

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SCOTS IN FRANCE.—(*Continued.*)

The Battle of Marignano—The Duke of Albany—The Battle of Pavia—Scottish Privileges—The Scots in Picardy—Robert Stuart of Veziers—Slays the Constable of France—Mark Boyd—The Battle of Coutras.

ACCORDING to the spirited work of Forbes-Leith and other authorities, the Scottish guard distinguished itself in the campaigns of Francis I, and bore itself nobly in the great battle of Marignano and on the disastrous day of Pavia.

Francis I, who in 1515 succeeded to the throne of France, young, brave, and full of ambition, resolved that his first military enterprise should be the reconquest of Milan, and with this view marched towards the Alps a magnificent army on pretence of defending his frontier against the Swiss, who had taken up arms at the Papal instigation in order to protect Maximilian Sforza, the Duke of Milan, whom they deemed themselves bound in honour to support.

The armies came in sight of each other at Marignano on the Lambro, eleven miles south-east of Milan, where ensued one of the most obstinate battles of modern times, at four o'clock, on the 13th of October, 1515. "An army of 25,000 Swiss," says Voltaire, "some with St. Peters's keys

on their backs and breasts, some of them armed with pikes eighteen feet long, moved in close battalions, others with large two-handled swords, all advanced with loud shouts towards the king's camp in the neighbourhood of Mariignano. Of all the battles in Italy this was the bloodiest and the longest. The French and Swiss, being mixed together in the obscurity of the night, were obliged to wait for daylight to renew the engagement."

Surrounded by the Scottish guard, whose commander in that year was Robert Stuart, son of the second Lord of Aubigné, the king at the first charge made on his vanguard repulsed it ere the darkness fell, and both armies halted amid the dead and wounded, "many of both," says De Mezeray, "lying down by each other all the night. The king, with his armour on, rested himself upon the carriage of a gun, when the great thirst his toil had brought upon him made him relish even a little water, mixed with dirt and blood, brought to him by a courteous soldier in his steel morion."

The moment day broke he attended to the disposition of his arquebusiers, gunners, and Genoese cross-bowmen, and by cannon-shot, bullets, and arrows tore the dense Swiss battalions asunder, charging through them with his horse, himself at the head of the Garde-du-Corps Ecosais, and drove the enemy into a great wood, where numbers of them were cut to pieces.

Of the Swiss, 10,000 fell; of the French, only 400! The former, though not routed, gave way, and so ended a strife which, says Voltaire, "the old Maréchal de Trivala used to call the battle of giants. Maximilian

Sforza was carried into France, like Lewis the Moor, but upon milder conditions. He became a subject. The sovereign of the finest province in Italy was permitted to live in France on a moderate pension." The Chevalier Bayard, who had greatly contributed to the victory, was knighted on the field.

At the end of 1523 Francis I was joined by John Duke of Albany, previously regent of Scotland, where he had been aught but popular. Son of that infamous Alexander of Albany (who had been exiled for his intrigues with the English) and of his wife, a daughter of the Count de Boulogne, born in France, and the husband of a French wife, Anne de la Tour of Vendôme, he was more than half a Frenchman, and had disgusted many of the proud Scottish peers and chiefs; yet Francis, in virtue of his royal birth and rank as Count of Boulogne and Auvergne, gave him a high command in the French army, when he was encouraged by the Duke of Bouillon to make war upon the emperor and invade Luxembourg. Other favours were conferred on Albany when Francis led his army into Italy again in 1523, at that time when the constable of Bourbon formed a conspiracy against him, and, entering the Imperial service, endeavoured to thwart his designs upon the Italian peninsula.

Albany led a body of Scottish auxiliaries in this war, and to them Francis added 600 horse, 10,000 infantry, and a train of artillery; for to him, says De Mezeray, he assigned the complete conquest of Naples in 1524, the viceroy of which, Launoy, had succeeded Colonno in command there. Francis at the same time, to subdue the city of Milan,

sent forward the Admiral Bonnivet and the Chevalier Bayard with 30,000 men.

While Launoy continued to "amuse" the Duke of Albany in Tuscany the battle of Pavia was fought on the 24th of February, 1525. Previous to this Francis had laid siege to the city—"the city of a hundred towers"—in the October of the preceding year, and this led to the great contest in which the Scottish guard displayed the most unparalleled loyalty and devotion to duty.

Led by Pescara and Launoy, a united army advanced to the relief of Pavia, whence prudence would have dictated a retreat; but Francis despised to fall back, as his troops were strongly entrenched. Seldom have armies engaged with greater ardour, more national rivalry, and rancorous antipathy. The valour of the French made the Imperialists first give ground; but the fortunes of the day changed. The Swiss in the French service deserted *en masse*, while Pescara fell upon the gendarmerie in a fashion to which they were unaccustomed, a number of Spanish foot, says Guichardini, armed with heavy arquebuses, being chequered with the cavalry; while Leyra, sallying out of Pavia, made a dreadful assault on the French rear, and then the confusion and rout became general.

Surrounded by the Scottish guard and the flower of the nobles, Francis, whose horse was killed under him, fought with stern valour, and slew seven men with his own hand. Resisting desperately in a circle, man after man, gendarme and archer, knight and gentleman, the Scottish guard went down till, according to *L'écosse française* of A. Houston, only *four* remained alive, when Francis gave up his sword

to Pomperant, a French gentleman, who followed the Constable de Bourbon, and ultimately it was handed to Launoy. (*Brantome, Guichordin, etc.*) Before leaving as a prisoner for Pizzighettone he wrote to his mother the memorable letter containing the sublime laconism, "Madame, tout est perdu fors l'honneur."

This event filled Europe with alarm; Milan was abandoned, and soon not a French soldier remained in Italy. The Duke of Albany was compelled, says, De Mezeray, to disband the Italian troops he had levied, and then to ship his French and Scots, the Spaniards "lending him some galleys for that purpose, those of the regent not being sufficient to transport them."

In October, 1533, we again hear of the Duke of Albany prominently, when he escorted to Marseilles Catharine de Nicolais, whose maternal aunt he had married. On the 10th of the same month the Pope, Clement VII, arrived at Marseilles in the king's galleys.

Three years after, Albany died in his own castle of Minfleur, nine miles from Clermont. Two relics of him still exist in France—his chapel and palace at Vic-le-Comte, in Auvergne.

On the 13th of August, 1548, our young Queen Mary, then in her girlhood, landed in France, the contracted bride of the dauphin; and two years afterwards we find a gentleman of the Scottish guard, Robert Stuart, supposed to be in the English or Protestant interest, accused of the desperate crime of attempting to poison her. What were the proofs of this seem vague; but he was arrested and executed publicly.

On the 14th of April, 1538, Mary was married to the dauphin with great pomp by the Cardinal Bourbon, in the cathedral church of Notre Dame—a ceremony attended by the King and Queen of France, four cardinals, the princes of the blood, and all the most august personages of the realm; and during the time that the sovereigns of Scotland and France were united in marriage their designation was:—Francis et Maria de Gratia, Rex et Regina Scotia, Francia, Anglia et Hibernia. The privileges of the Scots in France were most ample, and were in every way the same as those enjoyed by French subjects in Scotland by Act of Parliament.

These privileges were fully defined and confirmed by Henry, King of France, in a letter of naturalisation registered in the Parliament of Paris and Great Council of the Chamber of Accompts. Until the Revolution the effects of all strangers, *Scots excepted*, dying in France were liable to seizure by the law of that country, even though the heir was on the spot; and the reader may remember Sterne's indignant outburst on this subject in the introduction to his *Sentimental Journey*.

Three years before this auspicious royal marriage some of those concerned in the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and the subsequent defence of St. Andrews against the French fleet, took military service in France.

Henry IV having recalled from exile the Constable de Montmorencie—whom his father had warned him never to employ—in May, 1553, sent him with an army into Picardy, where the troops of the aged emperor, after seizing Lorraine and ravaging Flanders, were there levying war.

With the army of the constable went Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, whom Henry had commissioned as a captain of light horse, whose armour covered only the upper part of the body, their trunk-hose being quilted and stuffed with bombast; their arms, petronels, swords, daggers, and demi-lances. Many of Kirkcaldy's friends and kinsmen now rode in their armour with the same host.

Among them we may enumerate Sir James Melville of Halhill, then in his 18th year; Archibald Mowbray of Barnhoulgal; and Norman Leslie, master of Rothes (one of the actual assassins of the cardinal), whom King Henry had appointed "colonel of the Scotts Lanciers"—says Balfour in his *Annales*—an appointment which he had won through the influence of "the Laird of Brunstone, another expatriated soldier of fortune who carried a lance in the Spanish wars." After various marches and movements, on reaching the neighbourhood of St. Quentin, the venerable constable, old in years and arms, "being in his grand climacterick," fell sick, and both armies went into winter-quarters.

The spring of 1554 saw them in the field again. In attacking Dinant, a small but ancient city, the French were repulsed thrice by a tremendous arquebuse-fire, and no less than eleven standard-bearers were shot down in succession under their colours in the breach. At that crisis, Mowbray of Barnhoulgal (husband of Elizabeth Kirkcaldy of Grange), to set an example, rushed into the dangerous breach, sword in hand, but was compelled to retire, which he did untouched. (Melville's *Memoirs*.)

Eventually Dinant was taken, and afterwards a battle

took place on the plain before Renti on the 31st of August 1554. On the preceding day, the constable, perceiving that the Spaniards meant to possess themselves of certain heights which commanded the French position, sent Norman Leslie's Scottish lancers and some other cavalry to drive the Imperialists back, and on this duty Melville thus describes him:—In view of the whole French army the master of Rothes, "with thirty Scotsmen, rode up the hill upon a fine grey gelding. He had above his coat of black velvet his coat of armour, with two broad white crosses, one before and the other behind, with sleeves of mail and a red bounet upon his head, whereby he was known often by the constable, the Duke d'Enghien, and the Prince de Condé." His party was diminished to only seven by the time he came within lance-length of the Imperialists, who were sixty in number; but he burst amid them like a thunderbolt, escaping the fire of the arquebuses, and struck five from their saddles with his long Scottish lance ere it broke to splinters. Then drawing his sword, he hewed among them again and again with the reckless valour for which he had ever been distinguished.

"At the critical moment of this most unequal contest of seven Scottish knights against sixty Spaniards, a troop of Imperial spearmen were hastily idling along the hill to join in the encounter. By this time Leslie had received several bullets in his person, and finding himself unable to continue the conflict longer, he dashed spurs into his horse, galloped back to the constable, and fell faint and exhausted from his saddle, with the blood pouring through his burnished armour on the turf." (*Memoirs of Kirkcaldy of Grange.*)

By the king's desire he was borne to the royal tent, when the Prince de Condé remarked that "Hector of Troy had not behaved more valiantly than Norman Leslie." The royal surgeon dressed his wounds in vain, as he expired at Montreuil fifteen days after the battle, with his last breath deploring his share in the murder of Cardinal Beaton. (*Scot. Chron.*, Hollinshed.) He was the son of George, fourth Earl of Rothes, by Margaret, daughter of Lord Crichton. On the day after his exploit the battle of Renti ensued, and so furious was the charge of the Spanish vanguard that a portion of the army in which Sir William Kirkcaldy served, the *chevaux légers*, fell back, till the Spaniards were checked in turn by a column under the Viscomte de Tonannes and a knight of the house of Eglington, Sir Gabriel de Montgomerie, styled Lord of Lorges in France (*Papers of the Archer Guard*), and ere long Renti was won.

So highly did King Henry value Norman Leslie's memory that the survivors of his Scottish troop of lancers were sent back to their own country under Crichton of Brunstone, says Hollinshed, laden with rewards and honours; and by his influence such as were exiles were restored to their estates, as a reward for their valour on the frontiers of Flanders.

At the battle of St. Quentin, fought on St. Lawrence's Day, 1557, the old Constable de Montmorencie fought like a lion, but was unhorsed and captured alive by some Flemish knights. In that *mêlée* Sir James Melville of Halhill, who fought close by his side, was unhorsed by a blow on the helmet, but was remounted by his servant

“upon a Scots gelding, which bore him right through the enemy,” whose swords were aimed at his defenceless head; but, leaping over several walls, he gained the barriers of La Fère, where he drew up at the booth of a barber-chirurgeon to have his wounds dressed, during which process his horse was kindly held, as he tells us, by Mr. Killigrew, an English gentleman who served in those wars. The defeat at St. Quentin nearly laid France at the foot of the emperor. Melville accompanied his friend the constable, a prisoner of war, to Cambray, where soon after a treaty of peace was concluded, and then Kirkealdy of Grange returned home.

“I heard Henry II,” Melville says, “point to him and say, ‘Yonder is one of the most valiant men of our age!’”

Two years after St. Quentin he lost his friend and patron, Henry II, who was slain in a tournament when running a course with the Count de Montgomerie (captain of the Scottish guard). In tilting, the visor of the king’s helmet flew up, and the lance of the Scot entered his eye. He died of the wound, and from that hour tournaments were abolished by law in France.

The new captain of the Scottish guard was James, third Earl of Arran. Queen Elizabeth, Coligni, and the Prior of St. Andrew’s prevailed upon the earl—a weak man—to join with some of his archers in the conspiracy of Amboise in 1560, concocted by Condé against the Guises. It failed; he had to fly, and many of the guard perished in the catastrophe.

In 1559 Robert Stuart, Seigneur de Veziers, and designated as a kinsman of Queen Mary, was accused of being

connected with the assassination of President Minard, who was pistolled in the streets at night, during the Huguenot turmoils. He was further accused of a design to fire Paris in several quarters, to achieve the liberation of all who were incarcerated for religion's sake. These accusations failed, but they rankled in the heart of Stuart—a bold, wild, and reckless spirit, who fought at the battle of Dreux in 1562, when the Protestants, under Condé, were defeated, and their leader taken prisoner by the Duke de Guise, who shared his couch the night after with his mortal enemy and slept soundly by his side.

Stuart also fought at the battle of St. Denis in 1567, where he slew with his own hand the veteran constable, the general of the Catholics, and where the Huguenots were defeated in consequence of their inferior numbers. The constable's death is thus recorded by Daulio in his *Civil Wars of France*, folio, 1646 :—

The constable had received four wounds on the face and a great one from a battle-axe on the head, yet was endeavouring to rally his soldiers, when Robert Stuart rode up with his pistol, and “bent towards him”; whereupon the constable said, “Dost thou not know me? I am the constable!” “Yes, I do,” he replied; “and because I know thee I present thee this!” and shot him through the shoulder; but, as he was falling, Montmorencie hurled his broken sword with such force in Stuart's face that he beat out some of his teeth, broke his jawbone, and laid him on the field for dead. The constable was then abandoned and left to die by his soldiers. He was in his eightieth year. Stuart survived to fight again in the battle

of Brissar, on the 16th of March, 1569, but was taken prisoner and poniarded to death, probably by some friends of the constable. Another Robert Stuart would seem to have been about this time imprisoned on some charge in the castle of Vincennes, from which he escaped and fled.

Among the Scottish auxiliaries who served Henry III against the German and Swiss mercenaries who entered France in support of the King of Navarre was Mark Alexander Boyd, younger of Pinkhill, an extraordinary genius and scholar, author of *Epistolæ Heroicæ* and many other poetical and learned works, who was content to "trail a pike" as a poor private soldier till he was severely wounded in the ankle, and whose adventures, literary and otherwise, read like a romance. He died at Pinkhill in 1601; but a sketch of his life was written by Lord Hailes in 1783, and an excellent portrait of him was engraved by De Len.

Among the Sects who fought at Coutras was William Duncan, younger of Airdrie; and Maynor, whose father had been taken prisoner at the battle of Flodden. In after years William had to fly from Scotland, as an enemy of Cardinal Beaton and a reformer. A wound in the bridle-arm at Coutras ended his soldiering as a Huguenot. Joining his kinsman, Mark Alexander Boyd, at Toulon, he engaged in poetry and controversial literature, and, with his second brother, Mark, took a high place among the learned of France. Some of his poems were inscribed to Henry IV, and one to his friend, the celebrated Balzac. Mark became physician to the royal household, and founded a branch of the Fifeshire Duncans in

France, where his descendants still exist. (*Old Scott. Reg.*, vol. 1114.)

In 1853 we find William Baillie of Cormiston designed archer of the cross to Henry III King of France—a term of which it is difficult to define the meaning, though it is given him in the Scottish Privy Council Register in that year.

In the wars between Henry of Navarre and the Catholics the Scots in France bore their share. Thus, at the memorable battle of Coutras, fought in 1587 on the plain near the confluence of the Dronne and l'Isle, between these portions, when the squadrons of the Protestant chiefs, Tremouille and Turenne, were pierced by the charge of Lovardine, a slender company of Scottish gentlemen, who fought on the side of the former, attracted the attention of all the field, according to D'Aubigné and Mathieu.

Though formed up to support the reeling troops, and exposed to the whole shock of the victors, they would not yield a foot of ground, but fought shoulder to shoulder. They were without cuirasses, and had, we are told, only buff jerkins with thin plates of metal between the folds, and nearly every man of them was wounded. Henry of Navarre saw, with regret, their captain, called the Master of Wemyss (probably a mistake for Sir John, second son of Sir John Wemyss, twenty-first of that ilk), carried on the shoulders of David Herriot, one of his followers; and the king is said, "from observing the solicitude and care of the latter for his master's life, to have engaged him in his own service. What this Scottish troop suffered may be reckoned the hardest part of the loss sustained by the conquerors in

this battle of Coutras, as their whole loss is stated to have been only five gentlemen and thirty soldiers."

In 1588 Henry III was assassinated, and the succession to the throne of France was left open to the King of Navarre, who, early in the following year, was acknowledged as their master.

"Henry," says the Duc de Sully in his memoirs, "no longer doubted when he saw the Scots guards, who threw themselves at his feet, saying, 'Ah, sire! you are now our king and our master.' And some moments after Messires de Biron, de Dampierri, and several others did the same."



CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SCOTS IN FRANCE.—(*Continued.*)

First Royal Scots, etc.—The Rev. Mr. Welch—The Scots Guards again—Scoto-French Officers—A New Campaign—Passage of the Rhine—"Pilot's Guards"—Scots at Bingen—Siege of Taverne—Death of Hepburn—The Regiment of Douglas.

WE have now reached that period when the 1st Royal Scots, first regiment of the British line, and the oldest in the world, makes its appearance in the military history of France.

Milner, a historian of the 18th century, designates the regiment "an old Scots corps" of uncertain date; but Sir John Hepburn (already referred to in our account of the Scots in Sweden) was commissioned as its colonel in France on the 26th January, 1633, the same date given in the British army lists. "This corps," says the War Office Record, "must have existed for some time as *independent companies* previously to its being constituted a regiment, as Père Daniel (*Histoire de la Milice Française*) states that it was sent from Scotland to France in the reign of James VI, and this monarch commenced his reign in 1567, when only a child, and died in 1625; hence it is evident that it had been in France some years before its formation as a regiment under Sir John Hepburn."

Père Daniel alludes to it in connection with Henry IV, associates its services with the wars of the League, and fixes the date of its arrival in France about 1590. The companies from which it was constituted are supposed to have been raised by men who served in the Scots Archer Guard; and as that force had ceased to exist, "the Royals," says the Record quoted, "may be considered as the representatives of that ancient body." It is certain that "the King of Scotland permitted his subjects to aid the Protestant cause, and several companies of Scottish foot were raised and sent to France in 1591."

The Duke de Sully refers to 4,000 Scots and English who came over about 1589, and refers to Scottish miners whom he employed at the siege of Dreux in 1593. (*Memoirs*, vol. i.) "The English quitted France in 1595; but Henry IV, having discovered the value of these companies of hardy and valiant Scots, retained them in his service," says the War Office Record.

Birrol states in his diary that on the 12th July, 1605, the King of France's guard "mustered very bravely on the Links of Leith," were sworn, and thereafter received their pay; but this could only refer to recruits of the more ancient force—the Scots garde-du-corps, which was cavalry.

In 1610 Henry IV had been preparing for war with Austria, when he was murdered in the streets of Paris. After his death, his son, Louis XIII, being a minor, the intention was abandoned, and a part of the army was disbanded.

Ten years after, Louis XIII was uniting Bearn to the

crowns and restoring to the Catholics the churches appropriated by the Huguenots, who again prepared for war; and thus ere long the king found himself reduced to the necessity of besieging some of his other towns, among others St. Jean d'Angeli, on the Charente, one of the most vigorous defenders of which was the Rev. John Welch, of Nithsdale, formerly minister of Kirkcudbright, a distinguished divine (who, curiously enough, had begun life as a mosstrooper, but was banished by James VI for opposing episcopacy in 1606). In St. Jean d'Angeli, which was strongly fortified, he had officiated as a clergyman for sixteen years when it was besieged by Louis XIII. The citizens were greatly encouraged in the defence by the fiery precepts and example of Mr. Welch, who took a place on the walls and served the cannon with his own hands, and when the town capitulated he boldly continued to preach as usual. On this Louis sent the Duke d'Epemon to bring him into his presence.

The duke appeared with a party of soldiers in the church and summoned Mr. Welch from the pulpit; but the latter coolly requested him to take a seat "and listen to the word of God." The duke did so, and heard the sermon to its close; but then took the preacher to the king, before whom Mr. Welch knelt and prayed for wisdom and assistance. Louis asked him sternly how he dared to preach on the verge of the court of France. He replied:

"First I preach that you must be saved by the death and merits of Christ, and not your own; and I am sure conscience tells you that *your* own good works will never merit Heaven. Next, I preach that, as you are King of

France, there is no man on earth above you ; but those preachers whom you have, subject you to the Pope, which I will never do." "Very well," replied Louis, whom the last remark gratified, "you shall be my minister," and dismissed him with an assurance of his protection.

When the town was besieged a second time, in 1621, "the king," says the *Atlas Geographicus*, 1711, "charged those who stormed it to take particular care that no hurt was done to Mr. Welch, or anyone belonging to him." He was sent under escort to Rochelle. He dared not then return to Loudon, but afterwards died there, under banishment, in his 53rd year. His widow, Elizabeth Knox, third daughter of the Reformer, died at Ayr in 1625.

In the paths of peace as well as those of war, other Scotsmen have distinguished themselves. Among these we may mention David Home and the Strachans. "David Home," says Marchond, "was a Scotsman by birth, and of a very distinguished family, in which there have been frequently noblemen." He lived in the end of the 16th century, and was in succession minister of the reformed churches in Lower Guienne and Orleans—1603-20. He wrote against the Jesuits, and the assassination of Henry IV by the madman Ravailiac is said to have been occasioned greatly by his pen.

The Strachans were zealous Catholics—James and George, who enjoyed the protection of Cardinals Barberini and Dupenon. One of them was principal of the College of Loudon, where Verbon Grondier was tried and burned for sorcery, and where, in 1632, the *Supérieure* was examined on her possession by devils and her knowledge of Latin

and requested the devil who possessed her to say “*aqua* in the Scottish language.”

By the year 1623 the Scottish guard in France would seem to have become somewhat decayed, as in that year, Balfour records, Lord Colville went to France to have it established according to its “first institution”; and the *History of the Earldom of Sutherland* states that in July, 1625, Lord Gordon made a muster of the corps on the Links of Leith, when his younger brother, Lord Melgum, was appointed lieutenant. The first gentleman of the company was Sir William Gordon, younger of Kindroch.

We have stated in its place how the result of the battle of Nordbrigen almost ruined the Protestant interests in Germany, but soon after the court of France agreed to support the declining cause; a French army approached the Rhine, and several towns in Alsace received French garrisons.

In 1627 there was sent to France, by order of Charles I, a singular force—a strong band of archers under Alexander Macnaghton of that ilk, to serve in France, for whence they sailed with a number of the Mackinnon clan, accompanied by many pipers and harpers. (*Trans. Antiq. Soc. Scot.*)

In 1633 Sir John Hepburn obtained the command of the chief Scottish regiment, with the rank of *maréchal de camp*, according to Father Loguille, the Jesuit. At this time (Sir Thomas Urquhart states) there were, among others, Scots who were colonels of horse and foot under Louis XIII—Sir Andrew Gray, Sir John Foulerton, Sir John Seton, Sir Patrick Murray, John Campbell, the future

Earl of Irwin ; Colonels Andrew Lindsay, Thomas Hume, John Forbess, John Leslie, Mowat, Morrison, and Livingstone. Sir John Seton was the oldest Scottish officer in the service, having been a captain in the guards in 1608. (*Mem. of the Somervilles.*) Andrew Rutherford of Hunt-hill also had a regiment, which he commanded till 1680, when he became a lieutenant-general. (*Douglas Peerage.*)

Among the privates in Hepburn's regiment in 1634 was a pikeman, John Middleton, who, after distinguishing himself on many occasions, rose in after years to be Earl of Middleton, general of Scottish cavalry, governor of Edinburgh Castle, and died in command of the combined English and Scottish troops at Tangiers in 1763.

In 1634 Jacques Nonpar, Maréchal de La Force, opened the new campaign, which was to spread the frontiers of France far beyond those of Champagne and Picardy ; and on this expedition marched Sir John Hepburn with his regiment and several other Scottish commanders. The former had soon an opportunity of showing the skill he had won in besieging under the great Gustavus at the reduction of La Mothe, in March, which was entrusted to him and the regiments of Turenne and De Toneius, while La Force with the rest of the army penetrated into Lorraine.

The blockade lasted five months, during which Hepburn lost many of his best soldiers in assaults, against which the besiegers hurled enormous stones, which, says the Chevalier Andrew Ramsay, Knight of St. Lazare, "split into 1,000 pieces, killing and wounding all who dared to approach." (*Hist. de Turenne, par le Chev. Ramsay, Paris, 1735.*)

On the fall of La Mothe Hepburn received orders to rejoin the Maréchal de La Force, whom he joined with six regiments of pikes and musketeers, seven squadrons of horse, and a train of guns, after crossing the Rhine at Monninghein, and thus securing for his leader the safe passage of the great river of Germany. The famous Capuchin, Father Joseph du Tremblay, at this time accompanied the French army, and often thrust his advice upon its leaders. As the column of Hepburn approached Monninghein he pointed out on a map the various fortified towns which might be reduced with ease at other points. "Not so fast, Father Joseph," said Hepburn; "towns are not taken by a finger end," which reply was long a proverb in the French army.

The winter had come now, snow covered the mountains, and ice blocks were crashing in the narrow gorges through which the Neckar foamed towards the Rhine, while the troops, in half-armor and buffs, toiled on towards the high and heavy brow of the Juttenbuhl, where stood the "English Buildings," as they are misnamed—a palace erected by Elizabeth Stuart in imitation of a part of old Linlithgow Palace, her happy Scottish home. Here Hepburn broke the blockade of the Imperialists, relieved a Swedish garrison, and took possession of Heidelberg on the 23rd December.

The Maréchal de La Force and Hepburn now formed a junction with the Swedish army of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar at Loudon, consisting of 4,000 horse and 7,000 infantry—the latter of which were nearly all Scotsmen—the veterans of Gustavus. Among them was the remnant of the Green brigade, who hailed their old commander with joy, and

beat the *Scottish March* at his approach, while one solitary piper—the last of Mackay's regiment—blew his notes of welcome, and all the survivors of the long career of Swedish glory were now incorporated in the *Régiment d'Hebron*, as it was named in the French service, and with it the Swedish regiment, whilom of Hepburn.

The strength of the latter was given in 1637 at the following:—The Lieutenant-Colonel Munro; the major, Sir Patrick Monteith; 45 captains, one captain-lieutenant, 93 subalterns, 12 staff-officers, one piper, 664 non-commissioned officers, 96 drummers, and 48 companies of 150 pikes and muskets, making a grand total of 8,316 men, representing thus the Scoto-Bohemian bands of Sir Andrew Gray and all the Scotch corps of Gustavus Adolphus. By order of Louis XIII it was to take the right of all regiments then embodied.

Frequent quarrels now ensued between the regiment of Hepburn and that of Picardy, the oldest of the French line (raised in 1562), and commanded by the Duc de Charost, as they treated with ridicule the claims of Hepburn's corps to antiquity, and called them "Pontius Pilot's Guard," a sobriquet retained by the Royal Scots to this day. Thus, on one occasion, after a sharp dispute on some contested point of honour, an officer of Hepburn's said laughingly to one of the regiment of Picardy.

"We must be mistaken, Monsieur; for had *we* really been the guards of Monsieur Pontius Pilate, and done duty at the Sepulchre, the Holy Body had never left it," implying that Scottish soldiers would not have slept upon their posts, whereas those of the *Régiment de Picardy* did.

In the turns of the campaign at the village of Fresche, the enemy, under the Duke of Lorraine, fell unexpectedly upon the columns commanded by Hepburn and the famous Turenne, and a desperate conflict ensued. While each main body disputed the ground with the other, Hepburn—according to the folio *Histoire de Lorraine*—led 200 Scottish musketeers to the left flank of the foe, while the Chevalier Orthe, of Turenne's corps, led 100 French to the right, and both poured in a cross-fire, till Hepburn gave the order to "charge," and, with a rush downhill, all fell on with clubbed muskets—the bayonet was yet unknown—and the troops of Lorraine gave way; but famine compelled the French to retire.

At Bingen the Rhine was crossed again by a pontoon-bridge, while Hepburn and his Scots covered the sea. "They fought for eight days, almost without intermission" (says the memoir of the Duke d'Epemon, folio, 1670), "leaving the ways by which they retreated more remarkable by the blood of their enemies than their own."

Not daring to halt, without food, encumbered by heavy armour and clumsy matchlocks, short of ammunition and all stores, the now dejected French troops traversed pathless woods and mountains, pursued by the Imperialists, who covered all the country; but Hepburn and Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne were conspicuous among the officers who encouraged the sick and the weary; and it was generally remarked that on this desperate retreat none suffered less than the hardy Scots of the *Régiment d'Hébron*.

In Paris the greatest alarm prevailed; Richelieu found himself on the brink of ruin, by ebb of that war he had

undertaken for the glory of France, and the year 1635 closed in doubt and dread.

Louis XIII now ordered the diploma of a marshal of France to be expedited under his great seal at the court of Versailles for Sir John Hepburn, but the latter was fated not to receive it.

After the treaty of 1636 between the great cardinal and Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar against the emperor, Hepburn, with his Scottish regiment, above 8,000 strong, joined the duke, and the new campaign was opened with the siege of Taverne, which was obstinately defended, as the garrison daily expected to be relieved by Count Galas, who had given the governor, Colonel Mulheim, a promise to that effect; and Taverne was doomed to be the last scene of the gallant Hepburn's long and brilliant career.

Mulheim's garrison was numerous and resolute (*Hist. d'Alsace*, fol., 1727), and the town, situated among chestnut woods, then in all the foliage of May, was overlooked by beautiful scenery. The only approach to the citadel—whilom a castle of the Bishops of Strasburg—was a narrow pathway hewn out of the solid rock, steep, narrow, and swept by heavy cannon.

By the 9th June the breach in the walls was practicable, and the French, Scots, and German stormers advanced to the assault, pikes in front, musketry in rear, and colours flying over the helmets that glittered in the sun. "Nothing was heard for a time," says an eye-witness, "but the clash of swords and pikes, heavier blows of clubbed muskets and swung partizans as they struck fire from tempered corslets and morions, amid which the tall plumes



"A ball from the ramparts struck him in the neck."—p. 287

of Hepburn, Turenne, and Count Jean of Hanau were seen floating in the foremost ranks, while the shouts of the victorious, the cries of the despairing and dying, the roar of muskets, arquebuses, and pistols, with the deeper boom of culverin and cannon-royal (48-pounder), seemed only to lend a greater fury to the stimulus of the assailants."

Three hours the assault continued, but the stormers had to retire at last, leaving 400 men lying in the breach, the chief of whom, the Count of Hanau, was shot through the brain

A second and third assault were attempted with equally bad success, says the *Histoire de Turenne*. In an attempt to storm the postern Hepburn's regiment lost 50 men, and it was at this crisis their gallant leader fell. Rashly he had ventured to reconnoitre the great breach too closely, when a ball from the ramparts struck him in the neck, piercing his gorget. He fell from his horse, and was borne away by the Scots, to whom his fall was the signal for a fourth and furious assault. (*Mercure Français*, tom. xxi.)

It was led by Viscomte Turenne. The town was won, and the shouts of victory were the last sounds that reached the ears of the dying Hepburn as he lay with a crowd of his sorrowing comrades—the veterans of Bohemian, Swedish, and Bavarian wars—around him; and "his last words were touchingly expressive of regret that he should be buried so far from the secluded kirkyard where the bones of his forefathers lay," in Athelstaneford.

He was not quite in his 38th year. "I find it exceedingly difficult," wrote Cardinal Richelieu to Cardinal La Valette, "upon whom to bestow the colonel's regiment,

because his eldest captain, who is related to him, is a Huguenot, and the Catholics earnestly petition to have it conferred upon one of their party, among whom we find the Lion Douglas, who is descended from one of the best families in Scotland."

Sir John Hepburn, who, as a contemporary writer, Lithgow, states, won the reputation of being "the best soldier in Christendom, and consequently in the world," was interred under a noble monument, which was erected to his memory by Louis XIV, in the left transept of the cathedral of Toul, but was destroyed by the Revolutionists in 1793.

By a letter from Père Georges, curé of the cathedral, the author was informed, in October, 1852, that during some repairs the coffin of the Scottish hero had been found and reinterred under a monument erected by the Emperor Napoleon III.

On the fall of Taverne Louis XIII conferred the command of the great Scottish regiment on Lieutenant-Colonel James Hepburn, who had borne that rank under Gustavus in 1632. He was of the ancient house of Waughton, whence sprang the Earls of Bothwell, and was soon after killed at the head of the corps when serving; but the circumstances connected with his fall are unknown.

At the close of 1637 he was succeeded by Lord James Douglas, son of the first Marquis of Douglas (who had won renown in the wars between Austria and the Protestant League), and in the following year the regiment joined the army under Maréchal de Chastillon to reduce Artois, then forming a portion of the Spanish Netherlands.

In that service, on the 12th July, at the siege of St. Omers, a strong force of the enemy attempted to scour the trenches held by Douglas's Scots, who repulsed them with a great loss in killed, wounded, and taken. (*Mercure Français.*)

At the siege of Hesdin, in 1639, the regiment was formed in brigade with that of Champagne; and in a conflict with the Spaniards, under the Marquis de Fuentes, lost four pieces of cannon. It was in 1643, when the Douglas regiment was under the orders of the Prince of Savoy at the siege of Turin in Piedmont, that the battalions of Scots guards before referred to, after serving at Runcroy and elsewhere under the Prince of Condé, were incorporated with the already numerous battalion of the Royal Scots regiment, and all formed the garrison of Turin after the surrender of the city on the 27th September.

The officers of one of these Guard battalions (the Earl of Irwin, Lord Saltoun, and others) raised an action against the King of France in the Scots Courts for the expense of this corps. (See *Trans. Antiq. Soc.*, 1859.)

The years 1644 and 1645 saw them fighting in the Netherlands in the division of Marshal Meilleraie, like other Scottish regiments (those of Chambers, Proslin, etc.), covering themselves with glory, while England was torn by the great Civil War, and Scotland was involved with that of the Covenant; and in 1648 "a troop of Scots cuirassiers and the regiment of Scots guards had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves at the battle of Lens, in Artois, under the Prince of Condé. The Spanish army, commanded by the Archduke Leopold, suffered a

complete overthrow, lost 38 pieces of cannon, 100 standards, and colours." (W. O. Records.) In 1647 all the soldiers of Colonel Macdonald taken in Jura were given to Colonel Sir Henry Sinclair for his regiment, then in the French service.

In 1648 a treaty, concluded at Munster, gave peace to the most of Europe; but the war went on between France and Spain; and on the 6th May, 1649, 300 veteran Scots, who had been left to defend Yprès, in Flanders, after a fierce and desperate resistance, surrendered, but marched out with the honours of war, with drums beating and St. Andrew's Cross flying.

