

CHAPTER XV.

THE SCOTS IN HOLLAND AND FLANDERS.

Intercourse between Scotland and the Low Countries—"Auld Sanct Geil" at Bruges—The Scots Brigade in 1570—Brigadier Henderson—Sir Andrew Gray—"The Bulwark of the Republic."

LIKE France and Sweden, Holland and the Low Countries were a spacious area for the development of Scottish valour and military enterprise, for thither in thousands flocked those whose swords peace with England left idle at home. As one song has it:—

"Oh, woe unto those cruel wars
That ever they began,
For they have swept my native shore
Of many a pretty man:
For first they took my brethren twain,
Then wiled my love frae me.
Oh, woe unto those cruel wars
In Low Germanie!"

Another girl sings thus of her love:—

"Repent it will I never
Until the day I dee,
Though the Lowlands o' Holland
Hae twined my love and me."

Between Scotland and the Low Countries intercourse took place at a very early period.

James Bennett, Bishop of St. Andrew's, when a fugitive from the party of the usurper Baliol, took shelter there,

and dying in 1332, was buried in the Abbey of St. Eekhot at Bruges.

The market of trade for Scotland in the Low Countries was changed several times. It had been originally fixed at Campvere, in Zealand (on the north coast of Walcheren), the count of which had married a daughter of James I. "The Scots are allowed the use of the old parish church here," says a work of 1711; "it has frequently been in danger by the sea, which overturned a tower on the side of the harbour in 1650." From thence the staple was taken to Bruges, which in the 15th century was the centre of all European trade, and became eventually the seat of the Conservator of Scottish Privileges in Flanders.

The *Ledger of John Hallyburton*, who held this office, and which runs from 1492 to 1503, is perhaps one of the most interesting commercial relics in Europe. John Home, the author of *Douglas*, was, we believe, the last who held this office. He died in 1808.

When passing along the Quai Espanol at Bruges, in September, 1873 (to quote a previous work of our own), we met a vast crowd defiling across the old bridge that leads thereto from the Rue des Augustines, preceded by women strewing the way with flowers, for it was St. Giles' Day—the 1st of the month—the patron of the parish wherein lies the Scottish quarter of the old city. Preceded by the *curé* with censers and acolytes, and escorted by the 2nd Belgian Infantry with fixed bayonets, and preceded by all the drummers of the Civic Guard, came the curious relic of the saint on a pedestal borne by four men—the left hand and arm of St. Giles cased in silver, and fixed

upright from the shoulder. The *right arm*, we need scarcely inform Scottish readers of Knox's *History*, was the chief relic of the sister church in Edinburgh, where, till the Reformation, it was enshrined in silver, weighing over five pounds, and the right of bearing which, on the Saint's day, was hereditary in the family of Preston of Gourton. In the Bruges procession there is borne St. Giles in effigy, accompanied by his fawn, a supporter of the Edinburgh arms; and, saluted by all guards and wayfarers, the procession parades the city till evening, when it returns to the old church of St. Giles (near the great canal), before the altar of which lies William de Camera, sub-prior of St. Andrew's, in Fifeshire, who died at Bruges in 1417.

There the Scottish factory was established in 1386, according to the old folio *Chronyke Van Vlanderen*. It has long since been demolished, but near its site, in the *Histoire de Bruges*, 1854, we find still extant the Schotte Poorte, Schottinen Straet, Schotte Bolle Straet, Schottile Straet, Zottine Straet, *de l'Eglise St. Gilles*, all of which were the abode or resort of Scottish traders and seamen in the middle ages.

In 1408, Alexander, styling himself the Earl of Mar, though he had no right to that title save a charter from Isabel, his first wife, raised "a large company of gentlemen," says Douglas, and carrying them into Flanders, under John, Duke of Burgundy, performed great feats of chivalry at the siege of Liège, in that contest in which 36,000 Liégeois are said to have been slain. He married Jane, Duchess of Brabant, whose subjects refused to submit to him as a foreigner, especially as she died within

a year or so of this marriage. Enraged by this, he fitted out a fleet, swept that of the Brabanters from the sea, and steering elsewhere, according to Drummond, pillaged and destroyed Dantzic, after which he returned with a vast booty to Scotland.

Among those who accompanied him was Sir William Hay of Nachton. (*Notes to Border Minstrelsy.*)

From Rymer's *Fœdera* we learn that William, Lord Graham (ancestor of the Duke of Montrose), was at Bruges in December, 1466. While there he borrowed £80 Scots from Sir Alexander Napier of that Ilk, who was then selecting a suit of fine armour for James II, and was present at the nuptials of Charles the Bold in 1468, when the brilliant tournament of the Golden Fleece was held. (*Merchiston Papers.*)

We have now come to the year 1570—the epoch when the old Scots brigade of gallant and immortal memory, a corps that existed for 258 years until 1818, and took its rise at a time when the power of Maurice, Prince of Nassau, drew to his standard the best and bravest of those Scottish spirits whose swords failed to feed them at home—a time when the Spanish armies with which they warred were the finest troops in the world, but when the musketeers, pikemen, and cuirassiers of the Marquis de Spinola, of Alexander, Prince of Parma and Placentia, Cordova, Mansfeldt, and John of Austria were all men of the highest soldierly qualities, with a love of military glory; but, unhappily, added to these a bigotry in religion, a ferocity and cruelty previously almost unknown in war.

It was chiefly by the aid of the Scottish troops that

Maurice of Nassau was able to meet the tide of Spanish invasion. Among those who led these Scots in 1570 were Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh, one of the bravest of Border chiefs, who had exasperated Queen Elizabeth by storming the castle of Carlisle to release Armstrong of Kinninmont, and his son Walter, afterwards created by James VI Earl of Buccleugh; Sir Henry Balfour of Burleigh, whose brother David, a captain in his regiment, perished at sea *en route* to Holland; John Halkett of Pitfirran, knighted by James VI, and progenitor of all the Halketts in that country; and Colonels Stewart, Hay, Douglas, Grahame, and Hamilton, whose names are given by Grose in his *Military Antiquities*. The first year of their service was distinguished by a brawl concerning their countryman, George, sixth Lord Seaton, who was accused of tempting them to revolt and join the Spaniards in the cause of his mistress, Mary Queen of Scots.

The Dutch authorities threatened to put him to the rack; he was brought before it, when the Scottish officers, with their men, surrounded the house, and threatened, if he was not set at liberty, "to go off in a body to the Spanish general." (Crawford's *Memoirs*.) He was thereupon released, and the matter ended.

The war in which these troops came to bear a part was caused by Philip II, the successor of Charles V, a bigoted Catholic, appointing his sister, the Duchess of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands, on which the discontent of the people reached an alarming height. The Prince of Orange, with Counts Egmont and Horne, remonstrated against the establishment of the Inquisition and the new bishops, and

nsisted upon the states-general being assembled to consider the complaints of the people; but ere long it was evident that the courts of Spain and France had no other object in view than the destruction of Protestantism. A general combination was now formed for the removal of grievances, and the sword was once more drawn on the great battlefield of Europe, "the Lowlands of Holland," and "no mean part of the merit of overthrowing the Spanish power in the Netherlands is justly attributable to the Scots brigade," many of whom had served in those civil wars at home which ended in the fall of the castle of Edinburgh after the siege in 1573.

In the Church of St. Walburga at Bruges there was shown till 1780 the tomb of a Scottish warrior of those days. Beneath no less than sixteen shields, each of which was surmounted by a coronet, was carved the epitaph of "William Foret, a native of Scotland, Chevalier of the Order of St. Andrew in that kingdom, during his life captain of 150 lances in the service of their Highnesses, the States of Flanders in the quarter of Bruges, 'lequel il passa le 6 Juillet, 1600; et Dame Marguerite Despars, fille de noble homme Louis Despars,' his wife, who died 20th December, 1597.'" (*Sepulchral Memorials.*)

This name is little known in Scotland, but seems to have belonged to Fifeshire.

In the first five years of the 17th century four recruits, who made some figure in Scottish history, joined the brigade. These were William Dalrymple, a poor student, the hero of Scott's *Ayrshire Tragedy*, in 1602; and in 1605, Angus Macdonald of Isla, Maclean of Duart, and

Tormod Macleod of Lewis, who had undergone a tedious captivity in Edinburgh Castle since 1589 to keep the Isles quiet.

Dalrymple having had the misfortune to be unwittingly the bearer of that message by which the Laird of Auchindrane lured to his doom Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, near Maybole, was, by means of the former, enlisted in the regiment of Buccleugh, with which he served some years as a soldier; but on returning home he became a source of dread to the savage baron, who had him murdered and buried in the sand near Chapel-Donan. The corpse, speedily unearthed by the tide, was carried out to sea by the waves, which afterwards cast it on the shore near the scene of the murder, which soon came to light, and the guilty were brought to an ignominious death. (*Pitcairn's Trials.*)

In the April of 1607 there is recorded the arrest of a ship conveying to Flanders several fresh companies for Buccleugh's regiment. It is mentioned in a letter among the Denmylne MSS. in the Advocate's Library, which records that the states of Flanders owed several great sums to "umquhile Capitayne Achisoun" for his service in their wars, and that his heirs had arrested this ship in the harbour of Leith; and the king was requested to use his influence that the arrestment should be "lousit," which no doubt was the case.

In 1609 a twelve years' truce was concluded between the states-general and the King of Spain, and the first article of the document bore that his Catholic Majesty treated with the lords states-general of the United Provinces

“in quality of, and as holding them to be, free countries, provinces, and states, over which he pretended nothing.”

In 1621 the war was renewed by the Spanish army, under the Marquis of Spinola, who won in several encounters, but was sharply repulsed by the brigade under Colonel Henderson when besieging Bergen-op-Zoom in 1622. He attacked that great fortress, the barrier between Holland and Zealand, with fury and confidence, pouring about 200,000 shot into it; but was compelled to raise the blockade after three months, with the loss of 12,000 men, on the approval of Prince Maurice of Nassau. In the course of this siege Colonel Henderson was killed; and it is probably a son of his, James Henderson, of whom we read as proceeding, with the rank of admiral, with the Dutch expedition to take Angola from the Portuguese in 1641, at the head of twenty ships, having on board 3,100 soldiers and seamen—an object in which he succeeded, capturing the place, and finding therein a vast amount of booty. (Ogilby's *Africa*, fol., 1670.)

During the progress of the new war, in 1624, old Sir Andrew Gray, whom we left in London soliciting military employment, after the struggle in Bohemia arrived from Dover at the head of 11,000 English auxiliaries in Holland, where, according to Balfour's *Annals*, “the most part of them died miserably with cold and hunger.” The scarcity of food brought on a pestilence, and in their small transports the soldiers were literally “heaped one upon another.” They perished in thousands, and their bodies lay unburied in piles upon the sandy shores of Zealand, where their limbs and bowels were torn and devoured

“by dogs and swine, to the horror of beholders.” (*Acta Regia.*)

After this we hear no more of old Sir Andrew Gray, unless he is the same who is mentioned by Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty in his list of Scottish colonels serving Louis XIII of France. (Hepburn's *Memoirs.*)

In 1629 the three battalions of the brigade, commanded respectively by Colonels Sir Henry Balfour, Bruce, and the Chieftain of Buccleugh, accompanied the Prince of Orange in his successful attempt to reduce Hertogenbush (otherwise Bois-le-Duc), where the Spaniards had concentrated all their munitions of war; and thus by one stroke gave a mortal blow to the Spanish power in the Low Countries. On this occasion so greatly did the Scots cover themselves with glory that the Prince of Orange styled them “The Bulwark of the Republic.” (*Grose.*)

Walter, first Earl of Buccleugh, who had so long commanded the first regiment of the brigade, died on the 11th June, 1634, and his body was landed at Leith for conveyance to his own house of Branxholm, whence the funeral set out for Hawick. “A striking sight it must have been that long heraldic procession which went before the body of the deceased noble, along the banks of the Teviot on that bright June day. First went forty-six saulies in black gowns and hoods, with black staves in their hands, a trumpeter in the Buccleugh livery following and sounding his trumpet. Then came Robert Scott of Howshaw, fully armed, riding on a fair horse, and carrying on the point of a lance a banner of the defunct's colours, *azure* and *or*. Then a horse in black, led by a lackey in mourning, a horse with a crim-

son foot-mantle, and the trumpets in mourning sounding sadly." Then came the gum pheon, lances, spurs, and gauntlets, the great pencil standard and coronet, all borne by gentlemen of the Clan Scott. "Last came the corpse, carried under a fair pall of black velvet, decked with arms, tears, cypress of satin, and on the coffin the defunct's helmet, with a coronet overlaid with cypress to show that he had been a soldier. And so he was laid among his ancestors in Hawick Kirk." (*Dom. Ann. Scot.*)

Colonel Sir William Brog was a man of some distinction among the Scottish troops in Holland. A rare print of him by Queboren was engraved in 1635. He died in the Low Country wars, and a dispute among his heirs was before the Lords of Session in 1639—according to *Durie's Decisions*, 1690.

During the German campaign which succeeded, the vexed question of precedence between the Scottish and English auxiliaries of Holland, with priority of rank, appears to have been discussed for the first time, and it was decided that the order and ranking should be according to the antiquity of the respective regiments; but this right was never contested in the matter of the Scots brigade until the year 1783.

Under Cardinal Richelieu, France in 1635 joined the Protestant League; but the outrageous cruelties of the French troops, particularly at the siege and sack of Tirlémont, in Brabant, so exasperated the Netherlanders that they flew to arms on every hand, and compelled the invaders to retreat.

George Douglas (a son of the Earl of Morton), who had

borne the royal standard under Montrose at Alford, in 1645, joined the brigade soon after, and died in high military rank (baronage); and the great marquis's friend and chaplain, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, was chaplain to one of the battalions in 1648.

After the peace of Westphalia, which was signed at Munster in that year, the Thirty Years' War ended, and Holland was declared to be "a free state, independent alike of Spain and the Empire."

The Dutch disbanded their forces, but "the Bulwark of the Republic," their Scottish troops, remained intact, and the civil wars at home sent so many trained recruits to their ranks that the brigade was eventually increased to six battalions.



CHAPTER XVI.

THE SCOTS IN HOLLAND AND FLANDERS.

(*Continued.*)

Battle of Mechlin—Siege of Gertruydenberg—Siege of Nieuport
—Siege of Ostende—Battle of Seneff—Battle of Steinkirk
—Battle of Oudenarde.

THEIR first encounter with the enemy was at Gembloux, in the province of Namur, where, on the 20th of January, 1578, the Spanish troops obtained a complete victory over them and the Belgic insurgents—a defeat avenged on the 1st of August in the same year at the great battle of Mechlin, when, as Famiana Strado tells us in his *Belgic Wars*, the Scots threw off their half-armor, let slip their belted plaids, and fought naked—" *nudi pugnant Scotorum multi*," his words are. This was probably owing to the heat of the weather; but, according to the Dutch historians, the hardest work and heaviest loss fell upon the Scots, ere the brigades of Don John of Austria were put to the route and driven across the Dyle.

In the great church of the city there was then to be seen a monument with the date obliterated, and an inscription stating that there lay "Margaret, daughter of Henry Stuart, by H.R.H. the Duchess of Orleans, daughter to George Stuart, of the illustrious house of Stuart and Lennox in Scotland, by Dame Mary de Baqueville of Normandy." (*Atlas Geo.*, 1711.)

From the Privy Council Register we learn that in 1578 Captain John Strachan was empowered to levy 200 additional men for the service of the Low Countries, "friendis and confederatis of this Realme"; that "loose women" were not to be transported there, and that the "great reputation" won by Scotsmen there was duly recorded in 1581; that a dispute among the officers was remitted to themselves; and another, in which Colonel Balfour was concerned, was remitted to the judges in Flanders.

In the same year, William I, Prince of Orange, sent an ambassador to Scotland to compliment James VI upon the valour of the brigade, which now marched to assist in the ineffectual attempt to raise the siege of Antwerp, which had then been invested for more than a year by the Prince of Parma, while the Dutch merchants of Amsterdam basely used secret means to prevent assistance being given to their rival brethren.

Here fire-ships were used, and a prodigious mine exploded, according to Strada and others, "the shock of which was so dreadful that it made the earth tremble for several miles, and threw the water of the river a great way beyond its banks." In the explosion 500 men perished, and the city surrendered in the following year; but the brigade was more successful in the case of Bergen-op-Zoom, from which the Prince of Parma was compelled to beat a retreat.

Meanwhile a body of Scots, under Colonel Seaton, and of English, under Colonel Norris, were disposed about Ghent, according to Cardinal Bentivoglio, who tells us that at the siege of Tournay, "some days after the assault

Colonel Preston, a Scotsman, forcing his way through the German companies of the king's camp, got some horse into the city," and thus gave heart to the besieged, though he informed them that there was no hope of succour from France. (*History of the Wars in Flanders*, fol.)

In the commission granted in 1584 to Captain William Stewart (afterwards Lord Pittenweem) as colonel of the Guards to James VI it is stated that the officers and soldiers of that corps had previously served in the Netherlands, where they had been "permitted and licensiatt to assist the Prince of Orange and the States in their wieris" for twelve years; but, in default of wages, had endured poverty and hunger, whereby many perished, leaving widows and orphans—which affords a glimpse that the brigade had found but indifferent paymasters in the states-general of Holland at that crisis. (*Acts Parl.*, Jac. VI, fol.)

At Gertruydenberg, on the Maes, after the storm and capture of the strongly fortified town, the brigade suffered so heavily in three months that it was ordered to remain in garrison till recruited from Scotland; and on the return therefrom of the States ambassadors, who had gone to congratulate James VI on the birth of his son in 1594, they took back with them 1,500 recruits to bring up its strength. (Grose's *Antiquities*.) And five years after saw the brigade cover itself with glory at the siege of Bommel, a strongly walled town, which was twice attacked by the Imperialists in 1589 and 1599, but on both occasions they were repulsed with heavy losses.

By the year 1600 the Low Countries were cleared of the

invaders, and the operations of the war were almost confined to Flanders; but in these brief accounts the names or numbers of the slain are not fully recorded.

In that year, at the Downs of Nieuport, eight miles from Ostende, the brigade served at the attack of the town under Maurice, Prince of Nassau, when the Archduke Albert of Austria, who advanced to relieve it, was defeated with the loss of 7,000 slain.

On this occasion the Scots brigade lost heavily. It formed part of a column detached to hold some bridges over which the enemy had to pass to reach the scene of operations, and the sluices by which the country could be laid under water; but its numbers proved too weak for the duty assigned them, and they were forced to retire, "the whole loss having fallen on the Scots, as well as on their chiefs and captains, as on the private soldiers, insomuch that 800 remained (dead) on the field, amongst whom were eleven captains, many lieutenants, and other officers."

In the *History of the Republick*, 1705, it is stated that at the siege of Nieuport many discontents concerning the division of booty and prisoners took place among the Protestant troops, and that many of the captured "were barbarously killed in cold blood by the Scots."

In 1601 the brigade served at the famous siege of Ostende—a task which lasted three years, and in which more than 100,000 men are said to have perished on both sides.

So slightly was it fortified at first, that the Princess Isabella averred she would not change her dress till the Dutch and their Scottish allies surrendered, and when it fell "it was

reduced to a heap of rubbish. The Spaniards shot so many bullets against the sandhill bulwark that it became as a wall of iron, and dashed all the fresh bullets to pieces when they hit it."

The governor was changed every six months. The assaults and cannonading daily were frightful; the forts called the Hedgehog and Gullet of Hell were carried by storm by the Spaniards and Italians; the Germans carried the Sandhill, though they saw the first stormers blown by scores into the air amid the smoke of the conflict that mingled with the fog from the canals. Ultimately the place surrendered on honourable terms, and 3,000 Dutch and Scots and a few English capable of bearing arms marched out, with four field-pieces in front, and took their way to Sluys, upon the Maes.

One account gives the roll of slain on this occasion at 76,961 of the assailants, and 50,000 of the besieged; and by Prince Maurice of Nassau the gallant survivors of the latter were welcomed as conquerors, and every officer and man was rewarded.

The first governor of Surinam, when the Dutch got possession of it in 1667, was an officer of the Scotch brigade, Robert Baird, of the Saughtonhall family, whose brother Andrew, also in the Dutch service, fell in the East Indies. (*The Surname of Baird.*)

In 1672, when Louis XIV poured his troops under Luxembourg, Condé, and Turenne into the Low Countries, the brigade consisted as yet of three regiments, commanded by the father of the first Lord Portmore (who had relinquished the name of Robertson for that of Collier), Colonel

Graham, and Colonel Hugh Mackay of Scoury, a member of the Reay family, and formerly an ensign in the 1st Royal Scots. In 1673 he married Clara, the daughter of the Chevalier Arnold de Bie, in whose house he had been billeted.

Subsequently he was present at the battle of Seneff, when, in August, 1674, the army of the Prince of Orange was defeated by that of the Prince of Condé. In his battalion, Graham of Claverhouse (the future Viscount Dundee) received a captaincy for saving the life of the Prince of Orange, in whose Guards he was then a cornet. A vacancy taking place soon after in the command of a Scottish regiment, Claverhouse applied for it. His request was refused, whereupon he quitted the Dutch service, saying, "The soldier who has not gratitnde cannot be brave," and, returning to Scotland, he raised a regiment of horse to serve against the persecuted Covenanters.

The ill-judged appointment of some Dutchmen to commissions in the brigade caused much discontent therein against the Prince of Orange, the future William III, from whom the force was demanded by James VII, when the time of the Revolution of 1688 drew nigh. (*Grose.*)

In February, 1688, the Scottish Privy Council, by request of James VII, forbade the officers of the brigade, "under the highest pains, to beat up for recruits." "This," says Lord Fountainhall, "was looked upon as the forerunner of a war; but the pretence was that our king intended (to have) levies of his own."

In the April following, 10,000 stand of arms, "with ammunition conform," were ordered from Holland by the

three Estates, then levying men against King James. (*Eglinton Memorials*, vol. ii.)

It had now been raised to six battalions, and when the luckless king appealed to their loyalty only 60 officers out of 290 responded, while "the rank and file, being chiefly recruited from those whom the disturbed condition of the country had driven from Scotland, remained with the Prince of Orange, and formed one of the most valuable portions of the force with which he invaded Britain."

Three battalions came over with him under General Hugh Mackay, but the operations in which they were engaged, at the siege of Edinburgh Castle, at Killiecrankie, and Aughrim (in Ireland), lie apart from our narrative. The death of the *last* survivor of that force, Colonel William Maxwell of Cardoness, "who came over with our glorious deliverer, King William," is recorded in the *Edinburgh Chronicle* for 1759, as having occurred in 1752, in his 95th year.

In 1692 the three regiments of the brigade rejoined the others in Flanders, where the contest between Louis XIV and William of Orange was about to be renewed in the spring, when the former suddenly appeared before Namur with 45,000 men, while Marshal Luxembourg with another army covered the siege of that important place, which holds the confluence of the Sambre and the Maes. William was unable to prevent its fall, and then came the battle of Steinkirk, in which the brigade was severely engaged.

It was now ordered that the grenadiers of each regiment should alone wear caps; that there were to be fourteen

piques in each company of sixty men; that each captain was to carry a pike, each lieutenant a partisan, and each ensign a half-pike.

At Steinkirk there were ten Scottish regiments in the field, led by Lieutenant-General Mackay, and fifteen English. Among the former was the brigade; Mackay led the way, and his Scots were all victorious. They first encountered the Swiss infantry, and a deadly struggle ensued, for "in the hedge-fighting," says D'Auvergne in his *Campaigns*, 1692, "their fire was generally muzzle to muzzle, the hedges generally only separating the combatants."

In this battle, which, through William's bad leading, was a series of blunders, there fell 5,000 of the allies, and of these 3,000 were Scots and English. Bishop Burnet relates that General Mackay, being ordered to take ground which he deemed untenable, remonstrated, but the orders were enforced. "God's will be done!" exclaimed the veteran, and a minute after he fell from his horse dead.

In 1854 there died at his château of Ophemert in Guelderland, Berthold, Baron Mackay, at the age of 81 years, of whom we have the following notice:—"The baron was the descendant of General Hugh Mackay of Scoury, who commanded the Williamites at Killiecrankie, and fell at the battle of Steinkirk. Lord Reay's second son, the Hon. Æneas Mackay, was colonel of the Mackay (Scots) Dutch regiment, and his family have since resided at The Hague, where they had obtained considerable possessions and formed alliance with several noble families. Their representative, Baron Mackay, the subject of this



"A minute after he fell from his horse

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notice, married the Baroness Van Renesse Van Wilp, and died at a patriarchal age, after a life of great piety and usefulness. By his death the Baron Æneas Mackay, late chamberlain to the King of Holland, become next heir to the ancient Scottish peerage of Reay after the Hon. Eric Mackay, now master of Reay, who succeeded his brother Eric, late Lord Reay, who died unmarried at Goldings, in Hertfordshire, in July, 1847."

At Neerwinden, in 1693, the brigade again suffered heavy loss, and William was compelled again to give way before the white-coated infantry of France with the loss of 10,000 men. "During many months after," wrote the Earl of Perth to his sister (as quoted by Macaulay), "the ground was strewn with skulls and bones of horses and men, and with fragments of hats, shoes, saddles, and holsters. The next summer the soil, fertilised by 20,000 corpses, broke forth into millions of scarlet poppies."

The treaty of Ryswick, concluded in 1697, was followed by five years of peace.

The brigade shared in all the perils and honours of the subsequent war of the Spanish succession, under the command of John, Duke of Argyle. At Ramilies, in 1706, says the *Atlas Geographicus*, "the Dutch troops, but more particularly the Scots in their service, distinguished themselves by their extraordinary gallantry." Among the few prisoners taken by the enemy was Ensign Gardiner, of one of the Scottish regiments, who afterwards fell a colonel at the battle of Preston-pans.

At Oudenarde, in 1708, where the French were defeated by Marlborough, and where "charge succeeded charge,"

states the record of the Scots Royals, "until the shades of evening gathered over the conflict, and the combatants could only be discerned by the red flashes of musketry that blazed over the fields and marshy ground," the Scots brigade was among the steadiest troops in the field; and at Malplacquet, in the same year, when Villars was totally defeated, and where the hapless descendant of James III and VIII was serving as a simple volunteer, yet charged twelve times, says Smollett, at the head of the household troops, the brigade fought well and loyally. John, Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the Duke of Athole, fell at the head of one of its regiments, and among others there also fell two sons of Alexander Swinton, Lord Mersington; Charles, colonel of a battalion; and James, one of his captains, who had married a lady in Holland. Both brothers died within the French lines or trenches. (*Douglas Baronage.*)

In the arts of peace the Scots were not unknown in Holland. Among the many filling chairs in the continental universities in the 17th century, now utterly unknown at home, few stood higher than David Stewart, professor of philosophy at Leyden, who is mentioned with honour in *Soberiana* (Paris, 1732), a work in which M. Sorbier records many of the pleasant Sunday evening *conversazioni*, wherein Stewart figured, at the house of M. and Madame Saumoise.



CHAPTER XVII.

THE SCOTS IN HOLLAND AND FLANDERS.

(Continued.)

The Scots Brigade and its Battles—Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom—
Changes in the Brigade—Discontent in the Brigade—
Brigade Disbanded.

THE peace of Utrecht, which was concluded in 1713, continued until 1744, when the British ministry again plunged into a continental war, for which they were severely reprobated, and in the following year, by order of the states-general, eight new companies were added to each regiment of the brigade, and recruited for in Scotland. Their first service was at the siege of Tournay, then deemed one of the strongest and finest citadels in Europe. The allied army, consisting of 126,000 men, took the field; but Sluys and Hulst fell, and the Dutch, terrified by the progress of the French, clamoured against their rulers, and compelled them to declare the Prince of Orange Statholder.

The brigade fought at Roucaux, at Val, and Laffelot. At the latter, an account of the battle printed at Liège states "that the French king's brigade carried the village of Lauberg, after a repulse of 40 battalions successively." A letter from an officer states "that this brigade consisted of Scots and Irish, who fought like devils; that they neither

took nor gave quarter; that observing the Duke of Cumberland to be extremely active in the defence of that post, they were employed in the attack at their own request; that they in a manner cut down all before them, with a full resolution to reach his Highness, which they certainly would have done had not Sir John Ligonier come up with a party of horse and saved the duke at the loss of his own liberty." (*Scots Mag.*, 1747.)

The "hero" of Culloden was routed, with the loss of many colours and sixteen guns.

In July, 1747, Count Lowendahl commenced the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, which cost him 20,000 of the finest French troops. On the 14th his batteries opened against the place, the garrison of which consisted of six battalions, including two of the Scots brigade, with whom Colonel Lord John Murray, Captain Fraser of Colduthil, Campbell of Craignish, and several other officers of the 42nd obtained permission to serve, as their regiment was then in South Beveland. (*Records of the Black Watch.*)

In the lines were 18 more battalions, with 250 pieces of cannon, and the assailants mustered 36,000 men, thereby exciting such terror that the governor and the whole of the troops, except the two Scots and one Dutch battalion, abandoned the town, to which, by oversight or treachery, Lowendahl gained access, after a two months' investment.

The three regiments maintained a desperate contest with the enemy, single-handed, as it were, for several hours at this eventful crisis. From the 15th July till the 17th September the siege had been pushed without intermission, and the French losses were dreadful. During all that

time 74 great guns and mortars had hurled their iron showers upon the works, in many instances red-hot, to fire the streets and churches; but, on the 25th July, Loudon's Highlanders, who were posted at Fort Rours, covering the lines, made a sally, claymore in hand (says the *Hague Gazette*), destroyed the enemy's grand battery, and slew so many that Count Lowendahl beat a parley for the burial of the dead. This was refused, so the latter had to lie where they fell. The town was now in ashes, the trenches full of carnage and pools of blood, and hour by hour the roar of cannon and the red explosion of bombs went on.

The stand made by the two battalions of the Scots brigade enabled the governor and a few of the garrison to recover themselves after the surprise of the town, says General Stewart, otherwise the whole would have been killed or taken. "The Scots," according to the *Hague Gazette*, "assembled in the market-place, and attacked the French with such vigour that they drove them from street to street, till fresh reinforcements pouring in compelled them to retreat in turn, disputing every inch as they retired, and fighting till two-thirds of their number fell upon the spot, killed or severely wounded, when the remainder brought off the old governor and joined the troops in the lines."

This was through the Steenberg gate, and they marched with colours flying and drums beating. Of Colliers' battalion, originally 660 strong, only 156 men remained alive; and of General Marjoribanks' battalion, originally 850, only 220 survived the slaughter.

The *Hague Gazette* says that "the two battalions of the

Scots brigade have, as usual, done honour to their country, which is all we have to comfort us for the loss of such brave men, who from 1,450 are now reduced to 330, and those have valiantly brought their colours with them, which their grenadiers recovered twice, from the midst of the French, at the point of the bayonet. The Swiss have also suffered, while many others took *a more speedy way to escape danger*.

The brigade had 37 officers killed and wounded. Coxe's *History of the House of Austria* has it that 330 Scots fought their way out. Two lieutenants, Francis and Allan Maclean, sons of the Laird of Torloisk, were taken prisoners, and brought before Count Lowendahl.

"Gentlemen," said he, "consider yourselves upon parole. If all had conducted themselves as you and your brave corps have done, I should not now have been master of Bergen-op-Zoom."

Allan Maclean afterwards left the brigade, and raised the 114th Highlanders for the British service in 1750, and the 84th Highlanders subsequently. At the head of the latter he served under Wolfe, and was the chief cause of our victory at Quebec.

In Amsterdam there was collected £17,000 in one day for distribution among the survivors of the two battalions, and as during the siege every soldier who carried off a gabion from the enemy's works was paid a crown, some of the Scots gained ten per day in that desperate work, while those who drew the fuses from burning bombs received twelve ducats for each fuse.

The *Edinburgh Herald* for 1800 records the death of

John Nesbitt, at Oldhamstocks, in his 107th year, an old brigademan who had been wounded by a bayonet at the famous siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.

So many captains and lieutenants had fallen there, that ensigns received companies, but purchase was unknown in the Scots brigade, which, after the peace of 1748, remained, as usual, on duty in the Dutch garrisons; but changes took place.

Thus, when in 1752 the states-general agreed to reduce their forces of the Scots brigade, four of the junior companies of each battalion were reduced, and incorporated with the old ones to form Drumlanrig's regiment, the second battalion of which had been already reduced in 1749. By the new regulations "there are reduced of the Scots 28 captains, 56 second lieutenants, and 70 ensigns; the captains pensioned at 900 guilders a year, and obliged to serve; the subalterns at 300, with leave to go where they will. But the gentlemen who have companies now are between 40 and 50 pounds sterling a year better than formerly." (*Scots Mag.*)

The list of the principal field-officers of the six battalions is given thus, March 25, 1752:—

1st Battalion—colonel, Lieutenant-General Halkett; 2nd colonel, John Houston, died at Edinburgh, in 1788, as lieutenant-general.

2nd Battalion—colonel, John Gordon; 2nd colonel, Earl of Drumlanrig, who shot himself in 1754.

3rd Battalion—colonel, Major-General Stewart; 2nd, Colonel Graham.

4th Battalion—Colonel Mackay; Lieut.-Colonel Forbes.

5th Battalion—colonel, Major-General A. Marjoribanks, died at The Hague in 1774; 2nd colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham.

6th Battalion—Colonel Mackay; Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean, died at the Brill in 1752.

Between the middle and end of the last century there died the following Scotsmen of rank in the service of the states-general, each and all after a long career of military experience :—

In 1758—Lieutenant-General Halkett, at The Hague.

In 1767—Major Farquhar of Dalwhinnie, in his 87th year.

In 1768—at Venloo, Lieutenant-General Sir George Colquhoun of Tillychewan; at Montpellier, Colonel Fergus Hamilton; at Castleton, in Skye, Colonel Donald Macdonald, in his 75th year; at Standhill, Colonel Robert Turnbull of Standhill.

In 1784—Colonel C. Craigie Halkett, Lieutenant-Governor of Namur.

In 1786—at Zutphen, in Gueldreland, Colonel Sir James Gordon of Embo, Bart.

In 1789—Major-General Ralf Dundas, lately commanding Gordon's regiment; Major-General W. J. H. Hamilton of Silvertonhill, at Gorcum-on-the-Maes.

In 1798—at Talisker, aged 80, Lieutenant-General John Macleod.

In 1804—Lieutenant-Colonel Sutherland, of the Hon. John Stuart's regiment.

In 1755 the brigade was somewhat disappointed at not being recalled in a body to Britain; but it had now been so

long in the Dutch service that it had become a matter of dispute whether there existed a right to recall it.

In 1768, the field-officers of the brigade addressed a strong remonstrance to the British Secretary for War, expressing a desire for removal from Holland "on account of indifferent usage," but their request was not successful; and four years before this time we find that their officers, when beating up for recruits in Scotland, were obstructed by the Convention of Royal Burghs and the magistrates of Edinburgh, on the plea that men were required for labour at home. (*Edinburgh Advertiser*, No. 32.)

In 1797 there died in his 52nd year a distinguished officer of the brigade, Captain J. G. Stedman, who commenced his career in the British navy, but joined a regiment of the former as lieutenant, when he served with the force sent to suppress the insurgent negroes in Surinam. Inspired by a desire for exploring a part of the world then little known, and in the hope of preferment by the states-general, he volunteered for service with a regiment of seven companies formed as marines, and was appointed captain therein by the Prince of Orange under Colonel Tourgeoud, a Swiss. He landed at Surinam in 1773, and there formed an attachment to a handsome mulatto girl in her 15th year (daughter of a Dutch planter), "whose goodness of heart and faithful attachment to him were more endearing than all her personal attractions; but by the laws of the settlement she could not be redeemed from slavery or brought home to Europe, but died of poison, a victim to jealousy, before the captain left her." (*Ann. Reg.*, 1797.)

After undergoing incredible toils, witnessing horrible cruelties, and having many strange adventures, he returned to Scotland, and, shortly before his death, published a narrative of the five years' expedition against the revolted negroes of Surinam, 1772-1777, in two volumes quarto, with eighty drawings by himself, published at London in 1796. He left a widow and five children, some of whose descendants are now in Scotland.

The king in 1776 requested the states to give him their six Scottish battalions for service against his rebels in America; but the Dutch objected, on the plea that they would have to raise six others in their place; and a confused series of negotiations went on till 1782, without avail. In 1776 the Society of Amsterdam for the Recovery of the Drowned bestowed their gold medal upon Dr. John Stoner, of the Hon. General Stewart's regiment, for the recovery of one who was to all appearance dead. (*Edin. Weekly Mag.*)

In 1779 the brigade again offered its services to the British government, being unwilling to linger in garrison towns when Britain's foes were in the field; but the states general were resolved that on and after the 1st of January, 1783, it should be incorporated with the Dutch army. By that time the brigade had been 213 years in this service, and in all the battles and sieges in which its soldiers fought had never lost a colour.

On the 8th December, 1782, the Prince of Orange issued an order to the colonels of the brigade, directing them to assume blue uniform instead of the scarlet they had hitherto worn, to provide themselves with orange sashes, new

gorgets and espontoons, and their sergeants with new halberts, with the British arms engraved thereon; and lastly—a most vexed point—*new colours*, “painted with the arms of the generality, or of the province upon the establishment of which the battalion is paid; as on the 1st January next the said regiment must begin to be commanded in Dutch, from which day, likewise, the said regiment is to beat the Dutch and *not* the Scottish march.”

The indignation of the brigade at these changes soon took a practical turn. On General Welderen assembling the officers of Houston's and Stuart's battalions at The Hague, and delivering to them these orders, they declared themselves to be British subjects, and refused to obey them. So time was given for deliberation, and by a letter from Lord Grantham, addressed to Colonel Ferrier, it was stated that those who chose to return to Britian would be welcomed by the king, while those who chose to stay in Holland would not forfeit his regard. On this 50 officers retired from the Dutch service, and came to London in search of military service, and were presented to the king; while it was arranged that the colonels commandant of the three regiments of two battalions each, Generals Houston, Stewart, and Dundas, should receive pay for life, without subscribing the Dutch oath of allegiance. (*Edinburgh Advert.*, vol. xxxi.)

The next demand of the regiment was the restitution of their Scottish colours and to have them sent to the king; and Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham was at The Hague in April, 1783, to receive them for that purpose. A long and somewhat angry correspondence ensued, and in 1784 the states ordered the said colours to be deposited in the

arsenal at The Hague, adding that if the colours were transmitted to Britain they declined to employ Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham. (*Pol. Mag.*, vol. vi.)

In 1793 the brigade came back to Britain in a body and was placed on the British establishment, and from that year till 1809 wore the kilt. On the 9th October, 1794, they were numbered as "the 94th regiment, or Scots Brigade," under General Francis Dundas, and in the following June a new set of British colours was presented to the corps in George Square, Edinburgh, by Lord Adam Gordon, commanding the forces in Scotland. By this time several Dutchmen were in the ranks; in one company alone there were 23 rank and file, all foreign. The three colonels commanding were Francis Dundas, Frederick Halkett, and Islay Ferrier.

As the 94th they maintained their ancient reputation at the Cape, in India, and the Peninsula, but were unfortunately disbanded in 1818. Reimbodied at Glasgow in 1823, on which occasion their old colours were unfurled and borne by one of the Black Watch, a vain attempt was made to identify the new corps with the old; but even the new one has passed away; as, under the recent and helplessly defective scheme of army reorganisation, it is "muddled" up, under a new name, with the old 88th or Connaught Rangers!

Through the kindly influence of Lord Reay, a stand of colours belong to the old brigade (not taken in 1782) was lately given to the magistrates of Edinburgh for preservation in the parish church of St. Giles. But such is the story of that splendid old corps, which existed for 248 years—"The Bulwark of the Republic."