

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SCOTS IN FRANCE.

The Ancient Alliance—The Scots under St. Louis—The Archer Guard—The Malondrins—Embassies—Earl of Buchan's Troops—The Battle of Bouge—Buchan, Constable of France.

THE long alliance and friendly intercourse between the kingdoms of Scotland and France forms one of the most interesting pictures in the national annals of the former, but dates in reality from the third year of the reign of William the Lion, though tradition and, in some instances, history take back the alliance to a remoter period, even to the days of Charlemagne; and, if we are to believe Boethius and Buchanan, the double tressure in our royal arms, *counter fleur-de-lysed or, armed azure*, was first assumed by King Achius, as the founder of the league. But this *bordure* could not have been put round the lion rampant, as that gallant symbol was first adopted by King William (according to Anderson's *Diplomata*) while heraldry and its laws were unknown in the ninth century.

Following tradition, first we may note that De Mezeray, in his *Histoire de France*, records that in 790 "began the indissoluble alliance between France and Scotland, Charlemagne having sent 4,000 men to the aid of King Achius, who sent in return two learned Scots, Clement and Alain,"

in whom originated the University of Paris. Next, Bishop Lesly states that so far back as 882 Charles III had twenty-four armed Scots, in whose fidelity and valour he reposed confidence, to attend his person—the first of the Scottish guard. Strange to say, Eginhardus, the secretary of Charlemagne, gives an account of the assistance the Scots gave that monarch in his wars; and Paulus Æmilius and Bellefoustus follow suit—the latter adding: “*Scotorum fidei opera non parum adjutas in bello Hispanico fuerat*”; while the prelate before quoted states that the King of Scotland sent 4,000 warriors under his brother William to assist Charles in his contest in Italy.

Following all this perhaps led Ariosto to enumerate among their alleged auxiliaries the Earls of Errol and Buchan, the Chief of the Forbesses, and a Duke of Mar! (*Orlando Furioso*, conte x.)

In 1168 we come to more solid ground—the first authentic negotiation between Scotland and France—when William the Lion sent ambassadors to Louis the Young, to form an alliance against England. (Hailes' *Annals*.) It was renewed repeatedly, particularly in 1326 by Robert I, at Corbeil; in 1383 and 1390, during the reign of Robert II, when the ambassadors of Charles VI were royally entertained in the castle of Edinburgh; and at various intervals down to the reign of Mary and Francis.

In 1254, it is stated that the life of King Louis IX was twice preserved—once in France, and afterwards at Danicotta, in Egypt, in 1270, during the Holy War—by his faithful and valiant Scots sent to serve him by Alexander III. On this occasion the three commanders were

Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, Walter Stuart of Dundonald, and David Lindsay of Glenesk. This led to an increase in the number of Scots attending the King of France to 100 men, constituting them a garde du corps (*L'Escosse Française*, par A. Houston). "The practice of having armed Scots attendants appears to have been continued by the succeeding sovereigns of France, and Charles V is stated to have placed this corps on a regular establishment," says the War Office record of the 1st Royal Scots, which corps is alleged to represent the Archer Guard of immortal memory.

"The Garde Escossaise," says Abercrombie, writing in 1711, "still enjoys, preferable to all those that ever did service in France, place and precedence. For example, the captain of the Scots guards is, by way of excellency, designed first captain of his Majesty's guards. He begins to attend on the first day of the year, and serves the first quarter. . . . When the king is crowned or anointed the captain of the Scots guards stands by him, and when the ceremony is performed takes the royal robe as his due. When the keys of a town or fortress are delivered up to the king he returns them that minute to the captain of the Scots guards. Twenty-five of this guard wear always, in testimony of their unspotted fidelity, white coats overlaid with silver lace; and six of these, in turns, stand next the king's person at all times and seasons in the palace, the church, in parliament, the courts of justice, and the reception of foreign ambassadors. It is the right of twenty-five of these gentlemen to carry the corpse of the deceased king to the royal sepulchre at St. Denis. To be short,

that troop of guards has, ever since the days of St. Louis, been in possession of all the honour and confidence the Kings of France can bestow upon their best friends and assured trustees ; and it would look very strange in that country if they should see the *braves et fiers Escossois* (for so they characterise the nation) sit down contented with the *sinister*." (*Mart. Atch.*, vol. i.)

Among the guard in 1270 this author further gives the names of the Earls of Carrick and Athole, John Stewart, Alexander Cumin, Robert Keith, William Gordon, George Durward, and John Quincey ; and many of the Scots, including Adam Kilconceath, the Earl of Carrick, died of the plague on the coast of Africa, before Tunis. (*Martin's Genealog.*)

According to the memoirs of Philip de Commines, Louis IX had the Scots guard with him, "and very few besides," when in the war against the Count de Charolois he marched to the capture of Rouen ; and again in the desperate sally at Liège the life of the king was saved by the Scots, "who behaved well, kept firm their ground, and shot their arrows freely, killing more of the Burgundians than the enemy."

In 1385 the Scots College at Paris was founded by David, Bishop of Moray, consecrated in 1299. It was built in the most ancient part of Paris, the Rue des Fosses St. Victor, as recorded on a brass plate in the chapel. On this plate were also the arms of the bishop and of the archbishop of Glasgow in 1588, and therein in later years were monuments to James VII and the Duke of Perth, the governor of his son and heir. That of the king was executed by Louis Garnier in 1703.

Of this college George Grout was rector in 1499, and John Grout rector in 1550 (*Rec. Scots Coll.*), and the celebrated Thomas Innes, who succeeded his brother Louis in that office, and died in 1744. The college was rebuilt by Robert Barclay in 1665.

The charters and historical documents prized here, above 400 in number, were of vast interest, but were all lost at the Revolution, when the body of the king was torn out of his coffin, "where he lay folded in black silk velvet," at the Benedictines, and flung into a lime pit. (*Scots Coll. MSS.*, 4to.) On the final demolition its funds were sunk in those of the Scots College at Douay.

In the chapel dedicated to St. Andrew were interred the viscera of Louisa Maria, daughter of King James; the heart of Mary Duchess of Perth; the viscera of James and Frances Jennings, Duchess of Tyrconnel, both of which were found so lately as 1883 in two leaden cases, and placed in the hands of Monsignor Rogerson, administrator of Scottish endowments.

In 1354, when the Black Prince won the battle of Poitiers over the French, he found in the field against him 3,000 Scottish auxiliaries, led by William Earl of Douglas (a veteran of the battles of Durham and Halidonhill), who fought with remarkable bravery, was severely wounded, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner with John King of France. (*Fordun.*) In this expedition he was accompanied by Sir William Baird of Evandale, who "with his family had been long in use to join the Douglasses on every occasion." (*Surname of Baird.*)

In those days a set of freebooters, the result of the

English invasions, infested France. They consisted chiefly of men who had been soldiers, and, forming themselves into bands or free companies, they pillaged on every hand and slew all who opposed them, destroying buildings, and paying no regard to Church or State, according to the Abbé de Choisi. Their chief leaders were the Chevalier de Vert of Auxerre, Hugues de Varennes, and one formidable adventurer, Robert the Scot, and they posted themselves in such places that attack was almost impossible.

These Malondrins, as they were named, chose their own leaders, observed discipline, and in the latter none was more exacting than Robert the Scot (*Hist. de Charles V, Dict. Militaire*, etc.). The English tolerated them as a species of allies, till Bertrand du Guesclin cleared the country of them and led them into Spain, ostensibly to fight the Moors, but in reality to crush Peter the Cruel.

In 1370 Charles V was still on the throne of France, and in that year there came to him three Scottish ambassadors, one of whom was Sir John Edmonstone of that ilk in Lothian, sent by David II to solicit the interposition of the Sacred College to procure a favourable decree in the suit prosecuted at the instance of Margaret Logie of Logie, queen-consort of Scotland, and in the following year it was specially stipulated that, "in case of a competition for the Scottish crown, the King of France should withstand any English influence and support the determination of the States of Scotland." (*Pinkerton*.)

By a treaty signed at Paris in August, 1383, the King of France engaged, when war began between Scotland and England, to send to the former 1,000 men at arms, with

1,000 suits of fine armour for Scottish gentlemen ; but in this, as in many other instances, France proved false.

Under Charles VI and part of the reign of Charles VII Robert Patullo (or Pittillock), a native of Dundee, is stated to have been captain of the Scots guards, and to have distinguished himself, particularly during the expulsion of the English from Gascony. Prior to this, Henry V of England, having won the memorable battle of Agincourt in 1415, and captured many of the principal towns in France, was actually acknowledged as heir to the throne by Charles VI, on which the Scots guard quitted his court in disgust, and marched to take part with the dauphin (afterwards Charles VII) in his resistance to this new arrangement, which would have deprived him of the succession to the throne. This brings us to the period referred to by Buchanan in his famous "Epithalamium" on the marriage of Francis of France and Mary of Scotland :—

“ When all the nations at one solemn call
 Had sworn to whelm the dynasty of Gaul,
 In that sad hour her liberty and laws
 Had perished had not Scotland join'd her cause :
 No glorious fight her chieftains ever wan
 Where Scotland flamed not foremost in the van.
 Unless the Scots had bled, she ne'er had grown
 To power, or seen her warlike foes o'erthrown.
 Alone *this nation* Gallia's fortunes bore,
 Her varied hazards in the war's uproar ;
 And often turned herself against the lance,
 Destined to crush the rising power of France.”

The fortunes of the latter were at the lowest ebb when Scotland sent her succour.

After the assembling of Parliament in 1420, it was resolved to send a force of auxiliaries to France, under Sir

John Stuart of Coull, created Earl of Buchan, youngest son of Robert Duke of Albany, by Muriel Keith, of the house of Marischal, born sixty-six years after Bannockburn. These auxiliaries are stated by Buchanan at 7,000 men, by Balfour at 10,000, and were conveyed from Scotland by the fleet of Juan II of Castile from the west coast to France, where they landed at Rochelle, after a prosperous voyage. The following were some of the leaders in this expedition under the gallant Buchan :—

Sir Archibald Douglas, Earl of Wigton, afterwards Lord of Longueville and marshal of France; Sir John Stewart of Darnley, constable of the troops, afterwards slain at Orleans in 1429; Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood, who died of his wounds at Chinon; Sir Robert Stewart of Railston; Sir William Crawford of Crawfordland, killed at the siege of Clonell in 1424; Sir Alexander Macauslon of the Lennox; Sir John Carmichael of that ilk; Sir John Swinton of that ilk, slain at Verneuil with Sir Alexander Buchanan of that ilk; Sir Hew Kennedy of Ardstinchar; Sir Robert Houston; Sir Henry Cunningham, third son of Kilmaurs; and Sir Alexander Stewart, great-grandson of Walter, the Lord High Steward.

It is stated (in Dalomoth's *Arms*, 1803) that in the presence of Charles VI Sir Alexander encountered a lion with his sword, which broke in the conflict, after which he slew it by a branch torn from a tree. To commemorate this the king augmented his arms by a "lion debruised, with a ragged staff in bend"—a story doubted in the English *Archæologia*.

All the knights and men-at-arms were accoutred and

armed according to the Scots Acts of Parliament, vol. ii, and were under the regulations for the Scottish troops in the early part of the fifteenth century. By them pillage was forbidden under pain of death—which was also the punishment for any soldier who killed a comrade. “Any soldier striking a gentleman was to lose his ears, any gentleman defying another was to be put under arrest. If knights rioted they were to be deprived of their horses and armour; whoever unhorsed an Englishman was to have half his ransom, and every Scottish soldier was to have a white St. Andrew’s Cross on his back and breast, which, if his surcoat was white, was to be broidered on a square or a circle of black cloth.”

From Rochelle, Buchan marched his forces instantly to the aid of the dauphin, who was then endeavouring to rescue Languedoc, and by courier informed the earl that he had been deluded by the pretended reconciliation with the Duke of Burgundy at Pouilly-le-Fort; so to the former and his Scots was assigned the town and castle of Chatillon in Touraine, where they soon came to blows with the English and Burgundians; and there, in one of their first encounters, Sir Robert Maxwell was mortally wounded in 1420, and was interred in the church of the Friars Minors at Black Angers, after bequeathing his coat-of-mail to John Maxwell his page. (*Hist. of the Maxwells.*)

Before the arrival of Buchan, Walsingham and others record that a Scottish garrison in Fresnoi-le-Vicomte made a desperate resistance to the army of Henry of England, under Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, and the first of his house. In one sally 100 Scots were slain and the

banner of Douglas taken. By Henry's orders it was hung as a trophy in the church of Notre-Dame de Rouen. The Scots defended themselves for eighteen months, till their countrymen landed at Rochelle, which exasperated the King of England so much that in all treaties made by the Burgundians he declined to allow the Scots to be comprehended. Drumlanrig was afterwards killed in France in 1427. So barbarous was the King of England that he murdered in cold blood 30 Scottish men-at-arms whom he captured in the town of Meaux, on the Marne.

While to Tannequi de Chatel and other gallant French leaders was assigned the command of the French troops in Tours, to Buchan and his Scots was entrusted now the protection of the province of Anjou.

Of the English armies of those days we find but a sorry account in Brady's *History* and Dugdale's *Baronage*, etc., so far as pay went. From them, Hume (vol. iii) concludes that the numerous armies mentioned in these wars "consisted chiefly of ragamuffins who followed the corps and lived by plunder. Edward's army before Calais consisted of 30,094 men; yet its pay for sixteen months was only £127,201." Hence the savage outrages committed by such troops in Scotland and France.

Thomas Duke of Clarence, second son of Henry IV of England, who had recently been appointed governor of Normandy, was joined by Sir Thomas Freeport and two captains of Portuguese free lances on Easter Eve, 1421, after which he marched the English army towards Anjou to encounter the allied Scots under Buchan, and the Dauphinois under Maréchal de la Fayette, the Vicomte de

Narbonne, and other leaders of high valour (Monstrelet's *Chron.*)

On the afternoon of the 22nd March he learned from certain Scottish foragers that the Earl of Buchan's force was encamped at Bougé, a little town twenty-two miles eastward of Angers.

"They are ours!" exclaimed Clarence, as he accouted, "but let none follow me save the men-at-arms."

With the latter he set forth, "besides his gallant furniture and armour," says Buchanan, "wearing a royal diadem set with many jewels," leaving the Earl of Salisbury to follow with the archers and 4,000 infantry.

The Scots and Dauphinois held the ancient bridge of the Couanar, which was deep, narrow, and rapid at that point, and was the only means by which the adverse hosts could meet each other; and Clarence, we are told, was filled with fury to find that its passage was to be disputed by the Scots, and may perhaps have remembered the old English saying (introduced by Shakespeare in his *Henry V*):—

"If that you would France win,
Then with Scotland first begin."

Sir John Stewart of Darnley and the Sieur de la Fontaine, who had been scouting with some cavalry, on seeing the advancing English fell back to report. "To your arms!" was the order of Buchan, who drew up the combined troops in front of the town.

Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, had orders to cross the stream by a ford and take the Scots in flank if he could, while Clarence with his men-at-arms, in their panoply of steel, was to assail the bridge in front. Its defence was

entrusted to Sir Robert Stewart of Railston, with thirty archers only ; but, just as the skirmish began, Kennedy of Ardstinchar, who with a hundred Scots held a church close by, in their hurry but half-armed, rushed forth, and by a shower of arrows drove the English back. Then Buchan pressed on at the head of 200 chosen Scottish men-at-arms, and in the narrow way between the parapets of the old bridge there ensued a close and dreadful *mêlée*, when, fired by the memories of a hundred years' war, the Scots and the English met in the shock of battle, as they alone could meet each other. The latter, says Buchanan, were exasperated to "be attacked by such implacable enemies, not only at home, but beyond the seas; so they fought stoutly, but none more so than Clarence himself, who was too well known by his armour."

On the other hand, the royal earl, a powerful warrior in his forty-second year, fought with all the heroism of his race; but Clarence, distinguished by his fatal coronet, was the mark of every Scottish sword and lance.

In the close *mêlée* he was quickly assailed by Sir John Carmichael (ancestor of the Earl of Hyndford), who spurred against him with lance in rest; the tough oak shaft was splintered on the corslet of Clarence, who was wounded in the face by Sir John Swinton of that ilk, and, just as he was falling from his saddle, had his brains dashed out by one blow from the Earl of Buchan's mace—"a steel hammer," Hume of Godscroft calls it, a weapon to which he had resorted after driving his lance through the prince's body.

His fall filled the English with blind fury. In crowds

they pressed over the heaps of dead on the bridge to avenge him—knights, archers, and billmen intermingled, but jostling and impeding each other in such a manner that the Scots, by one furious charge, with helmets closed and lances in rest, drove them back, put them to flight, and cut them to pieces, the pursuit and flight being continued till night fell, with bridles loose, the victors scarcely pausing even to wipe their bloody blades upon their horses' manes. According to Bower, 1,700 English perished, while the Scots lost only two and the French twelve—a statement utterly incredible. The *Chronicle* of Monstrelet states that of the English there fell 3,000, and of the Dauphinois 11,000, including three good knights, Charles le Bouteiller, Gavin des Fontaines, and Sir John Grosin.

Among the English there fell the Lords of Tankerville and De Roos of Hamloke, Sir John Grey of Heton, and Gilbert de Umphreville, titular Earl of Angus in Scotland. Two hundred knights and men-at-arms, with their battle-chargers and rich armour, fell into the hands of the Scots. Among the first were Henry Earl of Huntingdon, son of the half-sister of Richard II; and John, Earl of Somerset, whose sister Jane was afterwards queen of James I.

Buchan sent the body of Clarence to the Earl of Salisbury, and it was eventually interred in Canterbury Cathedral; but his coronet remained a trophy with the Scots. Sir John Stewart of Darnley purchased it from one of his soldiers for 1,000 angels; Sir Robert Houston afterwards lent him 5,000 upon it. Buchanan asserts that it was Macaulson from the Lennox who rent it from the duke's

helmet. Sir John Carmichael, in memory of shivering his spear on the duke's corslet, added to his armorial coat a hand grasping a broken spear ; but the honour of unhorsing him was claimed by Swinton and Sir Alexander Buchanan. To Hugh Kennedy, Charles VII of France gave, as an addition to his arms, *azure*, three fleurs-de-lys *or*, still borne by all his descendants.

On the Earl of Buchan was bestowed the office of Constable of France, last held by Charles of Lorraine—the first stranger who ever held such an honour—and with it he got princely domains, stretching over all the land between Chartres and Avranches. He was also made master of the horse.

After his victory he took possession of the castle of Chartres, on the Eure, and laid siege to the old fortress of Alençon (of which three battlemented towers yet remain), repulsing with the loss of 400 men the Earl of Salisbury, who attempted its relief. He then captured the town of Avranches, in Normandy, in the autumn of 1422, after which he returned to Scotland, in consequence of feuds which had broken out there, leaving his troops under the command of Sir John Stewart of Darnley, who was styled “Constable of the Scots in France.”

Charles VI died on the 21st of October that year, and the Duke of Bedford, whose name was disgraced by his persecution of the Maid of Orleans, ordered Henry VI to be proclaimed King of France, while the dauphin, to whom Scotland adhered, was called in mockery “the King Bourges,” as the English and Burgundians had all the

best provinces of France, including Normandy, and the territory between the Loire and Schelat.

The Scots guards, of whom Darnley was now captain, were with Charles VII at the castle of Espailly, in Auvergne; and it is about this time that we first find the French mode of spelling the name of the Scottish royal family.

In the *Liste des Commandeurs des Gendarmes Escossais, etc* (Père Daniel), under date 24th March, 1442, is *Jean Stuart*, Seigneur d'Arnelay et d'Aubigné.

“*Jean Stuart*, fils du précédant, Seigneur d'Aubigné.

“*Robert Stuart*, cousin du précédant, Seigneur d'Aubigné, fait Maréchal de France en 1515.”

To Charles VII all the princes of the blood and the best chivalry of France adhered, and his affairs were beginning to prosper, when there came to the castle of Espailly bad tidings of his Scottish auxiliaries at Crevant.



CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SCOTS IN FRANCE.—(*Continued.*)

The Battle of Crevant—The Battle of Verneuil—The Battle of Roverai—Margaret of Scotland—The Conflict of Montlhéry—The Scots in Naples.

IN the July of 1423 King Charles ordered a body of his allied French and Scottish forces to cross the Loire and invest the town of Crevant, then held by the enemy. It is in the district of Auxerre, and the river Yonne lay between the relieving force and the English and Burgundians, who were about 15,000 strong, drawn up in order of battle on a hill, with Crevant in their rear, the stream in front, with a stone bridge by which it was spanned.

The weather was so sultry that the attacking force suffered greatly on their march by the heat and the weight of their armour; thus many of the Scots men-at-arms proceeded on foot, leading their horses by the bridle. They were led by Sir John of Darnley; the French by the Maréchal de Senerac. The armour of the Scottish and French men-at-arms at this period differed somewhat from that of the English. They wore back and breast-plates, attached to which were various plates adapted to overlap the figure; and over the flanks on each side the soldier wore taces or plates attached to a

small shield, covering the front of the thigh ; and these taces were square, lozenge-shaped, or serrated, according to fancy. Gauntlets of steel were then recent French inventions, superseding long gloves of thick leather.

By the express orders of the Duchess of Burgundy, then at Dijon, the town was to be saved from the Scots particularly, whereupon the Marshal of Burgundy joined his forces to those of Salisbury, with whom were the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, and other heroes of Agincourt.

After solemn mass in Auxerre, and drinking a loving-cup together, 120 English and Burgundian horse, with as many archers, came boldly forward as scouts, as the old governor of Cambrai records, about 10 A.M. on a Saturday.

Under Darnley's orders were only 3,000 Scots and a few French, under Maréchal le Comte de Senerac, the Lords of Estissac and Ventadour. According to Monstrelet and others, with all their troops in glittering array, he and the other three leaders sat placidly in their saddles and saw the English and Burgundians cross the bridge of the Yonne and form in squares of foot and squadrons of horse when they ought to have held that bridge with cannon and cross-bow, forgetting the most simple rules of war ; and terrible was the sequel !

The French, who had been demoralised since Agincourt, fell back under Senerac, leaving the whole brunt of battle to the Scots—a handful compared to the opposing force, which quickly overlapped them on both flanks, while a sortie from Crevant assailed their rear. Though fighting with their hereditary valour with spear, maul, and sword,

the Scots fell into disorder. Desperately fought Stewart in the van to repair his first error, but lost an eye by a sword-thrust through the bars of his visor, after which, blinded with blood, he surrendered himself to a Burgundian lord, Claude de Bevasir of Castillux; and there, too, was taken Sir William Crawford of Crawfordland, who remained a prisoner till the following year, but afterwards fell in France. De Ventadour also lost an eye and yielded himself to the Lord of Gamaches.

Of the Scots there fell 1,200, and among them, Monstrelet enumerates, a nephew of the absent Earl of Buchan; Sir William Hamilton and his son; Sir Thomas Swinton; Stephen and John Frasmers (Ferrier?); while 400 Scots were made prisoners. In the wars of those days one successful campaign, with pay and plunder, with the ransom of a few prisoners, was supposed to be a small fortune to an English soldier. (Dugdale's *Baronage*.)

Solemn thanksgiving was offered up by the victors in the churches of Crevant, and the first-fruits of it were the capture of two other towns on the Loire.

Sir John of Darnley was afterwards exchanged for the Lord Pole, brother of the Earl of Suffolk. He was made Lord of Aubigné, Concessault, and Evereux, with the right of quartering his arms with those of France. He arranged the marriage of the Princess Margaret of Scotland with the future, and infamous, Louis XI, and fell in his old age at the siege of Orleans in 1429.

The tidings of Crevant urged the return of the Constable Buchan to France from Scotland, whither came as envoys Renes of Chartres, chancellor of the former, and Juvenal

des Ursins, Archbishop of Rheims, a celebrated prelate and historian; so another auxiliary force was equipped to take vengeance for the late defeat.

The Earl of Douglas—the same who lost an eye at Homildon, who fought at Shrewsbury, and defended the castle of Edinburgh in 1409—on being created Duke of Lorraine and Marshal of France, joined the constable with a body of horse and infantry. Hollinshed gives the new auxiliary force at 10,000 men. Among the leaders were Sir Alexander Home of that ilk; and Douglas, an aged Border-warrior who fought at Homildon; Adam Douglas, afterwards governor of Tours; Robert Hop-Pringle, the Laird of Smailholm, armour-bearer to the Earl of Douglas; two other Douglasses of the lines of Queenbury and Lochleven; and Bernard Lindsay of the house of Glenesk.

In the spring of 1424 these forces landed at Rochelle and joined the other Scottish troops then in Poitou under Charles VII.

It is related by Godscroft that the aged Home of that ilk had resolved to send a younger kinsman in his place, but when he saw the Scottish troops departing his military spirit fired up anew.

“Ah, Sir Alexander,” said the Earl of Douglas, “who would have thought that we should ever part?”

“Nor shall we now, my lord!” exclaimed the old knight; so he sailed with Douglas, and died in his armour on the field of Verneuil.

At this time the Duke of Bedford was besieging Ivri-la-Bataille, a Norman town, against the valiant Girault de la

Pallièrè, who had agreed in his sore extremity to surrender, if not relieved by a certain day ; so Charles marched to its relief with 9,000 Scots, under Buchan, Douglas, and Murray, according to Monstrelet, and the same number of French, under Ventadour, Narbonne, and de Tonnere ; Buchan, as constable, commanding the whole, in conjunction with the Duke of Alençon.

Bedford led 26,000 men-at-arms and archers under Salisbury, Suffolk, and Willoughby ; and when this relieving force came in sight of Ivri, St. George's Cross was already flying on its walls, which still exist, together with a strong old tower into which the English garrison retired on the approach of Charles VII. When the force of the latter came in sight of Verneuil, "the Earl of Buchan," says Rapin, "was pleased to resign (the command) to the Earl of Douglas, his father-in-law, to whom the king sent for that purpose a patent constituting him lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom, otherwise the constable could not have acted under his orders." This was on the 17th August, 1424.

Bedford, whom Douglas was wont to ridicule as "John with the leaden sword," resolved to wait the attack, and selected excellent ground, flanked by a hill on which he posted 2,000 archers with their protecting stakes ; while Douglas drew up in order of battle before Verneuil, then a town of great strength, the ancient walls of which still remain.

To the constable with his suite he assigned the centre ; the wings he gave to Viscount Narbonne and Gilbert the Maréchal de la Fayette.

Each flank was covered by a thousand mounted gendarmerie, in complete mail, horse and man, with bow, mace, and battle-axe; and with the left flank were 900 Lombardy cross-bowmen, sent by the Duke of Milan, mounted and in full armour.

Douglas held a council of war, before which he urged "that as the Duke of Bedford intended evidently to fight on strong ground, chosen by himself, battle should not be risked." But the French leaders, already jealous of the Scots, declared that "if battle were avoided the honour of France would suffer." Then the Viscount Narbonne ordered his bowmen to advance, and, in defiance of all authority, began his march towards the English. Père Daniel and Hall record that "Douglas was infuriated by this disobedience; but that neither he nor the constable could avert the purpose of these rash French lords. Douglas was in a foreign land, and, afraid that his honour might suffer if the field was lost by only half his troops engaging, he issued orders for the whole to advance *uphill* and attack the English."

This was at three o'clock in the afternoon, and then began a conflict, of which every account is confused, but on the issue of which the fate of France and her king seemed to depend.

The English received the uphill charge of the Scots with a shout so hearty that it dismayed the French under Narbonne, who held back his column, leaving his allies to bear the brunt of all. Close, deadly, and terrible was the conflict, the Scots handling their long spears and heavy swords in close battle, choosing to die rather than surren-

der or give way. The French authorities admit that "the bravest leaders and most efficient troops who fought on their side that day were the Scots."

Yet it was a lost battle, and, choosing rather to die than surrender it, there fell the Constable Buchan ; his father-in-law, the Earl of Douglas ; two Sir James Douglasses, Sir Walter Lindsay, Sir Alexander Home, Sir John Swinton of that ilk, Sir Robert Stewart, and Hop-Pringle of Smailholm, with many French knights and great lords of Dauphiny and Languedoc, with 4,000 men, the most of whom were Scots and Italians. Hollinshed gives the slain at 9,700 of these, and 2,100 English. Many of the Italians had the hardihood to revisit the field, perhaps in search of plunder, but were shot down in the twilight and stripped of arms and clothing by the English archers.

Covered with wounds, the bodies of the Earls of Buchan and Douglas were borne from the field, and honourably interred by the English in the church of St. Gnetian, at Tours, where, and at Orleans, so lately as 1643, a daily mass was celebrated for the souls of the Scots who fell at Verneuil.

Buchan was succeeded as constable of France by Arthur, Duc de Bretagne, and left one daughter, who was married to George Lord Seton.

The power of Bedford grew weaker in France after the battle of Verneuil, where more men fell on both sides than in any battle since Agincourt. Subsidies came grudgingly from London to aid the iniquitous war, and then Joan of Arc came upon the scene when Charles VII was contemplating a flight to Scotland. In 1428 Bedford was ordered

to cross the Loire and ravage those provinces which still adhered to the former, and, as a preparatory step, besieged Orleans, on which the eyes of all Europe were turned, for the numberless deeds of valour performed around the city. Cannon were extensively used, and by one of them the Earl of Salisbury was slain.

The siege had lasted four months, and, as the season was Lent, Bedford sent from Paris a vast quantity of salted herrings and other stores in 500 carts, with a train of artillery and 1,700 men, under Sir John Fastolffe, one of England's best generals, made Knight of the Garter by Henry VI. Under his orders were Sir Thomas Rampston and Sir Philip Hall, "with 1,000 followers," probably some of the unpaid "ragamuffins" referred to by Brady.

To cut off this force Charles VII despatched the Count of Clermont with 3,000 men, including the cuirassiers and archers of the Scottish guard under John Stewart, Count d'Aubigné, and the lancers of the Count Dunois. The glitter of their brilliant armour warned Fastolffe of their approach at seven in the morning of the 12th February, 1429. He made a barricade ("lager" it would now be called) of the herring waggons and carts, and posted his men in the rear thereof.

The French and Scottish men-at-arms dismounted and assailed the entrenchment with sword and battle-axe, while the archers plied their arrows; but the movement was begun too furiously by the Scots, in their rancorous hate of the English and desire to avenge the day of Verneuil, though Clermont and Dunois had placed some guns in position which would soon have knocked the vehicles to pieces.

By lance, bill, and bow they were repulsed, and then Fastolffe, ordering some of the waggons to be withdrawn, issued forth and charged them furiously. Short and sharp was the conflict; but the Scots were routed and the French cannon taken. Stewart of Darnley and one of his sons were slain. Dunois was wounded, and, according to Monstrelet, there fell six-score great lords and 500 soldiers.

The conflict of Roverai was deemed of great importance in its time, as the convoy contained so much that was necessary for the English in Lent. "The Bastard of Orleans, who had sallied out to assist Clermont in cutting it off, preserved sufficient presence of mind to escape Fastolffe in the confusion, and to reach the city with 400 men. The successor of Darnley at the head of the Scottish guard was a native of Dundee (before referred to), named Robert Patullo, a soldier so famed for his success in many affairs in Guienne that he was called 'The Little King of Goscony'."

The Scoto-French alliance was supposed to be made closer when, in 1643, the Scottish Princess Margaret (daughter of James I), in her twelfth year, was united to the dauphin, afterwards the terrible Louis XI, then a year older. William Sinclair, third Earl of Orkney, the admiral of Scotland, and John Bishop of Brechin, with sixteen knights and esquires, 140 young gentlemen, and 1,000 men-at-arms in nine vessels, formed her train, to intercept which the English lawlessly sent out a piratical fleet, which was beaten by the Spaniards; thus the royal bride landed safely at Rochelle, and her marriage was solemnised on the 6th July. (*Pinkerton.*) "The unhappy bride had passed

to a husband of famed malignity ; and not all her prudence, wit, love of learning, taste for poetry, inherited from her princely father, nor her affability, could save her from the pangs of domestic distress." The vague word of Jacques de Tilloy, a villainous courtier, accused her of conjugal infidelity, and destroyed her constitution, already enfeebled by harshness and neglect. The beautiful Margaret died in her twenty-first year, protesting her innocence, to the deep grief of her father-in-law, Charles VII.

Inspired by insular hate, Grafton, the Englishman, wrote of her brutally ; but John Major calls her with more probability "*Virginum formosum et honestam*"; and his long residence as a doctor of the Sorbonne in Paris gave him opportunities for information, while his simplicity is a warrant for his veracity.

In 1440 the latter, in some manner, reconstituted the Scottish guard, and gave precedence to it over all the troops in France, designating it "*Le Garde-du-Corps Ecosais.*" The Scots gendarmes and garde-du-corps continued to form part of the French military force until about the year 1788 (War Office Record : 1st Foot). The dream of an English empire in France ended in 1451.

The muster rolls of the Scottish garde-du-corps and the gendarmerie, extending from 1419 to 1791, have recently been published by Father Forbes-Leith, and are the most interesting Scottish lists we possess.

In 1461 Charles VII died, and Louis XI succeeded him. In the vile conspiracies of the latter against his father he made many attempts without success to seduce the Scottish guard from its allegiance ; and remembering this when he

became king, he regarded them as his most trustworthy supporters in the course of those wars and intrigues by which he broke the power of the great feudal lords of France.

In 1465 they served in the conflict at Montlhéry—a bloody but indecisive battle fought between the troops of Louis XI and those of the *Ligue du Bien-Public*, commanded by the Comte de Charolois, afterwards Charles the Bold of Burgundy, where so many of his people fell that the field is still named the *Cimetière des Bourguignons*; and Louis was taken out of the field by the Scots, who fought in a circle round him, and conveyed to the old castle of Montlhéry, which still remains. (*De Mezeray.*) At this time Thomas Boyd, created Earl of Arran in 1468, was in the service of Charles the Bold, after the ruin of his family, and died in exile at Antwerp in 1471, according to Buchanan; though Ferreriers asserts that he was slain in Tuscany.

Some veterans of the Scottish guard would seem to have been at one time settled in the Département du Cher, according to a communication made by a French pastor to the Evangelical Alliance in June, 1863. The Duke of Henrichment, Constable of France, settled them on his lands, when for a time they turned their attention to iron-works and agriculture. "For four centuries," he continued, "they have kept distinct, without mingling with their neighbours, preserving their Scottish names with but slight variations, and also the tradition of their British origin."

Again, in 1878, the papers contained an account of "the Scottish colony of St. Martin d'Auxigny near Bourges,"

given by M. le Pasteur Vesson, of Dunkirk, to the effect "that Stuart of Aubigné had established them in the Royal forest of St. Martin d'Auxigny, where they numbered 3,000 persons, and had special privileges till 1789. A tall, strong race, they are quiet and shy, but very industrious and honest. Their names have been altered, but the Scottish original may be easily traced, as for instance Coen for Cowie; and in a contract one of them recently signed his name 'Opie de Perth.'" (*Times*, 1878.)

In 1483 Bernard Stewart of Aubigné, marshal of France, came to Scotland as ambassador from Charles VIII to renew the ancient league; and on returning he took back with him eighteen companies of Scottish infantry, "under the command of Donald Robertson, an expert and valiant commander," says Balfour, "who purchased much renown under the French king in the wars of Italy." (*Annales*, vol. i.)

The Scottish auxiliaries certainly won much glory in the conquest of Naples and elsewhere in Italy in 1495.

Guichardin tells us in his history that when Charles VIII crossed the Alps the strength of his army was 40,000 men, with *four hundred* pieces of cannon, in that war which first revealed to Europe that France had risen to a place among the powers of the Continent; but Guichardin exaggerates. The army of Charles, who had pretensions to Naples as Thir of Anjou, consisted of 20,000 men, including the Scots under Stewart of Aubigné, whom he valued highly. "In Calabria," says Philip de Commynes, "he left Monsieur d'Aubigny, a brave and honourable person, to command in chief. The king had made him

constable of that kingdom, and given him the county of Aen and the marquisat of Iquillazzo." One of the chief causes of the French success, says De Mezeray, was their artillery drawn by horses, while those of the Italians were drawn by oxen.

Surrounded by the Scottish guard, Charles entered Florence in complete mail, with his lance resting on his thigh. They fought at Fornovo that battle at the foot of the Apennines, when a complete victory was won over the united states of Italy. After delivering Sienna and Pisa from the Tuscan yoke, Charles took possession of Rome as a conqueror, and Paulus Jovius and others have transmitted to us an interesting account of the French entry into the capital of Alexander VI.

"First came the Swiss and Germans, keeping step to their drums, with banners displayed and parti-coloured dresses, their officers all distinguished by tall plumes in their helmets, and all armed with swords and pikes ten feet long. Every corps of 1,000 had 100 armed with arquebuses. Then came 5,000 Gascons, all archers; then the French cavalry, 2,500 of whom were heavily mailed, and twice that number more lightly armed, but all with fluted spears of great size, and the manes and ears of their horses cropped. Then came the king, guarded by the Scots, with 300 mounted archers and 200 French knights, armed with maces, and wearing gold and purple surcoats over their armour. The Scottish *Gardes de la Manche* are immediately next the king, and ride with white hoquetons over their mail, in token of their unspotted fidelity."

Philip de Commines specially mentions the Scottish

archers at the battle of Fornovo, in July, 1495, wherein, after a furious charge, the Italian Estradiots, whose favourite weapon was the zagaye, were driven in ; yet only nine of the Scots were slain.

Charles VIII died in 1498, and was succeeded by Louis XII, under whom the Scots were again in Italy, serving against the Venetians in 1509, as the lists of the French army published at that time attest. In particular they fought at the battle of Agnadel or Rivalta, when the Venetians were defeated with great loss in Lombardy ; but of this war history is almost destitute of details.

