for the same period.

² 'Ulster in '98,' by Robert M. Young, B.A.

recently been completed in North Queen Street.¹ These barracks were known as the King's New Barracks, in distinction to the King's Old Barracks which were occupied by the Limerick Militia and a part of the Reays. The artillery had their own barracks.

On the 24th April 1796, the establishments of all fencible regiments in Ireland were ordered to be reduced to 500 rank and file. In consequence of this order the establishment of the Reay Fencibles, which then stood at—

1 Colonel and Captain.	1 Adjutant.
1 Lieut.-Col. and Captain.	1 Quartermaster.
1 Major and Captain.	1 Surgeon.
7 Captains.	1 Mate.
22 Lieuts., including Capt.-Lieut.	32 Sergeants.
8 Ensigns.	22 Drummers and Fifers.
1 Chaplain.	600 Rank and file.
Total	699 of all ranks,

was reduced as above, the number of officers, sergeants, drummers, and staff remaining as before.²

Among those who were discharged on the reduction was the pipe-major, John Macdonald,³ the author of the journal already referred to,⁴ the reason of his discharge being, as he says, on account

¹ According to local tradition the Reays were one of the first regiments to occupy these barracks after they were built.

² This reduction was made by Government mainly in the hope that many of the men discharged would go into the regular army, at that time badly in need of recruits, and consequently greatly under strength. Various expedients had been tried to induce men to enlist, some of which were certainly not to the credit of their inventors, but without much success.—'History of the British Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 887, 888.

At this time the administration of the armed forces of Britain was carried out by no less than *four* departments, a system naturally cumbersome and intricate. The Home Office reigned supreme over the Fencibles, Militia, and Volunteers, including Yeomanry Cavalry. The reduction of the Fencibles, in order to get their men for the regular army, brought the Home Office and War Office into closer touch for the first time.—'History of the British Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 884.

³ On Macdonald's discharge he succeeded as pipe-major by George Macleod, piper to the Grenadier Company, a native of the parish of Tongue.

⁴ 'Autobiographical Journal of John Macdonald, Schoolmaster and Soldier, 1770-1830.' The writer of this journal was a man of wide experience and travel. Born in Argyllshire in 1752, he received a good education, and becoming a teacher found his way to the Reay country, where he was well received and lived for two years. In 1778 he enlisted in the North Fencibles as pipe-major, on the persuasion of Bighouse, who was given a captain's commission in the regiment. In 1779, growing tired of garrison duty, he was offered the post of pipe-major in the 2nd Batt. of the 73rd (Macleod's) Highlanders, then being raised by Colonel George Mackenzie, son of the Earl of Cromarty. Permission having been obtained from the colonel (the Duke of

of his lameness received while trying to escape from a shell during the siege of Gibraltar in 1782.

“Having got my discharge from the Reay Fencibles,” says the worthy dominie-piper, “Lieut.-Colonel Mackay gave me letters to his lady, and ordered me home to his house at Bighouse, to stay there until he returned to the country himself. Accordingly, all the discharged men to the number of sixty-five marched from Belfast on the 25th April, and the day following were landed at Port Patrick under the command of Lieut. Hugh Clarke, who returned to the regiment that same day after settling with all the men before they landed. After landing, we began our march for different parts of Scotland, I and the rest of the discharged men from Lord Reay’s Country directed our course for the north.”

We have already shown that at the close of 1795 the state of Ireland was one of complete chaos and confusion, towards which the numerous secret societies, both religious and political, had contributed not a little. Such, indeed, was the state of anarchy early in 1796, that a severe Insurrection Act was brought in by Government in order to cope with the evil. Owing, however, to the insufficiency, and in many cases the inefficiency, of the troops at the Government’s disposal, it was found impossible to enforce this Act properly.

Early in May 1796, a detachment of two companies¹ of the Reay Fencibles was ordered to proceed to Downpatrick to assist in keeping the peace and preserving law and order. This detachment was quartered in Downpatrick until well on in June, when it was recalled to headquarters, its departure being recorded in the ‘Northern Star’² (a Belfast paper) as follows:—

Gordon) and Bighouse, Macdonald was transferred to the 73rd. With this regiment he took part in the memorable defence of Gibraltar under General Elliot, and after its disbandment in 1783, served with the 25th Foot, also stationed at Gibraltar. On being discharged in 1785, Macdonald obtained the post of body-servant to General Elliot (created Lord Heathfield in 1787 for his services), with whom he stayed until the latter’s death in 1790. In the character of servant and piper Macdonald made voyages to India, America, and China. In 1794 he found himself in London, and hearing that his old patron, Mackay of Bighouse, was raising the Reay Fencibles, he enlisted with him as pipe-major. After over eighteen years of soldiering and wandering, Macdonald returned to the Reay Country and resumed his teaching. He died at Tongue in April 1832, aged eighty years. His quaint and interesting journal, extending to about 120 pages of closely written material, was edited and published in 1906 by the late Rev. Angus Mackay, M.A., Westerdale, Caithness.

¹ Captain D. Mackay’s, and the Major’s Company under Lieut. Angus Mackay.

² The recognised organ of the United Irishmen, and the chief seditious newspaper in Belfast. In February 1797 the proprietors of the ‘Northern Star,’ two brothers of the name

“Extract of a Letter from Downpatrick, June 22nd, 1796.”

“This morning a detachment of the Reay Fencibles, quartered here for some time past, marched for Belfast. It is but justice to observe that from the polite behaviour of the officers and the steady conduct and strict discipline of the privates, that the inhabitants now part from them with regret.”

At this time an unfortunate incident occurred which might well have had a more serious ending. The Limerick Militia—the other regiment stationed in Belfast with the Reays—was under orders to proceed to Londonderry, there to be quartered. Since the arrival of the Reays in Belfast, the men of the two regiments had never been on good terms, and now, a few days before the former corps was to leave the station, the animosities which had been smouldering for some time burst into flame. The exact cause of the actual outbreak of hostilities has not transpired, but it appears that the Limericks, who were Catholics, had uttered some disparaging remarks about the Reays and their religion in the latter’s hearing. This was too much for the Highlanders, who, though ordinarily quiet and peaceable, were not easily pacified when once roused. The following account of the incident appeared in the ‘Northern Star,’ May 30th, 1796: “For several days past there existed some animosities between the two corps quartered here, arising, as we understand, from trivial causes; it grew, however, yesterday into a serious affair, and the Reay Fencibles and Limerick Militia were on the point of coming into a general engagement; some skirmishing had already taken place when the timely interference of the officers on both sides prevented any further hostilities. The Limerick Militia marched for Londonderry at daybreak this morning.”

General Stewart of Garth, in his ‘Sketches,’ also refers to this episode, which, he remarks, “might have ended very seriously, had it not been checked by the proper interference of General Lake and Colonel Mackay Baillie. But here, instead of taking their arms, . . . they [the Reays] laid them aside, and supplied themselves with sticks

of Simms, were imprisoned for printing seditious libels. The paper was, for some months, continued, under the editorship of Neilson; but on the 20th May its offices were wrecked, and its types destroyed by the Monaghan Militia, and no effort was made to revive it.—‘Ireland in the 18th Century,’ vol. iv. p. 78.

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, it was nevertheless 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."¹

On the Limerick Militia leaving Belfast, they were relieved by the 1st or Monaghan Militia under Colonel Barber.

The continued disturbed state of Irish affairs, in which crime and lawlessness played a leading part, was further aggravated in June by the news that a French invasion was imminent.

"Divided and even antagonistic as were the Defenders and the United Irishmen," writes the author of the 'History of the British Army,'² "the prospect of a common rallying point drew the two parties steadily together. Many of the Defenders took the oath of Union; an increased number of malcontents was passed into the Catholic regiments of Militia; and the United Irishmen began to devise for the Society a military organisation, which was fully elaborated by the close of the year. Camden, not ill apprised of all that was going forward, wrote urgently for reinforcements. His troops, as he said, were so much dispersed on police duty that few men were left free to act against an invasion; and he therefore urged the creation of Yeomanry, the very measure which, when proposed by Fitzwilliam, had been scouted as impossible. The British Government thereupon sent over four regiments, two of regular Cavalry and two of Fencibles. Camden took exception to three of these upon the ground that they were entirely composed of Irishmen; and finally, at the end of August, Portland yielded permission for the formation of Yeomanry, both cavalry and infantry, provided that care were taken in the selection of officers and men. The patriotism of the Irish gentry had already prompted them to raise a few corps of Fencible Cavalry; and within six weeks over one hundred troops and companies of Yeomanry were formed to relieve the regulars of police duty in the event of a landing of the French. 'Of course I shall be construed as arming the Protestants against the Papists by arming property,' wrote Camden pathetically, 'but no time is to be lost.' A few Catholics were indeed enrolled; but the leaders both of the disaffected Catholics and

¹ 'Sketches of the Highlanders,' vol. ii. p. 344.

² Vol. iv., Part I., pp. 518, 519.

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¹ 'Sketches of the Highlanders,' vol. ii. p. 344.

² Vol. iv., Part I., pp. 518, 519.

of the United Irishmen discountenanced the movement; and, since the Yeomanry at first was formed chiefly in the north, where disloyalty was most systematic and most dangerous, the force necessarily consisted chiefly of Orangemen."

Amidst those scenes of open treason, violence, and discontent the Reays continued to maintain their character as an efficient corps. "The conduct of the regiment met with the highest commendation from the general officers commanding the district, and the universal respect and esteem of the inhabitants amongst whom they were quartered. The 'honest Reays' were great favourites with the loyal Irish, but a terror to the disloyal, whom, by rapid night-marches, they surprised and scattered without bloodshed."¹

Nay, more, since the regiment had arrived in Ireland, it had, by its "steady conduct and soldierly bearing," attracted the notice and acquired the confidence of the generals commanding in a remarkable degree, and, "as Gustavus Adolphus employed Lord Reay's regiment in all dangerous enterprises," observes General Stewart of Garth,² "so did Generals Lake and Nugent place a firm dependence on the services of the Reay Fencibles. General Lake³ 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."

"Thus, while their manners and habits were such as to render the exertion of strict military discipline unnecessary," continues General Stewart, "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 remitting to their relations at home sums of money, small in themselves

¹ 'The Reay Fencibles,' by the late Mr John Mackay of Hereford. This interesting sketch of the regiment was published in 1890, under the auspices of the Clan Mackay Society. It was on reading this account that decided the present author to write a more extended history of the regiment, whose life-story was so typical of a Highland corps of that period.

² 'Sketches of the Highlanders,' vol. ii. pp. 342, 343.

³ George Lake, born 1744; fought in the Seven Years' War and American Civil War, being present at the surrender of Yorktown; assisted in the suppression of the Irish Rebellion; played a great part in the building up of the empire in India, where he successfully conducted campaigns against Holkar, gaining brilliant victories at Aligarh, Delhi, Agra, and Laswaree; for these services he was created Viscount Lake of Delhi and Laswaree; died in 1808, worn out with the fatigues of his Indian campaigns, "which the great Wellesley placed among the glories of British military achievement."

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 by 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 daylight, if degraded by disgraceful punishments."¹

Nor was it only in things temporal that this district corps was so noticeable. In a former chapter we have seen how religion had entered into the lives and habits of these far-northern people, changing them from their old ways.² It is on record that several men received deep and lasting religious impressions while serving with the regiment,³

¹ "Several men, however," General Stewart of Garth tells us—and his testimony is verified by the Order Books—"deserted, and several received corporal punishment during the seven years the regiment was stationed in Ireland; but these were men 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.'"

² Although religious, the Reay Highlanders of that time entertained no gloomy views on religion.—'Sketches of Sutherland Characters,' pp. 61, 62.

³ The late Rev. Angus Mackay, writing of the Reay Fencibles in the 'Book of Mackay,' mentions that his great-grandfather, Hugh Nicol, who served in the Reays from start to finish, returned home with a Bible which cost him three months' pay. "That Bible, the reader may rest assured," writes the reverend gentleman, "is a treasured possession of the godly soldier's descendants. Of such men General Lake spoke truly when he called them 'honest Reays,' for 'ri uchd tuasaid'—i.e., breasting a conflict—Bible-loving lads may be safely trusted to do their duty in a tight corner."

It is said that a Methodist minister preaching was the means of bringing several men to inquire, "What they must do to be saved?" One of their number (John Mackintosh, Crask, Bettyhill), while freely acknowledging his obligations to this minister, became in after years imbued with decidedly Calvinistic views; and as he himself remarked, it was only by secret prayer in his father's *sheepcot* that he got clear of the *Irish* divinity!—"Ministers and Men of the Far North," by Rev. A. Auld, Wick, p. 209.

of whom six at least were to become known among "The Men" of Sutherland.¹

One instance to prove the feelings which actuated the Reay Highlanders of that period may well be mentioned here: "At the time the regiment was raised the Rev. John Robertson, afterwards of Kingussie, held the mission of the Eriboll district. The men loved him to enthusiasm. A vessel bound for Loch Eriboll happening to touch at Belfast, the men from the bounds of the mission immediately assembled, and purchased a quantity of tea and sugar to send by the vessel to Mrs Robertson, 'as an humble but faithful expression of their undiminished regard.' There was only one dissentient voice, a man of the name of Mackenzie, notorious at home for his saving habits, and the poor creature was ever afterwards an outcast, both in the regiment while it was embodied, and even after the men returned home."²

During the summer and autumn of 1796 the Reays continued to do duty in Belfast, supplying detachments as before to the neighbouring towns, for the purpose of overawing the discontented and protecting the peaceably inclined.

On the 1st October the regiment was reviewed by General Nugent. The parade strength was 3 field officers, 6 captains, 1 capt.-lieut., 9 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 5 staff, 25 sergeants, 23 corporals, 22 drummers, and 459 rank and file.³

¹ They were: John Mackintosh, Crask, Bettyhill, a native of Eddrachilis, who rose to the rank of sergeant, and remained in the regiment until its disbandment; Hugh Campbell, Strathalladale, who became a corporal; Sergeant Alex. Sinclair, Kirkton, Strathalladale, who was made paymaster's clerk; William Mackay (MacRob), Strathy; Robert Mackay, Truderscaig; and Joseph Mackay, Strathalladale. The latter served with the regiment until it was disbanded, and became a sergeant. He afterwards entered the 1st Foot (Royal Scots), and got a commission as ensign. Was wounded at Waterloo, "and returning to his native parish, devoted the remainder of his life—about forty years—to evangelistic work in the Highlands. Many stories are told of his piety and benevolence, and the few old people left in the Reay Country still speak with the greatest reverence of Ensign Joseph."—"Sutherland and the Reay Country," p. 234; 'Ministers and Men of the Far North,' by Rev. A. Auld, Wick; and information supplied by the Rev. Donald Munro, Ferintosh, Ross-shire.

"The Men," so called in order to distinguish them from the ministers, were laymen of recognised zeal and piety who "took part in fellowship meetings, many of them acting as lay preachers and catechists in parishes where the minister could not overtake the work. They make their first appearance in Highland history about fifty years before the Disruption."—"Sketches of Highland Life and Character," by J. G. Mackay, Portree.

² From a letter by Mrs Mackay J. Scobie of Keoldale, daughter of Major Donald Mackay of Eriboll.

³ *Absent*: Captain L. Baillie, Lieuts. H. Clarke, G. Duncan, and the chaplain, sick in Scotland; 3 sergts., 4 corpls., and 68 privates on command 1 corpl. and 8 privates sick; and

The following account of this inspection has been taken from the 'Belfast News-Letter,' dated Monday, October 3rd, 1796:—

"On Saturday last, the regiment of Reay Fencibles, commanded by Colonel Baillie, stationed here, were reviewed in Smithfield Square by Brigadier-General Nugent, and went through the different evolutions and firings with promptitude and steadiness which would have done honour to a veteran corps. The colours of the regiment were then displayed for the first time since its arrival here, and the men being dressed in their Highland uniform (the garb of old Gaul), they exhibited, to a great concourse of spectators, a truly martial appearance. This regiment, having been quartered here for a considerable time, it is only doing justice to the officers and men when we say that the regularity of their conduct, and the uniform, orderly, and soldier-like behaviour of the corps, has been such as to entitle them to the goodwill and esteem of the inhabitants of the town."¹

Shortly after this inspection, orders were received for the regiment to hold itself in readiness to march to Carrickfergus, to reinforce the garrison of that town, where, it was rumoured, an attempt was to be made to seize the stores and war material lying in the castle.

Garrison Order, Belfast, 25th October.—Parole: Durham.—The regiments and detachments² in garrison to give the usual number for guard and piquet to-morrow. The Reay Highlanders to furnish the above duties.

R. O.—Captain for the day, Captain James Mackay. For guard, Lieutenant Hector Mackay. For piquet, Lieutenant William Scobie. Orderly officer, Lieutenant R. Mackay. Officers paying companies to attend the paymaster to-morrow after morning parade, to receive

1 sergt. on pass. 2 sergts., 2 corpls., and 9 privates had been recently discharged, and 1 sergt. (Alex. Ross of the Light Company) promoted ensign in the 60th Foot. There were vacant four lieutenancies and three ensigncies, while the establishment of rank and file which had been reduced to 500 in April 1796 had been again raised to 580 soon afterwards.

¹ The following also appeared in the 'Northern Star,' dated Belfast, Friday, October 7th, 1796: "On Saturday last the Reay Regiment of Fencibles quartered here were reviewed in Smithfield by Colonel Nugent. The firings were close and regular and the manœuvres executed with the greatest precision. There is not a regiment in His Majesty's Service which has improved in military discipline more in the same space of time than this one has done since it arrived in Belfast, nor one whose conduct has been more exemplary."

² Owing to the unsettled state of affairs in Belfast and vicinity, the garrison had been augmented by detachments of troops from outside. The York Fencibles, stationed at Newtownards, supplied one of these detachments.

escort money due to the companies from the 1st November 1795 to 31st March 1796.

R. O., 26th Oct.—The barracks and passages to be put in good order for delivering over to-morrow, all deficiencies, &c., to be paid for. The baggage of the regiment to be in the square of the King's New Barracks by 1 o'clock to-morrow, where it will be weighed and put on carts. The regiment to march to Carrickfergus at 6 o'clock the morning of Friday, 28th current.

R. O., 27th Oct.—Officers in charge of companies to give in the bonnets of their men not mounted with bearskins to Miles, the sadler, and to take receipts for them.¹

The officers and men to be in their belted plaids to-morrow; the men neatly dressed, hair well tied and powdered. Officers commanding companies to call the rolls of their companies after tattoo beating, and see that their men are all in barracks. The first drum to beat at half-past five to-morrow morning.

The regiment reached Carrickfergus early in the afternoon of the 28th, the men being quartered in the castle or in houses near by.²

A rumour having spread that the castle was to be attacked, the guard was strengthened, and sentries posted by night and day at the gates leading to the castle.

R. O., 30th October.—The men's ammunition in their pooges (pouches) to be inspected on the morning parade, when the men are to appear with their hair proper clubbed and well done up without powder. The men for duty to be powdered as usual at guard-mounting. On Sundays the regiment to be powdered.³

¹ The bonnets were probably finished before the regiment marched next day. On arriving in Ireland many of the men had neither bearskin nor plumes (hackles), and in order to get a supply of feathers for the latter without delay, they were taught a few words of Irish. When approaching a cabin they were to say, "Bheil cullach a' id?" The reply was generally "Ma ta tha." Next, "An dhialtateadh cleatiachan?" The "rooster" was soon caught and denuded of his feathers accordingly. Once only they met a rebuff. Seeing a woman outside her cabin she was asked the first question. She replied, "Ma ta tha, ach se thann an cullach dubh mo tho. . . ." Needless to say none of her black feathers adorned a bonnet!—Communicated by Mr Hugh Nicol, Stratford, Ontario, Canada.

² Carrickfergus lies on the north side of Belfast Lough, 11 miles north-east of Belfast, in County Antrim. The town extends along the shore, and in 1796 had a population of about 3000. The ancient castle, supposed to have been built in 1178, is situated on a rocky peninsula jutting into the sea, and was still maintained as a fortress.

³ Hair-powder was generally abolished in the army by an order of June 1795, but the order had to be repeated before colonels would obey it.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 921.

The threat of an attack having passed off, the regiment received orders to return at once to Belfast.

G. O., Carrickfergus, 31st Oct.—As the Reay Fencibles are ordered to march to-morrow morning, the Royal Irish Artillery and Invalids will furnish the guards, to mount at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

While on the way to Belfast the Reays met the Fifeshire Fencibles who had been ordered to Carrickfergus,¹ the two Scottish regiments passing each other with shouldered arms, colours flying, and drums beating.

On arrival at Belfast the regiment took over their old quarters, the men for whom there was no room in barracks returning to their billets.

So acute was the state of unrest at this time that the men billeted were ordered to wear their pouches continually through the day, and to have them under their head when in bed at night, so as to be ready to turn out at a moment's notice.

R. O., 5th Nov.—The colonel orders the officers of those companies quartered either in the King's New or King's Old Barracks to live at the barracks with their men.

As the Commander-in-Chief² is shortly expected in town, the regiment is to be in readiness to parade at the shortest notice. The men to have their hair well tied and powdered, and to be properly dressed, when called out. The regiment to be powdered at all parades till further orders.

The following intimation of the war between Great Britain and Spain was received in Belfast:—

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, DUBLIN,
3rd November 1796.

His Majesty's commands having been signified to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, I am in consequence thereof directed by the

¹ Extract from the 'Belfast News-Letter,' Friday, November 4th, 1796: "On Tuesday morning last, the regiment of Fifeshire Fencibles, commanded by Colonel Durham of Largo, who had arrived here (Belfast) the previous evening, marched from hence to Carrickfergus, preceded by a party of Artillery, with two field pieces and a tumbril of ammunition. This corps is to relieve the regiment of Reay Fencibles, who are returned from thence to this place."

A detachment of the Reays, however, was left behind at Carrickfergus for a few days, *vide* the 'Northern Star,' Friday, Nov. 4: "A detachment of the Reay Fencibles return from Carrickfergus to Belfast (to-day)."

² Lord Carhampton, who had been recently appointed to the post.

Commander-in-Chief to inform you that actual hostilities have taken place between England and Spain.

(Signed) GEO. HEWETT,
Adj.-General.

To the Officer Commanding at Belfast.

G. O., 7th Novr.—Detail for guards and piquets, and minute directions for the captain of the day.

Guard-mounting was a most important and formal duty—an officer from each corps to attend every morning to inspect the arms, ammunition, and cleanliness of their respective guards, and to reject and report to the captain of the day any that are unfit for duty, so that they may be immediately replaced by the attending men, and confined.¹

R. O.—Lieut. Hector Maclean to be attached to Captain Lamington Baillie's Company, and to have charge of it till further orders.²

G. O., 8th Novr.—A guard consisting of 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, and 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, and 50 privates, with colours, to be in readiness to receive the Commander-in-Chief on his arrival in town. He is expected in the course of this day or to-morrow. The above detail to be furnished this day by the 1st Regiment of Militia, and in roster by the Reay Highlanders, and detachments taking the guards.

R. O.—For the above duty Captain Morison, Lieutenant Hector Mackay, and Ensign Mackenzie.

G. O., 9th Novr.—The garrison to be under arms in the square of the new barracks at 3 o'clock this day to fire in celebration of the capture of the Dutch fleet and army at the Cape of Good Hope.³

The Commander-in-Chief arrived in Belfast on the 9th, and the day following reviewed the garrison, expressing his satisfaction with their drill and steadiness under arms. He left on the 16th.⁴

¹ Soldiers ordered for duty were excused early morning parade, as they took some hours to prepare themselves to pass muster for all the examinations usual on guard-mounting.

² In the absence of Captain Baillie, who appears to have been on leave in Scotland sick.

³ Owing to the united provinces of Holland having sided with France, we took possession of the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, both Dutch colonies. This naturally resulted in Holland, under her new name of the Batavian Republic, declaring war against us in May 1796, and Spain followed suit in October.

⁴ During Lord Carhampton's stay at Belfast the Reay Fencibles were selected to furnish the guard over his quarters. This guard, which consisted of 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 12 rank and file, performed its duties so satisfactorily that on the Commander-in-Chief's departure a letter was received by Colonel Baillie (which was published in *R. O.*), in which his Excellency expressed his marked approbation of its "exemplary conduct and soldier-like appearance."

The incident given below, which is said to have occurred about this time, is worthy of notice.

One evening, while several of the men were enjoying a "ceilidh" round the barrack-room fire, the conversation turned on the many disagreeable duties which it had been their lot to perform since their arrival in Ireland. One lad who was present, rather expressed his sympathy with the people whom they had to coerce, upon which an old soldier sternly rebuked him for what he had said, reminding him "that the oath which he had taken as a soldier—to be faithful to the King and to uphold the constitution of the land—was against these very people, who were traitors to their country, and would, if allowed, overturn the whole state and subjugate it to the will of a foreign enemy." A murmur of approval greeted the words of the old soldier. The young man, thoroughly abashed, was never again heard to express his views as to the duties required of him!

R. O., 11th Nov.—A return to be given in of all the sawyers and carpenters in the regiment to-morrow at roll-calling.¹ The officers on duty to wear white breeches and boots.

Belfast was still in a very disturbed state.²

G. O., 14th Nov.—The Main Guard to be reinforced this evening at 4 o'clock by 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 26 privates, which are to be continued until further orders. The piquet to consist of 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, and 50 privates, who are to remain in their barracks and be in readiness whenever called for.

R. O., 16th Nov.—A court-martial to sit to-morrow at the New Barracks, and try such prisoners as may be brought before it. All evidence to attend.³

¹ Soldiers who were skilled artisans were often employed by Government on public works, for which they received extra pay. Those in the Reays were probably from Caithness or the lowlands.

² Political murders were of frequent occurrence at this time, both in and around Belfast. In October the Rev. Philip Johnston, a magistrate, was fired at and severely wounded while mounting his horse between two dragoons in Castle Street, Lisburn. During the same month a man named M'Bride, who had lately arrived from Glasgow, was shot dead near the head of North Street, Belfast; and his murderer a few days after shot another man near the County of Down end of the Long-bridge. The Rev. John Cleland was fired at in the streets of Newtownards; a servant named Stephenson was killed at his master's door; and a butcher residing in Belfast was murdered near the Drum-bridge, "some words uttered by him against the United Irishmen having been said to have led to his murder."—Maxwell, p. 324.

³ This is the first mention in orders of a court-martial on a man of the regiment. As no punishment is recorded it is likely that the culprit or culprits were acquitted, or their punishment

There are frequent references in orders, about this time, to escorts for conveying political prisoners to Dublin.

A. G. Office, Dublin, 11th Nov. 1796.—The following sums will be allowed to be charged for levy-money to the several Fencible Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry—viz. : *Cavalry*, eight guineas per man and twenty-five guineas each horse; *Infantry*, ten guineas per man.

G. O., 21st Nov.—The garrison to furnish a field officer of the day, to be taken in roster. Lieut.-Colonel Mackay, Reay Highlanders, Field Officer of the day to-morrow.

R. O., 25th Novr.—The commanding officer orders that Corporal Hugh Mackenzie is to be confined in the King's Old Barracks, but to have part-liberty. A N.-C. officer neglecting to give his orders properly to the sentries is to be confined for disobedience of orders.

The national saint's day was duly observed by the regiment.

R. O. 29th Nov.—To-morrow being St Andrew's Day, the men will each receive an advance of one day's pay to be given them after parade this evening. No evening parade to-morrow.

R. O., 30th Nov.—The orderly sergeant of each company to see that the dinners of the men on guard are sent to them regularly from their messes, as no man is allowed to leave his guard.

R. O., 3rd Dec.—Officers commanding companies to attend the quartermaster at 3 o'clock to receive the watch-coats for the regiment.¹ When they are received by the companies they will be given to a sergeant of the company, who is to be answerable that they do not go from one company to another, and that they are received in good order from the men on duty.

The commanding officer is sorry to find that many officers do not think it a duty to attend Divine Worship. It is both improper and irregular to see men come to church without officers.

The men for duty are always to parade with their belted plaids. Any man neglecting this order to be confined.

G. O., 13th Dec.—The Reay Fencibles to furnish a party of 1 serremitted by the commanding officer. There were three kinds of court-martials—General, District, and Regimental, the two former only being assembled for the trial of serious offences, such as treason, mutiny, sedition, &c. A Regimental Court-martial was composed of a captain as president and four subalterns as members.

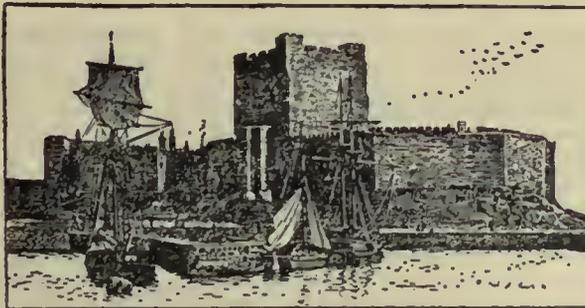
¹ Greatcoats were not supplied to the soldiers at this time, but watch-coats were provided by the colonel out of an allowance granted for the purpose. These coats, of which a certain number were given to each company, were worn in inclement weather by the men on duty, and returned immediately afterwards to the N.-C. officer in charge of them, who was responsible for their condition. There was no sealed pattern of greatcoat for the officers, who wore coats or cloaks of any pattern.

geant, 1 corporal, and 10 privates to parade to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock at the Artillery Barracks to escort Yeomanry arms to Antrim.

The following amusing story is told of one of the parties detached for protection duties at this time:—

A gentleman of position residing not far from Belfast, having occasion to leave his home on urgent business, applied for a sergeant's guard of Highland Fencibles as a protection over his family and property until he should return. The butler of the house, who had been brought up in the family from childhood, had recently developed decidedly revolutionary ideas. Taking advantage of his master's absence he refused to clean the silver or attend to his other duties, telling his mistress "she might do the work herself if she wished!" On the soldiers' arrival, after a long and tiring march, the lady explained the state of affairs to the sergeant in charge, who with a grim smile assured her that he would soon put matters right. After refreshing himself and his men he called for the butler and explained to him that although he might refuse to obey his mistress's orders, "he must now look sharp and clean his men's muskets and accoutrements, as they were soiled after the recent march!" The butler, however, indignantly declined, whereupon the sergeant, taking off his belt, proceeded to belabour the unlucky man so unmercifully that the other servants ran screaming to their mistress, exclaiming "*that the dark man in the kilt was murdering John!*" The lady, however, was quite unmoved, saying with a faint smile "that as John had refused to clean his silver when ordered *he might now learn how to polish a musket instead!*"¹

¹ Maxwell's 'History of the Rebellion.'



Carrickfergus Castle.

From 'Ulster in '98,' by kind permission of the Author.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE disordered state of affairs in Ireland during 1796 had made Pitt more and more anxious to terminate the war with France. Accordingly, in October, he sent Lord Malmesbury as a special envoy to Paris to endeavour to bring about peace. The progress of negotiations, however, were delayed owing to complications arising as to the intention of our ally Austria in the matter,¹ and finally all hope of a successful issue was put an end to when, on the 18th December, Lord Malmesbury was rudely ordered to leave Paris. The reason of this extraordinary proceeding was soon made apparent when it transpired that a French fleet had sailed for Ireland on the 15th. This fleet carried the expedition for the invasion of Ireland—threatened as far back as June, but which for various reasons had been delayed.

On sailing from Brest, the flotilla consisted of seventeen ships of the line, nineteen frigates and corvettes, with only seven transports; the troops, numbering 18,000 men, being crowded on the men-of-war in such a manner as to have rendered the latter useless had they been attacked by a British fleet. As it turned out, however, there was no British fleet to intercept them, and on the 20th they arrived at the mouth of Bantry Bay unmolested.² Owing to contrary winds and

¹ On Pitt deciding to open negotiations with France he informed Austria that it was not intended to make a separate peace. Thugut, the Austrian Minister, however, was against peace at the moment, but Pitt persisted. On the Austrians refusing to take part in the negotiations, they were informed that Great Britain would then make peace separately. Thugut, furious at our conduct, determined to break with us and throw himself on Russia. That country, however, owing to the death of the Empress Catherine, was in no condition to fight. Austria was thus left to side with us or not, but having obtained a favourable opportunity, she made peace with France at the Treaty of Loeben (Campo-Formio), April-October 1797, leaving us to face France single-handed.

² Authorities vary as to the actual number of troops employed, some putting it at no higher than 14,000 men. Similarly the dates of the expedition leaving Brest and arriving in Bantry Bay differ. The authorities I have taken are Fortescue's 'History of the British Army,' Leckie's 'Ireland in the 18th Century,' and 'Autobiography of Wolfe Tone.'

inferior seamanship a few of the ships had become detached from the rest, among them the one which had on board the leader of the enterprise, General Lazare Hoche. The plan was to land at once before the Irish Government could obtain news of the expedition, and march on Cork, forty-five miles distant. Strong easterly gales, however, prevented a landing and still further scattered the fleet. Meantime the news of their arrival had reached Dublin and steps were immediately taken to oppose them.

General Dalrymple, commanding the Southern District, hearing of the impending danger on the 22nd, had collected what troops he could (some 1200 men) to resist a landing, occupying Bandon in order to cover Cork. So scattered, however, were the troops that it would have been impossible to concentrate even 9000 men round the latter town before the New Year. The surrounding proprietors, particularly a Mr Richard White, did all they could to render assistance. Under these circumstances it was lucky indeed that the elements were on our side, prohibiting the French from disembarking. Had they been able to do so they must at the very least have captured Cork, together with its important naval stores.

Seeing the impossibility of attempting to land, and learning that no assistance might be expected from the country people of those parts,¹ the French fleet determined to head towards the Shannon, but a heavy gale on the 28th scattered them still further, and decided them to set sail for France. On their way they were met by the flagship with General Hoche on board. The latter, seeing that further action was useless, returned with the remnants of the expedition to Brest.²

Thus was the danger of invasion averted for the time, but the discontent and unrest which prevailed in so many parts of Ireland

¹ The apathy of the peasantry on this occasion has been attributed to their indifference, not to their loyalty. The expedition had not been expected, and consequently no preparations had been made to receive the French.

² Of this fleet which had so confidently left France, five of the ships were either lost or had been destroyed to avoid capture, and six more had been taken by the British frigates lying in Cork Cove.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 525.

This attempt on Ireland was followed in February by one directed on England. A body of 1200 men, mostly "galley slaves and ruffians of every description, dressed in uniform," under the command of one Colonel Tate, landed at Fishguard in Pembrokeshire, but "being overawed by detachments of the Cardigan Militia and of other local levies, and by the red cloaks of the Welsh women who crowned the surrounding hills to witness so interesting a spectacle, these heroes . . . at once laid down their arms." Their object was to have burnt Bristol and create havoc generally. The two frigates in which they had been brought over were captured.

was fanned and kept alive by the emissaries of the republic, until destined to burst into flame in the rising of "Ninety-eight."

In those days of slow post and no telegraph, news took some time to travel, but it was not many hours after the French ships had been sighted off Bantry Bay that the fact was known in Belfast, throwing the whole town into a state of mingled excitement and confusion.

G. O., Belfast, 25th Dec.—Parole: Bandon.—An additional piquet to mount with the guards this day, and to be reinforced by 1 subaltern, 2 N.-C. officers, and 16 gunners, with two 6-pounders.

R. O.—The Reay Fencible Highlanders are to hold themselves in readiness to march on a moment's warning. The broken ammunition to be taken from the men, and fresh ammunition with four good flints to be given to every man. The above is in consequence of an order received from Major-General Lake.

In order to see that every man was properly equipped, a review of arms, accoutrements, and necessaries was ordered—"officers' servants and all working men to attend," &c., &c.

R. O., 26th Dec.—Each man to be furnished with 20 rounds of good ball cartridges, the rest to be returned to the ammunition-chest. All officers' servants to be ready to fall in with the men. All the men, whether married or unmarried, must stop in barracks this night. Officer for the rear-guard, if the regiment marches to-morrow, Ensign Anderson. For the advanced-guard, Lieut. Mackay.

G. O., Belfast, 27th Dec.—Guards, piquets, and orderlies to mount to-morrow as usual.

R. O.—The regiment is not to march at present, but to hold itself in immediate readiness.

The settling of the arrears due the men having been delayed in consequence of furnishing (*i.e.*, mounting) the bonnets, and as the regiment may march soon, the paymaster will issue money immediately to the officers paying companies, that the men's accounts may be settled up to the 31st instant, agreeable to the Standing Orders. The men's accounts to be credited with the colonel's allowance of 8s. 2d. for the first year's clothing, and they are to be charged with 7s. 1d. for the kilts. The sergeants to be credited with 9s. 8d. as the colonel's allowance for the first year's clothing, and are to be charged 8s. 7d. for their kilts.

G. O., 28th Dec.—The Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General and Commissary to be

sent forward upon the different roads to prepare provisions and accommodation for the troops, but commanding officers are to manage to pay for their supplies until the regiments are assembled, when the Commissary will take charge of their subsistence, 4d. a-day being stopped for each ration. The ration to consist of one pound of meat and one pound and a half of bread, with an allowance of rum.

As the women of the army will not be permitted to march with their husbands, H.E. the Lord-Lieutenant has been pleased to order that 4d. per day shall be allowed to the wife of each N.-C. officer, drummer, and private left behind, according to a list signed by the commanding officer.

In a general order, dated Headquarters, Hillsborough, Dec. 28th, General Lake warns the commanding officers of regiments that they are responsible for the perfect good order of their men on the march as well as in quarters. The men are never to enter private houses except with an officer. All officers to be constantly with their companies and to be quartered with them at night.

The following Field Return of the Reay Fencibles shows the men available for duty on the 29th December 1796:—

	Colonels.	Lt.-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Qr.-Mrs.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	R. & F.	Horses.
Under arms ready to march	1	1	1	6	11	6	1	1	1	1	2	28	20	537	7
Sick, absent, &c., &c. . . . .	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	21	...
With the heavy baggage . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	22	18
Totals	1	1	1	7	15	6	1	1	1	1	2	32	22	580	25

R. O., 1st January 1797.—The officers commanding companies to report to the commanding officer whether they will receive the ammunition shirts and shoes for their men along with their plaids for this year, or whether they prefer the colonel's allowance of 8s. 2d. instead. The plaids have been detained at Greenock for the past three weeks, but they are expected by the carrier shortly. As the regiment is under orders for service, the colonel will, for this year, advance the allowance for shirts and shoes if preferable to the men. Commanding officers of companies will, as soon as they can, give

in to the quartermaster a return of the men entitled to the allowance.¹

By this time the fears of an invasion had passed off, but the troops were still held in readiness to move, on account of the unsettled state of the country. Some of the newly formed yeomanry corps, both mounted and foot, had not yet been armed, and mention is frequently made in orders to parties of the Reay Fencibles and Monaghan Militia escorting arms and ammunition to the different yeomanry headquarters in the neighbourhood of Belfast.

By the second week in January affairs were slightly quieter in and around Belfast.

G. O., 12th January.—The additional piquets to be discontinued from this day.

G. O., 13th Jany.—An escort of 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 10 privates to parade at the Artillery Barracks to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, to proceed with deserters as per route.² The Reay Highlanders to furnish the above duty.

R. O., 24th Jany.—The officers commanding companies to give in immediately to the quartermaster a list of the names of the sergeants, corporals, drummers, and privates of their companies to whom they paid the allowance for half-mounting for last year's clothing.³

Towards the end of January one company⁴ of the Reays was employed on revenue and protection duties in the neighbourhood of Glenarm. While carrying out these duties this company was on one occasion fired upon by some of the country people but sustained no loss. The fire was at once returned with twenty rounds of ball cartridges, upon which the assailants immediately fled. A large quantity of arms and some prisoners were taken, the latter being sent under escort to Belfast for trial there.

¹ It appears that the men preferred to take the colonel's allowance of 8s. 2d., which was accordingly paid them on the 2nd March.

² Desertions were still very frequent in some regiments. Mention is continually being made in orders to escorts for conveying deserters back to their regiments. In the Reays there were several cases during the first two years the regiment was in Belfast, most of them being lowlanders by their names. It was the custom at this time for the description of a deserter to be sent to the minister of his native parish to be posted on the kirk door. This custom continued up to the Crimean period, and was considered in the Highlands a great disgrace to the deserter's family.

³ Half-mounting consisted of one black leather stock, one shirt, one pair of hose, and one pair shoes.

⁴ The Lieut.-Colonel's, under Lieut. Angus Mackay.

R. O., 29th Jany.—Captain Alex. Clarke is appointed to the Light Company in room of Captain Munro resigned. Captain Baillie is removed to Captain Mackay's Company, Captain Aaron Blanche is appointed to Captain Baillie's Company, and Capt.-Lieut. H. Maclean is appointed to the Colonel's Company. These appointments and transfers to take place from the 1st February.

ADJT.-GENERAL'S OFFICE, DUBLIN,
January 24, 1797.

SIR,—I have the honour of sending you the enclosed resolution, and I am directed by the Commander-in-Chief to desire that you will communicate the same to the several regiments under your command.

(Signed) G. OWEN, A.A.G.

To the Officer Commanding at Belfast.

PARLIAMENT HOUSE, DUBLIN,
January 18, 1797.

Resolved *Nem. Con.* :

That the thanks of this House be given to the Army, Militia, and Yeomanry, for their alacrity, spirit, and meritorious exertions, on the occasion of the late threatened invasion of this Kingdom.¹

Ordered—that Mr Speaker do communicate the same.

(Signed) ROBT. THREATON.

General Orders, Dublin, 24th January 1797.—H.E. the Lord-Lieutenant hath directed the Commander-in-Chief to convey his thanks to the generals, officers and soldiers who marched, or were ready to march, with so much alacrity towards the enemy. The spirit of the troops, and the loyal exertion of every description of His Majesty's faithful subjects warranted a well-grounded hope that the enemy would have repented of his rashness had he ventured to land.

At the same time when so much praise is due to the troops the Commander-in-Chief feels it is his duty to point out to them the necessity of the most active attention to their duties. Commanding officers of regiments must be sensible from the experience of the late sudden call how necessary it is to attend most scrupulously to the different orders and regulations; even the bravery of the soldier,

¹ The thanks of the Irish House of Lords, dated Dublin, 20th January 1797, were also conveyed to the troops.

unless amenable to orders, and under control, will be both to his own disadvantage and against the public good.¹

The state of Belfast was still such that all the more important houses and offices had to be regularly guarded by the military.

G. O., 4th Feb.—The guard on Mr O'Connor's house, consisting of 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 20 privates to be taken to-morrow by the 1st Monaghan Militia, who are to continue on duty for forty-eight hours. The captain of the main guard to detach a corporal and 6 privates daily as a guard on the 'Star' News Office.

These guards seem to have received extra rations from the owner of the house or office they guarded.

General Orders, Hillsborough, 4th Feb. 1797.—In consequence of directions from the Commander-in-Chief for brigading the army in cantonments in the Northern District,² the following appointments of general officers, and arrangements of troops is to take place immediately:—

Major-General NUGENT, Hillsborough.

Regiments.	No. of Coys.	Station.	
64th Regiment and 3rd Light Battn.	8	} Blare's Huts.	
Carlow Militia	7		
Argyll Fencibles	10		
Breadalbane Fencibles	10		
Monaghan Militia	7		Belfast.
Fife Fencibles	10		Carrickfergus.
Reay Fencibles	10	Belfast.	
York Fencibles	10	Newtownards and Coast County Down.	
Cavan Militia	6	Drumore, &c.	
Drogheda Militia	3	Lurgan, &c.	
22nd Light Dragoons	—	Lisburn.	

Brigadier-General KNOX, Enniskillen.

City of Dublin Militia	7	Dundalk and Newry.
Essex Fencibles	10	Enniskillen and Ballyshannon.
Northampton Fencibles	10	Armagh.
Tay Fencibles	10	Dungannon.
Part of 24th Light Dragoons	—	Armagh, &c.

¹ Referring to the undisciplined and licentious state into which some regiments had lapsed, and was a broad hint for them to mend their ways.

² This was done in order to get the regiments together, under their officers, and under the eye of a general, so that they might recover some of their lost discipline and efficiency.

Brigadier-General the EARL OF CAVAN, Londonderry.

Regiments.	No. of Coys.	Station.
Cavan Militia	7	Culrean.
Tipperary Militia	9	Londonderry.
Aberdeen Fencibles	10	Omagh and Strabeen.
Manx Fencibles	10	Derry.
Part of 24th Light Dragoons	—	Derry.

G. O., 6th Feb.—Owing to the frequent rioting, and looting of property at the Market House, a detachment of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, and 25 privates drawn from the piquet to repair there at tattoo beating, and not to return to barracks until dismissed by the High Constable.

R. O., 8th Feb.—John Mackay, private in Captain Scobie's Company, to be corporal in Captain Blanche's Company in room of Corporal Hugh Mackenzie reduced.

R. O., 9th Feb.—The dinner hour of the regiment is to be at four o'clock until further orders, which will divide the time better than dining at one o'clock. The price of provisions being so high at present, the soldiers cannot afford to have three regular meals a-day. Officers commanding companies are to pay particular attention to the messing of their men, agreeable to the Standing Orders of this Kingdom.

A serious fire broke out in Belfast on the night of the 11th February, supposed to have been the work of a political incendiary. On the alarm sounding, the main guard under Captain Colin Mackay, Lieut. Maclaren, and Ensign Mackenzie, promptly turned out to render what assistance they could. So fierce was the fire that it was feared the flames would spread to other houses in the vicinity, and not until most of the troops in garrison had been assembled on the spot was it finally got under control and put out.¹

G. O., 19th Feb.—A guard of 1 corporal and 6 privates to mount daily at the Ordnance brig lying at the Customs House Quay, and to continue in charge of her until her cargo is entirely discharged. The Reay Highlanders to supply this duty to-morrow.

¹ Extract from the 'Belfast News-Letter,' Monday, February 13, 1797: "The inhabitants of the town of Belfast return their sincere thanks to Colonels Barber and Baillie, Lieut.-Cols. Mackay and Leslie, Major Smith, and all the other officers and soldiers of the garrison, for their assistance and exertions during the fire on Saturday night last; and to the Reay Fencibles who had the Town Guard for their alertness in marching to the spot at a moment's warning."

R. O., 23rd Feb.—The regiment to be mustered to-morrow morning. The officers to appear in white breeches and military boots. The quartermaster will deliver the new (belted) plaids to the companies to-morrow.

R. O., 26th Feb.—The ten old cartridge makers, and such others of the awkward men as do not make a good appearance in the field, and who the adjutant may think fit for the work, are to commence making cartridges on Monday first, and to continue to do so until further orders.

Mention is made in G. O. to the formation of a battalion of light infantry from picked men belonging to the light companies of the Militia.¹

R. O., 1st March.—The extra pay due the regiment from 1st Feb. to 29th March to be issued by the paymaster.² The officers commanding companies are responsible that their men's accounts are settled and signed agreeable to standing orders.

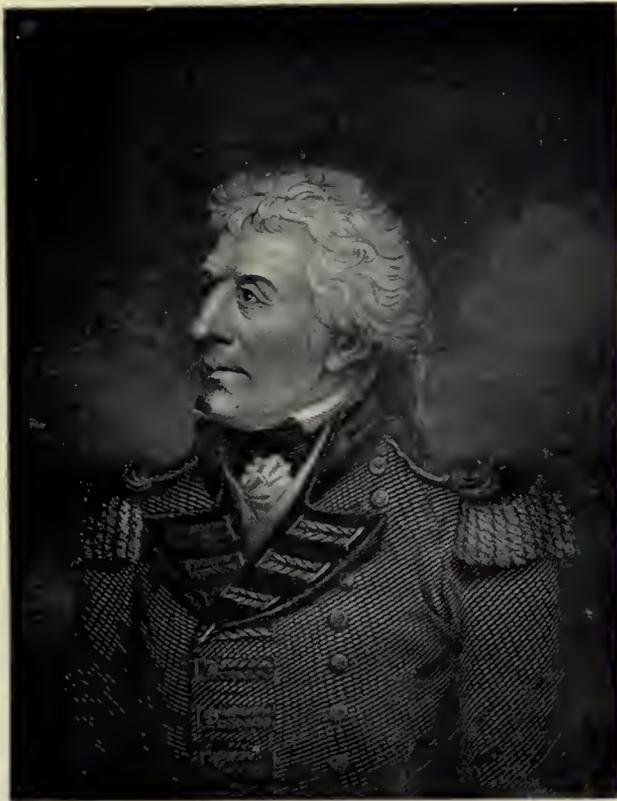
Ever since the departure of the French expedition from Bantry Bay, the condition of affairs in Ireland had been growing steadily from bad to worse. The Government, unable any longer to enforce proper authority in those districts where it was most needed, were powerless to check the growth of republican and revolutionary ideas of the most violent and pronounced type, in which religious bitterness blended. The situation, indeed, was rapidly developing into what was shortly to be a war of extermination between Catholic and Protestant, in which both innocent and guilty were to suffer. In the North especially, all semblance of law and order had practically vanished, and in March 1797 General Lake was ordered to take the most vigorous measures to enforce authority and disarm the more disturbed parts.

In March, Camden urgently appealed to the British Government for more troops, particularly regulars. Two regiments of fencible cavalry were sent over, one of which, Sir Watkin Wynn's Ancient British, was soon to become notorious for its unbridled licence and fiendish cruelty. No regular regiments could be sent, as those still left in England were full of Irish recruits.

In the midst of these troubles came the news of the mutinies of the

¹ It was often the custom at that time to temporarily form the grenadier and light companies into separate corps, much to the detriment of the regiments concerned, who were thus left without their two best companies.

² Due for escort duties, &c.



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LAKE.

*(From Maxwell's 'History of the Irish Rebellion,' by kind permission of the publishers,
Messrs G. BELL & SONS, London.)*

fleet at the Nore and Spithead. The reasons of these mutinies form no place here, except that it was strongly suspected the United Irishmen had a hand in them.¹

At the very time our fleet was thus temporarily disabled, a Dutch fleet was being made ready for an invasion of the British Isles, to be followed by a French fleet. Luckily no attempt was made to take advantage of the exceptional opportunity offered, and by the time the Dutch expedition was ready to sail order had been restored. Owing to contrary winds, however, the Dutch were unable to leave the Texel, their provisions became exhausted, and all chance for successful invasion having passed away, the idea was abandoned.² Nor was this all, for shortly afterwards Hoche died,³ and on October 11, 1797, the Dutch fleet was completely defeated and scattered off Camperdown by Admiral Duncan.⁴

R. O., 3rd March.—The recruits sent to the regiment by Colonel Charles Baillie of the 101st Regiment⁵ have now received their clothing and the colonel's allowance for shirts and shoes for the year ending 1796. They have, however, no right to this allowance, as it has already been credited to them. These men will therefore refund the 8s. 2d. overpaid them, out of the allowance for 1797.

The commanding officer will give out in orders when any man is to be punished by confinement in the Black Hole, and the officers are directed not to order any man to mount an extra guard without first obtaining his approval.

The garters lately arrived from Glasgow to be equally divided among the companies, and to be charged against the men's accounts

¹ "Scores if not hundreds of Irish insurgents had been illegally deported to serve on board the fleet by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Carhampton; and it was supposed that Richard Lee, the ringleader of the mutinous marines, being the brother of one of the original United Irishmen, had enlisted in the Navy for the express purpose of sowing disaffection."—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 568.

² Wolfe Tone, the leader of the Irish Conspiracy against Britain, was to have accompanied this expedition, which consisted of 15 ships of the line, 10 smaller vessels, and nearly 14,000 men.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 569.

³ Hoche, the leader of the expedition to Bantry Bay, was the originator and planner of all the projected invasions of the British Isles at this time.

⁴ One of the few Scotsmen of the eighteenth century who rose to prominence in the Navy.

⁵ Fullarton's, or the 101st, was raised in March 1794 and disbanded about this date, like most other corps whose numbers were over a hundred. Colonel Baillie was a brother of Colonel Mackay Baillie, and it is likely that the recruits he sent to the Reays were men he had raised in Sutherland for the 101st. I have not been able to discover how many there were in this batch, but they could not have numbered more than fifteen or twenty at most.

at the first settlement. Captain Maclean will deliver pattern garters to each company, and the officers in charge of companies are to insist that the men have their garters made agreeable to the pattern.¹

The Reays still continued to furnish parties and detachments to quell disturbances or apprehend suspected rebels in the surrounding districts.

R. O., 8th March.—The Glenarm and Dundalk parties, and the men of the regiment who have not fired ball cartridges lately, to fire to-morrow at 12 o'clock.

R. O., 9th March.—In consequence of the victory obtained by Sir John Jervis over the Spanish Fleet the regiment will be under arms at 12 o'clock to-morrow in readiness to fire a *feu-de-joy*.

The news of the victory caused much rejoicing among the loyal classes in Belfast. The town was illuminated, the officers of the garrison gave a dinner, hogsheads of porter were set abroad for the soldiers; while the loyal societies and trades in town marched in procession through the streets, and dancing and sports were kept up to a late hour.

During 1797 the various revolutionary societies throughout the British Isles were especially active in their efforts to sow the seeds of discontent and mutiny among the troops. Their spies and emissaries were to be found in almost every camp and barrack and got short shrift when caught. In many regiments large rewards were offered by the rank and file for the apprehension of any person attempting to seduce them from their oath of allegiance,² and, although we have no trace of it, the Reays no doubt also testified their loyalty in a like manner.

R. O., 11th March.—A detachment consisting of one company to march on Monday morning as per route. The men to carry 20 rounds of ball cartridge and to parade at six o'clock.³

Some of the officers do not appear to have been very punctual in paying their tailor's bills!

¹ The men received the plain gartering, and had to have it made up with a knot, or rosette, formed by the needle, according to the regimental pattern.

² On the 4th June 1797, the N.-C. officers, drummers, and privates of the 1st Batt. Breadalbane Fencibles offered a reward of no less than 250 guineas "for the discovery of any person who should seek to seduce them from their duty," and in other corps various sums were offered.

³ Extract from the 'Belfast News-Letter,' Monday, March 13, 1797: "Early this morning a party of the Monaghan Militia and Reay Fencibles marched from hence, for the purpose, it is said, of searching for arms in some part of this county and the county of Cavan."

R. O., 19th March.—The officers who received regimentals from Mr Meason, delivered by the quartermaster, will pay to the quartermaster any balance they may be due on that account, as Mr Meason must be paid now.¹

R. O., 3rd April.—Surgeon's Mate, Mr James Veitch, to be made Surgeon in room of Hugh Macpherson resigned.²

G. O., 9th April.—A detachment of 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 12 privates of the Reay Fencibles to parade to-morrow at 9 o'clock at the Artillery Barracks, and to proceed from there on board the tender in Belfast Loch, and obey such orders as the naval officers will think necessary to issue.³

Distinguished though the regiment was for the steady conduct and quiet habits of its men, there were a few wild spirits among them who had occasionally to be called to order.

R. O., 14th April.—The commanding officer is sorry to find irregularities committed by some of the N.-C. officers and privates of this regiment, and directs that the orderly sergeant of each company makes a report of the men present in barracks every night at half-past eight o'clock. This to be regularly attended to. Any N.-C. officer making a false report to be confined. A complaint being made to the commanding officer that some of the privates of the regiment last night broke some windows in a house near the shore, he offers a reward of one guinea to any man who will discover the

¹ Whether Mr Meason (Mason?) was an Edinburgh or Dublin tailor does not appear; probably the latter.

² The surgeon and his mate were originally servants of the Colonel, and essentially regimental officers. They purchased their situations and received an allowance paid from the funds of the different companies. In 1793 the surgeon received an allowance from Government, proportioned to the strength of his corps, from which he furnished all necessary medicines. In 1796 surgeons were regularly paid, their perquisites abolished, while medicines and hospitals were to be paid for by Government. At the same time surgeons were to rank with captains when choosing quarters and to be entitled to a retiring allowance. The latter, however, only referred to surgeons in the Regular Army, as no officer of the Fencibles could draw a pension unless he was already on half-pay from the Regular Army. In 1796 surgeons' mates were promoted to the dignity of commissioned officers ('Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part II., pp. 922-3). The surgeon and mates of the Reay Fencibles also held commissions as combatant officers (see List of Officers). Hugh Macpherson never left the regiment, and was appointed a lieutenant in May, a month after he resigned the surgeoncy.

³ The tender or prison ship lay at Garmoyle, in Belfast Lough. On it were confined persons suspected of seditious offences, but against whom there was no specific charge. The brig which served as a floating prison could accommodate over 100 prisoners in addition to the guard. In January 1798 an attempt was made by eighty-seven of the prisoners to escape, which was only prevented by the prompt action taken by the party of Reay Fencibles and some sailors who formed the guard. Two prisoners were shot dead before order was restored.

persons concerned in this unmilitary and irregular act, so that they may be brought to punishment.

R. O., 15th April.—The Light Infantry Company to hold itself in readiness to march at the shortest notice, the men to have each 20 rounds of ball cartridges, and to receive from the quartermaster a blanket for each man and a camp kettle for every two men. The company to parade this evening completed in the above necessaries. Any men of the company on duty to be relieved by men of other companies.

Making a night march, this company succeeded in surprising a large gathering of people who had assembled for unlawful purposes in the vicinity of Saintfield, most of whom were arrested and conveyed to Belfast. At the same time a great quantity of arms were discovered hidden near by.

After R. O., 15th April.—A party consisting of 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 4 sergeants, and 45 rank and file to parade immediately and march to the main guard where the officer in charge will receive his orders. Each man to be furnished with 20 rounds of ball cartridges.

The reason of this order appears in the 'Belfast News-Letter' of Monday, April 18, 1797: "On Friday night last, about half an hour after 8 o'clock, Colonel Barber¹ with a party of the Reay Fencibles went to the house of John Alexander, inn-keeper, Petershill, in this town, and apprehended 41 persons assembled there; all of whom with some papers seized at the same time were immediately lodged in the Artillery Barracks where they now remain."

By this "coup" the government succeeded in arresting, at one swoop, two whole committees of "United Irishmen," and in seizing a number of important papers disclosing the organisation, objects, and extent of the society. A portion of these papers were soon after published by Parliament, and they furnished decisive evidence that separation and a republic were the real ends of the conspiracy, and that a correspondence with France had long been going on. At the same time it disclosed the ramifications of the plot, by which it appeared that more than 72,000 men had been enrolled in Ulster alone, and that the whole province was organised for revolt, by a

¹ Colonel Barber who commanded the Monaghan Militia was the senior officer of the garrison of Belfast.

multitude of small societies, each of which was limited to 35 members. The papers that were seized belonged to the eightieth of these societies in Belfast! Outside Ulster, only Dublin, West Meath, and Kildare appear to have been fully organised at this time, though emissaries were busily extending the conspiracy through other parts of Ireland.¹

General Lake kept a strict eye on the regiments immediately under him in Belfast.

General Orders, Headquarters, Belfast, 16th April 1797.—Lieut.-General Lake orders the commanding officers of the Reay Fencibles and Monaghan Militia to direct that all the rooms ordered to be possessed by those corps are occupied at the rate of two men to every single bed, and four men to every double bed, which is according to regulation. The General also directs the quartermasters of each corps to order their pioneers to clear away all filth, ashes, and rubbish which may be lying in any part of the barrack square, excepting the "ashes holes" which are made for that purpose.

G. O., 18th April.—A guard of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, and 28 rank and file to mount daily at the Artillery Barracks, and to be reinforced at retreat beating by 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, and 16 rank and file, to commence from this day. The Reay Highlanders to furnish the above duty.

This was done, as it was suspected that some of the gunners were secretly United Irishmen, and fears were entertained that an attempt might be made to seize or destroy the munitions of war stored in the barracks.

R. O., 22nd April.—The commanding officer orders that no N.-C. officers or privates of the regiment are to be seen in the streets, or found out of their quarters after dark. Officers commanding companies are recommended to see that their men keep in barracks.

Since Colonel Baillie's absence on leave,² Bighouse had assumed command of the regiment, and by his constant attention to drill and strict system of discipline, did much to keep the men in an efficient state.

¹ Lecky, 'Ireland in the 18th Century,' vol. iv. p. 79.

² Colonel Baillie was present with the regiment at the muster taken on the 23rd February 1797, but took leave of absence shortly afterwards. He returned to the regiment by the 16th May, as we see him detailed as a member of a general court-martial which assembled on the 17th of that month.

R. O., 3rd May.—Lieut.-Colonel Mackay orders that no man is to be absent from parade on account of other work without first obtaining his permission. Officers' servants to attend all evening parades.

The emissaries of the French Republicans, and those of the United Irishmen and other revolutionary societies, had been only too successful in their efforts to undermine the loyalty of some of the troops, particularly the Irish Militia.¹

General Orders, Belfast, 4th May.—A general court-martial is ordered to assemble at Belfast on Monday, 8th May, for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before it, of which Colonel Sankey of the City of Dublin Militia will be President. All evidence to attend.

Among the prisoners tried by this court-martial were four men of the Monaghan Militia, who were charged with mutiny and sedition. They were found guilty and sentenced to be shot on the morning of the 16th May.²

The news of the sentence caused great excitement among their comrades, and it was feared that the whole regiment, which was known to be strongly tainted with revolutionary ideas, would break out into open mutiny.

Part of the Militia occupied the King's Old Barracks, the remainder sharing the King's New Barracks with the Reay Fencibles.

On the night previous to the execution, a report was spread abroad that the regiment, over 1000 strong, intended to break out of their barracks at midnight, overpower and murder the guard at the New Barracks, where the condemned men were confined, and set their comrades at liberty.

¹ It is said that houses of entertainment were kept open in Dublin, Cork, and Athlone, at a considerable expense, for the seduction of the soldiers. One Murtagh McCanwell, an agent of the United Irishmen, had been so successful in seducing the military from their allegiance, that a general court-martial, sitting at Limerick, offered one hundred and twenty-five guineas for discovering and apprehending him.—Musgrave.

² These men, who had taken the oath of the United Irishmen, had been selected from a large portion of their fellow-soldiers, equally implicated with themselves, and life and immunity had been offered them if they would turn informers, which they disdained to do.—'Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion,' p. 86. In the space of one month (May) the following soldiers were shot for treasonable plots: four of the Monaghan, at Blaris Camp; two of the Wexford Regiment, at Cork; two of the Kildare, in the Phoenix Park, near Dublin; and two of the Louth, near Limerick.—Musgrave.

The duties for the guards and piquets that night were supplied by the Reay Fencibles.¹ As soon as it was rumoured among the men what the intentions of the Militia were, steps were immediately taken, without the knowledge of the officers, to prevent such an occurrence. Soon after darkness (about 10 P.M.) "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 barracks put out all lights, and continued in arms on the watch . . . ready to start out on the smallest alarm."²

"Slowly the hours crept on," says a writer in referring to this incident; "no sign of life appearing from the barracks, whose gaunt outlines showed dim against the darkened sky. Within the guard-house, where lights still burnt cheerily, all was quiet save for a subdued though animated conversation carried on in the mountain tongue. The guard clustered round the fire—for it was a chill night—the rough weather-beaten faces of the men almost matching the brick-red hue of their lapelled coats; while the tanned and muscular knees exposed by the dark folds of the belted plaid, the high plumed bonnets, and the glint of firelight on polished accoutrement and shoe-buckle, all combined to make up a scene at once picturesque and not easily forgotten. Without, the alert steps of the sentinels rang sharp on the rough cobble-stones; an occasional flash of steel showing as the bayonet reflected the shafts of rosy light that pierced the darkness."

"In a room adjoining the guard-house sat the officers of the guard. They too had heard the threatened rumour, but could not give it credence. Still, they awaited with some anxiety the coming of the sergeant with his hourly reports."

"Midnight chimed from a neighbouring church, to be taken up and re-echoed in other parts of the town. Within the barracks,

¹ *R. O.*, 14th May.—For guard to-morrow, Captain James Mackay, Lieut. Scobie, and Lieut. Hunter. For New Barrack Guard, Captain Maclean and Lieut. Angus Mackay. For Artillery Guard, Ensign Mackenzie. For piquet, Captain Scobie and Ensign Boyle. Orderly Officer, Lieut. R. Mackay.

² 'Sketches of the Highlanders,' vol. ii. p. 344.—General Stewart in his account of this incident mentions that it was on the Main Guard, under the command of Captain Maclean, that the attack was to be made. According to Regimental Orders, however, Captain Maclean was in charge of the New Barrack Guard, while Captain James Mackay had the duties of the Main Guard that night. From what I have been able to gather, the condemned men were in the New Barrack Guard, which, in consequence, was the one to be attacked. General Stewart appears to be correct as to the name of the officer but not the guard.

silent as the grave, the excitement was tense. Hundreds of straining eyes and ears awaited anxiously the smallest glimpse or slightest sound that would betray the approach of the intending murderers. Hour after hour passed, until the flush of early dawn crept across the eastern sky—the world had awakened to a new day, and the danger was passed.”

At the guard-house all was bustle, for the condemned men, about to expiate their offence to King and country with their lives, had to be conveyed to the place of execution some distance away.

“All this was done,” remarks General Stewart, “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.”¹

The end of this melancholy affair was as follows:—

General Orders, Belfast, 17th May 1797.—Owen McKenna, Daniell Gillan, William McKenna, and Peter McLarran of the Monaghan Militia having been brought to a general court-martial on Monday the eighth day of May on the following crime:

1st. for exciting, causing, and joining in a Mutiny and Sedition in the said regiment.

2nd. for not using their utmost endeavours to suppress the said Mutiny and Sedition being present thereat, and

3rd. for not giving information without delay to their Commanding Officer of such Mutiny and Sedition or intended Mutiny as soon as they came to the knowledge thereof;

The Court having taken into consideration the whole of the evidence given in support of the charges preferred against the prisoners, and what was offered by the prisoners in their defence, did find the prisoners Guilty, and did therefore adjudge them to suffer Death. The Lord-Lieutenant having approved of and confirmed the sentence of the said court-martial, the prisoners were shot to death on the morning of the 16th day of May, at Blares Camp, in front of a detachment from the 22nd Light Dragoons, the Royal

¹ According to Garrison Orders, the detail of the guards and piquets on the 16th remained the same as the day previous, as it was felt unsafe to change them at such a critical moment. For some weeks afterwards the Reays continued to furnish the duties of the garrison until order had been restored in the Monaghan Militia.

Irish Artillery, the 64th Regiment of Foot, the 3rd Battalion of Light Infantry, the 1st or Monaghan Regiment of Militia, the Breadalbane Fencible Regiment of Infantry, and the Argyll Fencible Infantry.

Lieut.-General Lake laments the necessity of such an example being made, and most sincerely regrets that it should have fallen to him to have carried this sentence into execution, but trusts that it will have the direct effect and convince the troops that breaking the oath of Allegiance and becoming sworn traitors to their King and country are crimes not to be pardoned. He cannot avoid reminding them that the disaffected people who have seduced those unfortunate men from their duty have no other view than that of overturning our Glorious Constitution, and subjecting this Kingdom to a foreign enemy.

The General hopes that this awful execution will deter the troops in future from entering to disloyal constitutions, the purport of which are to make them desert their colours to join the enemies of their country, and act against their officers and brother-soldiers.

The above orders to be read to each regiment and to all detachments.

The number of political prisoners in Belfast at this time, either awaiting trial there or to be sent to Dublin, was so great that not only the civil jails but the military guard-rooms and cells were full.

R. O., 11th May.—The N.-C. officers and privates attending the great-gun exercise to fall in with their company for evening parades.¹

R. O., 13th May.—Sergeants John and Alexander Mackay of the Colonel's Company, and Sergeant James Mitchell of Captain Morison's Company, are appointed to their former rank with a hope of their good conduct in future.²

So uneasy had Camden now become over his inability to check the steadily increasing power of the United Irishmen,³ and other kindred

¹ Every infantry regiment had two guns attached to it, with drivers, horses, and gunners, but a certain number of men in the regiment had to be trained as well, in case the gunners were required elsewhere. These guns, usually 6-pounders, were employed to supplement the ordinary musketry fire with grape-shot. They were gradually done away with, however, the guns being turned to their full use by employing them as proper artillery in long-range missile action.

² It was a common punishment then for a sergeant who had committed some slight offence to be temporarily reduced to private, regaining his former rank after serving for a time in the lower grade.

³ The formation of a revolutionary army which had been begun in 1792-3 under the direction of the Society of United Irishmen reached its record strength in May 1797. "Great

societies, that, in face of the Standing Orders of the Army which forbade troops, unless attacked, to act in aid of the civil power without the presence and authority of a civil magistrate, he ordered Lord Carhampton to issue the following General Order,¹ authorising the military to act without waiting for civil direction—an authority which in the hands of some was only to permit of still further cruelty and licence, and, in many corps, to destroy what was left of order and discipline.

A. G. Office, Dublin, 18th May 1797.—In obedience to the orders of the Lord-Lieutenant in Council, the Commander-in-Chief commands that the military do act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates in dispersing any tumultuous or unlawful assembly of persons threatening the peace of this realm and the safety of the lives and properties of His Majesty's subjects.

G. O., 23rd May.—The detachment of infantry now at Hollywood² to be taken in roster by the garrison. This detachment to mount a piquet at tattoo which will keep up a constant patrol in the neighbourhood, sending out two picked men in advance to report if any collection of people appear, in order that they may be instantly apprehended or dispersed. This piquet to keep constantly in the town and not quit it on any account.

R. O., 25th May.—Ensign Mackenzie to take charge of the detachment proceeding to Hollywood to-morrow to relieve the detachment of the regiment already there.

Some of the Yeomanry corps raised round Belfast were inspected by General Lake on the 27th, and received his approbation.³

General Orders, Headquarters, Belfast, 1st June 1797.—As His Majesty's birthday falls on Sunday, it is General Lake's orders that it be celebrated on Monday next, 5th of June, and that the different

bodies of men marched through the country under the pretence of 'setting potatoes,' but in reality with a view to drill. At night marauding bands were abroad, no home was safe, no house secure; the peasantry, imbued with the idea of rebellion, were constantly in search of arms."—('Ninety-eight: a Military Warning,' vol. v., No. 22, 'National Defence.'

¹ This Camden had no authority to do, as Lord Carhampton being Commander-in-Chief was alone responsible for what orders were issued to the army. This interference on the part of the Lord-Lieutenant was afterwards to lead to some friction between him and Carhampton's successor. Carhampton, although not without merits, was not the man required as Commander-in-Chief in Ireland at this critical period of its history.

² Now spelt Holywood. A small town about seven miles north-east of Belfast.

³ Several sergeants of the Reays were lent as drill-instructors to these corps.

garrisons and regiments in the Northern District do fire a *feu-de-joy* at 10 o'clock that day in consequence thereof.

R. O., 3rd June.—The commanding officer is much surprised to find that officers commanding companies do not pay the armourer¹ regularly according to agreement, and further, that some *order him to be confined* when he calls for payment! Those who have not cleared with him for last month to do so this day.

G. O., 4th June.—In consequence of the illuminations which will take place to-morrow night in celebration of His Majesty's birthday, tattoo will beat at 11 o'clock.

Lieut.-General Lake grants this indulgence, having the fullest confidence that the garrison will conduct themselves with the greatest regularity and repair to their quarters at the above hour. The drummers and fifers of the regiment on duty will beat off tattoo from the main guard.

The whole town was *en fête* on this occasion. In the morning a grand review of all the troops in and around Belfast was held by General Lake, in which the Reays and Argyll and Breadalbane Fencibles took part. After which the remainder of the day was given over to rejoicings and mirth, the soldiers of the garrison being entertained by the Mayor and civic authorities of the town.²

R. O., 7th June.—The adjutant having reported that the subalterns are not satisfied with the manner he keeps the roster for guard, it is therefore requested that the Standing Orders of this Kingdom be adhered to, and that the officers draw for their guards on the regimental parade before the guards are marched off to the general parade. At the same time, the colonel has no objection, for the accommodation of the officers, that after drawing they exchange guards on the regimental parade.

General Orders, 8th June.—Several complaints having been made of

¹ The armourer, who was a specially enlisted man, agreed by contract to keep the arms and accoutrements of the different companies in good order, and was qualified to undertake all necessary repairs. He received an allowance from each company of 5s. per month, paid half-yearly. His accounts appear in Major Scobie's pay book, as he was borne on the rolls of that officer's company, from which I have extracted the following: "May the 21st, 1797. Settled of this date with Patt. Gillan, armourer, for all claims due to him for repairing and stocking of the arms of Captain Scobie's Company, and all preceding this date, as witness my hand this day.

(Signed) PATT. GILLAN."

² It is said that the festivities included a competition for the pipers of the three Highland regiments, an event which doubtlessly aroused much curiosity among the inhabitants of Belfast.

the improper conduct of some soldiers wantonly breaking into and plundering houses, notwithstanding the assurance and promises given that no such unsoldier-like proceeding would happen, Lieut.-General Lake is determined to punish in the most exemplary manner any soldier found committing such outrages on the spot where the offence was committed. This order to be read by a commissioned officer at the head of each company, and the General requests that the officers will be watchful and alert to the regularity and discipline of their companies, feeling much hurt at such complaints having come before him.¹

R. O., 11th June.—All officers to be dressed in full uniform (*i.e.*, Highland dress) until further orders.

G. O., 12th June.—The detachments and escorts when sent from garrison to immediately report their return, and all extraordinaries and occurrences that may have happened during their absence.

In accordance with an Order, dated St James', 13th June 1797, the "Reay Highlanders" were discontinued on the Irish Establishment from 1st April 1796.² The regiment, however, still continued to be borne on the strength of the army in Ireland, and received its pay, &c., from the Irish Government, while the appointment and promotion of officers continued to pass through the hands of the authorities in Dublin as before.

R. O., 14th June.—His Majesty has been pleased to make the following promotions and appointments:—

Reay Fencibles.—Ensign Donald Mackenzie to be Lieutenant, vice Hector Mackay resigned.

Messrs G. A. S. Scobie, aged eighteen years; William Mackay, aged eighteen years; and Atkinson Todd, aged sixteen years; Gentle-

¹ Three soldiers of a regiment quartered near Belfast having been detected in riotous conduct, were promptly court-martialled and sentenced to receive 1000 lashes each. Even this example did not prevent continued outrages being committed on person and property; severe punishments being dealt out to the offenders when caught.

² Under this order many of the other regiments of Fencibles (including most of the Highland Fencibles) were transferred to the British Establishment. On the Reays coming to Ireland, the regimental agents, Messrs Ross & Ogilvie, had been changed for a Dublin firm, Messrs Armit & Borough, Kildare Street, and this latter firm continued to be the regimental agents until the Reays left the country. There is no reference in the order books to this change in establishments. The total strength of the regiment on being transferred was 1 colonel and captain, 1 lieut.-colonel and captain, 1 major and captain, 7 captains, 22 lieutenants, including captain-lieutenant, 8 ensigns, 1 chaplain, 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 1 surgeon, 1 mate, 32 sergeants, 30 corporals, 22 drummers, and 570 privates—total, 699.—'War Office Letter Book 8,' vol. ix. p. 98.

men, to be ensigns in the Reay Fencible Highlanders, and to be obeyed as such. Commissions dated 1st May 1797.¹

In General Orders of the 15th June, attention is called to the slackness of some of the guards and piquets, and General Lake reminds both officers and N.-C. officers of their duty.

R. O., 17th June.—Major Honyman at a late hour last night going his rounds, when field officer of the day, saw three men of the Reay Fencibles out of their quarters, contrary to the orders of the regiment and discipline of the service. The commanding officer takes this opportunity of informing the N.-C. officers and men that he is determined to bring to a court-martial any one that may be reported or found out of their quarters or barracks after tattoo beating.² No N.-C. officer or soldier to be seen in the streets without his side-arms on, hair well tied, and in every other respect uniformly dressed.

By a General Order, dated Dublin, 16th June 1797, His Majesty graciously approved of the pay of the army in Ireland being increased so as to be exactly the same as the net pay in Great Britain, excepting only the difference of exchange. This increase, which came into force on the 2nd June 1797, allowed: sergeants of Infantry, Militia, and Fencible Infantry, 4¾d. per diem; corporals of do., 3¼d. per diem; drummers and fifers, 3¼d.; privates, 3¼d., "with the usual allowance of agency thereon."³

¹ In those days candidates for commissions were not required to pass difficult examinations, and instead of being sent South were generally educated at home and brought up among the country people, joining in their sports and also in the work of the estate or farm. Colonel Gardyne tells the story of one distinguished officer to be, who was clipping a sheep when a letter was brought to him—then a rare event in the distant Highlands—announcing his commission in the Gordon Highlanders. "Cha ruig mi caoraich tuilleadh"—"I'll clip no more sheep," said he, tossing aside the shears, and left the Highlands, to return a general with a "Sir" to his name.—'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 89.

² As the regiment had so far been singularly free from this irregularity, the colonel did not in this case bring the offenders to a court-martial, but they were punished otherwise: *R. O., 18th June.*—John Ross, Geo. Morison, and Donald Mackay of Captain C. Mackay's Company, to be confined in the Black Hole and fed on bread and water till further orders, for being out of their barracks.

³ The pay of the private soldier of infantry was now increased to 1s. a-day, out of which a sum not exceeding 4s. a-week was to be applied to his messing; a sum not exceeding 1s. 6d. a-week to be stopped for necessaries; the remainder, 1s. 6d. per week, to be paid to him subject to the usual deductions for washing and articles for cleaning his appointments. When in camp he was to receive 5¼d. per week, being the difference between bread and beer allowance in camp and in quarters.

This augmentation of the pay of the rank and file was accompanied, marvellous to relate, by a much-needed increase of pay to the subaltern officers, many of whom, it was no exaggeration to say, were starving. The deductions for poundage, hospital, and agency were remitted; an

After explaining and laying down the stoppages due for messing and necessaries, this lengthy order runs as follows: "Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of York¹ is happy to announce the King's gracious intentions towards the whole of his army, and H.R.H. rests assured that these new instances of the liberality of Parliament and of His Majesty's paternal care will increase that affection for their King and country which has ever been the pride of the British soldier; and that a continuance in steady discipline and honourable conduct will merit those gracious favours that have been repeatedly shown them. On this occasion H.R.H. cannot but add that however incredible it may appear, that there should exist a wretch so lost to honour and humanity as to league with the enemy, and to aim at the utter ruin of his country, yet there are certainly many desperate characters who have persevered in methodising treachery and sedition, and who are so totally lost to all sense of affection for their King and country as to side with the enemy. These wretches when discovered in their infamous acts will be immediately tried and sentenced to the death they so richly deserve."

additional shilling a-day was granted, and it was ordained that they should receive their pay in full as it fell due, without subjection to vexatious delays and belated refunding of arrears, as had been the rule in the past.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part II., Appx. B. and p. 898.

¹ The Duke of York was made Commander-in-Chief in Great Britain, 3rd April 1798; Captain-General of the Forces in Great Britain and all the forces employed in the continent of Europe, 4th September 1799; Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Great Britain and Ireland, 9th June 1801. During the time he was at the head of the army he did much to improve its condition in every way. He restored discipline amongst the officers by his firmness and justice. He founded two colleges at High Wycombe and Great Marlow for their instruction in military subjects. He advocated, and with success, a fairer treatment of the soldier, by appealing to his higher nature and self-respect, as well as to his fears.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part II., pp. 926-9.



Badge of the United Irishmen of Belfast.

From 'Ulster in '98,' by kind permission of the Author.

CHAPTER IX.

DURING the next three months there is little to chronicle as to the doings of the Reays. Their life was an uneventful one save for occasional excursions into the surrounding districts—either to apprehend suspected rebels, break up seditious meetings, or assist the search for hidden arms. In connection with the latter duty the following story is told, and as the incident took place not far from Belfast it is highly probable that the Reays were the “Highland regiment” referred to.

A small party of a Highland regiment had been despatched from the little village of D— to search for arms. They stopped at the cabin of a peasant and demanded entrance in the King’s name. Poor Pat had a cow—a rare blessing. He was in the act of cleansing its miserable hovel, with a large three-pronged fork, when he observed the soldiers around his cottage. Irishmen generally act from the first impulse; and the first impulse of Pat’s mind at this moment was self-preservation. He darted from the hovel, and with the long fork in his hand, dashed through the astonished soldiers, heading his course towards a neighbouring bog. The party followed in hot pursuit, but Pat, discarding his heavy brogues, soon outdistanced his pursuers. One stout, lengthy, brawny grenadier, however, as familiar with bog and mountain as the best Irishman in the province, had far outrun his companions, and every moment gaining ground in the pursuit, was just within bayonet reach, when Pat, suddenly wheeling round, charged him with his long three-pronged fork; the thrust told, and the Highlander fell wounded. Pat, who in all his varieties of life had never seen the Highland dress before, paused for a moment ere continuing his flight, and gazing in surprise at his fallen enemy, addressed him in his native tongue: “*Theugh eshin, lhat agus gu neineg sheighmough yut S’ Dioul un daugh viegh urth er maudin um eigh sheigh, agus*

taught amough gou dugh brieshtiegh.”—“Take that, and much good may it do you; you were in a devil of a hurry after me this morning, *when you did not wait to put on your breeches!*”¹

The vigorous measures adopted by General Lake since March 1797, to disarm the people and enforce some degree of law and order in the North, were steadily carried on during the summer and autumn of that year, and met with considerable success. Many parts of Ulster which in the spring had been centres of disaffection, had, by the autumn, become at least passively loyal. In June of the same year Lake wrote to Pelham: “The town (Belfast) is more humbled than it has ever been, and many of the villains have quitted it.” General Nugent at Hillsborough was also able to report: “In consequence of threats and some rigour the country people are bringing in their arms very fast, and taking the oath of allegiance. . . .”² By the end of 1797 General Lake had collected 70,000 pikes, 48,000 muskets, and 22 pieces of cannon,³ besides a large number of swords, pistols, and bayonets.

This improved state of affairs, however, was not obtained without much needless cruelty and oppression on the part of the troops.⁴ General Lake, as we have seen, had done his best to prevent excesses, but the utter lack of discipline and control that existed in so many corps, rendered his task wellnigh impossible.⁵

Among the few regiments⁶ that could be exempted from the

¹ ‘Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion,’ by Charles Hamilton Teeling.

² ‘Ireland in the 18th Century.’

³ Musgrave’s ‘Memoirs of the Irish Rebellion.’—A great number of the muskets were rendered unserviceable before being handed over to the authorities.

⁴ In the search for arms success could only be obtained by surprise, by the simultaneous search of innumerable widely scattered cabins. If it was known that a search was proceeding in one place, arms were at once concealed in fifty others. It was impossible that an officer could be present in every cabin which was being searched, and the task had to be largely entrusted to little groups of private soldiers. Under these circumstances no one could expect that this should go on without producing instances of gross violence and outrage, and without seriously imperilling discipline.—Lecky, ‘Ireland in the 18th Century,’ vol. iv. p. 37.

⁵ To the everlasting honour of the Scottish Highlander, the writers on the rebellion are unanimous in exempting the Highland corps from any share in the monstrosities committed. “The Highland regiments,” says the author of the ‘Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion,’ “were distinguished in Ireland for humane and orderly behaviour, strict discipline, and soldier-like conduct.”

⁶ “It was inevitable in the condition of things that this disarmament (and pacification) could not be conducted without violence. In many cases the troops used were men who had themselves suffered abuses at the hands of the rebels. Thus one section of society was set to coerce another. Under such conditions it was impossible to prevent violence, . . . and the spirit spread outside the army, with the result that many people soon became noted for their

general charge of misconduct and brutality were the Reays, who in the duties required of them used singular forbearance, effecting their purpose with little or no bloodshed, and continuing to maintain "their uniform, well-regulated, and well-principled conduct."

In response to the renewed appeals of the Irish Government, four more regiments of Fencible infantry and two of Fencible cavalry had been sent over from Great Britain during May and June, but even with this reinforcement "it may be doubted whether fourteen thousand men could have been concentrated at any one point within less than a fortnight. Even if assembled, the quality of the troops would have been anything but good, and their commander, Lord Carhampton, was by no means of the first order."¹

The dangers threatened by the French expedition to Bantry Bay had aroused Camden to some sense of the country's danger, and feeling that Lord Carhampton was not the man required to lead the troops at this critical juncture, applied in May 1797 for Cornwallis. His application was refused, for Cornwallis strongly disapproved of the policy of the Government in Ireland, a fact which barred even an abler soldier than he, Lord Moira. At last, in despair, Camden asked for Abercromby, on the latter's return from the West Indies, and the post being offered to that worthy old soldier, he accepted, but more from a strong sense of duty than from any personal desire to go to Ireland.

During August a serious affray took place in Belfast between the Reays and Monaghan Militia. The following account of this incident is taken from the 'Edinburgh Advertiser,' Friday, August 18, 1797: "Belfast, Aug. 14th—Last night this town was in great alarm. An officer of the Monaghan Militia struck a Highlander; the Highlanders in the barracks immediately turned out; the Militia did the same—both fixed bayonets—two of the Militia were wounded. Fortunately General Lake arrived with his suite, just as the two regiments were about to make a general onset. His presence, together with the

brutality. Of these, none was more noted than Judkin Fitzgerald, the famous flogging sheriff of Tipperary. The violence of Fitzgerald goes far to show what the peasantry suffered before the outbreak of the rebellion. Men were flogged on false accusation, and flogged to death if they had no information to give. Sir John Moore, when in command of a brigade in the South, relates the horrors he saw, and adds that 'if he had been an Irishman he would have been a rebel too.' Under such circumstances it is not surprising that a feeling of bitterness was aroused, which eventually found an outlet in the excesses of the rebellion."—'Ninety-eight: a Warning,' vol. v., No. 22, 'National Defence.'

¹ 'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. v., Part I., p. 569.

exertions of the officers on both sides, stopt the effusion of much blood."

This unfortunate occurrence, especially at such a time, was much to be deplored, and although the officer whose unwarrantable conduct had been the cause of the disturbance was severely reprimanded by order of General Lake, the feeling between the two regiments was considerably strained for some months.¹

On the 3rd October 1797, the officers present with the Reays were the lieut.-colonel, 4 captains, 1 capt.-lieut., 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, and 4 staff,² while 2 captains and 8 subalterns were away on detachment duty, or searching for arms in the surrounding country.³

G. O., Belfast, 13th October.—A detachment from the Reay Highlanders and the Monaghan Militia will immediately march to Carrickfergus. On these detachments' arrival they will put themselves under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Durham.⁴

Garrison After-order, 13th Oct.—The above detachments to march to-morrow with the artillery from the New Barracks at 8 o'clock, joining the cavalry at 9 o'clock.

R. O.—Captain C. Mackay, Lieut. Mackenzie, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 50 privates for the above duty. This detachment to be formed by five active men per company, who are to be furnished with twenty-nine rounds of ball cartridges. The detachment to parade without knapsacks at half-past five o'clock to-morrow morning, when they will be inspected by the adjutant.

These troops were ordered to temporarily reinforce the garrison of Carrickfergus on the occasion of the execution of a noted and popular member of the Society of United Irishmen. It was expected that a desperate attempt would be made to set free the condemned man. This unfortunate person, by name William Orr, of Farrinshane near Antrim, was a young Presbyterian yeoman or farmer of considerable

¹ This would not have been lessened when the Reays remembered the intentions of the Militia on the memorable night of the 16th May previous!

² *Absent*—The colonel, the major, and the chaplain. There were 1 captaincy, 5 lieutenantancies, and 4 ensigncies vacant, which were filled up by the end of the year.

³ One party consisting of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 28 privates of Captain Scobie's Company were stationed at Dromore, some ten miles south-west of Lisburn. After being quartered for nearly a month in that town they were ordered to return to Belfast. So much had this party ingratiated themselves with the inhabitants, that a large number of the latter accompanied them some distance on their way, so as to see the last of so respectable a body of men.

⁴ Commanding the Fife Fencibles, and the senior officer of the garrison of Carrickfergus.

property, high character, and great local popularity and influence. He had been indicted for administering the United Irishmen's oath to two soldiers named Wheatley and Lindsay.¹ The Insurrection Act had, for the first time, made that offence a capital one, and this was the first instance in which a prisoner was tried for it. After being left in prison for a whole year, Orr was tried in Carrickfergus in September 1797. After various ineffectual attempts had been made to obtain a reprieve, the execution was fixed for October 14th. Most of the inhabitants of Carrickfergus left the town to mark their horror of the sacrifice. At the place of execution the infantry were massed around the gallows, outside of them the cavalry kept moving, while two pieces of artillery were placed so as to command the road from Belfast to Carrickfergus. The death of Orr evoked not only through Ulster but throughout the whole of Catholic Ireland a feeling of deep, passionate, indignant sympathy. His execution was considered a judicial murder. Mourning rings with Orr's hair set in them and the words "Remember Orr" were commonly worn. Memorial cards were printed secretly, and even the black crape cap which was drawn over his face on the scaffold was cut into pieces and distributed to his friends.²

R. O., 14th Oct.—All the men off duty in the New and Old Barracks to remain in their barracks and be ready to turn out at a moment's notice.³

R. O., 15th Oct.—Captain James Mackay will retain in his hands the pay of John Mackay, sergeant, from the 19th May inclusive, in order that the latter's debts may be paid out of that fund.

R. O., 17th Oct.—No soldier to go from the garrison on any account without leave of the commanding officer.

G. O., 18th Oct.—The garrison to fire a *feu-de-joy* at one o'clock this day in celebration of the victory obtained by Admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet.⁴

All guards, piquets, and sentinels, to allow the Reverend Bristow,⁵ soveran (*sic*) of Belfast, to pass and repass them with his attendance.

¹ Both belonging to the Fifeshire Fencibles.

² 'Ulster in '98,' and 'Ireland in the 18th Century.'

³ Disturbances were expected in Belfast as a protest against Orr's death.

⁴ At the Battle of Camperdown.

⁵ The Rev. William Bristow was vicar-general of the diocese of Down and Connor, a chaplain to H.E. the Lord-Lieutenant, and vicar and sovereign of Belfast. He was also a very active magistrate. His action at the time of William Orr's death gave him an unenviable notoriety.

The shipping in Belfast harbour was still under the protection of the military.

R. O., 24th Oct.—A return to be given in of the men's names and companies who are on board the guard-ship in the harbour.

The great number of guards, piquets, and posts supplied by the garrison of Belfast at this time made these duties fall very heavy on the men. The Monaghan Militia being numerically stronger than the Reays, the former regiment furnished the duties three times for one of the Reays, but even then every available man took his turn for guard.

R. O., 28th Oct.—All the men employed on the artillery (*i.e.*, battalion guns) and taylor's to mount guard to-morrow, and once a-week until further orders.

R. O., 30th Oct.—Corporal Colin Sinclair to be sergeant in room of Donald Mackay discharged. Corporal Alex. Mackay to be sergeant in room of Grant discharged. Murdoch Mackay Bain to be corporal in room of Alex. Mackay promoted. Angus McPherson to be corporal in room of Colin Sinclair promoted.

The men off duty to parade at 12 o'clock to-morrow to fire three rounds of ball cartridges. Officers' servants to attend.

A. G., 30th Sept.—H.E. the Lord-Lieutenant hath been pleased to appoint the Rev. Robert Dobbs to be chaplain to the garrison of Belfast.¹

From *R. O. of 2nd November*, it appears that a lieutenant, on being recommended to a company, paid the regimental clerk 5s. for his trouble in making out a memorial and certificate,² and ensigns on being recommended for a lieutenancy paid him 2s. 6d.

By a Royal Warrant, dated St James', 22nd July 1797, the list of necessaries to be provided by stoppage from the pay of the soldiers of Foot, Embodied Militia, and Fencible Infantry, were laid

¹ This chaplain belonged to the Episcopal Church. It is likely that the Reays, on the retreat of the Rev. David Mackay in September 1797, arranged with a Presbyterian minister in Belfast to conduct services for them, paying him a stipend, appointing elders of their own number, and regularly holding the Communion after the Scottish fashion—in fact, as did the 93rd when at the Cape in 1806-14.

² The memorial and certificate on being signed by the Colonel was forwarded to Dublin, where if approved of by the Lord-Lieutenant, was sent to London and received the King's consent.

down.¹ The same warrant fixed the annual allowances for each man as follows: for watch coats 1s., for actual expenditure in altering clothing a sum not exceeding 2s. 6d., and articles for cleaning the arms a sum not above 2s. 9d. These charges to be defrayed by the public as in former warrants.

The private houses and public buildings in Belfast continued to be guarded by the troops.

R. O., 6th Nov.—Corporal Macleod at Mr Legge's to be relieved by Corporal Murdoch. The guard at the post-office to remain as before.

Hair-dressing was still a serious business. The officers of the flank companies to have their men's hair uniformly dressed, plaited at the back, and tied neatly behind. In a later order the commanding officer observes that the N.-C. officers and men do not dress their hair in the same uniform manner, and directs that in future their hair is only combed back and no frizzing.

R. O., 6th Nov.—George Morrison of the Grenadier Company to be confined in the Black Hole until further orders for disobedience of orders.

R. O., 11th Nov.—No divine service to-morrow. The regiment to parade at 10 o'clock.²

<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>	
¹ 2 prs. of black cloth gaiters,	8 0	3 shoe brushes,	1 3
Second pair of breeches,	6 0	Black ball,	2 0
1 pair of hair leathers,	0 2½	Worsted mittens,	0 9
2 prs. of shoes,	12 0	A powder bag and puff, once in every	
For mending ditto,	4 0	3 years,	0 6
1 pr. stockings or 2 prs. socks,	1 6	2 combs,	1 0
2 shirts,	11 0	Grease and pomatum for the hair,	3 0
Foraging cap,	1 3	Washing, at 4d. per week,	17 4
A knapsack at 6s. once in 6 years,	1 0		
Pipe-clay and whiting,	4 4	Total,	<u>£3 16 1½</u>
Cloth brush, once in two years,	0 6		

Note.—In Highland corps, instead of two pairs of black cloth gaiters and a second pair of breeches, the following were substituted—

<i>s. d.</i>	
Kilt,	5 6
Feather or hackle,	6 0
Additional hose (2 pair),	3 0

² Sunday could hardly be called a day of rest. It was customary at that period to march past in review order after church, and in most regiments there was a parade in the evening as well. The Reays, however, seem to have had their Sunday afternoons "off," as I can find no notice of such parades in any of the order books.

A story is told at this time of a party of the regiment, which had been obliged to make some arrests in a village near Lurgan. While returning with their prisoners to Belfast this party was surrounded by an excited mob. The situation was a critical one, but the sergeant in charge, a man of formidable size and strength, coolly faced the crowd and challenged the best man to fight him—if he won, the party was to be allowed to proceed on its way, but if beaten he agreed to hand over his captures. The challenge was taken up. The Highlander, however, well known at home as a wrestler, soon threw his opponent, upon which he and his party were allowed to depart.

R. O., 13th Nov.—The kilts for the regiment to be made uniform, with the blue side of the tartan out. Care to be taken that the kilts are made to a proper length, that they cover the pan of the knee.¹

In a letter, dated A. G. Office, Dublin, 20th Nov. 1797, attention is called to a number of officers of the regulars, fencibles, and militia corps in Ireland who were absent without leave, and directs they shall be superseded, and that one be dismissed the service. No officer of the Reays appear on this list, which numbers fourteen officers from as many regiments.

R. O., 29th Nov.—To-morrow being St Andrew's Day the regiment will parade as strong as possible in full uniform at 12 o'clock. The pipes to play off at half-past 11 precisely. One day's advance of pay to be given to each man this evening. Lieut.-Colonel Mackay² trusts that the utmost order will be maintained.

A. G. Office, Dublin, 2nd Dec. 1797.—His Majesty has been pleased to appoint Lieut.-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, K.B., to be Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in this Kingdom. Also Major-General Sir James Stuart to act as Lieut.-General, and Colonel Moore³ of the 51st Foot to act as Brigadier-General on the Irish Staff.

¹ From this it appears that the kilt was often worn as long as at the present day.

² Colonel Baillie had left the regiment early in November 1797, and at the muster taken at Belfast, 6th March 1798, is shown as "sick at Harrogate." He remained absent on sick leave until promoted Major-General in June 1798. General Baillie was present with the regiment at Stirling in September 1802, shortly before it was disbanded.

Note.—A memorial of Colonel Mackay Baillie, dated Belfast, 28th October 1797, to the authorities in Dublin, showed that he had been charged £6, 6s. 11d. duty on swords ordered from Britain for his sergeants and drummers. These had been landed at Belfast soon after the regiment arrived there, but although he had presented a memorial shortly afterwards praying that the duty be allowed in contingent accounts, it had not apparently been done. Therefore he begged to again present memorial to above effect.

³ The hero of Corunna.

Recruiting for the Navy being very unsatisfactory, volunteers were called for from the fencibles and militia, especially from those corps that had seafaring men in their ranks. A few men of the Reays accepted the high bounties offered.

R. O., 13th Dec.—The volunteers for the Navy to be cleared with this day by the officers commanding companies they belong to. The sergeant major to parade them to-morrow morning at half-past 9 o'clock, march them to the rendezvous, and get a receipt for them. Their discharges to be made out to-morrow and given to the men at the rendezvous.

As yet no man of the Reays had so far erred as to be tried by a district or general court-martial, but there are a few references to regimental courts-martial about this time, mainly on soldiers guilty of breaches of discipline. Most of the offenders appear to have been men who had been suddenly drafted¹ into the regiment earlier in the year, on its establishment being raised to 650 rank and file.² These men, about twenty in all, of whom few were Highlanders, numbered several bad characters among them. They had been brought in much against the wishes of Colonel Baillie and Bighouse, who had in vain petitioned that time might be allowed in which to recruit the desired numbers from the Reay Country.³ On Colonel Baillie's renewed exertions, however, they were eventually removed from the regiment.⁴

¹ The custom which then prevailed in the army of drafting men into a regiment (or from one regiment to another) was strongly objected to by Highland corps.

² It is not certain when this increase in establishment took place; probably in March or April. At that time the standard of height for recruits was raised from 5 ft. 3 in. to 5 ft. 5 in.

³ The recruiting parties of the regiment had sent recruits from time to time to fill up the vacancies created by the men who were discharged; but this increase in the establishment was not expected, and consequently some little time must have elapsed before the full number of suitable recruits required could have been obtained from the Reay Country. The order, however, admitted of no delay, and as a result these undesirables had been forced upon the regiment. There appears to have been no depôts for either regulars or fencibles at this time, where recruits could be assembled prior to joining their regiments. Recruits remained with the party who enlisted them, which was generally under an officer, till sent direct to the regiment. —Gardyne, vol. i. p. 54.

⁴ See page 101, *note*.—General Stewart, in referring to this in his account of the regiment, says: "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

According to the military law of that day a court-martial was obliged to order corporal punishment, but the culprits often seem to have got off that part of the sentence through their captains interceding with the commanding officer on their behalf. It also appears that both Colonel Baillie and Bighouse were only too glad of an opportunity of remitting that portion of the sentence. In all Highland regiments there was a great aversion to corporal punishment, and it was, in consequence, seldom resorted to in those corps.

Three men, however, who had been guilty of gross disobedience of orders were each sentenced to receive 200 lashes.¹ Bighouse, although he remitted the greater part of the sentence, would not pardon them, "as neither the nature of their crime nor their past character merit such a concession." The sentence was accordingly carried out in presence of the whole regiment as a warning to the others.²

R. O., 25th Dec.—No evening parade. Lieut.-Colonel Mackay expects that the soldiers will not make an improper use of this indulgence, and that they will enjoy themselves in their barracks. Any who are found rioting on the streets, or disorderly, will be instantly confined and brought to a court-martial. The commanding officer, however, relies on the good character of the Reays, and trusts that such can never happen so long as the regiment is composed of true Highlanders.

By the sentence of a regimental court-martial held at this time, a Corporal McColl was reduced to the rank and pay of a private sentinel, "for allowing sentries to relieve one another."

R. O., 26th Dec.—Murdoch Mackintosh, private in Captain

and depraved habits be able to withstand continued fatigue? Or can a man, without the fear of God and without religion, be entrusted with a duty beyond the observation and unremitting control of superiors?"—'Sketches of the Highlanders,' vol. ii. p. 345.

¹ These men appear to have been some of the bad characters already referred to, and had, during the short time they had been in the regiment, suffered several terms of imprisonment in the "Black Hole," but apparently with no effect on their behaviour. By their names they were from the south of Scotland or north of Ireland.

² *R. O., 17th Dec.*—"The regiment to parade at 12 o'clock to-morrow morning, to witness the sentence of a regimental court-martial put into execution."

Although 1000 lashes or more could be awarded by a general or district court-martial, 200 lashes or even a portion of that number would be considered a very severe punishment nowadays; but it must be remembered that brutal though these punishments may seem, they were "only a reflection of those in civil life, at a time when men were hung for stealing a sheep, and when an unfortunate debtor was confined in a crowded and loathsome jail till his debt was paid, which often meant till his life's end."—Gardyne, vol. i. p. 41.

Blanche's Company, to be corporal in room of Corporal McColl of Captain Scobie's Company, reduced.

From the time of Abercromby's arrival in Ireland he had issued, amongst other orders, several with a view to preparing the army for service. Two of these orders, dated A. G. Office, Dublin, 22nd December 1797, refer to the immediate inspecting and reporting on the condition of the battalion guns in the possession of the different regiments; to what degree of efficiency the gun teams had attained, and any deficiencies in materiel, &c., which latter were to be made good without loss of time.

Returns were also called for of all clothing,¹ arms, ammunition, accoutrements, transport carts, camp equipage, entrenching tools, &c., that might be wanting to complete every regiment for service. Any deficiencies to be made good as early as possible.

Attention was drawn to the Standing Orders of the Kingdom relative to practising the men in marching "whenever ye weather permits," and to the orders to be observed by regiments on being called into the field. The duties of the Surgeons and Mates were enumerated for the benefit of that branch of the service, and the allowances to all ranks when on detachment duty, where no barrack accommodation was available, were increased temporarily.

R. O., 30th Dec.—Officers commanding companies to pay the men's allowances up to the 24th December inclusive. The men to be charged for their kilts.

In a letter, dated A. G. Office, Dublin, 26th December 1797, the new establishments of cavalry and infantry were laid down,² after

¹ At this period every regiment made up its own clothing, the necessary materials being supplied through the colonel—"a system which had probably been designed to retain for the colonels the largest possible profit." Although this practice may have worked in peace time it was manifestly impossible in time of war. The deplorable results are seen during our campaign in the Netherlands in 1794, where the troops were "in a worst state in respect of clothing than had been hitherto recorded of any British Army."—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 299.

² "Establishments of Infantry 10 companies: to consist of 1 colonel and captain, 1 lieutenant-colonel and captain, 1 lieutenant-colonel without a company, 1 major and captain, 1 major without a company, 7 captains of companies, 2 captains *en second*, 1 captain lieutenant, 11 lieutenants, 2 lieutenants *en second*, 8 ensigns, 2 ensigns *en second*, 1 chaplain, 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 1 surgeon, 1 assistant surgeon or mate, 52 sergeants, 50 corporals, 20 drummers, 2 fifiers, 550 private men—total, 717 of all ranks. In addition to the two lieutenants *en second* there will be several supernumeraries, on account of the former reduction from the establishment of 25 lieutenants to 13."

In the fencibles the establishment of officers remained as before, with the exception of the

the reduction ordered on the 30th November previous had taken place.¹

R. O., 31st Dec.—The following men to be discharged as unfit for further service on the recommendation of the Medical Board. Their accounts to be made up to this day inclusive, and each to receive 28 days' pay, commencing from to-morrow, to carry them home. Sergeant William Mackay, Privates John M'Lean, Donald M'Kenzie, Roderick Mackay.

R. O., 6th Jany.—In consequence of General Lake's orders, the men attending the great-gun drill are not to mount guard or do any other regimental duties in future. They are to be continually exercised in the great-gun drill only.²

Colonel Leslie of the Monaghan Militia having applied for William Mackay under sentence of a regimental court-martial, the commanding officer remits the punishment for this time only, with a determination if he comes to be tried again to have a double punishment.³

A. G. Office, Dublin, 4th January 1798.—The uniform in future to be worn by the surgeons of regiments, both of cavalry and infantry, the assistant surgeons, and veterinary surgeons, to be plain scarlet with the uniform buttons of their respective regiments, with epaulettes and lapels and a plain round red cuff and collar, white waistcoat and breeches, and plain cocked hat with the regimental button in it.⁴

R. O., 19th Jany.—Officers commanding companies to receive the foraging caps, and take payment of them from the men at their first clearance. The caps to be marked R.F.H., as per pattern given by the quartermaster to each company. Every man to have his name marked on the inside of his cap.⁵

R. O., 2nd February.—The men to be provided with garters and

number of lieutenants, which was reduced as above. The number of sergeants and corporals also remained unaltered.

¹ This reduction appears to have affected the fencibles as well as regulars. The establishments of fencible regiments, which had been reduced in April 1796, had been raised early in 1797 to 650 rank and file, but, according to the above order, were to be again reduced to 600 rank and file. Under this reduction opportunity would have been given to discharge some of the bad characters brought in on the augmentation of 1797.

² There were 30 men selected for this duty under Lieut. George Hunter.

³ It does not appear on what charge this man was tried.

⁴ The surgeons of Highland corps wore the bonnet.

⁵ These caps were the ordinary diced bonnets, cocked, but unmounted.

rosettes of the same pattern as Sergeant Mackenzie's of the Grenadier Company.

R. O., 7th Feby.—The days the regiment does not supply the duties all officers' servants are to attend the evening parade, except the servants attending the two messes¹ at the time, and those having leave from the commanding officer.

In General Orders, dated Dublin, 13th February 1798, the Commander-in-Chief "finds it necessary to point out several practices which have lately risen, and are highly detrimental to the service." After referring to certain abuses in the cavalry, and enjoining upon all commanding officers of regiments to strictly adhere to the Standing Orders, the order goes on to say that the number of men in regiments employed in duties not properly belonging to them—*i.e.*, musicians, drummers, tailors, servants, and pioneers—render the duties to be performed by the other men very severe. In order to remedy this evil the following limitations were to be laid down as to the extent these several indulgences could be permitted.

Every officer who really required it might have a private from the ranks to be employed as servant, but this was not to prevent the latter mounting guard with his master or from attending such parades as the commanding officer might direct. Pioneers, unless on the march, or employed in making cartridges, were to do duty the same as other soldiers. Tailors were also to do duty, especially in time of war, when the colonels or commanding officers were particularly directed to have their clothing finished by their clothiers previous to it being sent to the regiment, thus only requiring the tailors for the purposes of mending. The established number of drummers and fifers were never to be exceeded, and such regiments as had bands of music were to be allowed one private per company as musician,² these men to be fit to carry arms and to be taught the use of them. One N.-C. officer to be

¹ From this it appears that the regiment being quartered in two barracks, the officers were also divided up so as to be with their men, thus making it necessary for the former to have two separate messes and two lots of mess servants. That the officers had their own mess silver there is no doubt. The author has in his possession a large silver spoon-stamped with the Irish Hall mark of the period, and engraved on the handle with the words "REAY REGT." This spoon, and possibly others, came into Major Scobie's possession on the disbandment of the regiment, and through him has descended to the author.

² The Reays had no band until April 1800, the regimental "music" up till that period consisting of drums, fifes, and pipes.

allowed to take charge of the band. Beyond these no man was to be employed otherwise than in the duties of his rank.

G. O., Belfast, 21st February.—The officers, N.-C. officers, and privates of the Monaghan Militia and Reay Highlanders attached to the battalion guns to join the artillery on their parade at 7 o'clock to-morrow morning, and proceed with them to howitzer and gun practice.

R. O., 26th Feb.—Ensign W. Baillie¹ to do duty in the Lieut.-Colonel's Company till further orders. No N.-C. officer or soldier of the Reay Fencible Highlanders to be out of their barracks after dark on any pretence whatsoever.

The Commander-in-Chief was at this time making a tour of the North of Ireland, inspecting the troops quartered in the different garrisons. Amongst other places he visited Belfast.

R. O., 27th Feb.—A guard to mount to-morrow by 2 o'clock, consisting of one captain, two subalterns, and fifty men to receive the Commander-in-Chief on his coming to town. The guard to be drawn from the different companies in their turn of duty. The regimental colours to go down with the guard. The officers to salute the Commander-in-Chief but not the colours. The men to be in the full Highland dress and to have their new clothing on to-morrow.

In future the sergeants on duty only are to wear their sashes. Officers commanding companies to pay the strictest attention that the barracks are kept clean and in good order.

For the Commander-in-Chief's guard Captain Clarke, Lieut. George Scobie, and Lieut. Wm. Mackay.

R. O., 28th Feb.—No parade this evening. The commanding officer expects the N.-C. officers and men will have their arms, accoutrements, &c., in the greatest order, the barracks neat and clean, and the ground round properly swept. The whole regiment in full uniform, well dressed, to be ready to turn out at a moment's notice. The officers to be in white breeches and boots, not half boots.²

¹ Ensigns Baillie and Nisbet were both commissioned on the 1st November 1797, but Ensign Nisbet did not join the regiment for duty until the end of February.

² For a short period after the regiment was raised the officers had worn the Highland dress almost continually, but in time they appear to have dropped it, except for full dress, and not always then. The kilt (and belted plaid) being the proper dress of the regiment, the officers should have always appeared in it. This unmilitary habit, however, was common in most Highland corps, and arose mainly from the fact that in the Highlands while the gentry wore both kilt and truis, as occasion suited, the poorer people could only afford the kilt. Logan,

R. O., 1st March.—The regiment to be ready to turn out at 9 o'clock to-morrow forenoon, the outlying piquets to be called in at 4 o'clock in the morning and ready to turn out with the battalion.

General Orders, Lisburn, 2nd March 1798.—It is with the greatest satisfaction that Lieut.-General Lake announces to the troops that were this morning inspected by the Commander-in-Chief, that he expressed in the highest terms his approbation of their steadiness, cleanliness, and general appearance; and the General wishes it to be known that he also feels himself very much pleased at their soldier-like conduct, for which he thus publicly returns his sincere thanks to them.

Notwithstanding this high praise, Abercromby was far from being satisfied with the conduct of the army in general. "From the first moment of his arrival," says the author of the 'History of the British Army,' "the General issued several injunctions, both general and particular, for restraining disorder and reviving subordination among the troops, but with little or no effect; and accordingly he issued, on the 26th February 1798, a General Order which has become famous. 'The very disgraceful frequency of courts-martial, and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in this kingdom, have too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy.' With this preamble Abercromby required all commanders to exact the strictest discipline from their officers and men, and recalled to their notice the standing orders under which troops were forbidden, unless attacked, to act in aid of the civil power without the presence and authority of a magistrate."

"This Order burst upon the three kingdoms like a thunderclap, and upon Dublin Castle with a greater violence, since a proclamation by the Lord-Lieutenant, of the 18th May 1797, had authorised the military to act without waiting for civil direction. The Duke of Portland wrote frantically from England to ask if the document were

writing in 1830, says: "I cannot avoid noticing an unaccountable practice in some Highland regiments where the officers seldom appear in the feilebeag except on field days and particular occasions. Is it from an idea that it is unbecoming, or that the privates only are obliged to wear the kilt? It is a strange inconsistency and a very unmilitary custom, for which, I presume, the respective colonels or adjutants are answerable. Having some time since lived four or five years where the 78th were stationed, I must exonerate that corps from the above reflections, officers and men being always dressed in proper regimentals."—'The Scottish Gael.'

not a forgery, being unable to conceive how it could have other than a political purpose."

Directly after issuing his famous order, Abercromby, as we have seen, had started on a tour of inspection in the north, which thus prevented Camden from calling upon him immediately for an explanation of his conduct. This fact was duly taken advantage of by the ruling party in Dublin to concert measures to ensure his removal.

On Abercromby's return he was at once taken to task for his General Order, upon which he immediately sent in his resignation in spite of Camden's entreaties. The latter knowing Abercromby's worth "tried his best to retain him as Commander-in-Chief, and even persuaded the British Cabinet to make conciliatory overtures to him, but in vain. . . . The General declined, as he said, to be a cipher, or still worse, a tool, in the hands of the party that governed the country. After several times pressing for the speedy appointment of his successor, and recommending Lord Camden urgently to apply for a reinforcement of disciplined troops, he at the end of April quitted Ireland."¹

A. G. Office, Dublin, 28th Feb.—The Lieut.-General of the Ordnance having represented to the Commander-in-Chief that very injurious practices are permitted in several regiments to which battalion guns are attached—viz.: The limbers are used for market cars, or other conveniences for the officers and women of the regiments; that the horses are ridden by officers and their servants about the country at all hours, and that the fixed ammunition has been broken up under the pretence of practice, the Commander-in-Chief desires that you will take the most effectual measures for punishing and putting a stop to such misconduct in the district under your command.

R. O., 5th March.—The regiment to be mustered to-morrow.² The officers to be in white breeches and boots; the men in their new clothing, neatly dressed.

¹ 'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 378.

Sir Ralph Abercromby was to be afterwards known as the victor of the Battle of Alexandria, 21st March 1801, where he was mortally wounded. He died on board the *Foudroyant* seven days after the battle, "leaving a name enshrined in the grateful recollection of his country." His remains were carried to Malta and interred there. A peerage and a pension were granted to his widow; a monument was erected to his memory in St Paul's Cathedral; and a General Order was published by the Duke of York testifying to his many splendid qualities. Sir Ralph was a brother of Colonel Robert Abercromby, who raised the 75th Highland Regiment, now the 1st Battalion Gordon Highlanders. His father was the Laird of Tullibody in Clackmannanshire.

² The regiment was mustered by Mr W. Byrne, Commissary of Muster, Belfast.

At this muster there were present with headquarters only 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, the adjutant, the quartermaster, the surgeon, the surgeon's mate, 18 sergeants, 24 corporals, 16 drummers, and 313 privates. The remainder of the regiment was divided up in different parts of the country; the distribution, as far as can be ascertained, being as follows: Captain Morison's and Maclean's Companies at Carrickfergus and Downpatrick, the Grenadiers¹ at Enniskillen, and Subalterns' detachments at Dromore, Holywood, Saintfield, and Crumlin. Three officers, Captain Baillie,² and Lieuts. William Scobie and D. Ross, were on leave³ in Scotland, the latter sick; while Capt.-Lieutenant Angus Mackay, Lieuts. Hunter and G. A. S. Scobie were sick in quarters at Belfast.⁴

R. O., 7th March.—The fifers of the regiment to assemble in No. 77 room in the Grenadiers' barracks for practice from 12 o'clock to half-past one every day in the week, Sunday excepted, under the care of Mr Boyle.⁵

R. O., 10th March.—The greatest attention is to be paid by officers to have the barrack rooms of their respective companies kept very clean, and the windows opened every day. The orderly officer to visit the barracks daily and report what state he finds them in. The men on duty to wear their old clothing after retreat-beating, and until seven o'clock next morning.

R. O., 12th March.—The drummers and fifers of each company in future to fall in on the right of their companies, and after being

¹ Captain C. Mackay had taken over the Grenadier Company from Captain Blanche in December 1797. While at Enniskillen this company was entertained by the Grenadiers of the 3rd Breadalbane Fencibles, which regiment was then stationed in that town.

² Captain Baillie was certified as on leave in Scotland, sick, in April. He resigned 31st July 1798.

³ According to a General Order of 26th February 1798, all officers of regiments stationed in Ireland were to join their respective units before the 25th March, notwithstanding any leave of absence, except those employed in the recruiting service.

⁴ Major Stewart, who had exchanged with Major Honyman on the 1st March, had not yet joined. I am unable to find the names of any officers engaged in recruiting, although there were certainly recruiting parties of the regiment in the Reay Country at this time. The establishment of officers, according to a memorial of November 1797, was short by two ensigns, "the vacancies to remain open till proper persons can be found to accept of them."

⁵ From this and from the orders of the 12th March, it appears that the regiment had extra fifers, for by regulation there were only two allowed for a regiment. Drums and fifes as well as pipes were used in Highland regiments until 1854, when pipers becoming officially recognised the fifers were done away with.

Ensign Boyle, who was also acting surgeon's mate, seems to have been an officer of some versatility, for in addition to his other duties he apparently found time to instruct the fifers!

inspected to file off and form on the right of the regiment as formerly.

R. O., 17th March.—Lieut. James Scobie to do duty in the Light Company, Ensign Donald Cameron in Captain C. Mackay's Company, and Ensign Ballantine in Captain Morison's Company until further orders.

Owing to the death of Lieut. G. A. S. Scobie¹ the following order was published:—

R. O., 19th March.—The regiment to parade to-morrow at 10 o'clock to attend the funeral of the late Lieut. G. Scobie. The officers to have crape on their left arm and swords; the men to be in their new clothing, well dressed, in full uniform. A lieutenant to command a party of 36 rank and file to fire three rounds of blank cartridges. Lieut. Donald Mackenzie for the above duty.

R. O., 21st March.—The following men to be discharged and to receive 28 days' pay, commencing on the 22nd instant, to carry them home:—

George Murray, Donald Mackay, John McLeod, and John Mackenzie.

The commanding officers of companies to clear with their discharged men. The men have a right to coat, waistcoat, plaid, hose, but no half-mounting.

Bighouse saw that every man was kept efficient in his drill, and had a strict eye on the N.-C. officers.

R. O., 24th March.—The men who have lately been on board the tender² in the harbour, and those relieved from the safe guards,³ as well as officers' servants, to attend drill for one hour in the afternoon until further orders.

R. O., 25th March.—Sergeant Chas. Macarthur of Captain Blanche's Company to attend the ackward drill till further orders for not having his arms properly cleaned.

R. O., 1st April.—Officers commanding companies to see that the bedding and blankets of their companies are regularly aired, when the

¹ Lieut. Scobie was a son of Captain Scobie of Melness. At the muster taken at Belfast on the 6th March he was reported as sick in barracks. His death is thus recorded in the 'Belfast News-Letter,' Monday, March 26, 1798: "On Monday, the 19th instant, died Lieut. G. A. S. Scobie of the Reay Fencible Highlanders, aged 19 years."

² The prison-ship which lay at Garmoyle, in Belfast Lough.

³ These were the guards over private offices and houses in Belfast—a duty taken by the week or month.

weather permits, according to former orders. The men are reminded that their garters are to be tied according to the regimental pattern, and in no other way.

The state of Belfast and vicinity being quieter of late,¹ opportunity was given for the troops to be practised in field work.

G. O., 11th April.—The regiments in garrison to be under arms to-morrow morning at half-past 7 o'clock by the artillery parade, for the purposes of a field day.

Lieut.-Colonel Mackay finds it necessary to draw attention to the bonnets—"without question," says a modern writer, "the most imposing military head-dress ever devised."²

R. O., 14th April.—The men's bonnets to be properly cocked, and the plume correctly fixed. The bonnet to be always worn with the cockade over the left ear, and to fall slightly over the right eye. Too much exertion cannot be made in adjusting this head-dress in a becoming manner.

Some of the men having been out of their barracks after dark, and guilty of irregular conduct, Bighouse warns the offenders that by persisting in such unsoldier-like practices they will be liable to the severest punishment.

R. O., 24th April.—There will be a roll-call of the regiment at 7 o'clock, after retreat-beating, until further orders. Any N.-C. officer or soldier found out of his barracks will be immediately confined and tried for disobedience of orders. The regiment must be sensible that it is the irregular conduct of some of themselves as occasions these orders.

¹ The real danger of actual rebellion had now been transferred to the more southern parts of Ireland. "The tranquillity of the greater part of Ulster during the rebellion, the defection of the Presbyterians from the movement of which they were the main originators, and the great and enduring change which took place in their sentiments in the last years of the eighteenth century, are facts of the deepest importance in Irish history. . . . Much was due to the growth of the Orange movement, which had planted a new and a rival enthusiasm in the heart of the disaffected province, and immensely strengthened the forces opposed to United Irishmen; and much also to the success of long-continued military government."—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 403.

² 'British Military Prints,' p. xvii., by R. Nevill. 1909.



Silver Spoon belonging to the Officers' Mess.

CHAPTER X.

THE Commander-in-Chiefship of Ireland being now rendered vacant by the resignation of Abercromby, the British Government was at a loss to find a suitable successor. Lord Cornwallis was offered the post together with the Lord-Lieutenancy, but although much pressure was put on him to accept, he declined. Unable to discover a likely person to take over the command, the Government left it for the present to the senior officer, Lieutenant-General Lake, "who, though a brave soldier, was above all officers identified with the military abuses which Abercromby had striven to check. Lest he also should by chance endeavour to restore discipline, Camden ordained that no General Order should in future be issued until first submitted to himself. Thus the reign of violence and the ruin of the soldiery were created into a sacred principle, and a rebellion in Ireland assured. No better measures could have been taken by the ablest and subtlest French agent for the success of a French invasion."¹

A. G. Office, Dublin, 24th April 1798.—His Majesty having been pleased to accept of the resignation of Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, K.B., Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in this Kingdom, the command of the Army has devolved upon Lieutenant-General Lake, Senior Lieutenant-General on the Staff of this Kingdom.

On Lieutenant-General Lake taking over his new duties, Major-General Nugent was appointed to command the Northern District,² and Major-General Gouldie the troops in Belfast.

R. O., Belfast, 26th April.—Peter Morison of Captain Morison's Company is transferred to the Grenadiers, and William Macleod, the recruit, is to join Captain Morison's Company.

The regiment to fire three rounds of ball cartridges to-morrow, no man to be absent.

¹ 'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 579.

² With headquarters at Lisburn.

In May, not a month after Abercromby had left the country, the rebellion which had been so long smouldering finally burst into flame. The series of events which led up to it were as follows.

On the abandonment of the Dutch expedition for the invasion of Ireland in August 1797, all hope of foreign assistance was put an end to for the time being, and left the leaders of the rebel party with choice of two alternatives—either to give up all idea of rebellion or be prepared to fight alone. They chose the latter course. The object of the rising, as we have already seen, was to bring about the separation of Ireland from Britain, and form a probable union with France. To that end the latter country promised its aid as soon as the tocsin of insurrection was sounded.

The position of the rebel leaders was a difficult one, for all depended on the secrecy with which their plans could be carried out, and the safety of those engaged in the task of maturing them.

“Up to the spring of 1798 the personality of the leaders had been shrouded in an impenetrable mystery. The Government at the castle was as ignorant of the organisation with which they had to deal as the peasant in his cottage. The authorities did not know what to expect; the peasant did not know where he was being led. Every effort was made to pierce this screen. At last an informer named Reynolds came forward and offered the authorities his services.”¹

From the information he supplied it appears that the project of the conspirators was to paralyse the Government by a sudden and crushing blow. Dublin Castle was to be rushed, and the Lord-Lieutenant, and those of the Government officials who were likely to prove obnoxious to the rebels, murdered. After which Dublin itself was to be seized, and on a given signal the whole of Ireland was to rise in arms.

The information thus obtained led to the arrest, on March 12, of fifteen of the leaders in the conspiracy.² Lord Edward Fitzgerald escaped, but he was known to be deeply implicated. A reward of

¹ ‘Ninety-eight: a Military Warning,’ vol. v., No. 22, p. 523, ‘National Defence.’

Reynolds, who lived at Killea, County Kildare, was a man of some position. He had been drawn into the conspiracy by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had offered him the command of a rebel regiment, and appointed him delegate for the province of Leinster, both of which he had accepted. On coming into full knowledge of the conspiracy, however, he seems to have been horrified at the bloodthirsty methods that were to be employed, and realising what was expected of him decided to withdraw and turn informer.

² They were arrested at a meeting held at Bond’s house in Bridge Street, Dublin.

£1000 was offered for his capture, which was effected on May 19 under dramatic circumstances. His arrest was a fatal blow to the success of the enterprise, the more so as he was the one military leader the "United Irishmen" possessed.¹

The capture of so many of the ringleaders naturally disconcerted the arrangements of the rebel party, but those who escaped arrest determined that a rising should take place, and fixed the 23rd May for that event. The plan was to attack and seize Dublin Castle, the camp at Laughlinstown, and the Artillery Park at Chapelizod; this was frustrated, however, by the prompt measures taken by Lord Camden and General Lake in proclaiming Martial Law and concentrating troops round Dublin.

On the 25th April orders were received for the Reay Fencibles to hold themselves in immediate readiness to move from Belfast to Cavan and Granard, so as to overawe the disaffected in those parts and be near Dublin in case of an attack. All outlying detachments to be called in at once.²

R. O., 5th May.—The Commanding Officer having received the route for Cavan and Granard,³ the regiment will march in the following order, viz. :—

1st Division—the Colonel's, Major's, Captain Scobie's, Blanche's, and Maclean's Companies, on Monday, 7th of May.

2nd Division—the Lieut.-Colonel's, Captain Baillie's, Morison's, C. Mackay's (Grenadiers), and Clarke's (Light Company), on Tuesday, 8th of May.

¹ Lord E. Fitzgerald died shortly after his arrest, from wounds received while resisting capture. He had served in the army, where he was known as a brave and daring soldier. As a rebel leader, however, he does not seem to have been a success, and his preparations for rebellion were far from being complete. At the same time "many valuable papers were found in his possession, mainly manuals drawn up with a view to street-fighting in Dublin after the castle had been captured and the Lord-Lieutenant murdered. One paper provided for the collection of stones, their distribution by women, and the erection of barricades. This is all distinctly reminiscent of the Revolution in France, and shows from what source Lord Edward had drawn his ideas. In addition, a field state was found, showing that the rebels claimed to have 279,896 men under arms."—'Ninety-eight: a Warning,' vol. v., No. 22, p. 524, 'National Defence.'

² Extract from the 'Belfast News-Letter,' Friday, 27th April 1798: "The Reay Fencibles presently lying here daily expect to receive a route."

'Belfast News-Letter,' 4th May 1798: "The Reay Fencibles have now been above two years in Belfast, and though 500 strong have only lost by death 1 officer and 3 men during the last two years. They have conducted themselves much to the satisfaction of the people among whom they have been quartered, at the same time acquitting themselves as good soldiers."

³ The headquarters and seven companies were to be stationed at Cavan, and three companies at Granard.

R. O., 6th May.—The regiment to parade this evening for roll-calling at half-past 6 o'clock. No man to be absent.¹

The first division of the regiment to march to-morrow morning. The men of this division to turn out of their barracks by half-past 2 o'clock in the morning, and pile their arms in the square. A sergeant of each company to attend and deliver up the barracks, and pay all deficiencies on the spot. The quartermaster will furnish carts agreeable to the standing orders of the kingdom. The first drum to beat at 4 o'clock in the morning, the second at half-past 4. The men to fall in and march from the parade immediately. Every man of the regiment, married or unmarried, to sleep in the barracks and to parade this evening at 7 o'clock. One officer of each company to sit up for the night and be responsible that no man leaves barracks. One officer to visit the guard regularly. The men are to march in their belted plaids, with their hair neatly tied, and to dress after they get to quarters. Officers' servants to march with their arms and accoutrements. Corporal John Gunn of the Lieut.-Colonel's Company to remain with the sick men, &c., to take charge of them, and a return to be given in to the paymaster to get the period to which the men left behind are paid up to. For the baggage guard to-morrow Lieut. Grant. The remainder of the regiment to march on Tuesday morning, at the same time, and according to the same orders, as the first division.²

By the 8th May the whole of the Reays had left Belfast, much to the sorrow and regret of the townspeople. Before its departure the civil authorities presented the regiment with a testimonial, certifying to its high character and to the great respect and esteem in which it had been held during its long stay in Belfast.

¹ The strength of the Reays on leaving Belfast was: 1 lieut.-colonel, 6 captains, 1 capt.-lieut., 9 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 4 staff, 28 sergts., 29 corpls., 20 drummers, and 447 privates.

Absent—Colonel Baillie sick in England; Major Stewart not yet joined; Capt. Baillie, Lieuts. D. Ross and W. Scobie sick in Scotland. There were 2 sergts., 1 corpl., 2 drummers, and 14 privates sick in the military infirmary in Dublin; 5 privates sick at Belfast; and 2 sergts. and 8 privates on furlough in Scotland.

Owing to the number of men recently discharged, transferred to the line, &c., the establishment of privates was 76 below the authorised strength.

² 'Belfast News-Letter,' May 7, 1798: "This morning the first division of the Reay Fencibles left town on their route to Cavan and Granard; the second division leave town to-morrow. The behaviour of this regiment during their residence here has been exemplary, and their departure is much regretted by the inhabitants in general."

The following farewell General Order was published:—

General Orders.

LISBURN, *May 8th, 1798.*

Major-General Nugent desires that Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay will express to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the Reay Fencible Highlanders the high sense he entertains of their excellent conduct during the time they have been in his brigade. He is confident that they will not forfeit the high character which they have hitherto deserved, for discipline and attention to their duty in every respect, and he trusts that they will vie with each other in maintaining that character.

The first division reached Cavan¹ on the evening of the 11th May, the second division arriving next day. The regiment was quartered in the barracks recently vacated by the Angus Fencibles, who had been hurriedly ordered to Dublin, and in billets in the town.

R. O., Cavan, 12th May 1798.—Parole: Knox.—The commanding officer takes this opportunity of thanking the regiment for their regularity in leaving Belfast, and on the march, except for a few, and that few he is determined to have a strict eye on, and punish them as they deserve.

The following story, told of a well-known character in the regiment, refers to an incident that occurred during this march, which was probably one of the irregularities complained of by Bighouse.

While the regiment was billeted in a certain town for the night, some of the "wild" spirits in the regiment, led by one John Macaskill, a native of Durness and a man well known for his partiality to a dram and love of a spree, broke out of their billets under cover of darkness and raided the orchard of a gentleman residing on the outskirts of the town. They were surprised in the act of stripping the trees by the sudden appearance of the gentleman himself and some of his retainers, and in the scuffle which ensued to get away unseen John lost his bonnet. The next day, before the regiment marched, the owner of the orchard complained to Lieut.-Colonel Mackay, showing him the bonnet in proof of his complaint. As there was no name on the bonnet to identify its owner, Bighouse ordered the regiment to parade before him. John, however, had meanwhile lost

¹ Cavan, the chief town of Co. Cavan, is situated in one of the richest parts of the country, and distant some 57 miles from Dublin. In 1798 it had a population of about 3000. Its central position, with good roads leading from it in every direction, made Cavan important from a military point of view.

no time in mounting his foraging cap (humble bonnet), the materials for that purpose being supplied by one of the tailors, a boon companion of his own. The Colonel was surprised to see that every man had his bonnet, and having no clue as to the offender's identity, expressed his regret that the culprit could not be found, but promised to make good the damage done. On further inquiry into the matter, Bighouse, who knew the characters of his men thoroughly, had his strong suspicions as to the offender. During the march that day he rode along the ranks until opposite the company in which John was, and addressing that worthy he said dryly, in an undertone: "Bha e gu math dhuits 'Ic Ascail, nach robh Domhuill an taillear fad ir falbh an raoir!" ("It is lucky indeed for you, Macaskill, that Donald the tailor *was not far away last night!*")¹

According to a further order received, two companies of the Reays were to be detached to Kells,² in addition to the three companies for Granard.

R. O., Cavan, 13th May.—The Colonel's and Major's Companies to march to-morrow morning at 4 o'clock for Kells. The 1st drum to beat by three o'clock, the 2nd by half-past three. The companies to fall in immediately on the pipe sounding, and march off.³

As the regiment has hitherto preserved a good character, the commanding officer expects that the companies detached out will have a pride in maintaining a like good character wherever they may be, by their soldier-like regularity and good conduct. Should any man act otherwise, and bring a reflection on the regiment, he will be either tried by a garrison court-martial in the quarters he is in or be sent to headquarters to be tried. The officer commanding the detachment to give in a return of its strength this evening.

A subaltern's guard to mount to-morrow morning, and a piquet this evening. The piquet to patrol the streets from 9 o'clock till 11 in the morning at different hours, and take up and confine all dis-

¹ Communicated by Mr William Weir, ex-dominie, Torrisdale, Sutherland, who heard the story in his youth from Donald Mackay, Strathskerray, who had served in the Fencibles.

² As a guard over the military stores lying in that town.

³ Kells was reached on the evening of the 14th, the distance being about 25 miles. This town lies S.-E. of Cavan, on the Cavan-Dublin road, and in 1798 was a market-town with a population of about 6000. Until the dissolution of its magnificent ecclesiastical establishments it was one of the principal towns in Meath.

orderly people.¹ Retreat to beat at 7 o'clock and tattoo at 9 until further orders. No soldier to be out of his barracks or quarters after tattoo.

R. O., 14th May.—Captain Morison's, Baillie's, and Captain Maclean's Companies to march for Granard to-morrow morning at 4 o'clock, as per route.²

A detachment of 2 subalterns, 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 30 rank and file to march to Virginia as per route. This detachment to be made up from the eight companies in town of men chosen for their steadiness and sobriety. Lieut. Grant and Ensign Balandine for this detachment.³

The orders of yesterday to be read to-day to the companies marching to-morrow.

The companies who do not march to parade at 7 o'clock this evening.

R. O., Cavan, 15th May.—The regiment to parade to-morrow at 11 o'clock for an inspection of arms and accoutrements, no man to be absent. The gunners and officers' servants to fall in with their companies.

Officers commanding companies to pay to Lieutenant Grant subsistence for the current month for the men going on detachment with him, and to Lieutenant Hunter for the men attending the artillery for the said time.⁴ The money to be paid to-night.

R. O., Cavan, 16th May.—Lieutenant Johnston, commanding the Cavan Yeomanry, having politely given permission to the soldiers at

¹ The recent turn of events had thrown all Ireland into a high pitch of excitement. In Cavan, as in other towns, rival factions fought on sight, and with any weapon that came nearest to their hand.

² These three companies arrived at Granard on the evening of the 15th, and were quartered in the barracks there. In 1798 Granard was a small market-town, with a population of nearly 2000. It is situated about 18 miles S.-W. of Cavan, in Co. Longford.

³ This detachment marched on the 16th inst., reaching its destination the same day. Virginia lies about half-way on the road between Cavan and Kells, close to a small lake. Shortly after its arrival the detachment was split into two for the purpose of searching for illicit stills. On the 21st and 22nd May, one party succeeded in capturing 7 stills, with plant, &c. (*vide* orders, dated Longford, October 27, 1798). Part of this detachment rejoined headquarters on the 23rd, the remainder when the regiment passed through Navan on its march to Dublin.

⁴ By an order, dated A. G. Office, Dublin, 7th of May 1798, the artillerymen and drivers of battalion guns were to be paid by the paymasters of the different regiments they were attached to at the rate of 1s. 3½d. per day. The amount paid to be charged to the regimental agents, who were to recover it from the Artillery Adjutants.

the barracks to go twice in the day to draw water out of the spring in the park behind the barracks, the commanding officer orders that the men go regularly at the appointed times; they are not to trespass over the park but to keep to the footpath. Any man disobeying this order will be confined.

A party consisting of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 13 privates to parade to-morrow morning by 7 o'clock to escort ammunition and stores to Enniskillen as per route. Lieutenant James Scobie for the above duty.¹

The number of men left with headquarters being so few, every man had to take his turn for guard.

R. O., Cavan, 17th May.—In future three of the artillerymen to mount guard on the main guard every day.

A return to be given in immediately to the quartermaster of the men in barracks and billets. A party consisting of 1 corporal and 6 privates to parade at 5 o'clock this evening to escort a deserter according to route.

R. O., Cavan, 18th May.—As the General² is shortly expected in town, the officers in charge of companies to pay particular attention to the arms and accoutrements of their men. The regiment to parade this evening at 3 o'clock for an inspection of necessaries, no man to be absent that is able to attend.

R. O., Cavan, 19th May.—Divine Service as usual to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

R. O., 20th May.—An officer's guard to mount to-morrow to receive the General on his coming to town. The regiment to be under arms, officers and men in full uniform and neatly dressed. Officers' servants to attend, except those that have leave from the commanding officer. The artillery (*i.e.*, battalion guns) to parade with their guns on the right and left of the regiment. The men to keep by barracks ready to turn out at any moment. The General's guard to march down to the town at half-past 12 o'clock, and remain with their arms piled, if a dry day, ready to fall in on the General's appearance.

¹ This party rejoined headquarters on the 22nd instant.

² The General referred to appears to have been Brigadier-General Knox, who commanded the troops at Enniskillen, Ballyshannon, and Cavan, with headquarters at Enniskillen. The Reays being now under his command, he would have come to Cavan to inspect the five companies and headquarters of the regiment.

Lieutenant R. Mackay for the General's guard, and Lieutenant Baillie for the main guard.

The regiment to parade to-morrow at 10 o'clock, the warning drum to beat at half-past 9.¹

At this time Lieut.-Colonel Mackay, who had been in ill health for some months past, left the regiment. He had been obliged to apply for leave of absence to Scotland, suffering from what turned out to be a fatal illness, which prohibited him from returning to the regiment, and ultimately caused his death in September.²

On Bighouse proceeding on leave, Captain Scobie of Melness assumed command at this somewhat critical juncture, in the absence of Major Stewart who had not yet joined.³

R. O., 21st May.—According to orders received the regiment is to hold itself in immediate readiness to march to Dublin. The quartermaster to arrange for sufficient cars to convey the baggage.

The reason of this sudden order was on account of the intelligence received in Dublin that the rebellion was imminent. The latest intentions of the rebels, so it transpired, was to concentrate in Kildare and Meath, then to march upon the metropolis and co-operate with an expected rising there. Once Dublin was captured it was held that the rest of the country would rise.

The signal for the outbreak was the stopping of the mail coaches from Dublin on the night of the 23rd May, and although the programme was not fully carried out, those which were going to Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Athlone were seized. Fires blazed ominously from many points of the Dublin and Wicklow hills, announcing to the peasantry that the hour for action was at hand. Long before daylight on the 24th numerous rebel parties were in arms in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Meath. On that night Lieutenant Gifford of

¹ There is no record of the result of this inspection, but judging by former ones it should have been highly creditable to the regiment.

² I have not been able to find when Bighouse actually left the regiment. He was certainly present with it on its arrival at Cavan, and probably left immediately before or after the General's visit to that town. His memorial praying for two months' leave of absence to Scotland is dated Belfast, 5th May 1798. As this memorial had to pass through various official channels before it obtained the final sanction of the Lord-Lieutenant in Dublin, it is unlikely that the leave was granted until some days after the regiment had arrived at Cavan.

³ Major Stewart never appears to have joined the regiment for duty, but obtained leave of absence until he exchanged with Major Ross in July. The senior captain, Lamington Baillie, was still on leave, sick, in Scotland, and shortly afterwards resigned.

Dublin and several other gentlemen were murdered by the insurgents. Several bodies of rebels collected to the south of Dublin, where they were attacked by the Rathfarnham Yeomanry Cavalry and a detachment of the 5th Dragoons, and dispersed with some loss and prisoners taken. In Kildare,¹ in spite of the stringent measures for disarming the people, the rising was especially formidable, and about 2.30 on the morning of the 24th a mob of rebels, about 1000 strong, under a farmer named Michael Reynolds, attempted to surprise and capture the important town of Naas, but were repulsed by a party of Armagh Militia and a detachment of Dragoon Guards, commanded by Lord Gosford, with a loss of about 130 killed. Another body of rebels attacked a small force of Yeomanry and Militia at Clane, but were dispersed with much loss. The garrison of Prosperous, however, were surprised by a strong force of rebels, who set fire to the barracks, most of the inmates either perishing in the flames or being murdered in cold blood. At Carlow a mob of insurgents attempted to surprise the troops in garrison, but were driven back with great slaughter. Numerous other small engagements occurred round Dublin.

Within the metropolis precautions had at once been taken to suppress a rising and guard against surprise. The bridges over the canals² were secured, but not before a number of insurgents had entered the city. Martial law was proclaimed, and the vigorous measures employed by the authorities,³ added to the energy and promptitude with which the loyal classes armed and organised

¹ At Kilcullen, in Co. Kildare, a force under General Dundas was repulsed by a large body of insurgents. This fight took place on the 23rd, but in a subsequent engagement General Dundas overthrew the rebels near Kilcullen Bridge, when 300 were slain.

² Dublin was protected on three sides by canals. These waterways formed a serious barrier to an attacking and undisciplined force, and had the bridges been either destroyed or held from the first, any ingress would have been impossible for the rebels from without.

³ Assemblies were forbidden, and strict orders were issued, as in other proclaimed districts, that no unauthorised person should appear in the streets between nine at night and three in the morning; that every householder should post outside his door a list of those who were within; and that those permitted to have arms should send in an inventory of them to the town-clerk. Artillery were placed opposite the Royal Hospital and new gaol, and tocsins or alarm-bells were set up in different parts of the city, stringent orders being given that whenever the alarm was sounded those householders nearest the danger point were to place lights outside their windows. Additional precautions were taken to defend the castle, and great piles of hand-grenades were stored ready for immediate use. Parties of troops patrolled the streets by night and held all important positions. The lamplighters struck work, meaning to leave the streets in total darkness, but they were forced to carry out their duties at the point of the bayonet. Attempts were made to stop all provisions coming into the city, but without success.—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 326.

themselves,¹ resulted in the outbreak in the capital being a failure.

R. O., Cavan, 22nd May.—The five companies and the men in charge² are to march to-morrow morning at 12 o'clock, the 1st drum to beat at 11 o'clock, the 2nd at half-past 11. On the pipe sounding the men are to immediately fall in ready to march off. The men are to march in their belted plaids, with their hair neatly tied, and to be dressed after they get to quarters. Officers' servants to march with their arms and accoutrements. For the baggage guard Lieutenant R. Mackay.

By this time the detachments of the regiment at Granard and Kells had also received their routes, and were on their way to Dublin.

The five companies and headquarters halted at Virginia on the night of the 23rd, where they were joined by part of the detachment under Lieutenant Grant. Continuing the march next day, they arrived at Kells early in the afternoon and were billeted in the town.

While at Kells news was received of the outbreak of the rebellion,³ and as it appeared highly probable that parties of the rebels would be met with between Kells and Dublin, Captain Scobie accordingly issued strict orders for the march.

R. O., Kells, 24th May.—In future all the men that are not sick are to be under arms and in the ranks on the march. No soldier to leave his division without leave from the commander of it. No officers' servants to appear in colour clothing (*i.e.*, plain clothes) on the march, but in proper regimentals and under arms. All N.-C. officers to remain on the flanks of their companies. Any soldier who presumes to dis-

¹ The yeomanry in Dublin were already very numerous, but in the first fortnight of the rebellion nearly a thousand more citizens enrolled themselves, only those being taken whose loyalty was indisputable. Bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, students of the university, and even clergymen, were hastily enrolled; the latter being expressly authorised to do so by a circular issued by the Archbishop. There was a special corps of barristers, while no less than 800 attorneys are said to have taken arms. At the law courts all except the King's law officers appeared in military uniform.—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 329.

² These were a number of political prisoners, handed over by the authorities in Cavan for conveyance to Dublin.

³ The work of suppressing the rebellion was at first undertaken by the officers both of the Regular Army, Fencibles, and Militia, with a light heart and with the greatest contempt of their opponents. It was thought that the perambulation of small columns of troops through the country, after the style of Hoche in La Vendee, would be sufficient. This was soon disproved, however, by the desperate valour shown by the rebels, and in the defeat of more than one body of the King's troops.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part II.



MAJOR JOHN SCOBIE OF MELNESS.

(From a Miniature belonging to the Author.)

obey will be tried on a drum-head court-martial and punished on the spot.

The companies will be completed with ten rounds per man of ball cartridges, in addition to what they now have, by the quartermaster. The men to have good flints well fixed in their firelocks. The hour of marching to be as formerly ordered. Lieutenant Baillie for baggage guard to-morrow.

Navan¹ was reached on the evening of the 25th, where the companies were quartered for the night; the regimental baggage under a strong guard being stacked in the market square.²

Meanwhile, on the 22nd, the two companies³ stationed at Kells had set out for Dublin. Halting for the night at Navan, they had continued the march next day to Clonee, a small village near Dunboyne, on the borders of Meath and Co. Dublin. Resuming their march on the morning of Thursday the 24th, they arrived in Dublin some time in the afternoon and were billeted in Sackville Street.⁴ Not being aware of the proximity of the rebels, however, part of the baggage had been left too far in the rear, with the result that it was suddenly attacked soon after leaving Clonee by a party of rebels who had been watching its movements from near Dunboyne.⁵

The baggage guard, of 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 10 privates, was overpowered, but not until a stout resistance had been offered, in which more than one rebel was laid low. Of the Reays four men were

¹ A market town in Co. Meath, situated on rising ground at the junction of the Boyne and Blackwater, and distant some 36 miles N.-W. of Dublin.

² On the 24th a desperate engagement between a body of the King's forces and the insurgents took place at Naas, an ancient town in Co. Kildare, 17 miles S.-W. of Dublin. The rebels were defeated with a loss of 300 killed and wounded.

³ The Colonel's Company under Captain-Lieutenant Angus Mackay, and the Major's Company under Lieutenant Donald Mackenzie. Part of the Colonel's Company, however, was left behind at Kells to await the arrival of the main body of the regiment, and subsequently took part in the fight at Tara Hill, where it lost three men.

⁴ 'Belfast News-Letter,' May 25th, 1798: "The Reay Fencibles commanded by Colonel Mackay, who marched from hence to Cavan a few days ago, have received a route for Dublin; the first division reached there yesterday."

⁵ Extract from Despatch of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, 24th May 1798:—

"A rebel party . . . assembled (to-day) on the borders of Dublin near Dunboyne, and overpowered some constables, and afterwards took the baggage of two companies of the Reay Fencibles coming to town, and have during the course of the day committed many outrages. Several of them, however, were killed, but the body remained indispersed. The city (Dublin) is tranquil, and I have no doubt will remain so this evening, and I trust that to-morrow we shall entirely disperse that body of insurgents which has not been entirely routed to-day."

Note.—The Suffolk Fencibles also lost some of their baggage the same day at Barretstown.

killed; and the rebels taking the remainder prisoners, carried off the baggage. The men killed were Corporal John Evans and Private Hugh Mackay of the Major's Company, and Privates James Holms and Donald Macleod of the Colonel's Company.

This was the first loss sustained by the Reays at the hands of the rebels.¹

In order to break up the body of insurgents to which the above party belonged, a regiment of militia² and some yeomanry cavalry were despatched from Dublin early next morning in quest of them, but on coming up with the rebels and seeing their superior numbers, this force deemed it prudent to retire and wait for reinforcements. These having been obtained, the force advanced again on the morning of the 27th, only to find that its mission had already been accomplished by three companies of the Reay Fencibles assisted by some yeomanry, who had defeated the whole host of the enemy on the hill of Tara³ the day previous. In what manner this had been done we shall presently see.

The rebels, after plundering and terrorising the country round Dunboyne,⁴ had repaired to Dunshaughlin, some seven miles north of Dunboyne, where they pillaged the town, murdered a number of Protestants, and forced many of the townspeople into their ranks. Their numbers rapidly increasing, and there being no military parties in the neighbourhood strong enough to oppose them, they continued their depredations unchecked and unhindered. Accident, however, interposed on the side of government.

Captain Preston,⁵ commanding the Navan Cavalry, having reconnoitred the rebels in great force at Dunshaughlin on the morning of the 25th, heard that five companies of the Reay Fencibles were to be

¹ The eight survivors who were taken prisoners were nearly all suffering from wounds. They were kept by the rebels, who hoped to make use of them as drill-instructors.—Musgrave's 'History of the Rebellion.' Private Hugh Mackay, one of the killed, was a cousin-german of the author of the 'House and Clan of Mackay'—"a sober, pious young man."—"History of the House and Clan of Mackay," by Robert Mackay, Writer, Thurso, pub. 1829, p. 549.

² Probably the Cavan Militia.

³ In Co. Meath, about twenty miles N.-W. of Dublin. Here the Irish held their national assemblies in old times. In 1173, it is said, a conference took place between the English and Irish on the hill.

⁴ A contemporary correspondent (Henry Alexander) mentions that the assemblage at Dunboyne was very large, and was drawn from a large area extending as far as Drogheda. "They have done much mischief," he adds, "but are without any leader of consequence."—Lecky, vol. iv, p. 377.

⁵ Afterwards Lord Tara.

in Navan the same night on their route to Dublin. Hastening to Navan, he solicited their co-operation in attacking the rebels next day. Captain Scobie agreed, and all the yeomanry in the adjacent country having been collected, the force left Navan at daybreak on Saturday, the 26th of May.¹

On arriving at Dunshaughlin, after a march of ten miles, it was found that the insurgents had evacuated the town early that morning, and moved off in a north-easterly direction, leaving the route they had taken very doubtful. Captain Scobie being obliged to resume his march on Dublin, the Yeomanry decided to return to their homes, which would have been fatal to the whole countryside, as the rebels would have spread universal desolation. Information, however, fortunately arrived, which led to an event of paramount importance in crushing the insurrection in that neighbourhood, and establishing the confidence of the well affected.²

Having obtained the intelligence from some of the country people that the insurgents had taken up a position on or near the hill of Tara, some six miles north of Dunshaughlin, Captain Preston recalled the Yeomanry Corps, and following the Reay Fencibles who had proceeded nearly two miles on their march, informed Captain Scobie that he would undertake to find out the rebels in two hours. Though at first unwilling to take further steps against the rebels, as his orders were to lose no time in reaching Dublin, Captain Scobie finally consented to delay his march.³ Three companies—the Lieutenant-Colonel's, commanded by Lieutenant Rupert Mackay; the Grenadiers or Captain C. Mackay's, commanded by Lieutenant William Mackay;⁴ and Captain Blanche's—made up to a strength of 210 men,⁵ with one

¹ The force, which was under the command of Captain Scobie, was as follows: five companies and headquarters of the Reay Fencibles, with battalion guns—strength 350 of all ranks; Lord Fingall's, Captain Preston's, and the Lower Kells troops of Yeomanry Cavalry, each 30 sabres strong; and one company of the Upper Kells Yeomanry Infantry under Captain Molloy—strength, 100 of all ranks. Total, 90 cavalry and 450 infantry.

² Musgrave and Maxwell's Histories of the Rebellion.

³ According to Maxwell, the officer commanding the Reay Fencibles refused to delay the march, until Captain Preston informed him that he would then proceed to Dublin and obtain an order from the Lord-Lieutenant for the Reay Fencibles to return, before they could proceed half-way on their march. On which the former consented to stay, and detached the force detailed above.

⁴ As Captain C. Mackay was also quartermaster, his company would have been commanded on this occasion by its senior subaltern, Lieutenant William Mackay.

⁵ The detachment of the Colonel's Company, which had rejoined headquarters at Kells, probably made up the strength.

battalion gun, under Captain Maclean,¹ were ordered by Captain Scobie to join with the Yeomanry and pursue the rebels; the other two companies to remain behind at Dunshaughlin with the regimental baggage, colours,² and prisoners.

The news of the disaster to the baggage of the first two companies on the 24th had by now reached the rear division, and the men consequently received the order to march with three ringing cheers, and then set forward with the greatest alacrity, vowing vengeance on the "croppies."³ Their Highland blood was roused and kindled, and they were resolved, if possible, to retrieve the honour of the regiment, which they considered as tarnished, or die in the attempt.

Retracing their steps to Dunshaughlin, the three companies of the Reays were joined by the Yeomanry Corps, the whole being under Captain Maclean.⁴ Covered in front by part of the cavalry under Captain Preston, who knew the country well, the little force at once set out in search of the rebels. The Reays headed the column, with the Upper Kells Company of infantry behind, the rear and flanks being protected by Lord Fingall and his troop of Yeomanry Cavalry and the Lower Kells Cavalry. Having marched back about six miles along the Navan road, intelligence was received from Captain Preston that he had located the enemy's position.

The rebels, to the number of about 4000, were strongly posted on Tara Hill, where they had been for about four hours, while those of the disaffected among the country people were flocking to them in great numbers from every quarter. They had plundered and devastated the country for miles round, and had carried an immense amount of booty and provisions of every kind to their camp.

The slopes of Tara Hill are gradual, the upper part being surrounded by the remains of three circular Danish forts with ramparts and fosses. The summit is crowned by an ancient churchyard,

¹ Captain Maclean had remained at headquarters when his company was detached to Granard on the 15th May. According to a Report on Tara Hill by Captain Blanche (now in the Record Office), it appears that the latter officer was actually in command of the Reays during the fight, but this does not agree with Captain Scobie's official report (see p. 172, note).

² Colours were not carried *into action* against rebel or insurgent forces.

³ The term "croppy" had been applied to the rebel party in Ireland owing to the manner in which they cut their hair close to the head as a distinguished mark, in imitation of the French republicans. This term was long used in the Reay Country to denote a *discontented person*.

⁴ The force as now made up was as before, less the two companies (140 men) and one battalion gun of the Reays, under Captain Scobie.

enclosed with a wall, which the rebels regarded as their citadel and considered as impregnable. Here they had hoisted a number of white flags, and were proceeding to cook their victuals, having lighted close on forty fires, when their operations were disturbed by the appearance of the little band of soldiery.

On the approach of the King's troops, the rebels perceiving them "put their hats on the top of their pikes, sent forth some dreadful yells, and at the same time began to jump, and put themselves in various singular attitudes as if bidding defiance to their adversaries."¹

Anticipating an easy victory over so small a body of redcoats accompanied only by a few Yeomanry, and emboldened by their great superiority in numbers, some of the rebels began advancing down the hill, firing as they went, but in an irregular manner and without inflicting any loss. These bold spirits were soon forced to retire, under the galling fire of a few skirmishers (all crack shots) sent forward from the Reays.²

A consultation among the leaders of the troops was now held, and it was decided, serious though the odds were, to attack the enemy's position at once, before the insurgents could obtain further reinforcements.

Without loss of time the troops formed up for the attack. The approach to the hill, and half-way up, was by a narrow lane between two rows of hedging.³ Along this the infantry were to march—the Reays in front, preceded by their 6-pounder, with the company of Yeomanry infantry in close support, the cavalry protecting their flanks and rear. As soon as open ground was reached on clearing the lane, the infantry were to form line and push the attack home; while to prevent their being outflanked, part of the cavalry commanded by Lord Fingall was to go to the right, the other under Captain Preston to the left flank.

Undaunted by the seething mass of rebels who could now be discerned thronging the summit and upper slopes of the hill, the Reays resolutely marched forward towards it; their pipers struck up

¹ Musgrave.

² One of these, a forester from Loch Stack, and one of the best shots in the regiment, is said to have killed five rebels in succession, coolly recharging his piece each time.—Trad. Evidence.

³ Known locally as "boreens."

a favourite air,¹ and they boldly pressed on, burning to avenge the loss of their comrades on the 24th.

At a steep part of the lane the gun got stuck, and had to be left behind to follow as best it could, the infantry pushing on to the attack.

The firing was commenced by the rebels at 6.30 P.M., as soon as the Reays emerged from the shelter of the lane, and continued without intermission till sunset. On gaining the open the Reays and Yeomanry infantry rapidly deployed into line, and continued to advance with the greatest coolness, reserving their fire till they were within fifty yards of the enemy.

In the meanwhile the rebels had despatched a strong party by a circuitous route, with orders to attack the troops in rear should they attempt to take the hill. This party, evading the cavalry on the flanks, followed pell-mell along the lane by which the Mackays had advanced. Seeing the gun with its small escort alone, they made a determined rush to secure it. The gunners, however, quickly turning the piece about, discharged it when the dense mass of yelling Irish were almost at its muzzle. The gun being accidentally double-charged, the effect was the more destructive, the grape-shot ploughing a bloody lane through the closely-packed mass, killing twelve outright and maiming numbers of others. The survivors, panic-stricken, immediately fled in all directions, leaving their dead and wounded littering the roadway.²

While the danger of an attack in rear had thus been signally averted, the fight was raging fiercely in front. The Reays, supported by the Yeomanry, gradually forced their way upwards, and on coming into close range, opened a most destructive fire.³ Arriving at the brow of the hill, the rebels' fire became in turn very heavy, but luckily irregular and ill aimed.⁴ Here the fight was hottest, the enemy in front were in overwhelming numbers, on higher ground,

¹ According to traditional evidence one of the first of the Reays to be wounded was a piper, who was shot through the arm whilst playing at the head of his company.

² The officer in charge of the gun was Lieutenant Hunter.

³ "The Reay Fencibles preserved their line, and fired with as much coolness as if they had been exercising on a field day."—Musgrave.

⁴ The rebels were notorious for their bad shooting, some of them having seldom handled a musket before. Their fire was almost invariably high. In proof of this I have heard it said that many of the Reays were shot through the cloth of their bonnets and thus escaped without injury, whereas had the ball passed *an inch or two lower down* it would have pierced their brain.



TARA HILL.

(From a Drawing by the Author.)

and securely posted behind and protected by old walls, mounds, and ditches, which gave them every advantage.

“Nothing, however, could resist the resolute courage and bravery of the Highlanders, determined as they were to despise all odds and surmount all difficulties, even though, from the circumstances in which they were placed, their ranks were soon broken.” Scaling walls and leaping ditches, they soon forced the rebels back on their final position, tumbling them over at every stroke of the bayonet.¹

Having thus forced their way to the top of the hill, the valiant little band assailed the rebels' citadel. A fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensued, the rebels, many of whom were under the influence of liquor, showing a most desperate bravery. Disciplined valour, however, gradually prevailed; the rebels wavered and finally gave way.² Once dispersed they were pursued off the hill in wild confusion, the bayonet creating further havoc among the flying masses. The pursuit was taken up by the cavalry, who, though raw and undisciplined, did considerable execution, still further scattering the rebels and completing the rout.

In this highly spirited action the Reays, although under fire for the first time, and on whom the brunt of the fighting had fallen, showed singular audacity and bravery. The Yeomanry, on their part, had behaved with remarkable courage and steadiness. Of the Reays the hero of the day was Private Donald Mackay of the Grenadier Company, who was promoted corporal in Captain Baillie's Company, and afterwards sergeant in Captain Blanche's Company, “in consideration of his gallant behaviour in the action of Tara Hill.”

The following story of an incident in the fight was told me some years ago.

During the advance of the Reays on Tara Hill, one of their number, a young man well known for his religious zeal, feeling somewhat overcome at finding himself under fire for the first time, had taken shelter in a ditch, where he was discovered, earnestly

¹ It is said that the thick frieze overcoats worn by some of the rebels turned the point of the bayonet sufficiently to save their wearers' lives.

² In this *mêlée* the Reays used the butts of their muskets and even their fists, and many feats of individual bravery and devoted courage were performed. One officer is related to have cut down no fewer than six rebels with his broadsword, while a sergeant, a man of remarkable strength, emerged from the fray with his blade notched like a saw, and his basket-hilt so smashed in that he could not withdraw his hand. A mounted officer, who had his horse shot under him, was surrounded by the rebels, when four Highlanders rescued him from his perilous position.—Trad. Evidence.

engaged in prayer, by a sergeant. The latter, seeing the prostrate youth, strode up to where he lay, and prodding him with the butt of his pike,¹ he called out sharply: "Eirich, cionnuis 's urra dhuit bhi' feithimh an-sinn, 'n uair tha do chompanaich deanamh gu foigheantach? Eirich 's greas ort gu duineal. Bitheadh tìm gu leoir ann airson urnuigh an deigh a chàth, agus an deigh cùr as do h-uile mac an diabhail do na H-Eirreinich so!"—"Get up with you; how can you lag behind while your comrades are gaining glory in front? Go and acquit yourself like a man; there will be time enough for prayer when the fight is finished, and every devil's son of those rebel Irishers killed!"

The words brought back courage to the faltering lad. Rushing forward, he rejoined his comrades, and for the remainder of the fight did indeed "acquit himself like a man." Donald was never again known to lag behind his comrades in the fray; the words of the sergeant had been enough.

Darkness was rapidly falling over Tara Hill when the weary cavalry returned from the chase of the scattered rebels. The troops would have bivouacked for the night in the position they had won but for the fact that they had scarcely a cartridge left, so heavy had been the firing.² Such being the case, it was deemed wiser for the troops to return immediately to Dunshaughlin. Accordingly, after tending to the wounded, securing the prisoners, and loading the captured baggage, &c., on cars taken from the rebels, the troops, partaking of some hasty refreshment of which they were sorely in need, started out on the six miles which separated Tara Hill and Dunshaughlin. Fortunately there was a good road the whole way, which facilitated the movements of the heavily laden cars; but it was close on midnight before the last of the baggage arrived at Dunshaughlin, and the troops, thoroughly wearied after their long day's work, were free to enjoy a well-earned rest.

The losses of the King's troops at Tara Hill had been wonderfully small considering the heavy fire they had been subjected to. Of the

¹ The pike, then carried by all sergeants, was a formidable weapon in the hands of one who knew how to use it. It was not abolished in the army until 1830.

² Loading a musket was a slow operation in those days. The ball had to be rammed down on the top of the charge. Continuous firing was thirsty as well as tiring work, the powder (after the heads of the cartridges had been bitten off) getting into the men's mouths and down their throats, and even covering their faces, giving them a very grimy appearance!

Reay Fencibles, 8 men were killed,¹ and 1 officer, 4 sergeants, and 22 rank and file wounded, of whom 2 rank and file died of their wounds. The Upper Kells Infantry had 1 killed and 5 wounded; the cavalry suffered no loss.² The men of the Reay Fencibles killed were: Privates Roderick Mackay, Alexander Macdonald, and Robert Mackenzie of the Colonel's Company;³ Private Hugh Mackay of the Lieutenant-Colonel's Company; and Privates James Mackay, John Mackay, John Graham, and Drummer John Macdonald of Captain Colin Mackay's Company. The following died of their wounds on the 27th and 28th inst. respectively: Corporal Donald Macdonald of the Lieutenant-Colonel's Company, and Corporal Kenneth Mackay of Captain Colin Mackay's Company.

Of the rebels, 350 were found dead on the field next morning, among them being their leader in full uniform.⁴ The total number of their killed and wounded must have amounted to close on 500. In the pockets of those slain "were found popish prayer-books, beads, rosaries, crucifixes, pious ejaculations to our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, and republican songs, and scapulars on the bodies of many of them."⁵

¹ They were buried next day in the churchyard at Dunshaughlin, where they rest far from their native Strathnaver.

² The returns of the killed and wounded were as above, although Captain Scobie's despatch to General Lake, dated 27th May, mentions the loss of the King's troops as nine rank and file killed and only sixteen wounded. Probably the complete return of the wounded had not been received at the time the despatch was written. The officer wounded was Lieut. Rupert Mackay. Most of the casualties appear to have been caused by pikes, which inflicted many ghastly injuries. Few of the men received wounds from musket-balls.

³ These men belonged to the detachment of the Colonel's Company left behind at Kells. Mr John Mackay, Hereford, in his account of the regiment, mentions that Captain-Lieutenant Angus Mackay of the Colonel's Company "was promoted Captain for bravery at Tara Hill," and this statement is repeated by the late Rev. Angus Mackay in the 'Book of Mackay.' I cannot, however, find anything to bear this out. Had such been the case there would have certainly been some reference to this officer's bravery in one of the many detailed accounts of the fight. His commission as Captain was certainly antedated when he received it in August 1798, but had it been as a reward for bravery at Tara Hill he would have been promoted sooner after the fight. This officer as Captain-Lieutenant commanded the Colonel's Company, and according to the Order Books was in charge of the Colonel's and Major's Companies when they were detached to Kells, proceeding with them to Dublin. This being the case, it is scarcely likely that he could have been present at Tara Hill.

⁴ A young man about twenty-two, the innkeeper's son at Lukan, was the leader. "He was killed," says a contemporary writer, "leading his men very gallantly in full regimentals. A man of the name of Garrotty, a better kind of farmer, was next to him in command. In other respects each man did what he liked, and ranged himself under his local commander."—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 377.

⁵ Musgrave.

During their flight the rebels had thrown away their arms and ammunition, and everything that would be likely to encumber them.¹

Three hundred horses, all their provisions, and a great quantity of arms, ammunition, and baggage fell into the hands of the victors, together with part of the baggage² and eight of the Reay Fencibles taken two days before.

"The arms and spoils captured by the Reays," says Mr John Mackay, Hereford, "compensated them in a measure for the baggage taken by the rebels on the 24th. The prisoners taken by the Irish with the baggage were also recovered. This affair became memorable, and its importance at this special conjuncture was incalculable in its consequence. It dispirited the rebels, convincing them that they could not stand against such troops, and so completely deranged their plans that they lost all hope of accomplishing them. It is impossible to describe the joy that pervaded every Protestant and loyal heart on receiving the news of the gallant and signal defeat of the rebels. This victory gave courage to every regiment of Yeomanry and Militia to stand firm and resist."³

The prisoners, of whom a good number were taken,⁴ informed the Yeomanry officers that their intention was to have proceeded that night to plunder Navan, and afterwards Kells, where there was a great quantity of ammunition stored and little or no force to protect it. When they had successfully accomplished this they were to be

¹ Among the spoils taken were a general's uniform and a side-saddle, and it was noticed that a woman, or man in woman's clothes, was prominent among the rebels. The roads next day were covered with dead bodies, pikes, muskets, and green cockades.—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 336.

² The baggage lost consisted mainly of knapsacks and necessaries.

³ *Extract of a despatch from Captain Scobie of the Reay Fencibles to Lieutenant-General Lake, dated Dunshaughlin, Sunday morning, May 27, 1798.*—"The Division, consisting of five companies of His Majesty's Reay Regiment of Fencible Infantry, which I have the honour to command, arrived here yesterday morning, according to route, accompanied by Lord Fingal's troop of Yeomanry Cavalry, Captain Preston's troop of cavalry, Lower Kells Yeomanry Cavalry, and Captain Molloy's company of Yeomanry Infantry.

"At half-past three P.M. I was informed that a considerable number of the rebel insurgents had taken station on Tara Hill. I instantly detached three companies of our division, with one field-piece and the above corps of Yeomanry to the spot, under the command of Captain M'Lean of the Reays; the issue of which has answered my most sanguine expectations.

"The rebels fled in all directions; three hundred and fifty were found dead in the field this morning, among whom is their Commander, in full uniform; many more were killed and wounded.

"Our loss is inconsiderable, being nine rank and file killed, sixteen rank and file wounded."

⁴ According to one authority two prisoners only were captured, who were shot next morning. Other writers, however, mention a considerable number as having been taken.

joined, according to a plan already made out, by large numbers of insurgents from Meath, Westmeath, Louth, Monaghan, and Cavan, and to have freed a number of political prisoners confined in Trim, where they expected little or no opposition.

Such a general insurrection would have been fatal to the Kingdom, for the risings in Wexford and Kildare were raging with inextinguishable fury, those in Wicklow and Carlow were still destructive, while the peasantry in many parts of Leinster and Munster were on the point of rising.¹

Dublin itself was seething with rebellious ideas, and only awaited the completion of the rebel's schemes to break out in open rebellion.² The victory of Tara Hill, by upsetting the rebels' plans, undoubtedly saved Dublin from sack, bloodshed, and murder; while the defeat and complete dispersion of the insurgents both at Tara Hill and on the Curragh³ were the means of reopening the communications north and south with the metropolis which had already been seriously interrupted.⁴

On the morning of Sunday, 27th of May, the Reays set out for Dublin with the prisoners and baggage, part of the cavalry accompanying them.⁵ While on the way they met the troops sent to pursue the rebels, who, on finding that the service on which they had been despatched had already been gallantly performed, immediately returned to Dublin, spreading abroad the news of the victory.

It was well on to evening before the long train of baggage and prisoners arrived in Dublin, after a tedious march of fourteen miles. Having handed over their charges, the Reays met with the heartiest reception from the well affected among the citizens;⁶ "there was no

¹ Musgrave.

² In his despatch of the 24th May, already quoted, the Lord-Lieutenant had stated that Dublin was tranquil and might remain so that evening. There was little certainty of it, however.

³ At Naas and Kilcullen Bridge.

⁴ Maxwell.—On the 25th Camden wrote that all communications with the south were cut off, and that the judges who were going to the assizes at Clonmel were compelled to turn back. Reinforcements, he said, were urgently needed, but there was as yet no news of insurrection in the north.—Camden to Portland, May 25th, 1798.

⁵ The Navan Cavalry and the company of Upper Kells Yeomanry Infantry returned to Navan the same day.

⁶ They were met, says Mr Hugh Nicol, Ontario (from information supplied by his grandfather), by the loyal populace, who had puncheons of porter and refreshments, and they were greeted with a royal welcome.



occasion to furnish them with billets, for the gates and doors of all the principal inhabitants were thrown open to admit them.”¹

The three companies from Granard under Captain Morison arriving next day,² the regiment was once more united. Many were the stories the men of the five companies under Captain Scobie had to tell, of the exciting times they had been through since they left Cavan. The eight men who had been made prisoners by the rebels had also thrilling tales to tell of their three days' captivity, and had been lucky to escape with their lives. The men of the companies present at Tara Hill, however, were the heroes of the regiment, and many was the “dram” quaffed in their honour.³

¹ ‘House and Clan of Mackay,’ p. 551.

² This detachment left Granard on the 25th, halting at Castletowndelvin, Newtown, and Clonee, reaching the latter place on the 27th, a few hours after the five companies under Captain Scobie had passed through. On arriving at Dublin the detachment was billeted in Sackville Street, where the Colonel's and Major's Companies were already quartered.

³ It appears that a silver medal was afterwards struck and presented by General Baillie to the officers and men in commemoration of the services rendered by the regiment at Tara Hill. A few years ago a relative of the author's happened to hear of the existence of one of these medals, bearing the name of “Major John Scobie, Reay Fencible Highlanders,” with the date “26th May 1798,” but although inquiries were made the owner could not unfortunately be traced. It was often the custom at that time for colonels to present medals in honour of some important occasion, or as a reward for distinguished or faithful services.—See Medals of the Breadalbane Fencibles, ‘A Military History of Perthshire,’ p. 149.



Probable reverse of Silver Medal presented by Colonel Baillie in commemoration of Tara Hill.

CHAPTER XI.

THE garrison of Dublin, of which the Reays now formed part, had been considerably strengthened on the outbreak of disturbances, and at this time consisted of the following troops: 5th Dragoon Guards and 68th Regiment, the Dumfries and Ancient British Fencible Dragoons, the Angus, Dumbarton, Durham, and Reay Fencibles, the Cavan Militia, together with a large train of artillery, and a strong force of yeomanry, both mounted and foot. The cavalry and infantry were quartered in barracks, temporary barracks, billets, or under canvas; while the artillery were stationed in different parts of the city.

The garrison was under the command of Major-General James Craig, an officer of much experience, and a strict disciplinarian.¹

Dublin, as we have already seen, being in a highly unsettled and dangerous state, "the troops were held ready to march at a moment's notice, and all was carried on as in an enemy's country; soldiers were ordered not to speak to any man in plain clothes, unless buying in a shop, and only to be out of barracks before 10 A.M."²

"The search for arms," writes Lecky, "was prosecuted with untiring vigilance, and the discovery in the course of a few days of several large stores of pikes or pike-heads, and even of a few cannon, clearly showed the reality and the magnitude of the danger.³ . . . Courts-martial were daily held, and many persons were hanged in the

¹ General Craig had served in the American War of Independence. He was appointed Chief of the Duke of York's staff during the campaign in the Netherlands, 1794, and commanded the expedition to the Cape in 1795.

² 'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 47.

³ Most of the arms were only discovered through secret information or by confessions that had been extorted under the lash. The house of a prominent rebel named Byrne who had been killed at Tara Hill, and a house near Townshend Street in which arms were discovered, were burnt to the ground. A close watch was kept on the brushmakers' shops, as it was found that the long mops known as "Pope's heads" were made use of as pike-handles.—'Ireland in the 18th Century,' vol. iv. pp. 327-8.

barracks or over Carlisle bridge; 124 suspected rebels were sent on a single day to the prison-ship. The bodies of many rebels who had been sabred in the fights round Dublin were brought into the town on carts and exposed in the Castle yard."

The Reays continued to be quartered on the inhabitants, half the regiment in billets in Sackville Street, the remaining five companies enjoying free quarters elsewhere until the barracks they were to occupy could be got ready.

R. O., Dublin, 28th May 1798.—The regimental baggage to be unloaded, and a guard of 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 12 privates to mount over it until such time as it can be stored away.

The regiment to parade this evening at 5 o'clock, the men to turn out neat and clean, arms and accoutrements in the best possible order. No garrison guard to be furnished by the regiment to-morrow, but the men to be ready to turn out immediately, at any hour. Officers commanding companies to see that their men are acquainted with the orders and regulations affecting the garrison, for ignorance of which no excuse will be accepted in future. The men to appear in their new clothing on guards and piquets only. For piquet to-night Ensign Baillie.

G. O., Dublin, 29th May.—Field Officer this day Colonel Firby, 68th Regiment. The Adjutant and Quartermaster of the day to be furnished by the Durham Fencibles. Duties¹ for to-morrow:—

<i>Castle Guard</i>	. . . .	68th Regiment.
<i>Castle Piquet</i>	. . . .	Reay Fencibles.
<i>Castle Magazine</i>	. . . .	Angus Do.
<i>Cavalry Piquet</i>	. . . .	5th Dragoon Guards.
<i>New Gate Guard</i>	. . . .	Cavan Militia.
<i>Kilmainham (Royal Hospital)</i>	. . . .	68th Regiment, Durham Fencibles, and Cavan Militia.
<i>Thomas Street Guard</i>	. . . .	Dumbarton Fencibles.

On the outbreak of the rebellion, the rising, as we have seen, had been but partial, owing to the arrest and capture of so many of the prominent rebel leaders. Only in Wexford and Wicklow did it assume a really formidable aspect. There, the rebels who had collected in

¹ The strength of these duties varied from 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 4 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 38 rank and file, to 2 subalterns, 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 22 rank and file. Besides the above there were numerous other posts and piquets over the more important Government buildings and in the principal streets. These duties were strongly reinforced at night.

great numbers found at first only a few troops to oppose them. On the 27th May a body of 5000 insurgents attacked the King's troops in small number at Oulart, in Co. Wexford, some six miles east of Enniscorthy, a detachment of the North Cork Militia being cut to pieces, five men only escaping.¹ In Wicklow the King's troops were also faring badly, and to enable them to rally and recover the ground they had lost, the Cavan Militia and a detachment of the Reay Fencibles were ordered to hold themselves in immediate readiness to proceed to the disturbed area.²

G. O., Dublin, 30th May 1798.—1 captain, 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, and 50 rank and file of the Reay Fencible Highlanders to be ready to march immediately. To be provided with one blanket, one pair of shoes, one shirt, one hair brush, one canteen, and 60 rounds per man.

R. O.—Captain Morison and Lieutenant Maclaren for the above duty.

This force left Dublin on the 1st June. In order to save time they were forwarded by carriages specially impressed as far as the capital town of Wicklow,³ where they joined the troops already there. The command was given to General Needham, and on the 6th June the column quitted Wicklow.

Leaving a few detachments⁴ to garrison the town and overawe the country round, General Needham marched with the remainder of his force, some 1400 men, to relieve the little garrison of Arklow,⁵ which was threatened by a large force of insurgents. On the 9th the rebels determined to capture Arklow, and reinforcements having been obtained from the insurgent camp at Vinegar Hill and from other quarters, they marched from Gorey in a great host which has been variously estimated at between 19,000 and 31,000 men. After several desperate assaults on the town the rebels were finally driven back in disorder. The little Royalist force, however, was not strong enough

¹ Musgrave.

² The Durham Fencibles, 360 strong, followed a few days later.

³ About 24 miles S.-S.-E. of Dublin.

⁴ The party of Reay Fencibles probably supplied one of these detachments, as it does not seem to have been engaged in the battle of Arklow which followed. It rejoined the regiment at the end of June.

⁵ A town in Co. Wicklow, close to the sea, and 14 miles S.-S.-W. of Wicklow. The town had been nearly destroyed by the insurgents in the May previous.

to pursue them, and the rebels retired unmolested to Gorey, but their loss had been very great.¹

The battle of Arklow was the turning-point of the rebellion, and from this time the movement rapidly declined.

R. O., Dublin, 30th May.—The regiment to parade morning and evening with their arms and accoutrements, so as to be ready for duty at a moment's notice. The men are on no account to leave their barracks without permission. No man will be permitted to be absent, or allowed to work² till further orders. The officers' servants are at all times to be ready to fall in with their masters.

On the 31st May the regiment moved into the barracks which had been made ready for them.³

R. O., 31st May.—The quartermaster will deliver up the barrack rooms to the commanding officer of each company immediately after morning parade this day. All the officers present in Dublin to be quartered in barracks forthwith.⁴

The rolls to be called after tattoo beating by the orderly sergeants of each company, and reports to be given in to the sergeant-major agreeable to the orders of the regiment. Any N.-C. officer or soldier reported absent from parade or late for duty is to be brought to a court-martial.⁵

The men are to be at all times in hearing of the drum, so as to be ready to fall in with their arms and appointments at a moment's notice. No N.-C. officer or soldier to change a duty on any account whatever. No men to leave barracks after retreat beating till further orders. All the married men to sleep in barracks.

Affairs had now reached to such a pitch that General Lake thought it necessary to issue the following order:—

A. G. Office, Dublin, 31st May 1798.—Lieut.-General Lake, commanding His Majesty's forces in Ireland, orders all general officers

¹ "Their bodies," wrote General Needham, "have been found in every direction scattered all over the country. The cabins are everywhere filled with them, and many cars loaded with them were carried off after the action. Numbers were also thrown by the enemy into the flames at the lower end of the town. On the whole, I am sure the number of killed must have exceeded a thousand." On the Loyalist side the loss was quite inconsiderable.—Lecky, vol. iv. pp. 430-1.

² Referring to the regimental tailors, shoemakers, &c.

³ It is not certain which barracks these were, owing to so many regiments being quartered in or passing through Dublin at this time.

⁴ There were several officers away from the regiment on escort duties, &c.

⁵ Discipline was rigidly enforced among the troops in Dublin by General Craig.

to forthwith commence the most active and vigorous operations with the forces under their command against any body of rebels under arms, and they are by no means to suspend their operations against them until they shall deliver up their arms and leaders, to be dealt with according to discretion. Lieut.-General Lake most particularly directs that the utmost regular and good conduct be maintained by the troops, and although severity is requisite in punishing the insurgents, yet the peaceable inhabitants ought to feel secure whenever the troops are in the neighbourhood.¹

At this time the Reays furnished several parties for escort duties, conveying stores, or searching for rebel leaders. These duties were very severe, for everything had to be carried on as in a hostile country. On one occasion, after some weary weeks of marching and short rations, one of these commands found shelter in a barn one very dark night. Footsteps were heard near by. Then the sentries challenged. The reply came, "*A friend to your destruction!*" A shot was sent into the darkness for answer, but with no effect. Little rest was had that night.

R. O., 1st June.—Alex. Sutherland of Captain Maclean's Company is appointed corporal in the Lieut.-Colonel's Company *vice* Macdonald deceased.² Alex. Mackay of the Grenadiers is appointed corporal in the same company *vice* Kenneth Mackay deceased.² Adam Hamilton, drummer, is appointed to the Grenadiers *vice* Macdonald killed. John Cassels of Captain Scobie's Company appointed drummer. Hugh Mackay, recruit of Captain Scobie's Company; Kenneth Sutherland and Alex. Mackay of Captain Blanche's Company; and Peter Campbell of Captain Maclean's Company, are transferred to the Grenadier Company.

¹ This order naturally led to horrible abuses on the part of many of the troops employed. Lecky mentions how many who resisted, and not a few it is said who did not resist, were shot dead on their thresholds, while countless families were deprived of all they possessed and were driven homeless into the world. Farm horses were seized and carried away. Stores of provisions were broken into and shamefully wasted or destroyed, and acts of simple robbery and purely wanton violence were of daily occurrence. Torture was at the same time systematically employed to discover arms. Great multitudes were flogged till they almost fainted; picketed and half strangled to extort confessions. Blacksmiths were the special objects of suspicion and vengeance, and many of them were scourged almost to death in the streets of the villages in order to compel them to state what pikes they had made and to reveal the persons to whom they had consigned them.—Lecky, vol. iv. pp. 271-2.

² From wounds received at Tara Hill.

Drummer Campbell of Captain Blanche's Company to be confined for being out of his quarters all night.

Morning parade at half-past 10 o'clock, and evening parade at a quarter before 6 till further orders.

The additional pouches to be completed with ammunition ready to be delivered to the men of the different companies at a moment's notice. It is to be understood that the two pouches are to be completed with sixty rounds of ball cartridge agreeable to the Commander-in-Chief's orders. All parties ordered on service to parade with their additional pouches.

R. O., 2nd June.—Donald Ross, of Captain Scobie's Company, is appointed corporal in the Major's Company *vice* Evans deceased. Alex. Mackay of the Major's Company is transferred to Captain Scobie's Company in room of Ross promoted.

G. O., 4th June.—The commanding officers of all guards in and about Dublin are directed to send such prisoners, not soldiers, who are charged with seditious crimes or assisting the present rebellion, to Major Sandys¹ at the barracks, before eleven o'clock, with an escort of the guard coming off duty. The commanding officers of guards will give in the crimes against the prisoners in writing, with the names and residence of the prosecutors.

On account of the grave state of affairs in Wicklow and Wexford, as well as the continued havoc wrought by the rebels in the districts immediately round the metropolis, several of the regiments in Dublin were ordered to be ready to march at any moment.

R. O., 5th June.—The regiment to be in readiness to march at the shortest notice with a proportion of necessaries, agreeable to the general orders of the 12th April 1797—*viz.*, one shirt, one pair of shoes, two pairs hose, with comb and brush. The regiment to parade this evening at five o'clock, with their blankets, canteens, haversacks, and packs.

Each company to have two men with their magazine pouches on at this evening's parade. These pouches to be fixed on the waist-belts, agreeable to the regulations of the army.²

¹ Sandys, who was Provost-Marshal, seems to have been a monster of cruelty, delighting in the torture of his unhappy victims, and withholding from them, at death, the consoling balm of religion. He is said to have ended his days in poverty, wretchedness, and the execration of mankind.—'Personal Narrative of the Rebellion,' p. 187.

² Every man when ordered into the field had two of these pouches, each holding 30 rounds,

R. O., 6th June.—Lieut. Baillie to do duty in the Grenadier Company till further orders.

All the spare magazine pouches in possession of companies, including the men on furlough¹ and sick in hospital, to be given to the Colonel's and Major's Companies² this day before evening parade.

The men on command³ are to wear their magazine pouches over their purses, belted round their waists with their purse-belts.⁴ The haversack to be worn on the left side with the canteen over it, as in marching order.

By this time news had been received in Dublin of the total defeat of a large body of insurgents under Bauchamp D. Bagenal Harvey, by General Johnston, at New Ross, Co. Wexford, on the 4th June, after a desperate engagement.⁵ The news of this victory, however, was somewhat damped by the later intelligence received of the defeat near Gorey,⁶ on the same date, of a force under Colonel Walpole, in which the latter was killed.

Although defeated on the one hand, the rebel party in Wexford was encouraged to hold out by the victory at Gorey, and their power did not receive a serious check until Vinegar Hill.

R. O., 7th June.—Officers commanding companies to see that their men's barracks are well cleaned and constantly kept in good order. An officer per company to visit their men's rooms twice a-day, and to

in addition to the larger pouch, or cartouche box, fastened on the cross-belt. These two pouches were fastened round the waist, one on each side, by means of a waist-belt.

¹ Some men were still away on furlough that had been granted them before the regiment left Belfast, and had not had time to return.

² These two companies were probably under orders to march should a detachment only be required from the regiment.

³ *i.e.*, on detachment, escort duties, &c.

⁴ From this it seems that men detached from the regiment wore their purses, using the purse-strap for the double purpose of fastening the purse and securing the pouches, thus rendering a waist-belt unnecessary.

⁵ In this furious battle, the insurgents, partly, it is true, under the influence of liquor, showed desperate and splendid bravery. A great defeat of the troops was only averted by the superhuman exertions of a few officers of the Regular Army; and one of them, Robert Craufurd (afterwards the leader of the Light Division in the Peninsula), declared that such courage and enthusiasm could only be safely met by large and concentrated bodies of men.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 590.

⁶ A village 17 miles N.-E. of Enniscorthy, in Co. Wexford. If the rebels, after their victory, had pressed on at once upon Arklow it must have fallen, and the road to Dublin would have been opened to them. Instead, they preferred to waste their time in feasting, plundering, and murdering, and when they eventually decided to capture the town, the garrison had been reinforced under General Needham, and, as we have already seen, in attempting to take it they had been dispersed with much loss (see Battle of Arklow).

be answerable that these orders are carried out. The arms and appointments to be hung up in their proper places.

R. O., 8th June.—The orderly officer of the day to visit the companies' barracks between the hours of nine and four o'clock, and at tattoo beating, and report all extraordinaries to the commanding officer without loss of time.

The companies are immediately to lay in a regular mess. This order to be strictly complied with, as the men now having so much duty must be properly fed.

R. O., 10th June.—Evening parade as usual, the regiment to appear in full marching order for the commanding officer's inspection.¹

From the following garrison order it appears that the women and families of the regiments in Dublin were quartered in billets.

G. O., 12th June.—No soldiers' wives or children are to be billeted on any inhabitants of the city without a written order from Colonel Coote or Major Sandys.

About this time a well-known Irish personage, who was a great favourite with the people of Dublin, arrived in the city. A large part of the populace, headed by a band, began a procession in his honour. As the gathering took place in the quarter of the city occupied by the Reays, the commanding officer rode out to see what all the stir was about. He was told that "Lord Doneraile had returned, and that the procession was in his honour." The city, however, being under martial law, assemblies of any kind were strictly prohibited, and the processionists were accordingly ordered to immediately disperse to their homes, which they did.²

A. G. Office, Dublin, 11th June 1798.—The very rapid succession of gallant actions which have almost prevented Lieut.-General Lake doing that justice to the army under his command which his feelings have prompted, by offering them the public thanks, he now most gratefully offers those thanks to the several generals, officers, and privates who have so highly distinguished themselves by their valour and good conduct in the trying engagements at NAAS, KILCULLEN, TARA HILL, KILDARE, HACKETSTOWN, RATHANGAR, MOUNT KENNEDY,

¹ At these marching-order inspections the men had their knapsacks neatly packed, blankets and watch-coats well folded and rolled, canteens and haversacks properly slung, clothing and accoutrements in "best possible order," full-dress bonnets, and "best hose and garters." Purses were not worn, but were stored with the heavy baggage.

² Communicated by Mr Hugh Nicol, Stratford, Ontario, Canada.

CARLOW, NEWTOWN BARRY, ROSS, and ARKLOW, and also in the many other smaller actions which have taken place, as well as those already enumerated.

G. O., 14th June.—It is Lieut.-General Craig's orders that on the occasion of any execution, the garrison of Dublin do in future remain under arms until the escort for that duty shall return.

The course of events in the north of Ireland had by now reached a culminating point, and on June 7th a rebellion broke out in Ulster. A few months before, this would have portended a struggle of the most formidable dimensions, but it soon appeared that the rising was practically confined to the two counties of Antrim and Down.¹ In the former county a body of rebels attacked the town of Antrim, but were repulsed and their leader captured. The insurrection in Co. Down, which did not commence until June 9th, was finally quelled by the decisive action at Ballynahinch (June 13th), where the troops under Nugent completely defeated the rebel host, but only after much determined fighting on both sides,² during which a large part of the town was destroyed.³

R. O., 17th June.—It is the commanding officer's orders that the adjutant shall appoint the officers as they stand in roster of the regiment to do duty.

On the 18th June Colonel Mackay H. Baillie was promoted to be Major-General, the command of the regiment devolving upon Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackay of Bighouse, who was absent on sick leave.

¹ Lecky, vol. iv. p. 416.—With the exception of some slight disturbances in Co. Derry, which were easily suppressed by General Knox, the other counties remained loyal. The reason of this great change in the sentiments of the people of the North was their growing antipathy to France, arising mainly from the failure of the latter to fulfil their promises of assistance, and from their harsh treatment of the republics of Switzerland and America; while the accounts of Catholic atrocities in Wicklow and Wexford were already having a great effect on the Presbyterians, "disinclining them from joining with the Catholics, making them dread Catholic ascendancy, and reviving the old antipathy of sects."

² The rebels fought, as in Wexford, with determined bravery, but without the fanaticism of the Southerners. It is worthy of notice that while the bulk of the rebels were Protestants, the Monaghan Militia, who formed a large portion of the loyalists' force, were Catholics.—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 423.

³ Practically no acts of cruelty or violence marked the Protestant disturbances in Ulster, although the repression was hardly less savage and brutal than that in the south. After the battle of Ballynahinch, however, General Nugent, like Colonel Clavering in Antrim, offered pardon and protection to all rebels, except the leaders, who would lay down their arms and return to their allegiance, and great numbers at once availed themselves of the proclamation.

Early in June Camden had again appealed for more troops, and by the middle of the month one weak brigade of Guards, three or four weak battalions of the Line, four weak regiments of Fencible Cavalry, as many weak battalions of Fencible Infantry, and one regiment of Foreign Riflemen, the whole hardly amounting to ten thousand men, were sent over. More the British Government were unable to spare.

Under these conditions it was necessary to obtain the further reinforcements desired from another source. The English Militia were called upon to volunteer for duty in Ireland, a special Act being passed to enable them to do so. The first of these troops, the Bucks and Warwickshire, numbering in all some three thousand men, crossed over in June. They were followed in September by twelve more regiments.¹

The insurrection in Wexford² showing but little signs of abatement, Lieutenant-General Lake determined to take measures to suppress it. The arrival of reinforcements from Britain allowed a sufficiently large army to be assembled for this purpose.

After the battle of Arklow, one portion of the insurgent force had fallen back on the rebel main position on Vinegar Hill,³ while the other, after some fighting, had made its way to the Three Rocks, near Wexford. The whole force of the rebellion in Wexford was thus concentrated in two centres, and Lake speedily devised a scheme for surrounding the insurgent headquarters by a great combined movement, and thus terminate the insurrection by a decisive action. Accordingly he issued instructions to the generals commanding brigades in and around the counties of Wicklow and Wexford⁴ to collect every available man and concentrate their forces round Vinegar

¹ 'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 597.—Some of these corps remained on in Ireland until 1799, long after the rebellion had been finally quelled.

² This rising, which became more religious than political, had been started on the evening of Saturday, May 26th, at a place called Boulavogue, between Wexford and Gorey, by Father John Murphy, the curate of the parish. From its magnitude, and also from its sanguinary character, the Wexford rebellion soon became the centre of the scene, attracting to itself the rebel elements in the surrounding counties, and reducing all other disturbances in Ireland almost to insignificance.—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 380.

³ This was the *dépôt* and principal encampment of the rebel troops, and was used as such from 28th May till the 20th June. Vinegar Hill lies in the centre of a well-wooded and undulating country, watered by the Slaney, and bounded on the north and west by the Wicklow hills. The town of Enniscorthy lies at its foot.

⁴ Needham was to advance from Arklow, Loftus from Carlow, Duff from Kildare, Dundas from Naas, Johnston from New Ross, and Mooré from Waterford.

Hill by the 21st June. To complete some of the brigades to strength, such troops as could be spared from the garrison of Dublin were ordered to immediately prepare for service.

Garrison after orders, Dublin, June 18th.—Three hundred of the Reay Fencibles to be ready to march, with guns, camp equipage, and entrenching tools; they will be supplied with four days' bread and cooked provisions.¹

R. O.—Officers commanding companies are to immediately see that their men set about cooking four days' provisions, agreeable to the garrison orders of this day. The camp kettles to be carried by the soldiers in a bag on the upper part of their pack, at the rate of one to every six men.

This detachment left Dublin early on the 19th June, on cars specially impressed, leaving the guns and camp equipage to follow as quickly as possible. Arriving at Gorey towards evening, the Reays joined the brigade under Major-General Needham. Next day this column continued its march on Vinegar Hill.²

“On the evening of the 20th, accompanied by four hundred carriages laden with military supplies, Needham reached Oulart, six miles' distance from the post on the eastern face of Vinegar Hill, which his corps had been directed to occupy. Having driven in a rebel picket which had been detached from the camp to reconnoitre, he halted to refresh his troops, when an unexpected order, to march direct to headquarters at Solsborough, was received, and which order was immediately complied with. . . . When he reached Solsborough, at 3 o'clock on the morning of the 21st, he found orders waiting for him, directing that he should continue his march, and repair to the original position assigned to him in the intended attack, and from

¹ The bulk of the regiment, comprising six companies, was taken for this duty, very few men being left with headquarters. Captain Morison appears to have been given the command (Captain Scobie remaining at headquarters), and the other officers included Captains Colin C. Mackay, Blanche, and Maclean; Captain-Lieutenant A. Mackay; with 8 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, and the surgeon. Captain Morison, who had commanded the party sent into Wicklow on the 1st June, had been recalled to headquarters shortly after the battle of Arklow, leaving Lieut. Maclaren in charge of the detachment.

² General Needham's full orders had been to move at three o'clock on the morning of the 19th from Arklow to Gorey, his advance being supported by a strong patrol under General Loftus (sent out by General Dundas from Carnew) in case he should meet with resistance at Limerick-hill or Gorey. On the 20th he was to move from Gorey to Oulart, and if the rebels were still occupying Vinegar Hill, to combine with the columns under Dundas and Duff in an attack on the hill at daylight next morning.

which he was then eight miles distant, with difficult roads to traverse, and his column already over-marched.

“As the attack was to be made immediately after daybreak, and as it was utterly impossible that by any exertions his wearied troops could reach their ground in time, Needham despatched an aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief, requesting the advance to be delayed for an hour to allow him time to get up; but General Lake could not postpone his movements against the rebel position, as an immediate assault upon the camp was absolutely necessary to prevent the enemy from despatching reinforcements to their friends in Enniscorthy, who were then warmly engaged with Johnston’s Brigade. Under these circumstances, General Needham finding it impossible to get the column up, very properly pushed his cavalry forward; and when the rebels broke upon the hill, they were sufficiently advanced to cut down a number of the fugitives.”¹

General Moore’s Brigade, like that of Needham’s, was also unable to come up in time to take any part in the dispersion of the rebel host, owing to an unexpected action on the 20th, with a body of insurgents under Father Philip Roche at Foulke’s Mill.²

In the meanwhile, the several other brigades had arrived at their respective stations on the evening of the 20th, and had received their instructions for the general attack, which was to be made next morning. Early on the 21st, the combined Royal forces—less Needham’s and Moore’s Brigades—amounting to 13,000 or 14,000 men, and supported by a powerful body of artillery, the whole under the command of General Lake, stormed Vinegar Hill from different sides. The ill-led, ill-armed, disorganised and dispirited rebels had little chance against such a force, but for an hour and a half they desperately held their ground, until, seeing that they were on the point of being surrounded, they broke through the gap in the Royalist line which should have been filled by Needham’s Brigade, and fled in

¹ Maxwell, pp. 143, 144.—It is said that the column was still further delayed owing to the guide leading it astray. Some of the Reays, who formed part of the advance-guard, were about to take summary vengeance on the scoundrel, when a staff-officer intervened. On arriving at the base of the hill the Reays found several half-clad, shivering Protestants with their eyes put out, and in a cabin near by a woman wailing over her murdered husband, whose brains bespattered the wall. They also saw where unborn infants had been carried on pikes.—(Communicated by Mr Hugh Nicol, Ontario, Canada.)

² In this engagement, which lasted four hours, the rebels were completely dispersed, and fled towards Enniscorthy and Wexford.

wild confusion to Wexford, leaving their camp, which had been stained with so much Protestant blood,¹ in the hands of the troops. The loss of the Royalists in killed and wounded was under a hundred, while that of the rebels was probably five or six times as great. Thirteen small cannon were taken, as well as a great quantity of baggage and provisions.

While the battle was thus raging on Vinegar Hill, General Johnston had captured Enniscorthy, after some fighting in the streets, and a wholesale massacre of its defenders followed.² The capture of the town and the dispersion of the rebels from Vinegar Hill was a fatal blow to the rebellion.

On the evening of the 21st, General Moore was ordered to march on Wexford, and he entered it unopposed some few hours later, the insurgents retiring before him. Lake followed soon afterwards. The insurrection was now quelled, and severe measures were instituted against those who had taken up arms against the Government. Those of the rebel leaders who were captured were hastily tried by court-martial and sentenced to death.³ Executions took place in many parts of the county, and sixty-five persons were hanged from Wexford Bridge in one day.

“The executions, however, were far less horrible than the indiscriminate burning of houses and slaughter of unarmed men, and even of women, by the troops. They were now everywhere hunting down the rebels, who had dispersed by thousands after the battle of Vinegar Hill and the surrender of Wexford, and who vainly sought a refuge in

¹ It was on Vinegar Hill that many of the most horrible crimes of the rebellion were committed. During its occupation by the rebels great numbers of Protestants were brought to the camp, confined in the old windmill on its summit, or in the barn that lay at the foot of the hill, and then deliberately butchered. The belief which had been so industriously spread, that the Orangemen had sworn to exterminate the Catholics, had driven the people mad. How many unfortunate Protestants perished on Vinegar Hill it is impossible to say, but according to the most moderate historian at least 400 must have been foully murdered.—Lecky, vol. iv. pp. 380-3.

² The troops, infuriated by the reports of the cruelties on Vinegar Hill, gave no quarter, and the rebel historians declare that the massacre extended to the wounded, to many who were only suspected of disaffection, and even to some loyalists who had been prisoners of the rebels. General Lake, in his report of the victory at Vinegar Hill, says: “The troops behaved excessively well in action, but their determination to destroy every one they think a rebel is beyond description, and wants much correction.”—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 445.

³ One of the first rebel leaders to be arrested was Father Philip Roche. He was hanged off Wexford Bridge. Roche's execution was followed by that of Keugh, Cornelius Grogan, Bagenal Harvey, Colclough, and a number of the lesser leaders. Their heads were stuck on pikes outside the courthouse in Wexford.

their cabins. Discipline had almost wholly gone. Military licence was perfectly unrestrained, and the massacres of loyalists and Protestants which had taken place—magnified a hundredfold by report—had produced a savage thirst for blood. The rebel historians draw ghastly pictures of the stripped, mutilated, often disembowelled bodies that lined the roads and lay thick around the burning villages, and they say that long after peace had returned, women and children in Wexford fled, scared as by an evil spirit, at the sight of a British uniform.”¹ . . . “The Hessians,” says Gordon, “exceeded the other troops in the business of depredation, and many loyalists who had escaped from the rebels were put to death by these foreigners.”²

On the arrival of General Needham’s troops at Vinegar Hill they found that all was over, and their services would not be required. After a short stay at Enniscorthy they returned to the vicinity of Gorey, where the work of hunting down the flying rebels and burning their houses and crops was proceeded with. In carrying out these duties, many of the parties detailed by General Needham for the purpose committed the most shameful atrocities—often murdering and plundering without distinction of loyalist or croppy. The detachment of the Reays, however, do not appear to have taken any part in these disgraceful scenes, and continued to uphold the honour of their country and name by steady disciplined conduct and humane behaviour. It is recorded that on one occasion a detachment of militia and yeomanry were about to slaughter in cold blood a number of harmless peasants, including women and children, who had been “suspected” of assisting rebel fugitives, and were only prevented from carrying out their barbarous design by the timely arrival on the scene of a party of Reay and Durham³ Fencibles with fixed bayonets!

¹ Lecky, vol. iv. p. 470.—There appears to have been little or no difference, in point of ferocity shown towards the rebels, between the Irish Yeomanry who were chiefly Protestant, and the Irish Militia who were Catholic.

² ‘History of the Rebellion,’ p. 222.—According to Lecky the two Hessian regiments (one of them Hompesch’s Dragoons) which were sent over just before the rebellion, the Welsh regiment of Ancient British Fencible Cavalry or Ancient Britons, and the North Cork Militia, appear to have been those which left the most bitter recollections in Ireland. “Some soldiers of the latter regiment are said to have invented the ‘Pitch Cap’ of linen or thick brown paper which was fastened with burning pitch to the victim’s head and could not be torn off without tearing out the hair or lacerating the skin. One soldier obtained a special reputation by varying the torture. He was accustomed to cut the hair of the victims still shorter than they usually wore it, and then rub into it moistened gunpowder and set it on fire. Sometimes also an ear or a portion of an ear was cut off.”—Lecky, vol. iv. pp. 272, 275.

³ The Durham Fencible Infantry, “an admirably appointed regiment,” commanded by

After continuing for a short time in Wexford the detachment of the Reays rejoined headquarters early in July.¹

The critical state of affairs which had existed in Dublin since the outbreak of rebellion having now quieted down, it was no longer considered necessary to maintain such a large garrison there. This enabled some of the regiments to be moved into the surrounding country where their presence was urgently required. The two Highland regiments² quartered in the metropolis received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march.

R. O., Dublin, 21st June.—According to orders received the regiment is to be ready to move at the shortest notice.

The detachment of the Reays which had been sent into Co. Wicklow on the 1st June had been employed, after the battle of Arklow, in protection duties in various parts of the county. In the middle of June this party was stationed at Newtown-Mount Kennedy³ under the command of Lieut. Duncan Maclaren, Captain Morison having been recalled to headquarters. On the morning of the 20th June, Lieut. Maclaren, with a troop of the Mount Kennedy Yeomanry under Lieut. Gore, attacked a body of rebels about 300 strong near Ballinarush. The fire was commenced by the rebels, who were posted behind a hedge on the top of a commanding hill. After an engagement of about twenty minutes the rebels gave way in every quarter, leaving twenty dead behind. Of the King's troops two men of the Reay Fencibles and one of the Yeomanry were wounded.⁴

Colonel Skerrit, was distinguished throughout the rebellion for its "excellent discipline and perfect humanity."—*Lecky*, vol. iv. p. 473.

¹ A party from this detachment seems to have been engaged for a time in hunting down rebels who had taken refuge in the Wicklow-Wexford hills. For this work the Highlanders were especially suited, and many of the Highland corps then in Ireland were employed in the hill warfare which followed on the dispersion of the rebel forces after Vinegar Hill.

² The 100th, or 92nd Gordon Highlanders, who had arrived in Dublin on the 15th June from England, and the Reay Fencibles. The 100th left Dublin on the 2nd July at a moment's warning, being conveyed on carriages to Gorey in County Wexford, where they encamped. The Dumbarton Fencibles had marched from Dublin at the same time as the detachment of the Reays, and were also in General Needham's column during the operations in Wicklow and Wexford.

³ Mr John Mackay, Hereford, in his account of the regiment, states that Lieut. Maclaren was stationed in Tipperary, where there is a Mount Kennedy. From the order books and other sources, however, it is evident that the detachment was quartered at the Mount Kennedy in Co. Wicklow.

⁴ It is said that during this fight a soldier of the Reays was seized by the rebels, who were about to butcher him in cold blood, when a sergeant, seeing the man's peril, leaped forward, driving his pike through two of the rebels, and wounding a third with his broadsword, upon which the remainder fled. This worthy N.-C. officer, whose name has unfortunately not come down to us, was afterwards handsomely rewarded by General Baillie for his gallant action.

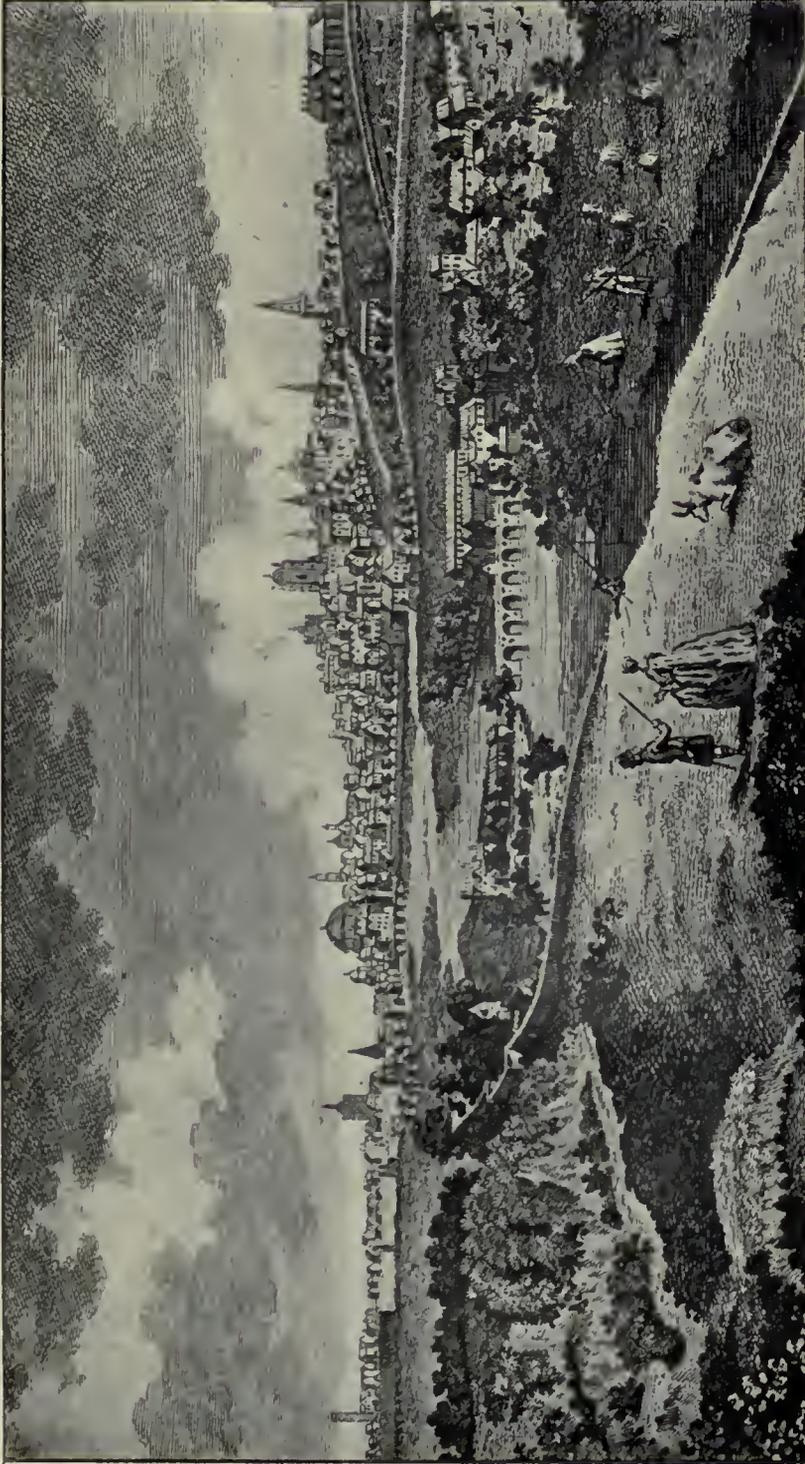
By the end of June the rebellion, as a serious movement, was at an end. The possibility of the insurgents combining had been successfully prevented, thus allowing the risings in the different provinces and counties to be dealt with in detail.

“The danger would have been less serious,” says the author of the ‘History of the British Army,’ “had the regiments at the disposal of the authorities possessed any military value; but in this respect Abercromby’s criticisms were proved, by overwhelming evidence, to be just and true. There were, indeed, battalions of British Fencibles which conducted themselves honourably as became disciplined men; but the rest, and in particular the Irish Militia, could not have behaved worse. . . . To keep such men within bounds was impossible; and though the majority of the British Generals, particularly such superior men as Moore, exerted themselves from the first to restrain them, yet there were a few who thought that they were serving their country well by turning loose their unmanageable levies to burn, torture, and destroy. Happily, on the 20th of June, Cornwallis¹ arrived in Dublin as Lord-Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief, and instituted with great firmness a policy of mercy and conciliation.”

The headquarters of the Reays, which remained stationed in Dublin, continued to supply detachments as before to different parts of the country. These commands were frequently engaged in service which, though unpleasant, required constant activity and exertion,—repressing disturbances, and hunting down the bands of rebels and outlaws who had taken refuge among the extensive bogs which connected with the huge Bog of Allen—the “Palus Mæotis” of Ireland. It was work, however, in which no laurels were to be won, and uncongenial to the taste of every officer and man. Not infrequently the services of guides had to be obtained, and these sometimes attempted to lead the parties into difficulties; but the Highlanders, as familiar with bog and mountain as the native Irish, were not thus easily misled,² and for that reason the

¹ Charles, first Marquis Cornwallis, 1738-1805; served in North America; held Yorktown, but had to capitulate, 1781; Governor-General of India, 1797; Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, 1798; died at Ghazipore.

² One party, however, having received orders to apprehend some rebels who were skulking among the bogs, arrived one evening at a lonely spot. The guide, assuring the officer that the croppies were in hiding near by, led them on, when suddenly the whole party floundered into a hidden “turf-hole.” In the confusion that followed the guide attempted to escape, but he was immediately seized by a brawny sergeant, who administered to him on the spot the punishment he deserved for his treachery!



A VIEW OF DUBLIN FROM THE MAGAZINE HILL, PHOENIX PARK, IN 1798.

(From an old Print belonging to the Author.)

“Bare-kneed Scotch Divils” were more feared than the English soldiery.

R. O., Dublin, 24th June.—The regiment to march to-morrow morning at five o'clock to Kilcock, agreeable to the garrison orders of this date. The regimental stores to be left behind in charge of a guard, together with those of the sick men who may not be able to march.¹

On leaving Dublin the regiment, still commanded by Captain Scobie, could only muster at headquarters 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 2 staff, 18 sergeants, 10 drummers, and 230 rank and file.

The march to Kilcock,² a distance of about eighteen miles, was accomplished on the 25th, a short halt being made at Maynooth *en route*. On arriving at Kilcock the companies were quartered in different parts of the town. Here they formed part of a garrison, the other troops being the Duke of York's Highlanders under Colonel Baillie of Dunan, a detachment of the Ancient British Fencible Cavalry, and some artillery.

R. O., Kilcock, 26th June.—The regiment to parade this evening at five o'clock, in the market square. The pipes to play round the streets at half-past four. Arms and accoutrements to be in the cleanest possible order.

In the meantime, the detachment of the regiment under Lieutenant Maclaren at Mount Kennedy was again engaged with the rebels, one man being slightly wounded. The following is an account of this incident: “Extract of a letter from Bray, June 26th. Information having been received that the rebels were in great force at the Seven Churches, Lord Powerscourt, with a party of cavalry and infantry from this town, proceeded to Roundwood, to meet with a pretty strong party from Newtown-Mount Kennedy, under the command of Lieut. Maclaren of the Reay Fencibles; the whole having proceeded towards the place, the advanced-guard, composed of the Reays, was attacked, but on the approach of the division the rebels fled, leaving behind them upwards of 50 dead bullocks and great quantities of hides, &c. It appeared that the farmhouses were occupied as barracks.

¹ About this time a party of the Reays was ordered to convey a number of captured “croppies” to a certain town. Halting for the night at a deserted farmhouse, sentries were posted and a guard put over the prisoners. In the middle of the night two of the prisoners asked leave to go outside, two of the guard going with them. The guard was thus weakened, and taking advantage of the fact, the remainder of the prisoners suddenly attacked the Highlanders, three managing to escape into the darkness, and two being shot before the rest were overpowered and bound.—Traditional Evidence.

² A market-town on the borders of Kildare and Meath, 19 miles N.-E. of Kildare.

It was part of this body that Lieut. Maclaren engaged and defeated on the 20th at Ballinarush."

A few days after the above affair Captain Morison's detachment was ordered to Arklow, near which town it was successful in surprising a large rebel force which was retiring northwards before the column under Sir James Duff. According to a letter from Rathdrum, dated July 3rd: "A large party of rebels flying from Sir James Duff passed . . . they were hastening to join the rebel leader Holt. . . . On being asked if they had lost many? they replied, thousands; that General Duff and his flying guns had destroyed them, while they were separated from their main body by a fog; 'then,' said they, 'the *petticoat-men* (Highlanders) from Arklow, and Hunter Gowan's corps from Wexford, fell on us while we were retreating and cut us all to ribbands, except the few that are here.'" ¹

By the end of June, the detachment from Wicklow under Lieutenant Maclaren rejoined headquarters, followed shortly afterwards by that under Captain Morison from Wexford. At the same time several parties that had been detached on command, &c., while the regiment was in Dublin returned, thus bringing the numbers present with headquarters up to something like proper strength.

On the 30th June orders were received for 200 of the Reay Fencibles to march in pursuit of a body of insurgents from West Meath, who were reported to be marching southwards, murdering and plundering as they went. The Reays, under the command of Captain Hector Maclean, accompanied by some yeomanry cavalry (about 40 sabres), set out early next morning in quest of the rebels. Following the Mullingar road as far as the cross-roads at the New Inn, news was received that the insurgents, some 1000 strong, were encamped on rising ground near Clonard Bridge, where they had been for the night. Detaching the cavalry to his front and flanks, Captain Maclean immediately marched on the rebel position. As soon as the Reays came in sight of it they formed up for the attack, and under a heavy though ill-aimed fire the position was assaulted at the point of the

¹ In one of these engagements the Reays took prisoner five rebel leaders who were priests. "My grandfather," writes Mr Hugh Nicol, Canada, "formed one of their guard on the night previous to their execution. These light-hearted souls, on the brink of eternity, amused themselves by playing cards. The following morning they were placed in a cart, driven to the place of execution (a tree), ropes were adjusted round their necks to branches, the cart driven on, leaving the unfortunates to their fate."

bayonet. A desperate resistance was offered,¹ but the rebels were finally dispersed and completely routed, leaving close on 200 dead on the field.² Of the Reay Fencibles, one officer—Lieutenant Donald Mackay³—two sergeants, and ten rank and file were wounded, of whom one man died of his wounds on the 3rd July.⁴ The Yeomanry lost one man killed and seven wounded.

Their mission accomplished, the Reays, after a short rest, returned to Kilcock that night, taking along with them a number of the rebels whom they had captured. The latter were sent under escort to Dublin next day.

R. O., Kilcock, 2nd July.—The regiment to parade for exercise this evening, except the men who were detached out. Officers' servants to attend.

No sooner had the regiment assembled at Kilcock than it was called upon to supply escorts for conveying ammunition, stores, &c., to Maynooth and other neighbouring garrison towns, returning on completion of duty. These escorts varied from 30 rank and file under an officer to 14 rank and file under a sergeant or corporal.

An officer's party was detached at this time with orders to seize several rebel leaders known to be in hiding not far from Kilcock. In performing this duty the Reays had two men wounded, while Private George Smith, of the Colonel's Company, was accidentally drowned.

R. O., 7th July.—When in marching order, the officers will be dressed in grey breeches, half-boots, gorget, sash, and the Highland bonnet. The field jacket or frock may be worn.⁵

¹ In this engagement the rebels appear to have fought with much determined bravery, and some fierce hand-to-hand fighting took place. Although driven back more than once, the handful of Highlanders returned to the attack with redoubled fury, gradually forcing their opponents before them. The casualties among the King's troops were remarkably few considering the nature of the fighting. It is said that one sergeant, a Durness man, well known in the regiment for his strength of arm, broke no less than *three* swords during the fight.

² 'Belfast News-Letter,' Dublin, Monday, July 2nd, 1798: "A desperate engagement between a party of rebels and some of the Yeomanry and Reay Fencibles took place on Sunday morning near Clonard Bridge, in which nearly 200 rebels were slain and the remainder routed."

³ Lieut. Mackay's wound appears to have been only slight, as he is shown on duty in R. O. of 9th July.

⁴ Private Wm. Macleod of Captain Clarke's Company, a native of the parish of Eddrachilis.

⁵ Up to the time of Tara Hill, all officers (except field officers) appear to have worn the kilt (or belted plaid) when in marching order, but during the rest of the rebellion and throughout the operations against the French in Connaught, no part of the Highland uniform was worn by any of the officers, except the bonnet, sash, and broadsword. The rank and file when in

R. O., 8th July.—The more awkward of the last joined recruits to attend drill every afternoon at three o'clock until reported as efficient.

The following melancholy incident, resulting in the death of two men of the Reays,¹ occurred on the 8th instant. "Four of the Reay Fencibles, who had walked out from Kilcock to a village, were surrounded by a number of people who seemed to issue from the potato grounds. Two of them were inhumanely murdered, and the others with difficulty escaped. As soon as the account reached Kilcock 50 of the Reay Fencibles, and about the same number of other corps there, with some dragoons, set off for the spot. The rebels made no resistance; three of the ringleaders were immediately tried, convicted, and executed. The others were taken prisoners. Nothing can exceed their wretched situation. . . . Distress had made many of them frantic; and two (out of the three who suffered on the spot) passed into eternity with dreadful imprecations on the heads of their leaders."²

In consequence of this sad event the following order was published:—

G. O., Kilcock, 10th July.—No man is in future to go without the sentries posted at the inlets to the town except when ordered on duty. The sentinels have orders to stop all soldiers, as well as other persons who have not passes.

Orders were now received for the Reays to march to Naas,³ and accordingly they left Kilcock on the 11th, reaching the latter town the same day, where they were quartered in temporary barracks

field service or marching order wore the belted plaid or little kilt, full-dress bonnet, and hose, without purses. In many of the Highland regiments, says Colonel Gardyne, the kilt was not worn by officers on the line of march. In Wellington's campaigns the officers of the 42nd, 79th, and 92nd wore grey or blue pantaloons and shoes with gaiters. The reason of this, as given by a former distinguished officer of the Gordons (Sir John Macdonald), "was that officers were encouraged to ride as much as possible, in order that they might be able at any moment to take a message quickly, but chiefly that they might be fresh at the end of a march to attend to the comforts of their men in the straggling villages and farms in which they were often billeted, for an officer's most important work began when the march was over."—Gardyne, vol. i. p. 486.

¹ Privates George Macleod and John Maccallum of Captain Maclean's Company.

² 'Edinburgh Advertiser,' Friday, July 20th, 1798.

³ In Co. Kildare, 17 miles S.-W. of Dublin. While at Naas, a detachment of the regiment received orders to dislodge a small rebel force occupying a neighbouring village. Quietly entering the main street in the early dawn, the Highlanders surprised and overpowered the sentries, and secured most of the croppies before they had time to escape. A few, however, including the leaders, offered a desperate resistance, but they were all bayoneted or shot down.

and billets. The other troops in garrison comprised a regiment of militia and cavalry detachments. Major-General Wilford, commanding the troops in North Kildare, had his headquarters here.¹

On the 14th July Major Andrew Ross, who had exchanged with Major Stewart, joined the regiment for duty,² and took over the command from Captain Scobie.

G. O., Naas, 14th July.—Field Officer for this day until Colonel Hankly returns, Major Ross of the Reay Highlanders.

R. O., 15th July.—Hugh Mackay of Captain Clarke's Company is appointed pipe-major, and posted to the Grenadier Company, in room of George Macleod, discharged.³ He is to commence drummer's pay from 1st April 1798.

Two detachments, consisting of 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, and 20 privates each, to parade immediately, and report to the Brigade-Major for orders. For the above duty Lieutenant James Scobie and Ensign Ballantine.⁴

One of these detachments was engaged a few days later with a party of "croppies," who after a short resistance threw down their pikes, praying "that their honours, *the Scotchmen without breeches*, would not kill them!" Their lives were spared, and they were conveyed to the nearest town, and there handed over to the authorities.

R. O., 16th July.—William Grant of Captain Blanche's Company is appointed piper in Captain Clarke's or the Light Company, in place of Hugh Mackay, appointed pipe-major and transferred to the Grenadier Company. Alex. Sinclair of Captain Maclean's Company is appointed to Captain Clarke's Company, in place of Wm. Macleod deceased.⁵

¹ The whole of the troops in Kildare were commanded by Lieut.-General Dundas, with headquarters at Kilcullen.

² This officer appears to have belonged to a Sutherland family, and so his exchange into the Reays would have been an appropriate one. Major Ross had previously held a commission in a Highland regiment of the line. The letter authorising him to join his new corps "with all convenient speed" is dated A. G. Office, Dublin, July 12th. As he was certainly present with the regiment by the 14th, he must have been in Ireland waiting for his orders to join.

³ George Macleod had succeeded John Macdonald as pipe-major of the regiment on the latter's discharge in April 1796. Macleod appears afterwards to have held the post of piper to Eric, 7th Lord Reay, for a time.

⁴ These detachments were employed in hunting down scattered parties of rebels. They rejoined headquarters at Maynooth.

⁵ Died of wounds received at Clonard Bridge.

During the closing days of Camden's rule, measures had been taken, in some parts of Ireland, to lessen the severities of martial law,¹ and Cornwallis now adopted a more decided policy of clemency.

"On July the 3rd, a proclamation was inserted in the 'Dublin Gazette' authorising the King's generals to give protection to such insurgents as, having been guilty simply of rebellion, surrendered their arms, deserted their leaders, and took the oath of allegiance; on the 17th a message from the Lord-Lieutenant was delivered to the House of Commons signifying his Majesty's pleasure to that effect, and an act of amnesty was speedily carried in favour of all rebels, with some specified exceptions, who complied with these conditions. It was difficult in a country where complete anarchy had long prevailed, and where violent crime was still appallingly common, to obtain any semblance of respect for law, and it was necessary sometimes to punish severely loyalists who disregarded the protections of the generals; but slowly and imperfectly confidence was restored."²

At the same time Cornwallis ordered a temporary cessation of hostilities to take place in County Kildare, in order to allow those who were willing to come in under the proclamation every facility of doing so. The Kildare-Meath border, however, being still disturbed, the Reays were ordered to return to Kilcock with all convenient speed.

R. O., Naas, 17th July.—The regiment is to march immediately, all outposts to be brought in.

Kilcock was reached late the same evening, the men being quartered in the town.

R. O., Kilcock, 18th July.—Detailed orders for the Captain of the day, to whom the officers and N.-C. officers in charge of guards were to report as soon as they were relieved from their duties.

¹ In a letter written from Kildare just before the return of Camden to England, the writer (Lady Louisa Conolly) says: "The free quarters, whipping the people, and burning the houses have just been stopped, which rejoices me; for although in some places, where these terrible sentences were executed with great caution by humane and deserving officers, the object did answer for discovering the pikes and arms, yet, upon the whole, it was a dangerous measure, in regard to the licentiousness it produced among the soldiers, the fury and madness it drove the insurgents to, and the lukewarmness that it threw upon the well-disposed persons, who found themselves equally aggrieved by the free quarters as the rebels are. So that it is a blessing we have it all stopped."

² Lecky, vol. v. p. 18.

At this time a sergeant of the Reays distinguished himself by capturing, alone and unaided, four rebels fully armed. His duty having taken him into the country, he suddenly met them on the road. Drawing his sword and seizing the foremost man by the throat, he applied the point of the weapon to his breast, swearing that unless his companions threw down their arms he would instantly kill him. The sergeant's bold action had the desired effect, and he had the satisfaction of marching his captives safely to the nearest guard!¹

The stay of the regiment at Kilcock was destined to be of the shortest duration, for next day (the 19th) it was suddenly ordered to Maynooth,² where it arrived the same afternoon, and was quartered in the barracks there. The other troops in the town were a detachment of the 5th Dragoon Guards, and the Cartown and Donaghadee Yeomanry Cavalry.

G. O., Maynooth, 20th July.—The officers and N.-C. officers commanding the different guards are to give strict orders to their sentries not to molest any of the country people who may be coming into town to take the oath of allegiance, or to deliver up their arms, from six o'clock in the morning to six at night. When any number above ten men, armed with pikes or muskets, appear at the outposts, the sentries are not to permit them to advance until the guard is turned out and a proper escort sent to conduct them to headquarters; in which case the sentries are to explain to the people the reason of their being stopped. Persons with papers only are to be permitted to come into town between six o'clock in the evening and six in the morning.
GOD SAVE THE KING.

R. O.—The qr.-mr.-sergeant with 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, and one private per company, to march at six o'clock to-morrow morning to Dublin, to bring from the regimental stores such necessaries as the men stand in absolute need of, not exceeding one shirt, one pair of hose, and one pair of shoes per man. A return to be given in this evening of the articles each man wants. Two cars to accompany the above party, which is to be marched back the following day by

¹ Traditional Evidence.—At another time a number of rebels had been captured by the Reays, one of whom being of a resourceful nature managed to "borrow" a Highlander's kilt and hose, thinking to escape thus disguised. He had not gone far, however, before he was detected, as he had put on the kilt the wrong way round, *with the pleats to the front!*

² In Co. Kildare. The chief building was the R.C. College, founded in 1795.

Capt.-Lieutenant Mackay with such of the convalescents in Dublin as may be fit for duty, leaving a guard over the baggage of 1 sergeants, 1 corporal, and 8 privates of those least able for severe duty. The above party to march with their arms and accoutrements.¹

General Orders, Headquarters, Naas, 20th July 1798.—H.E. the Lord-Lieutenant hath directed that the armistice which took place in the County of Kildare should be at an end. It is, however, intended that the fullest protection be extended to those who come in under the proclamation, and give up their arms, taking the oath of allegiance. (Signed) R. R. WILFORD, Major-General.

R. O., Maynooth, 22nd July.—The Warning Drum to beat every morning at half-past ten o'clock, when the men are to fall-in in open column of companies. Twenty minutes will be allowed for the sergeants' inspection, when the drum will beat as a signal for the officers to inspect their companies, to sign the morning states, and see that the men are all present, clean, and dressed according to orders.

The following incidents, which I have not been able to locate, were communicated to me by the grandson of one who served in the Reays throughout the rebellion:—

“On one occasion two companies were detailed to reconnoitre a rebel encampment, supposed to be 2000 strong. When they approached, they were greeted with the shouts of the rebels, and hats and pikes were thrown into the air. The enemy, supposing that this handful of men had deserted, were quickly disillusioned when the column wheeled into line and prepared to fire a volley. The whole mob broke and fled, and, as fortune happened, the Reays got a free ration of food, of which they were sorely in need at the time.

¹ These parties were liable to be waylaid by marauding bands of rebels, as the following will show: A party of the Reays conveying regimental stores from Dublin was attacked on one occasion by a gang of desperadoes, who being superior in numbers expected little or no opposition. They did not know the Highlanders. After a prolonged struggle the rebels, completely taken aback at the stout resistance offered, drew off, leaving several killed and wounded behind. On arrival at headquarters the sergeant in charge of the party reported the affair to the commanding officer, making light of the occurrence, and adding: “Shaoil leo air tus, nach curadh ni grabadh orra, ach 's iad hho gorach, agus fhuair iad mach sin, 'n uair thaclair riu gillean an fheilidh!”—“They thought at first that they would have had it their own way, but they soon saw their mistake *when they found it was the lads in tartan they had to reckon with!*”

“On another occasion a somewhat similar experience came to them, when the rebel sentry shouted ‘Here come *the Barelegs!*’ upon which the whole insurgent force made off!

“On still another occasion the Reays had a sharp skirmish. The rebels were scattered and chased, leaving some dead and wounded. The drum sounded the *Assembly*. The soldiers came running back in twos and threes. My grandfather and another came running down a slope whereon were some of the dead enemy, when a wounded rebel resting on his elbow took aim at them. The ball whistled between them. The other soldier fired a shot at the fellow, who gave a convulsive start and then lay still. A few minutes later some more soldiers came running down the same way, when the same twice-wounded man fired another shot at them. One of the soldiers pinned him to the earth with his bayonet, and he could not withdraw the weapon until he placed his foot on the fallen man. A young officer standing near by shuddered at this, and remarked, ‘What a brute of a man,’ meaning the soldier.”¹

R. O., Maynooth, 23rd July.—Those men who wish to have their letters franked² must apply to the Major within an hour after morning parade. When any of the men wish to purchase vegetables, &c., within one mile from the town, they are to be marched there by a N.-C. officer, with their arms, and not less than seven in number, including the N.-C. officer.

In a skirmish which took place at this time near Clane, between

¹ Told by Mr Hugh Nicol, Stratford, Ontario, Canada. Mr Nicol also mentions another engagement (the name of which he does not recollect), where the Reays had to fight for eight hours against a vastly superior force of the rebels, supposed to be 8000 strong, who closed round them—so closely that they even had to club the enemy with their muskets. They were in imminent danger of being overpowered when the gunners fired through the solid mass of the insurgents, clearing an open road through the whole depth of their column, and scattering them. *N.B.*—This may possibly refer to an incident (already noticed) at Tara Hill, or to the battle of Carrick, which latter fight Mr Nicol mentions below, but which I have not been able to trace.

“My grandfather (Corporal William Nicol),” writes Mr Nicol, “and his elder brother, Hugh, were at Tara Hill and Ballinamuck, and other engagements, including the battle of Carrick. They both learnt English in Ireland and spoke it with an Irish accent. After the disbandment of the Reays the former entered the 93rd (being one of the first thousand of that regiment), in which he served a few years, rising to the rank of sergeant, and then purchased his discharge. He emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1815, and settled in Carriboo, near Pictou.”

² By a War Office circular N.-C. officers and soldiers were permitted to send a letter for 1d., if signed outside by their commanding officer. This was a great concession, as the ordinary charges for letters were very high at this time. The regular rate from England to Scotland was, for a single sheet 1s. 8d., for 1 oz. 3s.

a party of Reays and a large band of the insurgents, the Highlanders, it is said, were forced to take refuge in an old mill. Here they were closely besieged, several desperate attempts being made to rush the building or set it on fire, but with no success. Provisions and ammunition running short, one of the Reays, who spoke Irish well, volunteered to go for help. Disguising himself in the clothes of a dead "croppie," he passed through the insurgent lines in safety, and soon returned with a force sufficient to completely disperse the rebels, and set the beleaguered party free.

General Orders, A. G. Office, Dublin, 9th July 1798.—The nobility, clergy, and gentry, &c., having subscribed to and formed a fund for making provision for the families of soldiers, &c., that have or may fall in their gallant efforts to put down the present Rebellion, commanding officers of regiments are desired to direct certificates to be filled up for the remaining families, according to the blank forms deposited with the Agents of the several regiments for this purpose, and to present the Adjutant-General from time to time with the names of the widows, and the number of children, the N.-C. officers and soldiers of their respective corps may leave in need of this benevolent assistance.

On the 30th July, the detachment at Lukan¹ under Lieutenant Wm. Mackay, together with some yeomanry, intercepted and captured a body of insurgents near Cell-bridge, in Co. Kildare. Some sharp fighting took place before the rebels were finally forced to lay down their arms—the "croppies" taking shelter in some houses, and these had to be carried at the point of the bayonet. The Reays lost one man killed and several wounded,² while the rebels suffered heavily. The man killed was Private George Matheson³ of Captain C. Mackay's Company.

¹ This detachment, consisting of 50 rank and file, had been quartered at Lukan (a small town four miles from Maynooth on the Dublin road) since the 20th July. A similar detachment had been sent to Latterstown under Lieutenant Maclaren.

² In those days men were enured to hardships and pain. Soldiers were taught to endure suffering with a remarkable fortitude and patience, which is well shown in all our wars at this time. The methods of the surgeon were rough and ready; chloroform or antiseptics were unknown—the tourniquet and boiling oil or pitch to prevent hemorrhage being the only aids in cases of amputation. A soldier of the Reays, who had been wounded by a musket-ball which had shattered his arm, was obliged to have the limb amputated by the regimental surgeon. Donald bore the operation with the air of a stoic, and did not utter a word until it was over, when, viewing his severed arm for the last time with a mournful regard, he was heard to express his regret at the loss of a limb which had served him so long and so faithfully!

³ A native of the parish of Durness.



CAPTAIN COLIN C. MACKAY (BIGHOUSE).

*(From a copy of a Miniature belonging to Miss MINA MACKAY, by kind
permission of Dr GEORGE MACKAY, Edinburgh.)*

By the end of July the Irish Rebellion had been quelled, but only after much unnecessary blood had been shed, and innumerable atrocities perpetrated on both sides. The misguided peasantry, sullenly accepting the inevitable, changed the pike for the ploughshare. Only in the mountains of Wicklow and Wexford, and in a few other places, did isolated bands of insurgents continue to hold out.

The Highland soldiers of this period were distinguished for the implicit trust they reposed in their officers, and their singular self-devotion to them in times of danger. This trait of character has been noticed in almost every work dealing with the Highland regiments, and is perhaps one of the most remarkable features in the history of those corps.¹ There is a story told of a private of the Reays, who, before a certain engagement, requested permission to leave the ranks so as to be near his captain and guard him from injury. This could not be granted, but during the heat of the fight Donald seized the opportunity to range himself alongside the officer, and remained by him until the action was over, when he immediately resumed his place in the ranks.

R. O., 5th August.—The men of the flank companies attached to the battalion guns to join their companies this evening, and the gunners to be completed to 21 rank and file from the battalion companies.

Captain Baillie's Company is to march to-morrow morning at nine o'clock to relieve the detachments at Lukan and Latterstown.

No neglect of duty on the part of the N.-C. officers was allowed to pass unnoticed.

R. O., 11th August.—Corporal Donald Ross is to be sentenced to be reduced to the ranks, and Sergeant Hugh Morison to be suspended from rank and pay for one month, which the commanding officer has approved of, and he hopes it will be sufficient to stop that unmilitary and disgraceful custom of N.-C. officers permitting sentries to relieve each other.

R. O., 14th August.—Sergeant Hugh Morison, of Captain Scobie's Company, who was suspended from rank and pay for one month

¹ "Beyond all question," writes the author of Colonel Cameron's 'Memoir,' in referring to these characteristics, "it was personal and family influence which then filled the ranks of the Highland regiments." The men in consequence were strongly attached to and had unbounded confidence in their leaders, while most of the officers being personally known to their men, were respected and looked up to as their natural guardians and friends. The soldiers on their part considered it their duty to protect them in all dangerous enterprises.

by the sentence of a regimental court-martial, is to have the remainder of his punishment remitted in consideration of his former good conduct and excellent character. He is therefore from this day reinstated in his rank and pay as a sergeant of Captain Scobie's Company.

Major Ross saw that all orders were properly communicated to the men, so that no excuse could be made of ignorance.

R. O., 16th August.—When the Assembly beats for the evening parade, each company is first to collect opposite to its principal barrack room, where the orderly sergeant is to read the orders of the day to the men, and explain them distinctly in the Gaelic language.¹ This must be invariably complied with whether the orders be general or regimental, or merely a detail of the guard and officers for duty. The companies are then to be marched to the general parade to be inspected as usual, but when the weather is bad the orders may be read and explained to the men in their different barrack rooms before the usual time of evening parade.

All letters addressed to the regiment are in future to be called for and delivered by the Drum-Major, to whom officers are to pay one penny, and N.-C. officers and privates one halfpenny only for each letter, exclusive of the postage.

R. O., 19th August.—The word of command, "Prepare to attack," as hitherto made use of in the regiment at the inspection of arms, is in future on no occasion to be made use of, but the words "Port Arms" to be given instead. At the inspection of guards by the officers, the men must be ordered to support arms during the whole inspection.

Sergeant John Mackay² of the Light Company, and Corporal Donald Mackay of Captain Morison's Company, are to join Lieutenant

¹ In the Reays, as in all Highland regiments of that time, Gaelic was the language of the very great majority of the men, although a few would have been bilingual, while most of the officers could also speak it. "In the present day," remarks Colonel Gardyne, "the Highland lairds or Highland officers who can do so are the exceptions, and it is seldom a recruit joins who cannot express himself in English, for the Highlanders are now generally bilingual; and though Gaelic is the language commonly used and best understood, many speak English more correctly than a Yorkshireman."—Gardyne, vol. ii. p. 395.

² This sergeant was a noted character. He served in the regiment from start to finish, and was employed on more than one occasion on recruiting duty in his native district. A story in connection with this is told in another place (see p. 299, *note*). Sergeant John was a great favourite on account of his amiable disposition. Of tall and commanding stature, he was renowned as a good swordsman. On one occasion, owing to a dispute having risen between two sections of the people at the then important market at Torrisdale, Captain Mackay of Skerry, fearing a serious quarrel might result, called on Sergeant John, who was present, probably in his capacity as recruiting sergeant to draw his sword. Standing one at each end of

William Scobie on the recruiting service in the Reay Country. Sergeant Duncan Mackay of Captain's Morison's Company is to join Lieutenant David Ross, also on the recruiting service in Ross-shire and the south of Sutherland. They are to be ready to march on Tuesday.

With a view to ensuring that some degree of justice was meted out to those of the rebels tried on capital charges, Lord Cornwallis directed that the proceedings of all general courts-martial for the trial of capital offences should be immediately transmitted to Dublin for his approval, without which no sentence was in future to be put into execution.¹

R. O., 22nd August.—Sergeant Munro of the Colonel's Company is to relieve Sergeant Hugh Mackay in command of the baggage guard at Dublin. He is to march to-morrow morning at seven o'clock, with such men as may have obtained leave to go to Dublin to supply themselves with necessaries, and who are to return with Sergeant Hugh Mackay so as to be present at morning parade on the day after. Officers paying companies are to send subsistence with Sergeant Munro for such of their men as are on the baggage guard.

Captain Colin C. Mackay having been granted leave of absence to the market, they warned the people to desist, or otherwise they would be forced to use their weapons. Their action had the desired effect: but some of the people near John, knowing his amiability of character, exclaimed laughingly, "*Cha naile feaghal oirne oir se Iain tha aig cheann againn!*"—"We need not fear for it is John who is at our end!"—Communicated by Mrs Munro, Ri-Tongue, Sutherland, a granddaughter of the sergeant. Mrs Munro, in 1913, occupied the same croft as that possessed by the sergeant.

Sergeant John Mackay was also famed as a pedestrian, and was employed by Lord Reay on messages that required speed. On one occasion it is recorded that he left Tongue about 4 P.M. on a Thursday for Inverness, returning about the same hour on the following Saturday, the distance as the crow flies being about 140 miles! He frequently made the journey to and from Dunrobin in one day, a distance of about 80 miles over the mountains. Sergeant John's claymore was until recently preserved in his family. The following chorus and verse formed part of a song composed in the Skerray district in honour of the Reay Fencibles and their exploits in Ireland, and refer to the worthy sergeant. They were taken down by Mr John Murray, Braetongue, from Mrs Munro, who had often heard and sung the song in her youth, but could not remember more than the fragment given below:—

Hi ha mo run
 Hi ha mo run
 Do dhulainich an fheilidh.
 Bha Iain MacAoidh an "sergeant" ann
 Na cheannard air a phartaigh ud,
 Is bha toimhseachd Beurl is Gaidhlig aig
 Air gach mac gall bha ann.

Literal translation—

Hi ha my love
 Hi ha my love
 To the warriors of the kilt.
 The Sergeant John Mackay was there
 The head of all the party,
 Knowing more of English and Gaelic
 Than any son of stranger there.

¹ A. G. Office, Dublin, 1st August 1798.

Scotland for two months,¹ the duties of quartermaster will be performed in his absence by Captain H. Maclean.

A regimental court-martial to sit to-morrow after guard mounting to try such prisoners as may be brought before it, of which Captain C. Mackay will be President.

By the sentence of this Court, a sergeant who was found guilty of "irregular behaviour" was reduced to the ranks.

R. O., 24th August.—Corporal James Gordon of the Light Company is appointed sergeant in the Major's Company *vice* James Hamilton reduced by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

The General Orders respecting officers' servants mounting guard with their masters to be strictly complied with. Any servant neglecting this order will be returned to the ranks, and never permitted to be an officer's servant again.

¹ Captain Mackay left the regiment on the 23rd. He obtained an extension of leave on the death of his father, Colonel George Mackay of Bighouse, in September. By the death of Bighouse, Captain Mackay succeeded to the estate of Strathalladale. In November 1798 he was recruiting in the Reay Country, but rejoined the regiment in November 1799. He was again at Bighouse recruiting in February 1800, returning in April of the same year. In February 1801 he was in Scotland on sick leave, rejoining in April 1801. On detachment duty at Tuam with his company, August 1802. Present with the regiment till its disbandment, 13th October 1802.



"Croppies" of '98.

CHAPTER XII.

ON the 22nd of August 1798 an event took place which was destined to throw Ireland into a state of renewed revolt, this time through outside influences.

The failure of the Dutch expedition in 1797 had precluded all further idea of Irish invasion for that year, whilst during the first half of 1798, the French Directory were fortunately too busily engaged with Buonaparte's expedition to Egypt to find time to carry out its promises to support the rebellion with men and arms. Consequently the insurrection which had commenced so suddenly on May 23 had been terminated, as a serious movement, at Vinegar Hill, without the promises of French aid having been fulfilled.

It was not until the end of July that the Directory, yielding to the renewed appeals of Wolfe Tone, tardily turned its attention towards another attempt upon Ireland, and gave orders that a number of small expeditions should make simultaneous descents upon the Irish coast.¹

The first of these expeditions to set sail, and as it turned out the only effective one, was a small force of some 1200 troops, composed of veterans from the armies of Italy and the Rhine under General Humbert, a rough illiterate soldier of fortune.² These were accom-

¹ In the end four expeditions were fitted out. The first, consisting of about 10,000 men, called the Reserve, under General Kilmaine—an Irishman in the French service—was destined to never set sail. The second, composed of 3000 men under General Hardy, was to start from Brest harbour, but not being ready to sail until August 17th, it would in any case have been unable to co-operate with Humbert even if it had not fallen into the hands of the British Fleet off Lough Swilly. The third, of 2000 men, started soon after the second, but returned without landing its troops. The fourth was that under Humbert.

² Bishop Stock, who saw Humbert soon after he landed in Ireland, describes him as being as extraordinary a person as any in his force; of a good height and shape, in the full vigour of life, prompt to decide, quick in execution, apparently master of his art, you could not refuse him the praise of a good officer, while his physiognomy forbade you to like him as a man. His eye, which was small and sleepy, cast a sidelong glance of

modated on three frigates which also carried 5500 stand of arms for the Irish insurgents.¹ The expedition set sail from La Rochelle on the 4th August, and aided by a dark night eluded the British men-of-war who were cruising off the French coast. The intention was to make for Donegal Bay, but hindered by contrary winds the flotilla, with British colours flying, cast anchor in Killala Bay, in Co. Mayo, on the morning of the 22nd August, occasioning no suspicion by their appearance.²

Without delay Humbert began the disembarkation of his force, and before one-third of it was landed, marched with about 300 men upon the cathedral town of Killala, about a mile distant.

The garrison of Killala, consisting of a party of the Prince of Wales' Leicester Fencibles and some Yeomanry, offered a stout resistance, but were finally forced to retire into the castle with the loss of a few men killed and wounded, where they surrendered.³

insidiousness and even of cruelty; it was the eye of a cat preparing to spring upon her prey. His education and manners were indicative of a person sprung from the lowest orders of society (he commenced life as a small trader in goat-skins), though he knew how, as most of his countrymen can do, to assume, when it was convenient, the deportment of a gentleman. For learning he had scarcely enough to enable him to write his own name. His passions were furious, and all his behaviour seemed marked with the characters of roughness and violence. A narrower observation, however, served to discover that much of his roughness was assumed with the view of extorting, by terror, a ready compliance with his demands. He had served at the siege of Mayence, in La Vendee, and at Quiberon, and had taken part in the expedition to Bantry Bay.—'Narrative of what passed at Killala during the French Invasion,' by an eye-witness (Bishop Stoek).

¹ Two prominent United Irishmen in the French service accompanied this expedition, Mathew Tone, who was a brother of Wolfe Tone, and Bartholomew Teeling. There was also an officer named O'Keon, an Irishman naturalised in France, who was very useful, as he had come from the neighbourhood of Killala, and was thoroughly conversant with the Irish language.—Lecky, vol. v. p. 42.

² In the belief that they were British frigates, several gentlemen in the neighbourhood went off to call, and only discovered their mistake when they found themselves prisoners.

³ On taking possession of the castle the French hoisted a green flag bearing the words "Erin gu bragh" (Ireland for Ever) in front of it. According to Bishop Stoek, Humbert's men were intelligent, active, temperate, patient, and most obedient to discipline. Excepting the Grenadiers there was nothing to catch the eye, their stature being low, complexions pale and sallow, and clothes much the worse for wear. Though they might appear incapable of enduring hardships, they were content to live on bread or potatoes, drink water, make the stones of the street their bed, and sleep in their clothes with no covering but the canopy of heaven. One-half of their number had served in Italy under Buonaparte; the rest were from the Rhine, where they had suffered distresses that well accounted for their persons and wan looks. Several of them declared, with all the marks of sincerity, that at the siege of Mentz, during the preceding winter, they had for a long time slept on the ground in holes made four feet deep under

Humbert now took possession of the town, and issued proclamations calling on the people to join him, and summoning all persons from 18 to 40 years of age to enrol themselves under him in the name of the Irish Republic, assuring them that the forces he had with him were only the advanced-guard of a powerful army about to be sent from France. The remainder of the day was spent in landing the rest of the troops and the arms and ammunition. The disembarkation being completed, the frigates returned to France. On the 23rd, the natives, who joined Humbert in great numbers,¹ were armed and clothed,² and commissions given to those of better standing, though there were few of the latter.³

The next day the French sent a reconnoitring party towards the town of Ballina, some seven miles south of Killala, which was driven back by a small force of Carabineers and Yeomanry. On the King's troops advancing in turn they were repulsed after a smart skirmish, losing a few men.

On Sunday, the 25th, Humbert decided to assume the offensive. Leaving behind six officers and 200 men to garrison Killala and drill any fresh recruits that should join, he marched with the remainder of the force, consisting of 900 French, 2000 Irish, with two light four-pounders or curricule guns, on Ballina, and entered it unopposed.⁴

Major-General John Hutchinson,⁵ the officer in command of the Province of Connaught, on hearing of the French landing, at once took strong measures to check the advance of the invaders as well as to keep the country quiet. Collecting three regiments of Irish Militia

the snow; and one officer, pointing to his leather small-clothes, assured the bishop that he had not taken them off for a twelvemonth.—Bishop Stock's 'Narrative.'

¹ Many of them joined the invaders with delight when they learnt that, for the first time in their lives, they were to receive meat every day.

² Some who had received guns and uniforms availed themselves of the first opportunity to fly to their mountain cabins with their spoil. Others, disguising their voices and with new stories, came again and again, in order to obtain double or treble provisions of arms, ammunition, and uniforms, and then disappeared and sold them for whisky.—Lecky, vol. v. p. 48.

³ With the exception of two or three, not a man of property or respectability joined Humbert.

⁴ Here, as at Killala, no person of any position joined the French.

⁵ Afterwards second Earl of Donoughmore, 1757-1832; entered army, 1775; Lieut.-Colonel Athole Highlanders, 1783; Major-General, 1797; in Ireland, 1798; wounded at Alkmaar, 1799; commanded 1st division under Abereromby in Egypt, 1801; succeeded to the command of the army in Egypt on Abereromby's death; captured Cairo and Alexandria, 1801; carried George IV.'s proposals to Queen Caroline at St Omar, 1820.

—the Kerry, Kilkenny, and Longford—a strong detachment of the Fraser Fencibles, 100 men of the Sixth Foot, and a detachment of Lord Roden's Fencible Cavalry, with four six-pounders and a howitzer, Hutchinson moved with them to Castlebar, which, as he rightly conjectured, was the French objective. Arriving there on the 25th, he found the country round perfectly quiet, but hearing exaggerated reports of Humbert's strength and of the numbers of Irish that had joined him, he determined to await further reinforcements before attacking the French.

To prevent Humbert advancing, and to avoid any chance of being surprised, Hutchinson detached a force of about 1200 men¹ under General Taylor, on the 26th, to the village of Foxford, about thirteen miles north of Castlebar, and roughly midway between it and Ballina, to guard the only passage possible for an army across the river Moy.²

Two roads, however, at that time connected Ballina with Castlebar. The lower one, and the easier by far of the two, passed through Foxford, along the east side of Lough Conn, while the upper or hill road led over the rough ground on the west of the lough and skirted the slopes of Mount Nephin. So impracticable did the latter road seem for troops in marching order with guns that Hutchinson considered it unnecessary to guard it, and devoted his attention solely to the lower road.

Humbert, meanwhile, before commencing his march on Castlebar, had taken care to find out the nature of the country that separated him from the Royal troops, and being evidently more of a strategist than his opponent, chose the least frequented road for his advance.

Accordingly, at an early hour on the 27th he left Ballina, giving out his intentions of marching by Foxford, which information was at once conveyed to General Hutchinson at Castlebar. Following the lower road for a couple of miles as a further blind, Humbert wheeled sharply off to the right, and taking to the mountain road, made for the Pass of Barnageerach on the western side of Lough Conn. The rough rocky track presented no difficulties to Humbert's tried veterans in their light marching order, while there were plenty of active

¹ Made up of the Kerry Militia, some companies of the Line, and a Yeomanry corps with which he had been reinforced that day.

² This river, which is both deep and wide, was crossed at Foxford by a long narrow bridge.

peasants to drag the curricule guns up the steep inclines. It was by the merest accident that Humbert's movements were discovered, otherwise the surprise would have been complete.¹ As it turned out, however, the troops in Castlebar, now further reinforced and under the command of General Lake,² had ample time to take up the strong position already chosen for them to the north of the town, commanding rising ground that the French would be obliged to cross under the fire of their guns.

The Kilkenny Militia, 100 men of the Sixth Foot, and a party of Prince of Wales' Fencibles formed the first line, with part of the 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers) and Lord Roden's 1st Fencible Light Dragoons immediately in rear; the second line was made up of the detachment of Fraser Fencibles and the Galway Yeomanry, with the Longford Militia in reserve on the left rear; while the artillery were advanced to right and left of the road running through the position. The flanks were covered by a lake and a bog.

It was close on eight o'clock when Humbert's troops, marching in close formation, appeared in sight. On the French advancing the artillery opened fire;³ their accurate shooting caused much loss, scattering the Irish auxiliaries and forcing Humbert to twice fall back and re-form. For the third time the French advanced, driving a number of cattle before them as a protection against the cannonade, but without success. Humbert now rapidly deployed into line from his centre and again advanced. The determination of the French seems to have perturbed the Militia, who opened a useless and ineffectual fire at a range of about 1000 yards, instead of reserving it until their opponents were within effective distance. The French taking this to be a sign of panic, boldly pressed on, and seized some hedges in front of the Militia with a view to outflanking them. This was too much, and in spite of the excellent practice made by the artillery, the Militia began to give way and fall back, leaving the guns

¹ About three o'clock on the morning of the 27th a yeoman who happened to be looking after some of his cattle near the Pass of Barnageerach saw the French advancing, and galloped in to Castlebar to alarm the garrison.

² Lake had been sent by Cornwallis, as an officer of greater experience than Hutchinson, to take command in Connaught. He arrived in Castlebar on the 26th. Without including the troops detached to Foxford, the force at Lake's disposal amounted to nearly 3000 men.

³ Humbert covered his Grenadiers with a body of Irish in French uniforms, so as to draw on them the fire of the artillery.

exposed to the enemy, who promptly seized them, thus completing the rout. The Militia in their precipitate retirement threw the second line into disorder, so that the whole gave way. A small body of the Sixth Foot, a party of Lord Roden's Fencible Dragoons and Fraser Fencibles,¹ together with a few stragglers from other corps, endeavoured to stay the French advance, but the remainder of the troops retired pell-mell into the town. A fresh stand was made at the bridge by some of the Fraser Fencibles and Longford and Kilkenny Militia, and some determined fighting ensued. This party was at length obliged to retire, having suffered heavily from the French cross fire.

General Lake, after collecting what he could of the scattered remnants of his force, retired on Tuam, some thirty miles distant, and proceeded to re-form his troops. Overwhelmed with grief at the unsteady behaviour of the regiments under him, General Lake was frequently heard to exclaim, "*If I had my brave and honest Reays here this would not have happened.*"²

The King's troops had 53 killed, 34 wounded, and 279 prisoners or missing, besides losing five colours and fourteen pieces of artillery; the French losses in killed and wounded were, however, greater.

This defeat, discreditable as it was to the troops³ under Lake, had been mainly brought about by the rawness of the Militia and Yeomanry, who, although at home in an encounter with the Irish rebels, had not sufficient discipline or training to enable them to stand against the onslaught of trained Continental troops. Again, many of them were known to be disaffected. Fifty-three of the Longford Militia who were made prisoners deserted and took arms with the French,⁴ whilst a number of others went over to the enemy after the

¹ "The Frazers, a gallant Scotch regiment, exhibited throughout the day the most admirable discipline and soldierlike conduct, sustaining, with characteristic firmness, the brunt of the action, and fighting to the last with invincible courage."—'Sequel to the Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion,' by C. H. Teeling.

² 'Sketches of the Highlanders.'—General Lake, after a short rest at Tuam, retired on Ballinamore in order to meet Cornwallis who was advancing westward, and concert measures with him to intercept the enemy and compel him to surrender.

³ So great was the panic that some of the defeated cavalry are said to have reached Athlone at one o'clock on the 29th, having traversed sixty-three miles in twenty-seven hours. This fight is consequently known in Ireland as "the race of Castlebar."—Lecky, vol. v. p. 52.

⁴ All these were afterwards captured and sentenced to the death their defection merited.

engagement. More perhaps might have been expected of the regular troops and fencibles, but situated as they were, and in the minority, a just opinion of their conduct cannot well be formed.

One act of singular and devoted bravery that day remains to be told.

On the French entering Castlebar, they proceeded to the new gaol which they purposed breaking open. Here an unlooked-for surprise awaited them, for they were obstinately confronted by a sentinel of Fraser's Fencibles, who had heroically refused to retire with his comrades or quit his post without superior orders. He was, perhaps, the sole armed Royalist remaining in the town. This gallant Highlander, whose post was elevated, with some steps leading up to it, loaded and fired five times successively, killing a Frenchman at each shot, but before he could charge a sixth time he was rushed upon and clubbed. His body was dreadfully mutilated by the Irish.¹

"If all the soldiers at Castlebar had behaved with equal firmness," observes General Stewart, "the French invasion would have ended on that day."

Castlebar, the capital of Mayo, now became Humbert's headquarters, where he remained until the 4th September anxiously awaiting further reinforcements from France.² His troops during that time conducted themselves with a moderation and discipline that was beyond all praise, repressing every attempted cruelty on the part of their ignorant Irish allies, whom they soon began to regard with feelings of contempt.

The French general now proceeded to form a provisional government, and gave orders for the formation of eight Infantry and four Cavalry regiments, "to secure the happiness and independence of ancient Hibernia."

Humbert, however, "found little enthusiasm for the French Revolution in Mayo, and it was only by the distribution of gaudy uniforms that he contrived to attract a few hundreds of simple peasants to the ranks. Connaught had taken no part in the re-

¹ Musgrave.

² These luckily never came. Had Hardy's force co-operated with Humbert, the addition of 3000 men, together with the arrival of Wolfe Tone, who accompanied the expedition, would have made the invasion at this juncture a serious matter for the country.

bellion, and was wholly unmoved by the evangel of the Rights of man."¹

Moreover, he soon recognised that all hopes of real assistance from the Irish were groundless, for no important insurrectionary movement in the other provinces had followed his success at Castlebar. At the same time Cornwallis was gathering a considerable force at Athlone, and unless immediate help came from France Humbert saw that he must be shortly hemmed in by overwhelming numbers and forced to surrender. His Irish levies, whom he had neither time nor adequate means to train, were for the present of no further use than as a means of stopping the enemy's bullets.

Meanwhile Cornwallis, who had been considerably alarmed at the news of Humbert's unexpected descent, after despatching General Lake on the 24th to take command in Connaught,² had directed large bodies of troops to occupy the passages of the Shannon at Carrick and Athlone, while he himself, at the head of a small force composed of the 100th (92nd) Highlanders, two composite battalions of Light Infantry, and four flank companies of Militia, started out by forced marches for Athlone. This column reached Athlone on the 27th, having covered sixty miles in two days. Here Cornwallis received the astonishing intelligence that Lake had been completely defeated.

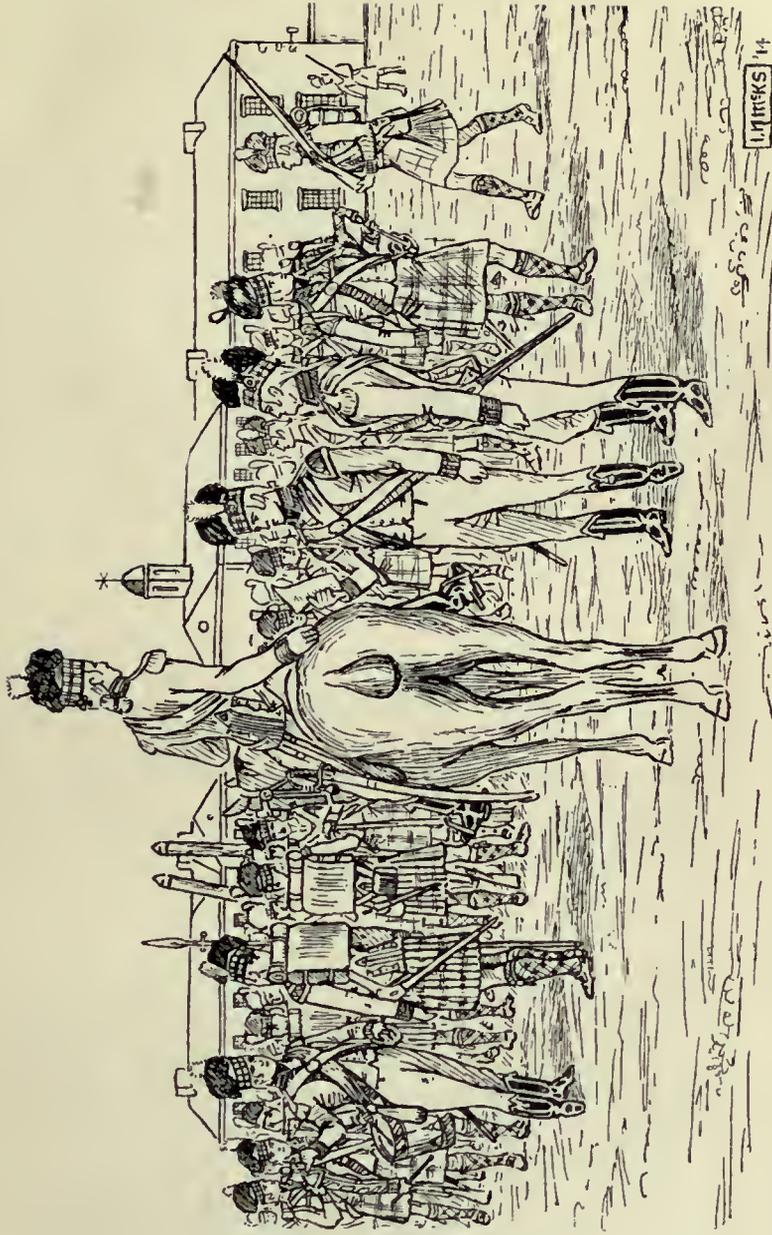
The news of the French landing reached the Reays at Maynooth some time on the 24th, and shortly afterwards orders were received from Dublin to prepare for immediate service. All was bustle and excitement—drums beat to arms, orderlies hurried here and there, fatigue parties stacked and loaded the light baggage of the companies, while above all rose the shrill notes of the "piob mhor" as the orderly piper strode through the streets summoning the men in billets and in town to repair to the barracks without delay.

On the afternoon of Sunday, 25th August,³ the Reays left Maynooth, and proceeded by forced marches to Athlone, the sick and

¹ 'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 591.

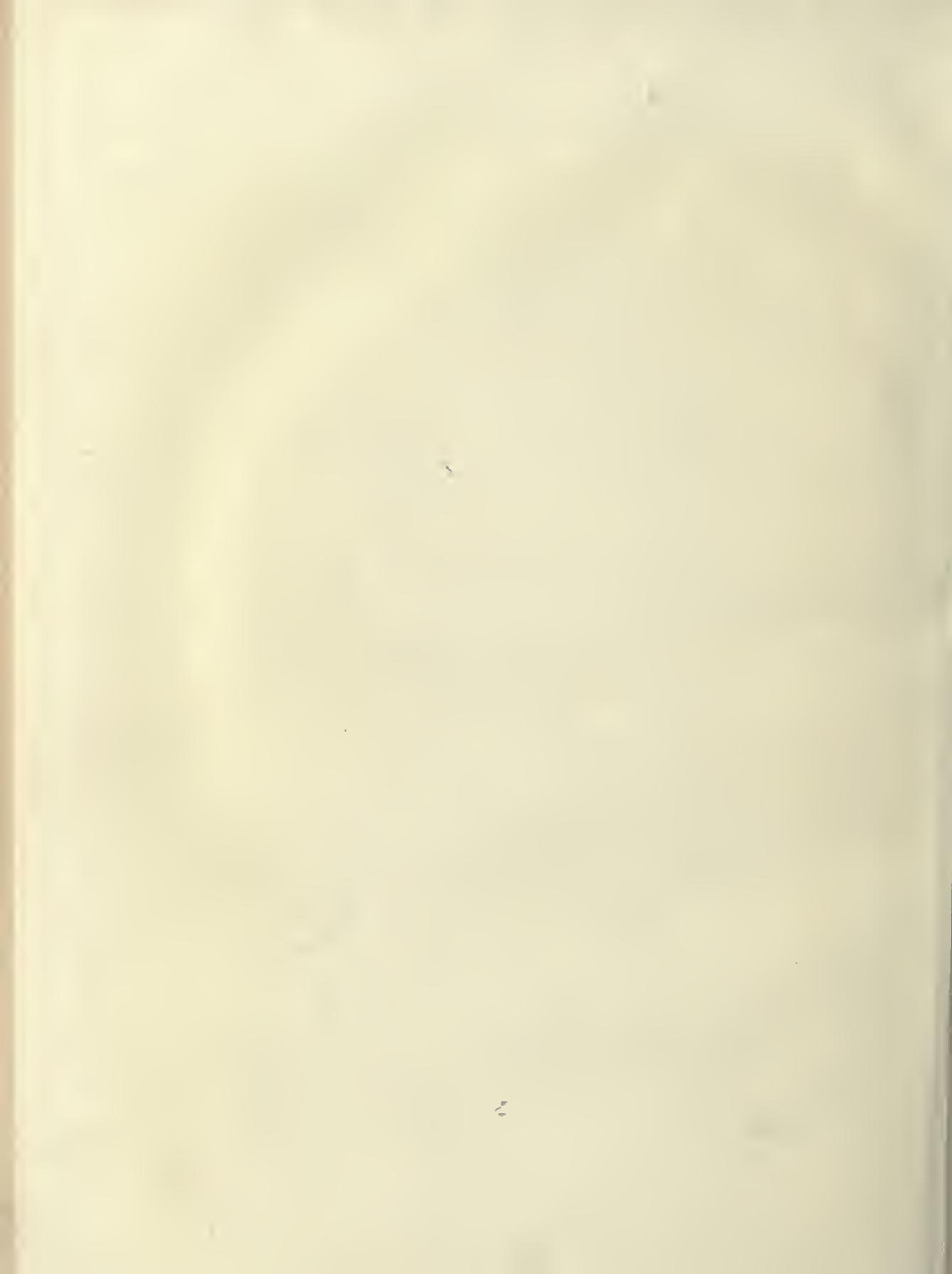
² On his way westwards Lake had collected a few troops to reinforce Hutchinson's force at Castlebar. It has been stated that the Reays formed part of these troops, but as they did not leave Maynooth until the 25th, whereas Lake was at Castlebar, the other side of Ireland, on the 26th, it is hardly likely that they could have accompanied him.

³ The orders end abruptly on the 24th, and do not recommence until the 31st, when they are dated Ballinamore Camp.



THE REAYS LEAVE MAYNOOTH ON HEARING OF THE FRENCH LANDING AT KILLALA BAY.

1794



most of the women¹ and children being sent to Dublin. The regiment, in full marching order with knapsacks and 60 rounds of ball cartridges per man,² reached Athlone on the night of the 27th,³ having covered nearly sixty miles in two days,⁴ and there joined the army which was being assembled under Lord Cornwallis. On the following day the troops moved into a camp to the west of the town, and on the 30th the whole force marched to Ballinamore, a small village about 18 miles west of Athlone, and there encamped. Here Cornwallis was joined by General Lake, who had been directed to fall back from Tuam. Next morning a council of war was held.

General Orders, Headquarters Camp at Ballinamore, 31st August.—The Marquis Cornwallis desires the General Officers and Commanding Officers of corps will attend the headquarters this day at half-past eleven o'clock.

The army was now brigaded, the troops who had been with Lake at Castlebar being divided up among the different brigades.⁵ The Reays formed part of the 1st Brigade under Major-General Campbell.

General Orders, Headquarters Camp at Ballinamore, 31st August.—Major-General Moore⁶ General Officer for the day.

¹ Some of the women accompanied their husbands to Athlone, and were left there, while a few followed the regiment throughout its "trek" after Humbert. Women were not permitted to follow troops on service, although some generally contrived to be with their husbands, and if they had no children were given employment, if they wished it, as nurses for the wounded.—'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 77.

² The whole kit, with arms and accoutrements, weighed between 50 and 60 lb.; to which might be added a blanket and two days' rations, while every sixth man carried a camp kettle.

³ "During the night (27th) the Sutherland and Red (Reay) Fencibles arrived with Generals Campbell and Wemyss."—'Diary of Sir John Moore,' vol. i. p. 315.

⁴ This was a creditable performance, considering that the regiment had not been called upon to undertake any long marches so far. Sir J. Sinclair of Ulbster, in his 'Observations of the Military System of Great Britain,' says that the men of Highland regiments are so peculiarly active and fit for encountering the hardships of war, and overcoming the difficulties of marching in a mountainous country, that they ought, perhaps, to be formed into Light Infantry battalions.

⁵ With the exception of the Kilkenny and Longford Militia, who, writes General Moore in his diary, "had behaved so ill . . . that it was thought proper to move them to Athlone to prevent them communicating with the other troops."

⁶ Afterwards Lieut.-General Sir John Moore, M.P. for Linlithgow, Selkirk, Lanark, and Peebles, 1784-90. Born in Glasgow, November 13, 1761; educated at the public school and university of that city; travelled abroad, where he acquired that suavity and eloquence of manner for which he was remarkable; joined the 51st Regiment at Minorca in 1776 as ensign; served in the American War, 1779; distinguished himself in the West Indies under Sir Ralph Abercromby; sent to Corsica; served in the Rebellion in Ire-

When the army marches it will move in the following order: Major-General Moore's Brigade to form the Advance Corps. He will report to the Commander-in-Chief.

To be followed by, 1st, Major-General Campbell's Brigade.
2nd, Major-General Hutchinson's Brigade, under the orders of Lieut.-General Lake.

The Fraser Fencible Regiment to follow the baggage of the army, and the 5th Dragoon Guards will close the rear.

The battalion guns of General Campbell's and General Hutchinson's brigades will be formed into two brigades under Captain Shortall. They will be manned by the R. I. Artillery as far as their numbers permit, the remainder to consist of men from the different regiments as formerly.

The army will march at five o'clock to-morrow morning. Returns from each regiment and detachments of the number of horses belonging to their officers to be given in to-morrow, each officer signing for the number of horse he draws forage for.¹ The troops will march with bread and oats for to-morrow inclusive.

The excesses committed by some of the troops while on the march and round camp had exceeded all description, and called forth the following severe General Order:—

Ballinamore Camp, 31st August.—It is with very great concern that Lord Cornwallis finds himself obliged to call on the General Officers and Commanding Officers of regiments in particular, and in general on the officers of the army, to assist him in putting a stop to the licentious conduct of the troops, and in saving the wretched inhabit-

land, 1798; in Holland, 1779, being wounded at Egmont-op-Zee; Colonel commandant 52nd Foot; served in Egypt, 1801; distinguished himself at Alexandria and Cairo, 1801, where he was twice wounded; selected to instruct Light Infantry regiments in an improved system of drill; held Mediterranean command, 1806; commanded the army in Sicily and the expedition to the Baltic; appointed to command the army in Spain, October 1808; retreated to Corunna, 1809; mortally wounded after hearing of the defeat of the French at Corunna, and was buried at midnight in the citadel at Corunna, 16th January 1809. His loss was deeply felt by the whole army, especially the soldiers, to the increase of whose comforts he had devoted a large share of his attention.

¹ "Officers bearing double commissions to draw for one horse only, brevet rank not allowed in drawing forage." In the infantry, besides those officers who were entitled to be mounted, many of the company officers were permitted to ride (provided they paid for their own forage), so that they might be fresh at the end of the march to attend to their men's requirements. This, as we have already mentioned in a former note, was one of the reasons why officers of Highland corps did not usually wear the kilt when on service.

ants from being robbed and in the most shocking manner ill-treated by those to whom they have a right to look to for protection. Lord Cornwallis declares that if he finds the soldiers of any regiment have had opportunities of committing any of these excesses from the negligence of their officers, he will make their officers responsible for their conduct, and that if any soldiers are caught either in the act of robbing or with the article of plunder in their possession, they shall be instantly tried, and immediate execution shall follow their conviction.

A Provost-marshal will be appointed, who will with his guard march in rear of the army, and will patrol about the villages and houses in the neighbourhood of the camp.

R. O., Ballinamore Camp, 31st August.—In consequence of the General Orders issued this evening respecting the plundering and robberies committed by the army at present encamped here, the commanding officer feels great comfort in the hope that these orders do not as yet apply to the conduct of the Reay Fencibles, who, he flatters himself, will never be corrupted by the bad example of other corps, but by a steady observance of the orders of their officers, and by following that line of conduct which has already gained them the good opinion of every one, they may show an example worthy of imitation to the whole army, which, when they return home, may have justly entitled them to the approbation of their Generals and the plaudits of their fellow-countrymen.

(Signed) A. Ross, Major,
Comm'dg. Reay Highlanders.

Lieutenant Grant for the quarter-guard this evening.

The regiment to march to-morrow morning at five o'clock. The 1st drum to beat at four o'clock, when the tents will be immediately struck and the carts loaded; the 2nd to sound at half-past four. The pipes to go along the line at half-past four,¹ when the regiment will fall in.

The army reached Tuam on the afternoon of the 1st September, and there encamped.

G. O., Headquarters Camp near Tuam, 2nd Sept.—Lord Cornwallis directs the Commissary-General to give one day's spirits to the army.

¹ The tune played would have been "Hey, Johnnie Cope," the *reveille* (or first morning tune) of all Highland regiments at that time, as it still is to this day.

With the overwhelming force¹ now at his disposal, Lord Cornwallis determined to completely surround Humbert, and compel him to surrender, but in order to prevent all chance of the French escaping to the north he ordered Lake to move on Sligo. This Lake did early on the 2nd, taking with him the Reay Fencibles, Armagh Militia, and sixty men of the Roxburgh Fencible Dragoons.² Making a forced march this column reached Boyle³ in Roscommon on the morning of the 3rd,⁴ where it was strengthened by a junction with the troops under General Taylor.⁵ The whole force, now under the command of Lake, on whom the arduous task of running Humbert to ground was shortly to fall, consisted of cavalry and infantry only, the composition being as follows :—

CAVALRY.

Carabineers.	Det. of 1st Fencible Light Dragoons. ⁶
Detachment of 23rd Light Dragoons.	Det. of Roxburgh Fencible Dragoons.

INFANTRY.

1st Brigade.

Brigadier-General Taylor.
 Reay Fencibles.
 Armagh Militia (from General Hutchinson's Brigade).
 Part of Kerry Militia.

2nd Brigade.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bulkeley of the Northampton Fencibles.
 3rd Battalion of Light Infantry.⁷
 Prince of Wales' Fencibles.
 Northampton Fencibles.

On the afternoon of the 3rd, orders were received from Cornwallis to immediately march on Castlebar and co-operate in its investment.

¹ The army under Cornwallis is said to have numbered over 20,000 men. General Knox, who had borne so great a part in Ulster politics, had at this time been under orders for the West Indies, and had actually embarked at Portsmouth, when he was suddenly recalled, and with a large detachment of troops landed at Galway early in September.—Lecky, vol. v. p. 60.

² 'Diary of Sir John Moore,' vol. i. p. 319.

³ A small town about 40 miles by road from Tuam.

⁴ No orders appear in the order books for either the 3rd or 4th September, during most of which time the regiment was on the march. The orders for the 5th are dated at Tubbercurry.

⁵ After the battle of Castlebar General Taylor had fallen back on Swineford, and thence with part of his force he moved on Sligo, but while on the way received orders to join General Lake at Boyle.

⁶ Also known as Lord Roden's Foxhunters. Part of this corps was engaged in reconnaissance work round Castlebar, and did not join Lake's column until the 5th. The total strength of Lake's cavalry was about 350 sabres.

⁷ Composed of the light companies of Irish Militia regiments. This battalion was formed while the Reays were in Belfast, and was stationed at Blares Camp.

In obedience to these orders Lake at once moved with his entire force to Frenchpark, about nine miles distant, and encamped there for the night. Continuing his march the following afternoon, he bivouacked in an advantageous position to the east of the cross-roads at Ballahadreen.

In the meantime Cornwallis, after awaiting intelligence as to Humbert's movements, left Tuam early on the 3rd of September and encamped the same day at Hollymount, about thirteen miles south-east of Castlebar. Here, next morning, he received news that Humbert, having called in all his detachments, had evacuated Castlebar and moved north-east. On receipt of this information Cornwallis immediately despatched a force of militia and yeomanry to reoccupy Castlebar, and, as Humbert's objective was not known, sent orders to Lake at Frenchpark to follow him up and harass his march without coming to a general engagement, while he himself marched north-east on Carrick to intercept him.¹

Humbert, having seen that surrender would be inevitable unless immediate help came from France, had determined to make a dash for the North, which he understood was disaffected, and thus hold out a little longer in the hope of being reinforced. Accordingly, on the night of the 3rd of September, he sent off part of his force, with the baggage and cannon, towards Sligo, while he followed himself with the remainder, some 400 men, early next morning. The French were accompanied in their march by a horde of rebels, who deserted in great numbers as they pleased. Their first halt was at Barleyhill, where Humbert remained two hours, and then resuming his march passed through Swineford at seven in the evening, where he joined up with his advanced party. Still pressing forward, Humbert reached the cross-roads at Ballahadreen towards midnight, where he was informed of Lake's being encamped there. General Sarazin, the second in command, strongly urged a night attack upon the bivouac, but Humbert overruled the proposal,² and, turning suddenly to his left, halted at Tubbercurry for a few hours to refresh his men. At

¹ It has been said that, considering the small force of the French, Cornwallis was over cautious; but with the state of Ireland as it was it would have been unpardonable, for the chance of a little personal glory, to have run the smallest unnecessary risk. Many of the troops he had were bad and undisciplined, and if he had met with the least check the country was gone.—'Diary of Sir John Moore,' vol. i. p. 324.

² Maxwell, p. 241.

Tubbercurry Humbert was joined by a mob of rebels who had crossed the mountains from Ballina.

On Lake being informed by his piquets¹ of the French movement he immediately beat to arms. All was stir and bustle in the royalist camp—drums and bugles sounded, the pipers of the Reays blew the “gathering,” and the men hastily armed and accoutred. The night was a cold and wet one, and as the shivering troops stood to their arms an allowance of spirits was served out, which no doubt was highly appreciated. By 2 A.M. on the morning of the 5th, the whole column was on the march and in full pursuit of Humbert.

Hearing that the French had gone in a northerly direction, Lake moved with his infantry² along the Sligo road, at the same time despatching his cavalry on ahead to reconnoitre. The latter coming up with the French outposts at dawn, opened fire, and a smart skirmish took place, in which the royalists were driven back. On the main body of Lake's troops appearing, however, Humbert, seeing that further delay would be fatal, hastily evacuated his camp and continued his march on Sligo. So closely had the French been pressed, that their fires were still burning and provisions cooking when Lake's tired and hungry troops came on their deserted bivouac.³

A halt was now ordered, but as Humbert's designs were not known, every precaution was taken to avoid surprise.

G. O., Camp at Tubbercurry, 5th September.—A guard of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 30 privates from Colonel Buckley's (Bulkeley's) Brigade to occupy Tubbercurry town. A subaltern and 20 men to form a piquet on each flank of the line, and give five sentinels each. The Reays and Armagh to supply the piquet on the right, and the Prince of Wales' Fencibles that on the left, at Tubbercurry. A strong patrol of cavalry to be sent as far as possible risk (*sic*) on the Colooney road; during the night this to consist of at least 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, and 20 privates. Three cavalry patrols, each consisting of 1 corporal and 6 privates, to

¹ The piquets that night were drawn from the Reay Fencibles and 3rd Light Infantry Battalion, to whose alertness in no small measure was due the fact that Humbert had not attacked the camp.

² In order to lighten the troops as far as possible upon the forced marches they would be called on to make in pursuit of Humbert, General Lake gave permission for the men's knapsacks to be conveyed in cars behind the column.

³ No doubt the ready-made repast, so unexpectedly put in their way, was greatly appreciated by Lake's men, many a joke being cracked at the Frenchmen's expense!

be posted at Ballimote, Ballaghy, and on the Ballaghy road. Each regiment to immediately mount its quarter-guard and rear-guard. No man to leave the lines, and the whole to be in readiness to march at a moment's warning.

R. O.—Ensign Nisbet for the quarter-guard this evening.

On Humbert leaving Tubbercurry he followed the Sligo road as far as Colooney, some five miles south of Sligo, where he found his further advance checked by a force under Colonel Vereker, composed of a detachment of the Limerick City Militia,¹ a corps of yeomanry, and two guns. This little party had taken up a strong defensive position with its right on a height and its left resting on the river Unshin. A sharp action ensued, in which the royal troops were at length compelled to retire across the river, with the loss of 9 killed, 22 wounded, and their guns. The French, however, had 28 killed and 30 wounded. The stout resistance that had been offered by the royalists surprised Humbert,² who had taken a full hour to clear them out of his way, and judging them, apparently, to be the advanced guard of a larger force, gave up his design on Sligo³ and turned east on Drumahair, directing his march on Manor Hamilton. In order to expedite his movements Humbert sunk three six-pounders in a bog *en route*, and threw five more guns into the river at Drumahair. After making a short halt near Manor Hamilton, the French General, early on the 6th, again changed his course, turning abruptly southwards, as if intending to make for Granard, in Co. Longford, where a fresh insurrection had broken out. So rapid had been his movements that the royalist advanced patrols⁴ were barely able to keep touch with him.

General Lake, receiving intelligence from his cavalry early on the 6th that Humbert, after having driven back Colonel Vereker at

¹ This was the same regiment the Reays had nearly come to blows with soon after they arrived in Belfast.

² Humbert had evidently a high opinion of Vereker when he said, "I met many generals in Ireland, but the only general, after all, was Colonel Vereker."

³ In doing this Humbert appears to have committed a great error. If he had continued Sligo must have been taken, as it was abandoned by Vereker, and the French might then have easily evaded the army of Cornwallis, and prolonged the struggle for some time in the mountains of the North.—Lecky, vol. v. p. 61.

⁴ Lake was under the necessity of constantly sending accounts of his movements, and those of the enemy, to Lord Cornwallis, which was distressing, as it could not be effected but by strong patrols.—Musgrave.

Colooney, had turned eastwards, immediately started in pursuit. Moving with the infantry to Colooney, he marched thence across country towards Drumahair, but seeing little prospect of coming up with Humbert that night, Lake halted his force at Dunnamory.¹ The distance covered that day was about 20 miles, the greater part of which was over roads of the roughest description.²

Near Dunnamory, a number of rebel Irish and some French, who had become separated from their main body, were reported to be occupying a disused building where they had taken refuge. A party of the Reays was despatched to surround and capture them, but on this party advancing a smart fire was opened upon it, one man—Private Donald M'Kay of the Grenadier Company—being mortally wounded. The Reays replied by a volley, killing and wounding several of the enemy, and so disconcerting the remainder that they at once laid down their arms. The French who were captured were made prisoners of war, but the rebels were tried on the spot and hung.

G. O., Dunnamory Camp, 6th September.—Three piquets, consisting of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, and 28 privates each, to mount this evening. A subaltern and 40 men made up from the different regiments to mount immediately at General Lake's quarters, to relieve the party there.

The whole line to turn out at half-past six o'clock for inspection, each corps in front of its own encampment.

R. O.—The regiment to parade for the General's inspection this evening. The warning pipe to sound at six o'clock, when the men are to get dressed and ready to turn out immediately on the second pipe sounding. No man to leave the lines under any pretext. The regiment to be ready to march on the shortest notice.

In the meanwhile Cornwallis had ascertained, early on the 6th, that the French were making for Sligo, and sent orders to the garrison of that town not to await attack but to retire on Ballyshannon or Enniskillen. Receiving further news on the 7th that Humbert was

¹ Dunnamory lies between Ballintogher and Colooney, and adjoins the townland of Kilross.

² Owing to the inclement state of the weather, the condition of the roads (most of them mere tracks at best) was deplorable and greatly impeded the troops, at the same time increasing the fatigue of marching. Many of the cars which accompanied the column stuck fast in the mud and had to be left behind.

moving southward as if heading for Carrick-on-Shannon, he at once hastened his troops to that town.

Having altered his route at Manor Hamilton, the French General pushed on with all speed towards Lough Allen and the Shannon, his progress being considerably retarded after the first few miles by the cavalry under Colonel Crawford. Crossing the Shannon at Ballintra, without having time to destroy the bridge, Humbert moved rapidly towards Drumshambo, near which place his rear-guard was so harassed by Lake's advanced troops, that an action ensued in which the royalists were repulsed with some loss.¹ The superiority of the latter in cavalry, however, enabled them to hang on to the Frenchmen's rear, and Humbert found it impossible to shake off his pursuers. The French General now directed his course by Feanagh, reaching the village of Cloone,² about four miles from Ballinamuck in Longford, late on the night of the 7th, and there gave his wearied men a few hours rest.³ The French "had been marching incessantly since they left Castlebar, had covered about 120 miles, and fought several actions in four days."⁴

On Lake being informed of Humbert's movements, late on the 6th, he started out with his main body at daylight next morning, and after a circuitous and harassing march over rough country⁵ halted towards nightfall at Ballintogher, and there refreshed his tired men. Receiving further intelligence that Humbert had doubled south, Lake immediately followed in hot pursuit, reaching Ballintra about one

¹ In this skirmish a few of the Reays, who were among Lake's advanced troops, were engaged, but had no killed. The superiority of the French riflemen was most marked, their weapons having a greater range than the British smooth-bores.

² Also spelt Cloon and Clane. Here Humbert received a deputation from the insurgents at Granard. His adjutant-general described their chief as half a madman, but a madman whose courage and fanaticism might well raise a flame in the country, and he says that "he spoke only of fighting for the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose champion he declared himself to be."—Lecky, vol. v. p. 62.

³ The delay at Cloone enabled Lake with his main body to come up with the French.

⁴ So closely had the French been pressed, that between their rear-guard and the advanced-guard of the royalists (composed of the Hompeschers and Lord Roden's Foxhunters under Colonel Crawford) the fusilade was almost incessant.—Maxwell, pp. 242-3.

⁵ Lake covered his advance with skirmishers, the light company of the Reays supplying those on the right flank. In crossing a stream swollen by the recent rains, some of Lake's troops were swept away and nearly drowned. The Reays, however, fording the torrent in true Highland fashion, with their kilt-tails about their waists, passed over in safety—a good deal drier as regards their nether garments than their brethren-in-arms clad in the "breeks"!

o'clock on the morning of the 8th.¹ Finding that Humbert had already passed the Shannon, Lake crossed over, and following the route taken by the French, which was strewn with Irish stragglers² from Humbert's force, halted near Feanagh until dawn,³ a few miles only separating him from the French bivouac at Cloone.

As it now appeared certain that the French General was making for Granard, Cornwallis marched at ten o'clock on the night of the 7th from Carrick-on-Shannon to the town of Mohill, situated three miles south-west of the position which the French army occupied at Cloone. On arrival at Mohill, a little after daybreak on the morning of the 8th, and learning that the troops of Humbert were already in motion, the Viceroy pressed on with all possible speed for St Johnstown, in the county of Longford, in order to intercept the march of the French General on Granard, at the same time directing Lake to follow Humbert up and force him to a halt.

Making an early start on the morning of the 8th, Lake detached the Light Infantry Company of the Monaghan Militia, mounted behind Dragoons,⁴ to harass the Frenchmen's rear. This party got in touch with Humbert's troops as they were leaving Cloone at sunrise, the remainder of Lake's column passing through the village at seven o'clock.⁵ On receipt of Cornwallis's orders, Lake pressed on so vigorously as to force the French to make a stand on the heights of Ballinamuck. Colonel Crawford, with the mounted infantry and cavalry,⁶ on coming up with the French rear-guard, summoned them to surrender, but this they refused to do, upon which Colonel Crawford opened fire. General Sarazin, commanding the rear-guard and

¹ During this night-march a few men of Lake's column fell out from exhaustion, most of whom were picked up by the rear-guard. The Reays, however, do not appear to have lost a man.

² During Humbert's retreat it was not unusual to find parties of rebels straggling, or sleeping in the fields through fatigue or intoxication; no questions were asked; the sword or halter ended all inquiry.

³ Wind and rain continued throughout the night, making bivouacking anything but a pleasant operation. Only a few fires were allowed to be lighted, round which the bedraggled troops buddled for warmth and took what rest they could.

⁴ About 150 men in all.

⁵ According to a contemporary account, the men of Lake's column might well have been in the field for four months instead of four days! Jackets and breeches were frayed and torn, accoutrements discoloured, and gaiters cut to pieces; while many of the Reays had lost their shoes in traversing the muddy roads and boggy places along which their route had lain, and had perforce to trudge along in their gartered hose.

⁶ About 300 cavalry and 75 mounted infantry.

second in command to Humbert, seeing his troops much outnumbered, thereupon ordered them to surrender, upon which upwards of two hundred French infantry threw down their arms.¹ Humbert, who commanded the main body, made a gallant attempt to draw his troops off the field. Thinking that he too would surrender, Major-General Craddock and Captain Pakenham,² with some cavalry, rode up to where the main body of the French was in position. They were received with a volley of musketry which wounded General Craddock and forced the little party to hurriedly retire. General Lake now ordered up the 3rd Battalion of Light Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Innes, to advance and commence the attack, supported by the Armagh Militia and Reay Fencibles.³ The action lasted about half an hour, when the remainder of Lake's column making its appearance, Humbert, recognising the hopelessness of his situation, had no alternative but to surrender at discretion.⁴ The rebels, of whom few

¹ Shortly before their surrender the French officers loaded the United Irishmen, their allies, with execrations for having deceived and disappointed them by inviting them to undertake a fruitless expedition. They also declared that the people of Ireland were the most treacherous and cowardly they ever knew. The Irish, on the other hand, gave a pitiable account of their campaign and treatment by the French, described themselves as nearly starved, very seldom obtaining even raw potatoes, never time to cook, excessively harassed by long and rapid marches, spoke with great bitterness of the invading army, who lived extremely well on the plunder of gentlemen's houses.—Maxwell, p. 243.

² These officers were from Cornwallis's force, which had reached St Johnstown by this time.

³ The two first-named regiments headed their respective brigades that day, and so were the first to be brought up. The Reays (who formed part of the reserve) "had distinguished themselves so remarkably during the long and fatiguing pursuit," says a contemporary journal, "that General Lake specially ordered them up to support the attack." They were not actively engaged, however, as the French shortly afterwards surrendered, but they were instrumental in capturing some of the flying rebel Irish. A French standard fell into the hands of the Light Company of the Armaghs, and it is still kept with the regimental colours in Gosforth Castle.

⁴ This he did to the British commanders, Colonel Crawford and Lord Roden.

Extract from Lieut.-General Lake's Despatch to Captain Taylor, Private Secretary to H.E. the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, dated Camp Ballinamuck, 8th September 1798: "After four days and nights most severe marching, my column, consisting of the Carabineers, detachments of the 23rd Light Dragoons, the First Fencible Light Dragoons, and the Roxburgh Fencible Dragoons, under the command of Colonel Sir Thos. Chapman, Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell, Earl of Roden, and Captain Kerr; the 3rd battalion of Light Infantry, the Armagh and part of the Kerry Militia, the Reay, Northampton, and Prince of Wales' Fencible Regiments of Infantry, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Innes of the 64th Regiment, Lord Viscount Gosford, Earl of Glandire, Major Ross, Lieut.-Colonel Bulkeley, and Lieut.-Colonel Macartney, arrived at Cloone at seven o'clock this morning, where having received directions to follow the enemy on the same line, whilst His Excellency moved by the lower road to intercept

were captured, fled in all directions as soon as they saw the French laying down their arms. They were pursued and ruthlessly cut down by the cavalry.¹

Return of the French army taken prisoners:—

General and other officers	.	.	.	96
N.-C. officers and men	.	.	.	748
Horses	.	.	.	about 100
Guns	.	.	.	2

The total loss sustained by the French since their landing at Killala amounted to 288. Of the rebel Irish 96 were taken, three of whom were called General Officers, by the names of Roach, Blake, and Teeling.² The deserters from the Militia at Castlebar were also captured.

The losses of the King's troops were as follows:—

	Officers.	N.-C. Officers and Men.	Horses.
Killed . . . . .	...	3	11
Wounded	1 ³	12	1
Missing . . . . .	...	3	8

The French prisoners were kept in St Johnstown and Longford for a few days, and then sent under escort to Dublin;⁴ the wounded, who were treated in the hospital at Longford, following later.

him, I advanced, having previously detached the Monaghan Light Infantry, mounted behind Dragoons, to harass their rear. . . . The conduct of the cavalry was highly conspicuous. The 3rd Light Infantry and part of the Armagh Militia (the only infantry engaged) behaved most gallantly, and deserve my warmest praise. Lieut.-Colonel Innes's spirit and judgment contributed much to our success, . . . and I feel infinitely thankful to all the commanding officers of corps, who, during so fatiguing a march, encouraged their men to bear it with unremitting perseverance. . . ."

¹ It is stated that some 500 were killed, but that many others succeeded in escaping across the bogs and made their way to Killala, taking part in its final defence. According to Fontaine the Irish escaped with the exception of 300, who defended themselves to the last, and were all cut to pieces.—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 63.

² Lake's Despatch.—Mathew Tone and O'Keon were also captured and identified next day. Tone and Teeling were sent to Dublin, tried by court-martial, and being proved to be British subjects, were hanged. O'Keon, who was also tried, succeeded in satisfying the Court that he was a naturalised Frenchman, and was treated as a prisoner of war.

³ The officer wounded was Lieut. Stephens of the Carabineers; Major-General Craddock, who was also wounded, is not returned as such.

⁴ The rank and file were conveyed, to the number of 745, by way of the Grand Canal on board the Company's boats, the officers being sent by another route. Arriving on the evening of the 16th September, they were embarked the same night on transports and sailed for England, where, after a short stay, a cartel was concluded for the exchange of prisoners, under which General Humbert with the residue of his forces was to proceed to France.



*The Surrender of the French General Humbert
To General Lalce at Ballinamuck September, 8th 1798.*

(From an old Print in the Author's possession.)

To the Reays fell the honour of conducting part of the prisoners of war¹ to Dublin, five officers² and 100 N.-C. officers and men under Captain Scobie being detailed for the duty. This party left Longford on the 12th, and travelling by easy stages arrived at the Irish metropolis without having lost a single prisoner.³

Thus ended this short-lived but remarkable invasion, "the bravery and dash displayed by the little band of French, that had been launched in air without money, necessaries, or any resources but what chance and talent gave, and its accomplishments in an enemy's country where about forty times its number of troops was in the field, proved that the French commander was a soldier of no ordinary ability."⁴

The troops under Lake, on whom the task of running Humbert to ground had fallen, had behaved with remarkable spirit, cheerfully bearing the arduous marches they were called upon to make. They had been marching with but little intermission for four days and nights, and during that time had covered well over 100 miles, a great portion of which was along rough tracks or across country.⁵

Of the regiments engaged, none had behaved better than the Reays, who, as we have seen, had attracted Lake's special notice.⁶

¹ The prisoners were strongly guarded by detachments from different regiments. A party of the 100th, or Gordon Highlanders, were placed in charge of a number of men who had been prisoners of war in Corsica when the Gordons were there in 1796.

² The officers were Captain-Lieutenant A. Mackay, Lieutenants James Scobie, D. Mackay, W. Baillie, and Ensign Sutherland.

³ During the journey to Dublin the French prisoners soon became on the best of terms with the Scottish "Sans culottes" (the French term for Highlanders) who formed their guard. Many a joke was cracked in French, or Reay Country Gaelic, and some amusing incidents would have occurred. The kilt created much astonishment among the French soldiery, while the Highlanders were equally surprised at the strange appearance of the whiskered veterans and their dress, which latter Donald considered no less singular than his own.

Mr Hugh Nicol, Ontario, mentions that both his grandfather and granduncle were on guard over the French prisoners, whom they considered "no that bad." The poor fellows would carve beef-bones into ornaments for their guards, who, in turn, would give them tobacco or snuff. Their beds were bundles of straw, which they would air every morning, and then carry back, amusing themselves for hours in picking up the bits of the straw.

⁴ General Humbert afterwards took part in the expedition to St Domingo in 1802, whence he returned to France the following year, but having incurred the displeasure of the First Consul, was expelled from Paris to Brittany; thence, fearing arrest and further reprisals, he went to the United States, and in 1815 served with the Mexican Insurgents against the Spaniards. He died at New Orleans in 1823, aged 68.

⁵ Within the last 36 hours before the French made their stand, Lake's troops covered nearly 40 *Irish* miles.

⁶ According to the newspaper already quoted, "On the day after the action

On the evening of the 8th Lake issued the following general order to the troops under his command:—

General Orders, Ballinamuck, 8th September 1798.—Lieut.-General Lake cannot sufficiently express to Brigadier-General Taylor and the troops under his command how highly gratified he is to return them his most sincere thanks for their meritorious conduct and unremitting exertions on the march against the enemy. The General flatters himself that the gallant behaviour of both officers and men, and the brilliant success attending the event, by forcing the French Army to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and totally to disperse the rebel army, will sufficiently compensate them for their fatigue and suffering.

(Signed) LAKE, *Lieut.-General.*

The following complimentary order was published next day by Lord Cornwallis thanking the army for its exertions:—

General Orders.

HEADQUARTERS, NEAR ST JOHNSTOWN,
9th September 1798.

Lord Cornwallis cannot too much applaud the zeal and spirit which has been manifested by the army from the commencement of operations against the invading enemy until the surrender of the French forces.

The perseverance with which the soldiers supported the extraordinary marches which were necessary to stop the progress of the very active enemy gives them the greatest credit, and Lord Cornwallis heartily congratulates them on the happy issue of their meritorious exertions.

The corps of Yeomanry in the country through which the army has passed have rendered the greatest services, and peculiarly entitle them to the acknowledgment of the Lord-Lieutenant for their not having banished that courage and loyalty, which they have displayed in the

Generals Lake and Taylor paid this gallant regiment (Reays) the highest compliments, and the former would not allow any other regiment to guard him during the three days the army remained on the field of battle. About a month thereafter, General Lake being in Dublin, and hearing of the death of the Lieut.-Colonel of the regiment (Bighouse), he immediately, and without the solicitation of Major Ross, waited on Lord Cornwallis, asked the vacant commission, and obtained it for him, doing not more honour thereby to this brave officer, than to himself, by his zeal in seizing the earliest opportunity of rewarding meritorious services.”—‘Edinburgh Advertiser,’ Friday, November 2nd, 1798.

cause of their King and Country, by acts of wanton cruelty towards their deluded fellow-subjects.

The trial of the Irish rebels who had been captured was now proceeded with, commencing with the leaders.

G. O., Ballinamuck Camp, 9th Sept.—A court-martial to assemble immediately for the trial of Roache and Blake, rebel leaders.¹

R. O.—Officer for the quarter-guard this evening Lieutenant James Scobie. For piquet Lieutenant William Mackay.

The Complimentary Orders to the army from Lord Cornwallis and General Lake to be read to the men this evening, and explained in the Gaelic language by the orderly sergeants of the different companies.

G. O., Ballinamuck, 10th Sept.—Two piquets of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, and 20 rank and file each to mount this evening at sunset. A guard of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, and 20 rank and file to mount over the rebel prisoners.

The Reay Fencible Highlanders to furnish a guard at sunset of 1 corporal and 6 privates at General Taylor's quarters. The cavalry patrols to go on as usual.

As it is found necessary that the trial of the rebel prisoners should be got through as quick as possible,² a court-martial will immediately assemble in each regiment of the line, to be composed of a field officer and the four next eldest officers of the regiment, which will proceed to the trial of such prisoners as shall be brought before it. The adjutant of each regiment, by application to the adjutant of the day, will receive the names of the prisoners to be tried by the court-martial of his regiment.

The rebel Blake and the Longford deserters to be hanged in the course of the day. The 23rd Light Dragoons and Carabineers, provided the courts-martial are over, may march for their destinations this evening.

¹ They were condemned and hanged at Ballinamuck. The only other leaders of any distinction to be tried were Moore and M'Donnell, who both underwent the extreme penalty of the law. These unfortunates, who were all gentlemen of old family and some fortune, had, in a momentary fit of misguided patriotism, been induced to espouse the cause of rebellion and join with the enemies of their country.

² A vast number of the lower class, taken in French arms and uniforms, were sentenced *pro forma*, with a knowledge that the Government would pardon them.—Maxwell, p. 243.

Lord Cornwallis having returned to Dublin, the dispersion of the troops under his command and those under General Lake began.

General Orders, A. G. Office, 10th Sept.—The Leicester Fencibles and Kerry Militia to march to Carrick-on-Shannon; they are to put themselves under the orders of Major-General Trench, and will begin their march on Wednesday morning. The Reay Fencibles to be quartered at Longford, and to begin their march before Thursday. The 3rd Battalion of Light Infantry to march by Killishandron to Inniskillen, and there to receive Major-General Nugent's orders. The 6th Dragoon Guards to occupy Dunmore. The 23rd Light Dragoons to return to their former quarters. The Armagh Militia to occupy Granard till further orders. All detachments to rejoin the headquarters of their regiments. The whole to take two days' bread.¹ If it can be ascertained that Longford is clear of troops this day, the Reays will march on Wednesday morning.

The clothing and foot-gear of the troops being considerably the worse for wear after the late arduous duties, commanding officers of regiments were "positively enjoined" to provide their men with these articles with the utmost expedition.

The following farewell order was published by General Taylor to the regiments who had composed his brigade:—

Brigade Orders.

BALLINAMUCK CAMP,
10th September 1798.

Brigadier-General Taylor cannot part from the Brigade he has had for a short time under his command without requesting Officers Commanding Corps to accept his sincere thanks for their kind assistance to him in carrying on his business, and to the whole for the cheerfulness with which all orders have been obeyed and all fatigues undergone.

¹ The food supplied to the army at this time, says Mr Hugh Nicol, Stratford, Ontario, Canada (from information supplied by his grandfather, Corporal Wm. Nicol), was 7-year-old biscuits alive with worms. It could be better eaten at night than in daylight. Some of the privates took the liberty of showing some to an officer, if I remember rightly, a son of Colonel Mackay's (*i.e.*, Lieut. Rupert Mackay), who took one of the biscuits, broke it in pieces, shook the worms into the palm of his hand and then swallowed them, remarking in Gaelic, "Men, this is *the best part of the food.*" He thus disarmed them of complaint on that score!

R. O., Ballinamuck Camp, 10th September.—A return to be sent in immediately of the shoes, necessaries, clothing, &c., required to complete every man, agreeable to the General Orders of this date. The men's bearskins to be taken down and cleaned on reaching Longford, when the quartermaster will issue new leather and ribbons for such of the bonnets as require renewing.

G. O., Ballinamuck Camp, 11th September.—All battalion guns are to be left in Carrick-on-Shannon, under the care of Captain Shortall of the Royal Irish Artillery. The additional gunners to rejoin their respective regiments immediately. One battalion gun to be attached to the Kerry Militia and Leicester Fencibles,¹ under 1 sergeant and 8 privates of the artillery.

Lieut.-General Lake trusts that the General Orders respecting renewing of clothing, &c., will be instantly complied with, as General Officers will be sent to inspect the different regiments forthwith.

R. O.—For the court-martial on the rebel prisoners this day, Captain Scobie and Lieut. Baillie.

The Lieut.-Colonel's Company to march to-morrow morning to Granard, there to remain till further orders.²

G. O., Ballinamuck Camp, 12th September.—As the different regiments leave this place they are to be careful that their camping-grounds are properly cleaned out, and all litter, rubbish, &c., burnt or destroyed.

R. O.—The regiment to march to-morrow morning to Longford³ at five o'clock. The tents to be struck at half-past four, and the officers' baggage packed upon cars this evening after parade. The men to carry their packs, blankets, camp kettles, &c.

¹ These two regiments were among the troops employed under General Trench in suppressing the insurrection which had broken out in Connaught as a result of the French invasion. No quarter was given to the unhappy insurgents during the suppression by the unsparing and infuriated Royalists, who hung or shot every rebel they caught on sight.

² This company, together with a detachment of Argyll Fencibles and some Yeomanry, was employed in suppressing the insurrection round Granard, which at one time seemed likely to assume formidable proportions. It returned to headquarters on the 21st September.

³ The capital of County Longford, distant some 10 miles by road from Ballinamuck. The chief buildings were the courthouse, the jail, general hospital, parish church, and the military barracks.

Longford was reached some time on the morning of the 13th, the Reays taking over the barracks there. Major Ross commanded the garrison, which consisted of the Reays, a detachment of Hompesch's Dragoons, and the Longford Corps of Yeomanry Infantry.



French Soldiers, 1798.

CHAPTER XIII.

WITH the surrender of the French troops at Ballinamuck the danger of invasion was averted, but the rebellion which had been kindled in Connaught on Humbert's landing now required suppressing.¹ This latter the bulk of the troops detailed for the duty² proceeded to carry out with the utmost savagery, in spite of a succession of severe orders issued by Lord Cornwallis to restrain the prevailing military disorder. Although for the most part guilty of no grave crimes, the wretched peasantry were pursued "with a ferocity which even to the present day has never been forgiven."³ Had conciliatory methods been adopted it is likely that tranquillity would have soon followed.

The disordered state of the troops was further increased by the evil influence of the faction that encouraged excesses against the rebels, while the contact generally of the Irish with the army was hopelessly demoralising.⁴ So totally lost to all sense of subordination did some regiments become, that at length, on the recommendation of Lord Cornwallis, they were rightly disbanded.⁵

¹ After the French surrender a body of insurgents made an attempt to recapture Castlebar, and held Ballina and Killala for fifteen days. The final action, or rather execution it might be more aptly termed, was at Ballina, where about 400 of these misguided peasants fell before the Royalist force of 1200 men and five guns.

² The Reays took no part in the suppression of the rising in Connaught.

³ 'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 594.—This could not be laid to the charge of all regiments, many of whom acted with humanity and forbearance. The conduct and discipline of one Highland corps present in Ireland at this time was so remarkable that General Moore commented upon it in general orders.—'Life of a Regiment,' vol. i. p. 51.

⁴ At the end of August an officer of the Guards wrote that if his men were kept in the country for another six months he would not answer for their subordination, so freely was whisky bestowed upon them by the faction that abetted the outrages against the rebels. Alarms were also entertained for the English militia and other of the regiments newly arrived in the country.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 595.

⁵ The first was the Perthshire Fencibles, which although called *Highland* had few or no officers or men from that country in its ranks. The officers having declined to convict some of their brethren of proved misconduct, the regiment was disbanded at

On the Reays arriving at Longford, the sad news reached them of the death of Lieut.-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse. He died at Scotstoun, the house of his brother Captain Æneas Mackay,¹ near Peebles, on the 6th September 1798. His loss was lamented by the whole corps. So dear was his memory to both officers and men that they one and all agreed to contribute four days' pay each towards erecting a monument to perpetuate their regard for him as an officer and a gentleman.² This monument, which was completed shortly afterwards, stands in the Bighouse Aisle of Reay, his native parish.

Lieut.-Colonel George Mackay of Bighouse, says the late Mr John Mackay of Hereford, "was singularly beloved by officers and men. His firm but considerate conduct to all under his command greatly aided in preserving excellent order and maintaining the strictest discipline, without the harshness then common with officers, who cared little or nothing about the feelings of their men.³ Not so with Colonel George. The reverence his clansmen entertained for him was sufficient: a look, a gesture, a word of displeasure from him, had a more deterrent effect than the use of the triangle and lash."

On Bighouse's demise he was succeeded in the lieutenant-colonelcy by Major Ross, who was promoted in December 1798, his commission, however, being antedated to September of the same year.

The French project for a series of expeditions to Ireland was not

Preston in February 1799. The disbandment of the Perthshire Fencibles was followed in January 1799 by that of the 5th Royal Irish Dragoons, who were known to have a number of United Irishmen in their ranks. In July 1799 the four regiments of "Irish Horse" (the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Dragoon Guards) were removed to England to relearn the discipline which, through small fault of their own, they had forgotten.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., p. 597.

¹ Captain Æneas Mackay raised a company for Lord Macleod's Highlanders in which he served for some time, but transferred afterwards into a cavalry regiment of the H.E.I.C. In 1780 he was desperately wounded at the battle of Conjeveram, where he was taken prisoner. He remained in the hands of Hyder Ali till April 1784, when he obtained his freedom, and returning to Scotland, bought the estate of Scotstoun, Peebles. In 1807 he sold the property to Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael. Died at Edinburgh in November 1807.—'Book of Mackay,' pp. 336-7.

² "Such a tribute of respect," says the 'Edinburgh Advertiser' of 1st September 1801, "to so worthy a character, is no less creditable to the very reputable corps who bestowed it, than it must have been gratifying to the family and friends of the deceased."

³ This could hardly be laid to the charge of Highland officers, however, as they well understood the peculiar temperament, feelings, and sentiments of their men, often indeed knowing them intimately before they had become soldiers, and consequently were in far closer touch with them than was possible in the ordinary marching regiments of those days.



MONUMENT ERECTED TO LIEUT.-COLONEL MACKAY OF BIGHOUSE
BY OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE REGIMENT.

(From 'The Book of Mackay,' by kind permission.)

yet abandoned, and on the application of Napper Tandy, one of the most prominent of the little band of Irish refugees at Paris, the French Directory gave him the command of the *Anacreon* corvette, with a body of soldiers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. This expedition landed in Donegal on the 16th September and took possession of the little town of Rutland,¹ but hearing that Humbert had surrendered and that Connaught was perfectly quiet, Tandy saw that his only course was to return. Through fear of the British fleet, the *Anacreon* did not attempt to regain France, but sailing northwards by the Orkney Islands arrived safely at Bergen in Norway. From there Napper Tandy² and a few companions made their way to Hamburg.

The first orders to be found in the order books after the Reays reached Longford are dated 20th September 1798.³

R. O.—According to orders received from Dublin, the regiment is to hold itself in readiness to march at the shortest notice,⁴ and follow such orders as Major-General Moore shall direct.⁵

¹ No opposition was met with, for there were no troops nearer than Letterkenny, some 25 miles distant; while most of the population, far from welcoming their "liberators," fled to the mountains. The French remained on shore about eight hours, during which time Tandy distributed some absurdly inflated proclamations; hoisted an Irish flag; took formal possession of the town, and examined the newspapers and letters in the post-office. From the latter he learnt that Humbert and his force had been captured, and the rebellion in Connaught suppressed. While on shore he became so drunk that he had to be carried back to the ship, and he appears to have been in that state during most of the expedition!—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 72.

² James Napper Tandy, 1740-1803, United Irishman; born in Dublin; declared warmly for the American Colonies, 1775; became an enthusiastic "volunteer," and raised two battalions in Dublin; proposed his plan of reform in 1791; fled to America; visited Paris, 1798; took to drink; was given command by the Directory of the *Anacreon* corvette; arrested in Hamburg and delivered up to the British Government on the 24th Nov. 1798; for which Buonaparte declared war upon Hamburg, Oct. 15th, 1799; finally liberated through Buonaparte at the Treaty of Amiens in 1802; died in France; well known as the hero of "The Wearing of the Green"; remarkable for the influence his career exercised for a short time on the affairs of Europe.

³ The gap in the orders from the 12th to the 20th September accounts for the fact of their being no reference to Bighouse's death in the order books.

⁴ The danger of a further French invasion was still feared, which the news of Napper Tandy's raid appeared to confirm.

⁵ General John Moore commanded the troops in Westmeath with headquarters at Moate, a country town 10½ miles S.-E. of Athlone. In the 'Diary of Sir John Moore,' edited by Sir F. Maurice, appears the following: "Sept. 25th.—The Reay Fencibles at Longford are added to my brigade." . . . "In case of (the French) landing in the north or south, my brigade (composed of the 1st and 2nd Batts. of Light Infantry, the 10th Regiment, Reays, and British Artillery), the Guards, General Hunter's brigade, the Suffolk and Gloster Militia, and Sutherland Fencibles are to move, under the immediate orders of Lord Cornwallis, to the point threatened."

Corporal Donald Mackay of Captain Baillie's Company is appointed sergeant in Captain Blanche's Company, in consideration of his gallant behaviour in the action of Tara Hill, *vice* Macarthur reduced to the ranks by the sentence of a regimental court-martial held at Ballinamuck Camp.¹

A. G. Office, Dublin, 19th September 1798.—His Majesty has been pleased to make the following appointment:—

Reay Fencibles.—Mr Peter Campbell² to be ensign in the Reay Highlanders *vice* Grant promoted. Commission dated 18th August 1798.

R. O., Longford, 22nd September.—On account of the absence of the command under Captain Scobie,³ the inspection of necessaries and camp kettles is postponed until the morning parade of Wednesday, 26th instant.

R. O., 23rd September.—Officers commanding companies to see that such of their men's bonnets as require new ribbons, binding, &c., are completed by the next inspection of necessaries, agreeable to the orders issued at Ballinamuck.

R. O., 24th September.—The following duties will be performed by the regiment, commencing to-morrow: A guard of 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, and 24 privates to mount at the barrack gate, and 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 12 privates at the jail. The officer of the guard to remain in his own room until a guard-room can be procured. An inlying piquet of 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 2 sergeants, and 42 rank and file to mount at 5 o'clock every evening. The officer of the barrack guard will inspect the barracks at 2 o'clock and at retreat beating, and will state in his guard report whether the companies were reported present, rooms clean, and the messing of the men properly regulated by the N.-C. officers.

R. O., 25th September.—As the regiment is ordered to be ready for service at the shortest notice, the commanding officer orders that no man is to be absent from his barrack room after tattoo beating. The sentry at the barrack gate is not to permit any soldier to go out of barracks after tattoo beating without leave from his commanding

¹ Macarthur's crime seems to have been "slackness when on guard."

² Never joined; resigned 26th December 1798.

³ This party was escorting French prisoners to Dublin. It returned to headquarters on the 25th, on completion of that duty.

officer, unless he is an officer's servant with leave in writing from his master.

Straw is to be immediately provided for such of the barrack rooms wanting bedding¹ until proper accommodation can be provided for the men. The sergeant-major is to see that the pots and cooking utensils are equally divided among the companies, and when pots cannot be provided the men are to make use of their camp kettles for cooking purposes.

From the time Major Ross had joined the regiment he had been so entirely satisfied with its steady conduct and superior behaviour that he now took the opportunity of informing the men accordingly.

R. O., 27th Sept.—The Major feels the highest pleasure and satisfaction in observing the complete and expeditious manner in which the men have provided themselves with shoes and other necessaries as appears at yesterday's inspection. As the regiment is now collected and once more in a situation to march against their enemies, wherever they may dare to appear, he thinks this a proper opportunity to assure both officers and men of the sincere happiness he enjoys in commanding a regiment *whose steadiness and good conduct have gained them the universal esteem of the generals and officers under whom they have lately served.* The Major flatters himself that the Reays are not inferior to any other regiment in Ireland, and he trusts that they will ever disdain to follow the example of other corps whose wicked, corrupted, and undisciplined practices lead only to inevitable ruin and disgrace. The severest measures are, and always shall be, used towards those who attempt to bring discredit upon the corps by acting contrary to the established principles of good order and discipline, but merit and good behaviour will never fail to be remarked and meet with its due award.

R. O., 28th Sept. — Corporal Murdoch Mackenzie of Captain Maclean's Company is appointed Sergeant in Captain Baillie's Company *vice* Murray deceased,² and to commence pay from this day.

The tents belonging to the regiment to be repaired at the earliest

¹ These Irish barracks had few conveniences or comforts; the men slept two in a bed, while the washing and sanitary arrangements were of the most primitive description. As there were no kitchens the cooking had to be done in the barrack rooms.

² This sergeant died in the hospital at Longford on the 17th inst., as the result of an illness brought on by privation and exposure whilst following Humbert.

possible opportunity, the quartermaster to supply the necessary materials for that purpose.¹

R. O., 30th Sept.—Until further orders the evening parade will be at four o'clock, when the warning drum will beat. The officers to fall in exactly at half-past four. The piquet to be formed at evening parade and the retreat to beat at sunset as usual.

The commanding officer expects that the order relative to the repairing of the tents will be carried out as soon as possible. He need scarcely remind the men how much their own comfort depends upon their tents being in proper order in the event of a severe winter campaign, and he therefore hopes they will cheerfully second the endeavours of their officers in carrying out the above order into immediate execution, and have them ready for inspection in a day or two. One of the new tents and an old one to be reserved for the officers of each company, the other seven to be appropriated for the use of the N.-C. officers and men of the company.

G. O., Longford, 4th Oct.—The Longford Company of Yeomanry Infantry are to get under arms without delay and march under the command of Sir Thomas Featherstone to Granard. They are to lend such assistance as the commanding officer there may require.²

R. O.—A return to be given to the quartermaster immediately of the quantity of hose wanted by each company, in addition to the two pairs allowed by the colonel, about to be ordered from Scotland this year. The men will receive payment in lieu of the bonnets not delivered last year, and 7d. will be charged to those who have received black leather stocks.³

R. O., 7th Oct.—All officers' servants, tailors, &c., to attend morning parade every Thursday until further orders. Every soldier to have his hair cut in the regimental form by Wednesday next at evening parade.

R. O., 8th Oct.—The commanding officer ever desires that the Reay Highlanders should hold themselves single and independent of the customs of other corps, particularly of such as militate against good

¹ While following Humbert, General Lake's troops appear to have taken their tents with them, but these were not used until after the French surrendered, when the troops encamped.

² The insurrection in and around Granard had been recently suppressed, but disturbances had again broken out in the town.

³ In British currency. The Irish coinage at this period, and until 1825, was depreciated to the extent of 8½ per cent.

order and discipline, except that the *cheering* of officers upon promotion or on first joining their company shall in future be discontinued; it is a custom not known in the army, never practised by true Highlanders, and by no means grateful to those to whom the compliment is meant.

His Majesty has been pleased to make the following promotions:—
Reay Highlanders.— Captain-Lieutenant Angus Mackay to be Captain vice L. Baillie resigned.

Lieutenant George Hunter to be Captain-Lieutenant vice Mackay.
Ensign John Nisbet to be Lieutenant vice Hunter.

Commissions dated 4th August 1798.

In consequence of the above promotions, the General's Company to be Captain Angus Mackay's, and Captain Baillie's to be the General's.

The thanks of the Irish House of Commons, dated Speaker's Chamber, Dublin, October 6, 1798, was now given to "those regiments of British Fencibles and Militia, who by embarking for this kingdom, and by their cordial and voluntary assistance in the present moment of danger, have so nobly manifested that they consider the interests of Great Britain and Ireland as inseparably the same."

A like resolution was conveyed to the Irish Militia and Yeomanry, thanking them "for their meritorious exertions at the present important crisis."¹ The Irish Parliament also voted a sum of £100,000 for those loyalists who had suffered during the rebellion.

According to an Army Order of 1797, regimental paymasters were given separate rank as such, an additional officer to be allotted to every regiment for that purpose.² This order did not come into force in most regiments until 1798, or even later.³

¹ The thanks of the Irish House of Lords was also given to the troops.

² Up to this time the regimental paymaster had been an officer selected by the Colonel, who performed that duty in addition to his ordinary work. All issues of money were made over by the Paymaster-General to the regimental agent who held the Colonel's power of attorney; the agent in turn transferred them to the regimental paymaster, who made his issues to the Captains for their companies. The captains accounted with the regimental paymaster, the paymaster with the agent, and the agent with the Secretary at War, on whose certificate the final account between the Paymaster-General and the Agent was closed. Under the new system the paymaster was still appointed by the colonel, on the old theory of the latter's pecuniary responsibility for all regimental matters. At the same time the Secretary at War now proceeded to correspond direct with the regimental paymasters on all financial business, thus creating an extraordinary complication of anomalies, which remained unaltered until the abolition of purchase.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part I., pp. 898-9.

³ In the 'Life of a Regiment' Colonel Gardyne states that the first "official" paymaster in the Gordon Highlanders was Archibald Campbell, appointed January 1800.

G. O., Longford, 9th Oct.—In consequence of the news received of the defeat of the French fleet at the battle of the Nile,¹ the troops in garrison will fire a feu-de-joy this evening at three o'clock in celebration of the above glorious event.

(Signed) A. Ross, Major,
Commanding Garrison.

The barracks and some of the houses in town were illuminated the same evening in honour of the victory, and the soldiers were given a free issue of porter to celebrate the good news.

R. O.—The Lord-Lieut. having been pleased to appoint Captain Alex. Clarke to be paymaster to the Reay Fencibles under the new system, Captain Clarke is, in compliance with the regulations of that system, to be exempted in future from doing duty with arms.²

R. O., 13th Oct.—A detachment of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, and 20 rank and file to escort the guns and tumberils of the Royal Irish Artillery proceeding to-morrow morning to Carrick-on-Shannon. Ensign Ballantine for this duty.

On Monday next at ten o'clock the commanding officer will inspect the quarters of the men who sleep out of barracks.³ One sergeant per company to attend with a list of the men's names and where quartered.

R. O., 17th Oct.—Morning parade to be at ten o'clock until further orders, 1st drum at half-past nine.

R. O., 18th Oct.—Alphabetical rolls of companies to be given to the paymaster and adjutant on the 20th of each month. As much difficulty and confusion was occasioned by the incorrectness of some of those last given in, the paymaster and adjutant are directed in future to return all rolls not found correct to the officers by whom they are

¹ Also known as Aboukir Bay. This battle, one of the greatest naval victories of all time, was fought on 1st August between the Toulon and British fleets, the latter commanded by Lord (then Sir Horatio) Nelson. The French fleet was practically annihilated, 13 out of 17 ships being taken or destroyed, among them being the French flagship *L'Orient*. By the destruction of their fleet the French army in Egypt was cut off from France.

² Captain Clarke, however, continued to command a company, but only in name, the work being done by the senior subaltern. In many regiments an extra officer was not allotted until some years after the new system had come into force. By a later general order the regimental paymasters were to wear the uniform of the regiments to which they belonged.

³ The men who were married were billeted in the town, as well as a few unmarried ones for whom there was no room in barracks.

signed, who are to furnish others as speedily as possible. The men's names to be inserted alphabetically in Christian as well as surname,¹ and as far as possible in the same order as the preceding month.

By this time intelligence had been received of the failure of the second of the expeditions prepared by the French Directory against Ireland.

A week after Humbert's surrender, the expedition under General Hardy, accompanied by Wolfe Tone and three other Irish officers,² and consisting of the *Hoche*, man-of-war, eight frigates and corvettes, with three thousand troops, sailed from Brest. The squadron reached the neighbourhood of Lough Swilly on the 10th October, but was intercepted and dispersed next day by a British fleet of superior force under Sir John Borlase Warren, all but two frigates being captured. Tone, who had fought with desperate courage on board the *Hoche*, was taken prisoner, and landing on Irish soil was immediately identified, placed in irons in Derry gaol, and then conveyed to Dublin, where he was tried by court-martial on November 10th.³

R. O., 21st Oct.—Major-General Moore has been pleased to grant eight days' leave of absence to Captain Blanche from this day.⁴

The accounts of Finlay Macleod of Captain Angus Mackay's Company, and Murdoch Mackenzie and George Mackay of the Lieutenant-Colonel's Company, to be made out immediately and given to the paymaster, as they are to be discharged.

R. O., 22nd Oct.—A return to be given to the quartermaster of the number of stocks and clasps wanting to complete the men, so that they may be ordered from Dublin. Fifty uniform rosettes will be

¹ This was very necessary, owing to so many men having the same name. In the cases of men having the same surnames and Christian names, they were numbered 1st, 2nd, &c., according to their service or age.

² Their names were Corbett, Hamilton, and MacGuire. They were afterwards taken prisoners, but not being recognised as Irishmen were exchanged, and so returned to France in safety.—'Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion,' p. 269.

³ The capture of Theobald Wolfe Tone placed in the hands of the Government one of the first founders of the Irish Union. His speech—for it could hardly be termed a defence—at his trial was frank and manly. Knowing that he must die, he earnestly implored that, in consideration of his rank in the French army, he might be shot and not hung like a felon. This request was refused, and he was sentenced to be hanged before Dublin Gaol on Nov. 12th. The night before his execution he cut his throat with a pen-knife which he had concealed, from the effects of which he died on Nov. 19th.—Lecky, vol. iv. pp. 76-79.

⁴ Captain Blanche took leave to Dublin. Leave up to one month could be given by the Generals commanding districts.

delivered out to each company, to be worn by the men constantly after to-morrow, 3d. to be charged for each rosette.¹

R. O., 27th Oct.—Lieutenant Grant is to immediately give to the paymaster the names of the men who were under his command at the seizing of stills, &c., in the Trim district, on the 21st and 22nd May last, as the usual bounty has been issued from the Excise Office, to be distributed as follows:—

1798.	Still.	Head.	Worms.	Sergts.	Corpls.	Privates.	£	s.	d.
21st May,	4	6	2	1	1	12	16	18	0
22nd May,	3	2	2	1	1	12	10	16	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total,	7	8	4	2	2	24	£27	14	8

Returns to be given in with the morning states to-morrow of the names of the married women of each company, specifying opposite each name whether they were at Dublin, Athlone, with the regiment, or elsewhere during the last expedition.

The men's rooms, staircases, and passages to be washed out clean every Saturday morning before parade.

The news of the third, and as it turned out, the last of the expeditions sent by the French Directory to Ireland was now received. On October 27th Admiral Savary, who had commanded the French squadron which landed Humbert, reappeared in Killala Bay with four ships of war, on which were accommodated 2000 troops intended as a reinforcement for Humbert.² As it was not at first known that the ships were French, two officers were sent off to them, who were detained on board, and ultimately carried to France. On it transpiring who the strangers were,³ steps were immediately taken to resist a landing, while the alarming intelligence was instantly conveyed to the general officers commanding districts nearest the threatened point.

R. O., Longford, 29th Oct.—According to orders received from

¹ These rosettes were fastened on the queue, or club of hair, behind.

² This expedition had left France before the news of Humbert's surrender had been received.

³ It was believed in Killala that these ships were part of Hardy's squadron which had been defeated by Warren, but they are now known to have formed a separate expedition, and had been sent to assist the rebellion with men and arms. — Lecky, vol. iv. p. 82.

Major-General Moore, the regiment is to be ready to march at the shortest notice, and as the commanding officer may not have it in his power to indulge the men upon a future expedition by suffering their packs to be carried upon cars, he desires that every man is to be equipped as lightly as possible, carrying only two shirts, one pair of hose, &c., in his pack. The remainder of the men's necessaries will be delivered into store by companies, and taken care of until the regiment returns to Longford. A small portmanteau or trunk is all the baggage an officer will be allowed to carry with him. As no women will be allowed to follow the regiment should it march, a sergeant will be left behind to pay 4d. per diem to them, and every care will be taken of them until their husbands return.

When the drums will beat without the pipe, every man is to prepare himself as fast as possible; and when the drums and pipes go round, to parade in the barrack square in complete order to march.¹

By the evening of the 29th the reassuring news arrived that the French, on hearing that all was over, had hastily weighed anchor and returned to France without even attempting to land.² With the departure of this expedition the rebellion in Ireland was virtually ended, but it was some time before order and tranquillity was restored to the country.³

The total loss of life incurred during the rebellion had been very heavy, but it is impossible to state figures with any degree of accuracy. Estimates on the subject widely differ, and are almost

¹ This may either mean that the drums and pipes were to play together as a band or at the same time; probably the latter, as certainly in most Highland corps drums were never used as an *accompaniment* to the pipes until well on in the nineteenth century.

² 'Ireland in the 18th Century.'—While on the way back to France this squadron was closely pursued by some British warships, but managing to elude them, succeeded in reaching France in safety.

³ Of the few isolated bands that still held out, by far the most remarkable was that under James Holt. This rebel-brigand succeeded, for more than three months after the rest of Leinster had been quieted, in keeping together some hundreds of rebels among the Wicklow hills, and in evading and defying all the forces of the crown. He kept the whole of Wicklow in constant alarm, and often made incursions into the surrounding counties. A Protestant himself, most if not all his followers were Catholics. In November 1798 he gave himself up to the Government, and was transported to the convict settlement at Botany Bay, but was allowed to return to Ireland a few years later.—Lecky, vol. v. pp. 82-86.

wholly conjectural. According to Newenham, one of the most reliable authorities of that day, the direct loss during the two months' struggle was about 15,000. Of these, about 1600 of the King's troops and about 11,000 of the rebels fell in the field; while about 400 loyal persons were massacred or assassinated, and about 2000 rebels were exiled or hanged. "The most horrible feature was the great number of helpless, unarmed men, who were either deliberately murdered by the rebels or shot down by the troops. 'For several months,' writes Mary Leadbeater, 'there was no sale for bacon cured in Ireland, from the well-founded dread of the hogs having fed upon the flesh of men.'"¹

The Reay Fencibles had to deplore the loss of three N.-C. officers, one drummer, and fifteen privates who had been killed in action, died of wounds, or had been murdered by the rebels; while the total number wounded, as far as can be ascertained, amounted to two officers, eight sergeants, and sixty-two rank and file. This was a slight loss indeed when we consider the nature of the duties the regiment had been called upon to undertake.²

R. O., 30th Oct.—The regiment will be mustered to-morrow at 11 o'clock, when every man that is able must attend. There will be a general parade and field day to-morrow afternoon in place of Thursday. The men to have wooden drivers³ fixed in place of flints.

R. O., 3rd Nov.—In future when the regiment parades for church on Sunday, all officers' servants and every man that is able must be under arms.⁴

General Orders, A. G. Office, Dublin, 27th Oct. 1798.—Lord Cornwallis being convinced that a numerous artillery must greatly embarrass and impede the movements of troops in close country, has

¹ Lecky, vol. v. p. 105. Another writer who held a confidential post under the Irish Government wrote: "There have not less than 20,000 persons fallen in this conflict, which for a time was carried on with great inveteracy." Madden, the most learned of the apologists of the United Irishmen, pretends that no less than 70,000 persons perished in Ireland during the two months' struggle, of which 20,000 were King's troops.

² This comparatively small casualty list was in no small measure due to the bad shooting of the rebels, many of whom, although well armed, had little or no knowledge of firearms. It has been said that "26 men were killed in action, most of them married men," but I have only been able to trace the number stated above. If there were any more their names have been omitted in the casualty returns.

³ To save the wear and tear snapping with flints would entail on the musket.

⁴ Soldiers then went to church fully armed, as they still do in India.

decided to form the battalion guns of the different regiments into brigades to be manned by soldiers of the Royal Irish Artillery. These brigades will be disposed throughout the country, so as to be ready to form part of any force that may be ordered to assemble, or send one or more guns with any detachment when considered necessary. In consequence of this arrangement, the guns of the regiments upon the British establishment, excepting those belonging to the Buckinghamshire Militia, shall be stored in depôts, and the soldiers attached to them returned to their regimental duty.

R. O., 6th Nov.—The commanding officer is sorry to have to call attention to a spirit of gambling which has made its appearance in the regiment, and, however much he will regret curtailing the innocent amusements of the well-conducted men in the evening, he must be under the necessity of ordering tattoo to beat, the barrack gates to be shut, and lights to be put out one hour earlier than at present, unless the above-mentioned baneful and destructive habits are immediately put aside. Any N.-C. officer that is present at, or knows of any raffling or other kind of gambling, and does not confine the delinquent, will be brought to a court-martial and severely punished.

G. O., Longford, 9th Nov.—One N.-C. officer and six privates of Hompesck's Dragoons¹ to escort three prisoners to Mullingar to-morrow morning; they are to parade for this purpose at the jail at six o'clock.

R. O., 10th Nov.—Corporal George Morison of Captain Scobie's Company to mount an extra guard, and attend all drills for being unsteady in the ranks.

G. O., 12th Nov.—A detachment of one sergeant, one corporal, and twelve privates of the Reay Highlanders to parade to-morrow

¹ This corps, which had earned so unenviable a name during the rebellion for its cruelty, was raised abroad in February 1794, as Hompesck's Hussars (afterwards Light Dragoons). Served in the West Indies, in Ireland, and in Egypt in 1801. In all our wars at this period we employed large bodies of foreign troops, mostly Hanoverians and Hessians. In 1794 the British Government renewed its contract for the hire of these troops on even a greater scale than before, and raised the total number of them in our service to close upon 34,000 men. Most of these foreign levies were either light cavalry (chasseurs) or riflemen (jagers), in which latter arm we were almost entirely deficient at this time, practically no effort being made to provide British soldiers for the work until 1800, when the "Experimental Rifle Corps" was raised, followed by the Rifle Corps. These foreign regiments were gradually replaced by British troops, although as late as the Peninsular War there were still a few in our pay.

morning at seven o'clock, to escort the French wounded prisoners¹ from the general hospital here to Athlone. On handing over their charge they are to return to their quarters on the following day.

R. O., 16th Nov.—A return to be given in with the evening states on Monday of the number wanting to complete the men in the following articles—viz., firelocks, slings, worms, turnscrews, prickers and brushes,² knapsacks, buff-slings, haversacks, foraging caps, pouches, belts, and magazines.

According to a General Order, dated A. G. Office, Dublin, 14th November 1798, the distribution of the troops under General Moore was to be as follows:—

TO REPORT TO MAJOR-GENERAL MOORE AT ATHLONE.

Generals of Brigades.	Regiments.	Headquarters.
Major-General Moore and Brigadier-General the Marquis of Huntly, Athlone.	1st Light Battalion . . .	Athlone.
	2nd Light Battalion . . .	Clare.
	4th Light Battalion . . .	Moat.
	92nd Foot . . .	Athlone.
	Reay Fencibles . . .	Longford.
	Down Militia . . .	Ballinasloe.
	Wicklow Militia . . .	Birr.
	6th Foot . . .	Athlone.
	Hompesck's Dragoons . . .	Kilbeggan.
Brigadier-General Mey- rick, Galway.	1st Fencible Dragoons . . .	Loughrea.
	Suffolk Fencibles . . .	Galway.
	Antrim Militia . . .	Galway.
	Longford Militia . . .	Ennis.

R. O., 28th Nov.—To-morrow being a day of public thanksgiving, there will be no general parade in the morning, nor inspection of necessaries in the evening. The officers will attend the commanding officer to church to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock.

R. O., 29th Nov.—The regiment will be mustered to-morrow morning after parade for the month of November, no man to be absent that is able to attend, excepting the tailors who are employed on the regimental clothing. All the guards and sentinels to be relieved to attend the muster, excepting one sentinel at the barrack gate.

¹ Part of Humbert's troops, about 15 all told.

² Prickers and brushes were used to clear the vent and clean the pan of the firelock.

DISTRIBUTION TO RELATIVES OF KILLED. 245

To-morrow being St Andrew's Day there will be no evening parade. The pipes to go round the town at three o'clock. An advance of one day's pay to be given to every man this evening.

The following distribution has been made to the widows and orphans of the soldiers of this regiment who have lost their lives in action with the rebels,¹ viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
Widow Matheson,	13	13	0
Widow McCallum,	13	13	0
Widow Mcpherson,	13	13	0
Widow Mcleod,	13	13	0
Widow of Roderick Mackay,	6	16	0
Widow of Kenneth Mackay,	6	16	0
Widow of Donald Mcleod,	13	13	0
Widow Graham,	10	4	9
Widow Evans,	10	4	9
Widow of John Mackay,	10	4	9
	<hr/>		
99 Guineas,	£112	12	3

R. O., 30th Nov.—Every officer is to be provided with a regimental sword² immediately. Those, therefore, who want them are to give in their names to-morrow to Captain Clarke, that a sufficient number may be ordered from Dublin.

After a certain season of the year the commanding officer means that the officers shall occasionally, and perhaps generally, wear their belted plaids, that being the proper full dress of the regiment. A return is therefore to be given to the quartermaster of the quantity of plaid and hose tartan required by each officer, that it may be ordered from Scotland with the Scotch clothing for the regiment.³

R. O., 4th Dec.—A return of the carpenters and masons of each company to be given in at this evening parade.

G. O., 9th Dec.—A detachment of 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, and 20 rank and file to march to-morrow morning to Mullingar to escort a

¹ This list does not represent the whole of the men who were killed. Probably those not mentioned had no relatives dependent on them.

² Many of the officers had their own swords with different patterns of basket-hilts. The "regimental" sword was probably the new regulation Highland sword, which had a brass- instead of a steel-mounted basket-hilt.

³ So completely had the wearing of the belted plaid (and kilt) fallen into disuse among the officers, that none of them appear to have had any part of the Highland dress except the bonnet.

party of French prisoners¹ from the General Hospital here. The detachment is to return on the following day.

R. O.—Ensign Ross for the above duty.

R. O., 10th Dec.—Lieutenant Mackenzie for piquet this evening in room of Lieutenant Rupert Mackay absent by leave.

Hair-dressing was still a serious business, and attention was drawn to the different ways of wearing it for the battalion and flank companies.

R. O., 16th Dec.—In future every battalion officer is to appear on parade with his hair clubbed and with a rosette; the officers of the flank companies are to wear their hair plaited as usual.

A sickness² broke out among the troops in garrison at Longford, as appears by the following order:—

R. O., 18th Dec.—The violent disease which at present prevails in this garrison has been found to be principally occasioned by the quantity of young beef purchased by the men for their messes. The commanding officer therefore desires that the utmost attention shall be paid by the officers of companies, in examining the men's provisions every market-day, and seeing that good old meat is purchased. As a higher price must be given a lesser quantity than at present must be laid in. Messing returns by companies to be given to the quartermaster every Saturday, specifying the quantity and price of meat and vegetables laid in for the week, from which a general report is to be made out for the commanding officer's information.

When a soldier is ordered to the regimental hospital the pay-sergeant of the company to which he belongs is to lodge 3s. 6d. per week for him. This sum to be given to the corporal of the hospital, who is to account for it when the man is discharged.

R. O., 19th Dec.—A return to be given in to-morrow of the number and names of the N.-C. officers and men of each company not provided with purses.³

¹ This was a further batch of Humbert's veterans who, having recovered from their wounds, were to be sent back to France on exchange. There were about twenty in this party.

² Little heed was given to the science of sanitation in those days, and small attention was paid to the problems of health being affected by eating or drinking, by taste or smell. Effect from cause did not then enter so much into the calculations of physicians. Every unknown disease was incurable, and was regarded as a "plague" for which there was no known remedy. Among the Highlanders there was a wholesome dread of infectious diseases, and in that matter they often proved themselves arrant cowards.

³ Some of the men had lost their purses during the continuous marching and change of stations from the time they left Belfast until their arrival at Longford.

No soldier is in future to marry without leave in writing from the commanding officer.¹

A. G. Office, Dublin, 15th Dec.—His Majesty has been pleased to make the following promotions:—

REAY HIGHLANDERS.—Major Andrew Ross to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Mackay deceased.

Captain John Scobie to be major.

Captain-Lieutenant George Hunter to be captain.

Lieutenant Duncan Maclaren to be captain-lieutenant.

Commissions dated 22nd September 1798.

R. O., Longford, 20th Dec.—In consequence of the above promotions the General's Company to be Captain Hunter's, and the Major's the General's.

The officers are posted as follows, viz. :—

Companies.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.
General's	Capt.-Lieut. Maclaren.	John Sutherland.
Lieut.-Colonel's	Donald Mackay.	Peter Campbell.
Major Scobie's	Donald Mackenzie.	Donald Cameron.
Captain Morison's . . . .	...	Wm. Ballantine.
Capt. C. Mackay's*	{ Rupert Mackay.	...
	{ William Baillie.	...
Capt. Clarke's*	{ James Scobie.	...
	{ Hugh Grant.	...
Capt. Blanche's	David Ross.	Donald Campbell.
Capt. Maclean's	John Nisbet.	James Veitch.
Capt. A. Mackay's	William Mackay.	Alex. Boyle.
Capt. Hunter's	William Scobie.	Walter Ross.

All the above arrangements are to take place immediately, and the servants to fall in with the companies to which their masters belong. No alteration is to take place in the payment of companies until the 1st of January next. Lieutenant Grant to do duty in Captain Blanche's Company until the end of this month.

R. O., 27th Dec.—On the first of January next the commanding officer will inspect all the companies' books at 12 noon. All the regimental books to be brought at the same time by the orderly-room clerk.

R. O., 30th Dec.—The regiment will be mustered for this month by

* The flank companies were allowed two lieutenants as subalterns.

¹ The intended wife had to produce satisfactory testimonial as to her character and antecedents, while the soldier who wished to marry had to show that he had put by at least £15.

the paymaster at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning. Guards and sentinels to fall in with their companies, except the sentinel at the barrack gate.

R. O., Longford, 31st December 1798.—To-morrow being New Year's Day¹ there will be no evening parade. The morning parade will be at half-past ten o'clock, the warning drum to beat at 10, and the men to fall in immediately on the pipe sounding. The men to be in full uniform, the officers in white breeches and boots. The pipes to play round the town half an hour before the parade is formed.

The commanding officer trusts that the officers in charge of companies will see that their men have a good dinner, and will visit them during the meal. One day's advance of pay to be given to the men this evening. Tattoo to beat one hour later than usual, when the commanding officer expects that every man will repair quietly to his quarters. Should any man be so base as to bring discredit on the good character of the regiment, he will be immediately confined and punished with the utmost severity that his sentence admits of.

Many of the officers seem to have kept horses, the exercising of them in the morning calling for the following order:—

R. O., 6th Jany. 1799.—No officers' horses are in future to be exercised on the barracks square, or paraded in those parts of it which have been newly gravelled. This order is not meant to extend to the rear of the officers' barrack which is reserved for that purpose.

R. O., 7th Jany.—The N.-C. officers and privates of the regiment are to discontinue wearing bearskin until further orders. Such of those as are tolerably good but have lost their colour are to be dyed immediately, so as to be in readiness to help to complete the new bonnets when they arrive from Scotland. The cockades are still to be worn on the old bonnets.²

¹ New Year's Day (*Bliadhna ur*), and New Year's Eve, known as "*Oidche Challuinn*" in the Highlands and "*Hogmanay*" in the Lowlands, were occasions of much festivity. The soldiers would have kept up "*first footing*" and other customary ceremonies with all the spirit of their country, in which no doubt their Irish friends joined, Irish whisky taking the place of "*mountain dew*" as the drink, the taste of which, as the song says, improves with every glass:—

"O! a h'aon, cha n'eil e math
O! a dha, cha'n fhiach e,
O! a tri, cha'n eil e cli.
'Se'n ceathramh righ na riaghailte."

² The reason of this order was probably on account of the scarcity of bearskin, which was in great demand throughout the army for making up into head-dresses, saddle furnishings, &c. The hackles would also have been taken down at the same time.

REGIMENTAL UNIFORM IN 1799.

1. Drummer (review order).
2. Corporal, Light Company (review order).
3. Musician (review order).
4. Sergeant, Battalion Company (drill order).
5. Officer, Grenadier Company (full dress, or review order).
6. Piper, Battalion Company (review order).



1

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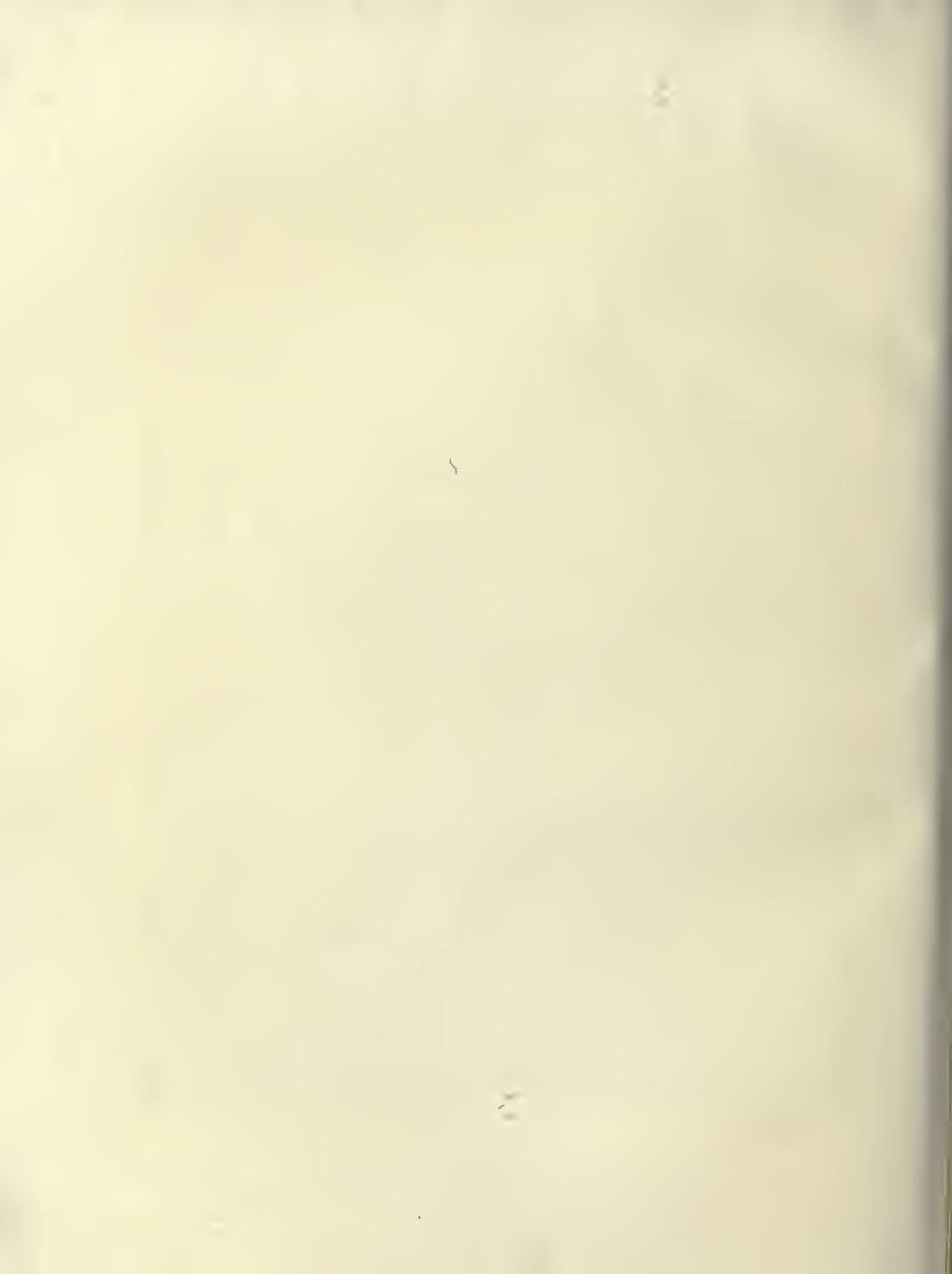
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REGIMENTAL UNIFORM IN 1799.

A MUSICIAN IS SHOWN IN THIS PLATE, ALTHOUGH THE BAND OF MUSIC WAS NOT ACTUALLY FORMED UNTIL EARLY IN 1800.

(From a Coloured Drawing by the Author.)



R. O., 9th Jany.—Lance - Sergeant John Mackay of Captain Blanche's Company is appointed sergeant in Captain Maclean's Company, in room of James Mackay who was broke by the sentence of a regimental court-martial held yesterday, of which Captain Hunter was president, for quitting his guard without permission. Lance - Corporal Wm. Sinclair of Captain Blanche's Company is appointed corporal vice John Mackay promoted.

Any N.-C. officer or soldier detected in cutting young trees in nurseries or plantings will not only be liable to a penalty of £5, but will also be brought to a court-martial for disobedience of orders and unsoldier-like conduct. The soldiers are also forbidden to cut sticks off trees, or from hedges or brushwood.

The loss sustained by the men of the Colonel's and Major's Companies by the capture of their baggage at Dunboyne does not yet appear to have been made good to them.

R. O., 10th Jany.—Certificates are to be immediately given in to Captain Angus Mackay and Lieutenant Mackenzie by the men of the companies who lost their packs near Dunboyne on the 24th May last, specifying the articles they actually lost in their packs, also the value of the whole.

The volunteers for the line¹ to be cleared with to-morrow morning, when they will be marched under an officer to Athlone and there delivered over. Ensign Sutherland for the above duty.

R. O., 11th Jany.—The officers are to wear cockades in their hatts (*sic*)² of the exact pattern and size of the one at present worn by Lieutenant R. Mackay of the Grenadiers. They are to provide themselves accordingly without delay. The hats to be worn for fatigues or when not on duty only; at all other times the bonnet.

A Brigade Order issued by Major-General Moore, dated Athlone, 12th January 1799, orders all regiments under his command "to be taken out to exercise when ye weather permits at least twice a-week. When the weather is too cold, or the field too wet to admit of other exercise, the troops may be marched a few miles along the road in column of sections, or sub-divisions, with advanced and rear guards, occasional flanking parties, &c." Detailed instructions are

¹ These men, about twelve in number, had volunteered into the 92nd Highlanders, then stationed at Athlone.

² The undress bonnet or foraging cap.

given for this manner of marching, "the want of which was the cause of the irregularity in the columns on the march last summer, and the occasion of much unnecessary fatigue to the soldier." In conclusion, General Moore "leaves it to the discretion of commanding officers to exercise their battalions occasionally without their packs, and he recommends strongly the file firing as the only firing ever used in action, and at which, therefore, the troops cannot be too expert. The Major-General, when he visits the out-stations, will see the regiments under arms, and inspect their discipline and movements."

R. O., 15th Jany.—In accordance with the Brigade Order of the 12th instant the regiment will parade three times a-week for marching exercise and field work. Only one man per company as barrack orderly will be permitted to be absent from these parades, exclusive of servants and tailors. The men must therefore employ the married women of the regiment, as they did formerly, to cook for them, or hire others. In the meantime the cooks as they now are may be absent from parade one week longer.

Such of the men as have hitherto had leave to work are in future to do their duty and to attend all parades; purse-makers, tailors, servants, and the armourer excepted.

All the tailors to work at turning the men's coats, under the direction of the sergeant master-tailor. A daily return to be given in of the number of coats turned.¹

During all this time the Highlanders had not forgotten their relatives at home, and large sums of money periodically found their way to Strathnaver. As there were neither savings banks nor postal orders in those days, the men usually remitted the amounts through the officer from whose farm or neighbourhood they had come.²

R. O., Longford, 19th Jany. 1799.—Major-General Moore has permitted the heavy baggage of this regiment to be sent for from Dublin,

¹ After being in wear for a certain time the cloth became faded, but by turning it the coat was as good as new.

² In an old cash-book belonging to Major Scobie I find references to show that many of the men from the Melness side of the Kyle of Tongue remitted their savings home regularly through that officer. Some of these sums were quite considerable, and must have materially benefited the recipients. This means of transmitting money home was commonly employed in all Highland corps up to the Waterloo period.

but upon the express condition that as soon as possible after it arrives here both officers and men are to dispose of their extra amount of baggage, so that they may be able to move without undue delay.

While quartered at Longford, the Reays received much hospitality from the country gentry as well as the townspeople. On market-days the soldiers might be seen fraternising with the peasantry, who were most friendly to the Highlanders.

R. O., 20th Jany.—In future the men are invariably to wear their purses when on guard, for reviews, and on Sundays.

R. O., 26th Jany.—On those days not set apart for field work, &c., the companies will be exercised in the morning under their captains until further orders. The evening parade to be formed under the commanding officer as usual.

In connection with the above order is a story told of a well-known character in the regiment, of whom we have already made mention—to wit, John Macaskill. The captain of John's company, it seems, had one day kept his men at drill in pouring rain, although the men of other companies had been dismissed. During a "stand-easy" one of the men remarked to John in an undertone that "he wished the rain would clear off, or that the officer would dismiss them, as his accoutrements were getting spoilt"; to which John testily replied: "*Tha mi coma ged thigibh frais do lamhaidhean*" ("I do not care if it came a shower of axes"). The officer, happening to overhear this extraordinary remark, and knowing John well, could not repress exclaiming: "Na'n air son mo cheanns' ghearrabh dhìom, Mhic 'ic Askil?" ("Is it because you wish my head to be cut off, Macaskill?"). John made no answer to this pointed question, but the officer taking the hint dismissed his men shortly afterwards!¹

¹ Communicated by Mr William Weir, ex-dominie, Torrisdale, Sutherland, who had heard the story in his youth from Donald Mackay, Strathskerry, who had served in the Fencibles. This Donald Mackay afterwards served with the 93rd at New Orleans in 1815, retiring on pension to his native Strathskerry, where he lived to a good old age. Some years ago his descendant, Mr George Mackay, Inspector of Poor, Strathskerry, presented the author with Donald's "scroggan" (snuff-mull), which he had carried when in the Fencibles and 93rd. The "scroggan" is made from the end of a ram's horn, with a silver thistle on the lid, and the name "D. M'KAY" engraved on a silver band round the mouth. In those days, when snuff-taking was the custom among all classes, many of the sergeants and soldiers of Highland corps carried snuff-boxes or "sneeshin horns," some of which were of elaborate design and workmanship, and were often treasured as

heirlooms. "It is not generally known," writes the author of 'The History of the 78th Highlanders,' "that the figures of Highlanders taking snuff that used to stand outside tobacconists' shops were remarkably accurate in detail, generally representing officers in the uniform of the 42nd from 1801 to 1820. 'There is a tradition,' says Logan, 'that when the Black Watch, now the 42nd Regiment, first came to London, the men were so constantly calling to supply themselves with their favourite powder that the dealers whose snuff had met their patronage adopted the figure of a Highlander to indicate their business.'"—'The Scottish Gael,' 'History of the 78th Highlanders,' vol. ii. p. 45.



*Horn Snuff-mull carried by Donald Mackay, Strathskerray,
when in the Reay Fencibles and 93rd Highlanders.*

CHAPTER XIV.

THE condition of Ireland at the beginning of 1799 was still far from satisfactory. A reign of terror prevailed over the counties which had been desolated by the rebellion, for months after armed resistance had ceased, and in spite of some serious efforts to repress it, military licence was almost supreme. "The Irish Militia," wrote Cornwallis, "from their repeated misbehaviour in the field, and their extreme licentiousness, are fallen into such universal contempt and abhorrence that when applications are made for the protection of troops it is often requested that Irish Militia may not be sent."¹

That this should be the case is not surprising. These troops had been hastily embodied in a time of grave public danger, and never having been subject to real military discipline, had for a considerable period been exposed to influences that would have ruined even the best troops. The measures sanctioned by Government—free quarters, martial law, house-burning, and flogging—in order to suppress the rebellion, had destroyed all their respect for law and property, while the cruelties committed on both sides, and the sectarian passions aroused, had but further increased their ferocity and licentiousness. With the Yeomanry it was the same, yet during the actual struggle of the rebellion both had rendered real service; and it was not until the danger was over that all their worse qualities appeared.² The evil example set by the native soldiery had infected many of the fencibles, English militia, and even the regular troops.³ As late as January 1799 outrages continued to be committed by bodies of

¹ Lecky, vol. iv. p. 91; Cornwallis Correspondence, II., 414-415.

² Lecky, vol. iv. p. 93.

³ Letter after letter was received by the Government, representing the extreme danger of the demoralisation of the very choicest British regiments if they remained longer in Ireland.—Lecky, vol. iv. p. 93.

militia and yeomanry in County Wexford, in most cases without visible provocation.

In February 1799 the condition of great tracts of the country was hardly better than in the year previous. In some parts of Connaught, says a contemporary writer, "hordes of armed ruffians, in number forty to fifty in a gang, traversed the country every night, over a tract of sixty miles, houghing the cattle of gentlemen and farmers and murdering all who dare oppose them. . . . Against this infernal and destructive system no man dared to appeal to public justice. . . . If any man prosecuted one of the offenders, he did it at the moral certainty of being almost immediately murdered."¹ Even in the neighbourhood of Dublin itself small bands of robbers and murderers, the scattered fragments of the rebel forces that had haunted the Wicklow hills, infested the countryside. Every country gentleman who continued to live in his house required an armed garrison, and "no man could travel, even at noonday, six miles from the capital in any direction without the moral certainty of being robbed or murdered by gangs of those banditti."

In the beginning of March the state of affairs was worse than ever, and the whole country would have likely risen had there been a French invasion. Under these conditions the Government brought in a new Act "placing Ireland, at the will of the Lord-Lieutenant, formally and legally under Martial Law."² For a time this measure had little effect, and in many districts crime and lawlessness continued to prevail,³ but by the end of June the country as a whole had become more settled than it had been for several years. "The

¹ A rich farmer who had refused to take the United Irish oath had no less than 250 bullocks houghed, and was reduced almost to beggary. The cattle-maiming spread to Meath, and also appeared in the south. In County Cork a fierce resistance was offered to those employed in collecting tithes and taxes.—Lecky, vol. v. pp. 252, 254.

² Lecky, vol. v. p. 257.—When the actual struggle of the rebellion was over, the ordinary common law had superseded martial law, and the Civil Courts had been reopened. The new bill, however, empowered the Lord-Lieutenant, as long as the outrages and disturbances continued, and notwithstanding the sitting of the ordinary courts of justice, to authorise the punishment by death or otherwise, according to martial law, of all persons assisting in the disturbances or maliciously attacking the persons or properties of the King's loyal subjects in furtherance of them; the detention of all persons suspected of such crimes and their summary trial by court-martial. This Act, which gave the Lord-Lieutenant great powers, has often been represented as a part of the Union campaign, and on that ground met with some opposition in the Irish House of Commons. The Act continued in force for a few months only.

³ The houghing of cattle in Clare and Galway still went on, while outrages due to agrarian troubles were reported in Meath, Armagh, and Antrim.

departure of the Brest fleet for the Mediterranean," says a contemporary writer, "being considered by the disaffected such an abdication of their cause as leaves them no other choice but submission, at least for the present." This improvement was followed by a setback in September, partly due, so it was said, to the attempt to force on the Union, while the harvest of 1799 being extremely bad greatly aggravated the situation.¹ "The southern part of this wretched island," wrote Cornwallis in September, "is again getting into a bad state, no doubt from encouragement received from France. The counties of Waterford and Tipperary are reported to be in a state of preparation for an immediate rising." The spirit of disaffection, he added, was so deeply engrained in the minds of the people, that it would require time and a total change in the system and constitution of the Government to eradicate it.

In the meantime most of Ireland had been proclaimed, and fresh troops were pouring into the country. After open rebellion had ceased, the military force of all kinds is said to have exceeded 137,000 men, of which 23,210 were borne on the British establishment. By July 1799 the latter had been increased to 45,000 effective men in addition to artillery, but in the autumn the army was largely reinforced, and the garrison of Ireland was so great that unless a strong foreign army was landed it seemed irresistible.²

On the 28th of October 1797 a General Order had been issued directing that the coats³ of the army were to be buttoned over the body down to the waist. This order, however, did not come into force in many regiments until 1799 or as late as 1800.⁴ In the Reays the change appears to have taken place in the latter part of 1800.⁵ This alteration necessitated the coat or jacket being cut slightly differently in front,⁶ the men's white waistcoats being still worn under

¹ The harvest of 1799 was a disastrous one all over the British Isles.

² Lecky, vol. v. p. 344.

³ Also known as jackets or coatees.

⁴ It was hardly possible for the regiments in Ireland to comply with this order at once, as the country was practically in a state of civil war up to the close of 1798. The old pattern of coat had also to be worn out before colonels would go to the expense of providing the new ones; some regiments therefore continued to wear the open jacket for some considerable time before adopting the new pattern.

⁵ Owing to the loss of some of the orders at this period, I have not been able to find the exact date of the change.

⁶ The officers' coat was double-breasted, with two rows of uniform buttons, ten in each row, arranged in pairs; the lapels being of the colour of the regimental facings on the inside with bars or loops of silver-lace as in the old jacket. This coat could be worn

the coat in cold weather, or with the addition of sleeves as fatigue-jackets.¹

In certain orders of dress, however, the officers continued to wear the jacket open in the old style, showing the waistcoat.²

Of this change General Stewart says: "This was an improvement on 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 blue and green facings of the 42nd and 79th Regiments, gave these corps a rather sombre appearance when drawn up in line."³

On the 18th May 1799 Major-General Moore visited Longford and inspected the Reay Fencibles. The result of the inspection was highly creditable to the regiment, the General expressing himself as entirely satisfied with its complete and efficient appearance in the field, and continued exemplary conduct in quarters.⁴ There were

either buttoned across only showing red, or with three or four of the top buttons undone and the lapels turned back to show some of the blue facings and silver-lace (see Plate II. of the uniform. The officers would have probably got the new pattern coat soon after the order came out, and some time before the men's coats were altered, or the new pattern ones supplied. For this reason I have shown the officer in the new coat, while the men are depicted in the open jacket and waistcoat). In some orders of dress (reviews, levees, &c.) the lapels were completely turned back and buttoned over down to the waist, the coat being held together down the centre by means of hooks and eyes (see Plate III. of the uniform, showing a field officer with coat fastened in this fashion).

For the N.-C. officers and men the lapels were done away with and horizontal bars of regimental tape or white lace set across the chest in pairs, introduced instead. Their coat was single-breasted, the collar being slightly heightened and having white lace round the edges.

¹ The waistcoat continued to be issued as such for many years, and "coats and waistcoats" are mentioned in the Clothing Regulations of 1800, and in clothing returns and inspection reports of Highland regiments up to 1812. The present white shell-jacket worn in the Foot Guards and in Highland regiments is the direct descendant of the old waistcoat.

² See Plate III. of uniform, showing an officer in full Highland dress with open jacket. This order of dress for officers was not discarded in some regiments until 1820 or 1825.

³ 'Sketches of the Highlanders,' vol. ii.

⁴ This was indeed high praise, coming as it did from such a strict disciplinarian and correct judge of military merit as Moore. In 1805 Sir John Moore, in giving advice to a

present on parade 27 officers, 22 sergeants, 21 drummers, and 469 rank and file.¹

ABSENT OFFICERS.

Colonel Mackay H. Baillie, Major-General, sick in England.		
Captain Colin C. Mackay, recruiting in Scotland.		
Captain Hunter,	"	"
Lieut. Walter Ross,	"	"
Ensign D. Campbell,	"	"

During the summer and autumn of 1799 the Reays remained in their old quarters, and while disturbances swept over other parts of the country, the state of affairs in and around Longford appear to have been comparatively quiet. The services of the regiment were not required beyond occasional duties in aid of the civil power, settling agrarian disputes, or enforcing the revenue laws. Both officers and men lived on the best of terms with the people, who on their part soon learnt to trust and respect the kilted soldiers. The "honest Reays" were great favourites with all classes and creeds.² The following story will show how those of the Highlanders who were billeted ingratiated themselves with the inhabitants upon whom they were quartered:—

A soldier, by name William Maclean, from Loch Chraisk, above Braetongue—a man well known in the regiment for his wit and cleverness—happened to be billeted with a certain merchant. A relative of the latter's had recently arrived in the house, a tailor from the east of Ireland, whose trade had been so completely ruined by the unsettled state of the country that he had been left destitute. Hearing the unfortunate tailor bemoaning his fate, William approached him, offering his assistance if he would be allowed to go about it in his

Highland officer, said that he considered the Highlanders under an officer who understands and values their character, and works on it, among the best of our military materials. Under such an officer they will conquer or die on the spot. "But it is the principles of integrity and moral correctness that I admire most in Highland soldiers, and this was the trait that first caught my attention." He also made observations on the character of Highland soldiers and duties of their officers with regard to their management of, and behaviour towards, their soldiers, and the necessity of paying attention to their feelings.—General D. Stewart; Gardyne, vol. i. p. 479.

¹ There were absent: 2 sergeants, 1 corporal, and 10 privates sick in quarters; 6 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 7 privates on recruiting duty in Scotland; 1 private on furlough; and 4 privates employed as servants to General Officers.

² Traditional evidence. Strict Presbyterians though the Reays were, they seem to have got on equally well with Catholic or Protestant.

own way. The poor man gratefully assented, and the merchant agreed to William's proposals. Next morning, below the usual name on the signboard over the shop, the following appeared in freshly painted letters: "Pat. Murphy, Tailor from London." The attention of the townspeople was attracted to this new sign, and thinking no doubt that a tailor from London must be a good one, they began to patronise the merchant's shop in such numbers that the worthy tailor was barely able to cope with the numerous orders thrust upon him. Custom secured, the tailor took good care to keep it, and, we may be sure, did not forget to thank William for his valuable assistance.¹

In August, a detachment of one sergeant, one drummer, and twenty rank and file, under Lieutenant Usher, was stationed at Ballinasloe. It rejoined headquarters early in 1800.

The harvest of 1799, we have already noticed, had been a disastrous one, and although the Government took active measures to prevent absolute famine,² there was much distress amongst the poorer classes. Round Longford the frauds committed by millers and corn-factors reduced many of the people to the verge of starvation. As soon as their straitened circumstances were known, the Reays started a subscription for their relief, and a considerable sum was raised, all ranks contributing their share.³

During 1799 the regiment had fallen a good deal below its authorised establishment, but so successful was the recruiting that by the end of the year this shortage had been almost made good, and the number of privates stood at 580, or twenty below full strength.⁴

After celebrating the New Year (*Bliadhna ur*) at Longford, the Reay Fencibles were ordered to Athlone, and leaving Longford (much to the regret of the inhabitants) in two divisions towards the middle of

¹ Communicated by Mr John Mackenzie, crofter, Inchverry, Tongue, through Mr John Murray, Island Roan.

² The exportation of corn and potatoes was prohibited, and a bounty given on the importation of flour. Proclamations were issued forbidding the making of cakes, rolls, muffins, or anything but household bread. An Act of Parliament was also passed forbidding for a certain time the consumption of barley or other corn in making malt or distilled spirits.—Lecky, vol. v. p. 338.

³ The price of provisions being very high, married men with families would have been allowed to add to their means by working in the neighbourhood.

⁴ Men were got from the Sutherland and other fencibles disbanded in this year.

January 1800, arrived in their new station¹ a few days later, and were quartered partly in barracks and partly in billets. The other troops in garrison included the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry, the Glengarry Fencibles,² an Irish militia regiment, and detachments of cavalry, artillery, and yeomanry. Brigadier-General Scott commanded the garrison.

Shortly after its arrival at Athlone the regiment was inspected by Brigadier-General Meyrick, and received his unqualified approbation.³

Owing to political and agrarian troubles in the Tuam district, a detachment of two companies under Major Scobie was ordered to Ballinasloe in the middle of January,⁴ and did not rejoin headquarters until the beginning of March. During the time it was stationed at Ballinasloe this detachment was employed on more than one occasion on duties in aid of the civil power, the carrying out of which provoked frequent conflicts with the people, in which some of the Reays were severely injured, while not a few of the rioters were killed and wounded.

Early in February another detachment under Captain Morison, with Lieutenants Ballantine and Sutherland, proceeded to Granard, returning to headquarters early in May. While at Granard it is recorded that a large concourse of people, armed with guns, pikes, and shillelaghs, attacked the barracks occupied by this detachment,

¹ Athlone is situated 26 miles by road S.-E. of Longford. No doubt this place reminded many of the Mackays of that gallant and noble scion of their race, General Hugh Mackay of Scoury.

² This Highland Catholic corps had taken part in the suppression of the insurrection in Wexford, where it was distinguished for its soldier-like conduct and perfect humanity. Of this regiment it is said "confidence was restored to the minds of the people, and there was always a true and lasting peace wherever they served." The following incident affords a proof of the simplicity and honesty of the men who composed this corps. On landing at Waterford from Guernsey "it was intended that they should pass the night in that town, where they received billet-money to pay for their lodgings. Later they had orders to march the same evening to New Ross, and every man repaired to the quartermaster and returned his billet-money."—'The Glengarry Fencibles,' by the Rev. Father Macdonell, Fort Augustus. 'Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness,' vol. xxvi. p. 347.

³ General Meyrick, who commanded at Galway, was in temporary command of the Athlone District, having taken over from Major-General Moore in the June previous on the latter being selected to serve in the expedition to Holland.—'Diary of Sir John Moore,' vol. i. p. 337.

⁴ The other officers with these two companies were: *Major's*, Ensign Donald Campbell. *Captain A. Mackay's*, Lieut. Usher, Ensign Walter Ross, and Assistant-Surgeon Shaw. Captain Hunter also appears to have accompanied this detachment in the absence of Captain A. Mackay on recruiting duty.

breaking the windows and stoning the soldiers, some of the latter being badly hurt. The troops at length opened fire, killing and wounding several of the rioters, and then fixing bayonets charged the mob, dispersing them in all directions.

The stay of the Reays at Athlone was of short duration,¹ and at the end of February they returned to Longford,² marching there in two divisions. On their departure from Athlone a very flattering order was published, in which the General complimented the men upon their excellent discipline and uniformly regular and soldierlike conduct, while an address signed by the magistrates and principal inhabitants of Athlone was presented to Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, thanking the regiment for its exemplary behaviour whilst quartered in that town.

On the arrival of the regiment at Longford,³ Captain Blanche's Company was ordered to reinforce Captain Morison's detachment at Granard, where further troubles had broken out. After his company rejoined headquarters in May, Captain Blanche obtained leave of absence to England, returning to the regiment at the end of July 1800. During his absence from March to July the duties of adjutant were performed successively by Lieutenant Donald Mackenzie⁴ and Lieutenant John Sutherland.

The efforts of the Government at this time to force on the Union did not tend to lessen the anarchy and panic that generally prevailed. Cornwallis repeatedly urged that more troops should be sent over, "not now to guard against French invasion, or against the United Irishmen, or against a Catholic rising, but to make it possible to carry the Union without tumult and insurrection."⁵ Meetings took place all over the country protesting strongly against the proposed step. "The clamour against the Union," writes Cornwallis, "is increasing rapidly, and every degree of violence is to be expected."

¹ Owing to the loss of the orders covering this period, little is known of the doings of the regiment during the time it remained at Athlone.

² The February muster was taken at Longford on the 8th March, "the day after the detachment from Ballinasloe under Major Scobie marched in."

³ In accordance with an Army Order of January 1800, the establishment of the Reays was increased by one sergeant and one corporal per company. This augmentation took place from the 27th January inclusive, although the fact was only notified to the regiment in March. There were now 4 sergeants and 4 corporals per company instead of 3 and 3.

⁴ This officer relinquished the acting-adjutancy early in July, on being employed on command with volunteers. He remained on command until appointed to an ensigncy in the 21st Foot in February 1801.

⁵ Lecky, vol. v. p. 355.

Under these conditions the Reay Fencibles were ordered from Longford to Galway,¹ where it was feared dangerous tumults might arise. Accordingly the regiment left Longford in three divisions early in May, and marching by Athlone reached its destination some few days later, the men being quartered in the Castle barracks, in temporary barracks, and in billets.² The other troops in garrison were the Glengarry Fencibles, who had been recently moved from Athlone, detachments of the 9th Dragoons and Royal Irish Artillery, and the local yeomanry corps. The garrison was commanded by Brigadier-General Meyrick.

Before going further, a description of Galway at this period may not be out of place, for here the Reays were to remain quartered for the next two years.

Up to the end of the seventeenth century Galway had been a port of some commercial importance, a considerable trade being kept up with Spain and Sweden. The town is situated on the north side of Galway Bay at the mouth of the river Corrib,³ and possesses a good harbour with quays. In the more ancient parts of the town, where many of the houses of the most respectable classes were situated, the streets were narrow, irregular, and ill lighted. Numbers of the older houses were built after the Spanish fashion, quadrangular, with an open court, and arched gateway towards the street,—a result of the long intercourse with Spain. In the more modern parts of the town the streets were spacious, and the houses in general handsome and substantial. The suburbs, however, were crowded with wretched cabins. Besides the churches, which were numerous and comprised every denomination, the chief buildings were the Catholic seminaries, the county and town courthouses (both handsome structures), the jail, an endowed and charter school, the infirmary, the custom-house, and the military barracks.⁴

¹ Galway is the capital of the county of that name. It is an ancient town, and was invested and taken by Richard de Burgo in 1232. In 1690 Galway declared for King James, but it was besieged and taken by General Ginckel immediately after the decisive battle of Aughrim, July 12th, 1691.

² The Reays relieved the Antrim Regiment of Militia.

³ On the right bank of the Corrib, forming a suburb of Galway, was the large fishing village of Claddagh, inhabited by a peculiar and primitive race of people, who, beyond the sale of their fish, held little intercourse with the townspeople. They intermarried amongst themselves, and as regards fishing and pecuniary matters were governed by their own laws.

⁴ There were four barracks—the Castle, Shambles, Lombard, and Artillery—besides

The strength of the Reays on their arrival at Galway was 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 4 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 10 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 3 staff, 33 sergeants, 35 corporals, 21 drummers, and 561 privates.¹

ABSENT OFFICERS.

Major-General Mackay H. Baillie, sick in Scotland.
On leave . . . Captains Blanche, Clarke, and Lieutenant Usher.
On Recruiting Duty Captain Angus Mackay, Ensign Meikleham.
Not yet joined . . . Ensigns C. Anderson and S. M. Scobie.

Regtl. Orders, Galway, 12th May 1800.—The regiment to parade for exercise to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, the pipes to play round the streets at half-past nine but not to come on the parade. Officers' servants to attend.

Captain Clarke having obtained the leave of the Lord-Lieutenant to Scotland, the duties of paymaster will be performed in his absence by Captain Maclean.²

R. O., 1st June 1800.—Corporal John Maclean of the Grenadiers is appointed sergeant in Captain Blanche's Company in room of Sergeant Alex. Ross, struck off the strength of the regiment for skulking, and considered as a deserter.³ Officers for duty to-morrow: Lieutenant Campbell, orderly officer; Lieutenant Donald Mackay for fatigue.

G. O., 3rd June.—The garrison to be under arms at one o'clock to-morrow to fire a feu-de-joy in honour of His Majesty's Birthday. The retreat to beat at eight o'clock till further orders.

R. O., 4th June.—In future every company is to be formed into three squads, each under the care and command of a sergeant and corporal, who are never to be placed on duty at the same time when it can possibly be avoided. The companies to be carefully

temporary barracks. The Glengarries occupied the Shambles Barracks, and shared the Lombard with the Reays.

¹ Absent: 3 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 10 privates employed on recruiting duty in the Highlands; 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, and 21 privates on furlough in Scotland; 1 sergeant and 3 men sick at Athlone; 1 corporal and 7 men sick at Longford; 1 sergeant attending the sick at Longford; 1 man (Private John M'Leod) confined in Longford gaol; and 3 men acting as servants to general officers.

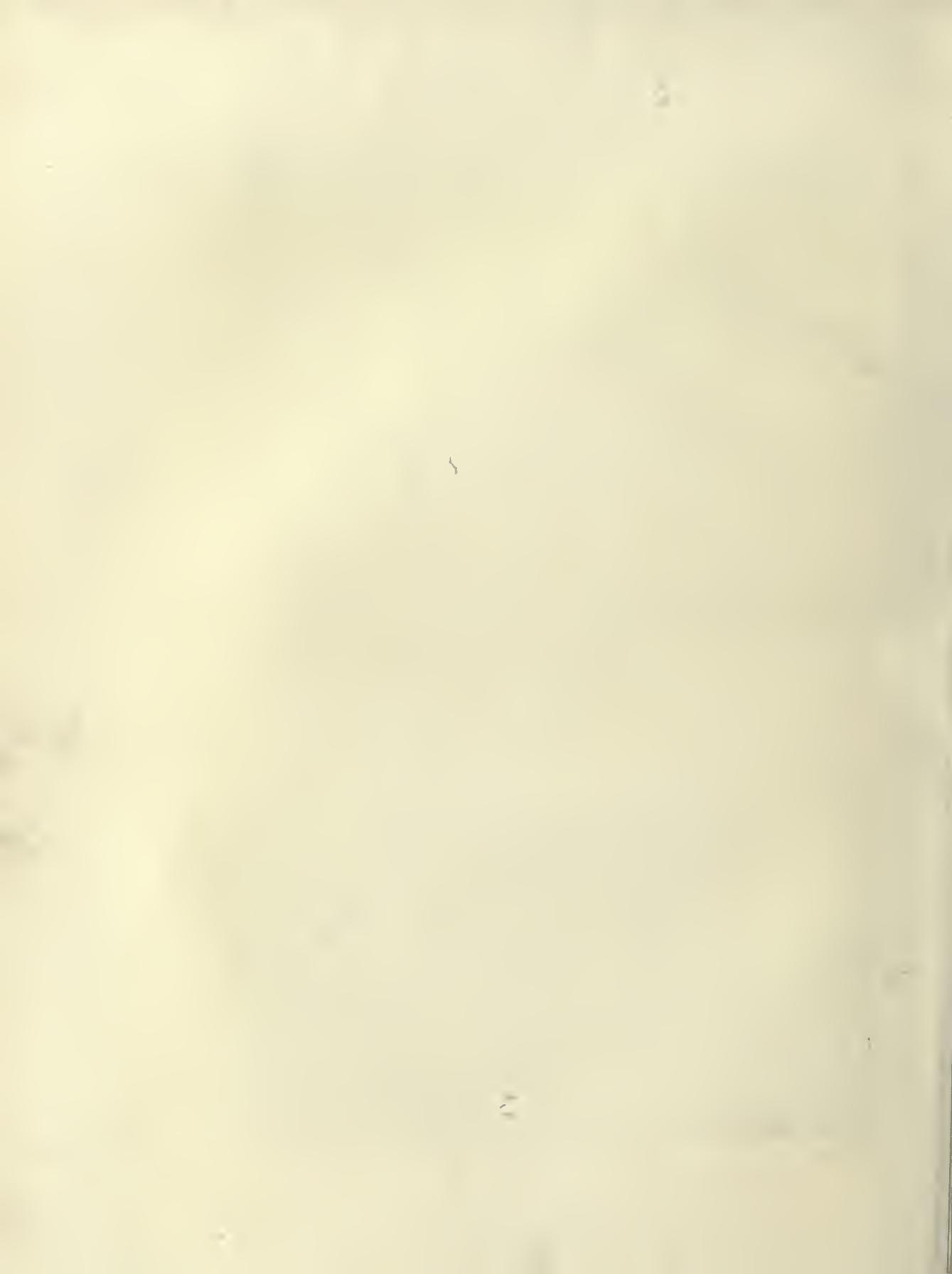
² Captain Clarke rejoined the regiment early in August 1800.

³ There were six cases of desertion soon after the arrival of the regiment in Galway, most of the absentees having been on furlough in Scotland, and had (with intent) overstayed their leave. The above was one of two N.-C. officers guilty of this offence during the regiment's service. There were no further cases during the stay of the regiment in Galway, nor until the disbandment.



A STREET IN GALWAY IN 1800.

(From a Print in the Author's possession.)



inspected by the senior N.-C. officer at their respective barracks before being marched to the general parade for the officers' inspection.

G. O., 5th June.—The troops in garrison to bathe twice a-week at six o'clock in the morning while the weather permits. The Glengarry regiment Mondays and Wednesdays, the Reay regiment Tuesdays and Thursdays. One officer a company to constantly attend. No man to be allowed to remain in the water above ten minutes, nor is any man to bathe at any other time without the express permission of his commanding officer.

R. O.—A command of one subaltern, one sergeant, one drummer, and twenty rank and file to march to-morrow morning at six o'clock to Athenry, where they are to remain until further orders.¹ Lieutenant Sutherland for the above duty.

The quarters occupied by these commands, in the smaller towns and villages, had few conveniences or comforts.

The barrack was generally roughly built of wood, or turf and stone, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. The ground-floor served as a guard-room where the soldiers, when off duty, reposed themselves on the guard bed or lounged on benches by the side of the turf fire. A kind of upper loft, reached by a ladder, and so low that one could touch the sooty rafters, was reserved for the officer; in one corner was a bedstead, and a dilapidated chair and rough deal table stood near the rusty grate, where smoked and smouldered a pile of black turf from the bog.²

R. O., 10th June.—The men may in future use fish in their messes on Saturdays as well as on Wednesdays and Fridays, but if they prefer butcher's meat on those days there can be no objection.³ After Saturday next no barrack orderly⁴ will be allowed to be absent from parade, but a married man and his wife will be allowed to sleep in the barracks for every two rooms of eight men each, the latter to wash and cook for the men of those two rooms at the rate of 4d. per man and her share of the mess. The officers may order in any

¹ This detachment was relieved by a party of the Glengarries and rejoined headquarters on the 3rd July.

² From a description written at the time.

³ This order was published on account of the high price of meat, owing to the general scarcity which prevailed as a result of the disastrous harvest of 1799.

⁴ An orderly was appointed daily in each barrack-room, whose duty it was to see that the room was cleaned up and kept tidy.

married woman provided that they have not more than one child each.

R. O., 17th June.—The men will be charged 8½d. for the red tufts,¹ and 2d. for extra price of cockades at the next settlement of their accounts. The flank companies will also be charged 10½d. for their hair plumes.² The debts contracted by the last recruits on their march from Scotland³ will be charged to the companies to which they are posted by the paymaster, for the purpose of being stopped out of their arrears, and any marching money that may be due to them. The recruit, Andrew Gunn, is appointed drummer in the Light Company, in room of Willison who is placed private in Captain Maclean's Company from the first of this month.

G. O., Galway, 30th June.—It having been represented to Brigadier-General Meyrick that some persons at the market have asked a higher price for meal from the soldiers than they sell it to the inhabitants, alleging that they have the General's sanction for so doing, Brigadier-General Meyrick earnestly desires any soldier who has been thus imposed upon to immediately come forward and discover the person, and he promises that the money so unjustly extorted shall be instantly returned to him, and the person guilty of so great an imposition severely punished.

Galway on a market-day must have presented an animated and truly picturesque scene—the brightly coloured costumes of the peasantry and the red coats and rich tartans of the Highlanders affording a pleasing contrast to the more sombre garb of the town-folk. Here and there groups of handsome Irish peasant girls⁴ bargained or flirted with the stalwart Reays and Glengarries, while in a secluded corner of the market-place might be observed an Irishman and a Highlander intently engaged in haggling over some trifle, in which, no doubt, the long-headed Scot would have more than held his own!

¹ Meaning the knob or "tourie" which adorned the top of the undress bonnet, and which was detachable from the bonnet.

² The hackles or plumes for the flank companies appear for a short time to have been made of hair instead of feathers.

³ In those days of no railways and bad roads, it was a long tramp to bring recruits from districts north of Inverness to the west of Ireland. To send a letter from Inverness to London took six to eight days.

⁴ The admixture of Spanish to the native Irish blood has been largely instrumental in producing the beautiful women for which Galway is justly famous.

After R. O., 20th June.—The men when provided with watch-coats will parade with them properly rolled and slung across their shoulders, and upon the upper part of the knapsack¹ when in marching order. These coats are not to be worn before sunset nor after sunrise in summer, and to be constantly hooked up. In winter they may be worn in bad weather by day as well as by night, with the skirts unhooked and let down.

The accoutrements to be worn *under* the watch-coats on common duties in quarters; but on service in the field, and when danger is apprehended, all men on duty, and particularly the sentries, are to wear their accoutrements *over* their coats and the skirts hooked up.

At this time, owing to several of the Scotch regiments of the line being greatly below their proper establishments, the Government thought fit to order these regiments to be filled up by volunteers from the Scotch Fencible Infantry Regiments in Ireland. The following circular and enclosure was accordingly sent to all commanding officers of regiments concerned:—

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
DUBLIN, the 26th June 1800.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose to you a copy of a circular letter which has been written by the Lord-Lieutenant's directions to the General Officers of the Staff in Ireland, on the subject of procuring volunteers from the regiments of Scotch Fencibles of Infantry to complete certain Scotch regiments of the line therein named, and His Excellency is persuaded that the exertions of the officers will co-operate with the ardour of the men in giving effect to so serviceable an object.

Lord Cornwallis desires that you will make known and explain to the regiment under your command that the men who will volunteer for general service will be transferred to the regiment of which they make choice on their arrival at Newry or Fermoy, as far as the superintending officers at those places can do it consistently with the object of equalising the regiments of the line which are to receive the volunteers.

¹ About this time the regiment was issued with canvas knapsacks instead of goat-skin ones. These knapsacks were painted blue, with the crown and thistle and the words "Reay Fencibles" within a red circle in the centre.

You will observe that the regiment is to continue to recruit to replace the men who may volunteer, and to have credit on its establishment for the number so volunteering.

Lord Cornwallis requests your attention to the circular letter enclosed, addressed to the General Officers on the Staff, which fully explains the terms upon which the men are permitted to volunteer, and His Lordship hopes that as a proportion of the officers of the regiment will be permitted to accompany the men the number of volunteers required will be furnished in a very short time.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) G. NUGENT,
Adjutant-General.

Officer Commanding Reay Fencible Infantry,
Galway.

Copy of a circular letter to every General Officer on the Staff:—

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
DUBLIN, *the 25th June 1800.*

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose copies of circular letters which have been written from the War Office to the Colonels or Pay Masters of regiments of Fencible Infantry hereafter mentioned and to the Commanding Officers or Pay Masters of the Regiments of the Line, preparatory to the measure of procuring volunteers from the regiments of Scotch Fencibles of Infantry to serve in the Line without limitation of time or place; in which you will see that a bounty of ten guineas is to be paid to each man, three of which he is to receive on his being discharged from the regiment of Fencible Infantry to which he belonged, and the remainder on his joining the corps to which he shall be transferred.

His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant desires that you will use every exertion to see that this service is carried out into complete effect, and for that purpose that you will circulate the following orders and regulations forthwith to the regiment under your command (specified hereafter), and that as far as possible you will superintend their execution by your presence at the headquarters of the different corps.

The following numbers are to be permitted to volunteer from the Scotch Fencible Infantry to Scotch Regular regiments in proportion to their respective establishments:—

LETTER RE VOLUNTEERING TO THE LINE. 267

Regiments.	Number of men permitted to volunteer from each.
Aberdeen Fencibles	100
Angus Fencibles	100
Caithness Legion	100
Dunbarton Fencibles	100
Elgin Fencibles	100
Fraser Fencibles	100
Glengarry Fencibles	100
Lochaber Fencibles	100
Macleod's Fencibles	100
North Lowland Fencibles	100
Ross and Cromarty Fencibles	100
Tay Fencibles	100
Argyle Fencibles	150
Breadalbine Fencibles	150
Clanalpine Fencibles	150
Duke of York's Fencibles	150
Fife Fencibles	150
Reay Fencibles	150
Caithness Highlanders	200

The following corps are to receive volunteers, viz. :—

Regiments.	Stations.	Remarks.
21st Foot	Belfast . . . . .	...
71st Foot	Dundalk . . . . .	...
72nd Foot	Newry . . . . .	...
79th Foot	Fermoy	} A detachment of the 16th Foot to take charge of the volunteers till relieved by detachments of 79th and 92nd Regiments.
92nd Foot	Fermoy	

The volunteers from the Aberdeen, Argyle, Breadalbine, Clanalpine, Dunbarton, Elgin, Fife, Fraser, Glengarry, Lochaber, Macleod's, North Lowland, Reay, Ross and Cromarty, and Tay Regiments will assemble at Newry Barracks, and are to be transferred from thence to the 21st, 71st, and 72nd Regiments in the most impartial manner by the General Officer who will be stationed there for that purpose.

The volunteers from the Caithness Highlanders, Caithness Legion, and Duke of York's Regiment are to assemble at Fermoy Barracks, and are to be transferred from there to the 79th and 92nd Regiments in the same manner by the General Officer who shall be stationed there.

The volunteers are to be enlisted in the first instance for general service; they are to receive three Guineas each from the Pay Masters of Fencibles on being attested for general service, and upon their being afterwards transferred to a regular regiment each volunteer will receive six Guineas together with one Guinea to be laid out in necessaries when he joins the regiment.

The Colonel or Commanding Officer of the regiments of Fencibles will be permitted to recommend an officer of the corps for an ensigncy in the line for every fifty volunteers who may be passed by the General Officer and Staff Surgeons at Newry and Fermoy.

No man to be allowed to claim the benefit of a volunteer unless he shall be 5 feet 4 inches high, under 35 years of age, and free from bodily infirmity for which the Commanding Officer and the Surgeon of the regiment will be held responsible, as no bounty can be charged for men who may afterwards be rejected by the General Officers and Staff Surgeons at Newry and Fermoy.

No man is to be permitted to enter to His Majesty's Forces under any of the regulations contained in the letter who shall have been attested to serve in the Scotch Fencible Infantry subsequent to the 1st of April 1800.

All balances due to the volunteers by their Fencible Corps are to be cleared off when they attest for the Line, and should any of them be in debt the same to be deducted from their bounty in payment of such debt, and is not to exceed 25s. per man.

The volunteers are to take with them their clothing delivered under the assignment from 1799 to 1800.

The Colonels of Fencibles will be enabled from their assignments for the year from 1800 to 1801, to clothe the men who shall be raised to supply the vacancies occasioned by the volunteers, without a further demand upon Government.

Commanding Officers of Fencibles are to send to the Adjutant-General a daily list of the men who may have volunteered, specifying their names, their size, their age, and the date of their attestations.

Subsistence for the volunteers to enable them to join the regiment to which they may be transferred is to be advanced to them by the Pay Masters of Fencibles, and whatever sums are so advanced are to be repaid by the Pay Masters of the Line to the Agents of the Fencible Corps.

The Medical Board have given very particular instructions to the Surgeons of Fencibles respecting the previous inspection of the volunteers; they are to sign every attestation and certify in the strongest terms that the men are perfectly fit for service.

Certificates signed by the Commanding Officers and Pay Masters of the regiments of Fencibles of the sum paid to the volunteer in part of their bounty are to be sent with them to the Superintending General Officer placed at Newry and Fermoy.

The volunteers are to be marched without arms and accoutrements to Newry and Fermoy by officers and non-commissioned officers of the Fencible regiments to which they belong, viz. :—

Detachments of under 50 volunteers under the command of a subaltern and a proportion of non-commissioned officers; detachments of above 50 men under the command of a captain and a proportion of subalterns and non-commissioned officers. The Officer Commanding each detachment is to deliver over with his men, to the Commanding Officer of the regiment which they are to join, their discharges from the Fencibles and their attestations to serve in the Line.

The volunteers will be entitled to receive from the regiment they join full clothing and accoutrements. A General Officer and Staff Surgeon are to inspect most minutely the volunteers previous to their being transferred to the regiments of line, and the General Officers are to superintend the transfer of volunteers on their arrival at Newry and Fermoy in the most equal and impartial manner.

The following is the present effective strength, viz. :—

Regiment.	Present Strength.	Wanting to complete 800 Rank & File for each Regiment.
21st Foot	266	534
71st Foot	235	565
72nd Foot	214	586
79th Foot	508	292
92nd Foot	730	70
Totals	<u>1953</u>	<u>2047</u>

The period of volunteering is confined to six weeks from the 1st of July to 15th August 1800, inclusive.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) GEORGE NUGENT,
Adjutant-General.

After R. O., 30th June.—In consequence of the foregoing General Orders, such men as choose to volunteer for the line for life, agreeable to the terms therein proposed, may give in their names to the Adjutant immediately after parade to-morrow morning, and hereafter on successive days at the same hour.

R. O., 3rd July.—Lieutenants D. Mackenzie, Donald Mackay, and Grant are the officers who will be recommended to accompany the volunteers to a regiment of the line, when the numbers required have been enlisted. As soon as the volunteers are attested they are to be struck off the strength of the regiment, and will be required to do no further duty in this garrison. They are to parade separately every morning with their side-arms only, their firelocks and accoutrements to be taken in charge by the officers commanding companies. Until they leave the garrison they will be subsisted at the usual rate by the adjutant, who will draw money for that purpose from the paymaster.

R. O., 6th July.—A return to be given in immediately of men's names of each company who have received the plaids and hose of last year's clothing, particularizing those who have volunteered.

It is to be understood that if any of the officers give or offer an additional bounty for volunteers, over and above the ten guineas offered by Government, they shall not be recommended to accompany their men to the regiment of the line for which they are enlisted.

Corporal William Mackay of the Grenadiers is appointed sergeant in Captain Hunter's Company, in the room of Duncan McKay who has volunteered to the line.

R. O., 7th July.—Such of the volunteers for the line as have neither received plaids, hose, or bonnets with the last year's clothing are to be paid 9s. 9d.—that is, 6s. 6d. for plaids, 2s. 2d. for hose, and 1s. 1d. for bonnets; all in British currency, by the officers paying companies, for which they will receive credit in their next monthly abstracts. Sergeants volunteering under the same circumstances will receive 13s. 6½d. No watch-coats provided at the public expense will be taken away by the men volunteering.

R. O., 18th July.—There will be a garrison field day to-morrow at ten o'clock, the pipes to play off precisely at nine. The tailors and every available man to attend.

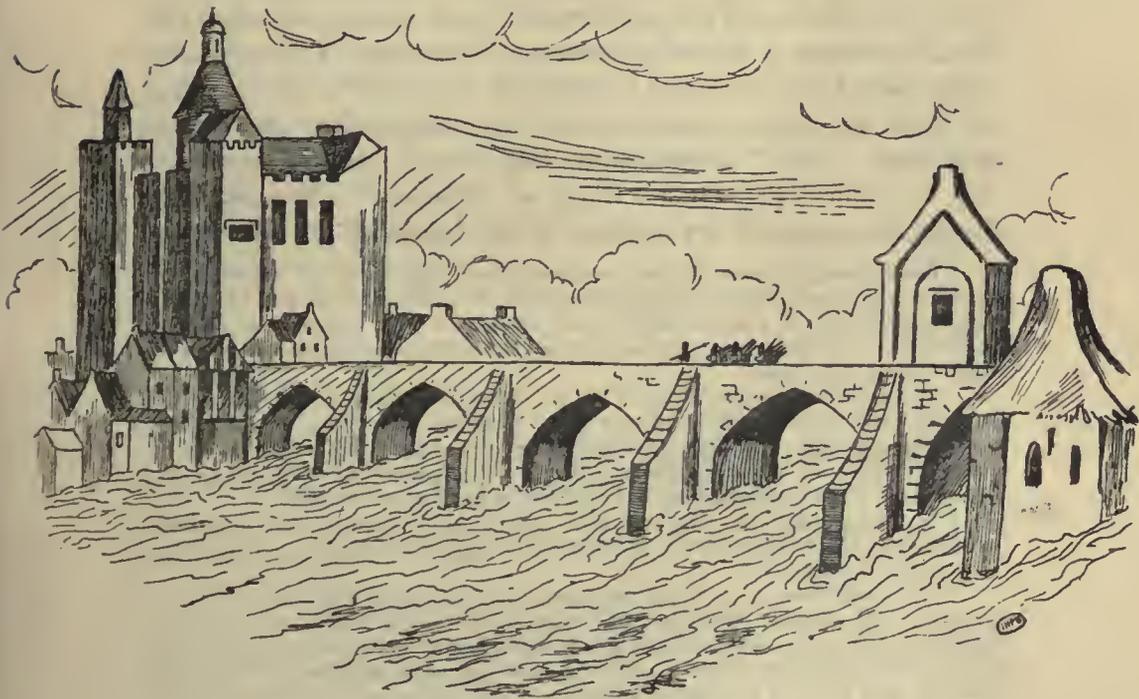
R. O., 9th July.—Lieutenant Sutherland will act as Adjutant, in

place of Lieutenant D. Mackenzie on command with volunteers, and will receive pay as such from this day until further orders.

Recruiting for the regiment had now to be actively carried on in order to fill up the vacancies which would be shortly caused by so many men volunteering to the line. Accordingly, a recruiting party was despatched from the regiment to assist the parties under Captain Angus Mackay already in the Reay Country and the south of Sutherland.

R. O., 9th July.—A recruiting party consisting of Lieutenant Walter Ross, Sergeant McLeod of the Grenadiers, Sergeant Sinclair of Captain A. Mackay's Company, Corporal Macdonald of Captain Blanche's Company, and Piper McLeod of the Grenadiers, to march for the Highlands of Scotland on Sunday the 13th instant.¹

¹ This party appears to have been stationed for a time at Reay in Caithness, and afterwards at Invershin and Tain. Lieut. Ross returned to the regiment in September 1800, but was again employed on recruiting duty in April and May 1801.



The Old Bridge of Athlone.
From a contemporary drawing.

CHAPTER XV.

FOR some years the importance of having in the British army troops armed with a rifled arm, and trained and equipped as riflemen, had been recognised. This want was at first supplied by enlisting foreign levies under the names of rangers, chasseurs, and jagers; but as these foreign corps in the British service gradually died out from lack of recruits,¹ the need of having British troops trained as riflemen became more and more apparent. At last, in January 1800, the Duke of York determined to raise an "Experimental Rifle Corps,"² under Colonel Coote Manningham of the 41st Regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. W. Steuart of the 67th (formerly of the 42nd).³ This corps, after being trained for a time, was embarked in July 1800 for the expedition to Ferrol in Spain, where it particularly distinguished itself in two skirmishes. The "Experimental Rifle Corps" being a success, it was determined to raise a "Corps of Riflemen." This was done during the course of the autumn of 1800,⁴ most of the officers and

¹ The fragments of some of these corps were swept together in 1798 to form a Fifth battalion of the Sixtieth Foot, and were constituted into a rifle battalion with a distinctive uniform consisting of a green jacket, white waistcoat, plain leather cap, and blue pantaloons. The Sixtieth was eventually turned into a rifle regiment, now known as the King's Royal Rifle Corps.

² To form this corps the Duke of York ordered a detachment of three officers and thirty-four men to be furnished by each of the following regiments: 2/1st, 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, 29th, 49th, 55th, 69th, 71st, 72nd, 79th, 85th, and 92nd. The men were armed with the "Baker Rifle," which, though a clumsy weapon, was reputed to be extremely accurate up to three hundred yards; their side-arm was a sword bayonet.

³ Both these officers were well qualified for the work. The former had commanded several light companies under Grey in the West Indies, and the latter was an experienced officer of broad ideas.

⁴ The establishment was fixed at ten companies, and the patterns of its clothing and accoutrements settled in December, but it was not until the 31st March 1801 that a letter of service was granted, apparently as an after-thought, for the formation of the Duke of York's Rifle Corps. The new regiment received the number Ninety-five on the 18th January 1803, but it is now better known under its later name of the Rifle Brigade.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part II., pp. 916-20; Sir W. Cope's 'History of the Rifle Brigade'; Willoughby Verner's 'Rifle Brigade.'

some of the men of the "Experimental Rifle Corps" volunteering to the new regiment. The remainder of the men required were chiefly drawn from the Scottish Fencibles in Ireland, the Reays contributing their quota.¹

Circular to Regiments of Fencible Infantry.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
9th July 1800.

The twelve men who were selected by Brigadier-General Champagne from each regiment of Fencible Infantry for service in the Line, to compose a Rifle Corps, and whose names were sent to the Adjutant-General's office, are to be immediately inspected by the surgeons of their regiments, attested for the Line, and sent under a careful sergeant to Athlone, where they will receive further orders from Brigadier-General Scott.

Ten guineas bounty will be allowed for each man, which is to be applied in the same manner as directed in the orders of the 25th June respecting the volunteers from the regiments of Scotch Fencible Infantry, and whatever subsistence, bounty money, &c., may have been advanced to these men by the paymasters of their regiments will be repaid to the respective agents by Messrs Armit and Borough.

You will be pleased to report the march of the twelve volunteers for the Rifle Corps to my office.

(Signed) G. NUGENT,
Adjutant-General.

To The Officer Commanding
Reay Fencibles, Galway.

R. O., 11th July.—In consequence of the above general order the volunteers for the Rifle Corps will be immediately inspected by the surgeon and attested. They will march with Lieutenant Ross's party for Athlone on Sunday next.

The following promotions to take place:—

George Nicoll of the Grenadiers is appointed Corporal in Captain Maclean's Company from the 1st instant vice M'Cardell appointed to the band of musick.

¹ In all forty-seven men volunteered from the Reays.

Drummer Archibald Buchanan is appointed Master of the Band of Musick¹ as well as Fife-Major; he is to be mustered in future as a private, but his pay will be made equal to that of a sergeant by the regiment. The fifiers will practise on Tuesdays and Fridays, and the band on the other four week-days.

James Goldie and Murray of the band will do duty also as buglers, and receive drummer's pay from the regiment from the 1st June last. Whoever is appointed drummer in the band will in future receive drummer's pay from the regiment, for which he is also to beat the bass drum at retreat and tattoo every evening, and at any other time that may be ordered.

The extra allowances to the band will be paid them at the end of every quarter. The captains of companies have assigned to give a gratuity at the end of every year to those of the band who have no extra allowance,² provided their conduct and behaviour entitles them to it.

R. O., 12th July.—Archibald Buchanan is removed to Captain Maclean's Company, and appointed a Lance-Sergeant in the regiment. He is to commence additional pay as master of the band from 1st April inclusive.

John M'Cardell is appointed Corporal in the band, to rank from his first appointment as Corporal in the regiment. He is to receive corporal's pay from the regiment.

Alexander Mackay, piper of the Grenadier Company, is appointed Pipe-Major until further orders,³ vice Hugh Mackay⁴ discharged.

In July, Lieutenant-Colonel Ross left the regiment, having been appointed to a majority⁵ in the 54th Foot.⁶ During the time he had

¹ This is the first reference in orders to a band. The Reays do not appear to have had a band of music until April 1800, when Lieut.-Colonel Ross organised one assisted by Colonel Baillie. Up to that time the regimental music varied between "the ear-piercing fife and spirit-stirring drum, and the swinging rythme of the pipe." Although formed in April, it was not until the regiment had settled down in Galway that the band was put on a proper footing, *vide* above orders.

² By regulation there were only ten musicians allowed to a band, and 1 N.-C. officer to take charge of it.

³ Alexander Mackay seems to have held the post of Pipe-Major until the disbandment of the regiment. He afterwards served in the 93rd, and retired on pension when the regiment returned from the Cape in 1814.

⁴ Hugh Mackay had succeeded George Macleod as Pipe-Major in July 1798.

⁵ The date of his appointment was 17th May 1800, but he had not been ordered to join his new corps at once.

⁶ Or East Norfolk Regiment, now the 2nd Battalion Dorsetshire Regiment.

commanded the Reays, Lieutenant-Colonel Ross had gained the respect and affection of all ranks. A Highlander himself, and from the same part of the Highlands as his men, he well understood their character and peculiarities,¹ and his departure was deeply regretted. The following is his farewell order:—

R. O., 13th July.—Lieutenant-Colonel Ross having lately received from His Majesty an appointment in the Line, which removes him from the Reays, he cannot resign the command of the regiment without endeavouring to express the deep regret he feels in being obliged to leave it. He requests the officers will accept of his unfeigned and most sincere thanks for the steady support and friendship he has received from them upon all occasions, and also the non-commissioned officers and soldiers for their *unexampled* good conduct during the two years he has had the honour to command them. He makes it his last request to them to persevere steadily in the same system of obedience and propriety towards Major Scobie, or whoever may hereafter command them, as he trusts they are thoroughly convinced that otherwise they cannot expect a continuance of that concord and happiness which has distinguished this regiment from its first establishment until the present day.

The Lieutenant-Colonel takes leave by assuring both officers and men that in whatever part of the world he may be, he will always be rejoiced to hear that the Reays continue to maintain the dignified character which they have already gained, and he most sincerely prays that every success and happiness may attend them that the world can produce.

(Signed) ANDREW ROSS,
Lieutenant-Colonel,
Commanding Reay Highlanders.

¹ One of the most frequent causes of the "mutinies" which had so unfortunately marked the early career of some of the Highland regiments, both regular and fencible, had arisen from the posting of Lowland and other officers to these regiments—"men who, however excellent their qualifications, were not connected with the Highlands, were entirely unacquainted with the language and peculiar character of the Highland soldier, ignored his passions and prejudices, and made no attempt to gain his confidence and good opinion. The Highlander may, and is willing to be led, but he cannot be driven; and officers who, even under the altered conditions of later days, attempted the latter course, soon roused a sense of injustice and sulky obedience of orders which years of tact could not eradicate."—Davidson's 'Hist. of the 75th,' vol. i. pp. 9, 10.

On Lieutenant-Colonel Ross quitting the regiment¹ he was succeeded in the Lieutenant-Colonelcy by Major Colin Campbell of the late 2nd Breadalbane Fencibles, who was connected, on the maternal side, with the Bighouse family.² Major Campbell was promoted as Lieutenant-Colonel into the Reays on the 25th July 1800, but obtaining leave of absence did not join until October 1800. Up to that time Major Scobie³ commanded the regiment.

R. O., 14th July.—Hugh Mackay 3rd of the Grenadiers is appointed Corporal in the Lieutenant-Colonel's Company in room of Murdoch Mackay who has volunteered for the Line.

R. O., 30th July.—The regiment will be mustered to-morrow before morning parade, the pipes to play off at ten o'clock precisely.

R. O., 31st July.—A detachment of the Reays, consisting of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 20 rank and file to march to-morrow morning to Athenry, to relieve the detachment of the Glengarries doing duty there.⁴ Lieutenant Grant for the above duty.

R. O., 3rd August.—A field day to-morrow morning at five o'clock, no man to be absent. The pipes to play off at half-past four.

Joseph Morrison of the Light Company is appointed Corporal in the General's Company in room of Finlay Macleod deceased,⁵ and to commence pay from this day.

G. O., Galway, 3rd August 1800.—During the absence of Brigadier-General Meyrick, who has obtained H.E. the Lord-Lieutenant's permission to go to England, the command of the Galway District devolves upon Brigadier-General Scott⁶ at Athlone, to whom till further orders all reports are to be made.

• (Signed) A. DUNBAR,
Brigade-Major.

¹ Lieut.-Colonel Ross left the regiment on the 13th July.

² Through Janet Mackay of Bighouse, who married Colin Campbell of Glenure. Glenure was murdered in Appin in 1752 when in the execution of his duty as Crown factor on the forfeited estate of Ardshiel.

³ It was expected that Major Scobie would have obtained the Lieut.-Colonelcy, but owing to the recent disbandment of most of the fencibles raised in 1793, many of their officers had been left without employment, and several had been brought into the fencible regiments still serving. Major Campbell had probably obtained the Reays owing to his relationship to the Bighouse family. Like Major Scobie, he had seen service in the regular army. His commission as major in the fencibles was of a senior date to that of Major Scobie's.

⁴ This detachment returned to headquarters in September.

⁵ Died in the regimental hospital at Galway.

⁶ General Scott commanded the garrison of Athlone.

The garrison of Galway was commanded by its senior officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Darroch of the Glengarry Fencibles.¹

Owing to the great scarcity that had followed the failure of the harvest of 1799, the price of provisions had risen very high.²

R. O., 5th August.—In consequence of the dearness of provisions the funds of the hospital are entirely exhausted. Every patient admitted to hospital will therefore in future pay to the sergeant of the hospital 5s. 5d. per week³ until further orders.

A batch of recruits were received by the regiment during July and August, and these were drilled morning and evening until passed as efficient.

R. O., 7th August.—The recruits lately joined will fire 10 rounds of blank cartridges this evening at five o'clock. The quartermaster will issue ammunition, and the companies to supply them with flints.

R. O., 10th August.—Private Alexander Ross, late sergeant, is appointed to the Major's Company from the 1st instant; Donald Morrison from the volunteers⁴ to Captain Clarke's; Angus Ross and Alex. Ross to Captain Blanche's, from the 8th inst.

Not infrequently the lack of English among the men led to some amusing incidents.

A sentry being posted on an important beat, had strict orders to allow none to pass unless the correct countersign was given. A staff-officer approached on urgent business, but having forgotten the necessary pass-word, Donald⁵ refused to let him by. In vain the officer, a fussy and self-important individual, expostulated, explaining who he was, &c.,—the sturdy Gael, who understood not a word, was obdurate. Retracing his steps in a fury, the officer ordered the man to be confined. The Highlander, however, had only obeyed his orders; and the officer, who was the guilty party in having attempted to "force a sentry," had a hot quarter of an hour with his "chief" afterwards!

¹ Colonel M'Donnell of the same regiment was away at this time, but returned by October.

² In August 1800 the price of wheat was 12s. 11d., barley 6s. 11d., oats 4s. 10d., and beans 8s. 3d. (Irish). Prices were even higher at the end of the year.—Maxwell, p. 472.

³ The usual hospital stoppage was 3s. 3d. per week.

⁴ After volunteering for the Line this man had wished to return to the regiment, and having found a man willing to take his place, was allowed to do so.

⁵ Highland soldiers were familiarly known as "Donald" or "Her nainsel," and it was not until the latter part of the 19th century that the essentially lowland sobriquet "Jock" took their place,—a change mainly due to the preponderance of Lowlanders in many of the Highland regiments at the time. The word "Jock" is entirely unknown among the Gaelic people.—Gardyne, vol. ii. p. 220.

R. O., 12th August.—Agreeable to the General Orders no soldier will be allowed to volunteer for the Line after Thursday first, the 15th instant. The commanding officer therefore hopes that all the spirited young men who have any inclination to pursue their fortunes in the regular army will avail themselves of the present opportunity and come forward like soldiers to the honour of their country and the good of His Majesty's Service, for they may be assured such advantageous terms will not be granted in similar circumstances during this war.

R. O., 21st August.—The watch-coats to be delivered to the different companies immediately, agreeable to their present effective strength. The following articles to be packed up in the coats¹—viz. : 1 shirt, 1 pair of shoes, 1 pair hose, 1 pair spare soles and heels, 1 pair shoe brushes, 1 razor and comb, and 1 blackball.

R. O., 22nd August.—The regiment to parade morning and evening in marching order till further orders.

G. O., Galway, 23rd August.—The corps in garrison will give in to the commanding officer on Monday a return of what good masons they have in their respective corps, so that they may be employed in walling in the grand parade. If deserving, they will get the same wages as those employed in town.

The troops in garrison appear to have been kept pretty busy during the summer months.

R. O., 24th August.—A field day to-morrow as usual after morning parade, no man to be absent. The pipe to sound at half-past five for evening parade at six o'clock.²

The recruits and awkward men to fire ten rounds of blank cartridges this evening at four o'clock.

Galway figures more largely, perhaps, than any town in the social history of Ireland. The county families (most of whom were of Anglo-Norman descent) were responsible for much of the wild and picturesque life for which the Irish gentry of the eighteenth century

¹ When knapsacks were not carried.

² It was the custom for a pibroch to be played as a warning for parade, the tunes selected being probably Mackay ones, such as "The Mackays' White Banner" (Bratach bhan Chlann Aoidh), "The Mackays' March" (Piobaireachd Chlann Aoidh), "Lament for Donald Mackay, 1st Lord Reay" (Cumha Dhomhnuill Dhughail Mhic Aoidh), or "Lament for Mackay of Strath Halladale" (Cumha Shrath Alladail).

Note.—There is a pipe-tune in "Ceol Mein" (Little Music) connected with the regiment called "Lord Reay's Fencibles' Quickstep," the origin of which, however, is uncertain.—See Appendix XII.

were famed,—in which duelling, gambling, drinking, and horse-racing figured prominently. It was in Galway that a code of honour for duellists was drawn up about this time, which became known as the Galway Code.¹ During their stay in Galway the officers of the Reays were received with true Irish hospitality in every country house, and a frequent exchange of courtesies took place. At the same time, however, the Highlanders had no light task to keep the peace amid such surroundings; and it speaks well for their tact and good sense that, during the two odd years they remained in Galway, we hear of no incident of a regrettable nature having occurred between officers of the regiment and the local gentry.

R. O., 30th Aug.—Divine Service to-morrow at the usual hour, the regiment to be mustered immediately afterwards.

At this time Lord Cornwallis was making a tour of the west of Ireland, and was shortly expected in Galway.

R. O., 2nd Sept.—Officers commanding companies to see that their men's arms, accoutrements, &c., are in the best possible order for the Lord-Lieutenant's inspection on Thursday, the 4th inst. The commanding officer expects that every man is complete with shoes, soles and heel pieces agreeable to former orders. As it is expected the Lord-Lieutenant will visit the barracks, officers commanding companies to be very particular that they are as neat and clean as possible.

Lord Cornwallis arrived in Galway on the 4th September amidst every demonstration of affection from the people. In the afternoon he visited the troops in their different barracks, expressing satisfaction with everything he saw. Next day a grand review was held.²

G. O., 4th Sept.—The garrison will parade to-morrow, the same as

¹ 'Ireland,' by Katherine Tynan, pp. 58-9.—An exiled Galway gentleman asking one day after a friend, was met with the reply: "He's just the same as ever; not a bit of change in him. *He comes home every night strapped to the outside car to keep him from falling off!*"

² Extract from the 'Edinburgh Advertiser,' Tuesday, September 16th, 1800: "Dublin, Sept. 11th.—His Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, with his suite, arrived at Galway on the 4th inst., and was received with the loudest acclamations of joy from a large concourse of people who had collected from various parts of Connaught to testify their veneration and respect for our revered Viceroy. In the evening the most general illumination ever witnessed in Galway took place, and every demonstration of loyalty was displayed by the respectable inhabitants of the town. His Excellency next morning inspected the *Reay* and *Glengarry* Fencible Regiments, with the Royal Artillery and other troops composing the garrison of Galway, whose military manœuvres did them the greatest honour. . . . He left on the 6th inst."

to-day, for the Lord-Lieutenant's inspection. To be formed up on the general parade precisely at ten o'clock.

R. O.—The regiment to be under arms to-morrow at nine o'clock, officers in white breeches, half-boots, and the Highland bonnet, the men in full Highland dress. No man to be absent. The pipes to play off at half-past eight o'clock. The awkward men and recruits to mount guard to-morrow and not come on the parade.

The result of the inspection was highly satisfactory.

G. O., Galway, 5th Sept. 1800.—Lieutenant-Colonel Darroch has it in command from the Lord-Lieutenant to inform the troops composing the present garrison of Galway that His Excellency is highly pleased with their appearance this day. The cleanliness under arms and steadiness of the troops were particularly remarked upon by His Excellency.

R. O., 8th Sept.—Officers will be pleased to remember that for morning parades the jacket is always to be buttoned across, but at evening parades or for mess it is to be partly buttoned back, showing the facings and two bars of the lace of the lapel.

R. O., 11th Sept.—The new (belted) plaids having arrived from Scotland, they will be delivered to the companies immediately after morning parade to-morrow.

R. O., 13th Sept.—The volunteers for the Line¹ to march from hence to Athlone on Tuesday morning under the charge of two sergeants and two corporals, where they will be inspected by General Scott and the Staff Surgeon there. The commanding officer therefore expects that those who are inclined for general service will at once give in their names, so that they may march with their companions.

The officers to be dressed on Sundays in full uniform, with white breeches, hats, and feathers; on week-days in jackets and grey pantaloons if not otherwise ordered. The N.-C. officers and privates are to be dressed in belted plaids on Sundays, and on week-days in kilts, excepting the guards.

R. O., 15th Sept.—His Majesty has been pleased to make the following promotions and appointments:—

Reay Fencibles.—Major Colin Campbell to be Lieutenant-Colonel vice Ross. Commission dated 25th July 1800.

¹ This was a second batch of about 25 men, the first batch of 50 having already left the regiment.

The order regarding volunteering to the Line had not met with a ready response in the Reays, and the required numbers had not been obtained.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
DUBLIN, 5th Sept. 1800.

SIR,—Lord Cornwallis having observed by the returns that the Reay Fencible Highlanders is the only regiment which has not completed its quota of volunteers for general service in the Line, he has directed me to inform you that, notwithstanding a former order, the volunteering may continue open in the Reays until the numbers required are furnished—viz., 150 men exclusive of the 12 volunteers for the Rifle Corps. You will be pleased to acquaint me for Lord Cornwallis's information with the progress the regiment makes in volunteering, and what prospect there may be of procuring the numbers wanting to complete, as he is very desirous that as little delay as possible should take place in that service.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.,

(Signed) G. NUGENT,
Adjt.-General.

To Major SCOBIE,
Commanding Reay Highlanders,
Galway.

Although the men of the Reays had shown little eagerness to enter into the Line, many of them appeared to have been willing to take service in the newly formed Rifle Corps, and no difficulty had been experienced in obtaining volunteers for that regiment. The reason of this was mainly due to the fact that by volunteering to the Line for general service the men were liable, according to the custom of that time, to be drafted to other regiments.¹ In the Rifle Corps, on the other hand, the men were specially enlisted, and the regiment was a favoured one, while in addition many of the officers and men were from the Highlands. So readily, indeed, had the Reays responded to the call for volunteers for the latter corps, and of such good quality had they proved to be, that the regiment was now asked to furnish more.

¹ At this period the Government were in the habit of drafting men from one regiment to another, and to this the Highlanders strongly objected.—Gardyne, vol. i. p. 34.

ATHLONE, 12th September 1800.

SIR,—I reported that your regiment had some volunteers. I now enclose a route for them.¹ We require about 35 men to complete the Rifle Corps, and it is wished your regiment would furnish that number. I beg that you will mention this to them, that they cannot in my opinion go into any corps with so much advantage. In the first place, in the 400 we want to make up from Ireland a very great number are Highlanders, and it is a favourable institution of the Duke of York. The officers are all particularly chosen, and the quarters and services of this corps will always be favoured.

I have, &c., &c.,

(Signed) WM. SCOTT,
Brig.-General.

To Major SCOBIE,
Commanding Reay Highlanders,
Galway.

R. O., 15th Sept.—In consequence of the above letter the Commanding Officer will detain the volunteers one day longer with the regiment, in order to give others an opportunity to volunteer into the Duke of York's Rifle Corps.² The whole of the volunteers³ will march from hence on Wednesday morning at six o'clock for Athlone, under the command of Lieutenant Donald Mackay.⁴

From the following order it appears that the Rifle Corps—afterwards to become famous under its later name of the Rifle Brigade—had as its *first* sergeant-major a non-commissioned officer of the Reays.

¹ Referring to those for the Line.

² The thirty-five men were obtained.

³ Including those for the Line and Rifle Corps, about seventy in all.

⁴ This officer, after handing over the men to the authorities at Athlone, returned to the regiment. He remained with the Reays, although his quota of men had been obtained, until gazetted Ensign in the 21st (North British) Fusiliers, November 1800. On the second quota of fifty volunteers being furnished, Lieut. D. Mackenzie was gazetted in February 1801, when he too went to the 21st. From this it appears that most of the volunteers from the Reays were sent to the 21st, few going to the 71st and 72nd, which would have been more appropriate as they were both Highland corps. The third quota of fifty men does not seem to have been completed, as Lieut. Grant, the third officer selected for a commission in the Line, remained with the regiment until disbanded in 1802.



LIEUTENANT DONALD CAMPBELL IN THE UNIFORM OF
THE 71ST HIGHLANDERS.

*(From a Miniature in the possession of Dr GORDON CAMPBELL, LL.D.,
Cambridge University.)*

R. O., 22nd Sept.—Lance-Sergeant Joseph Mackay of the Grenadiers is appointed sergeant in room of Sergeant Donald Mackay of the same company appointed sergeant-major in the Rifle Corps.¹

In *R. O.* of 24th September, a regimental court-martial, the first since the regiment had left Longford, was ordered to assemble for the trial of a soldier charged with "quitting his post without permission." He was found guilty, but owing to his excellent character, and on the strong application of his captain, the corporal punishment was remitted by Major Scobie, and imprisonment ordered instead.

R. O., 25th Sept.—A detachment consisting of one subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal, one drummer, and nineteen privates to march from hence to Athenry at six o'clock to-morrow morning.² Lieutenant Donald Campbell for the above command.

These subalterns' detachments were often called on to perform unpleasant duties—protecting the lives and properties of threatened persons, still-hunting, enforcing the collection of tithes, or in quelling faction fights. Great responsibility rested on the officer in charge, and much presence of mind was required in the many awkward situations that occurred.³

R. O., 26th Sept.—The five substitutes⁴ that have lately joined are posted to the companies that those whom they have relieved belonged. The following recruits are posted as follows: George Gunn and Duncan Macleod to the Major's Company; George Macintosh and William Maclean to Captain Blanche's Company; they are to commence pay with their respective companies from the first

¹ Sergeant-Major Mackay was afterwards appointed Quartermaster, when a corps of Riflemen was formally gazetted in the 'London Gazette,' dated 11th October 1800.—'History of the Rifle Brigade,' by Colonel D. W. Verner, Part I., pp. 29, 30.

² This party relieved the detachment under Lieut. Grant. It rejoined headquarters in the middle of November 1800.

³ The quarters for officers and men, in some of the more out-of-the-way districts that had to be visited, were of the rudest description. A subaltern of a Highland regiment thus describes his quarters at Ballymoe Bagot, the only furniture between the clay under his feet and the thatch over his head being "large quantities of soot suspended from the roof in long beautifully curled rows as black as the feathers on a Highlander's bonnet"; but, he adds, in these places they were received with genuine hospitality by the respectable inhabitants.—Gardyne, vol. i. p. 416.

⁴ It was then in the power of the Colonel to allow a man, who for some good reason wished to take his discharge, to procure another to serve in his place.

October.¹ Drummer Rory Mackay is appointed drummer in Major Scobie's Company.²

R. O., 27th Sept.—The barrack guard is invariably to turn out once a-day to the commanding officer with presented arms, after which it turns out with ordered arms. To field officers it turns out once a-day with ordered arms, after which it stands to arms. No sentry is on any account to go into his sentry-box unless it rains, but to keep constantly walking backwards and forwards on his post.

R. O., 29th Sept.—The regiment to be mustered to-morrow at three o'clock, the pipes to play off at half-past two. The Grenadiers and Light Company to be completed to 54 privates³ immediately after the muster.

The potato market appears to have been the cause of much trouble.

G. O., 9th October.—As the Mayor complains that too much confusion prevails from so great a number of soldiers crowding to the potato market after parade, the commanding officer of the garrison directs that only one N.-C. officer and four privates shall attend from each company of the Glengarry Regiment, and two N.-C. officers and six privates from the Reays. The N.-C. officers will be responsible for the proper conduct of the men under their respective charges. The N.-C. officers in charge of each party will, before the market

¹ Recruits received pay from the dates of their attestations, and were paid by the recruiting officer up to the time they joined the regiment, after which they received pay from the companies they were posted to.

² To bring him on to full drummer's pay, as he appears before this to have been an acting drummer. In an old pay book of Major Scobie's I find the following entry in Drummer Rory Mackay's accounts: "Nov. 4th, 1800.—To cash paid the Drum-Major and Fife-Major 1s. 4d." This payment was probably made for extra instruction received in drumming and learning the fife. Rory Mackay was a native of the parish of Tongue, and joined the Reays as a recruit in August 1799. He returned to the Reay Country on the disbandment of the regiment, and for many years was a highly respected office-bearer in the Kirk of Tongue. On Sundays he was said to have turned out very smart in a coat adorned with his old regimental buttons. According to tradition he was Major Scobie's batman (soldier-servant) for a time. His daughter Annie "Rory" was still alive in 1912, and occupied the same croft as that possessed by her father. When I visited her in 1910 she was wonderfully hale and hearty, but having lost her memory I was unable to glean any information regarding Rory and his military career. I was shown, however, a Bible which Rory had brought back with him from Ireland, and which must have cost him a good many days' pay! Such were the Reay Highlanders of that time.

³ The regiment at this time was under strength owing to the number of men who had volunteered or been discharged. According to the muster taken on the 30th September, there were required 127 men to complete to strength (*i.e.*, 650 privates)

opens, give to their respective quartermasters a return of the quantity of potatoes required for his company, which return is to be strictly adhered to.

Since the Reays had arrived at Galway a good many men had left the regiment, either on discharge or as volunteers to the Line and Rifle Corps, and although the vacancies had been partly filled, the regiment was still a good deal under strength. The tremendous drain on the population of the Highlands at this time in order to furnish men to the many Highland regiments, both regular and fencible, added to the steady flow of emigration to America and the large towns of the South, had made recruiting in that country more and more difficult. In spite of these facts, however, recruiting for the Reays up to now had been entirely satisfactory, the bulk of the recruits hailing from the Reay Country, while the remainder came from the districts immediately round that territory.¹ Indeed there were few Highland regiments, regular or fencible, that could claim to be so representative as the Reays. The raising of the 93rd, however, in 1799-1800, drew many men from the regiment,² and forced it, for the first time since its embodiment, to obtain a proportion of the recruits required to bring it to strength elsewhere.

R. O., 18th October 1800.—The following recruiting parties to march from hence to Scotland on Monday morning.

Captain Maclean to be stationed at Edinburgh,³ under whose command on that service are to be Sergeant Hugh Morison of Captain Blanche's Company, Sergeant D. Davidson of the Light Company, Corporal John Sutherland of Captain Hunter's Company, Corporal Joseph Morison of the General's Company, Privates Walter Davidson and John Morison of the Light Company, and Donald M'Donald of Captain Morison's Company.

To be stationed in the Highlands⁴ and under the command of

¹ Caithness and Ross-shire supplied most, if not all, the remainder. Recruits seem to have been easier to obtain for the fencibles than for the line, owing to the limited nature of their service.

² On its embodiment in August 1800, the 93rd numbered 34 sergeants and 596 men, 460 of which were Sutherland men; the others were principally from Ross-shire and the neighbouring counties. This number was afterwards augmented to 800, and subsequently to 1000 men.

³ Most of the recruits obtained by this party were Highlanders who had gone south in search of employment.

⁴ This party seems to have had its headquarters at Lairg, and sent recruiters to the various fairs and feeing-markets throughout the country. The recruits were enlisted at

Captain Angus Mackay: Sergeant Andrew Macpherson of the Major's Company, Privates Donald M'Culloch and Hugh Mackay of the Grenadiers, and William Mackay of Captain Blanche's Company. The latter will replace John Macleod, piper, already on the recruiting service under Captain Angus Mackay. Macleod is to join Captain Maclean's party at Edinburgh.

R. O., 19th Oct.—Private Wm. Maclaren of Captain Blanche's Company is to relieve John Campbell of the Grenadiers on the recruiting service in the Reay Country; the latter is to rejoin the regiment with all convenient speed.

The standard of height for the Reays at this time was 5 feet 5 inches, although a few men under the standard could be taken at the discretion of the Colonel. The Grenadiers, whose average height ranged from 5 feet 11 inches upwards, were an exceptionally fine body of men. The average for the "Light Bobs" was about 5 feet 8 inches, but this varied from time to time. The rank and file were of excellent material, and possessed to a marked degree the true martial spirit. There were a good number of young soldiers in the regiment, but the N.-C. officers and many of the privates were experienced men who had a steadying effect on their younger comrades.¹

R. O., 27th Oct.—A detachment, consisting of one sergeant, one corporal, and twelve privates, to march from hence to Tullamore to-morrow morning at seven o'clock.²

R. O., 29th Oct.—Drummer Gunn of the Light Company, and Drummer Sutherland, lately attested, are appointed to the Grenadier Company; Drummer M'Culloch, lately attested, is appointed to the Light Company; Drummer Geo. Connolly³ to remain in the Major's Company.

G. O., Galway, 1st November 1800.—Colonel M'Donnell regrets extremely that any accident should occur in the garrison from soldiers

headquarters. Other parties under Captain A. Mackay (who had been on the recruiting service since October 1799) were stationed in the Reay Country and in Caithness at this time, and seem to have been successful in obtaining men.

¹ Traditional evidence, and contemporary letters and documents.

² This party was employed in assisting the revenue authorities in searching for illicit stills. For every still captured sergeants received 16s., corporals 8s. 6d., and privates 5s.

³ In Major Scobie's pay book the following appears in Drummer Connolly's account: "Nov. 4th, 1800. — Paid Drummer (Larce-Sergeant) Buchanan for teaching you the fife, 11s. 1½d."

being out of their quarters at improper hours, and he directs that the officers of the different regiments will use every exertion to prevent anything of the kind in future. Every soldier found out of barracks after tattoo without a pass from his commanding officer is in future to be lodged in the main guard.

R. O., 2nd Nov.—The Garrison Orders of this day to be read to the men.

R. O., 4th Nov.—The commanding officer understands that the several orders respecting gambling are not attended to by some of the men; he is therefore determined to bring such N.-C. officers and privates who are found guilty to a court-martial.¹

From the time the Reays had arrived in Galway they had continued to maintain their high character, gaining the respect and esteem of the people among whom they were quartered. Unfortunately an incident now occurred to mar this honourable record. A robbery had been committed in the town, and a quantity of money stolen from the house of a merchant; the crime was traced to a soldier of the Reay Fencibles.

R. O., 9th Nov.—Any N.-C. officer or private having any sums of money belonging to John Urquhart, private in Captain Blanche's Company, is to give immediate notice thereof to the Commanding Officer. If it should be found out afterwards that any man had been concealing any money so lodged by Urquhart, he will be considered as an accomplice in the crime of which Urquhart is suspected.²

By a General Order of February 3rd, 1800, hair-powder had been

¹ There were few amusements for soldiers at this time, and gambling was a great temptation to some men who found little to occupy them during the long winter evenings. That the bulk of the men spent their time in a more praiseworthy manner, however, there is no doubt. The following paragraph from a letter by Mrs Scobie of Keoldale, daughter-in-law of Major Scobie, which appears in Dr Mackay's 'Memoir of Rob Donn,' bears testimony to the character of the Reay Fencibles: "During their stay in that country (Ireland), I have been assured by the officers of that corps, that there was not a single barrack occupied by the private soldiers which had not a newspaper as regularly as the commanding officers had theirs; and whoever of the inmates was esteemed the fittest to read, and explain to such as could not read for themselves, were employed to read aloud for the benefit of all. In this way passed their evenings, not in 'rioting and drunkenness'; and the money thus saved was remitted for the benefit of their families and relatives at home."

² This man was shortly afterwards tried by Garrison Court-martial, found guilty, and sentenced for general service, probably in a regiment serving in India or the West Indies. *R. O., Galway, 3rd Jany. 1801*: "John Urquhart of Captain Blanche's Company is to be discharged from the regiment, and marched to the barracks at New Geneva for general service."

ordered to be finally discontinued in the army,¹ but the queue was still retained.² The officers, however, seem to have kept up the use of hair-powder, which was still fashionable in private life.

R. O., 11th Nov.—No officer is ever to appear on parade without having his hair tied according to regulation, and well powdered. The queue to be five inches in length.

As complaints still continued to be made of the irregularities of some soldiers of the garrison, in forcing the country people to sell their potatoes and provisions at greatly reduced rates, Lieut.-Colonel Campbell issued the following order:—

R. O., 14th Nov.—To prevent such irregularities as might at present be attributed to the soldiers of this regiment, the commanding officer directs that no N.-C. officer or private will under any pretence purchase potatoes, as they will be supplied with that article by the Mayor at the market price. To-morrow being market day the regiment will parade at nine o'clock in the Lombard barrack square, and during the time the regiment is on parade no soldier of the regiment is to appear on the streets. A N.-C. officer from each company, with a private from each mess, under the quartermaster, will attend the Mayor, and receive their quota of potatoes and meal. This party to be marched down regularly to the market, for which purpose a piper will be ordered to accompany them.³

R. O., 20th Nov.—A detachment of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, one drummer, and 20 rank and file to march from hence to Athenry to-morrow morning,⁴ to relieve the part of the regiment already there. Ensign Logan for the above command.

R. O., 26th Nov.—The following recruits are posted as follows and to commence pay from the first September: Wm. Mackay, Wm.

¹ This order was undoubtedly a welcome one, for although no gentleman of fashion ever appeared without it, it was very troublesome to those who did not aspire to that title.—Gardyne, vol. i. p. 87.

² The flank companies wore their hair plaited, the battalion companies clubbed. False queues or tails were worn by men whose hair was too scanty to admit of it being tied behind properly.

³ It was the custom for all fatigue or market parties to be accompanied by a piper, who played them to and from barracks.

⁴ This party returned to headquarters in the middle of January 1801. A detachment under Captain Hunter was stationed at Loughrea at this time, but for how long does not appear, and I am unable to trace the names of any other officers with this detachment. It probably returned to the regiment some time in January or February 1801.

Ross, and John Macleod to the Grenadier Company; John Campbell, Hugh Macleod, Andrew Sutherland, George M'Kay, John Mackay, Hugh Mackay, and Donald M'Donald to the Major's Company; Donald Mackay and Alex. Mackay to Captain Blanche's; Duncan Mackay, Wm. Mackay, and Robert Sutherland to Captain Maclean's; George Mackay and Alex. Mackay to Captain Angus Mackay's; Geo. Sutherland and Wm. Mackay to Captain Hunter's.

R. O., 29th Nov.—To-morrow being St Andrew's Day, the officers paying companies will advance one day's pay this evening after parade. The pipers of the Reay Highlanders, with those of the Glengarry Highland Regiment, will play round the streets at three o'clock to-morrow evening. The two regiments will parade at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning in the Castle barrack square, the men to be in full Highland dress, and the officers in white breeches, half-boots, with the Highland bonnet. The pipes to play off at half-past ten o'clock precisely. Tattoo to beat one hour later. The commanding officer trusts that the men will behave themselves in an orderly manner.¹

In celebration of the national saint's day the officers of the two Highland regiments entertained the gentry round Galway to a dinner, which was largely attended. During the dinner some of the guests expressed a wish to hear the pipes, and accordingly one piper from each regiment was sent for. Their excellent playing was highly appreciated and loudly applauded by the assembled company, after which each man received a dram and a present of money.²

R. O., 23rd Dec.—Twelve of the last joined recruits will fire 14 rounds of blank cartridges to-morrow immediately after guard mounting.

At this time a regimental court-martial assembled for the trial of a corporal who had been guilty of a breach of discipline.

R. O., 24th Dec.—Corporal Macleod reduced yesterday by the sentence of a regimental court-martial, is this day restored to his former rank of Corporal in Captain C. Mackay's Company, at the request of Lieutenant Hanly of the Galway Loyal Volunteers, who has, in a manner highly honourable to himself, come forward and interceded with the commanding officer on Macleod's behalf.

¹ For the rank and file the celebrations in honour of the patron saint would have likely taken the form of Highland games followed by a dance in the evening, in which the men of both regiments would have taken part.

² Traditional evidence.

While the Reays were in Ireland, their distinctive garb attracted much attention, especially in the more out-of-the-way districts, and was the cause of many amusing incidents. By all respectable Irishmen it was known as the badge of a *brave and kind-hearted race*. It is related how on one occasion a sentry was approached by a benevolent old lady, who, taking pity on his "undressed" appearance and thinking to do him a kindness, bought him a pair of warm breeks. The garment, however, found no favour with the hardy Gael, and it was handed over to the first poor Irishman who came along! The Highlanders were frequently asked by some ragged native, "Aren't ye cowld widout your breeches?"¹

¹ Communicated by Mr Hugh Nicol, Canada.—The kilt was found by the men to be a handy and serviceable garb for campaigning in. Trousers were never worn except for fatigues, and even then not by all the men.



An Officer of the Duke of York's Rifle Corps.

From the 'British Military Library.'

CHAPTER XVI.

DURING the spring and summer of 1800, the work of carrying out the Union of Ireland with Great Britain had been steadily proceeded with. At first it had met with fierce opposition on all sides, and at one time serious fears were entertained that the loyalist yeomanry, who had contributed so largely to the suppression of the rebellion, would resist the Union by arms.¹ Feeling ran especially high in Dublin² and its neighbourhood, and the garrison of the capital was strongly reinforced. By June, however, most of the opposition had died down, particularly in the southern and western counties.³ "The country," says Lecky, "had begun to look with indifference or with a languid curiosity to the opening of a new chapter of Irish history, and it was this indifference which made it possible to carry the Union. . . . In the last and most critical phases of the struggle the Opposition found themselves almost wholly unsupported by any strong feeling in the nation." In June 1800 Cornwallis wrote: "Notwithstanding all reports, you may be assured that the Union is not generally unpopular, and it is astonishing how little agitation it occasions even in Dublin, which is at present more quiet than it has been for many years."⁴

On June 6th the Opposition address was moved in the Irish House of Commons by Lord Corry, and defeated by 135 to 77, and the Union

¹ Lecky, vol. v. p. 357.

² Some of the more prominent supporters of the Union were attacked on more than one occasion by furious mobs, who attempted to throw their carriages into the Liffey, and it was found necessary to guard the streets by patrols of cavalry as in a period of rebellion.—Cornwallis Correspondence; Lecky, vol. v. p. 386.

³ This change was mainly due to the assurances held out by the Union Party that the British Cabinet intended to grant complete emancipation to the Catholics.

⁴ Cornwallis Correspondence; Lecky, vol. v. p. 415.

bill then passed quickly through its remaining stages. After being sent to London, where it speedily passed through both Houses,¹ the Union received the royal sanction on the 1st August, the anniversary of the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty to the British throne.² The new Union Standard, combining the crosses of St George, St Andrew, and St Patrick, was first hoisted in the capitals of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and on all fortresses and garrisons, upon the Act of legislative union becoming an operative law, January 1st, 1801.

In Galway and its neighbourhood the event seems to have caused little excitement, and the bulk of the people accepted the new state of affairs with equanimity; disturbances, however, took place in some parts of the country.

Garrison Orders, Galway, 29th December 1800.—In conformity to the Lord-Lieutenant's orders, the Union flag will be hoisted at one o'clock on the 1st of January 1801, at which hour the guard will mount and the regiments parade, in place of the usual hour. The flag will be escorted by the guard from the place where it is kept to the flagstaff, at half-past twelve o'clock. It will be escorted back by the piquet at sunset. A sentry will be placed on the flagstaff, for which purpose three men will be added to the guard. The artillery will fire a Royal Salute on the flag being hoisted, agreeable to orders.

R. O.—The officers in charge of companies to see that their men have a good dinner on the first January, when Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell will go round barracks and visit the different messes, all officers to attend.

R. O., 31st Dec.—One day's pay to be advanced to each man this evening. The regiment to parade at one o'clock to-morrow in full dress and as strong as possible. Tattoo to beat one hour later, when the commanding officer trusts that every man will repair quietly to his quarters.

Faction fights were of common occurrence in Galway at this time, as they are to this day, and the Reays were often called upon to assist

¹ The only serious danger the Union encountered in Britain was from the jealousy of the commercial classes, and their opposition seems to have been almost wholly directed against the clause which permitted the importation of British wool into Ireland.—Lecky, vol. v. p. 408.

² Lecky, vol. v. p. 417.—The King, in proroguing the British Parliament, declared that the Union was a measure he had long wished for, and declared it to be the happiest event of his reign.

in quelling them and in pacifying the opposing parties. Fairs and market-days appear to have been occasions which offered the most favourable opportunities for these disturbances. The amusing sight was also frequently witnessed of some wild spirit (generally the worse for liquor) spoiling for a fight, walking the streets trailing his swallow-tailed coat along the ground, the sleeves being tied round his waist. This was a mode of challenge to all and sundry which was soon taken up, and a fight ensued which usually resulted in broken heads!¹

R. O., 4th Jany.—A return of the number of little kilts (feilebeag) and hose wanting to complete the recruits of the different companies to be given in to the quartermaster to-morrow morning on guard mounting.

Lieutenant Grant for guard to-morrow in room of Lieutenant Donald Mackay taken sick.

R. O., 15th Jany.—A detachment under Lieutenant Nisbet, consisting of one sergeant, one drummer, and twenty rank and file to march to Athenry to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, to relieve a party of the regiment at present there.

R. O., 17th Jany.—Soldiers obtaining passes are in future to have them made out in the orderly room by the regimental clerk, who will register the same, so that such men may be properly accounted for in the states and returns of the regiment.

G. O., Galway, 21st Jany.—It is the intention of Lieutenant-General the Earl of Clanricarde² to see the troops of the Galway Garrison in marching order on Saturday, the 24th instant.

R. O.—In consequence of the above the commanding officer expects that the men will have their arms and accoutrements in the best possible order. No man to be absent on that day.

At the first settlement of arrears with the regiment the men are

¹ Hence the saying "*to trail your coat.*"—Told by Mr H. Nicol, Canada.

² Commanding the Western District with headquarters at Loughrea. At this period General Officers received no pay as such except when employed in some definite position on active service, when a special allowance was voted them by Parliament. At other times, unless they held command of a district, the Governorship of a fortress or a colony, or the Colonelcy of a regiment, they received nothing beyond the pay or half-pay of their regimental rank. Unless, therefore, a General held one of the three first-named billets, a Colonelcy, through the emoluments derived from clothing, was the only recompense that could be given him in time of peace, no matter how long or distinguished his service.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 901.

to be charged with the kilts and hose lately delivered by the quartermaster at the following rates—viz., sergeants' kilts, 8s. 8d.; privates' do., 6s. 10½d.; and hose, 1s. 10½d. per pair—all Irish money.

G. O., 23rd Jany.—The Glengarry and Reay Highland regiments to be on the green at ten o'clock to-morrow morning in marching order for the Lieutenant-General's inspection. The artillery and detachment of the 9th Dragoons to parade at the Castle barracks in marching order at eleven o'clock.

R. O.—The regiment will parade to-morrow morning as strong as possible at half-nine o'clock, and march to the grand parade by ten o'clock. The men to be in their belted plaids, the officers to be in white pantaloons and half-boots.

The inspection was entirely favourable, as appears by the following:—

Garrison Orders, Galway, 24th January 1801.—Colonel McDonnell¹ is happy to announce the approbation which Lieutenant-General the Earl of Clanricarde has been pleased to express of the state and appearance of the garrison at this day's inspection.

(Signed) D. McDONNELL,
Colonel, Commanding Garrison.

R. O., 27th Jany.—An exact return to be given in to-morrow morning at parade time of the names and companies of those men who are billeted in the town.

The apparent apathy of the people of Ireland regarding the Union, which had prevailed during the passing of that measure, still continued. Many parts of the country, however, were still infested with dangerous gangs of marauders, and there was much systematic anarchy. A French invasion, it was feared, would be widely welcomed, and one of the first acts of the Imperial Parliament had been to continue both martial law and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in the proclaimed districts.

During the latter part of 1800, the great number of troops that had been withdrawn from the British Isles, in order to enable the Government to organise expeditions against France and Spain,² and

¹ This officer was commanding the garrison in the absence of General Meyrick.

² Attacks had been made upon the forts in Quiberon Bay, the fortress of Belle-Isle, and upon Ferrol, Vigo, and Cadiz. In September 1800 a large force had assembled at Gibraltar, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, consisting of about 20,000 troops; of these about 15,000 accompanied Sir Ralph to Egypt in January 1801.

wrest Egypt from the clutches of Bonaparte, had necessarily weakened the forces in Ireland, and at a time they could ill be spared. To bring the garrison of Ireland to its greatest strength the following General Order was published:—

A. G. Office, Dublin, 22nd Jany. 1801.—It is H.E. the Lord-Lieutenant's order that all officers of the Line, Fencibles, and Militia on leave of absence in Great Britain, excepting those on the recruiting service, and those attending their duty in Parliament, do join their respective corps on or before the first day of March next, notwithstanding any former leave.

In a later order, dated 27th January, all men on furlough in Great Britain were to be recalled so as to be with their respective corps on the first day of March.¹

The following incident is said to have occurred about this time: A certain well-to-do resident of Galway returning home late one evening to his house on the outskirts of the town, was suddenly attacked by a gang of armed footpads—with which "gentry" Ireland at that time abounded! They were about to murder him in cold blood for his money, when his cries for help fortunately attracted to the scene four soldiers of the Reays who were returning to their barracks. On the appearance of the soldiery the roughs at once decamped, but the Reays, drawing their bayonets, immediately gave chase. The thieves, however, showed a clean pair of heels, and the Highlanders giving up the pursuit returned to where the unfortunate merchant was lying, bathed in blood. Having roughly bound up his wounds, they managed to obtain from him his address, to which they carefully bore him, and after handing him over to his family took their departure. On his recovery, the grateful merchant hastened to the barracks, offering, through Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, a handsome reward to those who had been the means of saving his life; but although the offer was repeated more than once no one came forward to claim the reward.²

¹ All recruits at the different recruiting stations were also directed to join their respective corps in Ireland without loss of time.—General Orders, 30th Jany. 1801.

² Traditional evidence. Why the reward was not claimed by these men may perhaps be attributed to the ancient Highland belief that it was wrong to receive money "either for preserving the life of a friend or destroying the life of an enemy." (See the case of Sir John Moore and the Highland soldiers at Egmont-op-Zee.—'Memoir of Colonel John Cameron,' by the Rev. Archibald Clerk, Kilmallie, p. 28; and Gardyne, vol. i. p. 71.)

On the 13th February, Brigadier-General Meyrick, who had reassumed command of the garrison of Galway, inspected the two Highland regiments in full marching order, and expressed his entire satisfaction at their turn-out and serviceable appearance.

R. O., 16th Feb.—The commanding officer expects that no deficiencies will appear at the next inspection of necessaries. In future, when the regiment appears in marching order, the great (watch) coat belt, and also the strap belonging to the pack which goes across the breast, will be fastened underneath the accoutrements.

The following flattering order was published by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell.

R. O., 19th Feb.—Should it unfortunately happen that any sergeant of the Reays can so far forget himself as to be guilty of any offence or misconduct which may subject him to be sent to the guard house, or to be tried by a court-martial, such sergeant in future instead of the ordinary mode of confinement is to be sent to his room, delivering up his side-arms to the sergeant-major, and to remain under arrest until such time as he is acquitted, or liberated by the order of the Commanding Officer. *The correct conduct of the sergeants in general has entitled them to this compliment.*

R. O., 22nd Feb.—One sergeant and six privates to march to-morrow morning at seven o'clock to Tullamore, where they will take delivery of three bales of regimental stores and escort them here.

R. O., 23rd Feb.—No officer is to appear in the streets without being properly dressed in regimentals, and with his belt and sword.¹

R. O., 24th Feb.—In compliance with an order received from Lieut.-General the Earl of Clanricarde, the General's Company will hold itself in readiness to march to Loughrea to-morrow morning at eight o'clock. The baggage to be loaded upon cars this evening and left in charge of the Lombard barrack guard. Captain-Lieutenant Maclaren will receive from the paymaster subsistence for himself and the company for the ensuing month. The men to

¹ In those days officers, when present with their corps, always wore uniform. Speaking of this, Colonel Gardyne says, "the habits of all classes were more homely (at that time), and less money was required to support the position of an officer. Except in the hunting-field, uniform was always worn, and thus the great expense consequent on plain clothes was avoided."—Gardyne, vol. ii. p. 393.

be in marching order, and the officers¹ in grey pantaloons and half-boots. The master-tailor, fogleman, Wm. Ross the recruit, and such of the band as belong to the General's Company will remain at headquarters.

This company did not return to the regiment until the following November. During the time it was away it was frequently employed in quelling faction fights, breaking up treasonable meetings, and in other trying duties now performed by the Royal Irish Constabulary,² in the execution of which it earned the repeated thanks of the civil authorities.

R. O., 26th Feb.—William Mackay, the recruit who was inspected yesterday and approved of, will be put on the strength of the regiment and posted to Captain Maclean's Company.

R. O., 1st March.—Lieutenant David Logan, having passed his examination with applause before the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin, is appointed to act as Assistant Surgeon to this regiment until such time as H.E. the Lord-Lieutenant's pleasure shall be known. Mr Logan's appointment may be considered as having taken place from the first January 1801, that being the date of Mr Shaw's commission as Surgeon to the 15th Foot.

R. O., 2nd March.—Angus Morison of Captain Clarke's Company is appointed Corporal in the Major's Company in room of Connelly reduced by sentence of a regimental court-martial.³

R. O., 3rd March.—As the commanding officer sees it probable that a considerable time may elapse before a supply of plaid tartan⁴ will arrive from Scotland, he therefore directs that the men are to mount guards and do all other duties in the philibeg until further orders. Perhaps on certain days they may be particularly ordered to the contrary. The pay-sergeants of companies to be answerable

¹ The other officer with this company was Ensign Roderick Macqueen.

² This splendid force was organised by Drummond in 1836, and "has proved, perhaps, the most valuable boon conferred by Imperial legislation upon Ireland, and has displayed in the highest perfection, and in many evil days, the nobler qualities of the Irish character."—Lecky, vol. v. p. 427.

³ It does not appear why this man was reduced. By his name he was probably one of the recruits sent to the regiment at Belfast.

⁴ For making up into belted plaids. The Reays wore the belted plaid for guards, reviews, inspections, and in marching order until their disbandment in 1802. In several histories of our Highland regiments it is stated that the belted plaid was not worn in those corps much after 1795. The Reays appear to have been an exception.

that the old belted plaids are properly put up and taken care of in the meantime, and to be particularly attentive that none are in the smallest degree wet or damp when put up.

R. O., 5th March.—It surprised the commanding officer yesterday very much to see, notwithstanding the goodness of the weather, a great number of the men wearing their watch-coats. These coats are intended entirely to shelter the soldier from the inclemency of the weather whilst *under arms*, and are therefore never to be worn on any other occasion.

The foraging caps (humble bonnets) are in future only to be worn when the soldiers repose themselves on the guard bed, or when ordered on fatigue or working parties, they are to be worn in place of the bonnet.

A detachment of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 20 rank and file to march to Gort to-morrow morning at seven o'clock. Lieutenant Ballantine for the above duty.¹

Owing to the death of Lieutenant Mickleham, who died while on recruiting duty in Scotland,² the following order was published:—

R. O., 9th March.—Persons having any claims against the late Lieutenant Mickleham will give them in properly substantiated, on or before Monday the 16th instant, to Major Scobie. It is at the same time requested that such as stand indebted to him will pay the same into the Major's hands on or before that day.

R. O., 12th March.—A command of 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 20 rank and file under Ensign Scobie³ to march to Athenry to-morrow morning at half-past six o'clock.

The first payment of the colonel's allowance for shoes to the regiment, commencing from 18th June 1800, will be issued by the paymaster in the next abstract at the following rates—viz., sergeants, 7s.; drummers and rank and file, 5s. 6d.—all Irish money. There will be a regimental order issued for the men to turn their old coats, till which time no man's coat to be turned.

The recruiting parties of the regiment seem to have been successful

¹ This party was relieved by a detachment of the Glengarries and returned to Galway on the 10th March.

² Lieut. Mickleham had been employed in recruiting under Capt. Maclean at Edinburgh since October 1800.

³ Ensign Scobie returned to headquarters on the 17th March, and was replaced by Lieut. Nisbet. The detachment rejoined the regiment early in June.

in obtaining recruits, and numbers joined the regiment from Scotland at this time.¹

R. O., 2nd April.—Corporal Norman Mackay is appointed Corporal over the pioneers, in room of Corporal Donald Calder, dismissed to his duties till further orders.

R. O., 10th April.—A detachment² of 1 sergeant and 20 rank and file under Ensign Coates to march to Gort to-morrow morning, to relieve the detachment of the Glengarries quartered there.

On the 13th, 14th, and 15th April the Glengarry Fencibles left Galway,³ much to the regret of the Reays. During the year they had been quartered together a firm friendship had sprung up between these two typically Highland corps,⁴ and their parting, in consequence, seems to have been celebrated by a "carouse," in which poteen whisky flowed freely. Many a Gaelic expression of goodwill would have been exchanged, and the streets of Galway would have re-echoed to Highland toast and song far into the night! Such irregular conduct at any other time would have called down the severest punishments

¹ Some of the young men appear to have enlisted against the wishes of their parents, whose sole support they were. It is related that one lad, the only son of a widow woman residing in the parish of Durness, enlisted with a party of the regiment; but that when the widow heard of what her son had done, she took a pound note, and travelling on foot all the way to Tongue, where the recruiting party was then stationed, gave the note to the sergeant in charge, to enable her son to be released from his engagement. The sergeant knew well that the woman could ill afford to part with such a sum, and being of a kindly disposition, took the note saying: "Gabhaidh mi air aise an tastan, ach iar-ruibhse air gun leithid dheanamh a ris cha' neil fios agaibh na bhitheas agams' ri sheasamh air a shon!"—"I shall take the shilling I gave him, but you will remember to tell him never to enlist with another, as you little know what I may have to stand for!"—Told by Mrs Munro, Rl-Tongue, parish of Tongue, a grand-daughter of the sergeant.

On being enlisted a recruit received the "King's shilling," but if he repented his bargain before being sworn in, he paid one pound, called "smart money."

² This party returned to Galway in May, on being relieved by a detachment of the South Cork Militia.

³ 'Edinburgh Advertiser,' Tuesday, May 26th, 1801.—"Extract of a letter from Galway (Ireland), April 13th. This morning the first division of the Glengarry Regiment marched from hence for Naas and Kildare. The extreme good conduct of the officers and privates of this excellent regiment during a continuance of above a twelvemonth among us, merits every praise, their peaceable and subordinate demeanour rendering them what the army should always be—a blessing to the citizens; with real concern we hear of their departure, and congratulate the inhabitants where they are going. May their successors imitate their unoffending and conciliating behaviour."

⁴ The Glengarries, like the Reays, were pre-eminently a clan and district corps, more than one-half of the men hailing from the Glengarry Country, while the remainder came from the Moidart portion of the clan. (See Appendix, "List of Fencibles.")

upon the offenders, but under the circumstances it would have likely been forgiven.¹

On the departure of the Glengarries they were relieved by the South Cork Militia² under Lieutenant-Colonel St Leger.

R. O., 17th April.—Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell recommends to the young officers who have lately joined the regiment, and to such others as may be conscious of their own deficiency,³ to put themselves immediately under the charge of a proper drill who will be recommended to them by the adjutant for that purpose.

On the 23rd of April 1801 the amended regulations for the clothing of the army were issued, which accepted the old system with some few changes of detail only.⁴ The principal addition was the issue of greatcoats, which were supplied for the first time to the whole of the troops,⁵ the nation generously providing the first batch of them, and leaving it to the colonels to maintain them out of the allowance for watch-coats.⁶

R. O., 25th April.—Such officers as wish to be supplied from

¹ Sobriety was not an outstanding characteristic of our countrymen, civil or military, at this time, but while the vice of intemperance was considered a crime in the army, in civil life it was pardonable conviviality. Drunkenness in the Reays, however, seems to have been comparatively rare, and references to it in the order books are few and far between. This very creditable state of affairs was without doubt due to the stern manner in which it had been lately put down by the Church in Sutherland.

² This regiment, which was mainly a Catholic one, had served throughout the rebellion, and had fought well in several engagements, but, like most of the Irish militia, was not exempt from the general charge of cruelty and licentiousness.

³ Some officers, no doubt, were not so well acquainted with their drill as they might have been. Col. Gardyne tells the story of a certain officer in the Gordons who, having got his company clubbed during battalion drill, was heard to give the very practical if not very military command—"Threes; back again afore the Cornal sees ye!" N.B.—Movements were made either by "threes" or by "fours."—Gardyne, vol. ii. p. 20.

⁴ New rules were framed to reduce the fluctuations in the colonel's emoluments as far as possible. The expense of providing shoes was overcome by the issue to every private of two pairs of shoes, in lieu of his half-mounting, and to every sergeant of three shillings in addition. "The extreme cunning of the Treasury in shielding the nation from additional expense on account of shoes and greatcoats is very characteristic!"—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 902.

⁵ The new coats were issued to the troops in Ireland in March 1801, and were to "be renewed every four years if found necessary. Commanding officers to be responsible that their corps are kept complete with them during that period, and that the men are only allowed to wear them when on duty. General Officers at the half-yearly inspections will consider the greatcoats as part of the men's clothing that they are to be provided with."—General Orders, Dublin, 7th April 1801.

⁶ This allowance amounted to one shilling yearly for every man, but had been increased after 1798 by the abolition of lapels, whereby twenty pence was saved on the price of a soldier's coat.—'Hist. of Brit. Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 902.

Dublin with the regulation plume¹ will give in their names before retreat-beating to the quartermaster-sergeant.

The orders that had been issued from time to time regarding the wearing of Highland dress by the officers had invariably been allowed to fall into abeyance, but now Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell decided that the officers should resume their proper regimental dress.

R. O., 29th April.—The officers will make what preparations may be necessary in order to appear in the Highland dress—viz., kilt and bonnet, on Thursday the 7th of May.

G. O., 2nd May 1801.—In future the retreat to beat at half-past seven o'clock and tattoo at nine. The garrison will parade in marching order on Tuesdays and Fridays until further orders.

During the time the Reays were quartered in Galway several of the officers appear to have purchased Irish horses of a good stamp and breed and sent them home to Sutherland. Ireland has always been justly famed for the excellence of its horseflesh, and the Irish dealers no less so for their extreme cunning, as some of the purchasers seem to have found to their cost! One officer, it is said, bought what appeared to be a likely-looking animal at a somewhat exorbitant price from one of these dealers, who in clinching the bargain exclaimed, "Indeed, sorr, it's lucky ye are to hav' him; he's a grand baste, and for lepping you'll not foind his equal in the whole of Ould Oireland!" The "baste," however, afterwards turned out to be totally unsound and worthless!

R. O., 13th May.—The quartermaster will cause the new plumes to be served out to-morrow morning after parade, and will take care that they are so fixed to the bonnet by means of a piece of black leather as to take out and in at pleasure,² in the same manner as the officers' plumes do. The men to be charged for the plumes at the following prices—viz.: Grenadiers, 3s. 10d.; Battalion, 3s. 10d.; Light Infantry, 3s. 3½d.—all Irish money.

R. O., 17th May.—If the weather be fair the men will appear to-morrow with their new plumes.

R. O., 23rd May.—The staff sergeants,³ drummers, and men in the

¹ Meaning the hackle or feather for the full-dress bonnet.

² To enable them to be taken down and cleaned when required.

³ The sergeant-major, quartermaster-sergeant, and paymaster's clerk. The drum-

ranks entitled to $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day additional pay to be settled with on Monday first by the paymaster for the current month.

On the 25th of May Lord Cornwallis resigned the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and was succeeded in the post by the Earl of Hardwicke. The new Viceroy soon became deservedly popular by his mild, tolerant, and honest administration. Under his rule the work begun by Cornwallis of rebuilding and repairing the Catholic chapels which had been burnt or wrecked after the rebellion was steadily carried on. The country, however, was still held as a garrisoned country, and the Jacobin spirit, though seldom openly displayed, was still prevalent, especially among the Catholic population.¹

R. O., 30th May.—Ensign Macqueen² will take over charge and payment of Captain A. Mackay's Company from Lieutenant Campbell until further orders.

R. O., 2nd June.—The quartermaster will issue ammunition to fourteen of the recruits, at twelve rounds each, to-morrow after guard-mounting.

In accordance with an Order in Council the colours of all regiments were to be altered to the great Union (St George, St Andrew, and St Patrick), and displayed on His Majesty's Birthday (4th June) on the occasion of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.³

In compliance with this order, the colours of the Reay Fencibles, which had been presented to the regiment at Perth and borne throughout the rebellion, were now retired, and a new stand brought into use.⁴ The new set were first displayed on the Birthday parade.

G. O., 3rd June 1801.—The troops in garrison will assemble on the grand parade to-morrow morning by 12 o'clock, and fire a *feu-de-joie* in honour of His Majesty's Birthday.

major, clerk-sergeant, and sergeant master-tailor were also called staff-sergeants, but were not officially mustered as such, and received extra pay from the regiment.

¹ The utter failure of the gentry and bishops to procure emancipation soon threw the more energetic Catholics and the lower priesthood into a course of agitation which altered the whole complexion of the question and enormously increased its difficulty and danger.—Lecky, vol. v. pp. 464-7.

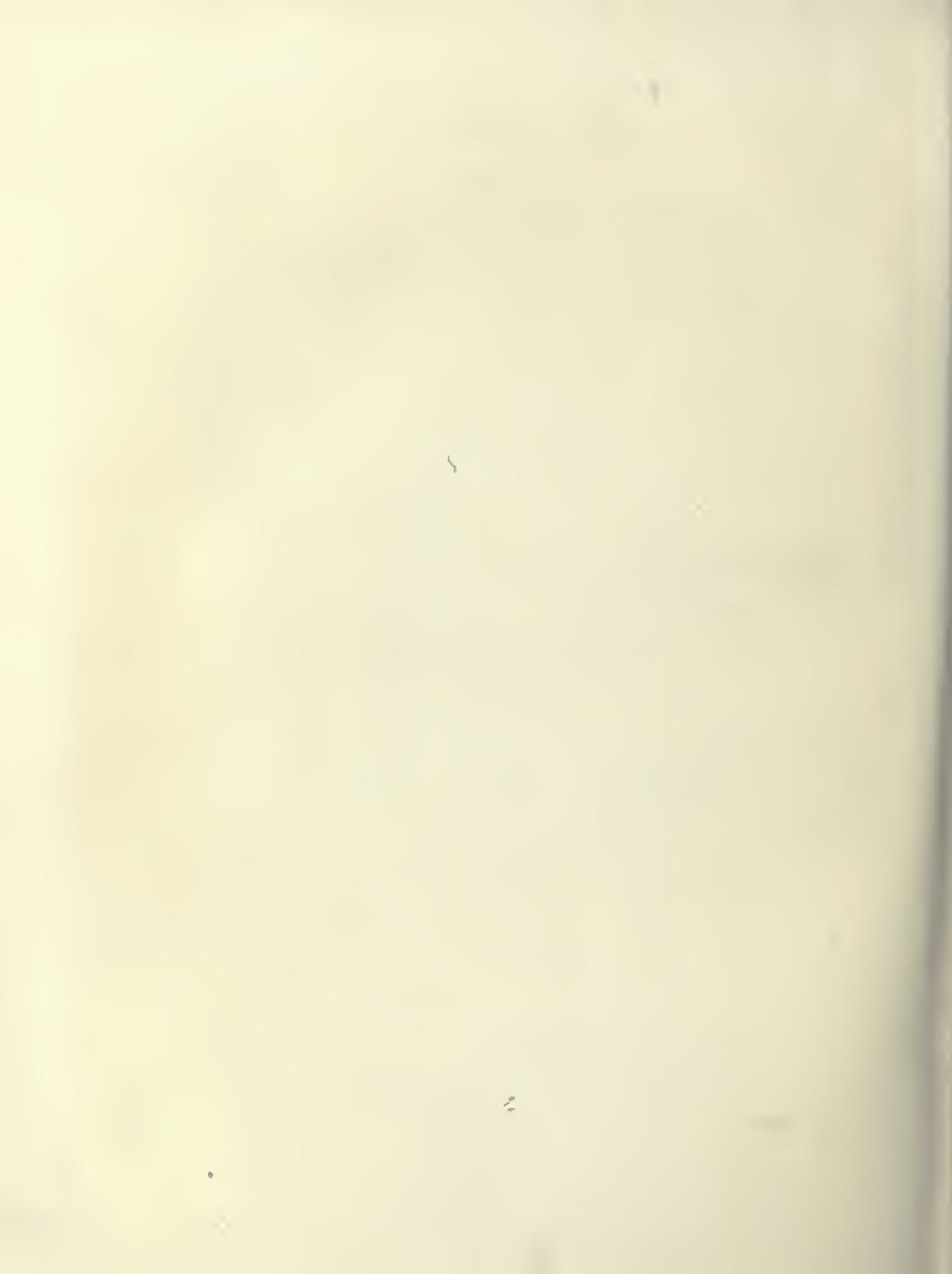
² This officer had been recalled from Loughra in April, Lieutenant Baillie taking his place. On Capt.-Lieut. Maclaren being appointed to the 91st in August 1801, Lieut. Baillie took over command of the Colonel's company until its return to headquarters in October, when Lieut. Grant, as senior subaltern, took over charge and payment.

³ New colours could be brought into use if wished, or the old ones adapted by adding the cross of St Patrick and the shamrock.

⁴ See p. 78, *note*.



KING'S COLOUR OF THE SECOND SET OF COLOURS.



R. O.—The regiment to parade to-morrow morning at half-past 11 o'clock, and march to the general parade by 12. The men to be in full Highland appointments, and as neat and clean as possible. The regimental officers to be in Highland dress, with jackets open, and without gorgets. The Field officers and Staff officers¹ in white breeches and boots.² The pipes to play off at 11 o'clock precisely. Three rounds of blank cartridges and a flint to be delivered to every man on the parade. No man to be absent.

R. O., 4th June.—A detachment of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 20 privates to march from hence to Athenry at 5 o'clock to-morrow morning,³ to relieve the party of the regiment already there. Ensign John Mackay for the above duty.

The Reays were often, in the course of their movements, quartered at the residences of the local gentry. These invariably treated them courteously. On one occasion, on a Sunday, a party of Reays, consisting of a corporal and two privates, were billeted on a certain gentleman who thought to entertain them with some music and dancing, and kindly invited them to partake of that form of festivity. This naturally somewhat embarrassed the Highlanders, who were taught to reverence the Sabbath, and put them in an awkward dilemma. However, thanking their host for his kindness, they explained to him that it was not the custom of their country to dance on Sunday, however much they might do so on other days. The

¹ The Staff officers were the adjutant, paymaster, quartermaster, surgeon, and assistant-surgeon.

² According to an extract from the Standing Orders of the regiment the officers' dress was of four kinds, "no deviation to be made in the same on any account whatever":—

Full Dress.	Dress.	Undress.	Marching Order.
The complete Highland uniform; or as for Dress, but lapels buttoned entirely back.	Regtl. jacket, lapels partly turned over (to show 3 buttons and lace) or buttoned entirely back. Regtl. bonnet. White pantaloons with Hessian boots. Regtl. sword, belt, plate, gorget, and sash. Velvet stock. White leather gloves. Hair powdered.	The same as for Dress, except that the lapels of the jacket are to be buttoned over, and the pantaloons to be of grey cloth, and worn with hussar or half-boots. Undress bonnet or foraging cap with feather.	The same as for Undress, except that the field service jacket or frock may be worn. Hair to be dressed but not powdered. Regtl. bonnet to be worn.

For Court or Ball dress white stockings and buckled shoes might be worn instead of boots.

³ This party rejoined headquarters in August.

gentleman good-naturedly took their excuse, and apologised for having interfered with their conscience in the matter.¹

Some of the men having been guilty of irregular conduct, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell issued the following order:—

R. O., 9th June.—The commanding officer has of late observed with sincere concern that some of the men have given themselves up to the idle and unsoldier-like practice of being out of their quarters after hours. He is determined to overlook it no longer, and hopes it will be quite sufficient to deter them from such conduct in future by assuring them that scarcely anything will sooner tend to sully the high character which the Reays have justly obtained than perseverance in this disorderly practice. The N.-C. officers are hereby strictly enjoined to report all absentees between tattoo and reveille.

A. G. Office, Dublin, 10th June 1801.—His Majesty has been pleased to appoint General Sir William Meadows, K.B., to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland.²

In a General Order to the Army, dated Dublin, 11th June, the new Commander-in-Chief expressed himself as being “extremely proud to find himself at the head of the Irish Army. An army with discipline in proportion to its bravery has little to fear from any force the enemy can bring against it. The admirable system laid down by Marquis Cornwallis is to be continued and strictly adhered to, and every regiment to pay the most rigid attention to His Majesty’s regulations.”

The recent regimental order regarding officers wearing Highland dress had not been complied with by all, owing probably to the difficulty in obtaining the various articles required at short notice.

R. O., 10th June.—The commanding officer finds it necessary in order to ensure proper uniformity that the officers do in future continue to wear grey pantaloons, half-boots, and round hats with a cockade and regulation feather; except on Sundays, when they are to wear white pantaloons, half-boots, and the Highland bonnet. Should it be necessary on a review or field day that they should appear in the full Highland dress, they will always have a day’s previous notice, and such officers as cannot appear in this dress must absent themselves from the field on such days.

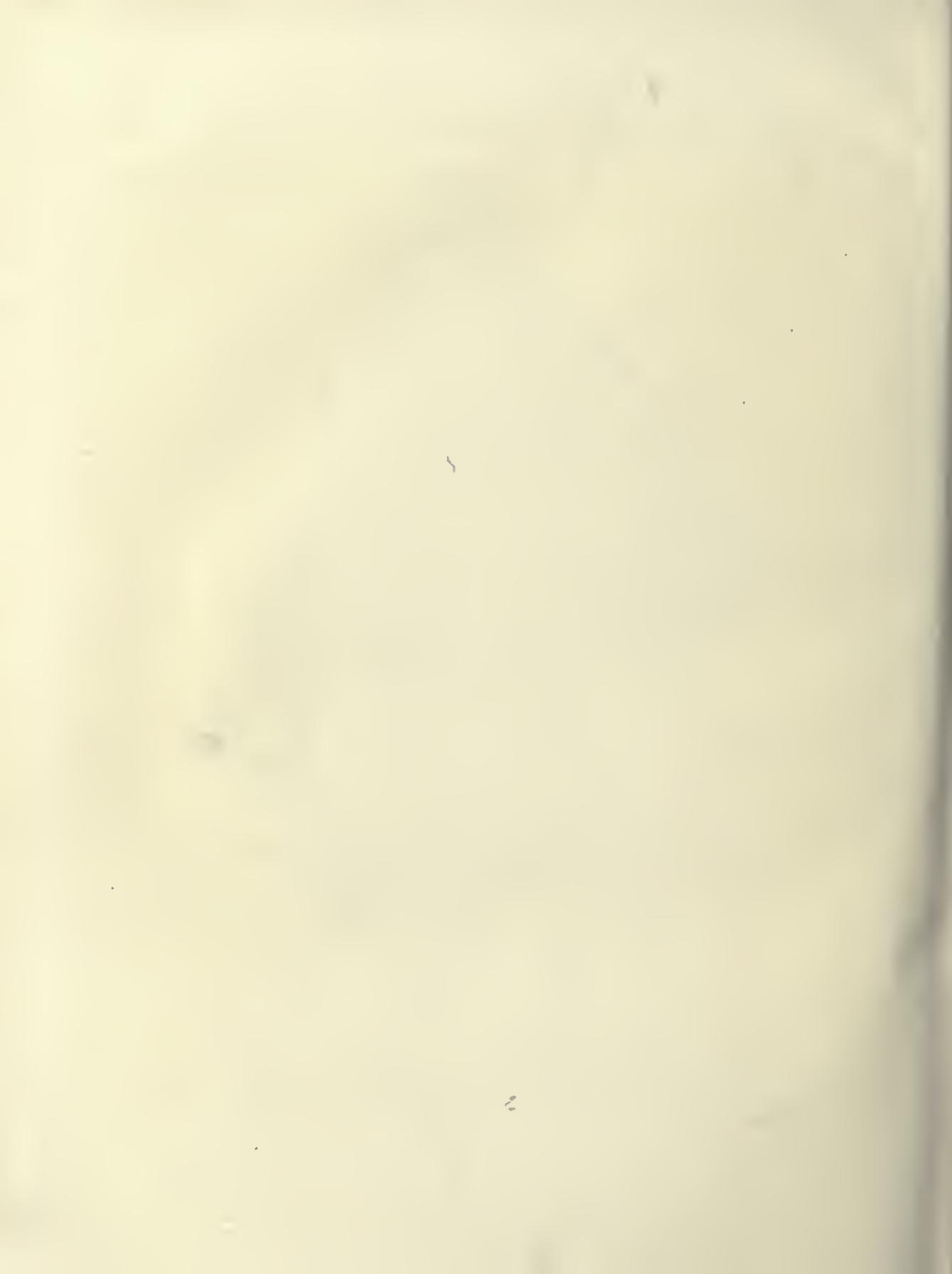
¹ Communicated by Mr Hugh Nicol, Stratford, Ontario, Canada.

² By an Army Order of 9th June the Duke of York had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Great Britain and Ireland.



REGIMENTAL COLOUR OF THE SECOND SET OF COLOURS,
NOW IN ST GILES' CHURCH, EDINBURGH.

(From 'Old Scottish Regimental Colours,' by kind permission of the Author, Mr ANDREW ROSS, Ross Herald.)



R. O., 21st June.—The regiment will bathe on Mondays and Wednesdays, when the weather permits, until further orders.

R. O., 26th June.—A detachment to march to Gort to-morrow morning at 5 o'clock, consisting of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 20 rank and file. Lieutenant Grant for the above duty.¹

This detachment, while performing protection duties at a place near Gort, was attacked on one occasion by a riotous mob, who were only dispersed after the troops had opened fire, killing and wounding several of the rioters.

R. O., 27th June.—No N.-C. officers or soldiers are to appear in the town with coloured handkerchiefs round their necks. Any men in future who may be seen without their stocks on will be confined. When walking in the country side-arms are to be carried, and the men otherwise properly dressed.

R. O., 29th June.—Sergeant Alex. M'Leod of the Light Company is removed to Captain Hunter's Company, and Sergeant Angus Mackay of that company appointed in his room.²

The following incident is said to have occurred while the Reays were stationed at Galway:—

There lived in the town at that time an Irishman of formidable size and strength, well known throughout the countryside as a pugilist and a professional "bully." On one occasion while a number of the Reays were gathered in a certain tavern quietly enjoying a "dram," in came the Irish giant to pick a quarrel with the kilted lads. He challenged any of those present to a combat of fisticuffs, but as Highlanders were not used to using their fists, however well they might use their hands in other ways, none took up the challenge. "They had not come into his country," they said, "to provoke quarrels but to prevent them." Emboldened by this pacific reply the Irishman challenged the best man in the regiment to stand up to him. This was too much, and one of the Highlanders present, by name Huistean Beag (Little Hugh),—a man of small stature but

¹ This detachment returned to headquarters in July.

² Probably on account of some irregularity committed by M'Leod, as it was considered an honour to belong to a flank company. "The captain of the Light Company," says Colonel Gardyne, "could, with the approval of the commanding officer, select any man from a battalion company, taking only smart men who were also good marchers and shots, so that to wear the green hackle and bugle was considered a sort of promotion."—Gardyne, vol. ii. p. 83.

of great activity, took up the challenge. The room was cleared, and the two men, stripping off their coats, faced one another. Huistean knew nothing of the "noble art" of self-defence, but he warily eyed his huge antagonist, waiting for a favourable opportunity to deliver an attack. Pat advanced, expecting to end the combat by a single "knock out" blow, but the Highlander was too quick for him. Ducking his head, Huistean made a rush at the Irishman, butting him in the stomach with such force as to lay him senseless on the floor. A crowd had by now assembled, and their indignation was great at the fall of their champion. A rush was made for Huistean, but his comrades, drawing their bayonets, formed a ring round him and bore him safely from the house.¹

¹ This incident bears a close resemblance to one told of the 93rd when they were stationed in Ireland in 1803.—See 'Sketches of Sutherland Characters,' p. 160.



*A Private of the Reays and a Sergeant of the Glengarry Fencibles
in week-day walking-out uniform, 1801.*

CHAPTER XVII.

DURING the summer of 1801 the regiment was regularly exercised; Mondays and Saturdays appear to have been given up to battalion drill,¹ Tuesdays and Fridays to brigade drill, Wednesdays to a field-day, and Thursdays were usually a day of rest. At this period exact and precise parade movements were the great essentials, and musketry practice was but little attended to. The drill of the day was taken from Major-General David Dundas's² 'Eighteen Manœuvres,' a work founded on the Prussian system and introduced in 1792.³ The pace was slow—75 paces to the minute; the quick-march 108 paces to the minute; and the double-quick time numbered 150 paces.⁴ Ranks were three deep,⁵ but occasionally two deep, as in skirmishing; steadiness under arms was insisted upon, of which marching past was a test.

G. O., 3rd July.—The two regiments to assemble for exercise tomorrow morning at the same time and place as formerly ordered.

(Signed) A. DUNBAR, *Brigade-Major.*

R. O., 4th July.—On application to Captain Clarke the master-tailor will receive £83, 19s. 6d., being the money due for fitting the last clothing, which is to be distributed equally among the tailors.

¹ Parades were sometimes held in the afternoon as well as morning.

² Afterwards Sir David Dundas. At this time he was serving on the staff of the Irish Army.

³ So much was there that was rigid, formal, and unnecessary in Dundas's drill, that it gained for him the nickname of "Old Pivot"; while he also made the fatal mistake of distributing the whole science of military evolution into 18 manœuvres, which were a sad stumbling-block to slow-witted officers.—Fortescue, vol. iii. p. 535.

⁴ "Instructors are on no account whatever to drill recruits without a pace stick, nor without having frequent recourse to the stop-watch or plummet; the vibrations of the latter should be marked occasionally by the tapping of a drum. . . ."—Dundas's 'Rules and Regulations.'

⁵ The three-deep formation was abolished in 1808, and the drill-book slightly altered from time to time.—Gardyne, vol. ii. p. 9.

R. O., 14th July.—As a subscription has been solicited from the regiment by the secretary of the Committee appointed to conduct and appropriate for the benefit of the widows and orphans of our gallant countrymen who have fallen in Egypt, the commanding officer directs that the captains and officers having charge of companies will give him a list of men's names who are willing to contribute one day's pay each towards this laudable and benevolent purpose.¹ The officers have already unanimously agreed to contribute their proportion.

General Orders, A. G.'s Office, Dublin, 20th July 1801.—It is to be observed that in all recommendations for promotions by purchase, it is necessary to certify that the officer recommended is the senior of his rank in the regiment.

R. O., 23rd July.—A detachment of 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 20 rank and file under Ensign Macqueen to march to-morrow morning to Athenry, where they will relieve the party of the regiment already there.²

The recruits who have not as yet fired ball cartridges will parade to-morrow morning at six o'clock in the barrack square in order to practise at a target.³ They are to have six rounds per man issued to them. The cartridges issued for this purpose to be such as are chafed a good deal by wear and likely soon to fall loose, but not otherwise damaged.

R. O., 25th July.—The men to wear their new clothing on Sundays till further orders.

R. O., 26th July.—The paymaster having paid the officers in charge of companies beer money for June and July, and the Colonel's allowance for shoes from the 18th December 1801 to June 1802, the men's

¹ The sum of £46, 8s. 9d. was raised, sergeants paying 1s. 6¼d., corporals 1s. 2¼d., drummers 1s. 1¾d., and privates 1s.

² It rejoined headquarters in September.

³ There were no proper musketry ranges in those days, and the firing usually took place in the barrack square. *What* happened if a man made a bad miss is not recorded! The targets were of wood or iron, about five feet in diameter, and painted black, with three broad white rings. The "stop-butt" consisted of a small mound of earth behind the target, which was not always sufficient to retard the further progress of the ball! The firing was divided into four ranges: the 1st for the recruit at 50 yards, the 2nd at 80 yards, the 3rd at 100 yards, and the 4th at 120 yards. A few selected marksmen were permitted to fire up to 200 yards. The men fired standing or kneeling, and could use a rest; the "piece" "always to be brought up to the object, and each shot pointed out, so that the man may correct his fault."

accounts are to be credited with the same and debited with their subscription for the widows and orphans of the army in Egypt.

R. O., 4th Aug.—The ball cartridges expended by the recruits in practice the other day will be replaced to the companies by the quartermaster, the number of recruits ninety-seven, at six rounds per man.

It having been represented to the commanding officer that some of the regiment practise a mode of fishing called "snatching,"¹ which he understands is highly injurious to the interests of the gentleman who is proprietor of the salmon-fishing here,² he expects, therefore, that it is only necessary to mention this circumstance to detain any one from transgressing in future. Should any one, notwithstanding, so far lose propriety as to continue in this practice, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell assures them that they will be tried for disobedience of orders.

R. O., 7th Aug.—William Mackay and Murdo Mackay of the Grenadiers have got their hair cut according to the mode in which it is henceforth to be worn by the regiment. All the rest of the N.-C. officers and men will therefore get their hair immediately cut and dressed in the same manner, with the difference only that the battalion companies are still to wear clubs, although in front exactly in conformity to the above-mentioned pattern.

R. O., 10th Aug.—The regiment will assemble for exercise to-morrow as usual; the pioneers, officers' servants, &c., to attend.

R. O., 20th Aug.—A detachment consisting of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 20 rank and file to march from hence to Gort at five o'clock to-morrow morning to relieve a detachment of the South Cork Regiment doing duty there. Lieutenant Nisbet for the above duty.

There seems to have been a "misunderstanding," as Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell calls it in orders, at this time between the Reays

¹ This form of poaching is not unknown at the present day! The men had been given permission to fish in the river Corrib, provided they did so in a legitimate manner. There was also good fishing to be had on the lough of that name—the second largest lake in Ireland. Most of the men would have been expert fishermen either with rod or line.

² The salmon-fishing on the river Corrib was a valuable asset. About ten tons of salmon were taken yearly out of the river.

and South Cork Militia,¹ arising from some trivial cause. For a time no case of open hostility occurred, but matters at length reached a climax, and the two regiments were preparing to come to blows, further complications only being prevented by the prompt interference of the officers on both sides.

R. O., 3rd September.—It is with infinite concern that Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell hears that some misunderstanding has arisen between the Reays and South Cork Regiment. He hopes, however, that he may rest assured that the Reays will not allow their resentment to carry them too far on this occasion, which will only be the means of reflecting disgrace and dishonour on their commanding officer, and show their want of confidence in him, which he trusts he does not merit.

The redress of any grievance they may have should always proceed through him and not at their own hands. Should, therefore, in future any man belonging to this regiment experience any improper treatment from the South Cork, he assures them that on their representing the case to him he will procure most ample redress by laying the circumstance before Lieutenant-Colonel St Leger, who is determined to punish with the utmost severity any of his men transgressing in this manner in time to come.

On the other hand, should any man belonging to the Reays so far forget his duty as a soldier to behave in an unbecoming manner to the South Cork, that man, be he who may, shall be punished with the most rigorous severity. Let the contest henceforward be which of the corps can show the greatest attention to the other, and let every degree of animosity be reserved for the common enemy.

(Signed) COLIN CAMPBELL, *Lieut.-Colonel.*

R. O., 9th Sept.—The recruits lately joined to be paid by Captain Angus Mackay² to the first current, and henceforward by the different captains into whose companies they have been incorporated. The

¹ Like many other Irish militia regiments of that day, the South Cork would have had a good many men of the lowest character in its ranks.

² Captain Mackay had rejoined from recruiting duty on the 30th Aug., bringing the above-mentioned recruits (about twenty in all) with him. The recruiting in the Highlands was now carried on under the supervision of Captain Morison, who had been away from the regiment since September 1800, part of which time (from Sept. to Dec. 1800) had been spent on leave. He is first shown as on recruiting duty in Jan. 1801, and continued on that duty until he returned to the regiment on the 15th Dec. 1801.

quartermaster will this day issue out to them their kilts and hose tartan. Recruits Neil and William Sutherland and William Gunn, the three rejected yesterday as unfit for service, to be immediately discharged and given twenty-eight days' pay to carry them home.

R. O., 18th Sept.—As the garrison is to be reviewed by the Commander-in-Chief on Sunday next, the commanding officer directs that upon that day the officers do appear in full Highland dress, the men also to be in full dress, in marching order, at the hour ordered. As the men will have the whole of to-morrow allowed them for that purpose, he expects that in their persons, arms, and appointments they will be perfectly clean and soldierlike. The review returns to be ready for the commanding officer's signature by eight o'clock on Sunday morning.

R. O., 19th Sept.—The regiment will be ready to receive the Commander of the Forces to-morrow precisely at two o'clock. The pipes to play off at one o'clock, when the regiment will fall in and be ready to march off to the general parade by half-past one. The men are not to parade in marching order—that is, they are not to have their packs or watch-coats on, but to be dressed in the complete Highland dress as mentioned in yesterday's orders. The quartermaster will issue eighteen rounds of blank cartridges per man on the parade.

The result of the inspection was entirely satisfactory, the Commander-in-Chief expressing "his highest approbation of the appearance of the garrison this day."

R. O., 20th Sept.—The complimentary orders from the Commander-in-Chief to be read to the men this evening at roll-calling.

The hackles or plumes of the regimental bonnets, which had been worn at varying heights at different periods, were now fixed as follows:—

R. O., 22nd Sept.—Officers, sergeants, grenadiers, light company, and band's plumes 12 inches, battalion plumes 8½ inches above the cockade. The white part of the battalion plumes to be dyed a deep black, and the red part dyed as red as possible.¹ The grenadiers'

¹ Why this change of colour was decided on is not recorded, but it may have been in order to save the constant washing the red and white plumes required to keep them clean. In other Highland regiments the colours of the hackles were sometimes changed, but only for a time. The colours of the hackles for regiments were not laid down until about 1809, when the universal rule was, Grenadiers, white; Battalion, red and white; and Light Company, green.

plumes as at present entirely white, and the light company entirely green.

R. O., 25th Sept.—The men to receive their provision money¹ for the month of June and July. The commanding officer expects that the officers and men will be ready to sport their new black and red plumes on Sunday seenight.

Officers for duty to-morrow, Lieutenant Ross for the market fatigue, orderly officer Lieutenant Scobie.

R. O., 29th Sept.—The regiment will be mustered to-morrow at two o'clock, officers' servants to appear in uniform with arms and accoutrements on muster days till further orders.

R. O., 1st Oct. 1801.—The commanding officer finding that it will be impossible for the men to provide themselves in black and red plumes against Sunday next, he therefore allows them until Sunday seenight in order that they may procure proper ones.

During the summer and autumn of 1801, parties of the Reays were frequently employed in confiscating illicit stills and smuggled whisky, in which, at this time, a large trade was carried on in the rural districts of Ireland.² The performance of these duties often incensed the people of the districts affected, and it is related that a party of the regiment³ whilst engaged in seizing some stills at a lonely spot in the mountains near Oughterard, was attacked by a number of illicit distillers and smugglers, and in the struggle that ensued one sergeant and three men were severely wounded,⁴ and several of their assailants killed before the remainder were driven off.

On the 6th October a regimental morning order was issued

¹ This allowance to the men, to defray the extra price of provisions, was not allowed after July, as may be seen in the reply to a memorial of Colonel Campbell's, requesting that the sum of £27, 5s. 4d. (Irish) might be issued to the regiment for the current month—*i.e.*, September. The reply, dated A. G. Office, Dublin, 18th Sept. 1801, mentions that the memorial had been laid before the Lord-Lieutenant by the Commander-in-Chief, who had expressed his surprise that "such an application would be made considering the season of the year and the circumstances of the country." From this we may gather that the country (at any rate in the Galway district) was recovering from the effects of the bad harvest of 1799.

² Illicit whisky distilling is still carried on to a considerable extent among the mountains of the north and west of Ireland.

³ This party, which was under the command of Lieut. S. M. Scobie, consisted of one sergeant, one drummer, and twenty rank and file.

⁴ They were: Sergeant John Mackay, and Privates Wm. Mackay and Donald Mackay of the Major's Company.

REGIMENTAL UNIFORM IN 1801.

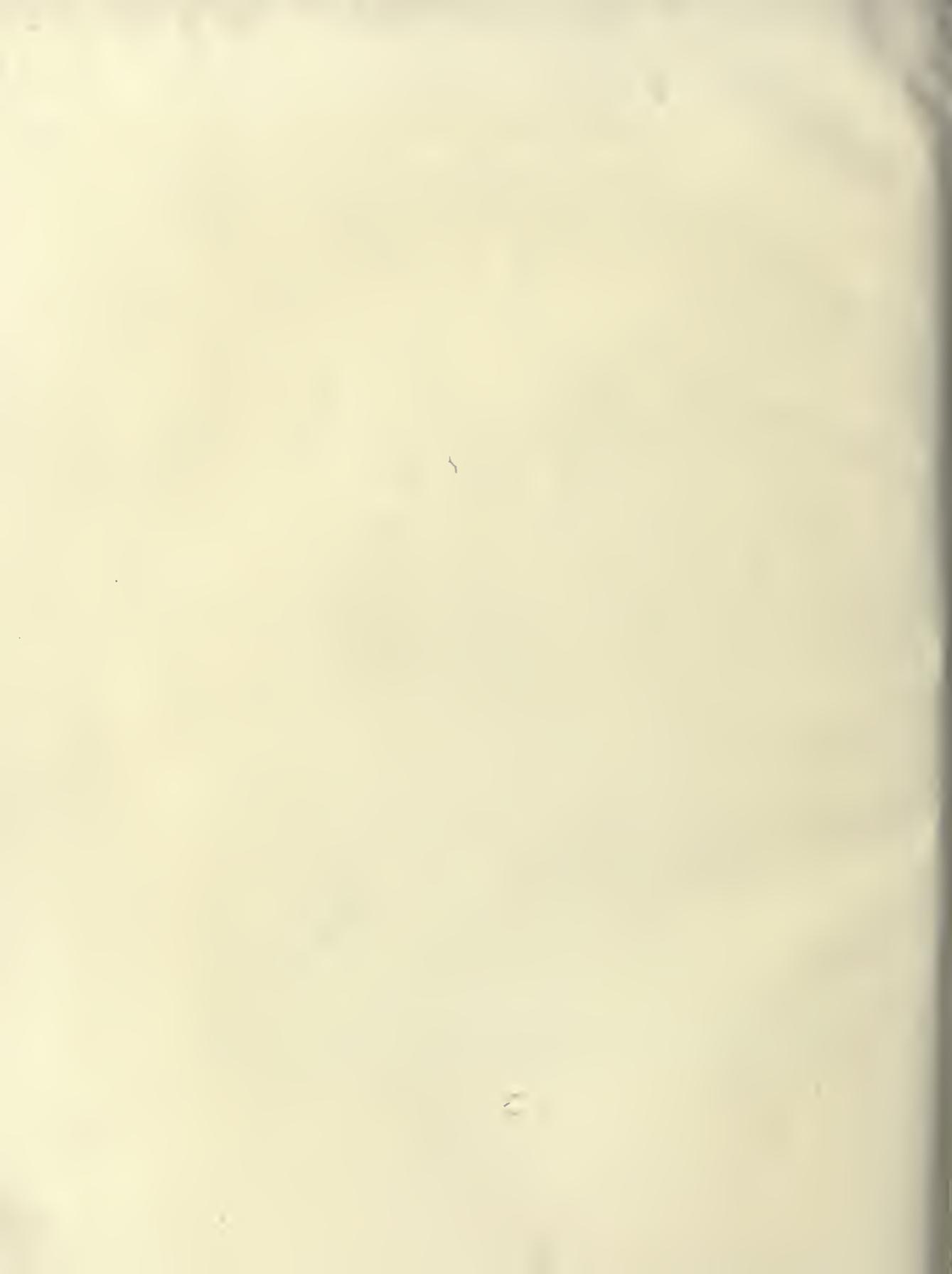
1. Field Officer (full dress, or review order).
2. Private (fatigue dress).
3. Sergeant, Grenadier Company (review order).
4. Officer, Battalion Company (review order).
5. Private, Battalion Company (drill order).
6. Corporal, Battalion Company (review order).
7. Piper, Light Company (marching order).
8. Private, Light Company (marching order).



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

REGIMENTAL UNIFORM IN 1801.

(From a Coloured Drawing by the Author.)



announcing to the regiment that preliminaries of peace had been signed on the 1st inst. between Great Britain and France. The same evening the barracks were illuminated, and an extra issue of beer was made to the men in honour of the occasion.

At this time twenty-six men were ordered to be discharged on the report of Brigadier-General Meyrick, "they being old and unfit for further service." These were men who had joined the regiment on its raising.

R. O., 29th Oct.—The captain first for detachment will prepare to march with his company from here to Loughrea on the 31st current, to relieve the General's Company which has been detached there for some time past. The quartermaster to have the usual number of cars ready the evening before for the conveyance of the baggage.

Captain Angus Mackay's Company for the above duty.

R. O., 30th Oct.—Captain A. Mackay's Company to march for Loughrea at half-past six o'clock to-morrow morning. The men to be in their belted plaids in marching order, the officers¹ in grey pantaloons and half-boots.

The General's Company under Lieutenant Baillie returned to headquarters on the 31st instant. The behaviour of this company during its eight months' stay at Loughrea had reflected great credit on the regiment, as appears from the following:—

Garrison Orders.

LOUGHREA, 30th October 1801.

The company of the Reay Fencibles being ordered to Galway are to march to-morrow morning precisely at seven o'clock, previous to which time the barracks occupied by them will be given up to the Barrack Master.

The regular, exemplary, and soldier-like conduct of this company while quartered in Loughrea is highly creditable to themselves, and must be very satisfactory to the regiment.

R. O., 1st Nov.—Lieutenant Grant will take charge of the payment

¹ The other officers with this company were Lieut. W. Ross and Ensign Donald Ross. Captain Mackay returned to headquarters at the end of December prior to proceeding on leave of absence, leaving Lieut. W. Ross in command. The company returned to the regiment in the middle of January 1802.

of the General's Company, vice Captain-Lieutenant D. Maclaren appointed to the 91st Foot.

G. O., Galway, 2nd Nov.—In obedience to the General Orders of the 26th ultimo, the South Cork Regiment will assemble at twelve o'clock to-morrow on the general parade to fire a feu-de-joy.¹ The Reays having no blank cartridges,² and no means of procuring any, cannot comply with the above orders.

R. O., 6th Nov.—The master-tailor will settle with the tailors employed in making up the watch-coats at the rate of 1s. 6d. for each sergeant's coat, and 1s. for the drummers and rank and file.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell appears to have been a firm and experienced officer, as zealous for the good name of the regiment as his predecessors, and a worthy successor to Bighouse and Lieutenant-Colonel Ross.

R. O., 7th Nov.—The commanding officer expects that the sergeants of the regiment will be diligent and attentive to the perusal of the small-books³ committed to their charge on the 2nd current, and make themselves thoroughly masters of their contents, and otherwise use every exertion in their power to support the very high character which the Reays have so justly acquired, and which he trusts in God they will maintain to the last. He recommends the General Orders prefixed to their books to the particular attention of the sergeants.

(Signed) COLIN CAMPBELL, *Lieut.-Colonel.*

R. O., 9th Nov.—Corporal John Macdonald of Captain Blanche's Company is appointed sergeant in room of Sergeant Colin Sinclair promoted to a lieutenancy in the Sandside Company of the Sutherland Volunteers.⁴

¹ In celebration of the capitulation of Cairo to the British Army under General Hutchinson, 27th June 1801. The French army, numbering 13,672 in all (including civil servants), were conveyed back to France in our ships.

² This deficit was probably owing to the large amount of blank cartridges that had been lately expended in practising so many recruits in firing.

³ These books contained the General Orders for the Army in Ireland, as well as the Regimental Standing Orders compiled when the regiment was raised, and which had been added to or altered at different times.

⁴ The Sutherland Volunteers were raised and embodied in 1798, and although called volunteers were in reality a kind of militia for local defence, and drew pay like an ordinary Fencible regiment. Eric Lord Reay was Hon. Colonel. No less than five companies were raised in the Mackay Country—viz., the Bighouse, Farr, Tongue, Durness, and

R. O., 29th Nov.—To-morrow being St Andrew's Day, the men will appear in their full Highland dress, the officers in bonnets and white pantaloons. The men to receive one day's advance of pay this evening. The regiment will be mustered at eleven o'clock to-morrow, when every man not on duty is to attend. The pipes to play round the streets at three o'clock.

Owing to the recent cessation of hostilities with France and Spain,¹ it was expected that the fencible regiments would be shortly disbanded, according to the terms of their raising. In consequence of this the new clothing for the fencibles (and militia), which was to have been delivered on the 25th December, was ordered to be withheld till further orders, as also the issue of money in lieu of half-mounting due on that day.²

R. O., 11th Dec.—The commanding officer is sorry to find that in contempt of orders the four under-mentioned men of Captain Hunter's Company were out of their barracks till a very late hour last night: Hugh Mcleod, John Mclean, John Mcpherson, and John Macaskill.³

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell assures the men of the regiment that he will be under the disagreeable necessity of punishing with the utmost severity any person so transgressing in future. He trusts, however, that as their service is so soon likely to be at an end that they may finally close it in the same honourable manner as they have

Eddrachilis Companies, and they seem to have swept into their ranks all the able-bodied men that were left in those districts. This regiment continued in existence for some time after 1808, when it was disbanded. According to General Stewart of Garth, "the Volunteers of Sutherland,—a county conspicuous for willing and excellent soldiers,—showed in 1804 that the name 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 country, in all 600 miles. They marched to Linlithgow, and, after being disciplined there for some time, returned to Sutherland." The uniform of this corps was the Highland dress and red coat with yellow facings.

¹ The preliminaries of peace were signed in London on the 1st October 1801, and finally ratified by the Peace of Amiens, March 1802.

² *Vide* letter from the regimental agents (Messrs Armit & Borough), dated Dublin, 4th December 1801.

³ The last named was evidently the same man of whom mention has already been made. Macaskill after the disbandment of the regiment returned to his native parish of Durness, where he died at the great age of 103. It was his wont to regale his neighbours with stories of the Fencibles in Ireland, and in every escapade or spree he figured himself as the hero. After his death a facetious neighbour cut the following on his gravestone: "*Here lies the hero John McKaskil.*" His grave may yet be seen in Balnaskill Churchyard, Durness.—Communicated by Dr Hew Morrison, LL.D., and Captain William Morrison, retired A.M.S., Edinburgh.

hitherto served, and not disgrace themselves by such irregular conduct and practice. The four men above mentioned to attend extra drill for a fortnight.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell kept his eye on all ranks.

R. O., 12th Dec.—No officer is ever to appear in a coloured neck-cloth or white stock except at evening parties. When walking out officers will be pleased to carry their swords in their belts and not in their hands.

R. O., 15th Dec.—Officers in charge of companies will take care that their men be provided with a good dinner on Christmas and New Year's Day. They will advance each man 1s. 6d. for this purpose.

R. O., 18th Dec.—The ten recruits¹ just joined are posted to companies as follows: Duncan McIntosh, Lachlan Clunes, Kenneth Mackay, Andrew Sutherland, and Alex. Simson, to Captain Morison's Company; Simon McIntosh, John Stewart, Alex. Austin, David Walker, and Wm. Sim, to Captain Hunter's Company.

The two recruits, Simson and Sim, rejected this day by the Staff Surgeon and Brigadier-General Meyrick, are to be discharged, and to receive 28 days' pay to carry them back to Scotland.

According to a General Order, dated A. G. Office, Dublin, 15th December 1801, all N.-C. officers and men serving in regiments of the line and fencibles (both cavalry and infantry), who from age or other causes were unfit for further service, were to be discharged in all possible cases before the 25th of December; "those men to be recommended for the bounty of Kilmainham Hospital as may be deemed entitled thereto, and the usual advance of pay to be made to carry the men discharged to their respective homes."

R. O., 19th Dec.—Agreeable to the General Orders of the 15th instant, the surgeon and adjutant to assist in particularising and pitching upon the men who are to be discharged previous to the 25th current. Such men to be paraded to-morrow morning at one o'clock for General Meyrick's inspection. A roll to be made out of

¹ By their names some of these recruits had evidently been enlisted by Captain Maclean's party stationed at Edinburgh. This party had been withdrawn early in December, and rejoined headquarters on the 16th of that month. The parties in the Highlands under Captain Morison and Ensign Donald Ross also returned to the regiment on the 16th December. Recruiting for the fencibles appears to have been stopped about this time, in view of the probability of their early disbandment.

their names, length of service, &c., distinguishing the names of such as have been wounded by an asterisk, cross, or some such mark. A copy of this order and of the General Orders of the 15th instant to be transmitted without delay to Captain Mackay at Loughrea, in order that such men of his company as fall within the description may be sent here as soon as possible.

R. O., 20th Dec.—The commanding officer finding that yesterday's orders respecting the men who are to be discharged has been misconceived by the men, thinks it necessary to acquaint them that it is only the old and unserviceable men who are to be discharged, and all the men who have been wounded are to be paraded at the same time for the General's inspection, whether young or old.

R. O., 22nd Dec.—The captains and officers commanding companies are to settle with the men who are to be discharged on the 24th instant, giving them credit for the bonnets due,¹ and advancing them 28 days' pay to carry them home.²

The quartermaster will issue to-morrow forenoon the kilts and hose tartan to the eight recruits who were incorporated on the 18th instant.

The following method of selecting for promotion may strike the modern soldier as distinctly original, but it had at any rate the advantage of avoiding any discontent or jealousies among the many deserving cases!

R. O., 23rd Dec.—The commanding officer proposes filling up the vacancies in the rank of sergeant as follows:—

The officers commanding companies to give in on a slip of paper the names of the most deserving men in each company, which names so given in are to be collected into a heap in a bonnet, and then well shaken together, the names as separately drawn therefrom to succeed to the different vacancies until all are filled up.

The names of the most deserving privates of as old a standing as possible in the regiment to be given in, with a view of filling up the different vacancies of corporals in a like manner.

As the regiment has a prospect of soon leaving this place on its way to Scotland, the commanding officer earnestly recommends to

¹ Viz., 1s. 7½d. for a sergeant's, and 1s. 1d. for a private's bonnet. A reduction was also made "for the plaids which the men now wear."

² 48 N.-C. officers and men received their discharge.

the men to settle any little debts which they may have incurred with the inhabitants without delay, as scarcely anything can be more disgraceful to a corps than to see it surrounded by clamours and duns on the eve of its march.¹

R. O., 24th Dec.—Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell trusts that the men who are to be discharged to-day are fully satisfied that every justice has been done them both in respect to pay and clothing.

(Signed) COLIN CAMPBELL, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*
Commanding Reay Highlanders.

R. O., Galway, 31st Dec. 1801.—As to-morrow is New Year's Day, the commanding officer will visit the different men's messes at the dinner hour; officers to be with their companies. An advance of one day's pay to be given the men this evening. The regiment will parade in full dress at twelve o'clock to-morrow, the pipes to go round the town at half-past eleven. Tattoo to beat one hour later, when the commanding officer expects every man will repair to his quarters in an orderly manner.

R. O., 5th January 1802.—Alexander Mackay, Piper to the Grenadier Company, is appointed in the same, and to receive drummer's pay from the 25th December last.

R. O., 8th Jany.—A regimental court of inquiry, composed as below, will assemble to-morrow morning after parade. Such soldiers as may have any claims against the regiment will state the same in writing to the court.

Major SCOBIE, *President.*

Members.

Captain Morison.

Captain Hunter.

„ C. Mackay.

„ Maclean.

These orders to be read to every company this evening.

R. O., 9th Jany.—The court of inquiry having adjourned until Monday morning, the commanding officer takes this opportunity to acquaint the men that should they trouble the court by giving in frivolous and unfounded claims, they are liable to be tried by court-martial and to be severely punished. Should, therefore, any such have been given in this day through ignorance or misinformation, they have still time enough to withdraw the same. The claims are

¹ That the men attended to this order will be seen later.

all left in the hands of Major Scobie, who will give up such as are wished to be withdrawn.

General Orders, A. G. Office, Dublin, 8th January 1802.—Notwithstanding the orders of the 4th December last, the new clothing of Militia and Fencibles in Ireland is to be forthwith issued to those troops.¹

R. O., 15th Jany.—A return of the spare arms in possession of companies to be given in at orderly room before parade time tomorrow. The arms (fire-locks) belonging to the band of musick to be considered as spare.² These arms to be put in good order, as the commanding officer expects soon an order to deliver them up.

R. O., 20th Jany.—In obedience to a route received, Captain Hunter's Company³ will march on Friday, the 22d current, to Loughrea, to relieve Captain A. Mackay's Company at present quartered there.

R. O., 22nd Jany.—It appears by the Clothing Regulations of August 1801, that the colonel furnishes yearly to each N.-C. officer and soldier the following, viz. :—

1 coat.	4 pairs of hose.
1 waistcoat.	3 yards of plaid, or
1 bonnet.	6 yards once in two years.

And in lieu of half-mounting, 11s. for each drummer and rank and

¹ The new clothing for the Reays was accordingly sent to the regiment, fitted by the tailors, and inspected and passed by a board composed of the three senior officers, the following certificate being rendered :—

GALWAY, 4th February 1802.

We, the subscribers, have this day examined and inspected the clothing of the Reay Highlanders, consisting of 40 sergeants' coats and waistcoats, 22 drummers', and for 584 rank and file, which ought to have been commenced on the 25th December last. We find the fabric or texture of the cloth unexceptionable, but whether or not the coats are cut according to His Majesty's Regulations we cannot say, no sealed patterns having been sent to the regiment either for sergeants or rank and file, but judge that they are conformable thereto from General Myer's certificate.

(Signed) COLIN CAMPBELL, *Lt.-Col., R. H.*
JOHN SCOBIE, *Major, R. H.*
HUGH MORISON, *Captain, R. H.*

Major-General Myers was Inspector of Clothing, and in a certificate dated Cork, January 11th, 1802, certifies that "the clothing of the Reay Fencibles is conformable to the sealed patterns."

² The musicians were armed with claymores, supplied at the colonel's expense.

³ The other officers with this company were Ensigns Coates and Frend. The company rejoined headquarters in April.

file, and one purse once in seven years. By the same regulation¹ all other articles of clothing are to be paid for out of the soldiers' pay.

R. O., 25th Jany.—Major Scobie will take over the charge and payment of Captain A. Mackay's Company² until further orders.

R. O., 27th Jany.—The commanding officer begs to return his thanks to the officers for the neat and clean appearance of their men's barrack rooms at yesterday's inspection, particularly those of Captain C. Mackay's Company.

At this period, recruiting for the Navy being unsatisfactory, press-gangs were abroad in all our seaport towns and openly carried on their nefarious traffic. In Galway, parties of the Reays, under a subaltern officer or sergeant, were sometimes called upon to assist the naval authorities in boarding ships which put into the port. Not infrequently the crews resisted, when the naval officer in charge ordered ammunition to be served out and fire to be opened on the vessel—in some cases with fatal effect. At the inquiry held in such cases the action of the naval authorities was usually upheld.

R. O., 6th Feb.—In future when the men parade for any fatigue they will invariably do so in the proper fatigue dress.³ The N.-C. officer in charge of the party to be in full uniform.

R. O., 12th Feb.—The commanding officer finds that most of the men's claims at the recent court of inquiry are founded upon the book of regulations, or Standing Orders of the Kingdom, not taking into account that they are annulled by the Warrant bearing date of 7th September 1795. Furthermore, there have been several warrants of a later date issued, all of which may be found in the regimental orderly book. A copy of the first-mentioned warrant to be inserted

¹ This regulation, which first appeared in 1800, also provides for two good pairs of shoes yearly. At this time General Baillie paid for clothing as follows: sergeants' tartan, 2s. a yard; privates' tartan, 1s. 1d.; hose tartan for 1 pair hose ($\frac{3}{4}$ of a yard), 2s. 2d.; sergeants' bonnets (humble), 1s. 7½d.; privates' bonnets, 1s. 1d.; coat and waistcoat, 4s. 10½d.; shoes, 6s. per pair; gartering, 3d. a yard.

² Captain A. Mackay had obtained leave to Scotland on the 10th January. His leave expired on the 10th April, but he was granted an extension of two months. Certified sick in Scotland, June 1802, and remained on sick leave until disbanded, 13th October 1802.

³ The fatigue dress of the regiment was the forage cap (or humble bonnet), stock, white waistcoat (with sleeves), grey trousers or little kilt, hose, and buckled shoes. (See Plate III. of uniform.) This dress corresponded to the present-day canvas clothing.

in the companies' order books and read to the men by the orderly sergeants at roll-calling this evening.

R. O., 14th Feb.—The report of the court of inquiry upon the under-mentioned claims¹ are as follows:—

No. 1 claim by Sergeant-Major Cochran well founded and settled.

No. 2 claim by Sergeant Donald Mcleod unfounded.

No. 5 claim for bounty-money by the band referred to General Baillie.

No. 14 claim by Drummer Willock unfounded, not having enlisted for a twelvemonth after the period from which he makes his claim.

No. 19 claim by John Kennedy for 6s. 6d. British money well founded, to be paid him by Captain Angus Mackay.

No. 27 claim by Angus McArthur doubtful.

No. 29 claim by Sergeant Joseph Mackay and party for revenue duties performed under the command of Lieutenant Baillie well founded and since settled.

The claims by all the companies for articles of clothing, half-mounting, and utensil money due them, the commanding officer hopes soon to have it in his power to settle. Three claims were withdrawn during the sitting of the court.

(Signed) COLIN CAMPBELL, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*

R. O., 20th Feb.—The pipers² of the regiment will in future

¹ Thirty-six claims in all were submitted, some of which were "unfounded" and a few "groundless," the remainder being "well founded." I have only quoted a few of the decisions and remarks, which may be taken as a type of the remainder.

² That pipe music was fostered and encouraged in the Reay Fencibles there can be no doubt, and indeed it would be strange if it had been otherwise, for the Mackay Country was noted for the excellence of its pipers. ". . . At that time," writes the author of 'The Highland Bagpipe,' "there were more pipers from the Reay Country in the army than from any other district of Scotland. Skye and Tongue produced more pipers and gave more pipers to the army than any other two districts." Two Reay Country pipers were afterwards to become famous: they were George Clarke and Kenneth Mackay, both natives of Tongue. The former appears to have served in the Reays for a time and afterwards transferred to the 71st Highlanders; while the latter joined the 79th from the Caithness Fencibles in 1802. At the battle of Vimiera, 21st August 1808, George Clarke, who was piper in the 71st, being severely wounded in the leg and unable to walk, continued to play until victory was secure. For this gallant deed he was presented with a set of silver-mounted pipes by the Highland Society of London, and was afterwards piper to that society. At his death a monument was erected over his grave at Fort George by his regiment. Kenneth Mackay, piper to the Grenadier Company of the 79th, distinguished himself at Quatre Bras. While the regi-

assemble for practice in the Castle barracks, the drummers and fifers in the Lombard barracks, and the band of music as heretofore.

The prospect of an early return to Scotland, and probable disbandment in the near future, appears to have had a slackening effect upon some of the men, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell hastened to correct this.

R. O., Galway, 27th Feb.—Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell is sorry to observe that some of the men have become careless in respect to their dress and appearance. He begs leave to remind them that although nothing can be more difficult to obtain than a high character for conduct, dress, and discipline, the same may be easily lost from want of care and proper attention. Let not, therefore, the prospect the Reays have of being soon disbanded induce them to relax in any one particular, but let them continue until the very last to set the same laudable example they hitherto have done to all their brother fencibles, satisfied in their own minds that they will thereby obtain the approbation and esteem of their countrymen and friends, and meet with that cordial reception at home which their conduct will so entitle them to, and, what is greatly beyond every other mode of reward, they will enjoy the approbation of their own conscience from having discharged their duty to their KING and COUNTRY as Honest Gallant Highlanders.

R. O., 17th March.—No N.-C. officer or soldier of the Reays to appear in the streets without their side-arms on, officers' servants excepted. The companies in going to and from the general parade to march on supported arms.

The life of the regiment at this time was uneventful, save for the occasional despatching of parties into the surrounding districts either in aid of the revenue authorities or to assist in dispensing justice and preserving the peace. In these trying duties¹ the Reays

ment was forming square on being threatened by a body of French cavalry, Kenneth calmly stepped outside the bayonets and played the pibroch "Cogadh no Sith"—War or Peace—with inspiring effect almost right in front of the enemy. Piper Mackay was afterwards presented with a silver-mounted set of pipes by King George III., which are still preserved in the regiment.

¹ The sudden marches into the mountains, or to outlying villages, in the depth of winter, made these duties very arduous to both officers and men. The parties also were frequently forced to use their arms in self-protection, and not a few men were severely wounded, or seriously injured by stones, broken bottles, brickbats, &c. Several men, indeed, afterwards died as a result of the injuries they had received. (See Appx. XIII., *note*.) In connection with this, a correspondent, Mr John M'Kay, Victoria, B.C., writing of his grandfather who served in the Keays, mentions that an injury which the latter received in Ireland about this time hastened his death in 1811.

worthily upheld their good name, and “uniformly maintained the character of being one of the best and most esteemed corps in His Majesty’s Service; of which a good many authentic testimonials by the military and civil authorities in Ireland, where they served to the year 1802, are the proof.”¹ Galway seems to have been a pleasant place to be quartered at; for the rank and file there was fishing and boating to be had, and excursions into the country around; while the officers were the frequent guests of the neighbouring proprietors at shooting parties, dances, &c. Although situated in one of the most Catholic parts of Ireland, the men were on the most friendly terms with the people, with whom many a fraternal and lively evening was spent.

¹ ‘House and Clan of Mackay,’ p. 552.



Officer in Marching Order, 1802.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ON the 27th of March 1802 the peace of Amiens was signed, by which Great Britain retained Ceylon and Trinidad, but restored all her other conquests made during the war.¹

Garrison Orders, Galway, 5th April 1802.—The following copy of a letter has been received:—

ROYAL HOSPITAL, DUBLIN,
2nd April 1802.

SIR,—I am commanded by the Commander of the Forces to acquaint you that the definite treaty of peace was signed at Amiens at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th ult. by the Plenipotentiary of His Majesty and the Plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic, on which happy occasion the troops under your command will fire a feu-de-joie as usual.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) F. BECKWITH.

To Lieut.-General CRAIG,
Western District.

In consequence of the above, the garrison will parade to-morrow morning at twelve o'clock and fire a feu-de-joie in honour of this happy event. (Signed) A. DUNBAR, *Brigade-Major.*

R. O.—The regiment to parade to-morrow at half-past eleven, officers and men in full Highland dress, and march to the grand parade by twelve o'clock; every man not on duty to attend. The

¹ This peace it was soon seen could not last long. Britain alone of all the civilised world presented a barrier to Bonaparte's vast and aspiring views, and to remove that barrier either by conquest or by fraud was the sole object of his ambition. After a brief but feverish peace war was again declared on the 18th May 1803, which was only to be finally terminated on the field of Waterloo.

pipes to play off half an hour before the hour of parade. The remainder of the day will be observed as a holiday, tattoo to beat one hour later. Officers will appear in white pantaloons and half-boots at the dinner and ball to-morrow evening.¹

The news of the peace caused great rejoicings throughout the country. In Galway the streets and many of the houses were illuminated for the occasion, and the whole town was *en fête*. The country people in their picturesque costumes—the men in tail-coats, knee-breeches, and caubeens; the women in blue cloaks and brightly coloured petticoats—flocked in from the surrounding districts to take part in the celebrations, and freely mixed with the kilted Reays; all spoke Irish Gaelic, and they were delighted to find that the men “without breeches” were able to converse with them in their own language.² No doubt in the evening impromptu dances were held, in which soldier and peasant would have joined with equal heartiness and cordiality, the Irish showing themselves to be as light-footed in jigs and country dances as were their Highland cousins in the sword-dance, reel, and strathspey. A dinner attended by all the officers in the garrison and a ball³ given by the county gentry closed the day's rejoicings.

R. O., Galway, 7th April.—One sergeant, one corporal, one drummer, and twelve privates to march to Athenry to-morrow morning at six o'clock to relieve a detachment of the South Cork Regiment quartered there. The sergeant ordered for this duty will call at the Brigade-Major's house this evening to receive his instructions.⁴

The thanks of both Houses of Parliament, dated April 6, were conveyed to the officers, petty officers, warrant officers, N.-C. officers, and men of the Navy, Army, and Marines for their meritorious and eminent services rendered to King and Country during the course of the war.

¹ The Highland dress was not then recognised as an evening costume, and did not become known as such until 1822, when George IV., by appearing in it at the Court held at Holyrood in that year, made it the fashion.

² There is little difference between Highland and Irish Gaelic, and a speaker in the one tongue can make himself easily understood in the other.

³ Tradition has it that at this ball a party of the Reays gave an exhibition of Highland dancing, an incidence that reminds us of another and more historic occasion when four sergents of the 92nd danced a reel and the sword-dance at the famous Waterloo Ball, June 15th, 1815.

⁴ Lieut. Nisbet joined this party with seven men a few days after and took over command. Rejoined headquarters 21st May.

“In conveying these resolutions to the troops, H.R.H. the Duke of York is pleased to have an opportunity of expressing the great satisfaction he feels at the good conduct, courage, and zeal of the officers and soldiers of His Majesty’s Regular, Fencible, Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteer Forces, so uniformly exerted for the Glory and Honour of the Nation.”

(Signed) FREDERICK, *Commander-in-Chief.*

R. O., 9th April.—Officers commanding companies are reminded that at all parades they are to have their men sized from flanks to centre, according to the size roll; and to be particular that every man is dressed uniformly, and accoutrements, &c., properly put on.

R. O., 17th April.—Captain Morison’s Company is to hold itself in readiness to march on Wednesday next, 21st current, at six o’clock in the morning, to Ennis and Clare Castle, agreeable to the route received.¹ The quartermaster to provide the necessary number of cars the evening before the company marches.

In view of the regiment being shortly ordered to return to Scotland,² the regimental camp equipage was to be returned into store.

R. O., 29th April.—A party consisting of 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 30 privates to parade on Saturday morning at six o’clock in complete marching order, for the purpose of escorting the camp equipage of the regiment to Dublin. The men for this duty to be settled up with to the 24th May inclusive, at the rate of 1s. 1d. each, being the subsistence and beer money. Ensign Coates for the above duty. The quartermaster will likewise attend the escort in order to deliver up the camp equipage when it reaches Dublin.

R. O., 2nd May.—No piper in the Reay Highlanders is to play in the town without the leave of the commanding officer.³

¹ This company rejoined headquarters in September. The other officers with the company were Lieut. Cameron and Ensign Macarthur. To complete the company to a strength of sixty rank and file a few men were taken from other companies, as appears from the following receipt: “GALWAY, 20th May 1802.—Recd. from Sergeant John Morison on account of subsistence and clearance for the current month due the men of the Major’s and Captain A. Mckay’s Companies on command at Ennis, the sum of £7, 3s. 1½d. sterlg.—Irish. (Signed) JOHN M’DONALD, *Sergeant.*”

² In a letter dated Galway, 13th April 1802, Major Scobie writes: “As the war is now at an end we are in daily expectation of getting orders to go to Scotland in order to be reduced.”

³ The pipers seem to have been great favourites with the people of Galway, who

In connection with the above order is a story told of an old piper in the regiment, Donald M——, who appears to have been of a somewhat eccentric character, but a first-rate musician of the old school. Donald was one day engaged to play at a local Catholic wedding. Now, the Irish people are usually famed for their hospitality, but on this occasion the piper was treated in a very niggardly manner, and in return for his playing got food which was far from satisfactory, while the liquid refreshment was no better. Donald determined to have his revenge. After the wedding celebrations were over, the time arrived for the bride to be escorted to her future home, and Donald was asked to play the party there. "Ni mi sinn"—"That I will," said he, and forthwith struck up a well-known "loyalist" air, which being a Protestant "party" tune,¹ he knew would be extremely distasteful to those present. On being called upon to desist, Donald did so, and then cocking his bonnet fiercely on one side, he upbraided his host for his lack of hospitality, and wishing the company "a fery goot day," took his departure!

Like many other Highlanders of the old-fashioned type, Donald was a bit "heavy" on the dram, and always preferred to take his whisky "as she was porn" (*i.e.*, without water). He was never known to wear anything but the kilt, except on one occasion, when some one having persuaded him to try on a pair of trousers, he appeared with them put on the wrong way round, to the intense amusement of his comrades. Tearing them off in a fury, he declared he would never again be induced to don the ungainly garb of the "Sasunnach"! On the disbandment of the regiment Donald returned to his native parish, where he lived to a ripe old age, highly respected by all who knew him.

Early in May, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell proceeded on leave of absence to Scotland, probably to settle certain matters in connection with the approaching disbandment of the regiment. He rejoined at Stirling in September. During his absence Major Scobie assumed the often obtained their services for playing at marriages, dances, and funerals. The Irish bagpipe, even at that time rarely to be met with, was long used at festivities in Erin, and at a wedding the hat was sent round three times, the first twice for the priest and the third time for the piper.—'The Highland Bagpipe,' p. 152.

¹ Probably "Down, down, croppies lie down," or "Boyne Water." Bishop Percy mentions how a poor blind woman, who tried to make a livelihood by singing the former song through the streets of Dublin, was soon found lying murdered in a dark alley. In 1793 riots took place in Dublin on account of this same tune.—Lecky, vol. v. p. 88.

command, and in a regimental order, "trusts that both N.-C. officers and men will take a particular pride in maintaining to the last the very high character they have acquired, which will afford General Baillie, when he has the honour of meeting them again, a pleasure the most sincere."¹

In a former chapter we have noticed the strong religious feeling which prevailed in the Reays, and for which it was remarkable throughout its service. The regiment also appears to have produced several religious bards, the best known of whom was a private soldier by name William Gordon, a native of the parish of Creich. While at Galway in 1802 Gordon published a volume of Gaelic Hymns, which were well received not only in the regiment but throughout the northern Highlands. A few of the best of these compositions were afterwards reprinted in a Collection of Hymns by John Munro, Glasgow, in 1819. Gordon, who came of a deeply religious and poetical family, also composed several elegies and love-songs which were well known in the regiment. One of these, an elegy on a brother who had died young, "has been much admired for its simplicity of diction and deep pathetic feeling."²

R. O., 16th May.—The regiment is to be inspected to-morrow morning at eight o'clock by Brigadier-General Meyrick. The N.-C. officers and men to appear in their new clothing, the officers in half-boots and the Highland bonnet. The regiment to be upon the exercising ground, precisely at seven o'clock. The quartermaster will

¹ Although General Baillie had not been present with the regiment since his promotion, he had nevertheless continued most solicitous for its reputation and welfare, and had maintained a constant correspondence with the several officers who had commanded at different periods, on all questions affecting the appointment of officers and the interior economy of the regiment in general. The colonel of a regiment at that time had a much more active interest in his regiment than at the present day. He had the power to reduce a N.-C. officer summarily to the ranks. He supplied the clothing, orderly room stationery, store chests, &c. He received reports regularly from the regiment (when not present with it), and from the officer in charge of the recruiting. The lieutenant-colonel, on the other hand, usually held the immediate command, and was responsible that the men were well supplied, at the same time seeing that the colonel did not suffer loss.—Gardyne, vol. ii. p. 14.

² 'Sutherland and the Reay Country,' pp. 283, 284, and Reid's 'Bibliotheca Scotæ-Celtica,' pp. 164, 165.—William Gordon served in the Reays throughout its service, and after the disbandment returned to his native parish, where he was employed as a teacher of one of the Gaelic schools. He died in 1820. Two of his brothers, George and Alexander, were also in the Reays. The former, who, like his brother, was a poet of some considerable merit, published a volume of original poems in 1804, which contained an elegy and a love-song by William Gordon and two small pieces by Alexander Gordon. After leaving the army George was employed as teacher of a Gaelic school at Morness, while Alexander became a master mason in Tain, where he died about 1828.

issue six rounds of blank cartridges to each man, and likewise a flint to each. The regiment to parade this evening at six o'clock, the awkward men and recruits to be immediately put upon guard, so that the others may have the benefit of this evening's practice. Officers paying companies not to pay their men till after the inspection. Officers for duty to-morrow, Captain Maclean, captain for the day; Ensign Geo. Mackay for guard; orderly officer, Ensign Ross.

The result of this inspection was highly creditable to all ranks, the General expressing his "entire and unqualified approbation of their appearance in the field, as well as of their continued excellent conduct in quarters," and desired that the same should be communicated to the men.

There were present on parade 1 major, 5 captains, 8 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 4 staff, 29 sergeants, 31 corporals, 17 drummers, and 373 privates.¹

ABSENT OFFICERS.

Colonel Mackay H. Baillie, Major-General.

On leave.—Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Captain A. Mackay.

On detachment at Ennis.—Captain Morison, Lieut. Cameron, and Ensign M'Arthur.

On command at Dublin.—Ensign Coates.

" " *Athenry.*—Lieutenant Nisbet.

Sick in Scotland.—Lieutenant Walter Ross.

R. O., 19th May.—The detachment at Athenry to be relieved on Friday morning, the 21st instant, the men going on this detachment to be settled with to the 24th inclusive by the officers paying companies. Lieutenant Ballantine for the above duty.

R. O., 22nd May.—The commanding officer reminds N.-C. officers and men that they are never to leave barracks after tattoo-beating without a written pass signed by the commanding officer, or by the officer in charge of their company. Any sentry who permits any N.-C. officer or soldier to go out of the barracks after tattoo-beating, without a written pass, will be brought to a court-martial for neglect of duty.

Some of the recently appointed N.-C. officers do not appear to have been a great success.

¹ There were absent one company under Captain Morison, a detachment under Lieut. Nisbet, and the party escorting the camp equipage to Dublin under Ensign Coates; some 16 N.-C. officers and men were sick in quarters, while 5 men were on furlough in Scotland.

R. O., 24th May.—Corporal Fraser of the General's Company is transferred to Captain Hunter's in room of Sutherland Munro reduced by sentence of a regimental court-martial for being drunk on duty.¹ Angus Mcleod of the Light Company is appointed Corporal in the General's vice Fraser transferred.

According to a General Order, dated A. G. Office, Dublin, 19th May 1802, the several regiments in Ireland were to deliver to the nearest ordnance store the ball cartridges in their possession, retaining for their effective strength only the following proportion—viz.: regiments of the line—24 rounds per man; fencible regiments—12 rounds per man. The ordnance store receipt for the ammunition delivered over to be transmitted to the above office.

R. O., 24th May.—In accordance with the above the ammunition in possession of each company to be delivered to the quartermaster immediately after the morning parade to-morrow, the companies to retain only twelve rounds of good ball cartridges for each man of their effective rank and file.

R. O., 25th May.—A party consisting of 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, and 20 privates to parade at six o'clock to-morrow morning to escort the ammunition to Athlone agreeable to route. Lieutenant Sutherland for the above duty.

The following communication was now received:—

QR.-MR.-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
DUBLIN, 23rd May 1802.

You will be pleased to hold the regiment under your command in readiness to embark for Great Britain in the autumn.²

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) W. RAYMOND, D.A.G.

To the Officer Commanding Reay Fencibles, Galway.

¹ This is one of the few cases recorded in the order books of a N.-C. officer being guilty of this offence. The vice of drunkenness, it must be remembered, was not confined to the army alone. "Intemperate habits were only too common in all classes; lords and lairds, statesmen and lawyers, constantly got drunk, and were not ashamed, public opinion as yet not attaching any disgrace to the proceeding. One might almost say that the army was the only profession which adopted a higher standard."—Gardyne, vol. i. p. 205.

² *General Orders, A. G. Office, Dublin, April 12, 1802.*—On a regiment arriving in Ireland it is to be continued on the British Establishment up to the end (*i.e.*, to the 24th inclusive) of the military month in which it shall land, and the paymaster to settle his accounts with the British War Office accordingly, the officers and men receiving their pay and regimental allowance in British money for the whole period of the pay list; and on a regiment embarking from Ireland, it shall continue in like manner upon the Irish Establishment and be paid in Irish money, the paymaster settling his accounts with the Government of Ireland.

General Orders, A. G. Office, Dublin, 25th May 1802.—The men of such fencible regiments as may from time to time receive orders to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Great Britain are permitted to enlist into regiments of the line, not being under five feet six inches in height and not exceeding thirty-five years of age. For men of the above description a bounty of five guineas, provided their necessaries are complete, will be allowed on their being approved of by a general officer and staff surgeon.¹

On the occasion of the annual Galway market and fair, held on the garrison parade by permission of the military authorities, the following G. O. was published :—

Galway, 30th May.—The main-guard will be reinforced to-morrow morning at three o'clock with 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 1 drummer, and 24 privates, who are to assist and aid the civil power in preserving peace if required, and to furnish seven sentries round the garrison parade²—viz.: an additional one at the gate of the parade to see that only cattle go in and out through the gate; the other six to be posted, three on each side of the parade ground, to prevent the wall being broken down or defaced, but in no other way to prevent the people from transacting their lawful business in a proper and peaceful manner. The sentries are on no account to converse with or pay attention to the people except in the proper execution of their duty.

R. O.—Ensign Donald Ross for the above duty.

As the Commander-in-Chief hath been pleased to approve of taking John Mackay as a substitute in room of his brother Alexander, the latter is therefore to be discharged, and to be given 28 days' pay to carry him home on his discharge being duly certified.

ROYAL HOSPITAL, KILMAINHAM,
29th May 1802.

SIR,—I am commanded by the Commander of the Forces to acquaint you that H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to decide that on receiving orders to return to Great Britain, the fencible regiments in Ireland are at liberty to discharge such men as wish to remain on in the kingdom. You will therefore act in com-

¹ A few men of the Reays availed themselves of this offer, and went to the 42nd and 79th Highlanders.

² The parade had been recently levelled, gravelled, and surrounded by good stone walls.

pliance with this direction, first settling all the just claims of the men. These men are only to receive fourteen days' pay to carry them to such place as they may choose to reside at.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) F. BECKWITH.

To the Officer Commanding
Reay Highlanders, Galway.

R. O., 3rd June.—In compliance with the above general orders, Major Scobie desires such men of the Reay Fencibles as are determined to settle in Ireland to give in their names in writing by companies to the adjutant before twelve o'clock on Sunday next.¹

The regiment will parade to-morrow at twelve o'clock to fire a feu-de-joy in honour of His Majesty's Birthday. The officers to be dressed in their regimental coats,² bonnets, white breeches or pantaloons, and boots, without gorgets. The men in full Highland appointments,³ and as neat and clean as possible. Three rounds of blank cartridges per man to be issued on the parade.

As it was known that the regiment would be disbanded soon after its landing in Scotland, preparations were accordingly made by some of the officers and men to have their heavy baggage sent round by sea to Sutherland.

R. O., 9th June.—The officers and men who have sent baggage on board the sloop *Success* of Peterhead for the Reay Country will at three o'clock this day pay their proportion of freight to sergeant Alex. Sinclair, the paymaster's clerk, and sergeant John Mackay of the General's Company, at the orderly room in the Lombard barracks.

It may, perhaps, be of interest to notice some of the habits and customs of the regiment at this time. The fact of so many of the officers and men coming from the same district must have necessarily increased the *morale* and *esprit-de-corps* which have ever been so con-

¹ Seven sergeants, three corporals, six drummers, and sixty privates in all decided to remain behind in Ireland. Of these, five sergeants, two corporals, four drummers, and fifty privates were discharged before the regiment left Galway, the remainder on the arrival of the regiment at Belfast on its return to Scotland. Some of these men afterwards entered regiments of the line, others settled in Ireland, or emigrated to America.

² Meaning the full-dress coat in distinction to the jacket or frock which was sometimes worn for ordinary duties as well as fatigues.

³ Purses were worn when "full dress" or "full Highland appointments" were ordered.

spicuous in Highland regiments. The officers *knew* their men and the discipline that best suited them. Gaelic was commonly spoken by the rank and file, but on parade English was used. Most of the officers spoke in Gaelic to their men, and, in those days when letters were rare luxuries, would give them the latest news from home. The religious life was strongly marked in the regiment. Recreation rooms and athletic clubs for soldiers were then unknown, and the men occupied much of their leisure time in religious meetings, *ceilidhs*, or dancing; and practised shinty (knotty), and throwing the stone and hammer. Excessive drinking was perhaps indulged in too freely by some of the "droothy" characters, but the conduct of the men in general was so excellent that months passed without a single one being tried for a serious offence.¹ A custom prevailed in the regiment which is illustrative of the cordial feeling that existed between all ranks. On New Year's Eve (*Oidche Challuinn*) and other festive occasions, the soldiers were wont to assemble at the officers' quarters, where piping and dancing was heartily engaged in, the men being afterwards entertained to refreshments by the officers.

R. O., 11th June.—For the convenience, uniformity, and saving of expense to the officers on the march to Scotland, Major Scobie has approved of the bonnets to be worn with one single feather, the same as the men now have, and has fixed on Lieutenant Baillie's bonnet as a pattern. These bonnets to be worn on all duties till further orders.²

During the time the regiment was at Belfast, a regimental school had been established, which, although broken up during the rebellion, had been started again while the Reays were at Galway. Many of the N.-C. officers and men appear to have attended the school, and no doubt materially benefited themselves thereby.³

¹ As a proof of the steadiness of the men, it has been said that the regiment was never once called upon to witness the infliction of corporal punishment upon men of other regiments.

² Owing to the probability of the regiment being soon disbanded, the colonel had not bought a further supply of bearskin for the men's bonnets, and the men had worn the bonnet with only the hackle and cockade since the early part of 1802.

³ The classes were held in the evening, and those men who attended were probably excused evening parades, and granted certain privileges, such as leave from one day's duty in the week. At that time regimental schools were officially unknown in the army, although most of the Scottish regiments had such institutions. The Highland regiments had always contained a well-educated class of men, and their regimental schools were often noticed for their excellence. "Indeed," writes Colonel Gardyne, "the admirable schools which for 300 years had existed in every parish in Scotland gave Scottish soldiers a marked superiority, till the late introduction of Board schools south of the Tweed put

R. O., 14th June.—As the report of the schoolmaster-sergeant is so satisfactory, the commanding officer is pleased to indulge those N.-C. officers and men who attend the school by allowing them leave from morning parade on Tuesdays and Fridays till further notice.

From a letter dated Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, 14th June, it appears that officers of fencible regiments, whose families or connections were resident or established in Ireland, and might be desirous of remaining on in the country on the return of their regiment to Britain, would be permitted to do so provided that there were a sufficient number of officers left to conduct the regiment on its march. At the same time this indulgence was not to be abused by permitting officers, on the pretence of being resident in the country, avoiding marching with their respective corps. Returns of those officers who might desire to remain behind to be transmitted to Major-General Beckwith prior to embarkation.¹

A. G. Office, Dublin, 19th June.—All reports, applications for leave of absence from the 24th current, are to be made direct to the Adjutant-General, instead as heretofore coming through the General Officer commanding the district. Major-General Morison (at Limerick) is appointed from the above date to the command of the district in which your regiment is at present quartered.²

(Signed) W. RAYMOND.

R. O., 17th June.—Ensign Frend in room of Ensign John Mackay their English comrades on a footing of educational equality.”—Gardyne, vol. ii. p. 394. The order books of the Reays, which are written up in the handwriting of the various orderly sergeants, testify to the excellence and thoroughness of the education imparted by the old parochial schools.

¹ On the Reays leaving Ireland the following officers remained behind: Captain Blanche, Lieuts. Nisbet and Ballantine, and Ensigns Roderick Macqueen, Alex. Frend, and William Fox. By their names the two latter appear to have been Irishmen, and were probably nominated to the regiment by the Lord-Lieutenant to fill up the vacancies in the list of ensigns. Young gentlemen from the Highlands had latterly been hard to obtain for the fencibles, owing partly to their limited service and to the likelihood of their being shortly disbanded, while the number of Highland regular regiments in existence at the time also influenced the supply, as the majority of Highland gentlemen who sought commissions preferred to obtain a regular corps. The officers of fencibles, it must be remembered, unlike those of regular regiments when disbanded, were not entitled to half-pay unless they had seen previous service in the regulars. The nomination of gentlemen for commissions usually lay with the colonel of the regiment, but in certain cases the Commander-in-Chief in Britain, and the Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland, could appoint their own nominees.

² In succession to Lieut.-General Craig who had succeeded Lieut.-General the Earl of Clanricarde early in 1802.

to relieve Lieutenant Ballantine at Athenry to-morrow. The N.-C. officers and privates to remain there till further orders.¹

R. O., 24th June.—The Commander-in-Chief hath been pleased to grant leave of absence to the following:—

Reay Fencibles.—Ensign Donald Ross leave to Scotland for two months.²

R. O., 25th June.—Lieutenant Scobie to do duty in Captain Angus Mackay's Company until further orders,³ in consequence of Ensign Ross having obtained leave of absence from the 23rd June.

The following N.-C. officers and privates to attend drill twice a-day till further orders for being out of their barracks after hours—viz. : Hugh Campbell of the General's Company; Corporal Mcleod, Peter Jack of the Grenadiers; Neil Macleod, Alex. Morison, and John Mackay of Captain Clarke's Company; Sergeant Joseph Morison of Captain Blanche's Company; Sergeants Chas. McKay, William Mackay, Privates Angus Mackay, Wm. Morison, and Hugh Mackay of Captain Hunter's Company. The commanding officer is determined to bring every N.-C. officer and soldier to a court-martial that are in future reported out of their quarters after hours. The irregularity of some of the men of late points out the necessity of this order being put into execution, and that in the most pointed and rigorous manner.

In June a general election took place, and "though this was the first occasion since the Union in which the constituencies had the opportunity of expressing their opinion of the conduct of their representatives on that great question, the Union appears to have borne no part whatever in the election, and it is stated that not a single member who had voted for it was for that reason displaced."⁴ In Galway serious riots were expected, and strong piquets of the Reays patrolled the streets, but, with the exception of some slight disturbances between Catholics and Protestants, the event passed off quietly enough.

R. O., 29th June.—The corporals on guard to be very particular in

¹ The detachment at Athenry returned to headquarters at the end of July.

² By a general order of March 1802 leave of absence was only to be granted to officers of fencibles under special circumstances, owing to the fact of their being shortly disbanded. Ensign Ross rejoined the regiment at the end of August.

³ On the 10th of July Lieut. Scobie was sent on detachment duty to Enard, "there to obey such orders as the civil magistrate may issue." Rejoined headquarters in August.

⁴ Lecky, vol. v. p. 465.

marching their reliefs in a soldier-like manner, and the old relief, on their return to the guard, to be regularly dismissed.

John Mcleod of Captain Blanche's Company to attend drill for a week for having dirty shoes at morning parade, and in other respects being unsoldier-like dressed.

R. O., 7th July.—The Grenadiers to march to-morrow morning at six o'clock to Tuam, agreeable to orders.¹ The baggage to be loaded this evening and left in charge of the Lombard barrack guard. The men to be in marching order, the officers in grey pantaloons and half-boots.

While on the way to Tuam an officer's party was detached from this company to assist the local authorities in seizing a smugglers' "den," known to be frequented by several desperate characters. On surrounding this place, the magistrate called upon the occupants to surrender. For answer, the smugglers, who were fully armed, cocked their pieces, and swore that the first man who approached would be shot dead! Their position was wellnigh inaccessible, being in a cave on the top of some high precipitous rocks. A plan, however, was quickly concerted, and while the officer held the contrabandists in conversation in front, a party was sent round to the rear and steepest side of the "position." Chancing that this part would be left unguarded, the agile Highlanders soon scaled the precipitous sides of the eminence, and bursting in upon the astonished smugglers, secured them before any resistance could be offered!

According to an Army Order of July 1, 1802, sergeants throughout the army were ordered to discontinue wearing epaulettes or shoulder-knots, and instead were to adopt chevrons of their regimental lace on

¹ This company rejoined the regiment in September. Captain Mackay appears to have marched with his company, the duties of quartermaster being performed by Captain Maclean. The other officers were Lieuts. Baillie and Sutherland. Captain Mackay was held in great esteem by the men. He was an excellent officer, although, it is said, of a somewhat rash and headstrong nature. The following incident which occurred in Ireland seems to bear this out. One day Captain Mackay and his body-servant (Private Robert Macintosh) were out walking in a lonely spot. As the custom was in those troublous times, both were armed. Robert had a new musket with him, which Captain Mackay requested to look at. Spying an old woman standing near a peat-stack, and as he probably thought well out of range, Captain Mackay foolishly took aim at her, fired, and, according to my informant, killed her on the spot. The end of this unhappy incident is not recorded, but it is probable that Captain Mackay (who must have bitterly repented his rash deed) arranged to fully compensate the relatives of the unfortunate woman, and had the matter hushed up.—Communicated by the Rev. H. Macaulay, F.C. Manse, Strathy, Sutherland, who was told the story by Mr Robert Macintosh, elder, Port-Skerra, Sutherland, a grandson of Captain Mackay's servant.

the right arm. Sergeant-majors and quartermaster-sergeants to have four bars, all other sergeants three, and corporals two.¹

Major Scobie seems to have kept both officers and men up to their work during the last few weeks the regiment remained in Ireland.

R. O., 14th July.—Officers in charge of companies to regularly inspect the meat purchased for the different messes of their company, and to occasionally visit their men at the dinner hour.²

R. O., 17th July.—The regiment to parade for marching exercise³ on Mondays and Saturdays till further orders. Officers' servants, pioneers, and all employed men to attend.

The commanding officer repeats the order as to officers when in public appearing uniformly dressed, and with their belts and sashes on.

No N.-C. officer or soldier is to leave barracks without being properly dressed,⁴ and wearing side-arms.

At this time, owing to agrarian disturbances in the neighbourhood of Loughrea, the Light Company of the Reays, under Lieutenant Donald Campbell, was ordered to proceed by forced march to the disturbed area and render the civil power what assistance was necessary. In this trying duty the men showed great patience and forbearance, earning the thanks of the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the district. On one occasion this detachment, whilst escorting some magistrates and tithe-collectors at a place near Ballinakill, was suddenly attacked by an armed mob, who attempted to seize the officers of the law. A general *mélée* ensued, and the Reays were in imminent danger of being overpowered. Finally, with great spirit they charged the rioters, driving them back and forcing them to disperse leaving two killed and several wounded behind. The Reays had a few men injured.

At another time, while lodging some prisoners in the jail at Loughrea, a party from this detachment was surrounded by an angry crowd who demanded the release of the prisoners. On this

¹ This order would have applied to the fencibles as well as regulars, and would have been complied with by the former, although their service was nearly at an end.

² Dinner was the one regular meal of the day, but the men had porridge, milk, and ale for breakfast, and something for supper. The companies had been lately provided with knives and forks by the colonel; before that they seem to have supplied their own.

³ Probably in order to keep the men in good trim for the march to Scotland.

⁴ The walking-out dress on week-days was the little kilt, bonnet, and red coat. On Sundays the belted plaid with purses.

not being complied with, a general assault was made on the party, who in self-defence opened fire, and with such effect as to quickly clear the streets of their assailants.

This company returned to headquarters at the end of July.

R. O., 24th July.—A party consisting of 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 12 privates to parade for Excise duty this evening at five o'clock in the Lombard barrack square, and march from thence to the Brigade-Major's quarters, where the officer in charge will receive his orders. For the above duty Ensign George Mackay.¹

G. O., Galway, 29th July 1802.—There will be a garrison field-day to-morrow at seven o'clock.

(Signed) A. DUNBAR, *Brigade-Major.*

R. O.—In accordance with the above orders the regiment will parade at half-past six o'clock to-morrow morning. The officers to be in grey pantaloons and half-boots, the men in full marching order. All employed men to attend. The pipes to play off precisely at six o'clock. The quartermaster to issue six rounds of blank cartridges to each man on the parade.

In August a certain number of men of good character were allowed to add to their means by taking work with the farmers in the neighbourhood, and assisting at the harvest. This was a great help to the married men with children at a time when the price of bread and provisions were still high.²

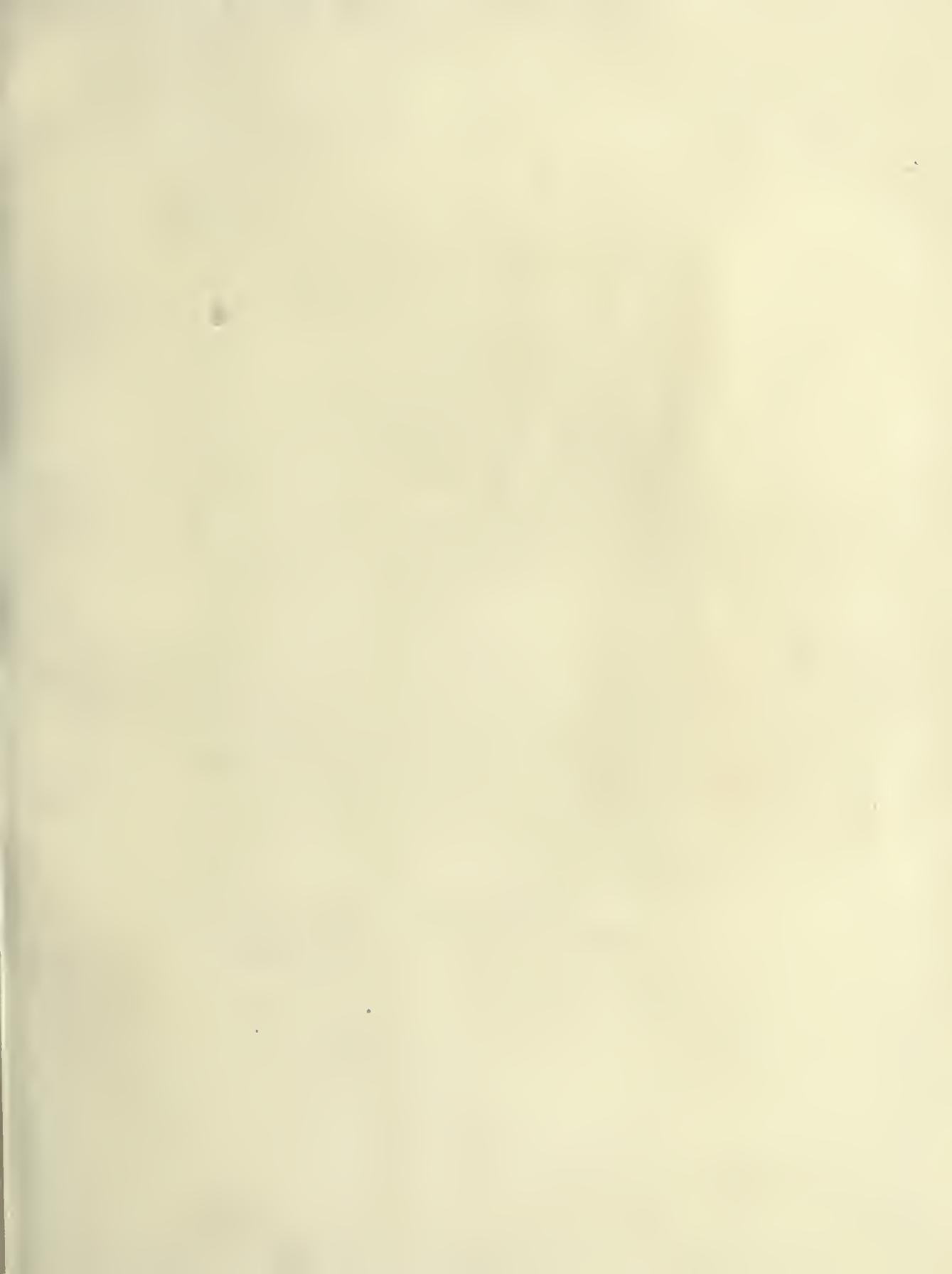
R. O., 1st Aug.—The commanding officer grants leave for such deserving men as the officers in charge of companies may select, to work out at getting in the harvest. They will not be required to attend parades till further orders. Such men as are granted this leave will inform their captains where they are employed and with whom.³

Most of the orders are unfortunately missing from the beginning

¹ This party, with some of the 9th Dragoons, were successful in capturing no less than twenty stills in two days on the north side of Lough Corrib, for which they received the usual payments (*vide R. O.*).

² The 4-lb. loaf varied from 7¼d. to 11d., according to the season and district. This custom of allowing well-conducted men to work out, especially at harvest time, was common in all garrison towns at this period, and no doubt the extra labour was welcomed by the farmers.

³ Some 3 sergeants and 68 privates availed themselves of this leave.



G. R.

By *Major John ...* Commanding His Majesty's *Regt. of ...* whereof *... is Colonel.*

These are to Certify that the Bearer hereof *George Mackay* has served in the afforesaid Regiment for the Space of *8* Years is for the Reason below mentioned discharged from the said Regiment, he having received his Pay, Arrears of Pay, Clothing, of all Sorts, and all other just Demands from the Time of his Joining into the said Regiment to this Day of his Discharge, and

He is discharged *By Order of His Royal Highness the* *Commander in Chief* *...* *being under Oath to answer for doctored*

And to prevent any ill Use that may be made of this Discharge, by its falling into the Hands of any other Person whatsoever, here follows a Description of the abovesaid *George Mackay*. He is aged about *27* Years, *5* Feet *8 1/2* Inches high, of a *Fair* Complexion, *Grey* Eyes, *Long* Hair, *Single* made, and *Single* Village, *...* in the Parish of *...* in the County of *...* *...* by Trade a *...*

Given under my Hand and the Regimental Seal, at *...* this *19th* Day of *August 1800*

To all Concerned

Printed and Sold by Geo. Goulet, 24-S. ...

DISCHARGE DOCUMENT OF CORPORAL GEORGE MACKAY.
(From the Original in the possession of Mr GEORGE A. MACKAY,
Skagit County, Washington, U.S.A.)
(Half size.)

I Do acknowledge to have received my Pay, Arrears of Pay
Coaching of all sorts, and all other just Demands, from the Time
of my Inlisting into the within mentioned Regiment to this Day
of my Discharge, & I am ready to pay to every man whom
without detraction On Account of my debt, due my
Capt or Officer Commanding paying my Company

Witness my Hand at *Quincy* this
19th Day of *August* 1802 -

Witnesses { *John Cochran* Major
Mark (for) *George Mackay* Corporal

DISCHARGE DOCUMENT OF CORPORAL GEORGE MACKAY.

(From the Original in the possession of Mr GEORGE A. MACKAY,
Skagit County, Washington, U.S.A.)

(Half size.)

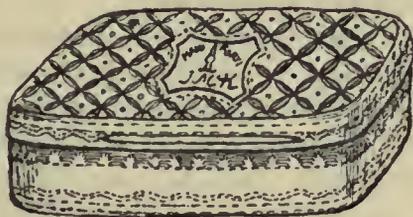
of August until the disbandment of the regiment in October, but from other sources a certain amount of information can be gathered. On the 17th August definite orders were received for the regiment to march to Belfast at the end of the month,¹ where it was to embark for Scotland and proceed to Stirling, there to be disbanded.²

R. O., 18th August.—The men who have determined to settle in Ireland will be discharged from to-morrow, and will receive fourteen days' pay to carry them to such place as they may wish to reside at.³

¹ According to the route (dated Qr.-Mr.-General's Office, Dublin, 16th August), the headquarters were to march from Galway on the 25th August, and the detachments from Ennis and Tuam on the 24th and 26th inst. respectively. After assembling at Belfast the whole regiment was to embark for Stranraer, and march from thence in three divisions to Stirling.

² The Orders for disbandment were not issued until the 10th August, and the Reays would not have received them until their arrival at Stirling. A copy of these orders may be seen in Appendix X.

³ The copy of a discharge document of one of these men—a corporal, by name George Mackay, a native of the parish of Eddrachilis—will be seen facing this page. It appears to have been the custom in the Reays to allow those men who were discharged with a good character to retain their muskets, as a mark of good conduct. This noticing of meritorious services also held good at the dishandment, when many of the men had the honour of having their muskets presented to them by General Baillie, and took them home with them to Sutherland.



Snuff-box used by Major Scobie when in the Regiment.

CHAPTER XIX.

ON the 20th of August 1802 the Reay Fencibles were inspected for the last time by Brigadier-General Meyrick, a large number of the surrounding gentry and townspeople being present.¹ The martial appearance of the Highlanders, and their steadiness under arms, excited the admiration of the spectators, and drew from the General his warmest praise.

The inspection strength was 1 major, 4 captains, 7 lieutenants, 6 ensigns, 4 staff, 28 sergeants, 29 corporals, 12 drummers, and 335 privates.²

R. O., Galway, 21st Aug. 1802.—The regiment will march from hence to Belfast in three divisions as per route, viz. :—

1st Division—General's, Major's, Captain Blanche's, and Captain A. Mackay's Companies, on Tuesday, 24th instant, under Major Scobie.

2nd Division—Lieutenant-Colonel's, Captain Clarke's, Captain Hunter's, and Captain H. Maclean's Companies, on Wednesday, 25th instant, under Captain Maclean.

The baggage of each division to be loaded the evening before it marches. The divisions to march off regularly by eight o'clock in the morning, after handing over their barracks to the barrack-master.

The departure of the Reays from Galway was deeply regretted by the people. The quiet and orderly behaviour of the men, their domesticated habits in quarters, and their soldier-like bearing had made them great favourites everywhere. At the same time they were re-

¹ After the inspection the officers gave a farewell dinner and ball, which was largely attended by guests both from the town and country.

² *Absent*: Captain Colin C. Mackay's and Captain Morison's Companies on detachment. Two officers on leave (General Baillie and Lieut.-Colonel Campbell); and one officer (Captain A. Mackay) and one private sick in Scotland.

spected and looked up to by all classes. An address, signed by the principal inhabitants of Galway, was presented to Major Scobie, testifying to the universal esteem and regard in which the regiment had been held during its stay in that town, and expressing the concern that was felt at its departure.¹

The following farewell order was published:—

Garrison Orders.

GALWAY, 24th Aug. 1802.

The Reay Fencible Highlanders being under orders to march for Scotland, Brigadier-General Meyrick cannot part from them without expressing his unqualified approbation and satisfaction of their exemplary good conduct, excellent discipline, and regular soldier-like behaviour since he has had the honour to command them, and he desires that they will accept his best wishes for their future success and happiness in their approaching retirement from the service which their high character so justly merits.

On the 24th and 25th August the headquarters and eight companies of the Reays left Galway for Belfast, many a sorrowful parting taking place as they marched away.² As each division left the town with pipes playing, and the morning sun shining on their plumed bonnets and on the polished barrels of their sloped arms, they were followed by large numbers of the townspeople who accompanied them the first few miles of their way, so as to see the last of so highly respected a corps.

On the 24th inst. Captain Morison's Company marched from Ennis and Clare, followed on the 26th by the Grenadiers from Tuam. Both these companies, during the time they had been detached out, had been frequently employed in aid of the civil power, and in enforcing law and order in their respective districts, and in every

¹ The following appeared in the 'Connaught Journal' of August 25, 1802, on the Reays leaving Galway: "The uniform good conduct of every individual of this truly brave and excellent regiment have so endeared them to the inhabitants of Galway that they will long remember them with unfeigned esteem for their perfect subordination, and the mild and sweet behaviour of all ranks, added to the strictest integrity in their dealings (we believe not one of them owes a shilling in the town). These virtues that characterise a good soldier are so conspicuous in them that, with all our hearts, we wish them in their retirement that happiness a retrospection of their conduct so justly deserves."

² Before their departure the N.-C. officers and privates entertained their friends to a farewell dance, which was attended by a numerous company.

instance their "extreme forbearance, exemplary conduct, strict discipline, and conciliatory but firm manner towards the inhabitants of the country," had won for them the repeated thanks of the magistrates and gentry residing in the neighbourhood of their quarters.

The long days of marching across Ireland before the different divisions, travel-stained and weary, reached their destination, were enlivened by the rattling drums and shrilling fifes, or by the sound of the pipe and marching songs. Every evening a halt was made in some garrison town, the men being either billeted or quartered in barracks for the night. Some of the towns that were passed *en route* were well known to the Reays, who had seen them at a more troubled period of the country's history. Everywhere they met with true Irish hospitality; their garb and name ensured that.

On the arrival of the first division at Belfast it met with a hearty welcome from the townspeople who had not forgotten the "honest Reays." The men were everywhere received with marked attention. The last division arriving on the 9th September, the whole regiment was once more united.¹

R. O., Belfast, 9th Sept. 1802.—Major Scobie returns his thanks to the regiment for their excellent behaviour upon the march here, which must be as great a satisfaction to themselves as it is to the people of the towns they have passed through. He hopes that they will conduct themselves equally well upon embarking and during their march to Stirling. The regiment will embark for Scotland to-morrow morning.²

At an early hour on Friday, September 10th, the Reays paraded in Linenhall Street, and with their drums and fifes awakening the echoes of Belfast for the last time, passed through the almost deserted streets (few being abroad at that hour) towards the harbour, where

¹ Extract from the 'Belfast News-Letter,' September 10th, 1802: "In the course of Tuesday, Wednesday, and yesterday the different divisions of the regiment of Reay Fencibles arrived in town from Galway where they have been quartered for upwards of two years, and this morning the whole regiment embarked for Scotland. The becoming good conduct of this truly excellent regiment during its service has obtained them the unfeigned respect and esteem of every one. Their departure from Galway was much regretted by the inhabitants."

² At Belfast, those officers that had been permitted to remain in Ireland took leave of the regiment, Captain Blanche handing over the duties of adjutant to Lieutenant Sutherland. Here also 2 sergeants, 1 corporal, 2 drummers, and 10 privates received their discharge.

they embarked on three vessels, not a man being reported absent. As boat after boat, with its freight of armed men, was pulled off towards the transports, shouts of farewell arose from the crowds that had by then assembled on the shore, the Highlanders cheering in reply and waving their bonnets, while the pipers seated in the bows of the boats struck up a lively air. All were in high spirits at the prospect of an early return to their homes.¹ The embarkation being completed, sails were set, and soon the harbour, the crowded quays, the tall spires, and houses of Belfast receded and finally disappeared to view. All eyes were now directed to the rapidly increasing shores of Scotland.

The disembarkation was made the same evening, or early on the 11th, some time being taken to get the whole of the regiment, including the women and children and the baggage, safely ashore. The delight of the Highlanders on retreading the soil of "Albainn nam buadh" (victorious Albyn) was unbounded. Many a bonnet was tossed in the air with a "Hoich, hurrah!" while shouts of welcome rose from the people gathered on the beach and pier.

After being billeted in the town of Stranraer² and the surrounding farms, where all ranks were hospitably received, the regiment marched in three divisions to Stirling, arriving there on the 20th.

During the march to Stirling the Reays met with a warm welcome in the different towns they passed through; the high name they had acquired in Ireland had preceded them.

On their arrival at Stirling the Reays were quartered in the castle and in billets in the town. Several other fencible regiments had been recently disbanded in Stirling, the latest being the Duke of York's Highlanders in the preceding month.³

¹ Like all Highlanders, the men of the Reays would have had the old Highland idea of a fight, and then home again to tend the cattle. So long as the country was in danger they were willing to give their services, but to many the monotony of barrack-life routine, drill, and discipline in time of peace was distasteful and irksome.

² Several of the other fencible regiments returned to Scotland *via* Belfast and Stranraer.

³ It was expected that many regiments of the line would also be reduced at the peace, among them the 92nd and 93rd Highlanders. Sir John Moore, writing in September to Major Cameron (commanding the 92nd) at Glasgow Barracks, says: "I am sorry to find it is determined to reduce the 92nd. Their gallant services entitled them to a better fate." That this distinguished regiment was retained in the service of their country is well known to all Scotsmen. In September the 93rd were ordered from Guernsey to Scotland for the purpose also of being disbanded, and several men were

R. O., Stirling Castle, 22nd September 1802.—The commanding officer returns his sincere thanks to the men for their continued good conduct since their arrival in Scotland and upon the march here, in consideration of which he will forgive the one or two exceptions that came under his notice.¹ He earnestly hopes that they will continue to maintain their high character during their stay at Stirling and until their disbandment.

As the regiment is to be shortly inspected by Major-General Baillie, the commanding officer expects that the men will make every preparation necessary so as to appear in the best possible order at the inspection. The new clothing² will be worn for all duties, except fatigues, in future.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell now reassumed the command, and in a regimental order expressed his great satisfaction at the regularity observed by the regiment on the march from Galway, and thanked Major Scobie and the officers for their unremitting attention to their duties, "which has in a great measure assisted towards this praiseworthy end."

On the 26th September the Reay Fencibles were inspected for the last time³ by Major-General Baillie, in the King's Park, before a large concourse of spectators. There were present on parade 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 8 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 4 staff, 30 sergeants, 36 corporals, 16 drummers, and 404 privates.⁴

discharged before the order for reduction was countermanded. In view of the expected renewal of hostilities, however, it was not thought safe to make any further reduction in the national establishments.

¹ A few men seem to have celebrated their return to Scotland by a carouse, which under the circumstances was excused.

² During the march the men had worn their old clothing and little kilts; the new coats, hose, purses, and belted plaids being either carried in the knapsacks or with the baggage.

³ It appears that Eric, Lord Reay, who as the Hon. Eric had raised the regiment, wrote a farewell address, thanking all ranks for the exemplary manner in which they had upheld the honour of their country and name during their service in Ireland, and wishing them every success in their retirement. Nor does he seem to have forgotten the promises he had made on the raising of the regiment—that preferment should be given in the granting of "tacks" and holdings to those who had served in the fencibles, although the rents were not diminished, as appears from a letter by Major Scobie in which he says (regarding the lands of Melness): ". . . for what I formerly paid £32, 10s. I now pay £71, 10s., the whole of the country being raised in the same proportion."

⁴ *Absent*: Seven officers in Ireland, one on sick leave; while 3 sergeants, 1 corporal, and 14 privates were on pass, and one man on sick leave. This man (Private James Ross of Captain A. Mackay's Company) died on the 27th September.

The imposing and warlike appearance of the Highlanders, as with colours flying and drums beating they marched on to the ground and opened their ranks into review order to receive the General, drew forth the praise and admiration of the assembled onlookers. The plumed bonnets, the belted plaids, the tasselled purses, the glittering appointments, and long line of muscular bare knees—to which the frowning battlements of the ancient fortress served as a fitting background—made up a scene at once wild and picturesque. After marching past in slow and quick time¹ the original line was again taken up, and General Baillie addressed the regiment, expressing his approbation of its soldier-like appearance and steadiness under arms, and highly complimenting it on its conduct in quarters and in the field since the time it had been embodied.

The inspection over, the regiment returned to quarters, where all ranks were entertained by General Baillie to an excellent repast, with an allowance of “mountain dew” in which to drink “the Cornal’s health.”² A dance would have probably closed the day’s proceedings, which would have been kept up with spirit to a late hour to the music of the pipes, the utmost regularity being maintained.

The following was General Baillie’s farewell order to the regiment:—

Regtl. Orders, Stirling Castle, 26th September 1802.—His Majesty having issued his instructions for disbanding the Reay Fencible Highlanders in consequence of a general reduction of the fencible regiments throughout the kingdom, Major-General Baillie embraces with eagerness an opportunity of expressing his highest approbation of the uniform good conduct of the regiment since it was embodied. The Major-General reflects with pride and satisfaction on the many opportunities that occurred to evince the *Loyalty, Good Discipline, Distinguished Gallantry, and Persevering Attention* of all ranks to the good of the Service. The many testimonials to this effect by

¹ In open column of companies. It was probably the custom in the Reays, as in other Highland corps when marching past in slow time, for the piper of each company to play a “salute” on the flank of his company as it passed the General, the band all the time playing the “Garb of Old Gaul” or some other air. Marching past in slow time was not done away with until after the Crimean war.—Gardyne, vol. i. p. 140.

² The officers were also entertained to a dinner in one of the principal inns in the town.

the General Officers under whom they served at a most critical conjuncture in Ireland, *furnishes the most flattering and unequivocal proofs of their merits as British Soldiers*, and are circumstances that must prove a perpetual source of the most gratifying reflection to every individual that composed it.

The unremitting zeal of the Officers in advancing and perfecting the Regiment in discipline, united to *the exemplary spirit of harmony* that so happily subsisted amongst them,¹ during the whole period of their service, tending so essentially to confirm and secure the principles of subordination, claims from the Major-General his most sincere and warm acknowledgments, and it is under the most pleasant sensations that he now pays them the tribute of his respect, esteem, and attachment.

The Major-General desires his thanks to be conveyed to the Non-commissioned Officers and Privates, for the disposition to *Good Order* and *Soldier-like Conduct* they have ever manifested, and which has been so evident from the many encomiums bestowed on their General Behaviour on the Service on which they were lately employed.

Major-General Baillie repeats his acknowledgment to the whole Corps, individually and collectively, for the general respectability they have at all times and on all occasions maintained, with an anxious wish that they may speedily reap the fruits of so meritorious services, *by the full and permanent enjoyment of all the comforts of a private life, now so justly become their due.*

(Signed) MACKAY H. BAILLIE,
Major-General.

“This farewell parting address,” says Mr John Mackay, Hereford, “was worthy of the gallant general under whose auspices the regiment was enrolled, under whose chief command it continued till his promotion,—worthy of the gallant men he commanded, and that day addressed in such complimentary terms.”

The preparations for disbanding the regiment were now actively carried on, the orders for the disbandment being read at the head of each company. During the last few days of the regiment's existence the men kept up their excellent character, their quiet behaviour and orderly habits and manners attracting the attention

¹ During the whole service of the regiment there does not appear to have been any case of duelling among the officers, although duels were still the fashion.

and gaining the respect and thanks of the townspeople.¹ After the regiment had been mustered, and the King's orders, in accordance with the Royal Warrant, been complied with, the Reays were disbanded on the 13th of October 1802 by Major-General Don, receiving the thanks of the King, through the Major-General, for their services and exemplary good conduct since their first establishment; as also the special thanks and approbation of the General for their steady, sober, and soldier-like appearance on the morning of being disbanded.

The ceremony of disbandment was completed in the course of an hour, not a single complaint being lodged by any individual of the regiment against any officer, a circumstance highly gratifying to those concerned.² The men gave three hearty cheers for General Baillie and their other officers, and in this manner the military career of this respectable corps closed.³

The strength of the Reays on being disbanded was 31 officers,⁴

¹ During their stay in Stirling it appears that the Reays were the unwitting perpetrators of an act of vandalism, for in order to obtain materials for kindling the barrack-room fires (wood being apparently scarce), they were supplied by the civil authorities with a mass of old papers and documents, then thought useless, but which are now known to have contained much valuable historical data!

² It is said that prior to the disbandment, the officers presented General Baillie with an elegant silver bowl, in testimony of their very high regard and esteem during eight years' service under his command; while the N.-C. officers and privates of the regiment presented to Lieut.-Colonel Campbell a silver cup suitably inscribed, and to Major Scobie a handsome snuff-box, in token of their respect and attachment.

Note.—There is in the possession of Dr Kenneth Cameron, Montreal (the present representative of General Baillie), a beautiful silver "Loving Cup" upon which is engraved Lord Reay's crest and motto, with a large "B" underneath. The owner is not certain of its history except that it belonged to his great-grandfather. It is possible, then, that this cup may either be the one referred to above, or was presented to General Baillie as a mark of esteem by Lord Reay himself. A photograph of the cup (kindly supplied by Dr Cameron) appears as a tail-piece to this chapter.

³ The following account of the disbandment appeared in the 'Edinburgh Advertiser,' Tuesday, October 19th, 1802: "By a letter from *Stirling*, we learn that the REAY FENCIBLE HIGHLANDERS, consisting of about 500 men, and commanded by MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY HUGH BAILLIE, were disbanded upon Wednesday last, the 13th curt., by MAJOR-GENERAL DON, who expressed in the strongest terms his approbation of the appearance and orderly conduct of this Regiment, so well known in *Ireland*. The whole were disbanded in the course of one hour, and took their departure immediately for the *Reay* Country in *Sutherlandshire*, highly gratified with the terms in which GENERAL DON, at the head of each company, was pleased to express his approbation of their services."

⁴ The full establishment of officers should have been 35, but there were four vacancies which had not been filled up—viz., Surgeon, Captain-Lieutenant, 1 Lieutenant, and 1 Ensign. The two former had been rendered vacant by the appointment of Surgeon

33 sergeants, 37 corporals, 16 drummers, and 418 privates—total, 535 of all ranks.¹ The officers present with the regiment were:—

Colonel Mackay H. Baillie, Major-General.	Lieutenant Donald Campbell.
Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Campbell.	„ Robert Cameron.
Major John Scobie.	„ David Logan.
Captain Hugh Morison.	„ Sinclair M. Scobie.
„ Colin C. Mackay.	Ensign John Macarthur.
„ Alex. Clarke.	„ John Mackay.
„ Hector Maclean.	„ Donald Ross.
„ George Hunter.	„ George Mackay.
Captain-Lieut. ———	Adjutant ———
Lieutenant Hugh Grant.	Acting-Adjutant John Sutherland.
„ Wm. Baillie.	Paymaster Alex. Clarke.
„ John Sutherland.	Quartermaster Colin C. Mackay.
„ Walter Ross.	Surgeon ———
	Asst.-Surgeon David Logan.

ABSENT OFFICERS.

Captain Angus Mackay, sick in Scotland.		
Captain and Adjutant A. Blanche, permitted to remain in Ireland.		
Lieutenant John Nisbet,	„	„
„ Wm. Ballantine,	„	„
Ensign Roderick Macqueen,	„	„
„ Alex. Frend,	„	„
„ William Fox,	„	„

The men now dispersed to their homes in different parts of Scotland, the great majority directing their course for the Reay Country.² During their long stay in Ireland some of the soldiers had been allowed to marry,³ and the wives thus brought home to

Veitch to the 23rd Light Dragoons in November 1801, and Capt.-Lieutenant Maclaren to the 91st Foot in August of the same year.

¹ The actual numbers present on parade were: 23 officers, 30 sergeants, 36 corporals, 16 drummers, and 403 privates. The complete muster-roll of the regiment (by companies) at the disbandment, together with the detail of those absent, will be found in Appendix XI.

² Some of the N.-C. officers and men who had seen previous service in the army were entitled to pensions, to obtain which it was necessary for them to appear before the Board of Commissioners at Chelsea Hospital. In a bill drawn by the paymaster for £3, 3s. appears the following: “Allowance for a passage from Leith to London of three sergeants to attend the Chelsea Board at £1, 1s. od. each,” and there were several other such bills drawn. In another entry I find: “Allowance to Sergeant-Major Cochran till he attends the Chelsea Board, 2s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a-day.”

³ The orders to the troops in Ireland had been very strict (and necessarily so) in regard to marrying women of the country, and marriage had only been allowed when it could be clearly proved that the woman was of the highest character and most respectable antecedents. In some regiments marriage was prohibited, and in a regtl.

Sutherland were all good specimens of Irish womanhood—cheerful, handsome, and industrious.¹

As soon as the disbanded Reays reached “Duthaich’ ic Aoidh” they were received with every demonstration of affection and pride, not only by parents and relatives,² but by the community at large, and with that true warmth of feeling and generous spirit of hospitality for which the Highlanders of Scotland have ever been famed. “Nowhere,” writes the author of ‘Sketches of Sutherland Characters,’ “is such a reception given to a soldier who has worn a regimental uniform as in Sutherland, whose kindly-hearted people are all fond of a military life. Truly the poet sang of the soldiers’ return—

‘A leal light heart was in his breast,
His hand unstained with plunder,
And for fair Scotia hame again
He cheery on did wander.’”

Celebrations lasting several days were held in the different parishes to honour the return of the gallant soldiers, bonfires blazed on the hills, and the whole countryside was *en fête*. The story of Lake’s “brave and honest Reays” was on every lip.

Long after peace had been restored to the country, the exploits and valiant deeds performed by “Mackay’s Highlanders,” and the high name they had acquired during their service in Ireland, was remembered with pride by their descendants in Strathnaver, and to this day the name of “REISIMEID MHC AOIDH” is a familiar and honoured one in the scattered townships and remote sheilings of that rugged and far northern district.

After their disbandment some of the officers of the Reay Fencibles obtained commissions in the line, while many of the men

order of one Highland regiment of the line quartered in Ireland during the rebellion we read that “no man is to be allowed to marry a woman of the country . . . and no woman will be allowed to embark with the regiment but those that came with it.”—Gardyne, vol. i. p. 48.

Many of the men, however, married on their return to the Reay Country, as may be seen by referring to the marriage registers of the different Reay Country parishes at the time.

² Many of them brought back presents for relatives and friends, some of which were of considerable value. While in the Reay Country some years ago I came across several of these relics of the fencibles’ stay in Ireland. Among the articles brought to the Skerray district was a fine oak chest of drawers, which was the object of much curiosity among the people, who had never seen such a thing before. They finally came to the conclusion that the different drawers were *new kinds of baking troughs!*

again responded to their country's call on the renewal of hostilities in May 1803, of whom a large number went to the new county regiment—the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders¹—and with it took part in the capture of the Cape in 1806, and in the disastrous attack on New Orleans² in 1815. Others saw service in India,³ Spain, and at Waterloo,⁴ worthily upholding the honour of their country and name on many a hard-fought field. Several gained commissions and returned to their native glens war-worn and honoured veterans.⁵

“Such were the officers and men of the ‘Reay Fencible Highlanders,’” says the late Mr John Mackay of Hereford, in concluding his short but interesting account of the services of the regiment, “or as they were termed in Ireland ‘Lord Reay’s Highlanders,’ an honour to their race and to their country, descendants of men who

¹ This regiment continued to be a distinctively Sutherland one for many years after its raising, and even at the time of the Indian Mutiny there were a good number of Reay Country and Sutherland men in its ranks.

² In this terrible mismanaged affair, for action it could hardly be termed, the 93rd lost 6 officers, 4 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 116 rank and file killed, including those who died next day from the effects of their wounds; while 12 officers, 17 sergeants, 3 drummers, and 349 rank and file were wounded. From the parish of Farr alone 15 N.-C. officers and men were killed or died of wounds.

³ With the 78th Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs).

⁴ Among the officers, N.-C. officers, and men of the 42nd, 79th, and 92nd Highlanders who served in the Peninsular war and at Waterloo there were many Reay countrymen. In the Waterloo roll of the 79th we find among the killed and wounded, 1 captain, 2 sergeants, 1 corporal, 1 drummer, and 10 privates of the name of Mackay. There were also a good number of Reay countrymen in the ranks of the 3rd (Scots Fusilier) Guards, the four battalions of the Royal Scots, and the 71st Highlanders.

⁵ After the peace of 1802, and up to the time of the Sutherland “Clearances,” many of the best farms and holdings on the Reay Estate were occupied by retired officers and old soldiers. For many years after the war well over £2000 was paid quarterly to pensioners in Sutherland and Caithness by the bank agents at Dornoch and Thurso. On these occasions the veterans usually turned out in vests made of their old regimental tartan or red coats, on which they wore their medals. In a certain Reay Country parish some seventy years ago, there were no less than twenty-four pensioners wounded at New Orleans, drawing quarterly pensions, varying from sixpence to half-a-crown a-day, according to rank, service, and nature of wounds. In some cases these pensions were augmented by a further award of “Kinloch money”* by the Corporation of the Scottish Hospital. The author’s father used to relate how one of these veterans (a Durness man), who, whenever he heard of a battle having taken place, and was told of the casualties that had occurred among the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, was wont to strike his stick vigorously on the ground, exclaiming with emphasis “Promorshun ! Promorshun ! (Promotion ! Promotion !).”

* The Kinloch Fund was founded in 1812 by William Kinloch, Esq., of Calcutta, a native of Kincardineshire, who bequeathed “the residue of his estate to the governors and managers of the fund instituted in London for the relief of poor and indigent Scotchmen who have lost their limbs or eyesight, or have been otherwise maimed and wounded in the service of their country.”—Royal Scottish Hospital Report.

always bravely held their own and defended against great odds, who defeated the evil designs of their powerful neighbours when open force was attempted, and though they have been on more than one occasion circumvented and injured by fraud and duplicity, remained ever loyal to their sovereigns and repeatedly performed good services to the State. They were the means of preserving a balance of power amongst the Chiefs of the North and of preventing tyranny, and though disadvantageously located, they produced heroes and warriors equal to any in their day, whose fame will remain in the story of their country and on the continent of Europe. In Ireland, as it has been shown, the 'Reays' exhibited many proofs of the valour of their race, and eminently manifested that they were the genuine sons of *the valiant Mackays of the North.*"



Silver Loving Cup, presented to General Baillie, either by Lord Reay or by the Officers of the Regiment on the disbandment.

From the Original in the possession of Dr KENNETH CAMERON, Montreal.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF FENCIBLE INFANTRY REGIMENTS RAISED PRIOR TO 1793.

ARGYLL REGIMENT.

(*Facings—Yellow.*)

Colonel—JOHN, DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Raised July 1759. When embodied was 1000 strong. Quartered in different parts of Scotland till the peace of 1763, when it was disbanded.

SUTHERLAND REGIMENT.

(*Facings—Yellow.*)

Colonel—WILLIAM, EARL OF SUTHERLAND.

Raised July 1759, but the officers' commissions were dated in August. 1500 men assembled within nine days after his Lordship had arrived in the north with his Letters of Service, but the authorised establishment being only 1000 men, the remainder had to be rejected. Permission, however, was afterwards given to augment the strength to 1100 men. This corps was remarkable for the fine appearance of the men, as well as for their peaceable, domiciliated habits in quarters. After doing garrison duty in various parts of Scotland it was disbanded in 1763.

ARGYLL, OR WESTERN FENCIBLE REGIMENT.

(*Facings—Yellow.*)

Colonel—LORD FREDERICK CAMPBELL.

Raised February 1778. Embodied at Glasgow. Volunteered to extend its services to any part of the world where their country required them. This offer was accepted, but their services were not required abroad. Served in Scotland, and disbanded at Glasgow in April 1783.

SOUTH FENCIBLE REGIMENT.

(*Facings—Green.*)

Colonel—HENRY, DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH.

Raised 10th April 1778. Embodied at Edinburgh. Offered to serve in any part of Great Britain. Served in Scotland. Disbanded at Dalkeith, 1st April 1783.

Note.—All the Fencibles raised prior to 1793 were required to serve only in the country in which they were raised, except in time of invasion. All the Scotch ones, except the South Fencibles, wore the full Highland garb.

AN OLD HIGHLAND FENCIBLE CORPS.

DUKE OF GORDON'S NORTH FENCIBLES.

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel*—ALEXANDER, FOURTH DUKE OF GORDON.

Raised May 1778. Embodied at Aberdeen. Served in Scotland. Disbanded at Aberdeen in 1783.

2ND SUTHERLAND REGIMENT.

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel*—WILLIAM WEMYSS OF WEMYSS.

Raised January 1779. Embodied at Fort George. Were stationed principally in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Distinguished for "the sobriety, probity, and the most scrupulous and orderly attention to duty" of its men.¹ Disbanded at Fort George in 1783.

Besides the above regiments raised in Scotland, there were two formed in England, both in 1779. They were both disbanded in 1783.

These were Fauconberg's (Yorkshire) and North's (Cinque Ports): the services of both were confined to garrison duty in England.

The total number of Fencible Corps thus raised during the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence was eight, of which six were Scotch and two English. This was a small number, indeed, when compared with those raised during the French War of 1793-1802,² as will be seen by the succeeding list.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF FENCIBLE INFANTRY REGIMENTS

RAISED, 1793-1802.

SCOTCH FENCIBLES.

PRINCESS OF WALES' (ABERDEEN HIGHLAND) REGIMENT.*

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel*—SIR JAMES LEITH.

Raised October 25th, 1794. Embodied at Aberdeen. Disbanded in Ireland, September 11th, 1803.

¹ General Stewart of Garth.

² The preliminaries of peace were signed in London on the 1st of October 1801. The final ratification of the Peace of Amiens, however, was not concluded until March 1802.

* THOSE REGIMENTS MARKED WITH AN ASTERISK WORE THE FULL HIGHLAND GARB.

ANGUS VOLUNTEERS.

*(Facings—Buff.)**Major-Commandant—JOHN FRASER.*

Raised September 27th, 1794. Disbanded in 1799. Strength, two companies.

ANGUSSHIRE REGIMENT.

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel—ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.*

Raised October 20th, 1794. Had a good many Highlanders from the Highland borders. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Perth, July 19th, 1802.¹

1ST ARGYLLSHIRE REGIMENT.*

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel—GEORGE, MARQUIS OF LORNE, AFTERWARDS GEORGE, 6TH DUKE OF ARGYLL.*

Raised March 2nd, 1793. Embodied at Stirling. Its services were confined to Scotland. Disbanded 1799.

2ND ARGYLLSHIRE REGIMENT.*

*(Facings—Blue.)**Colonel—HENRY MORD CLAVERING.*

Raised October 25th, 1794. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Ayr, July 24th, 1802.

3RD ARGYLLSHIRE REGIMENT.*

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel—ARCHIBALD M'NEILL OF COLONSAY.*

Raised June 15th, 1798. The name of Argyll did not properly apply to this corps, as the number of Argyllshire men was very small. Its service extended to any part of Europe,² and in 1800 was sent to Gibraltar. Ordered home at the peace of 1801. Disbanded at Dumbarton, July 3rd, 1802.

BREADALBANE REGIMENT.*

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel—EARL OF BREADALBANE.*

1ST BATTALION.

Lieut.-Colonel—WILLIAM MAXWELL MORRISON, LATE 77TH FOOT.

Raised March 2nd, 1793. Embodied at Perth. Volunteered for duty in Ireland, August 1798, but its services were not required. Remained in Scotland. Disbanded at Fort George, 18th April 1799.³

¹ According to Colonel Hamilton Smith this corps wore the bonnet and kilt.

² The soldiers of those Fencible regiments whose services extended, or who volunteered their services (and were accepted), to any part of Europe, or the world, were entitled to pensions when disabled, in the same manner as if in regiments of the line. Neither at that period nor for many years after were there any such pensions to officers, however severe their wounds, or however much disabled.—Stewart of Garth, 'Sketches of the Highlanders,' vol. ii. p. 330.

³ Duncan Bàn MacIntyre, the famous hunter-bard of Glenorchy, was a soldier in this battalion, in which he served till its disbandment. His discharge document is still in existence.—'The Gaelic Songs of Duncan MacIntyre,' edited by G. Calder.

2ND BATTALION.

Lieut.-Colonel—ANDREW M'DOUALL OF LOGAN.

Raised March 8th, 1793. Embodied at Perth. In 1798 the greater part of this corps volunteered for service in Ireland, and landed at Carrickfergus in September. Returned to Scotland in March 1799. Disbanded at Paisley, 18th April 1799.

3RD BATTALION.

Lieut.-Colonel—JOHN CAMPBELL OF ACHALLADER.

Raised December 9th, 1794. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Ayr, 28th July 1802.

LOYAL BRITISH REGIMENT.

(*Facings*—Blue.)

Colonel—SIR ROBERT STUART, BART.

Raised October 24th, 1794. Disbanded 1802.

CAITHNESS LEGION.

(*Facings*—Yellow.)

Colonel—SIR BENJAMIN DUNBAR OF HEMPRIGGS.

Raised November 15th, 1794. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Ennis-corthy in 1802. Wore the bonnet and tartan pantaloons (*truis*).¹

ROYAL CLAN ALPINE REGIMENT.*

(*Facings*—Blue.)

Colonel—ALEX. M'GREGOR MURRAY OF NAPIER RUSKY.

Raised September 21st, 1798, for general service in Europe. Embodied at Stirling. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Stirling, July 24th, 1802.

DUKE OF YORK'S OWN (BANFFSHIRE) REGIMENT.

(*Facings*— .)

Colonel—ANDREW HAY OF MOUNTBLAIREY.

Raised July 26th, 1798. This regiment had a number of Highlanders in its ranks. Disbanded in 1802. Wore the bonnet and *truis*.

DUMBARTON REGIMENT.*

(*Facings*—Black.)

Colonel—COLIN CAMPBELL OF STONEFIELD.

Raised August 14th, 1794. Embodied at Dumbarton. Served in Guernsey, and afterwards in Ireland during the rebellion, where it was actively occupied and employed as a light infantry corps in the mountains, under Sir John Moore, who kept it constantly near his person. "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, trustworthy men.'"² Disbanded at Dumbarton October 5th, 1802.

¹ The belt-plate of this regiment bore the Thistle and Crown, with the word "*Caithness*" above, and below, the legend, "*Flodden Field*."

² General Stewart of Garth.

LORD ELGIN'S REGIMENT.

*(Facings—Green.)**Colonel*—THOMAS, EARL OF ELGIN.

Raised November 28th, 1794. There were about 300 Highlanders in this corps. Wore a part of the Highland garb, the bonnet and truis.¹ Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Linlithgow, October 15th, 1802.

FIFESHIRE FENCIBLES.

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel*—JAMES DURHAM OF LARGO.

Raised October 20th, 1794. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Kilkenny, April 11th, 1803.

FRASER REGIMENT.*

*(Facings—Black.)**Colonel*—JAMES FRASER OF BELLADRUM.

Raised November 29th, 1794. Embodied at Inverness. Of the soldiers, 300 bore the name of Fraser. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Glasgow, July 12th, 1802.

GLENGARRY OR BRITISH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.*

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel*—ALEX. M'DONNELL OF GLENGARRY.

Raised August 14th, 1794, as a Catholic corps. According to General Stewart, more than one-half of the men in this regiment were enlisted from the estate of Glengarry. Of the thirty-two officers, twenty-two were MacDonnells or MacDonalds. Served in Jersey, Guernsey, and in Ireland, where they were actively employed during the rebellion, earning for themselves the sobriquet of the "Devil's Bloodhounds."² Disbanded at Ayr, July 1st, 1802, after which the greater part of the regiment emigrated, together with their families and relations, to Canada, settling in a district to which they gave the name of their native glen.

ROYAL INVERNESS HIGHLANDERS.*

*(Facings—Blue.)**Colonel*—JOHN BAILLIE OF DUNEAN.

Raised November 21st, 1794. Embodied at Inverness. Served in Ireland during the rebellion, and after its suppression the designation of the corps was changed to "The Duke of York's Royal Inverness-shire Highlanders" as a compliment to their good behaviour. In 1801 the regiment voluntarily

¹ General Stewart and Colonel H. Smith's MSS. According to Colonel Smith's drawings, purses (sporrans) were worn by regiments in truis as well as by kilted ones. The purses he shows are mere indications, all alike, and evidently not regimental variations. It seems improbable, however, that purses were worn in *all* the regiments wearing truis.

² So called on account of their garb and their unflinching success in hunting down the rebels. —'The Glengarry Fencibles,' by the Rev. Father Macdonell, Fort Augustus, vol. xxvi. of the 'Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness.'

offered to serve in any part of the world, but owing to the preliminaries of peace having been signed, their services were not required abroad. Disbanded at Stirling, August 25th, 1802.

THE REGIMENT OF THE ISLES OR MACDONALD
FENCIBLES.*

(*Facings*—Yellow.)

Colonel—ALEXANDER, LORD MACDONALD.

Raised May 29th, 1798. Embodied at Inverness. Served in Scotland and England. Disbanded at Fort George, July 26th, 1802.

LOCHABER FENCIBLES.*

(*Facings*—Black.)

Colonel—DONALD CAMERON OF LOCHIEL.

Raised June 15th, 1798. Embodied at Falkirk. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Linlithgow, June 26th, 1802.

NORTH LOWLAND REGIMENT.

(*Facings*—Green.)

Colonel—THOMAS BALFOUR.

Raised November 1794. There were a number of Highlanders in this corps. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Dundee, August 6th, 1802.¹

WEST LOWLAND REGIMENT.

(*Facings*—Green.)

Colonel—EARL OF EGLINTON.

Raised March 2nd, 1793. Disbanded at Musselburgh, March 26th, 1799.²

PRINCESS CHARLOTTE OF WALES' OR LOYAL MACLEOD
FENCIBLES.*

(*Facings*—Blue.)

Colonel—JOHN MACLEOD OF COLBECKS.

Raised June 15th, 1798. Embodied at Elgin. Served in Ireland. Disbanded in England at Tynemouth Barracks, June 11th, 1802.

THE NORTHERN OR GORDON FENCIBLES.*

(*Facings*—Yellow.)

Colonel—ALEXANDER, DUKE OF GORDON.

Raised March 3rd, 1793. Embodied at Aberdeen. Its services were confined to Scotland, but the men having volunteered to extend it, the offer was

¹ According to Colonel H. Smith, this corps wore the infantry uniform, with truis.

² Also known as the "Western Fencibles." In Kay's 'Edinburgh Portraits,' vol. ii. p. 330, it is stated that this regiment wore the Highland uniform, "to which garb the Earl was extremely partial." According to Colonel Smith, however, the uniform was that of the Line, with truis.

accepted, and in 1794 the regiment moved to England. "When quartered in Kent, the King, who had never seen a Highland regiment, ordered them up to London, where they were reviewed in Hyde Park in the presence of His Majesty, who expressed himself highly satisfied with their appearance."¹ Disbanded in Scotland in 1799.

ORKNEY BATTALION.

(*Facings*—Yellow.)

Major-Commandant—THOMAS BALFOUR.

Raised April 20th, 1793. Disbanded 1799. Strength, three companies.

PERTSHIRE HIGHLANDERS.*

(*Facings*—Yellow.)

Colonel—WILLIAM ROBERTSON OF LUDE.

Raised October 20th, 1794. Embodied at Perth. "Although called Perthshire Highlanders, this was a misnomer, as the number of Perthshire Highlanders, or Highlanders of any county, was very limited."² Disbanded at Preston, February 27th, 1799.

PRINCE OF WALES' OWN.

(*Facings*—Yellow.)

Colonel—SIR WILLIAM JOHNSTONE, BART.

Raised June 15th, 1798. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Plymouth, May 21st, 1802. Wore the bonnet and truis.

REAY HIGHLAND REGIMENT.*

(*Facings*—Light Grey-Blue.)

Colonel—MACKAY HUGH BAILLIE OF ROSEHALL.

Raised October 24th, 1794. Embodied at Elgin. Served in Ireland. Was present at Tara Hill and Ballinamuck. Disbanded at Stirling, October 13th, 1802.

ROSS-SHIRE HIGHLAND REGIMENT.*

(*Facings*—Yellow.)

Major-Commandant—COLIN MACKENZIE OF MOUNTGERALD.

Raised November 20th, 1794. Strength, two companies. Although a small corps, the men were noticeable for their "exemplary character and physical capacity. No man was punished; none died during its service."³ Disbanded in 1799.

¹ General Stewart of Garth. This regiment wore black belts (Colonel H. Smith's MSS.)

² General Stewart of Garth. The regiment, however, wore the kilt, probably of Robertson tartan.

³ Mil. Hist. of Perthshire, p. 176. Also known as "The Perthshire Regiment of Fencibles."

³ General Stewart of Garth.

ROSS AND CROMARTY RANGERS.*

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel—LEWIS MACKENZIE, YOUNGER OF SCATWELL.*

Raised August 8th, 1798, for service in any part of Europe. Embodied at Inverness. Served in Scotland and Ireland. Disbanded at Inverness, July 27th, 1802.

ROTHESAY AND CAITHNESS HIGHLANDERS.¹*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel—SIR JOHN SINCLAIR OF ULBSTER.*

1ST BATTALION.

Lieut.-Colonel—JAMES, EARL OF CAITHNESS.

Raised March 7th, 1794. Embodied at Inverness. Remarkable for the size of its officers, twenty of whom averaged six feet in height, and who were consequently known as "Thier-nan-more" or "The great chiefs." Served in Scotland and the north of England. Disbanded at Bruntsfield Links, Edinburgh, May 6th, 1799.

2ND BATTALION.

Lieut.-Colonel—BENJAMIN WILLIAMSON.

Raised November 19th, 1794. Embodied at Forfar. Served in Ireland for two years, where it was distinguished for its exemplary conduct. In 1797 this battalion volunteered for service in any part of Europe, but was not called upon to go abroad. Disbanded at Glasgow, July 1802.

SHETLAND BATTALION.

*(Facings— .)**Major-Commandant—GEORGE MALCOLMSON.*

Raised February 8th, 1798. Disbanded 1802. Strength, two companies.

SOUTHERN REGIMENT.²*(Facings—Light Grey-Blue.)**Colonel—JAMES, THIRD EARL OF HOPETOUN.*

Raised March 2nd, 1793. Served in Scotland. Disbanded at Linlithgow, April 12th, 1799.

¹ The uniform of this regiment consisted of the red jacket and white waistcoat, red and white hose, buckled shoes, white goatskin purse with black tassels, "feathered bonnet, with a plaid thrown across the shoulders, and tartan pantaloons, in imitation of the truis, 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."—Stewart of Garth, 'Sketches of the Highlanders,' vol. ii.

In a rare work, consisting of four quarto pages, compiled by Colonel Sir John Sinclair, and entitled, 'Account of the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles,' there is an excellent frontispiece illustrating the uniform of the regiment, which is exactly as General Stewart describes it. This "Account" was "particularly addressed to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of the (1st) Battalion, that they might remember they belonged to so respectable a corps." From it we learn that this battalion might claim the distinction of being the first fencible corps raised for service in Britain, the previous corps being embodied for service in their own country only.—'Old Scottish Regimental Colours,' by Andrew Ross, S.S.C., p. 126.

² Also known as the "South Fencibles" or the "Hopetoun Invincibles."

GRANT OR STRATHSPEY REGIMENT.*

*(Facings—Green.)**Colonel—SIR JAMES GRANT OF GRANT.*

Raised March 2nd, 1793. Embodied at Forres. Served in Scotland. Disbanded at Inverness, April 1799.

SUTHERLAND REGIMENT.*

*(Facings—Yellow.)**Colonel—MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM WEMYSS OF WEMYSS.*

Raised March 2nd, 1793. Embodied at Fort George. Extended its services to Ireland in 1797. Disbanded at Fort George in March 1799, many of the officers and men transferring their services to the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, raised by General Wemyss on a letter of service dated 16th April 1799.

LOYAL TARBERT REGIMENT.

*(Facings—Blue.)**Colonel—SIR EDWARD LESLIE, BART.*

Raised July 27th, 1798. Disbanded at Plymouth, June 19th, 1802.

THE LOYAL TAY REGIMENT.

*(Facings—Blue.)**Colonel—SIR ROBERT ANSTRUTHER, BART.*

Raised October 25th, 1794. This regiment had a good many Highlanders from the Highland borders. Served in Ireland. Disbanded at Stirling, June 28th, 1802.

The Scotch Fencibles raised in 1793 had eight companies each, except the Orkney, which had three.

Those raised in 1794-1802 had ten companies, except the 1st Battalion Rothesay and Caithness Regiment, which had eight, and three others—the Angus Volunteers, Ross-shire and Shetland Fencibles—which had only two companies.

Of the total number of Scotch corps raised from 1759 to 1802, we find that, independently of Colonel Macneil's Argyll, Colonel Robertson's Perthshire (both having very few Highlanders), and the Ross-shire Fencibles (which are not included, as their number was small), the total number of Fencibles raised in the Highlands, and considered as exclusively Highland, amounted to twenty-six battalions.¹ Some of the other Scotch Fencibles, however, although not nominally Highland, had a number of men from the mountains in their ranks, and this fact is noted in the above list under the regiments concerned.

¹ General Stewart of Garth.

ENGLISH FENCIBLES.

Raised.	Name.	Colonel or Commandant.	Disbanded.
1794			
October 16 .	Royal Lancashire *	Lord Grey de Wilton	1801-2
" 20 .	Northampton *	John Manners Ker	1801-2
" 20 .	Loyal Essex *	John E. Urquhart	1801-2
" 20 .	Loyal Nottingham *	James O'Connor	1801-2
" 20 .	Suffolk *	John Robinson	1801-2
" 20 .	Loyal Somerset *	W. F. Forster	1801-2
" 20 .	York *	Hon. G. A. C. Stapylton	1801-2
November 15	Devon and Cornwall	Robert Hall	1801-2
" 15	Prince of Wales' Leicester *	Major Parkyns	1801-2
" 17	Cheshire	Charles Courtenay	1801-2
1795			
February 26 .	Loyal Durham *	Barrington Price	1801-2
" 28 .	Northumberland	Francis Blake	1801-2
April 25 .	Newfoundland	Skinner . . . .	...
1796			
April 19 .	Scilly	Gudgeon	1801-2
1798			
November 26	Pollen's	Pollen	1801-2

All the English Fencibles had ten companies, except the Scilly Fencibles which consisted of one company only.

Those marked with an asterisk (*) served in Ireland during the rebellion.

Note.—Colonel H. Smith mentions two corps not in the above list—the Loyal Surrey, and Royal Canadian Volunteers, both raised in 1799.

IRISH FENCIBLES.

Raised.	Name.	Colonel or Commandant.	Disbanded.
1794			
November 15	Loyal Irish (1st Battalion)	Handcock	1801-2
December 15	Loyal Irish (2nd Battalion)	Handcock . . . .	...
1798			
June 15 . .	Loyal Limerick	Sir Vere Hunt . . . .	...
1799			
June 4 . .	Ancient Irish	T. J. Fitzgerald	1801-2

All the Irish Fencibles had a strength of ten companies each.

The Ancient Irish volunteered for service abroad, and were actually sent to Egypt for a time, taking part in the operations against the French in 1801.

TOTAL NUMBER OF FENCIBLES RAISED. 363

WELSH FENCIBLES.

Raised.	Name.	Colonel.	Disbanded.
1798 August 8	Cambrian Rangers . . .	Edwards . . .	1801-2

This regiment was composed of ten companies.

MANX FENCIBLES.

LIST OF FENCIBLES. [To face page 362.]

THREE other Fencible Corps appear to have been raised between 1795-8, which were disbanded in 1801 2—viz., the Royal Birmingham (Rann's), the Nova Scotia Provincial Regiment, and Prince Edward's Island Fencibles. The two latter were for service in Canada.

N.B.—Pollen's Fencibles, which appear in the list of "English Fencibles," were also known as the "Surrey Rangers."

In 1803 four Fencible Corps were raised (probably in the British Isles) for service in Canada. They were: the Newfoundland (Skerret's), New Brunswick (Hunter's), Nova Scotia (Wetherall's), and the Canadian Fencible Infantry (Peter's). They were all disbanded in 1816.

In February 1812, a regiment known as the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles was raised in Canada by Colonel E. Baynes and Major Geo. Macdonnell. It was disbanded in August 1816.

Note.—Add to the two English Fencibles (Fauconberg's and North's) raised in 1779, the *Royal Lancashire Volunteers* (Sir Thos. Egerton, Bt.), 1779-1783. Its services were confined to garrison duty in England.

1794		
October 20	Lieut.-Col. Morison.	
November 15	David Hunter.	
1798		
June 15	Dunbar.	
July 20	Dunlop.	
July 31	Alex. M'Grigor.	
August 10	Tyndale.	
December 1	James Kann.	

¹ The Dukes of Athol held the Sovereignty of the Isle of Man, which had come into their possession in 1736.—'A Military History of Perthshire,' p. 183.

² 'A Military History of Perthshire,' p. 183.

³ 'History of British Army,' vol. iv., Part II., pp. 943-4.

"Most of the Fencible Corps," says the author of 'The History of the British Army,' "were created either in 1794 or 1798, and to judge by the old Monthly Army Lists of 1799, the greatest number of them in existence at one time in Great Britain was 31 regiments of cavalry and 45 battalions of infantry. But by March 1800 the greater part of the cavalry had been disembodied, so that it would not be wise to reckon the Fencibles as exceeding, at their highest figure, twenty to twenty-five thousand men."¹

According to the same authority, "most, if not all, of the fencible infantry were disbanded in May 1801, before the signature of the preliminaries of peace."² This was not so, however, the greater number were not disbanded until late in 1801 or early in 1802. Many of the Scotch Fencibles, indeed, were not disbanded until some time *after* the Treaty of Amiens had been signed, as will be seen from the preceding lists.

The disbandment of the fencibles in 1802, and "the establishment in that year of a permanent Scots Militia, rendered unnecessary any further organisation on a large scale of this more ancient but partial system of national defence."³

APPENDIX III.

DESCRIPTION OF THE REAY ESTATE IN 1795.

"The Estate of Reay," says a contemporary writer,⁴ "may be equal in extent to the county of Fife or any of the Lothians. It is very compact considering its great extent, no other estate interfering with it, and its marches are well and neatly ascertained by the sea, the sea-loch of Kylescow, the great mountain of Ben Hee, Loch Loyal, and the water of Torrisdale."

"What is called the Reay forest forms almost the centre of this great extent. It consists of mountains, hills, and precipices, full of excellent pasture, these mountains appearing green up to the very tops. As they are dry and well sheltered they must be particularly adapted for sheep. There are at present in the forest about 1000 deer. These are shot and hunted down by the foresters and people in their neighbourhood for their own use, except such as are sent at times to the factor and his friends, and to others who choose to call for them. The appearance of the estate is altogether mountainous, with great promontories going into the sea, such as Cape Wrath, the Whitten Crail, and Farrethead. The places of Glencoul and Glendow at the head of Kylescoue have in their appearance a wild and savage beauty that is not possible for any person to conceive that has not seen them. Indeed the parish of Edrachillis has all much the same look. Durness is a dry pretty spot, the soil sandy, well peopled for its extent. It lies upon a bed of limestone which is here found in the greatest

¹ 'History of British Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 889. The official list of Auxiliary Forces in 1800 shows 13 regiments of fencible cavalry and 46 battalions of fencible infantry.

² 'History of British Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 890.

³ 'A Military History of Perthshire,' p. 147.

⁴ "A Description of the Reay Estate by a valuator (name unknown), dated 1797."—'Book of Mackay,' Appendix of Documents, p. 460. Although this description is dated 1797, it applies equally to 1795.

abundance. It is considered the best grass and pasture ground in the North of Scotland, and it was of old the Bishop of Caithness' shealing or pasture farm. The parish of Tongue is of the three parishes the most habitable, and in which there is the most arable ground. It is likewise the most accessible, there being a road from the parish of Farr, to the east of it, to the mansion-house of Tongue. There is at the north end of Loch Loyal, a little above the beach, a most beautiful romantic situation for a sporting house or quarters.¹ It has the loch, in front, four great hills rising above the loch, one of them full of birch-wood, rising like an amphitheatre with the green top of the mountain above it."

"The Reay Estate," concludes the same writer, "may be well called one of the great estates of Scotland, and if the present lord lives to the age of his father or grandfather he may in the course of his life bring it to £5000 yearly rent,² and at the same time have the satisfaction to see his tenants live happily enjoying plenty, the natural fruits of honest industry."

The following were the principal tacksmen, or lease-holders, of the estate :—

Borgiemore—John Mackay.	Falisaid—Alexander Grant.
Skerray—James Mackay.	Balnakiel, &c. ³ —Donald Forbes.
Tongue and Braetongue—Geo. Mackay of Bighouse.	Scoury, &c.—Geo. Mackay of Bighouse.
Ribigill, &c.—Donald Forbes.	West Kylestrome—Hugh Mackay.
Melness, &c.—John Scobie.	Glencoul—Hugh Macleod.
Strathmelness—John Mackay.	Duardmore—David Nicol.
Eriboll, &c.—Donald Mackay.	Duardbeg—Alex. Mackay.
Rispond—James Anderson.	Auldinrinnie, &c.—William Munro of Achany.
Keoldale, &c.—John Clarke.	Oldshoares—Donald Forbes of Ribigill.
Clashneach—James Clarke's widow.	Phillinbeg—Mrs Mackay of Auldany.
Hope and Inverhope—Donald Mackay.	Kinside—Donald Mackay.

APPENDIX IV.

WARRANT FOR RAISING A REGIMENT OF FENCIBLE MEN UNDER THE COMMAND OF COL. M. H. BAILLIE, SIGNED GEORGE R.

"Whereas we have thought fit to order a Regiment of Fencible men, to be forthwith raised under your command, which is to consist of ten companies, of 4 sergeants, 5 corporals, 2 drummers, and 95 private men in each, with 2 fifers to the Grenadier Company, besides a sergeant-major and quartermaster-sergeant, together with the usual commissioned officers; which men are to serve in Great Britain and Ireland only.

¹ Since this was written a shooting-lodge has been built on the spot referred to.

² The rent of the Estate of Reay, a few years before this, was only £1297.

³ Balnakiel was at this time leased by Mrs Macleod, widow of Roderick Macleod, Skye, but sublet to Donald Forbes of Ribigill.

“ These are to authorise you, by beat of drum or otherwise, to raise so many men in any county or part of our Kingdom of Great Britain, as shall be wanted to complete the said regiment to the above-mentioned numbers. And all Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other of our civil officers whom it may concern, are hereby required to assisting unto you in providing quarters, impressing carriages, and otherwise, as there shall be occasion.

“ Given at our Court at St James, this 24th day of October 1794, in the 34th year of our Reign.

“ By His Majesty's Command.

“ (Signed) W. WINDHAM.

“ To our trusty and well-beloved M. H. Baillie, Esq.,
Colonel of a Regiment of Fencible men to be
forthwith raised, or to the officer appointed by
him to raise men for our said regiment.”

APPENDIX V.

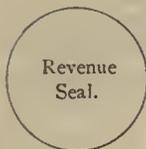
COPY OF COLONEL M. H. BAILLIE'S COMMISSION.

GEORGE R.



GEORGE, the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.,
To Our Trusty and Welbeloved MCKAY HUGH BAILLIE, Esq'r,
GREETING : We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in Your Loyalty, Courage, and Good Conduct, do by these Presents, Constitute you to be
COLONEL of the REAY REGIMENT OF FENCIBLE HIGHLANDERS,
and to take Rank in Our Army during the Establishment of the said Corps only,
and likewise to be Captain of a Company in Our said Regiment.

You are therefore to take Our said Regiment as Colonel, and the said Company, as Captain into your Care and Charge, and duly to exercise as well the Officers as Soldiers thereof in Arms, and to use your best Endeavours to keep them in Good Order and Discipline ; And We do, hereby, Command Them to obey you as their Colonel, and Captain respectively ; And you are to



observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive them from Us, or any other your Superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in pursuance of the Trust We hereby repose in you.

GIVEN at Our Court at Saint James's the Twenty-fifth Day of October 1794, in the Thirty-fifth Year of Our Reign.

BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND.

PORTLAND.

Entered with the
Secretary at War.
M. LEWIS.

En'd with the Comm'sy
General of Muster.
WM. WOODMAN.

MCKAY HUGH BAILLIE, Esq'r, Colonel of
the Reay Reg't of Fencible Highlanders.

Note.—From the original in the possession of Dr Kenneth Cameron, Montreal.

APPENDIX VI.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM ERIC, LORD REAY, WHILE HEIR - PRESUMPTIVE TO THE TITLE, TO THE REV. JOHN THOMSON, MINISTER OF DURNESSE, WITH RELATIVE ENCLOSURE.¹

"LONDON, 4th November 1794.

"REV. SIR,—You must be too well acquainted with the present critical state of public affairs not to be convinced that it is a duty incumbent on every one to contribute in proportion to his powers, and without delay, to assist the Government in checking the alarming progress of an enemy whose formidable powers are not directed, as in former wars, to the mere acquisition of territory, but whose diabolical views extend to us less than to total subversion of everything that is sacred or dear to man—I mean their religion, their property, their liberty. Impelled, therefore, in this momentous occasion by the same sentiments that ever animated my ancestors, I have formed the resolution to come forward and give an unequivocal proof of my attachment to His Majesty's person and Government, by using all the means I have, as presumptive heir to Lord Reay, in bringing forward all the men on the estate to join in a Fencible

¹ From the 'Reay Fencibles,' by the late Mr John Mackay, Hereford.

Corps, to be commanded by my cousin, Colonel Mackay Baillie, for the particulars of which I refer you to the enclosed copy of what I have wrote by this post to all the gentlemen who hold farms conformable to these views ; and convinced as I am of the great influence which your respectable character, and no less situation, must give you over the minds of your parishioners, I come to entreat you to unite your efforts to mine, in persuading such of the men who are capable to arm in defence of the common cause, and show in this important juncture their attachment and zeal for the good of their country—motives which your abilities will enable you to enforce from the pulpit, according to the spirit of the letter which I have already mentioned. I shall not trouble you further on this occasion, except to assure you that I shall ever entertain the most grateful sense of your exertions, and that nothing will give me greater pleasure than having it in my power of ever being serviceable to you.—Believe me, therefore, in the meantime, with sincere good wishes for you and yours, Rev. Sir, your most obedient and humble servant.

“(Signed) ERIC MACKAY.”

Copy (Letter referred to) sent to Tacksmen.

“LONDON, 4th November 1794.

“SIR,—At this crisis of public affairs, when it is the duty, as well as interest, of every good subject to exert himself, according to his station, in maintaining the safety and dignity of his country against a dangerous and formidable enemy, I have to inform you that, animated by the ideas, and agreeable to the spirit and uniform conduct of my ancestors, I have resolved to employ whatever means my relation to the family of Reay, and as the acting representative of that family, afford me of contributing to the assistance and support of His Majesty's Government upon this occasion.

“As I understand, nothing can more effectually serve the common cause than the raising of Fencible regiments, whereby His Majesty will be enabled to employ the rest of his troops upon the Continent, or wherever they may be wanted abroad. I have presumed to lay before His Majesty an offer to raise, with the assistance of the gentlemen of the Reay estate, a Fencible Corps, to serve in any part of Great Britain or Ireland, which offer has been accepted. I flatter myself that in so doing, I have not merely gratified my own personal wishes, but that I shall have the satisfaction of finding that I have done what will be agreeable to the gentlemen themselves, by affording them an opportunity of coming forward and testifying in such a manner their attachment to His Majesty's person, and their spirit and resolution in defence of their country. With these views, I must request you, Sir, to give me all the assistance upon this occasion in your power, and I depend upon your zealous exertions in raising, with all possible dispatch, every man that can be furnished from your farm ; and I hope, I need not observe, that if such persons are selected as may perhaps occasion some little distress or inconvenience to the country, at the same time the interest of His Majesty's service must be considered in the present critical juncture. Colonel Baillie, my nearest relation, who is to command the regiment, will soon be in your country, with Lieut.-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse, and will communicate to you the terms upon which the men are to be raised, and what

I think are such as will make them enter with alacrity. In a public measure of this kind, I hope that the private advantage or preference of individuals will not be considered as the object to be had in view ; but you may be assured, at the same time, that it is my earnest wish, as well as of Colonels Baillie and Big-house, to pay every attention in the management of this business to the wishes and views of every individual, as far as circumstances will reasonably admit of in such an undertaking.

“Now, my good Sir, you must easily conceive how much interested I am in the foregoing business, and, at the same time, conclude that I must feel myself obliged in proportion to the exertions of those whom I depend upon, and I can assure you that in you I have a great deal of confidence, and that although it is impossible we could know much of each other, from my being so very young while in the country, yet I flatter myself that I am none of those who easily forget services, a circumstance which I hope to convince you of when my appearance in the country will procure me the satisfaction of a more intimate acquaintance. I have now only to add a wish—it is that the names of the men who engage in the Mackay Fencibles may be transmitted me, as well as of those who are not capable, who do not choose to join, and that the former may be made acquainted that their friends as well as themselves will experience my further protection and support ; and further, that when, from the advantageous terms offered by the Government, joined to precedence, and the means they will have to make savings, should they, as it is possible, be ordered to that cheap country, Ireland, the men may be enabled and disposed to take farms in the Reay Estates, they may be assured of a preference over those who did not engage, or to any others upon equal terms.

“It is a particular satisfaction to me that so able a man as Colonel Baillie takes the lead upon this occasion ; both he and Colonel Mackay are gentlemen so well known to you all in the country that it must be obvious they would not be concerned therein were not the business for the interest and welfare of the individuals. Therefore, in full assurance that nothing will be omitted on your part to forward the success of a business so interesting to me, I conclude, with my best wishes for your welfare, and am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

“(Signed) ERIC MACKAY.”

APPENDIX VII.

MUSTER - ROLL OF

HIS MAJESTY'S REAY FENCIBLE HIGHLAND REGIMENT OF FOOT FOR 236 DAYS, FROM 25TH OCTOBER 1794 TO 17TH JUNE 1795, BOTH DAYS INCLUSIVE.

SERGEANTS.

John Cochran ¹	Hugh Mackay	Andrew M'Laren
John Graham	Hugh Mackay	Alex. M'Lean
Hugh Grant	John Mackay	Finlay M'Leod
John Macdonald	John Mackay	John M'Leod
Angus Mackay	John Mackay	Donald Munro
Alex. Mackay	Rupert Mackay	Alex. Ross
Charles Mackay	William Mackay	William Sutherland
Donald Mackay	Archibald M'Arthur	Robert Willock
Donald Mackay	Charles M'Arthur	John Wilson
Duncan Mackay	James Mitchell	Thomas Woode
Hugh Mackay ²	John M'Iver	

CORPORALS.

William Budge	George Mackay	Hugh Morrison
Donald Calder	James Mackay	Hugh Morrison
John Evans	Robert Mackay	John Morrison
James Gordon	William Mackay	William Morrison
John Gunn	Murdo Mackenzie	Donald Munro
Henry Hendon	Hugh M'Kenzie	John Munro
John Hepburn	John M'Kenzie	Alex. Murray
Donald Macdonald	Donald M'Askle	Robert Reay
Alex. Mackay	Hugh M'Intosh	Alex. Ross
Donald Mackay	George M'Leod	Colin Sinclair

DRUMMERS.

Adam Campbell	John Mackay	William M'Leod
Patrick Gallie	William Mackenzie	Donald Morrison
William Gordon	John Macpherson	Joseph Morrison
Donald Graham	Hugh Masson	George Ross
William Gunn	John M'Donald	Thomas Simpson
Simon Hope	Donald M'Intosh	Isaac Spyron
Fred. Hughes	Donald M'Leod	Archibald Wilson
Charles Mackay		

¹ Sergeant-Major.² Quartermaster-Sergeant.

PRIVATES.

Donald Abrach	Hugh Campbell	Thomas Grant
William Abrach	Hugh Campbell	William Grant
John Adams	Hugh Campbell	Richard Green
Alex. Aird	James Campbell	James Greig
Robert Aldie	John Campbell	Donald Gordon
Robert Allan	John Campbell	Donald Gordon
Robert Allen	Peter Campbell	George Gordon
Henry Anderson	Richard Campbell	George Gordon
James Anderson	Robert Campbell	Iye Gordon
Robert Anderson	Walter Campbell	James Gordon
William Arden	William Campbell	John Gordon
	Alex. Cheshom	John Gordon
Joseph Badenoch	William Clark	William Gordon
Thomas Baine	Alex. Clarke	William Gordon
James Banner	James Cleland	Alex. Gunn
Francis Barclay	Samuel Cochran	Alex. Gunn
James Beard	William Collins	Angus Gunn
John Beard	John Cush	Donald Gunn
William Beard		Donald Gunn
James Beattie	Robert Dannewell	Hector Gunn
John Beattie	Donald Davidson	Hugh Gunn
Alex. Beatson	Walter Davidson	James Gunn
Henry Beatson	John Deans	Robert Gunn
Robert Boyle	James Denham	William Gunn
John Bruce	James Dewart	William Gunn
Archibald Brooks	William Dorsier	William Gunn
Allan Buchanan	Alex. Douglas	William Gunn
Neil Buchanan	Daniel Douglas	William Gunn
John Budge	Walter Douglas	
	James Dunn	John Halliday
Alex. Calder	James Dunn	James Hamilton
Hugh Calder		Andrew Hardie
John Calder	James Edward	Thomas Hardie
John Calder		James Harne
Robert Calder	Robert Farms	William Harris
Hugh Calder	John Ferguson	Alex. Henderson
Kenneth Cameron	James Finnie	Donald Henderson
Angus Campbell	Arch. Fletcher	Donald Henderson
Angus Campbell	George Forbes	George Henderson
Angus Campbell	Kenneth Forbes	Roderick Henderson
Angus Campbell	Hugh Fraser	William Hodge
Angus Campbell	Sinon Fraser	James Holmes
Archibald Campbell		George Holms
Colin Campbell	George Gibb	George Hope
Donald Campbell	Andrew Gibson	William Horsburgh
Donald Campbell	John Gibson	
Donald Campbell	Malcolm Gillies	George Innes
George Campbell	George Graham	George Ireland
George Campbell	James Graham	
Hugh Campbell	George Grant	Robert Johnstone

John Mackay	William Mackay	William M'Kenzie
John Mackay	William Mackay	William M'Kenzie
John Mackay	William Mackay	Angus Mackintosh
John Mackay	William Mackay	Donald Mackintosh
John Mackay	William Mackay	Hugh Mackintosh
John Mackay	William Mackay	John Mackintosh
John Mackay	William Mackay	Neil Mackintosh
John Mackay	William Mackay	William Mackintosh
John Mackay	William Mackay	Murdo Mackintosh
John Mackay	William Mackay	Robert M'Intosh
John Mackay	William Mackay	Hugh Maclachlan
John Mackay	William Mackay	Alex. Maclaren
John Mackay	William Mackay	Angus Macleod
Kenneth Mackay	William Mackay	Angus Macleod
Kenneth Mackay	William Mackay	Angus Macleod
Lewis Mackay	William Mackay	Alex. Macleod
Malcolm Mackay	William Mackay	Alex. Macleod
Murdo Mackay	William Mackay	Alex. Macleod
Murdo Mackay	Alex. Mackenzie	Alex. Macleod
Murdo Mackay	Alex. Mackenzie	Colin Macleod
Murdo Mackay	Donald Mackenzie	Donald Macleod
Murdo Mackay	Donald Mackenzie	Donald Macleod
Murdo Mackay	Donald Mackenzie	Donald Macleod
Neil Mackay	Hugh Mackenzie	Donald Macleod
Neil Mackay	Hugh Mackenzie	Donald Macleod
Neil Mackay	Hugh Mackenzie	George Macleod
Neil Mackay	Hugh Mackenzie	George Macleod
Norman Mackay	Hugh Mackenzie	Hugh Macleod
Roderick Mackay	Hugh Mackenzie	Hugh Macleod
Roderick Mackay	Hugh Mackenzie	Hugh Macleod
Roderick Mackay	John Mackenzie	Hugh Macleod
Robert Mackay	John Mackenzie	John Macleod
Robert Mackay	John Mackenzie	John Macleod
Robert Mackay	John Mackenzie	John Macleod
Robert Mackay	John Mackenzie	John Macleod
Robert Mackay	John Mackenzie	John Macleod
Robert Mackay	John Mackenzie	John Macleod
Robert Mackay	Kenneth Mackenzie	Kenneth Macleod
Robert Mackay	Robert Mackenzie	Murdo Macleod
Robert Mackay	Robert Mackenzie	Neil Macleod
Robert Mackay	Robert Mackenzie	Robert Macleod
Robert Mackay	Alex. M'Kenzie	William Macleod
Robert Mackay	Donald M'Kenzie	William Macleod
Robert Mackay	Donald M'Kenzie	William Macleod
Robert Mackay	George M'Kenzie	William Macleod
Robert Mackay	George M'Kenzie	Angus M'Leod
William Mackay	Hector M'Kenzie	Angus M'Leod
William Mackay	John M'Kenzie	Angus M'Leod
William Mackay	John M'Kenzie	Alex. M'Leod
William Mackay	John M'Kenzie	Donald M'Leod
William Mackay	John M'Kenzie	Donald M'Leod
William Mackay	John M'Kenzie	Finlay M'Leod
William Mackay	Murdo M'Kenzie	George M'Leod
William Mackay	William M'Kenzie	George M'Leod

Hugh M'Leod	John M'Leay	William Murdoch
Hugh M'Leod	John Moffat	Charles Murray
Hugh M'Leod	Angus Morrison	Donald Murray
James M'Leod	Angus Morrison	James Murray
John M'Leod	Alex. Morrison	John Murray
John M'Leod	Donald Morrison	John Murray
John M'Leod	Donald Morrison	William Murray
John M'Leod	George Morrison	
John M'Leod	George Morrison	William Nairn
John M'Leod	Hector Morrison	James Neil
John M'Leod	Hugh Morrison	John Neilson
John M'Leod	Hugh Morrison	Donald Nicol
John M'Leod	Hugh Morrison	Hugh Nicol
Murdo M'Leod	Hugh Morrison	
Roderick M'Leod	James Morrison	James Panies
Robert M'Leod	John Morrison	James Pringle
William M'Leod	John Morrison	
William M'Leod-	John Morrison	James Ramsay
Murdo Macpherson	John Morrison	John Reid
Neil Macpherson	John Morrison	David Rendle
Neil Macpherson	John Morrison	James Robison
Robert Macpherson	Peter Morrison	Moses Rossie
Robert Macpherson	Roderick Morrison	Angus Rose
Angus M'Pherson	Thomas Morrison	Alex. Ross
George M'Pherson	William Morrison	David Ross
John M'Pherson	William Morrison	Donald Ross
John Malton	William Morrison	Donald Ross
George M'Arthur	William Morrison	Donald Ross
Turnbull Martin	Alex. M'Rastle	George Ross
William Martin	William Muckle	Hugh Ross
Alex. Matheson	Angus Munro	Hugh Ross
George Matheson	Angus Munro	Hugh Ross
George Matheson	Alex. Munro	James Ross
John Matheson	Alex. Munro	John Ross
Arch. M'Aulay	Andrew Munro	John Ross
John M'Callum	Andrew Munro	John Ross
John M'Caira	Colin Munro	John Ross
Donald M'Culloch	Donald Munro	John Ross
John M'Culloch	Donald Munro	Thomas Ross
John Menzies	Donald Munro	William Ross
Malcom M'Farlane	Donald Munro	William Ross
Alex. Mills	George Munro	William Ross
James Mirrilies	Hector Munro	Andrew Russel
James Mitchell	Hugh Munro	James Russel
James Mitchell	James Munro	William Russel
John Mitchell	James Munro	
Eason M'Laurin	John Munro	John Scobie
William M'Laurin	John Munro	William Scott
Alex. M'Lean	Neil Munro	George Shanks
John M'Lean	Sutherland Munro	James Sharp
John M'Lean	William Munro	Thomas Shaw
John M'Leay	Archibald Murdoch	John Shelgrove

Peter Shillinglaw	Hugh Sutherland	Daniel Thomson
George Simpson	Hugh Sutherland	Peter Thomson
Alex. Sinclair	Hugh Sutherland	Philip Tole
William Sinclair	John Sutherland	James Trumble
George Smith	John Sutherland	
Joseph Smith	John Sutherland	David Urquhart
Edward Spalding	John Sutherland	Donald Urquhart
John Stewart	John Sutherland	John Urquhart
Robert Stewart	Kenneth Sutherland	
Abner Sutherland	Kenneth Sutherland	Adam Wallace
Angus Sutherland	Murdo Sutherland	John Wear
Alex. Sutherland	Robert Sutherland	Alex. Webster
Alex. Sutherland	Robert Sutherland	Francis Webster
Alex. Sutherland	Robert Sutherland	John Weir
Donald Sutherland	William Sutherland	Donald White
Donald Sutherland	William Sutherland	David White
Donald Sutherland	William Sutherland	John Whyte
George Sutherland	William Sutherland	Charles Wilson
George Sutherland	William Sutherland	John Wilson
George Sutherland	John Souter	William Wilson
George Sutherland		
Gilbert Sutherland	John Tait	William Young
Hector Sutherland	James Telford	William Young
Hugh Sutherland	William Telford	William Younghusband

Mustered.—Present in His Majesty's Reay Fencible Highland Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel Mackay Hugh Baillie. The Colonel, the Lieutenant-Colonel, Five Captains, One Captain-Lieutenant, Fifteen Lieutenants, Six Ensigns, the Adjutant, the Quarter Master, Two Mates, Thirty-two Sergeants, Thirty Corporals, Twenty-two Drummers, and Six hundred and thirty-one Private men.

Allowing the Major, Two Captains, Six Lieutenants, Two Ensigns, the Chaplain, the Surgeon, and Forty Private men that are absent.....to pass unrespited, being certified upon this Roll.

We do hereby certify that the Commissioned, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Private men.....were effective for the whole or intermediate time during this Muster.....and all those that are absent.....have the true reasons of such absence assigned against their names on the face of this Roll.

We do likewise certify that this Muster Roll hath been diligently examined, compared with, and corrected according to the Regimental Book, and that the Attestations of all the Recruits of the period have been produced by us to the Commissary.

We do further certify that all the Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates specified in this Roll have been duly and legally attested, that no children or persons under a proper age for Enlistment are borne thereon, &c.

(Signed) MACKAY HUGH BAILLIE, *Colonel,*
Commanding Officer.
 ALEX. CLARKE, *Lieutenant & Paymaster.*
 A. BLANCHE, *Lieutenant & Adjutant.*

APPENDIX VIII.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE REAY FENCIBLES WHO WERE
APPOINTED TO THE REGIMENT AFTER 25TH OCTOBER 1794.

GEORGE A. S. SCOBIE, son of Major John Scobie of Melness. Ensign, 1st May 1797; Lieutenant, 1st November 1797; died at Belfast, 19th March 1798.

WILLIAM MACKAY, son of the tacksman of Clibrig. Ensign, 1st May 1797; Lieutenant, 1st November 1797; resigned, 17th November 1799; afterwards held a commission in the 93rd Highlanders; served with the 93rd at New Orleans; died at Wick.

ATKINSON TOD. Ensign, 1st May 1797; Lieutenant, 1st November 1797; not in pay list, April 1799; resigned, 1799.

JAMES SCOBIE, son of the tacksman of Achimore. Ensign, 18th July 1797; Lieutenant, 1st January 1798; resigned, 30th June 1799; appointed Ensign in the 93rd Highlanders on its formation; Lieutenant, 25th June 1803; served with the 93rd at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope in 1806, where he was wounded; transferred as Captain to the 4th Garrison Battalion, March 1807; to 6th (or Royal North British) Veteran Battalion, 5th October 1809; retired on full pay, and died in 1832.

DONALD MACKAY, grandson of William MacRobert Mackay of Tubeg. Promoted Ensign from Sergeant, 1st November 1797; Lieutenant, 1st April 1798; appointed Ensign, 21st Fusiliers, 4th November 1800; left the 21st as Captain; died near Tain.¹

HUGH GRANT, Falisaid (?). Promoted Ensign from Sergeant, 1st November 1797; Lieutenant, 1st April 1798; disbanded, 13th October 1802; appointed Ensign, 79th Highlanders, 5th September 1805; Lieutenant, 30th April 1807; served in the Peninsular War, being present at the Siege of Burgos (mortally wounded); died, 22nd September 1812.²

WILLIAM BAILLIE, son of Colonel Mackay Baillie. Ensign, 1st November 1797; Lieutenant, 1st May 1798; disbanded, 13th October 1802; obtained a commission in the East India Company's Service; drowned at sea on voyage to India in 1806.³

Note.—Those families or residences marked (?) are doubtful.

¹ Captain Donald Mackay was the chief promoter of the monument to Rob Donn, the Reay Country Bard, which was erected, in the parish burying-ground of Durness, over his grave. The foundation-stone was laid on 12th January 1829, with Masonic honours, in the presence of a great concourse of people from all parts of "Duthaich Mhic Aoidh."

² Lieut. Grant greatly distinguished himself by his gallant conduct at Burgos.—See 'Hist. Records of the Cameron Highlanders,' vol. i. p. 73.

³ Two of the three sons of Colonel Mackay H. Baillie obtained commissions in the military department of the Honourable East India Company's Service, and were lost, with their uncle, Colonel Lamington Baillie of the same service (formerly in the Reays), on board the *Skelton Castle*, Indiaman, which was never heard of after passing the Cape of Good Hope on 9th December 1806.—Communicated by Dr Kenneth Cameron, Montreal.

JOHN NISBET.¹ Ensign, 1st November 1797; Lieutenant, 4th August 1798; remained in Ireland; disbanded, 13th October 1802.

DONALD CAMERON. Ensign, 1st February 1798; sick, June 1798; absent without leave from 23rd November 1798; superseded, 17th January 1799.

WILLIAM BALLANTINE. Ensign, 1st February 1798; Lieutenant, 10th November 1798; remained in Ireland, as per pay-list, September 1802; disbanded, 13th October 1802; obtained a commission in the line.

MAJOR JAMES STEWART. From half-pay of the York Fusiliers, *vice* Robert Honyman, who exchanged; Major, 1st March 1798; exchanged with Major Ross, 6th July 1798.

JOHN SUTHERLAND, Oldany (?). Ensign, 13th May 1798; Lieutenant, 3rd August 1799; disbanded, 13th October 1802; was afterwards Captain in the Sutherland Local Militia.

MAJOR ANDREW ROSS. Major unattached, *vice* Stewart, who exchanged; Major, 6th July 1798; Lieut.-Colonel, 22nd September 1798; appointed Major, 54th Foot, 17th May 1800.

WALTER ROSS, Invershin (?). Ensign, 6th July 1798; Lieutenant, 19th October 1799; disbanded, 13th October 1802; afterwards entered the line.

PETER CAMPBELL.² Ensign, 1st September 1798; never joined; resigned, 26th December 1798.

DONALD CAMPBELL.² Ensign, 17th November 1798; Lieutenant, 30th November 1799; disbanded, 13th October 1802; appointed Ensign, 92nd Highlanders, 9th November 1802; Lieutenant, 14th Reserve Battalion, 7th April 1804; Lieutenant, 71st Highlanders, 6th August 1804; Captain, 22nd June 1809; entered the 2nd Royal Veteran Battalion as Captain, 27th July 1820; retired on full pay, 1821; died in the Isle of Man, 29th August 1848. Served with the 71st Foot at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope, at Monte Video (where he was taken prisoner), Buenos Ayres, Roleia, Vimiera (where he was wounded), Corunna, and Walcheren; appointed aide-de-camp to Sir Charles Hope, and afterwards held the command of the recruiting service in the north of Scotland; was present with the 1st Battalion 71st at the battle of Waterloo, where he was wounded in two places; received the medal and three clasps for the Peninsular, and the Waterloo medal.³

PETER MEIKLEHAM. Ensign, 29th December 1798; Lieutenant, 14th July 1800; died while on recruiting duty at Edinburgh, 12th December 1800.

¹ This name is also spelt Nisbett, Nesbit, and Nesbitt.

² Grandson of Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine (Loudoun's Highlanders), and son of Alexander Campbell of the 60th Foot, who settled in Assynt, and who married Henrietta Sutherland, daughter of Colonel George Sutherland of Uppat and Forse, first cousin of Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland.

³ From information supplied by Dr Gordon Campbell, LL.D., of Trinity College, Cambridge, the present representative of Captain Donald Campbell.

- ROBERT CAMERON. Ensign, 18th January 1799; Lieutenant, 28th October 1800; disbanded, 13th October 1802; afterwards held a commission in a Highland regiment of the line.
- CAPTAIN THOMAS JAMES SMITH. From half-pay of the Independent Companies. Ensign, 18th January 1799; joined, May 1799; resigned, June 1799.
- DONALD ROSS, Invershin (?). Ensign, 15th June 1799; recruiting August 1799; joined October 1799; appointed Ensign in the 71st, April 1800.
- CORNET JOHN USHER. From the Ancient British Fencible Cavalry. Lieutenant, 15th June 1799; appointed Captain-Lieutenant in the Princess of Wales' (or Aberdeen Highland) Fencibles, with date of 1st May 1800.
- DAVID LOGAN. Ensign, 3rd August 1799; Lieutenant, 31st December 1800; also Assistant-Surgeon from 1st January 1801; Acting-Surgeon, 23rd November 1801; disbanded, 13th October 1802.
- WILLIAM SHAW. Assistant-Surgeon from Hompesck's Dragoons. Ensign, 28th September 1799; held the appointment of Assistant-Surgeon to the Reay Fencibles, as well as his ensigncy; appointed Surgeon to the 15th Foot, 1st January 1801.
- SINCLAIR MACKAY SCOBIE, son of Major John Scobie of Melness. Ensign, 19th October 1799; Lieutenant, 7th April 1801; disbanded, 13th October 1802; afterwards obtained a commission in the East India Company's Service.
- MAJOR COLIN CAMPBELL. From the late 2nd Battalion Breadalbane Fencible Infantry. Lieutenant-Colonel, 25th July 1800; disbanded and placed on half-pay, 13th October 1802.¹
- CHARLES ANDERSON, son of the tacksman of Rispond. Ensign, 28th December 1799; did not join till July 1800; resigned, 10th January 1801.
- RODERICK MACQUEEN. Ensign, 14th July 1800; joined, November 1800; remained in Ireland, as per pay-lists, September 1802; disbanded, 13th October 1802; appointed Ensign, 78th Highlanders, 17th March 1804; Lieutenant, 25th June 1805; Captain, 27th January 1814; to half-pay on reduction, 25th April 1816; died, 1820. Served with 2nd Battalion 78th Highlanders in the expedition to Sicily and Calabria in 1806, and was present at the battle of Maida.
- CHARLES COATES. Ensign, 19th July 1800; absent without leave from 11th May 1802; resigned, 22nd June 1802.
- JOHN MACARTHUR. Ensign, 24th September 1800; disbanded, 13th October 1802; afterwards obtained a commission in the line.
- JOHN MACKAY, grandson of William MacRobert Mackay of Tubeg. Ensign, 28th October 1800; disbanded, 13th October 1802; appointed Lieutenant and afterwards Captain to the Sutherland Volunteers; died at Rogart.

¹ Lieut.-Colonel Campbell was appointed (from half-pay) as Captain in the 3rd Breadalbane Fencibles on its formation (9th December 1794); transferred as Major to the 2nd Battalion, 15th November 1797; disbanded, 18th April 1799.

DONALD ROSS, Invercassley (?). Ensign, 10th February 1801; disbanded, 13th October 1802; appointed Ensign, 93rd Highlanders, 2nd June 1804; Lieutenant, 11th September 1805; served at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, 1806; died in 1811.

ALEX. FRENCH.¹ Ensign, 23rd March 1801; remained in Ireland, as per pay-list, September 1802; disbanded, 13th October 1802.

WILLIAM FOX. Ensign, 7th April 1801; remained in Ireland, as per pay-list, September 1802; disbanded, 13th October 1802.

GEORGE MACKAY, Auldany (?) Ensign, 7th April 1801; joined, August 1801; disbanded, 13th October 1802; obtained a commission in the line, 1805; exchanged into the 93rd Highlanders, 26th October 1815; left the 93rd in 1816; retired as Captain.

APPENDIX IX.

BRITISH AND IRISH MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS,
1793-1802.²

(From the Estimates in the Journals of the British and Irish
Houses of Commons.)

British Establishment.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.	1797.
Army (at Home and Abroad) .	49,968	118,849	177,425	149,783	145,046
Embodied Militia and Fencibles	17,602	42,803	62,791	65,662	66,096
Foreign Troops . . . . .	...	33,754	35,820	20,288	12,000
Total	67,570	195,406	276,036	235,733	223,142
Irish Establishment . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...
Army (including Regulars and Fencibles)	12,000 ³	12,000	20,246	19,012	37,667
Militia	17,500 ⁴	17,500	21,369	22,698	22,698 ⁴
Total	29,500	29,500	41,615	41,710	60,365
Total British and Irish Estab- lishments	97,070	124,906	317,651	277,433	283,507

¹ This officer's Christian name is sometimes written Albert, and the surname spelt Friend.

² From Fortescue's 'History of the British Army,' vol. iv., Part II., p. 938.

³ The Irish Establishment, as fixed by Act of Parliament, was 15,000 men, but of these, 3000 were quartered abroad, and are here included in the British Establishment, though their cost was borne by the Irish Exchequer.

⁴ A vote was taken also for Yeomanry, both horse and foot.

British Establishment.	1798.	1799.	1800.	1801.	1802.
Army (at Home and Abroad) .	112,767	115,826	154,872	184,167	132,308
Embodied Militia and Fencibles	62,202	134,786	56,522	104,619	...
Embodied Militia and Additional	75,000	...	...	...	...
Foreign Troops	4,807	4,323	14,754	...	...
Total	254,776	254,935	226,148	288,786	132,308 ¹
Irish Establishment. . . . .	...	...	...	Merged in the British Establish- ment upon the Union.	...
Army	39,620	32,268	45,831		
Militia	26,634	26,890	27,112		
(Yeomanry)	(37,539)	...	...
Total	103,793	59,158	72,943	...	...
Total British and Irish Estab- lishments	368,569	314,093	299,091	288,786	132,308

APPENDIX X.

ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR DISBANDING THE
REAY FENCIBLE INFANTRY, COMMANDED BY MAJOR-
GENERAL BAILLIE.

GEORGE R.

Whereas we have thought fit to order our regiment of Fencibles, commanded by our trusty and well-beloved Mackay Hugh Baillie, Esq., Major-General of our forces, to be disbanded and discontinued on the establishment of the army, our will and pleasure therefore is, that you do disband our said regiment accordingly, and that in the disbanding thereof, the following rules to be duly observed: 1st, Before such disbanding, you are to cause an exact muster to be taken by the regimental paymaster of the several companies of the said corps.

2nd, Care to be taken that the arms delivered for the use of our said regiment out of our Stores of Ordnance, and indented for, to be returned thither again, and acquittances taken for the same from such person as shall be appointed to receive them.

3rd, Care to be taken before the disbanding that the quarters of each

¹ Peace estimates.

company be duly satisfied; as also that the accompts of the men be made up, and all their just pretensions completely satisfied to the time of their being dismissed.

4th, Care to be taken that each non-commissioned officer and private man hereby to be disbanded be permitted to carry away with him his knapsack and his clothing for the present year, consisting of coat, waistcoat, breeches, cap,¹ and one pair of shoes, due on the 25th December last, and of the second pair of shoes due at midsummer next. But if the second supply of shoes be not provided in readiness for immediate delivery, each man is to be paid the sum of five shillings and sixpence, as a compensation in lieu thereof.

Each sergeant is also to be settled with for the sum of three shillings due to him under the authority of our warrant of the 20th May 1801, as being the difference between the value of the former articles of half-mounting for a sergeant and private man.

The greatcoats in wear by the regiment are to be disposed of according to such orders as you shall receive from our Secretary at War.

5th, And we being pleased to allow as of our royal bounty each sergeant, corporal, drummer, and private man, who shall be hereby disbanded, a certain proportion of pay beyond the day of his discharge, to carry him home according to the distance which he shall have to travel, viz. :—

In Scotland, 14 days.

To England, 21 days.

To Ireland, 28 days;

and at the respective daily rates of

1s. 6¾d. for a sergeant.

1s. 2¼d. for a corporal.

1s. 1¾d. for a drummer.

1s. for a private.

Payment thereof to be made to each of them respectively, and the charge thereof is to be inserted with the pay of the men in the pay-lists, care being taken to distinguish in the columns of remarks the day, or days, on which they were disbanded.

6th, An account is also to be sent to our Secretary at War, attested by you and by the Commanding Officer of our said regiment, of the names of such Commissioned Officers as may have been taken from half-pay, and are not by law disqualified from receiving the same again, on the discontinuance of their services in our said regiment.

7th, And to the end, that the said non-commissioned officers and private men may be sensible of the care we have taken of them upon their discharge, you are to cause these, our directions, to be read at the head of each company, and see that the same be duly put in execution.

Given, &c., &c., &c., 10th August 1802, in the 42nd year of our reign.

By His Majesty's command.

(Signed) C. YORKE.

Lieut.-General VYSE, Edinburgh.

¹ The items "breeches" and "cap" would not apply to Highland corps, the men being permitted instead to take away with them their (belted) plaids, kilts, hose, and bonnets.

APPENDIX XI.

MUSTER-ROLL (BY COMPANIES) OF H.M. REAY FENCIBLE
HIGHLAND REGIMENT OF FOOT, ON ITS DISBAND-
MENT AT STIRLING CASTLE, 13TH OCTOBER 1802

COLONEL'S COMPANY.

Major-General Mackay H.	Private	Donald Gunn	Private	Wm. Mackay
Baillie	"	John Gunn	"	Wm. Mackay
Ensign Roderick M ^c Queen	"	Robert Hamilton	"	Hugh Mackenzie
Sergeant John Mcintosh	"	James Henderson	"	Alex. M ^c Leay
" John McKay	"	Alex. Lyall	"	James M ^c Leay
" John McLeod	"	Duncan M ^c Crae	"	Wm. Macleod
Corporal Hector Mackay	"	Alex. Macdonald	"	James Murray
" Murdoch Mackay	"	Wm. Macdonald	"	Wm. Murray
" Neil Matheson	"	Alex. Mackay	"	Thomas Reay
" Hugh Ross	"	Alex. Mackay	"	David Ross
Drummer William Gunn	"	Angus Mackay	"	Donald Ross
Private Henry Beatson	"	David Mackay	"	Donald Ross
" Hugh Campbell	"	Donald Mackay	"	Robert Ross
" Walter Campbell	"	George Mackay	"	Rory Ross
" Hugh Gordon	"	Hugh Mackay	"	Wm. Ross
" Iye Gordon	"	Hugh Mackay	"	Peter Thomson
" Robert Grant	"	John Mackay	"	

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL'S COMPANY.

Lieut.-Col. Colin Campbell	Private	James Gordon	Private	Robert Mackay
Lieutenant David Logan	"	George Grant	"	William Mackay
Ensign John Mackay	"	Wm. Grant	"	Donald Mackenzie
Sergeant Donald Mackay	"	Adam McAll	"	Hugh Mackenzie
" John Mackay	"	Donald MacDonald	"	John Mackenzie
" Colin Macleod	"	John Macdonald	"	John Mackenzie
" William Macleod	"	John Macdonald	"	Angus Macleod
Corporal John Campbell	"	Murdo Macdonald	"	Donald Macleod
" James Mackay	"	Adam Mackay	"	John Macleod
" John Mackay	"	Adam Mackay	"	John Macleod
" Peter Spence	"	Alex. Mackay	"	Donald M ^c Pherson
Drummer Donald Ross	"	Alex. Mackay	"	Donald Murray
" John Gunn	"	George Mackay	"	Robert Murray
Private David Campbell	"	George Mackay	"	Donald Ross
" George Campbell	"	George Mackay	"	John Sinclair
" Hugh Campbell	"	Hector Mackay	"	George Sutherland
" Rupert Campbell	"	Hugh Mackay	"	David Urquhart
" Alex. Chisholm	"	Murdo Mackay	"	Donald Urquhart
" Alex. Gordon	"	Robert Mackay	"	Donald White

MAJOR'S COMPANY.

Major John Scobie	Private Alex. Mackay	Private Hugh Macleod
Lieutenant S. M. Scobie	„ Angus Mackay	„ Robert Macleod
Ensign George Mackay	„ Angus Mackay	„ Wm. Macleod
Sergeant John Morison	„ Angus Mackay	„ John Macpherson
Corporal Angus Macdonald	„ Donald Mackay	„ Peter Manson
„ William Mackay	„ George Mackay	„ Peter Morison
„ Dorld Ross	„ George Mackay	„ Andrew Munro
Drummer Rory Mackay	„ Hector Mackay	„ Donald Munro
Private Donald Campbell	„ Hector Mackay	„ George Munro
„ John Campbell	„ John Mackay	„ Murdo Munro
„ Alex. Douglas	„ Kenneth Mackay	„ John Ross
„ Donald Gordon	„ William Mackay	„ Walter Ross
„ Alex. Graham	„ William Mackay	„ Isaac Spyron
„ Wm. Graham	„ Hugh Mackenzie	„ Andrew Sutherland
„ George Gunn	„ Alex. Macleod	„ Kenneth Sutherland
„ Robert Gunn	„ Alex. Macleod	„ Robert Sutherland
„ Hugh M'Donald	„ Duncan Macleod	„ William Sutherland
„ Rory M'Donald		

CAPTAIN MORISON'S COMPANY.

Captain Hugh Morison	Private Alex. Macdonald	Private James Mitchell
Lieutenant Robert Cameron	„ Donald Macdonald	„ Donald Morison
Ensign John M'Arthur	„ George Macdonald	„ Hugh Morison
Sergeant Donald Mackay	„ Duncan MacIntosh	„ Hugh Morison
„ John Mackay	„ John MacIntosh	„ Alex. Munro
„ William Mackay	„ Donald Mackay	„ Andrew Munro
„ Hugh Morison	„ Hugh Mackay	„ Andrew Murray
Corporal John Gunn	„ James Mackay	„ Donald Murray
„ John Mackay	„ John Mackay	„ George Murray
„ Norman Mackay	„ John Mackay	„ James Murray
„ Angus M'Leod	„ Robert Mackay	„ James Robertson
Drummer William Morison	„ Thomas Mackay	„ Angus Rose
„ Donald Sutherland	„ Wm. Mackay	„ Andrew Ross
Private Innes Bain	„ Wm. Mackay	„ Wm. Ross
„ Duncan Campbell	„ Wm. Mackay	„ James Russell
„ George Gordon	„ Kenneth Mackenzie	„ George Sinclair
„ William Gordon	„ James Macleod	„ Alex. Sutherland
„ William Gunn	„ Rory Macleod	„ David Sutherland
„ William Gunn	„ George Matheson	„ John Wood

CAPTAIN COLIN C. MACKAY'S, OR THE GRENADIER COMPANY.

Captain Colin C. Mackay	Corporal Angus Mackay	Private Angus Campbell
Lieutenant William Baillie	„ William Mackay	„ Donald Campbell
„ John Sutherland	„ Hugh M'Leod	„ John Campbell
Sergeant Hugh Mackay	„ William Nicoll	„ John M'Casckle
„ Joseph Mackay	Drummer Alex. Mackay	„ Hugh MacIntosh
„ William Mackay	„ John Mackay	„ Wm. MacIntosh

Private Donald Mackay	Private John Mackenzie	Private John Morison
„ Hugh Mackay	„ William Mackenzie	„ Peter Morison
„ James Mackay	„ Donald Macleod	„ Hugh Nicoll
„ John Mackay	„ Donald Macleod	„ Alex. Polson
„ John Mackay	„ Farquhar Macleod	„ Donald Ross
„ John Mackay	„ George Macleod	„ Hugh Ross
„ John Mackay	„ George Macleod	„ John Ross
„ Murdo Mackay	„ John Macleod	„ Alex. Sutherland
„ Roderick Mackay	„ George Macpherson	„ Kenneth Sutherland
„ William Mackay	„ Niel Macpherson	„ Robert Sutherland
„ William Mackay	„ George Matheson	„ James Telford
„ William Mackay	„ Hugh Morison	

CAPTAIN CLARKE'S, OR THE LIGHT COMPANY.

Captain Alex. Clarke	Private Alex. Gunn	Private John Macleod
Lieutenant Hugh Grant	„ John M'Culloch	„ John Macleod
„ Donald Campbell	„ John MacDonald	„ John Macleod
Sergeant Donald Davidson	„ Adam Mackay	„ Murdo Macleod
„ Alex. Mackay	„ Alex. Mackay	„ Neil Macleod
„ Angus Macpherson	„ Alex. Mackay	„ Hugh Macpherson
„ Alex. Sinclair (Pay- master's Clerk)	„ Alex. Mackay	„ Peter Matheson
„ Alex. Mackay	„ Alex. Mackay	„ Alex. Morison
Corporal Walter Davidson	„ Alex. Mackay	„ Donald Morison
„ Hugh Mackay	„ Angus Mackay	„ Hugh Morison
„ John Macleod	„ Angus Mackay	„ John Morison
„ Hector Munro	„ Angus Mackay	„ John Morison
Drummer James M'Culloch	„ Hugh Mackay	„ Peter Morison
„ John M'Culloch	„ John Mackay	„ George Munro
Private Angus Campbell	„ John Mackay	„ Hugh Munro
„ Angus Campbell	„ John Mackay	„ Wm. Munro
„ George Campbell	„ Wm. Mackay	„ Angus Murray
„ Hugh Campbell	„ Charles Mackenzie	„ Wm. Murray
„ Alex. Davidson	„ John Mackenzie	„ Wm. Murray
„ George Dempster	„ George Macleod	„ George Sutherland
„ John Gordon	„ John Macleod	

CAPTAIN BLANCHE'S COMPANY.

Captain Aaron Blanche (Adjutant)	Drummer Andrew Nair	Private Donald Mackay
„	„ Robt. Sutherland	„ Donald Mackay
Lieut. William Ballantine	Private Alex. Campbell	„ Donald Mackay
Ensign William Fox	„ Angus Campbell	„ Donald Mackay
Sergeant Hugh Mackay	„ James Campbell	„ George Mackay
„ John Macleod	„ James Campbell	„ Hugh Mackay
„ Hugh Morison	„ Alex. Forbes	„ John Mackay
„ Joseph Morison	„ Malcolm Gillies	„ Magnus Mackay
Corporal George Campbell	„ Angus M'Arthur	„ Niel Mackay
„ Robert M'Intosh	„ George M'Intosh	„ William Mackay
„ John Mackenzie	„ Gilbert M'Intosh	„ William Mackay
„ William M'Kenzie	„ Charles Mackay	„ John Mackenzie

Private Murdo Mackenzie	Private John Macleod	Private Robert Murray
" William M'Lean	" John Macleod	" David Nicoll
" Angus Macleod	" James Merrilies	" Alex. Ross
" Angus Macleod	" Angus Matheson	" Angus Ross
" George Macleod	" William Morison	" William Ross
" John Macleod	" John Murray	" Alex. Sutherland

CAPTAIN MACLEAN'S COMPANY.

Captain Hector Maclean	Private Donald Henderson	Private William Mackay
Lieutenant John Nisbet	" John Kennedy	" William Mackay
Sergeant Angus Mackay	" John Macdonald	" Adam Mackenzie
" Angus Sutherland	" Donald M'Dougall	" Robert Mackenzie
" John Sutherland	" David M'Intosh	" Alex. Macleod
Corporal Hugh Mackay	" John M'Intosh	" James Macleod
" James Mackay	" Alex. Mackay	" John Macleod
Drummer John Gibson	" Alex. Mackay	" Murdo Macleod
" William Ritchie	" Andrew Mackay	" Norman M'Pherson
Private James Allan	" Angus Mackay	" Alex. Miller
" Alex. Calder	" Angus Mackay	" John Munro
" Wm. Duff	" Angus Mackay	" John Murray
" Alex. Gordon	" Donald Mackay	" John Ross
" Angus Gunn	" Duncan Mackay	" John Ross
" Hector Gunn	" John Mackay	" Malcolm Ross
" William Gunn	" Iye Mackay	" George Sutherland
" David Henderson	" William Mackay	" Robert Sutherland

CAPTAIN ANGUS MACKAY'S COMPANY.

Captain Angus Mackay	Private William Campbell	Private James Mackay
Lieutenant Walter Ross	" Donald Gunn	" John Mackay
Ensign Donald Ross	" Donald M'Intosh	" John M'Leod
Sergeant James Gordon	" Alex. Mackay	" Thos. Matheson
" John M'Donald	" Alex. Mackay	" Donald Morison
" Alex. Mackay	" Alex. Mackay	" James Munro
Corporal George Campbell	" Alex. Mackay	" Wm. Munro
" Murdo M'Kay	" Angus Mackay	" Donald Murray
" George Morison	" Donald Mackay	" Alex. Ross
" George Sutherland	" George Mackay	" Walter Ross
Drummer John Mackay	" George Mackay	" Robert Sinclair
Private William Baird	" Hugh Mackay	" Alex. Sutherland
" Donald Campbell	" James Mackay	" Murdo Sutherland
" John Campbell	" James Mackay	" William Sutherland
" William Campbell	" James Mackay	

CAPTAIN HUNTER'S COMPANY.

Captain George Hunter	Sergeant William Mackay	Drummer James Campbell
Ensign Alex. Frend	Corporal James Fraser	Private Alex. Austin
Sergeant Charles Mackay	" Hugh Mackay	" James Chisholm
" John Mackay	" William Mackay	" John Cordiner
" William Mackay	" Alex. Ross	" Evander Gray

Private Andrew Gunn	Private John Mackay	Private John Morison
„ John Gunn	„ John Mackay	„ William Morison
„ William Hendry	„ Niel Mackay	„ Hugh Munro
„ Wm. McArdell	„ Niel Mackay	„ Sutherland Munro
„ Donald M'Intosh	„ Robert Mackay	„ William Munro
„ Simon M'Intosh	„ Roderick Mackay	„ John Murray
„ Angus Mackay	„ Hugh Mackenzie	„ Angus Sinclair
„ George Mackay	„ John M'Lean	„ John Sinclair
„ George Mackay	„ Angus Macleod	„ John Stewart
„ Hugh Mackay	„ Hugh Macleod	„ Donald Sutherland
„ Hugh Mackay	„ Robert Macleod	„ Hugh Sutherland
„ James Mackay	„ John Macpherson	„ Hugh Sutherland
„ James Mackay	„ Donald Morison	„ John Tolmie

STAFF-SERGEANTS.

Sergeant-Major	John Cochran.
Quartermaster-Sergeant	Hugh Mackay.
Paymaster's Clerk	Alex. Sinclair.

STRENGTH OF THE REGIMENT ON THE 13TH OCTOBER 1802.

	Officers.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.
Present	23	30	36	16	403
Permitted to remain in Ireland	7	...	...	...	...
On Pass . . . . .	...	3	1	...	14
On Sick Leave	1	...	...	...	...
Sick in Quarters . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1
Total	31	33	37	16	418

APPENDIX XII.

REGIMENTAL PIPERS AND PIPE MUSIC.

WHEN the Reay Fencibles were raised John Macdonald was appointed Pipe-Major, which office he held until his discharge in 1796. The post was afterwards held successively by—

George Macleod, April 1796 to July 1798.

Hugh Mackay, July 1798 to July 1800.

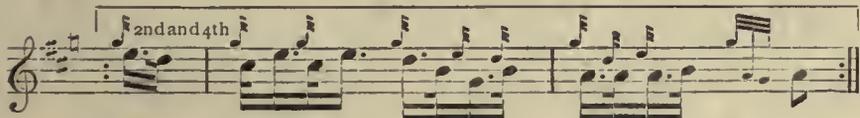
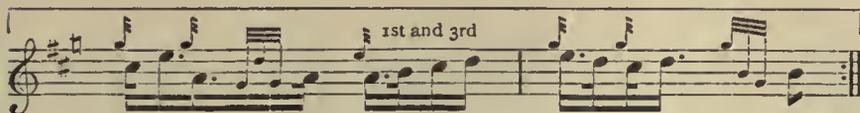
Alexander Mackay, July 1800 till the disbandment of the regiment.

At this time pipers were not officially recognised, and were purely a regimental and not an army institution. They were only entitled to the pay of their army rank, but in order to get them extra pay they were sometimes appointed drummers. The rank of pipe-major was an honorary one, the holder of it being usually a corporal or lance-sergeant who was entrusted with the musical instruction and leading of the pipers, while for purposes of

discipline they were under the drum-major. The band, drums and fifes, and pipes played separately.¹

There is a pipe tune connected with the regiment called "*Lord Reay's Fencibles' Quickstep*," but whether it was composed while the regiment was still serving or after its disbandment is not known—even the name of the composer cannot be traced. Mr David Glen, pipe-maker, Edinburgh, in whose '*Bagpipe Music*,' Part X., p. 22, a setting of this tune appears, is unable to give any particulars of its history further than that it was found among some MSS. music which had belonged to his father. A copy of this tune, by kind permission of Mr Glen, is given below.

LORD REAY'S FENCIBLES' QUICKSTEP.



¹ In several histories of our Highland regiments drummers and *pipers* are mentioned in the letters of service for raising, &c., which is evidently an error in transcribing from the originals. As in other regiments, this should read drummers and *fifers*. The pipers being purely a regimental concern, they were officially unknown, and so would not appear in any official list. As late as 1847, Major-General J. E. Napier, in his report on the 92nd Highlanders, called the attention of the Commander-in-Chief to the pipers as not being allowed by regulation. The Duke of Wellington answered that he was surprised that an officer who must have seen the gallant deeds performed by Highland regiments, in which their pipers played so important a part, should make such a report.—Gardyne, vol. ii. p. 59.

APPENDIX XIII.

ROLL OF THE OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, AND MEN OF THE REAY FENCIBLE HIGHLANDERS WHO WERE KILLED IN ACTION, DIED OF WOUNDS, OR OTHERWISE DIED DURING THE SERVICE OF THE REGIMENT.

(COMPILED FROM THE REGIMENTAL PAY-LISTS, MUSTER-ROLLS, CASUALTY-RETURNS, ORDER-BOOKS, &C.)

Year.	Date of Death.	Rank.	Names.	Parish or County.	Company.	How became non-effective.	Remarks.
1795	June 21	Private	Robert Johnstone	Banff	...	Died	Never joined the regt.
"	Aug. 5	"	Donald McKenzie	Durness	Major's	"	At Fort George.
"	Nov. 17	"	James Matheson	Eddrachillis	Capt. D. Mackay's	"	In hospital, Belfast.
"	" 29	"	Wm. Gunn	Durness	Capt. Baillie's	"	"
"	Dec. 25	"	Donald Mackay	Tongue	Capt. Morison's	"	"
1796	Feb.	"	John McDonald	"	Major's	"	"
"	May 18	"	Wm. McLeod	Eddrachillis	Lieut.-Colonel's	"	"
1797	April 4	"	John White	Durness	Capt. Morison's	"	"
1798	Jan. 12	"	Alex. Mackay	Eddrachillis	Capt. Maclean's	"	"
"	March 19	Lieut.	G. A. S. Scobie	Tongue	...	"	"
"	May 3	Private	David Rose	Tain	Capt. Morison's	"	In quarters, Belfast.
"	" 24	Corpl.	John Evans	Edinburgh	Major's	"	In hospital, Belfast.
"	" "	Private	Hugh Mackay	Tongue	"	Killed by the rebels	At Dunboyne.
"	" "	"	James Holmes	Tongue	"	"	"
"	" "	"	Donald Macleod	Caithness	Colonel's	"	"
"	" 26	"	Alex. Macdonald	Eddrachillis	"	"	"
"	" "	"	Roderick Mackay	Tongue	"	"	At Tara Hill.
"	" "	"	Robert Mackenzie	"	"	"	"
"	" "	"	Hugh Mackay	Lairg	"	"	"
"	" "	"	John Macdonald	Reay	Lieut.-Colonel's	"	"
"	" "	Dr.	John Macdonald	Tongue	Capt. C. Mackay's	"	"
"	" "	Private	John Graham	"	"	"	"
"	" "	"	James Mackay	"	"	"	"
"	" "	"	John Mackay	"	"	"	"
"	" "	"	Don. Macdonald	"	"	"	"
"	" 27	Corpl.	Kenneth Mackay	Farr.	Lieut.-Colonel's	"	"
"	" 28	"	"	Tongue	Capt. C. Mackay's	Died of wounds	Received at Tara Hill.
"	" "	"	"	"	"	"	"

OFFICERS, N.-C. OFFICERS, AND MEN KILLED OR DIED. 389

"	June	3	Private	Murdoch McPherson	Durness	Major's	Died	In hospital at Dublin.
"	July	3	"	Wm. Macleod	Eddrachillis	Capt. Clarke's	Died of wounds	Recd. at Clonard Bridge.
"	"	6	"	George Smith	...	Colonel's	Drowned	...
"	"	8	"	Geo. McLeod	Eddrachillis	Capt. Maclean's	Killed	Murdered by the rebels.
"	"	"	"	John McCallum	Tongue	"	"	"
"	"	30	"	Geo. Matheson	Durness	Capt. C. Mackay's	Died of wounds	Received in action with the rebels.
"	Sept.	6	Lt.-Col.	George Mackay of Bighouse	Reay	...	Died	In Scotland.
"	"	"	Private	Donald McKay	Tongue	Capt. C. Mackay's	Died of wounds	During operations against the French.
"	"	17	Sergt.	Alex. Murray	"	Colonel's	Died	In hospital at Longford.
"	Oct.	30	Private	Hugh Mackay	"	Capt. Blanche's	"	In Royal Infirmary, Dublin.
1799	Feb.	14	"	Henry Anderson	Edinburgh	"	"	At Longford.
"	March	24	"	Hugh Macleod	Eddrachillis	Capt. Morison's	"	"
"	April	23	"	James Graham	Tongue	Capt. Clarke's	"	"
"	May	7	"	James Mackay	"	Major's	"	"
"	"	20	"	James Mitchell	Caithness	Capt. Blanche's	"	"
"	June	26	"	Murdo Macleod	Assynt	Capt. Hunter's	"	"
"	Sept.	7	"	Robert Ross	Durness	Capt. Morison's	"	"
1800	July	11	"	Donald Mackay	Farr	Major's	"	"
"	Aug.	2	Corpl.	Finlay McLeod	Eddrachillis	General's	"	In hospital at Galway.
"	"	6	Private	Wm. Mackay	Tongue	Capt. A. Mackay's	"	"
"	Nov.	28	"	Wm. Mackenzie	Durness	Capt. Morison's	"	"
"	Dec.	12	Lieut.	Peter Meikleham	...	...	"	On recruiting duty in Scotland.
"	"	19	Private	John Sutherland	Lairg	Capt. Maclean's	"	"
"	"	22	"	Don. McDonald	Rogart	"	"	"
1801	Feb.	14	"	Alex. Mackay	Tongue	Capt. Hunter's	"	In hospital, Galway.
"	Sept.	14	"	Geo. Morison	Reay	Lieut.-Colonel's	"	"
1802	Jan.	5	"	Geo. Mackay	Durness	Capt. Hunter's	Drowned	Boating on Lough Corrib.
"	March	8	"	Chas. McLeod	Eddrachillis	Capt. Morison's	Died	In hospital, Galway.
"	"	21	Corpl.	Hugh Ross	Tongue	Capt. A. Mackay's	"	"
"	May	7	Private	John McDonald	Farr	Capt. Blanche's	"	"
"	Sept.	27	"	James Ross	Creich	Capt. A. Mackay's	"	On sick leave.

Note.—Several of the men who died while the regiment was at Galway, succumbed as the result of injuries received while carrying out duties in aid of the civil power or the revenue authorities. (See p. 322, note.)

APPENDIX XIV.

COPY OF A LETTER RELATING TO THE COLOURS OF
THE LATE REAY FENCIBLE HIGHLANDERS.¹

TONGUE, 2nd October 1805.

MADAM,—Capt'n MacKay delivered me some time back your very polite letter, accompanying the Colours of the late Reay Fencible Regiment, command' by your Worthy Husband, and my most excellent friend & near relative. Be assured, Madam, I shall take due care of them, out of regard to his Memory, and the brave fellows who defended them, with so much honor to themselves & their Country.

I shall at all times feel particularly happy in any opportunity of serving you and your family, and I hope you will believe me, with real respect,
Madam,

Your most obedient & faithful friend,

REAY.

Mrs General BAILLIE.

APPENDIX XV.

SALE OF THE REAY ESTATE.

ERIC, 7th Lord Reay, who succeeded to the title in 1797, and who, as the Honourable Eric, had raised the Reay Fencibles, was unfortunately both an absentee landlord² and a spendthrift. Although he derived an income of close upon £10,000 a-year from his estate, he found this insufficient to

¹ From the original in the possession of Dr Kenneth Cameron, Montreal.

² The following verse of a song composed in the Reay Country at the time shows this clearly—

“Nuair bu choir duit bh'i'n Tunga,
Sann a' cunntadh' sa paidheadh;
Sann gheabh' thu an Lunnainn,
Sa chuid bu chumant de'n sraidibh.”

meet his numerous debts contracted by an extravagant and useless life in London. In 1825 he raised an action of declarator against the heirs of entail of the estate, and through a flaw was successful. Having effected this, which enabled him to do what he pleased with the estate, he borrowed a sum of £100,000 from the Countess of Sutherland and her husband, the Marquis of Stafford, on the security of the estate. This money Lord Eric soon spent, and after vainly endeavouring to raise money to repay this loan, was forced to sell the estate in 1829 to the Marquis of Stafford, afterwards Duke of Sutherland, for the sum of £300,000 sterling.

"Thus what the Mackays held through sunshine and through storm for about twenty generations," says the author of the 'Book of Mackay,' "was at last miserably frittered away in 1829 by a degenerate son who accidentally got the power to do so."

Eric, Lord Reay, died unmarried in 1847, and was succeeded in a barren title by his younger brother, the Hon. Alexander Mackay, who had served in the 92nd and 93rd Highlanders. Lord Eric managed to well endower his natural daughter (married to an English baronet), but left his brother penniless!

In 1813 the estate of Strathy had been sold to the Marquis of Stafford, and in 1830 Strathalladale was also purchased by the same nobleman. Including the amounts given for these estates, the total sum paid for the country of the Mackays was about £400,000 sterling.¹

APPENDIX XVI.

BATTLE OF TARA.

SINCE 'An Old Highland Fencible Corps' was written, I have had access to a contemporary account of the action at Tara Hill (preserved in the Record Office, London), written by Captain and Adjutant Blanche of the Reays. From this it appears that that officer had been sent on to Dublin by Captain Scobie on the 22nd May, to prepare quarters for the regiment, but on hearing of the disaster to the baggage of the two companies at Dunboyne, and learning that the five companies under Captain Scobie were in danger of being surrounded by the rebels, determined to rejoin his colours, "knowing their critical situation." He returned to Dunshaughlin early on the 26th inst., and there took over the command of the three companies and yeomanry from Captain Maclean immediately prior to their advance on Tara Hill. This account, which sheds

¹ 'Book of Mackay,' p. 236.

further interesting light on the action, was written some time after the engagement, at Major Scobie's request, and is addressed to "The Right Hon. Secretary of War, War Office, London, 1798."

After describing the events leading up to the action, the writer goes on to say: "On my arrival at Dunshaughlin from Dublin (after providing quarters for the Reay Regiment), I took over the command of the detached troops (from Capt. M'Lean), and having ordered a refreshment to the men, I then immediately marched in search of the enemy.

"On the road leading to Tara near Lord Fingal's demeane, the rebels, by way of contempt, left their compliments to the King's troops, and requested they would give them battle, assuring them they might depend upon a warm reception.

"The invitation was accepted with joy and emulation by the loyal party, accordingly we pushed on as quick as possible. When we arrived in view of the enemy I perceived them in great force. They also occupied a strong position, being posted on very commanding ground, and having the churchyard on their left, surrounded by a wall which commanded the Dublin road, and in their front one deep ditch and two high banks, which made it impossible to form line in their front without losing too much time and exposing the troops to little or no advantage. If the plan had been adopted, His Majesty's troops could have been easily surrounded by the enemy, in which case there would have been great danger of being defeated, on account of the rebels being so very numerous, together with their strong position, in consequence of which I determined at once to attack them obliquely to the left, and on arriving at the proper distance for the six-pounder to do execution, I directed one-half of the Yeomanry Horse to charge through the village in order to take the post off the left flank of the enemy, while the other half proceeded down a bye-road which brought them near the right flank of the rebels, both were pointedly directed to threaten the rear of the enemy, to act according to circumstances, and when the rebels gave way to charge them with vigour. The first shot from the six-pounder was a signal for the Horse to occupy their post. After firing several rounds from the six-pounder with good effect, the infantry proceeded towards the churchyard gate, so as to fall on the left flank of the rebels in order to drive them out of the churchyard, and also with the view of throwing them into confusion as quick as possible, and afterwards to dislodge them from their principal position.

"On approaching the churchyard gate we met with the most daring and obstinate resistance, which continued for some time, that, in short, matters were very alarming at one period, as the King's troops did not gain the least advantage over the enemy for a considerable time, and finding the men's ammunition almost expended, and our situation getting still more critical, I found it absolutely necessary to make one decisive effort by charging the rebels which was gallantly executed by the Grenadiers, animated by Lieutenant Rupert Mackay's spirited conduct, and ably supported by Captain McLean, Lieuts. Wm. Baillie, and James Scobie, with the rest of the infantry, which completely drove the enemy out of the churchyard, and almost instantaneously dislodged them from their principal position when this was accomplished, I naturally concluded that the fate of the day was determined; but while in

pursuit of the rebels in this quarter I was informed by Sergeant-Major John Cochran of the Reays that the enemy were approaching our left in great crowds, by the very same route on which the King's troops had commenced their operations, and that the six-pounder was in great danger of being taken by the rebels, in consequence of which I directed that active and spirited N.-C. officer with all speed possible to take a division of the Lieutenant-Colonel's company, and to check their progress untill I collected a sufficient force to rout them, which order was discharged in a soldier-like manner.

"The conflict at this time was of short duration but weighty, and of the most striking consequence. The cannon in particular, through the judicious and manly conduct of Lieut. Hunter (who had the charge of it), did great execution on account of the rebels being so very numerous and having no impediment in the way from doing them justice, in returning their cordial invitation which crowned our operations with complete victory.

"Captain Molloy of the Kells infantry gave every assistance with his company on this occasion.

"The action commenced about half-past 6 o'clock P.M. and continued without intermission until dusk. The extreme fatigue of the soldiers made it impossible to pursue the victory, who had been marching and counter-marching during the day prior to the action taken place.

"The unforeseen occurrence which befel us immediately before the enemy were dislodged from their principal position, was in consequence of the Yeomanry Cavalry given way that were posted near the right flank of the rebels under the command of Lieut. Barnwell, which gave the enemy an opportunity to advance on our left. It is possible, however, that they might have been very much pressed by the enemy prior to that taken place.

"Lord Fingal, Captain Preston, and Barns, who so gallantly charged through the village at the commencement of the action, kept the rebels in check in that quarter, and rendered every assistance their situation would admit, which service was of great importance, for had the enemy received so favourable an opportunity to advance on our right as they had on our left, the King's troops would have been in most imminent danger.

"After this service was accomplished I was at a loss for a few moments what steps to take, whether to reoccupy the hill or proceed to Dunshaughlin. The latter I thought the most advisable, on account of the men's ammunition being totally expended and the great danger of the enemy attacking the two companies left in that place for the protection of the town and neighbourhood, as the greatest part of the rebels were making towards that quarter. These two companies had in charge five companies' baggage, [the Regtl. Colours], one six-pounder complete in ammunition, 10 boxes of ball cartridges, and upwards of 80 stand of spare arms and appointments which was of too great importance to be hazarded to the enemy, the acquisition of which, if they had succeeded, would have reinstated them in as good, if not in a more advantageous, position than before the commencement of the action. The enemy were at least 8000 strong, and well equipped with ammunition and arms of different descriptions. The prisoners they had belonging to the Reays were kept in front and compelled to fire on His Majesty's troops. Two of these unfortunate men were killed in the action and the rest retaken.

“The loss of the rebels was considerable. They had upwards of 350 killed (among whom was their commander), besides wounded, and a great number drowned in the river contiguous to their place in endeavouring to make their escape. Three out of the four ammunition boxes (containing upwards of 9000 ball cartridges) taken by the enemy on January 24 near Dunboyne were retaken, but the greatest part of the ammunition they expended. Almost the whole of the two companies’ baggage (including 33 sets of arms, accoutrements, and magazines complete in ammunition) taken by the rebels at the same time was regained in consequence of this victory.

“The prisoners retaken stated the force of the rebels to be no less than 11,000, agreeable to the report made to their commander prior to the action taking place. Private letters received in Dublin a few days after the action stated that no less than 502 of the rebels were killed in this conflict.

“Early next morning Captain Scobie directed a party of the cavalry yeomanry under Lord Fingal and Capt. Preston to reconnoiter the field of battle, and who, on their return to Dunshaughlin, brought in several car loads of arms of different descriptions.

“We had to regret the loss of a few brave soldiers on this occasion. The Reays had 1 drummer and 8 rank and file killed, 1 officer (Lt. Wm. Baillie), 4 sergeants, and 21 rank and file wounded, 1 of the latter mortally. The Kells infantry had 1 killed and 5 wounded.

“However, I have much pleasure to observe that our loss was but comparatively small when all circumstances are duly considered. The great force of the enemy, and the superior manner in which they were furnished with arms, appointments, and ammunition ready made up, together with their strong position, and the advantage they had from their local situation in being so near the capital, put them on a better footing to resist His Majesty’s troops than any body of the rebels then in the kingdom.

“By this important victory the communication with the North was opened, and the county of Meath was preserved from its impending desolation and good order in a great measure restored and established. So great a terror was struck to the very head of the rebel that they never embodied again in that part of the country. The city of Dublin was no longer threatened by the enemy from that quarter, which roused the spirit of the Loyalist and dismayed the disaffected, seeing their principal as well as their greatness and most dangerous plan defeated, which by all accounts contributed not a little to the preservation of the country at large.

“I have to express my obligation to Lord Fingal, Captain Preston and Bévins and the officers under their command, whose names I cannot immediately particularize, for their zeal, courage, and soldier-like conduct during the whole action.

“The zeal and bravery displayed by Captain Hector McLean, Lieuts. George Hunter, Rupert Mackay, [Wm. Mackay], James Scobie, and Wm. Baillie of the Reay’s, was highly conspicuous.

“The bold and intripid conduct of Captain Molloy, Lieuts. Keaton and Convronor of the Kell’s infantry was highly meritorious. The spirited conduct and manly deportment of the cavalry under the command of Lord Fingal, Captain Preston and Barns, from the commencement of the action, does them

great honour; the courage, firmness, and dexterity of the infantry in resisting and defeating so great a body of rebels can hardly be exceeded by any.

“Mr Pembleton of the Lawyers Corps, from his activity and knowledge of the inhabitants of Dunshaughlin, was of infinite service to Captain Scobie during the action at Tara. In justice to merit, I have to note that the attention and agility displayed by Sergt.-Major John Cochran, joined with courage and vigour during the whole operation, was of great benefit to me and of no small importance to his king and country.”

(Signed) BLANCHE (AARON),
Captain (1st Dec. 1796), Reay's Highlanders.

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THE END.



Map of
SUTHERLAND & GAITHNESS

MAP No. 1.
"An old Highland Fencible Corps."

- English Miles. 0 5 10 15 20
- Ancient territory of the Mackays
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 - Bighouse (Strathhalladale) Estate in 1794
 - Strathly Estate in 1794

W & A. Edinburgh, Leam & F. Edinburgh & Traill.