

CHAPTER XXIV.

King James lands at Kinsale.—Schemes of Tyrconnel.—Condition of the Protestants in Ireland.—James enters Dublin.—Siege of Londonderry.—The Siege raised.—The Revolution in Scotland.—The Highlanders.—Dundee.—Battle of Killiecrankie.—Death of Dundee.

“WONDERFUL uncertainty where king James was, whether in France or Ireland,” writes Evelyn on the 29th of March. James had landed at the port of Kinsale on the 12th of March. There was no uncertainty when, on the 22d, the House of Commons had voted a Supply for six months “towards the reducing of Ireland,” and a member of the government had said, “the French king has carried king James into Ireland.” What then passed in Parliament was very imperfectly known to the public. The debates, in the state in which they have come down to us, were merely the brief notes of members for their private use. Even the Votes were unpublished. There was a great debate on a motion for printing the Votes, on the 9th of March. From this debate it appeared that members were in the habit of communicating the results of their proceedings to the constituencies. “It will only save the gentlemen the trouble of writing to their corporations,” said Sir Thomas Lee. “You are told,” says Sir Henry Capel, “of the Roll of the 9th of Henry IV.—that nothing is to be taken notice of in Parliament but what you communicate to the king. At that time there were no coffee-houses and no printing. If you could keep your votes out of coffee-houses, and suppress the licentiousness of printing,” you might oppose printing your votes, “otherwise you make secrets here of what all the world knows.” There were men who had the sagacity to see that concealment only produced the propagation of falsehood. “I would not have L’Estrange and Nevil Payne,” says Mr. Arnold, “write false news beyond sea. I desire the truth to be known, and am for printing the votes.”* The House decided against the printing. The majority thought

* L’Estrange was the Censor of the press under Charles II. and editor of the “Public Intelligencer.” Nevil Payne was as agent of James in Scotland, who was in correspondence with the English Jacobites.

that the Clerks of the House, who were suspected of sending the Votes to coffee-houses, should be prevented from thus committing “a great crime;” and that it was for the honour of the House not to print them. We can thus understand Mr. Evelyn’s uncertainty in a world of contradictory rumours. In the midst of the popular ignorance of facts there was one consolation. They could freely abuse their rulers. “The new king being much blamed for neglecting Ireland, now like to be ruined by the lord Tyrconnel and his Popish party, too strong for the Protestants,” writes Evelyn, in the hour of his uncertainty. The new king was betrayed, as he was doomed to be on many future occasions. The prince of Orange, under the advice of Irish noblemen and gentlemen, had during the interregnum opened a negotiation with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, the brother of that wit of the court of Charles II., who wrote the most profligate Memoirs in the purest French, had come from Ireland to fight for king James against the prince of Orange, but was chosen to return to Ireland to arrange with Tyrconnel to preserve Ireland for king William. The son of sir William Temple gave a pledge that Hamilton would be faithful. Hamilton went to Tyrconnel and plotted with him how the Protestants could be best crushed, and James seated in Ireland as its Papist king. The too sensitive young Temple, when he found that his friend had abused his confidence, drowned himself. “He was so deeply oppressed with grief that he plunged himself out of a boat into the Thames, laden with weights to sink him.”* The schemes of Tyrconnel succeeded. He persuaded lord Mountjoy to set out on a mission to James at St. Germain’s, to represent to him “the moral impossibility of holding out against the power of England.” He sent with him another envoy, chief baron Rice, “to give a quite different account to the king.” Mountjoy was put into the Bastille. Tyrconnel had a clear course for his operations. “Accordingly this lord’s back was no sooner turned but he began by degrees to pull off the mask. He caused all the Protestants in Dublin to surrender their arms; he began to augment the standing forces; and with as much prudence as dexterity soon put the kingdom in a tolerable state of defence.” Such is the explanation of the alleged neglect, not given by a partizan of king William, but by the compiler of the Life of James II. from his own Memoirs.†

* Alexander Cunningham—“History of Great Britain,” vol. i. p. 126.

† “Life of James II.

James had quitted France with this remarkable wish of the great monarch at their parting—"the best thing I can desire for you is never to see you back again." The munificent favours of Louis—his generous as well as politic honours to a fallen brother—the adulation of courtiers, who looked upon a king, however powerless, as a demi-god—these were to be exchanged for a doubtful struggle for a divided kingdom. Yet if James could maintain a position in Ireland, he might recover England: "If king James would quit his priests," said Danby, "he might still retrieve his affairs."* His prospects in Ireland were far from desperate; they were in many particulars encouraging. The Protestants who, from the time of the plantation of Ulster in the time of James I., had been gradually changing a wild and profitless country into a flourishing seat of trade and manufactures, had recovered the effects of the massacre of 1641. Cromwell had replaced them in security by the terror of his strong arm. They were again the dominant power; the native Irish were again a subjected race. James II. out of no sense of equal justice to save the aboriginal people from the tyranny of the smaller number, had determined to depress the colonisers and subject them to the less regulated tyranny of that hatred of their race and their religion which animated the Celtic population. In two years Ireland, under the rule of Tyrconnel, was a kingdom in which the civil and military strength was almost wholly in the hands of Papists. The Protestant militia had been disarmed early in the reign of James. Tyrconnel's soldiers seized upon all arms in the possession of Protestant householders, who were alone qualified by law to carry weapons. James entered Ireland when all those likely to oppose him were thought to be naked and defenceless.

Before the Revolution was completed in England, the inhabitants of Enniskillen and Londonderry had received such warnings from the attitude of the Irish government, and the temper of the native population around them, that they prepared to defend themselves against the same sort of attack which Londonderry had successfully resisted in 1641. Enniskillen repelled the attempt to quarter Popish soldiers in their little town. Londonderry secured its gates against the entrance of a similar force. Mountjoy, who was afterwards betrayed into the mission to James, was well received at Londonderry, and left a Protestant garrison for their protection, under one of his officers, lieutenant-colonel Lundy.

* Resesby's "Memoirs," p. 325.

Before William and Mary had received the crown, the whole Catholic population around the Protestants was preparing for rapine and revenge. The sovereigns of the Revolution were, however, proclaimed by the staunch citizens of Londonderry and the small colony of Enniskillen; and they abided the issue without shrinking. The men of Londonderry relied upon Lundy, as governor, who had sent his adhesion to England, and had received from William and Mary a formal appointment to his command. Upon Hamilton, Tyrconnel had bestowed the reward of his treachery, by placing him at the head of a body of troops to bring the Protestants of Ulster to submission. These troops desolated the country; and the wretched inhabitants fled before them to Enniskillen and to Londonderry. The city, which had been founded by Englishmen upon the site of the old ruined city of Derry granted by James I. to the Corporation of London, had become the chief refuge for many thousands, in addition to its usual inhabitants. Amongst those who had fled hither for succour, was the rector of a neighbouring parish, George Walker, whose name will always live in honoured remembrance.

The king of the Roman Catholics entered Dublin on the 24th of March. Devoted soldiers lined the streets; the houses were hung with tapestry; his horse trod upon flowers and green leaves. He was met at the castle gate by the procession of the host, and he fell on his knees in adoration. Despatches received from Hamilton, now a lieutenant-general, showed that there was work to do, beyond that of pageants and congratulations. The king himself at length determined to go amongst the troops to encourage them, taking with him the French officers that had accompanied him to Ireland.* His march into Ulster commenced on the 13th of April. He travelled through a wasted country from which the inhabitants had fled, taking with them their moveable goods. The position of James and his followers was disagreeable enough. It was determined to return to Dublin; and so they went back to Charlemont. But, says the Memoir, "the king received by an express a letter from the duke of Berwick, in the name of all the General officers as their opinion, that in case his majesty would return to the army, and but show himself before Derry, it would infallibly surrender." † James again changed his mind; and setting out towards the obstinate city the next morning, overtook the French general Rosen within two miles of the place where his mere presence was to

* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 330; Own Memoirs.

† *Ibid.*, p. 332.

compel submission. The trumpeter sent by the king with a summons, found the inhabitants "in very great disorder, having turned out their Governor Lundy, upon suspicion."* The cause of this unexpected reception was the presence of "one Walker, a Minister." He was opposed to Lundy, who thought the place untenable, and counselled the townsmen to make conditions; "but the fierce Minister of the Gospel, being of the true Cromwellian or Cameronian stamp, inspired them with bolder resolutions."† James finally left Hamilton and the French generals to work their will upon the besieged, and upon the people who had not the shelter of the beleaguered city; and he went back to Dublin to meet a Parliament called for the 7th of May. We must finish this story of heroic bravery and more heroic fortitude, although the events which we shall thus attempt briefly to relate, will detain us from other events of importance for more than three months of this busy year of 1689.

Lough Foyle, the inlet of the sea which flows between the counties of Derry and Donegal, extends from its narrow entrance at Magilligan Point for about sixteen miles, when it meets the river Foyle at Culmore. The river is navigable for ships of heavy burthen to Londonderry, built by the colonists on the left bank. This city, in 1689, was contained within the walls; and it rose by a gentle ascent from the base to the summit of a hill, on the highest point of which was its cathedral. The streets were regularly laid out, in lines running to four gates, from a square in the centre, in which the Town-house and the Guard-house were placed. The gradual ascent of the city thus exposed it to the fire of an enemy. The small Bastions were insufficient for the defence of the Curtain against a vigorous assault; and there was no Moat nor Counterscarp. A ferry crossed the Foyle from the east gate; and the north gate opened upon a quay. On the east bank of the Foyle were woods and groves, with sites of villages destroyed by the marauding soldiery. On the west bank, close to the strand, was a large orchard, which became a place of ambush. At the entrance of the Foyle was the strong fort of Culmore, with a smaller fort on the opposite bank. About two miles below the city were two forts,—Charles Fort on the west bank; Grange Fort on the east.‡

Lundy, the treacherous or perhaps panic-stricken governor, had persuaded Cunningham, the colonel who commanded two

* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 333.

† *Ibid.*, p. 334.

‡ Plan in Harris's "Life of William III." p. 193.

English regiments sent to assist in the defence of the place, to put his troops on board ship and sail away. The indignation of the English parliament was extreme when these troops returned home. Lundy's intention to surrender being manifest, the citizens, under the advice of their reverend champion, and of a more regular soldier, superseded the governor, and he was glad to escape in disguise. The battle now commenced in earnest. The reverend George Walker and Major Baker were appointed governors during the siege. They mustered seven thousand and twenty soldiers, dividing them into regiments under eight colonels. In the town there were about thirty thousand souls; but they were reduced to a less burdensome number, by ten thousand accepting an offer of the besieging commander to restore them to their dwellings. There were, according to Lundy's estimation, only provisions for ten days. The number of cannon possessed by the besieged was only twenty. With such resources a protracted defence of Londonderry might well appear impossible. On the 20th of April the city was invested, and the bombardment was begun. A strong force was planted at Pennyburn Mill, to cut off the road from Culmore to the city, that fort then being in the hands of the Protestants. It was afterwards lost. On the 21st the garrison made a sortie, and routed this force with considerable slaughter. Maumont, one of the French generals, fell by a musket ball in this desperate sally. The bombardment went on, with demi-culverins and mortars. No impression was made during nine days upon the determination to hold out; and on the 29th king James retraced his steps to Dublin, in considerable ill humour. He gave vent to that petulance which had so often alienated his friends, by exclaiming, "If my army had been English, they would have brought me the town, stone by stone, by this time."

The siege went on, amidst bombardments and sorties, for six weeks, with little change. Hamilton was the commander of James's forces, in consequence of the death of Maumont; and another French officer, Persignan, who might have assisted Hamilton's inexperience, was mortally wounded in a sortie of the sixth of May. The garrison of Londonderry and the inhabitants were gradually perishing from fatigue and insufficient food. But they bravely repelled an assault, in which four hundred of the assailants fell. Of the relief which had been promised from England there were no tidings. This solitary city had to bear, as it would appear, the whole brunt of the great contest for the fate of three king-

doms. Large bodies of troops held the country on every side, keeping in awe the trembling and starving population, that could give no succour. No friendly ship could sail up the river without receiving the fire from hostile forts at its mouth and on its banks. No messenger could safely pass by land or by water to tell of the need there was for relief. The banks of the Foyle were lined with musqueteers. The roads on the East and on the West were blocked by masses of troops. Across the narrow part of the river, from Charles Fort to Grange Fort, the enemy stretched a great boom of fir timber, joined by iron chains, and fastened on either shore by cables of a foot thick. On the 15th of June, the anxious lookers out from the high places of the city descried a fleet of thirty sail in the Lough. The English flag floated in the great æstuary, but the deliverers came no nigher for weeks. Signals were given and answered; but the ships lay at anchor, as if to drive hope to despair. Provisions were now dealt out in quantities scarcely sufficient to sustain life; and fever and dysentery seized upon their hundreds of victims. Gunpowder was still left; but the cannon balls were shot away, and the resolute men cast lead round brick bats, and fired the rough missiles upon the besiegers. At the end of June, Baker, one of the heroic governors, died. Hamilton had been superseded in his command by Rosen, when it was known in Dublin that an English fleet was in Lough Foyle. The prolonged resistance of two months by a city not fortified upon scientific principles, was too humiliating for the Frenchman, who was reported to have dragooned the Protestants of Languedoc; and Rosen, who was invested with powers as "Marshal General of all his majesty's forces," issued a savage proclamation, declaring that unless the place were surrendered by the first of July, he would collect all the Protestants from the neighbouring districts, and drive them under the walls of the city to starve with those within the walls. This was not a vain threat. For thirty miles round the remnant of the population—the old man incapable of bearing arms, and the young wife with an infant at her breast—the children who lingered about their desolate homes, and the cripple who could fly nowhere for shelter—were driven in flocks towards the city where their friends were well nigh perishing. Some dropped on the road; some were mercifully knocked on the head. A famished troop came thus beneath the walls of Londonderry, where they lay starving for three days. The besieged immediately erected a gallows, within

view of their enemies; and sent a message to their head-quarters that priests might come in to prepare the prisoners within the city for death, for they would hang every man if their friends were not immediately dismissed. The threat had its effect, and the famished crowd wended back their way to their solitary villages. It is but justice to James to state, that he expressed his displeasure at this proceeding, and wrote to Rosen. "It is positively our will, that you do not put your project in execution as far as it regards the men, women, and children, of whom you speak; but on the contrary, that you send them back to their habitations without any injury to their persons."

Meanwhile the siege went on. Batteries were brought closer and closer to the city; and the firing was continued by day and night. At last a communication was effected with the fleet in the Lough. Major-General Kirk, the evil instrument of cruelty in the expedition against Monmouth, was now in the confidence of the new government. He it was who had come to the assistance of the besieged with men, arms, and provisions. He sent word by a little boy, who carried a letter in his garter—or in his button—that he found it impossible to get up the river; that he expected six thousand more men from England; and that then he would attack the besiegers by land. A doubtful hope. Famine was now doing its terrible work. The well-known substitutes for ordinary food, of horse-flesh, and dog's-flesh, of rats, of hides, were fast failing. On the evening of the 30th of July, Walker preached in the Cathedral, exhorting his hearers still to persevere, for that God would at last deliver them from their difficulties. An hour after the sermon the lookers out descried a movement in the Lough. Three vessels are sailing to the mouth of the Foyle. There are two merchantmen and a frigate. They are fired upon by the Culmore Fort and the New Fort. They returned the fire. They are in the river. They are within a mile of the boom. They heed not the shots of the musqueteers, nor the guns of the Charles Fort and Grange Fort. And now the foremost of the merchant vessels is known by her build. She is the Mountjoy of Derry. She dashes at the boom. She breaks it, but she is driven ashore by the rebound. They are boarding. No. The frigate comes up and fires a broadside. The Mountjoy rights again. The three ships pass the boom safely. They are coming to the quay. We are saved. That night the four thousand three hundred of the garrison who, out of seven thousand four hundred, were left alive, feasted upon

something better than the nine lean horses and a pint of meal for each man, that were left. Of the abundance that was landed at the quay amidst the shouts of the brave defenders of Londonderry, there was enough to make every heart glad of that heroic population, who thus fought and who suffered for a great principle. Bonfires are lighted. Bells are rung. The fire of the besiegers is the next day continued. But at nightfall a smoke arises from their camp, as if from the huts which had given them shelter for three months. Another night of watchfulness for the besieged; and as the sun of the first of August glimmers over the waters of Lough Foyle, it is seen that Rosen, with his half disciplined soldiers and his Rapparees, had marched away on the road to Strabane. Eight thousand of the besiegers had perished in this memorable struggle.*

At the period when Londonderry was saved, the men of Enniskillen took the field, and won the decisive battle of Newton Butler. On the 29th of July, the day before the great boom of the Foyle was broken, two English colonels, Wolseley and Berry, who had been sent by Kirk with a supply of arms and ammunition, sailed up Lough Erne to the isle of Enniskillen with their welcome cargo, and landed amidst the shouts of the people. Their arrival was very timely. A large force was advancing against Enniskillen under the command of Macarthy, Viscount Mountcashel. Wolseley and Berry went forth with three thousand men to meet the five thousand who were thus coming with a confidence of success; for the duke of Berwick was to attack Enniskillen from another quarter. The hostile forces were in presence of each other on the 30th. The larger number began to retreat; the smaller followed. Macarthy's dragoons at last turned to face the bold yeomanry, who were advancing with the determination of men whose dearest interests were at issue in this deadly strife. The Celtic army was routed amidst terrible butchery. As the besiegers of Londonderry halted on the 1st of August at Strabane, they heard the news of this defeat. They became wholly disorganised, abandoning their stores and their sick and wounded. James was already out of heart. The king's intelligence from England assured

* There are two original narratives of the siege of Londonderry, from which many of its incidents must be derived. One is, "A true account of the siege," by the famous George Walker, published in 1689. The other, published in 1690, is "A Narrative of the Siege," by John Mackenzie, a Dissenting Minister, who was chaplain to one of the régiments in the city. These accounts are condensed and compared in the "Life and Reign of William III." by Walter Harris.

him of a speedy invasion from thence. The length of the siege of Derry, the badness of the weather, the frequent sallies, the unwholesomeness of the place of encampment "had in a manner destroyed the army, so as that no service could be expected from it for a considerable time." Add to this, "My lord Mountcashel entirely routed." Such were the griefs which, when Schomberg landed with an army on the 13th of August, "struck such a consternation amongst the generality, as made them give up all for lost."*

We must revert to the close of the year 1688, to be able to present a rapid narrative of the course of the Revolution in Scotland.

The attempt of James to dispense with the Test Act was as ill received in Scotland as in England. The Episcopalians suspected the motive; the moderate Presbyterians did not welcome his limited indulgence; the Cameronians spurned it, with a bitter hatred of their old oppressor, and of all his evil instruments. But there was in Scotland that strong feeling of attachment to their own race of kings which would not very enthusiastically welcome their sudden and complete downfall. There was sure to be a struggle, however it might terminate, for the superiority of the Church of the minority, established by law; and for the restoration of the Church of the majority, proscribed and persecuted. Conflicting interests and passions were certain to be brought into more immediate and direct hostility than in the English Revolution, in which an outrage upon the Church with a view to the preponderance of Catholicism, united for a season the opposing principles of Establishment and of Dissent. In Scotland the government was wholly in the hands of those who had been the ministers of the intolerant tyranny of the king, and were the bitter enemies of those who clung to the Covenant. It was difficult to estimate what course events would take when the prince of Orange landed in England. The earl of Perth, the Chancellor, had declared himself a Roman Catholic on the accession of James. When the prince of Orange had landed, the Chancellor approached the Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh with the statements of what king James had done for them, and how they ought to oppose the unnatural invasion of that good king's nephew. He was answered, that the favours of the king had only for their object to ruin the Protestant religion. James fled; and then the terrified Chancellor attempted to fly also; for, says he, "Blair came from Edin-

* "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 372. Original Memoirs.

burgh, and told me that the king was gone into France, and that if I did not immediately get away I was a gone man." * The earl and his lady went on board a sloop, where the men used them "with all the barbarity Turks could have done;" and finally put them on shore "at the pier at Kirkcaldy, exposed to the mockery and hatred of the people." The mob of Edinburgh, on the 10th of December, had broken into the chapel of Holyrood House, which had been fitted up for the Roman Catholic service; had destroyed its decorations; and had committed the sacrilege of disturbing the graves of the old princes of Scotland. The rabble had been fired upon by captain Wallace, who was in command of a party of soldiers at the palace; and the people of Kirkcaldy, says the earl of Perth, "got into a tumult to have me immediately sent to Edinburgh; though the tide did not serve, and though they knew that at Edinburgh I should have been torn to pieces, for there they believed that Johnny Wallace was commanded by me to fire upon the people." † He was rescued from the furious multitude of Kirkcaldy, "who began to call for cords;" and was conveyed to Stirling Castle, where he was detained as a prisoner for four years. Such was the temper of the people towards dignitaries at whose frown they had so lately trembled. The Episcopal Clergy fared no better. The hatred of the Scottish Puritans against the observance of Christmas went far beyond the quarrel with mince-pie of the Commonwealth Puritans. On the Christmas day of 1688, as if by universal agreement in the Western counties, the obnoxious ministers were, in the phrase of the day, "rabbed." Armed bodies of Covenanters terrified each clergyman in his manse; destroyed his furniture; gave him notice to quit; or turned him and his family out of their houses. They burnt his Prayer Book, and they locked up his church. No lives were lost, and no wounds were inflicted, in these execrable outrages.

In such a temper of a long oppressed people, William had issued his letters, as in England, for the assembly of a Convention. In England the strictest regard was paid to the existing state of the representation. In Scotland, the Act of 1681, which compelled every elector to renounce the Covenant, was superseded by William's authority; and Lords were summoned who had been deprived of their seats in the recent times of tyrannical rule. Meanwhile, in the interval of two months before the Convention was to assemble, furious passions were well nigh leading to a state of

* "Letters from James, Earl of Perth," 1845, p. 1.

† *Ibid.*, p. 5.

public confusion. Edinburgh Castle was held for king James by the duke of Gordon. The Whigs of Edinburgh and of the West were secretly arming. But each party was looking to the Convention as the test of their political strength, and each prepared for a contest which should decide the future fortunes of Scotland. Nobles of each party were in London. The consistent opposers of the popish James flocked round the prince of Orange at Whitehall. The most ardent supporters of the Stuart king were not driven from the new court. The earl of Dundee, says Burnet, "had employed me to carry messages from him to the king, to know what security he might expect if he should go and live in Scotland without owning the government. The king said, if he would live peaceably, and at home, he would protect him; to this he answered, that, unless he were forced to it, he would live quietly." William was pressed to proscribe the Claverhouse who had borne so hateful a part in the days of persecution; but he refused to make any exception to the general amnesty, by which he hoped to make Scotland in some degree a land of peace.

Viscount Dundee arrived at Edinburgh at the end of February, in company with the earl of Balcarres. These noblemen were the confidential agents of James in Scotland; and from the day of their arrival the enemies of the Revolution had a rallying-point. The episcopal hierarchy were again full of hope that he they had called "the darling of Heaven," might be preserved and delivered by the mercy of God, by giving him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies.* Balcarres is an authority for some curious incidents of this crisis.† He and Dundee went to the duke of Gordon to urge him to hold the castle of Edinburgh. They met "all the duke's furniture coming out;" but they made him promise to keep the fortress "until he saw what the Convention would do." On the 14th of March the Convention met. The bishop of Edinburgh prayed for the safety and restoration of king James, without opposition. The heir of the attainted Argyle took his seat, with only one protest. The conquerors and the conquered stood face to face. But the real strength was soon discovered. The duke of Hamilton had a majority of forty as President. Each party had put up a man that could not thoroughly be trusted. The marquis of Athol was as loose a politician as his opponent. But they were the heads of

* Address to James, November 3, 1688.

† "Account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution in 1688, as sent to the late King James II., when in France," 1714.

powerful clans, and their rank and influence made them leaders of politicians who had as little honesty as themselves.

It was alleged against the duke of Hamilton that he, and other western lords and gentlemen, "had brought publicly into town several companies of foot, and quartered them in the city; besides great numbers that they kept hid in cellars, and in houses below the ground, which never appeared until some days after the Convention had begun." * Dundee complained to Hamilton that information had come to his knowledge that he was to be assassinated. The allegation came before the Convention on the 15th of March; and they took no concern in the matter. More important communications were to be laid before them. There was a letter to be read from king William in England; and a messenger had arrived with a letter from king James in France. The communication from king William had the precedence, by a decision of the majority. It was a mild and sensible document, exhorting to the laying aside of animosities and factions, and suggesting a Union of the two nations, "living in the same island, having the same language, and the same common interest of religion and liberty." The letter of James was counter-signed by the earl of Melfort, a man execrated by all parties. It breathed no spirit of peace. "He," the king, "would pardon all such as should return to their duty before the last day of that month inclusive, and he would punish with the rigour of his laws all such as should stand out in rebellion against him or his authority." When the seal of that letter was broken, the cause of James was felt to be lost. It was determined by Balcarres, Dundee, and a few other Tories, to leave the Convention, and gather together at Stirling. Sunday intervened. They were to start on the next day. Difficulties arose; and then Dundee, in his impatience, resolved to set out alone. "Then," says Balcarres, "he went straight away with about fifty horse. As he was riding near the castle of Edinburgh, the duke of Gordon made a sign to speak with him at the West side of the Castle, where, though it be extremely steep, yet he told the duke all that was resolved upon, and begged that he would hold out the castle till the king's friends might get him released, which he positively promised to do." Dalrymple says, that when Dundee galloped through the city, "being asked by one of his friends who stopped him, 'where he was going,' he waved his hat, and is reported to have answered, 'wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me.'"

* "Account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution in 1688, as sent to the late King James II., when in France," 1714.

"The Gordon demands of him which way he goes—
Where e'er shall direct me the shade of Montrose—
Your Grace in short space shall hear tidings of me,
Or that low lies the bonnet of bonny Dundee." *

The duke of Hamilton caused the doors of the Convention to be locked. The drums were beat in the streets. The Western Whigs came forth from their hiding-places. "There was never so miserable a parcel seen," say Balcarres. Nevertheless, the notion of a rival Convention at Stirling was at an end; and Dundee went his own course, to redeem, by his death in the hour of victory, some of the odium which, in spite of the romance of history, must always attach to the realities of his cruel and fanatical life. For he, a hater of fanatics, was amongst the worst who have borne that name,—one of "those exploded fanatics of slavery, who formerly maintained what no creature now maintains, that the Crown is held by divine, hereditary, and indefeasible right;" †—one who, in the maintenance of this creed, divested himself of the ordinary attributes of humanity, to be as callous as an inquisitor, and as remorseless as a buccaneer. Disappointed in their scheme, the only thing, says Balcarres to James, that could be thought of by all your friends, "was to engage the duke of Gordon to fire upon the town, which certainly would have broke up the Convention." The duke was wiser. "He absolutely refused to do anything but defend himself until he had your majesty's order."

The Convention now went fearlessly to work in the settlement of the kingdom. After long debates the House came to a resolution, which was embodied into an Act. "The Estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that king James VII. being a professed Papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as a King, without ever taking the oath required by law, and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power; and had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forefaulted the crown, and the throne was become vacant." ‡ An Act was also passed for settling the crown of Scotland upon William and Mary. On the day that the king and queen were crowned in England, they

* Scott. "the Doom of Devorgoil."

† Burke. "French Revolution."

‡ "Others were for making use of an obsolete word, *forefaulting*, used for a bird's forsaking her nest."—Balcarres.

were proclaimed king and queen in Scotland. Commissioners were appointed from the Convention to proceed to London, to invest their majesties with the government. They—the earl of Argyle, sir James Montgomery, and sir John Dalrymple—were introduced at the Banqueting House on the 17th of May. Argyle tendered the Coronation Oath, which concluded with this clause, “that they would be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God.” Upon this William declared that “he did not mean by these words, that he was under any obligation to be a persecutor.” The Commissioners replied, that “neither the meaning of the oath, nor the law of Scotland did import it.” “I take the oath in that sense,” said William. In the Claim of Rights which the Convention had prepared it was set forth, “that Prelacy, and superiority of an office in the Church above Presbyters, is and has been a great and insupportable burthen to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having reformed Popery by Presbytery, and therefore ought to be abolished.”

When Dundee, with his fifty horsemen, who had deserted from the regiment in England which he once commanded, had left the castle of Edinburgh far behind him, he scarcely then paused to think whither the spirit of Montrose would direct him. He retired to his country house in Forfar. He would probably have remained there unmolested by the new government; and he, as well as Balcarres, might have thought it most politic to continue quiet for a while. An agent of James arrived from Ireland, with letters recommending that nothing should be done till further orders; and Melfort, by the same messenger, wrote to Balcarres and Dundee. The letters fell into the hands of the dominant party in the Convention. Balcarres was arrested. Dundee had put the Tay between himself and his unfriends, “and having a good party of his own regiment constantly with him, they found it not so safe to apprehend him.” Balcarres was brought before the Convention, and the letters of Melfort to him were read. In one, says Balcarres, “he expressed himself much after this manner: That he wished some had been cut off that he and I spoke about, and then things had never come to the pass they were at; but when we get the power again, such should be hewers of wood, and drawers of water.” Balcarres adds, addressing the king, that although he had never made any such proposition as that at which Melfort hinted, “nothing could have been more to the prejudice of your affairs, nor for

my ruin, than this, which did show that nothing but cruelty would be used, if ever your majesty returned.” When the order was given to arrest Dundee, he quitted his house with a few retainers; and was soon at the head of a body of Highlanders.

In the most picturesque history in our language there are no passages more picturesque than those in which the eloquent writer describes the Highlanders of this period.* He has produced his likeness of the Gael “by the help of two portraits, of which one is a coarse caricature, and the other a masterpiece of flattery.” The caricature was produced out of the prejudices which existed up to the middle of the last century; the flattery has been created by poetry and romance in our own time. “While the old Gaelic institutions were in full vigour, no account of them was given by any observer, qualified to judge of them fairly.”† We venture to think that there is one account, not indeed very full or very striking, which contains many traits which appear to be the result of observation, and which are not distorted by any violent prejudice. Alexander Cunningham, who left a manuscript history of Great Britain from the Revolution to the accession of George I., written in Latin,‡ was a native of Scotland, who is supposed to have been in Holland in 1688, and is held by his biographer to have been chosen by Archibald, earl of Argyle, to be travelling tutor to his son, lord Lorne. His position would naturally give him an interest in the state of the Highlands, and would probably enable him to describe the people from personal observation. “The Scotch Highlanders,” he says, “a race of warriors who fight by instinct, are a different people from the Lowlanders, of different manners, and a different language.” This may appear a trite observation to set out with; but it was the case then, as it was much more recently with many, that “by most Englishmen, Scotchman and Highlander were regarded as synonymous words.”§ Cunningham goes on to say, “Though of a very ready wit, they are utterly unacquainted with arts and discipline; for which reason they are less addicted to husbandry than to arms, in which they are exercised by daily quarrels with one another.”|| The hostilities of clans was the great moving principle in every Highland adoption of a public quarrel, as we have seen in the career of Montrose and of Argyle. It was the principle upon which Dundee relied when he hurried to

* Macaulay's History, vol. iii. c. xiii.

† Translated by Thomas Hollinbury, D.D., 1788.

‡ Cunningham, vol. i. p. 126.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

¶ Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 312.

the clans who were in arms for a private quarrel at Inverness. But the cause of king James had a hold upon their affections, beyond their desire to encounter the hostile chiefs who were the supporters of king William. They knew nothing of the political and religious grounds of difference. The causes of the great Revolution of England were to them unknown and uncared for. It was enough that "their minds, roused by the remembrance of former times, were easily drawn over by the viscount of Dundee, who was of the family of Montrose, to the interest of king James. They firmly believe that the ancient kings of Scotland were descended from them, and wore the very same dress which they now wear; and therefore they were easily persuaded that king James was of their own blood, and, by a kind of divine right, entitled to the crown."* Their hardihood under exposure to cold and wet; their habitual exercise; their predatory excursions, are noticed by this historian. "Being in general poorly provided for, they are apt to covet other men's goods; nor are they taught by any laws to distinguish with great accuracy their own property from that of other people. They are not ashamed of the gallows; nay, they pay a religious respect to a fortunate plunderer."† Scott says that a foray was so far from being held disgraceful, that a young chief was expected to show his talents for command, by heading a plundering expedition.‡ To their chief "the common people adhere with the utmost fidelity, by whose right hand they are wont to swear."§ Dundee knew the qualities of the race that he was going to lead against the regular troops of the new government. Their peculiar character and organisation were favourable for a dashing enterprise. They were perhaps most to be feared in the hour of success. "In battle, the point to which they bend their utmost efforts, and which they are most anxious to carry, is their enemy's baggage. If that once falls into their hands, disregarding all discipline and oaths, and leaving their colours, home they run."||

The clan which Dundee joined at Inverness had for its chief, MacDonald of Keppoch. This pugnacious warrior had recently won a battle against MacIntosh of Moy; and he was now about to harry the Saxon shopkeepers of Inverness for having taken part against his clan. In Inverness there was "sneezing," and

* Cunningham, p. 122.

† *Ibid.*, p. 121.

‡ Notes to "Lady of the Lake."

§ "No oath, but by his chieftain's hand." *Lady of the Lake*, canto iii.

|| Cunningham, vol. i. p. 122.

sugar, and aqua-vitæ. He had recently been opposed to the soldiers of king James, who, under the direction of the Privy Council, had gone forth with letters of fire and sword to waste and kill in the country of MacDonald of Keppoch. When Dundee arrived, the chief thought less of the injuries which he had sustained from the government of king James than of the glorious opportunity of plunder in a fight against the government of king William. A goat was slain, a fire was kindled, the points of a small wooden cross were seared in the flame, and then the sparks were extinguished in the blood of the goat. "Their religion is partly taken from the Druids, partly from Papists, and partly from Protestants," says Cunningham. In the ceremony of preparing the Fiery Cross, we may readily trace the Pagan as well as the Popish element. MacDonald of Keppoch sent the Fiery Cross through his district. It was the signal for arming and assembling at a given place of rendezvous. It was handed on by one swift messenger after another through the country of Keppoch's allies and friends. The name of the Graham was sufficient to arm all those who hated the Campbell. The deeds of Montrose were the favourite themes of the bards; and now another Graham was come to lead the clans near Inverary, who had thrown off their submission to Argyle, against another Argyle, who might again reduce them to their old condition of dependence. Dundee first surprised the town of Perth, seizing the public treasure; dispersed two troops of horse; and then entered into the Highlands, to wait the arrival of aid from Ireland. The clans gathered around him in Lochaber, all eager to fight for the cause which had the Mac Callum More for its enemy.

During the month of June active operations in the Highlands were suspended. But in the meantime Edinburgh Castle was surrendered by the duke of Gordon. General Mackay had taken the command of the army in Scotland. "He was one of the best officers of the age, when he had nothing to do but to obey and execute orders; for he was both diligent, obliging, and brave; but he was not so fitted for command. His piety made him too apt to mistrust his own sense, and to be too tender, or rather fearful, in anything where there might be a needless effusion of blood."* To shed blood needlessly is the greatest opprobrium of a commander. To mistrust himself in the fear of unavoidable slaughter is to produce a more fatal effusion of blood. It is not piety which produces

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 47.

such mistrust. Whether Mackay, the bravest of the brave, was open to this covert reproach, does not appear in the narratives of his conduct of the battle of Killiecrankie. Dundee had learnt that the marquis of Athol, who had decided to take part with the ruling powers, had sent his son, lord Murray, into Athol to raise the clans; but that his own castle of Blair had been held against him; and that a large number of his clan had quitted the standard of the marquis. He had also learnt that Mackay was advancing to reduce Blair Castle, a post most important as the key of the Northern Highlands. Dundee had received three hundred Irish troops from Ulster, and he had collected again about three thousand Highlanders, who had been allowed to leave Lochaber for their own glens. Mackay was approaching Blair Castle, out of Perthshire. Dundee arrived there on the 27th of July. Mackay was advancing up the pass of Killiecrankie. On one hand of the narrow defile was the river Garry, rushing below the difficult ascent. On the other side were rocks and wooded mountains. One laden horse and two or three men abreast would fill the road-way. In this defile, the passage of Mackay might have been effectually resisted. Dundee chose to wait for his enemy till he had reached the open valley at the extremity of the pass. The troops were resting, when the alarm was given that the Highlanders were at hand. From the hills a cloud of bonnets and plaids swept into the plain, and the regular soldier was face to face with the clansman;—"Veterans practised in war's game" on one side—"Shepherds and Herdsmen" on the other.* There had been firing from each for several hours. It was seven o'clock before Dundee gave the word for action. Unplaided and unsocked the Highlanders rushed upon the red soldier. They threw away their firelocks after a volley or two; raised their war-yell, amidst the shriek of the bagpipes; and darted upon Mackay's line. A few minutes of struggle, and then a headlong flight down the pass. What the poet calls "the precept and the pedantry of cold mechanic battle" could not stand up against the rush of enemies, as strange as the mounted Spaniard was to the Peruvian. The slaughter was terrible, as the Saxons fled through the gorge, with the Celts hewing and slaying amidst a feeble resistance. But there were no final results of the victory of Killiecrankie. The Highlanders did not follow up their success, for they were busy with the booty of the field; and Dundee had fallen. He was leading a charge of his small band of cavalry;

* Wordsworth.

and was waving his arm for his men to come on, when a musket ball struck him in the part thus exposed by the opening of his cuirass. He fell from his horse, and, after a few sentences, "word spake never more."* There was terror in Edinburgh when it was known that Mackay had been defeated. There was hope when the news came that Dundee had fallen. The Highlanders went back to their mountains, laden with plunder. In London there was necessarily alarm. "But when the account of Dundee's death was known, the whole city appeared full of joy; and the king's enemies, who had secretly furnished themselves with arms, now laid aside all thoughts of using them."† The over-sanguine hopes of the enterprise of Dundee amongst the followers of king James, are thus expressed in a lament for his death: "Had he lived, there was little doubt but he had soon established the king's authority in Scotland, prevented the prince of Orange going or sending an army into Ireland, and put his majesty in a fair way of regaining England itself."‡ Certainly not; whilst the real intentions of James towards Scotland and England continued to ooze out, as they were sure to do. Balcarres, in his account to king James of the affairs of Scotland, has this anecdote of the characteristic Stuart policy: "Next day after the fight, an officer riding by the place where my lord Dundee fell, found lying there a bundle of papers and commissions, which he had about him. Those who stripped him thought them of but small concern, so they left them there lying. This officer a little after did show them to several of your friends, among which there was one paper did no small prejudice to your affairs, and would have done much more, had it not been carefully suppressed. It was a letter of the earl of Melfort's to my lord Dundee, when he sent him over your Majesty's Declaration, in which was contained not only an indemnity, but a toleration for all persuasions. This the earl of Melfort believed would be shocking to Dundee, considering his hatred to fanatics; for he writes, that notwithstanding of what was promised in your declaration, indemnity and indulgence, yet he had couched things so, that you would break them when you pleased; nor would you think yourself obliged to stand to them."

* The letter that it is pretended he wrote to King James is a transparent forgery.

† Cunningham, p. 123.

‡ "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 352.