

ART. V.—*Les Écossais en France, les Français en Écosse.* Par FRANCISQUE MICHEL. Londres: Trübner et C^{ie}., Paternoster Row. 1862.

M. MICHEL'S book is the history of the long alliance between France and Scotland,—an alliance originally formed against the growing power of a common enemy, and afterwards strengthened and confirmed by a community of interests, and by a grateful sense of mutual benefits. We may not be inclined to give much credit to the story of the famous league between Achaius and Charlemagne; but, without ascending so far up the stream of time, we shall find ample proofs that, from the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth century, the alliance between the two countries was close, intimate, and uninterrupted. At the battles of Beaugé, Crevant, and Verneuil, and on many other well-fought fields during the hundred years' war between France and England, the valour of the Scottish auxiliaries was conspicuously displayed, and their blood freely poured out; and in the Italian campaigns of the French kings—at Fornuova, Marignan, Genoa, Pavia, and at many other battles and sieges—they well sustained their national reputation for courage and conduct. On the other hand, France more than once sent assistance to Scotland during her long wars against England. In 1385, Sir John de Vienne, Admiral of France, led a thousand lances into Scotland to aid in the war against Edward III.; and in the early part of the sixteenth century, the Duke of Albany brought a still stronger force of French auxiliaries, consisting of four thousand lances and a thousand arquebusiers.

But it was not only by warlike means that the alliance between France and Scotland was maintained and cemented. Numerous matrimonial alliances took place between the nobility and gentry of the two countries; and many a noble family in France can still trace its descent to a Scottish source, while French blood flows in the veins of several of our best Scottish families—for example, in those of Lindsay, Gordon, and Rollo. In many instances, too, our Scottish kings married French princesses, while a Scottish princess and a Scottish queen were wedded to dauphins of France. These royal marriages carry us back to the early part of the thirteenth century, when Alexander II. of Scotland married Marie, daughter of Enguerand de Coucy, the most beautiful woman of her time. His son, Alexander III., also contracted a French alliance, marrying Yolande, daughter of Robert IV., Count of Dreux. At a later period of our history, Margaret, daughter of James I.

of Scotland, married Louis, dauphin of France, son of Charles VII.; and her sister Isabella married Francis, the first Duke of Bretagne. These two Scottish princesses were sent into France with a magnificent escort, consisting of a hundred damsels clothed in uniform, and a thousand men-at-arms. We may also mention the marriage of James II. to Mary of Gueldres, who, although not a French princess, was a near relative of the French king Charles VII., by whose advice the marriage was contracted. Charles VII. seems, indeed, to have been a sort of general referee in all the matrimonial alliances contracted by the royal family of Scotland during his reign. Of this a curious instance is afforded by the negotiations which took place with reference to the proposed marriage of Louis of Savoy to Annabella, daughter of James I. This princess was actually sent into Savoy in 1455 for the purpose of fulfilling the existing contract of marriage between her and Louis; but when it was found that their union would be disapproved of by Charles VII., that contract was regularly annulled by a public act drawn up at Sannat, in the presence of the ambassadors of France, Scotland, and Savoy. It was a case of royal breach of promise, and it was stipulated that the Duke of Savoy should pay 25,000 golden crowns to the princess as damages, and defray the expense of her return into Scotland. In effect, the fair fiancée had a long detention to endure, and many perils by land and sea to encounter, before she succeeded in getting back to her native country. James V. was twice married to French princesses—first to Madeleine of Valois,* daughter of Francis I., and afterwards to Mary of Guise. Marie de Bourbon, another French princess, to whom James had been originally engaged, is said to have died of grief at being forsaken for the fair Madeleine. The last marriage between the royal families of France and Scotland was that of Queen Mary to the Dauphin Francis, son of Henry II. of France. This marriage marks the culminating point of French influence in Scotland.

Another proof of the intimate connection between the two countries is to be found in the number of Scotchmen who held some of the most important offices in the French court and army. In the fifteenth century, the Earl of Buchan was Constable of France, and the Earl of Douglas was Duke of Touraine, and Lieutenant-General of the French army. Sir William Monypenny was councillor and chamberlain to Charles VII. and Louis XI.; and Beraud Stuart was Marshal of France, Viceroy of Naples, and Constable of Sicily under Louis XII. In like manner, some Frenchmen succeeded in attaining high distinction in Scotland;

* The custom of wearing mourning is said to have originated from the early death of the fair Madeleine, who died shortly after her arrival in Scotland, deeply regretted by the king and the whole country.

such as the Chevalier de la Bastie, who was invested by the Regent Albany with the chief command on the Scottish border; and M. d'Oysel, who was entrusted with the principal administration of Scotch affairs by Mary of Guise, and whose services were acknowledged by the Scottish Parliament.

The French monarchs, at various times, endeavoured to secure the attachment and alliance of the Scottish nation, by bestowing lands in France upon the most powerful of the Scottish nobility; by granting special privileges and exemptions to Scottish merchants trading in France; and by issuing letters of naturalization to all Scotchmen resident there. In this way, many nobles and gentlemen belonging to the families of Stuart, Douglas, Hamilton, Gordon, and other great houses, became French landholders, intermarried with the French nobility, and founded families, whose descendants, with names more or less altered and Gallicised, are still to be found on the other side of the Channel. Letters of naturalization were again and again granted by the French kings to Scotchmen. Even Louis XI., cruel, crafty, and suspicious as he was, never refused them to any natives of Scotland who wished to settle in France. Louis XII. went still further by his ordinance of September 1513, which granted for the future the privilege of naturalization to all Scotchmen resident in France; and upon the occasion of the marriage of the Dauphin Francis to Mary Queen of Scots, the privileges enjoyed by natives of Scotland were confirmed and extended by his father Henry II., while an Act of the Scottish Parliament accorded similar privileges to all Frenchmen settled in Scotland. Henry IV. was the last of the French kings who renewed the ancient privileges belonging to the natives of the oldest and most faithful ally of France. By letters patent of 1599, he confirmed the right of naturalization to all Scotchmen in France, and also all the privileges and exemptions formerly enjoyed by Scotch merchants trafficking in that country.¹

But although the alliance between France and Scotland was thus for centuries close and intimate; though thousands of Scot-

¹ The old French proverb,

‘ Qui la France veut gagner,
A l’Ecosse faut commencer,’

bears witness to the intimacy of the relations between the two countries; as does the following proverbial saying to the importance of the Scottish auxiliaries in the French wars: ‘ *Nulla unquam Francis fulsit victoria castris, sine milite Scoto.*’ And a remark which Shakespeare puts in the mouth of Portia, in the Merchant of Venice, also bears testimony, though not in so complimentary a fashion, to the way in which the two nations were accustomed to back up each other’s quarrels. She says, in answer to Nerissa, who had asked her opinion of the Scottish Lord, ‘ He borrowed a box of the ear of the Englishman, and swore he would pay him again when he was able: I think the Frenchman became his surety, and sealed under for another.’

tish auxiliaries lost their lives in the long wars between France and England, in which their valour procured for France more than one important and brilliant victory; though a chosen band of Scottish gentlemen was for ages the faithful and gallant body-guard of the French kings,—these services have not been acknowledged or appreciated by any of the French historians, who have either passed them by in silence, or have noticed them with a brevity unworthy of their importance. To fill up this omission is the object of M. Michel's book, which aims at restoring to the gallant Scottish companies of adventure, and the other Scots in France distinguished in arts or in arms, their proper place in French history, of which they have been so long and so unjustly deprived. The author endeavours to present to us as complete a picture as possible of the public and private, the political and commercial relations which so long subsisted between two countries, separated from each other by the whole extent of England, but united by a community of interests, and also, in some respects, by a similarity of national genius. He tells us that he has been occupied with this subject for nearly a quarter of a century, has travelled extensively both in France and Great Britain; has consulted libraries and ransacked archives, has omitted no accessible source of information, and has also had the further advantage of the assistance of many learned friends. We give him every credit for indefatigable industry and persevering research. The text and the notes contain a perfect treasure of information, amassed from a vast variety of sources, and extend over nearly 1100 pages, which are copiously adorned and illustrated by the armorial bearings of more than a hundred noble families, who played a distinguished part during the long alliance between France and Scotland. It is interesting to observe the number of French families whose names are evidently of Scotch origin, and whose armorial bearings are identical, or nearly identical, with those of Scotch families of similar names, as well as the number of Scotch family names that have gradually been changed and Frenchified, so as in some cases to make the recognition of the original name a work of considerable difficulty. Thus we find not only Stuart, but its French corruptions of Stuert, Estuert, and Stuyers. Then we have Forbin for Forbes, Fresal for Fraser, Damastere for Dempster, d'Anstrude for Anstruther, Hebron for Hepburn, Delazun for Lawson, Coqueborne for Cockburn, Genston and Juston for Johnston, Vulcob for Wauchope, Vulson for Wilson, Achessonne for Acheson, Catel for Cadell, Malvin for Melville, and a great many more.

But although M. Michel's work is of great value to the historian, the scholar, the antiquarian, and the genealogist, it is, notwith-

standing, a very dull book. The author has sunk under the weight of his materials. He has accumulated a load which he is unable to lift, has swallowed a meal which he cannot digest. He has proved himself a good quarryman, but a bad builder; and has failed in arranging the stones, which he has excavated with so much difficulty and labour, into a graceful and symmetrical edifice. He seems to have read too much, to have sought too long, and to have expended in preparations the strength which should have been reserved for execution. And we therefore venture to think that his work, with all its merits, is unlikely to become a popular one. It wants vivacity of style, warmth of colouring, and clearness of arrangement; and it also wants,—a great want in a book of the kind,—an index of names. In spite also of the great learning and varied research which generally characterize the text and the notes, there is an occasional want of accuracy in dates and other particulars, of which we shall point out some rather prominent examples.

In the first chapter, it is stated that Saint Louis of France made a treaty with Alexander III. of Scotland, husband of Mary, daughter of Enguerrand, Sire de Coucy. Now, it was not Alexander III., but Alexander II., who was the husband of Marie de Coucy. Alexander III. also married a French wife, but her name was Yolande de Dreux. This, however, is probably merely a misprint or an oversight, as in the next page the author describes Alexander II. as sending over to France in 1229 to demand the hand of Marie de Coucy, of whose marvellous and almost incredible beauty he had heard the highest praise. In the beginning of the third chapter, Edward I. is mentioned as confirming a charter to lands in the south of Scotland in the year 1335, at which period he had been in his grave for nearly thirty years. Edward III. must, of course, be meant. In the same chapter in which this error occurs, M. Michel speaks of David II. of Scotland being forced in 1334 to seek an asylum in France; yet a few pages afterwards he describes him as returning to Scotland in 1341, after *nine* years of exile; the fact being that he was sent to France in 1332, not in 1334, as stated by M. Michel. A more inexcusable mistake will be found in the eleventh chapter, where Louis XII. of France is represented as confiding the command of a fleet to Louis de Rouville, by a commission given at Corbie, 17th Sept. 1517. Yet at that time Louis had been dead for two years, and Francis I. sat on the French throne; and what makes this mistake more unaccountable is, that only a few pages afterwards, the death of Louis XII. and the accession of Francis I. are both described as taking place in 1515, the correct date. An error of a different description occurs in M. Michel's second volume.

In the text, he gives the names of certain Scottish gentlemen inscribed in the album of a fencing master established at Bourges in the seventeenth century; and among these we find that of 'M. A. Gibsone, le jeune.' But on referring to the note at the foot of the page, which gives verbatim the extract from the album, we see the name to be 'M. A. Gibsone Younge,' the last as much a proper name as Gibsone, though M. Michel has thought fit to translate it into 'le jeune;' a mistake as absurd as that which occurs in a volume of the *Almanach de Gotha*, where the Coldstream—which the writer has evidently mistaken for the Goldstream—Guards figure as '*La Garde de la rivière d'or!*' It may perhaps be said that, after all, these are not very serious mistakes; but even if this be admitted, they are at least sufficient to diminish our faith, if not in the extent, at least in the precision and accuracy, of M. Michel's information.

Let us first glance at some of the exploits of the gallant Scotch companies that, during the long wars between France and England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were a principal means of putting an end to the English domination, and of restoring the independence and extending the power of the French monarchy. At the battle of Beaugé, where the French army was commanded by the Earl of Buchan, the Scottish auxiliaries particularly distinguished themselves, and were chiefly instrumental in gaining the victory. The Duke of Clarence, the English leader, was killed in hand-to-hand fight by the Earl of Buchan; the bravest of his knights and men-at-arms fell around him, and his whole army was totally defeated. This decisive victory won for the Earl of Buchan the baton of Constable of France, and effectually put a stop to the sneers of some envious Frenchmen, who had complained to the French king of the Scottish auxiliaries, and had accused them of gluttony and drunkenness, because they had not succeeded in at once driving the English out of the country. 'Do these Scotch now appear to you mere wine-skins and gormandizers?' was the sarcastic reply of Charles VI. to these calumniators, after the brilliant victory.

Victory was, however, by no means always constant to the banners of the Scottish auxiliaries, who found in the English, enemies as gallant and determined as themselves. Two battles,—those of Crevant and Verneuil,—were particularly fatal to them. In the former they were decimated, and in the latter almost destroyed, their destruction being principally caused by their self-confidence. This battle took place on the 17th of August 1424. On the one side were the English, led by the famous Duke of Bedford. On the other, the French and the Scottish auxiliaries to the number of 4000 men, of whom 1000 were of noble birth. They were commanded by Archibald, Earl of Douglas and

Duke of Touraine, and by the Earl of Buchan, Constable of France. There was some misunderstanding and jealousy between the French and the Scotch, which prevented them from operating cordially together, and materially contributed to the victory of the English. The Earl of Douglas also had issued the rash and cruel order that no quarter should be given; this naturally exasperated the English, and prevented them from making many prisoners. The Earls of Douglas and Buchan, James Douglas, the son of the former, Alexander Lindsay, Robert Stuart, Thomas Swinton, Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood, and more than 700 Scottish cavaliers of rank, fell on this fatal field, which is thus described by a contemporary historian:—‘It was frightful to contemplate those piles of carcases heaped up and pressed together on the field of battle, there especially where the strife had been with the Scotch, for not a single man of them was made prisoner. The cause of that animosity and pitiless carnage was the pride of the Scotch. The Duke of Bedford having sent to them, before the engagement, to ask what should be the conditions of the combat, they replied that, in this battle, they were unwilling either to give quarter to the English or to receive it from them,—a reply which, by kindling against them the rage of the enemy, led to their destruction.’ This disastrous battle had the effect of checking for the future the influx of the Scottish auxiliaries into France, at least upon the grand scale on which their expeditions had formerly been conducted. After the battle, the bodies of the Earls of Buchan and Douglas were ransomed from the English, carried to Tours, and buried in the choir of the cathedral; and down to the middle of last century, a mass, called *la messe Ecossaise*, was still said for the souls of the Scotch who fell on the bloody field of Verneuil.

The affairs of Charles VII. seemed well-nigh desperate after the carnage of Verneuil, and he is said at one time to have contemplated a retreat into Scotland; but Sir John Stuart of Dernley, and his brother Sir William Stuart, remained true to his cause, and, by their courage and conduct, gave a fresh impulse to the failing fortunes of France. Sir John Stuart, who was constable of the Scotch in France, succeeded in procuring further assistance from Scotland, with which to make head against the victorious arms of England; and there are several letters-patent of Charles VII., which acknowledge the value of his services, and testify the esteem in which the king held him. He received the lordship of Aubigny as a reward, and was also created a Marshal of France; and for a long time his descendants held the honourable position of hereditary captains of the royal Scottish body-guard. Some writers have referred the institution of this famous guard to the reign of Saint Louis, and others to

that of Charles V.; but it is generally admitted that it was Charles VII. who gave it that distinguishing form and military organization, which it continued to preserve for centuries after his decease. The formation of the guard is alluded to in the letters-patent of naturalization granted to the Scotch by Louis XII. Claude Seysil, Master of Requests to Louis XII., and afterwards Archbishop of Turin, in his history of that Prince, bears the following testimony to the unshaken honour and fidelity of the Scottish body-guard. 'The French have so ancient a friendship and alliance with the Scotch, that of 400 men appropriated for the king's life-guard, there are a hundred of the said nation who are the nearest to his person, and in the night keep the keys of the apartment where he sleeps. There are, moreover, an hundred complete lances, and 200 yeomen of the said nation, besides several that are dispersed through the companies; and for so long a time as they have served in France, never hath there been one of them found that hath committed or done any fault against the kings or their state; and they can make use of them as of their own subjects.'

To their founder and patron, the heroic Charles VII., the Scottish guard were devotedly attached; and their loud cries of grief at his death are mentioned in several French poems of the period. The rights and privileges of the guard were very great. They are thus described in a statement drawn up for the guard in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It refers to the functions and prerogatives of the company generally, and especially of the 24 first guards, who, with the addition of the first gendarme of France, formed the 25 Gardes de la Manche, or Sleeve-guards, who were all natives of Scotland. 'Two of them shall assist at mass, sermon, vespers, and ordinary meals of the King of France, one on each side of his chair; and on high holidays, the ceremony of the royal touch, the creation of knights of the king's order, the reception of ambassadors extraordinary, and public entries into towns, there should be six of their number next to the king's person, three on each side of his Majesty; and the royal person should be carried by them alone at all ceremonies, and his effigy accompanied by them. To them also belongs the charge of the keys of the king's lodging at night, the keeping of the choir of the church, the charge of the ferry-boats when the king crosses rivers, and the honour of bearing the white silk fringe in their arms, which is the coronal colour in France; and to their captain, in waiting or out of waiting, belongs the charge of the keys of all cities into which the king makes his entry; to him also, out of waiting, belongs the privilege of taking duty upon him at ceremonies, such as coronations, marriages, and funerals of the kings, and the baptism and marriages of their

children; the coronation robe belongs to him; and this company (the Gardes de la Manche), 'by the death or change of its captain, never changes its rank, as do the other three.'

While the Scottish auxiliaries had been taking so important a share in the French wars against the English, the French had, in their turn, occasionally sent auxiliary troops into Scotland. We have already mentioned the expedition of Sir John de Vienne in 1385, to assist in the war against Edward III. It was but badly received by the Scots, who declared that they did not need aid from France, and that they could perfectly well maintain themselves against the English, without the assistance of auxiliaries who pillaged and devoured everything that was to be had in the country. On the other hand, the French knights bemoaned their hard fate, in having come into a country where neither honour nor profit was to be won. They seem, indeed, to have been reduced to great straits, and were ultimately detained in Scotland in security for the debts which they had contracted; so that Charles VI. was at last obliged to send a large sum of money to Sir John de Vienne to enable him to take his troops out of pawn and bring them back to France.

In 1449, Jacques de Lalain, a knight of Burgundy, who, sometimes alone, and sometimes accompanied by a number of fighting uncles and cousins, used to travel about Europe, challenging all comers, and exhibiting his powers in the lists, arrived at the court of James II. of Scotland. On this occasion he had along with him his uncle, Simon de Lalain, and Hervé de Meriadec, a gentleman of Brittany. These three champions challenged the bravest of the Scottish knights to a combat *à outrance*, with lance, battle-axe, sword, and dagger. The challenge was accepted by James, brother of the Earl of Douglas, John Douglas, and Sir John Ross of Hawkhead; and the combat took place within the lists at Stirling, in the presence of James and his whole court. Hervé de Meriadec twice struck Sir James Douglas to the ground by two strokes of his battle-axe; Sir John Ross and Simon de Lalain maintained an obstinate and doubtful combat; while the redoubtable Jacques found himself hard enough pressed by Sir John Douglas. But Hervé de Meriadec, after having struck down his antagonist, turned to lend assistance to his friends; and James Douglas, after recovering from the rude strokes dealt him by the battle-axe of the Breton knight, hastened after him, burning to wipe out the stain of his defeat. Everything threatened a bloody and fatal termination, when the king, unwilling to cloud the festivities by the death of such brave knights, threw down his warder, and put a stop to the combat.

After the middle of the fifteenth century, when the long wars

between France and England came to a close without any formal peace, a great diminution took place in the number of Scottish adventurers who resorted to France in search of fame and fortune; and the greater part of those who still continued to arrive, were required to recruit the ranks of the royal body-guard. Many of these members of the Archer Guard found a place among the French nobility, and some of them attained high rank and distinction. Among these, none rendered more valuable services to their adopted country than the Stuarts, lords of Aubigny, who, both as warriors and diplomatists, in France, Scotland, and Italy, gave repeated and signal proofs of valour and ability. Four of those Stuarts successively held the high office of Captain of the Archer Guard; and of these four, the most distinguished was Beraud or Bernard Stuart. He was the son of John Stuart of Aubigny, and grandson of John Stuart de Dernley, Count of Evreux, and of Elizabeth Lindsay. He was honoured and trusted both by Charles VIII. and Louis XII. of France, and was employed by the former to conduct negotiations with several of the princes of Italy and with the Pope, before the commencement of his Italian campaign.

At the entrance of Charles into Florence and Rome, the lofty stature and magnificent equipment of the Scottish Archer Guard attracted universal admiration. At Rome, as elsewhere, they guarded not only the outer gate of the king's residence, but also every door which gave access to his person. During the Italian wars of Charles, their valour was conspicuous, particularly at the battle of Fornuova, where Bayard, the knight *sans peur et sans reproche*, made his first essay in arms. Their captain, Beraud Stuart, was especially distinguished, frequently acting in an independent command, at the head of a considerable body of troops, and making important conquests, though opposed to Gonsalvo de Cordova, one of the greatest captains of the time. After the premature death of Charles VIII., his successor, Louis XII., when about to undertake the conquest of the Milanese, placed his army under the command of the Comte de Ligny, the Marquis Trivulzio, and Beraud Stuart. In 1501, we find Beraud chief commandant in the Milanese, and in the following year Lieutenant-General of the French army in the Italian campaign. He compelled Frederick of Arragon to give up to him the city of Naples, and was invested by Louis with the high dignities of Viceroy of Naples and Constable of Sicily, besides receiving the Marquisates of Giraci and Squillazo, and the county of Acri. His star at last suffered an eclipse in those Italian wars where it had shone so brightly; and he was compelled to take refuge in Angotello, where he was besieged and made prisoner. After his return to France, he was sent into Scotland,

as ambassador from Louis XII. to James IV., where he was received with much distinction, and placed by the king in the highest seat at the royal table. Tournaments were held in honour of his arrival; he was appealed to as supreme judge of the lists, and addressed by the title of Father of War. It was his second embassy to Scotland; for twenty-five years previously he had been sent as ambassador from Charles VIII. to James III., when he had succeeded in procuring the confirmation and renewal of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland. But the veteran warrior and statesman now came only to leave his bones in the land of his ancestors; for soon after his arrival he sickened and died at the village of Corstorphine. Robert Stuart, nephew and son-in-law of Beraud, succeeded him in the lordship of Aubigny, and in the command of the Scottish Guard. He rose to the dignity of Marshal of France, distinguished himself at the battles of Marignan and Pavia, and in 1526 held the chief command in Provence against the Emperor Charles V. The destiny of a descendant of these famous captains was illustrious. Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, who was slain beside James IV. at the fatal battle of Flodden, was a cousin-german of Beraud Stuart; and the lordship of Aubigny fell to his third son, John, who was also captain of the Scottish Guard. John's elder brother remained in Scotland; and his grandson, James VI., united upon his head the crowns of England and Scotland.

M. Michel devotes a short but interesting chapter to the consideration of the commercial relations formerly subsisting between France and Scotland. The ancient commerce between the two countries was important and extensive. From the fourteenth century, salmon, cod, herring, and other kinds of fish, as well as wool, leather, and skins, were imported from Scotland into France; while in exchange, the Scots received the wines of Guienne and Rochelle, dried fruits of various kinds, and numerous other products of French industry. Until the seventeenth century, also, Scottish merchants trading in France were exempted, by repeated ordinances of the French kings, from the duties levied upon the English and other foreign traders. The progress of the Reformation in Scotland, and the accession of James to the English throne, gradually produced an estrangement between these ancient allies, and a withdrawal of the privileges so long enjoyed by the Scottish merchants, though an increased commerce with England more than compensated for the decay of that with France; but so late as the time of Henry IV., an important trade was still carried on with France, which seems to have been chiefly transacted in the way of barter, the Scots being accustomed to come to Bordeaux,

Rochelle, Dieppe, and Rouen, to take in cargoes of wine, cloth, and other products of the more advanced industry of France, leaving in exchange the fish, grain, wool, and leather of Scotland.

We need only bestow a very brief notice on the French expeditions into Scotland subsequently to the death of James V. In 1545, during the minority of his daughter Mary, the Count Lorges de Montgomery arrived at the head of 3000 men, in order to support the French party in Scotland, and to induce the Scottish nobles to engage in a war against England. He brought the order of Saint Michel for the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Argyll, and was successful in obtaining a renewal of the alliance between France and Scotland, and a commencement of hostilities with England. A few years later, Leone Strozzi, Prior of Capua, and cousin of Catherine de Medicis, brought another formidable body of troops into Scotland, composed of French, Germans, and Gascons, who captured the Castle of St Andrews, and sent Knox and many other Protestants, who were there taken prisoners, to rot in French dungeons, or pine in the French galleys. A third expedition was shortly afterwards sent by Henry II., who seems to have had no object more thoroughly at heart than to obtain the entire direction of the councils of Scotland, if, indeed, he did not rather meditate its complete subjugation to the crown of France. This expedition was headed by André de Montalembert, Sieur d'Essé, a brave and accomplished soldier, who arrived in Scotland in the beginning of the summer of 1548. Soon after his arrival and introduction to the assembly of the Scotch nobles, he acquainted them with the intentions of his master with regard to Scotland and the person of the young Queen Mary. These intentions were strenuously seconded by the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, who lost no time in conducting her daughter to Dumbarton, where lay the squadron of the French Admiral Ville-gagnon ready to carry her into France. At Dumbarton, the young Queen embarked with her governors, the Lords Erskine and Livingstone, and four young ladies as her companions,—the famous four Marys, belonging to the noble families of Fleming, Beaton, Seton, and Livingstone. The little fleet of four vessels succeeded in evading the vigilance of the English cruisers; and after a voyage of a week, arrived safely in a French harbour.

After the departure of Mary for France, the war between the English and the Scottish army, reinforced by the French auxiliaries, continued for two years with varying success. But there was little real cordiality between the Scots and their French allies, and a terrible quarrel which occurred in Edin-

burgh in 1548, very nearly led to an open rupture between them. One evening, a French soldier having sold an harquebuss to a Scot for a crown, pocketed the crown, and then ran off, still retaining the weapon which he had sold. The Scot complained to the Provost, who very properly decided that the Frenchman should either deliver the harquebuss, or else return the money. But the latter, supported by several of his comrades, would do neither, and at last openly defied the Provost, drew upon him, and wounded him in several places. The alarm spread, and the towns-people ran to assist their Provost. On the other hand, the French troops hastened to the aid of their comrades; and a desperate street fight took place, in which more than twenty of the Scots were killed,—among them the eldest son of the Provost,—and upwards of thirty wounded. On the side of the French, eight men and a captain were slain; and it required the strenuous exertions of the Governor and of the Marquis d'Essé before the enraged belligerents could be induced to lay down their arms. Next day the two chiefs held a long conference, the result of which was that M. d'Essé and all his forces marched out of Edinburgh. Scarcely had they left, when the inhabitants shut all the gates of the city, and commenced searching in every direction; and wherever they found a sick or wounded Frenchman, they put him to death without mercy. Similar scenes of disorder and bloodshed more than once occurred; and the insolence, cruelty, and rapacity of the French troops were loudly complained of, so that even the Queen-mother—Frenchwoman as she was—wrote in 1549 to her brothers, the Duke of Aumale and the Cardinal of Guise, lamenting the misery and sufferings of the peasantry, and imputing it to the conduct of the French mercenaries.

In 1550 peace was at length concluded between France, Scotland, and England; and the ten years which followed witnessed the progress, establishment, and downfall of the French domination in Scotland. We need but remind our readers of the well-known events connected with the marriage of Mary to the French Dauphin, and the determined but happily unsuccessful efforts of the Queen-mother, and her ambitious brothers, the Guises, to bring Scotland wholly under the power of France. The resignation of the Regency of Scotland by Arran in favour of Mary of Guise; the solemnization of the marriage in the Cathedral of Notre Dame; the secret execution of an obligation by the young Queen ten days after, in which, among other things, the realm of Scotland was given over to the French king and his heirs, in case she should die without issue; the suspicious and sudden death of four of the nine commissioners sent over to Paris to negotiate the terms of the marriage,—were

all indications of the deep and determined purpose of the Guises to secure the unlimited control of the realm of Scotland. But the marriage of Mary Stuart with the Dauphin of France marked, as we have already observed, the culminating point of French influence in Scotland. From that period it began to decline. Scotland had already reaped all the benefits to be derived from it, and she saw nothing in the future but disadvantages. She felt that her independence, so long upheld against England, was now threatened by France, and she disliked the one foreign rule as much as the other; and so it happened that Mary of Guise, having attained the height of her wishes—having dispossessed the Earl of Arran of the regency—having married her daughter to the greatest prince in Europe—having placed Scotland under the protectorate of France, and filled the chief offices of state with Frenchmen—saw the edifice which she had taken so much pains to rear crumbling into ruins, and herself engaged in a civil war, in which the vast majority both of the nobles and people of Scotland were arrayed against her. The death of the Regent during the siege of Leith,—one of the chief incidents in the war,—and the failure of a general attack which the garrison had repulsed with great loss to the assailants, disposed all parties to peace, which was concluded at Edinburgh in 1560, between Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation on the one hand, and the French Commissioners, the Sieur de Randan and the Bishop of Valence, on the other. This treaty gave a death-blow to French influence in Scotland: for it was provided, among other stipulations, that the French army should evacuate Leith and return to their own country; that in all time coming Scotland should be governed by natives of the country; that no foreign troops should be brought within the kingdom; and that none but Scotsmen should be placed in the offices of Chancellor, Treasurer, or Comptroller.

As a natural consequence of this revulsion of feeling in Scotland against France, a similar feeling began to manifest itself in France towards the Scots settled in that country, who became for a time objects of general suspicion and hatred; many of them were even arrested and thrown into prison on the charge of corresponding with the anti-French party in Scotland. The ties between the two countries were still further loosened by the decease of the Dauphin Francis, husband of Mary—poisoned, it was rumoured, by a Scotch valet-de-chambre—as by that premature death the interests of the two kingdoms, placed for a time under the same sceptre, were again and finally separated. Yet it took a long time before English influence and English commerce replaced the commerce and the influence of France, and before London became for the Scot the place of resort that

Paris had so long been. In the reign of Elizabeth, according to a return made by the Bishop of London, of the number of foreigners resident in the capital in 1567, there were only 58 Scotchmen; and the census made by the Lord Mayor in the following year raised the number only to 88. What a contrast to the present day, when there are probably as many Scots resident in London as in the capital of their own country!

After the triumph of the Reformed religion in Scotland, it was but natural that the sanguinary edicts against the French Huguenots, the massacre at Vassy by the Duke of Guise, and the still more terrible carnage of St Bartholomew, should have contributed more and more to alienate and estrange the Scots from their ancient allies, and increase their hatred of the Roman Catholic religion. On the 19th August 1561, Queen Mary landed at Leith, to ascend the throne of a kingdom torn by party strifes and a prey to religious dissensions. Queen Mary's religion and that of her French attendants was distasteful to the majority of the people of Scotland; and the after errors of her reign contributed still further to increase the dislike which her faith had originally inspired. The subsequent events of her unhappy career—her unfortunate marriage, the disastrous war against her own subjects, her long captivity in England, and her tragic death—are too familiar to need recapitulation. But the calmness and fortitude with which she met her doom seemed almost to redeem the errors of her life, and excited general sympathy and admiration. In France, particularly, a profound sensation was produced by her execution; and several publications describing her last moments were everywhere eagerly sought for. Her obsequies were also celebrated with great magnificence and pompous show of grief, by Henry III., who during her life had never exerted himself for her deliverance from her long captivity. He invited the Parliament, the University, and the Sorbonne to be present; and these learned bodies, robed in the deepest mourning, assisted at the empty ceremony which took place in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, where the funeral oration was pronounced by Renaud de Beaune, Archbishop of Bourges.

With the death of Mary ended all cordial alliance between France and Scotland. James VI. and Henry IV., indeed, continued on terms of amity; the Scottish archers still remained the chosen body-guard of the French kings; and many gallant Scottish regiments served in the armies of France till a much later period. The exploits of the Scottish Guard and the other Scotch regiments in France are well worthy of a brief notice; and after adverting to these, it will only remain for us to direct attention to some of those Scotchmen who distinguished themselves in civil employments, and especially in literature and philosophy.

At the time when Mary of Guise became Regent of Scotland, all France was ringing with the valiant exploits of two Scottish gentlemen serving in the ranks of the French army. One of them—Archibald Mowbray, a brother of the laird of Barnbouggall—during the siege of the castle of Dinan, threw himself, sword in hand, among the enemy on the top of the rampart, and cut his way back to his friends without receiving a wound. The other—Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes—still more highly distinguished himself. At the siege of Renty, with only 30 Scots, he charged 60 of the enemy's cavaliers armed with *harquebuses*. With his lance he overthrew five; and when it was broken, he dashed among his foes, sword in hand, cutting them down on the right and the left, without the least regarding the shots fired at him. At last he saw a company of pikemen advancing against him; on which he dismounted, and gave his horse and his spurs to one of his men, who fell dead in taking them to the Constable de Montmorency. The brave Norman himself, covered with wounds, was first borne to the tent of the king, where the Duke d'Enghien and the Prince of Condé awarded him the palm of valour. He was then consigned to the care of the royal surgeons; but their skill was unavailing, and the gallant Master of Rothes died of his wounds a fortnight afterwards.

Another example of the daring courage of the Scotch in the French service occurred in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and is mentioned in the *Universal History of the Sieur d'Aubigny*. Twenty Scottish gentlemen in the army of the King of Navarre received a challenge from M. de Mercure, a brave French captain, who was jealous of their high reputation for valour, and had also taken offence at some remarks which they had made. This challenge defied them to mortal combat, 20 against 20, to commence by running a course with grinded lances, with no better armour than their shirts. The Scots at once accepted the challenge; and on the day appointed appeared on the field, stripped to their shirts. M. de Mercure, the challenger, was also ready for the combat; but he stood alone, for the hearts of his companions had failed them, and they did not appear, being, in the words of d'Aubigny, 'of too base metal to encounter such a proof.' And so the affair ended without bloodshed, but to the great honour of the 20 Scottish gentlemen.

After the Reformation in Scotland, the privileges of the Archer Guard were considerably diminished; and many of the archers who had professed the Reformed faith were cashiered, and replaced by Roman Catholics. In 1570, it consisted of 100 men-at-arms, 100 archers of the guard, and 24 archers of the body who surrounded the royal person. By this time, the nomination of the captain had been taken into his own hands by the

French king; but the lieutenant, ensign, and other officers were all Scotchmen. But in the reign of Henry IV., or rather of Louis XIII., this was changed; and we find even the inferior commissions in the Guards filled by Frenchmen. In 1612, when Marie de Medicis, widow of Henry IV., was Regent of France, the Scottish Guard, who beheld their ancient privileges gradually invaded or withdrawn, applied for redress to their own sovereign, James VI., and drew up a very curious statement, entitled, 'Complaint of the Scottish Guard to the King, wherein is stated the origin of their alliance with France.'¹ This complaint appears to have met with some attention from James VI.; and Sir Thomas Edmondes, his resident ambassador in Paris, and Lord Colville of Culross, exerted themselves to obtain redress for the grievances therein detailed. The Guard particularly resented the conduct of their captain, M. de Nerestan, who had violated their privileges and defrauded them of their pay, and had formed two-thirds of his company of Frenchmen, although, according to ancient usage, it should have been composed exclusively of Scotchmen. It does not appear that the abuses thus complained of were ever redressed; but the Scottish Guard was remodelled and reorganized under Louis XIII., and a company of Scotch gendarmerie was also established during his reign. On the death of the Duke of Lennox, in 1624, the command of the Scottish companies was conferred, by royal letters patent, on his nephew, Gordon, Count of Enzie; and thus the captaincy of the Body Guard, which had long been in the families of Lennox and d'Aubigny, was transferred to that of Gordon. This Count Enzie, afterwards Marquis of Huntly, served in the French army for several years with much distinction, and received a commission from Louis XIII. to levy a regiment of 2000 men in Scotland, if he could obtain the permission of Charles I. This commission, however, never seems to have been carried into effect. In 1643, we find the Marquis de la Ferté-Imbault appointed colonel-general of the Scotch in the French service; and, after his time, that high office, as well as most of the inferior commissions, were generally bestowed upon Frenchmen. The company of Scottish gendarmes—whose establishment we have above mentioned—was distinct from the Scotch Body Guard, which ceased to exist under Louis XIV., and perhaps was recruited from its relics. The Prince de Ligne commanded the companies of the Scottish gendarmerie for twelve years; and under him they displayed the most brilliant valour, particularly in 1690 and 1691, at the battle of Fleurus and the siege of Mons.

¹ This interesting document will be found given at length in 'Papers relative to the Royal Guard of Scottish Archers in France,' printed at Edinburgh, for the Maitland Club, in 1835.

The Scotch gendarmes ranked as the first company of the gendarmerie of France; and their captain had the right of taking the command of all the companies of gendarmerie, whenever they happened to be acting together.

One of the most distinguished officers in the armies of Louis XIII. was Sir John Hepburn—or Hebron as the French called him, from the difficulty they had in pronouncing his name. He was colonel of a Scotch regiment; had served for several years under Gustavus Adolphus; and was an intimate friend of the Cardinals Richelieu and de la Valette, in whose correspondence his name often figures in the most brilliant manner. Hepburn was distinguished by a certain military frankness and brusquerie, and had a thorough contempt for mere military theorists. On one occasion, during a campaign, when the famous Father Joseph, the confessor of Richelieu—who piqued himself on his acquaintance with military science, and scrupled not to give advice even to the most experienced marshals of France—was forming vast projects for the conduct of the war, and pointing out on a map several towns which ought to be taken, Sir John quietly remarked—‘M. Joseph, towns are not taken with the point of the finger.’ There was a great rivalry, and a strong feeling of jealousy and dislike, between the Scotch regiment of Hepburn and the regiment of Picardy, the most ancient of the French regiments. This regiment ridiculed the pretensions of Hepburn’s to take the right on all occasions, on account of there being in their ranks several archers of the Guard, and nicknamed them in derision the Guards of Pontius Pilate,—‘a name,’ says M. Michel, ‘which has stuck to the Royal Scotch even in our days.’ Sir John Hepburn was killed at the siege of Saverne by a musket-ball in the neck. Cardinal Richelieu, in an answer to the letter conveying to him the news of his death, expressed the deepest regret, and pronounced a glowing eulogium on his talents and virtues. He was buried in the cathedral of Toul, where Louis XIV. afterwards erected a monument to his memory.

Upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a number of French Protestants, chiefly natives of Picardy, sought an asylum in Scotland, and established a little colony—which existed till about the end of last century—on the outskirts of Edinburgh, near the ancient barony of Broughton, and almost upon the ground now occupied by Picardy Place. They endeavoured, but without success, to establish a silk manufactory, and to introduce the cultivation of the mulberry. M. Michel conjectures that their experience was taken advantage of for linen weaving in 1746, when a company was formed for the encouragement of that branch of industry. Another party of refugees from Bordeaux found an asylum about three miles to the south of Edinburgh,

and the village where they settled is still commonly called Burdie-house. There is a notice of these Huguenot emigrants in Maitland's 'History of Edinburgh,' where mention is made of a large edifice to the north-west of Greenside, denominated Little Picardy, erected by the town of Edinburgh for the accommodation of a number of French families who carried on a cambric manufactory therein. Bower's 'History of the University of Edinburgh' also contains some interesting details with regard to them. A M. Dupont is there spoken of as the French minister within the college; he appears to have been one of the pastors of the French exiles, to whom the Town-Council had granted the privilege of assembling for public worship in the lower common hall of the university. By an Act of King William, in 1693, the town of Edinburgh received a grant, for a term of years, of a duty of two pennies on the pint of ale; and by the same Act the town was burdened with the sum of 2000 merks yearly for the benefit of the ministers of the French congregation. And we find from the Council registers, that upon the death of one of these clergymen, the magistrates agreed to give the survivor 1500 merks, the widow of his colleague 200, and 300 to the precentor, who, in 1713, was a student of divinity from Francquer, in Friesland, provided he would assist the Professor of Greek in teaching his students.

By far the most touching and romantic episode in the history of the Scots who followed the fortunes of the fallen House of Stuart, is that of the officers who had served under Viscount Dundee¹ at the battle of Killiecrankie. A hundred and fifty of these gentlemen, all of good birth and honourable character, voluntarily expatriated themselves and joined James II. in France,—a brilliant example of unshaken devotion, and of steadfast, though mistaken loyalty. The only wonder is, how a cold, stupid, cruel bigot like James II. could ever have inspired such feelings in the bosoms of brave and honourable men. We can only account for it by supposing that they forgot his character in his misfortunes, and saw in him only the representative of a grand old family, and a martyr to the Catholic religion, and to the principle of the divine and hereditary right of kings. But however mistaken we may think these men, it is impossible to withhold our admiration from their disinterested, self-sacrificing fidelity to their deposed monarch. When they found, on their arrival on the Continent, that they were paid and maintained in their former military rank by James, himself a pensioner on the bounty of Louis XIV., they insisted on forming themselves into

¹ It is said that the French refrain of *la faridondaine, la far donde*, first found in a French song or ballad in 1709, is only an alteration of the Scotch refrain of *the fair Dundee*.

a company of simple soldiers and joining the French army, in order to relieve the slender finances of their sovereign from the burden of their maintenance. James at first tried to dissuade them from carrying out this generous resolution; but they persisted, and he at last yielded to their entreaties. Before, however, joining the French army, they were reviewed by James at the Chateau of Saint Germain; and even his cold nature seems to have been for a moment touched and melted at the sight of these brave gentlemen, voluntarily exiled, relinquishing for his sake all the comforts of wealth and rank, and reduced to the condition of private soldiers. He made them a gracious speech, thanking them for their loyalty and devotion, and promising never to forget their services and their sufferings; asked each man his name, and wrote it down in his pocket-book; then bowed to them all with his hat in his hand, prayed God to bless and prosper them, and so bade them farewell. Thereafter, the company set out for the frontiers of Spain; and as the reputation of their courage and loyalty had preceded them, they were everywhere caressed and welcomed, especially by the ladies, who always appreciate true heroism. But their pay of 3d. a day and a pound and a half of bread was soon found insufficient, by men brought up as they had been; and they were compelled to sell their watches, rings, and trinkets, and even their linen, and were reduced to great distress. But throughout all their hardships they never murmured, and were always conspicuous for a strict performance of their military duties and for daring courage in battle. They found the heat of the climate on the Spanish frontiers very oppressive, and at the siege of Roses they suffered so severely from fevers, that they received an order to leave the camp until their health should be restored. But they refused to obey, saying that they were come to fight, and, if need be, die in the trenches, but not in the hospital. When this reply was reported to the French officers, they exclaimed, 'The gentleman is always a gentleman, and shows himself to be so in suffering and in danger.'

The company of officers were afterwards sent to serve in Alsace, where the climate was less unfavourable to them; but they endured terrible hardships during their long march from Tourelles in Rousillon to Silistad in Alsace, across countries afflicted with famine, and in some places covered with snow. 'At Silistad,' says the author of the *Memoirs of Dundee's Officers in France*,¹ 'the officers were in very great want, provisions dear, the bread sixpence a pound, and their pay but three pence *per diem*; so that all they could purchase was a few horse-

¹ This interesting paper will be found in the third volume of the '*Miscellanea Scotica*.'

beans, turnips, colwarts, or a little yellow seed, which they boiled in water, to keep life and soul together. They were certainly very religious, for they kept Lent all the year round. Though their sufferings and hardships in Alsace far exceeded any misfortunes they met with in Catalonia, yet it was observed by all strangers that conversed with them, that even in their greatest extremities they never repined, nor accused James for his own or their calamities; but with a primitive Christian patience and courage, humbly submitted themselves to Providence, knowing and believing that God was just, and would, at His own appointed time, establish the Royal Family in the throne.' The most glorious of the many brilliant exploits by which the company of officers distinguished themselves, during the campaign in Alsace, was unquestionably the capture of an island in the middle of the Rhine, held by a greatly superior force strongly entrenched. On the one side of the river was General Stirk, at the head of 16,000 Germans; on the other, the French commander, the Marquis de Sell, with only 4000 men; and between the two hostile camps was an island, with the Rhine sweeping round it in a deep and rapid current. It was a position of great importance. But the Germans had got the start of the French, who had no boats; had carried a bridge over to the island; and had garrisoned it with 500 men, who were busily engaged in establishing batteries which would have rendered the French camp untenable. The French general was sensible of his danger. But he had no boats, and the river ran deep and rapid, so that it seemed impossible to dislodge the enemy from his post of vantage. It was in this emergency that the company of officers—ever eager for renown and foremost in danger—came forward, and volunteered to wade the river and drive the Germans from the island. The Marquis de Sell, to whom Captain John Foster had been sent with this offer, looked upon the attempt as madness, and replied that the Scotch should be the first to attack when the boats arrived; upon which Captain Foster courteously thanked him, and told him that they needed no boats, but would wade to the island; and the Marquis, seeing their resolution, prayed God to bless them, and told them to do as they pleased. Then Captain Foster immediately returned to his company, got them under arms, and marched them quietly down to the river, each man carrying his arms and clothes on his shoulders. When they entered the Rhine, the water was up to their breasts; but they went on, hand-in-hand, with the tallest and strongest men farthest up the stream, so as to withstand and break the force of the current. As soon as they had passed the depths of the river, they hastened towards the island and poured a heavy volley upon the astonished Germans, who, occupied in

entrenching themselves, were quite taken by surprise, and soon fled in confusion across their own bridge, closely pursued by the officers, who killed several of them. They then returned and took possession of that island, which, so long as grass grows and water runs, will bear the name of *l'île d'Ecosse*, in memory of that gallant exploit. When the Marquis de Sell heard the firing, and understood that the Germans had been driven from the island, he crossed himself on the face and breast, and publicly declared that it was the bravest feat of arms that he had ever seen. Of that gallant company of officers—of whom the French themselves declared that a detachment from all the officers in France could not equal them—only four returned to their native country. Many fell in battle, or in the trenches; 24 died in hospital; 14 obtained their discharge at Silistad; and after the peace of Ryswick, in 1597, they were finally disbanded,—William III., according to some accounts, making it a condition that the Scotch companies, who had done so much harm to the Allies, should all be broken up.

During the period from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, while so many of our countrymen in France were distinguishing themselves in arms, others were almost equally eminent for their proficiency in learning, and for success in the various pursuits of civil life. The splendour of military glory is, at all times, too apt to eclipse the calmer and milder radiance of peaceful distinction; and the names of the Scottish heroes of the French wars—the Douglasses, Buchans, Stuarts, Hepburns—are, therefore, naturally more familiar to our ears, than those of Mair, Boece, Buchanan, Balfour, Innes, Welsh, Crichton, and the long catalogue of Scotchmen who taught in the universities of France, preached from her pulpits, or practised in her courts. A full account of these eminent men will be found in the pages of M. Michel: in the meantime, we shall cast a rapid glance at the lives of some of the most celebrated among them. The distinction of the Scots in France for learning and science, dates back as far as the fourteenth century. Since that period, a great number of Scotch doctors and professors have been found in all the faculties of the universities of France; and the records of the University of Paris show that no fewer than thirty Scotchmen have held the office of Rector in that famous institution. The influence exercised upon the legal and educational establishments of Scotland by those of France was important; and both the College of Justice, and, at a later period, the High School of Edinburgh, were formed upon French models; while, down to the union of the crowns of England and Scotland, it was the custom for young men of rank and talent, to perfect their education and form their manners by a residence

at the French court, and a course of study at a French university.

There were several colleges in France founded and endowed by natives of Scotland, for the education of their countrymen. The principal of these was the Scotch College begun in 1325 by David Murray, Bishop of Moray, and finished by his successor, John Pilmore, in 1333. To this seminary, James Beaton—the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, who died abroad in 1603—left all his fortune and his papers, and is justly regarded as its second founder. By far the most important among these papers were the Archives of the Cathedral of Glasgow, which included a great number of ancient registers and titles, brought by the Archbishop into France, when he was driven from his diocese by the progress of the Reformation. Andrew Stewart found the materials for the first part of his History of the Stuarts among these documents, which seem to have possessed great historical value. The attempts made, in the course of the last century, by the University of Glasgow and the curators of the Advocates' Library, to obtain precise information with regard to them, were, unfortunately, unsuccessful; but it was ascertained that they included a great number of manuscripts relating to the reigns of Mary, James VI., and James VII., as well as to the reigns of several of their predecessors. We have no exact information of what ultimately became of this precious collection. But it seems highly probable that it perished in the storms of the French Revolution, when everything relating to royalty was devoted to destruction.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, several Scottish gentlemen of the name of Crichton attained high distinction at the French universities. Of these, the most famous was James—commonly called the admirable—Crichton. He studied at the College of Guienne, at Bordeaux; and in the College of Navarre, at Paris, victoriously maintained a thesis before 3000 auditors. There was also a William Crichton, celebrated by Borrichius for the elegance of his Latin hexameters; and a George Crichton, who was doctor of laws, and historiographer and reader to the king in Greek and Latin. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, two Scottish ministers of the Reformed Church in Bordeaux took an active part in the religious conflicts of the period. Their names were Gilbert Primrose and John Cameron, the latter of whom founded a considerable sect of French Protestants, from him called Cameronites. Primrose was indefatigable in sustaining the cause of the Reformation by his pen; but we have fewer biographical details about him than about his colleague and compatriot Cameron. The latter was a

native of Glasgow, but went to France when only twenty years old, where he held the office of Regent in the newly-founded College of Bezerac, and afterwards that of Professor of Philosophy in the University of Sedan, before he was appointed Primrose's colleague in the Protestant church of Bordeaux. In 1618, he was chosen Professor at Saumur, the principal seminary of the French Protestants, to the great regret of the church of Bordeaux, which vehemently opposed his translation before the National Synod. He acquired high reputation as Professor at Saumur; and his course of lectures was so famous, that it often procured him the attendance of the celebrated Du Plessis-Mornay, who was called the Pope of the Huguenots. Such was the opinion entertained, even by their enemies, of the abilities of Cameron and Primrose, that Louis XIII.—influenced probably by the Jesuits, who detested Primrose—declared that it was his will that neither of them should be placed in any appointment as pastor or professor in the realm of France, and that for reasons of state, and not on account of their foreign extraction. Cameron died at Montauban at the early age of forty-six; and Primrose, forced to fly from France, became afterwards pastor of the French church in London. John Welsh, once minister in the town of Ayr, but subsequently banished from Scotland on account of his opposition to the measures of James VI. on ecclesiastical discipline, was another Scotchman who acquired considerable fame for learning and eloquence. He resided in France for sixteen years, acting as pastor, first at Jonzac, and afterwards at Saint-Jean-d'Angely. During his residence at the latter place, Louis XIII., then at war with the Protestants, laid siege to it, and pushed on his approaches with such vigour that the town was speedily compelled to surrender. After the king had made his public entry into the place, and was residing there with his court, Welsh continued to preach as usual, which gave great offence to the monarch, who, one day when Welsh was occupying the pulpit, commanded the Duke d'Epemon to drag him into the royal presence. The Duke accordingly repaired to the church at the head of an armed troop; but as soon as he had entered the door, Welsh gave orders to make room for him, and place a seat, so that the Duke might listen to the word of God. The Duke, instead of resenting this, took the seat offered him, heard the sermon to the end, and then communicated the king's orders to Welsh, who expressed his readiness to submit. The Duke then repaired to the king's presence, and on being asked why he had not brought Welsh, and why he had not interrupted his discourse, replied, 'It is because he speaks as never man spoke; but he is here.' The preacher was then brought in, when he threw himself upon his knees and prayed in silence. Upon the

king's asking him how he dared, contrary to the laws, to preach in the town of Saint-Jean-d'Angely, 'Sire,' answered Welsh, 'it would be well if you would yourself come to hear me, and would send all France to listen to my sermons; for I do not preach like those your Majesty is in the habit of hearing. My preaching differs in two points from theirs. In the first place, I preach that you must be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ, and not by your own; in the second place, that you, as king of France, are subject to no earthly power, while those whose sermons you hear would subject you to the Pope, which I never would do.' The king, delighted with this adroit reply, said to Welsh, 'Well; you shall be my minister,' and sent him back honourably, and on various occasions afterwards showed him marks of favour.

The Scottish students and professors in the universities of France appear, in general, to have been more distinguished for eminence in philosophy than for accurate scholarship in the languages of classic antiquity,—a peculiarity, by the way, which characterizes the Scottish *literati* of the nineteenth century almost as much as those of the sixteenth and seventeenth. Etienne Perlin, a French writer of the sixteenth century, bears testimony to their excellence in philosophy, and mentions two Scotchmen of his acquaintance at Paris 'who had the books of Aristotle at their fingers' ends;' and Sir Thomas Urquhart, a later writer, after mentioning a Scotch professor in the University of Saumur who spoke fluently both Greek and Latin, proceeds to state that the result of the Scotch being in general more concerned about the knowledge of things than about the propriety of language, has been that there are among them forty professors of philosophy for one master of languages. He also mentions that the superiority of the Scotch in all matters of philosophy was recognised throughout the whole of France, and that a marked preference was given, in competitions for professorships, to those who had been trained in the Scotch system.

Many eminent Scotchmen taught in the famous University of Guienne, in the town of Bordeaux. The earliest and most celebrated of these was the accomplished George Buchanan, who studied at Paris and at St Andrews, and was first Professor in the College of St Barbe, and afterwards in that of Guienne, where his duty was to teach the Latin language, and where he composed four tragedies and various other poems. He remained three years at Bordeaux, and afterwards went to Paris, where he exercised the functions of Regent in the College of Cardinal Lemoine. Subsequently, he visited Portugal in company with his friend Govea, who had been appointed Administrator of the University of Coimbra. There, his accustomed freedom of

speech involved him in considerable danger, and he was imprisoned for two years in a monastery. After recovering his liberty, he was appointed Regent of the College of Boncourt, and in 1555, the Marshal de Brissac appointed him tutor to his son Timoleon de Cossé. In this situation he remained until 1560, when he finally left France and returned to Scotland. The first edition of his famous version of the Psalms appeared in 1556; and in the same year he published an edition of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, dedicated to Marguerite, daughter of Henry II. of France, a princess who was fond of literature, and with whom Buchanan appears to have been a favourite.

In the seventeenth century, another university—that of Bourges, in the centre of France—attracted a good many Scotchmen. The greater number of these were Roman Catholics, who came there chiefly to study civil law under the celebrated Cujas. Among them was Alexander Scott, a native of Aberdeen, who published an edition of the entire works of Cujas; William Barclay, an excellent civilian, and afterwards Professor in the University of Angers; and William Drummond of Hawthornden. It was during his prolonged residence on the Continent, that the last-named gentleman formed the valuable collection of the ancient classics, and also of the best authors of France, Spain, and Italy, which he subsequently presented to the University of Edinburgh.

At a much later date, we find a Scotchman settled in Paris, who enjoyed a great celebrity both in the literary and fashionable world. His name was Quentin Crawford, born at Kilwinning, in Ayrshire, in 1743. He spent thirty years of his life in Paris, and used frequently to say, 'One may make a fortune in any country; but to enjoy it, one must come to Paris.' He had acquired great wealth in early life in the East, and spent his time in Paris in literary pursuits, in forming a magnificent collection of pictures and statues, and in receiving in his hotel the best society of the capital. In 1790, he published in London, 'Sketches relating to the History, Learning, and Manners of the Hindoos,' which was translated into French soon afterwards by Comte de Montesquieu. Queen Marie Antoinette had a great friendship for Mr Crawford, who had many interviews with her in 1791 and 1792, when the shadows of the sad fate that was soon to overtake her were darkening and closing round her path. His known intimacy with the queen rendered it dangerous for him to remain in Paris during the sanguinary drama of the French Revolution, and he took refuge successively in Brussels, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and Vienna. Shortly before his enforced departure from Paris, he published, in English, a curious history of the Bastille, which he afterwards translated

into French. He returned to his beloved Paris after the storms of the Revolution had calmed; but found that the superb collection, which he had taken so much pains to form, had been dispersed and sold during his absence. Undismayed, however, by this reverse, he immediately set about forming a new one, and in doing so was singularly successful. The most interesting part of this second collection was a series of portraits of all the most celebrated personages—both men and women—in French history. Mr Crawford had the good fortune to enjoy the friendship of the Empress Josephine, as he had formerly that of Marie Antoinette; and to her influence, and that of M. Talleyrand, he owed the privilege accorded to him of remaining in Paris, when all other subjects of Great Britain had been ordered to quit it, after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. In 1803, he published ‘*Essays upon French Literature*,’ in two volumes; and in 1810, a volume entitled, ‘*Historical and Literary Miscellanies*,’ in which were published for the first time the Memoirs of Madame du Hausset, femme de chambre of Madame Pompadour. His last work was published in London in 1817, under the title of ‘*Researches concerning the Laws, Theology, Learning, Commerce, etc., of Ancient and Modern India*.’ He died in Paris two years afterwards, at the ripe age of 76.

We have hitherto made but few quotations from the pages of M. Michel. In his concluding remarks, he sums up, with considerable eloquence and laudable impartiality, the results of the long and close alliance between France and Scotland; and we cannot better close our notice of his book, or convey a more favourable idea of his style, than by translating his observations upon the influence of the Scottish philosophy on that of France:—

‘The Scottish philosophy’—he says—‘has exercised in France a more wide-spread influence than might, at first sight, be believed; and, strange to say, it has served successively to prepare the way for the scepticism of the eighteenth, and the eclecticism of the nineteenth century. Hume, in declaring war against “an abstruse philosophy, that seems to have served hitherto only as a shelter to superstition, and a cover to absurdity and error,” and reducing to a simple succession of phenomena that idea of cause and effect which is, as it were, the corner stone of psychology and theology, inaugurated in these two sciences the spirit of criticism, analysis, and doubt, which Voltaire, Diderot, and their rivals, carried, at a later period, into the study of history and religious antiquities; besides, although Hume was suspected by the writers of the 18th century of having still retained some relics of superstition, Joseph le Maistre, whose perspicacity and authority in such a matter none assuredly will deny, has characterized him as “the most dangerous, perhaps, and the most

culpable of those baleful writers who will not cease to condemn the last age in the estimation of posterity: he who has employed the greatest talents with the greatest sang-froid in order to do evil." We ask, then, if Hume had not been, under a variety of aspects, the initiator of these *baleful writers*,—if, in repeating philosophical tradition, he had not shown them the possibility of denying or combating religious tradition, would Joseph le Maistre have spoken of him in terms so severe?

'Fortunately for the reputation of the Scotch, the successors of Hume have not followed him in the perilous path on which he had ventured; enlightened by the attacks, often exaggerated, but sometimes well founded, which he had directed against the dogmatic philosophy, Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart made it a point of honour to repair the wrong done by their countryman to philosophical studies. Like Socrates in ancient times, they made philosophy descend from heaven upon earth, and comprehended the necessity of giving her a more solid foundation, by the profound study of those faculties of the human understanding which Hume had accused of impotency: they showed that if man may wander when he seeks the solution of the most complicated problems, he is at least sure of arriving at truth and certainty when he restricts the circle of his speculations within the limits of psychology and ethics. In this way, the philosophers of Edinburgh became the promoters of the spiritualist renovation which took place in France in the beginning of the nineteenth century. M. Royer-Collard, in making us acquainted with the works of the Scotch school, which he supported by the vigour of his concise and manly eloquence, dethroned the sensualism of Condillac and of Laromiguière, which for a long time seemed to enjoy an undisputed empire. Soon after, his disciple, M. Cousin, rendered a brilliant homage to the talents and the influence of Thomas Reid and of Dugald Stewart, when he said, in his preface to the works of Maine de Biran, "I spring from the Scotch, and from Germany." Such an avowal would, alone, suffice to prove, that if Scotland was formerly indebted to us for her civilisation, she has since paid the debt with usury.'