

CHAPTER IX.

THE SCOTS IN AUSTRIA.

St. Colman--The Scottish Bands in Bohemia--Colonels Gray, Edmonds, Hepburn, etc.--The four Counts Leslie.

CURIOSLY enough, an ancient Scottish pilgrim, called St. Colman in the Roman Breviary, is the apostle of Austria. When proceeding on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he reached Stockheraw, on the Danube, six miles from Vienna, where the inhabitants, believing him to be a spy, tortured him to death on the 13th October, 1012. He was canonised by Gregory IX, became honoured in Austria as the tutelary saint of the country, where several churches were founded in his honour, and—according to the *Atlas Geographicus*—in Vienna there was still (in 1711) a Scottish house or convent, “founded for the reception of Scotsmen in their pilgrimages to the Holy Land”—a fashion surely past at that period.

The Princess Eleanor Stuart, second daughter of the illustrious James I, was married to Sigismund, Duke of Austria, who came again to Scotland with Mary of Gueldres, in 1449. She had all her father's love of literature, and translated the romance of *Ponthus et Sidoyne* into German for the amusement of her husband.

In May, 1620, the drums of Sir Andrew Gray (designed sometimes of Broxmouth) were beating

up for recruits to follow him to the Bohemian wars against the Emperor of Germany, and he formed a camp on the Monkrig in Haddingtonshire, where he was joined by Sir John Hepburn of Athelstaneford and other gallant soldiers of fortune. Sir Andrew Gray figures frequently in history during the reign of James VI. Being a Catholic, he was obnoxious to the Church, and in 1594, as "Captain Andrew Gray," was classed among "Papists and traitors" in the *Book of the Universall Kirk*; and at the battle of Glenlivet, as "colonel," he commanded the Earl of Huntly's artillery. (*Wodrow*.) A letter of Lady Margaret Setoun's, dated 19th May, 1620, states that "Coronell Gray, his captains and their men of weir, are all going to Bohemia the xx. of this instant." (*Eglinton Memorials*.)

On being recruited by 150 moss-troopers, captured by the Warden of the Middle Marches, for turbulence on the Border, Sir Andrew Gray, on finding that his force amounted to 1,500 men, embarked at Leith and sailed for Holland, *en route* for Bohemia, in the Protestant cause, which was also the cause of the son-in-law of the King of Scotland, the cowardly Elector Palatine, and they were conducted, by way of Frankfort, with the aid of Henry Frederick, Prince of Nassau, to escape the Marquis of Spinola, who was hovering on another route to cut them off.

Though aware that the Spaniards and Germans, under the Archduke, under Spinola, and others, were about to invade the Palatinate, James VI remained strangely apathetic. Thus the Protestants of Scotland and Eng-

land were indignant—of the former kingdom all the more so as the people considered the good and gentle Princess Elizabeth one of themselves. Thus Sir Andrew Gray, though “a ranke Papist,” as he is called by Calderwood, drew his sword in her cause.

Under Sir Horace Vere, who had served with distinction in that desperate affair at Sluys, when under Count Wilhelm, “the old Scots Regiment led the van of battle,” some 200 English volunteers sailed from Gravesend two months after the Scots had led the way, and these combined British auxiliaries joined a part of the Bohemian army, consisting of 10,000 men, the Margrave of Anspach not having mustered his entire force.

In September the Duke of Bavaria and Spinola took the field to enforce the Imperial authority; and, in the campaigns which ensued, young Hepburn, by his own valour, when in his twentieth year, became captain of a company of pikes in Sir Andrew Gray’s band, and, prior to the fatal battle of Prague, had the special duty of guarding the King of Bohemia.

Among his comrades was one named Edmonds, son of a baker in Stirling, who on one occasion, with his sword in his teeth, swam the Danube, where it was both deep and rapid, stole past the Austrian lines, and, favoured by the gloom of a dark night, penetrated into the heart of the Imperial camp. There, by equal strategy and personal strength, he gagged and brought off as prisoner Charles de Longueville, the great Count de Bengnoi, recrossed the stream, and presented him as a prisoner to the Prince of Orange, then an ally of the Elector-King of Bohemia.

For this deed he was at once made colonel. He amassed great wealth in these wars, and in the decline of life returned to die in his native town, where he built a handsome manse for the parish minister, and, in memory of his father, placed in the eastern gable thereof the bakers' arms in stone—three *piels*—which remained there till 1710; and to his daughter, who married Sir Thomas Livingstone, Bart., of Westquarter, he left a magnificent fortune. (*Douglas Peerage.*)

This was, no doubt, the same Colonel Edmonds who is referred to as serving at the defence of Ostende, eighteen years before. We are told that when the States-General reviewed the garrison the commands were assigned to “Colonel Dorp, a Dutchman; Colonel Edmonds, a Scotsman; and Hertoin, a Frenchman; while Sir Francis Vere, with the former garrison, joined the army under Prince Maurice.” (Russell's *Modern Europe*, vol. iii.)

Three Haigs—Robert, George, and James—sons of John Haig of Beimerside, served in these wars. Their mother, Elizabeth Macdougall of Stodrig, had been nurse to the Princess Elizabeth in Falkland; and all died in their armour fighting for her on the plains of Bohemia.

By this time the battle of Prague had been fought on the 8th November, 1620. There Gray's Scots guarded the King of Bohemia; there the latter, in one day, by his kinsman Maximilian of Bavaria, was stripped of the Bohemian crown and Electoral hat, and 4,000 Bohemians were slain. Then, in grim earnest, began the terrible Thirty Years' War; while the timid Elector fled to Silesia, and finally to France—in his flight and terror

leaving behind his queen, the Scottish princess, who was protected and carried off on his own horse by Ensign Hopkin, a young officer of pikes, in the band of Sir Horace Vere. She was conveyed by him to Breslau. (*Memoirs of the Queen of Bohemia*, 2 vols.)

In 1622, under Colonels Sir Andrew Gray, Henderson, younger of Fordel, Captains Hepburn and Hume, the Scottish bands transferred the scene of their services to Bergen-op-Zoom, the great fortress which bars the way to Spanish Brabant, and which they defended with heroic valour. In the summer of that year it was invested by Spinola, who left 30,000 men to keep the conquered Palatinate in awe. Borgia attacked the fortress on the north, Baglioni on the south, but the Scottish pikemen hurled them from the breaches. There, Colonel Henderson was slain, and then "old Morgan with his English brigade gave them their hands full, for it is a great disadvantage for living bodies to fight against dead walls." (*Atlas Ge.*, 1711.) After firing above 200,000 cannon-shot, Spinola, on the approach of Prince Maurice, abandoned a siege which had cost him 12,000 men.

The Protestant religion was now crushed in Bohemia. The Scottish bands had joined Count Mansfeldt, to keep whose army out of Flanders Spinola met it in battle at Fleura, in Hainault, in August, 1622; and though the Scots, under Gray, Hepburn, Hume, and Sir James Ramsay, evinced the greatest bravery, the Spaniards remained masters of the field. Mansfeldt's army fell to pieces in the following year, and the remnant of his Scots who had survived the war in Bohemia turned to seek another banner

under Hepburn and others. The veteran Sir Andrew returned to Scotland.

In 1624 he was seeking military employment in London from King James VI. He usually wore buff and armour, even in time of peace; and the timid monarch never saw the grim veteran without emotions of uneasiness, for, in addition to his long sword and formidable dagger, he always wore a pair of iron pistols in his girdle. On one occasion the king, seeing him thus accoutred, "told him merrily he was now so well fortified that if he were but well victualled he would be impregnable."

The year 1634 saw some Scots taking a prominent part in the fall of the great Wallenstein. When the daring ambition of the latter led him to think of dismembering the great Empire, it was crushed when he was spending his Christmas holidays in the old Castle of Egra, in Bohemia—a place then fortified by a treble wall. The garrison was commanded by John Gordon, a Presbyterian, a native of Aberdeenshire, who, from being a private soldier, had risen to the colonelcy of Tzertski's regiment; while Wallenstein's private escort consisted of 250 men of James Butler's Irish Regiment, commanded by that officer in person.

The latter, with Colonel Gordon and Major Walter Leslie, son of the laird of Balquhain, in the Garioch, on receiving secret orders from Vienna, resolved to put the ambitious general to death. The Scots were both Presbyterians; but Butler, a Catholic, made some remarks expressive of admiration of Wallenstein.

"You may do as you please," said Gordon, grimly; "but

death itself can alone alienate me from the duty and affection I bear his Majesty the Emperor."

Various modes of removing Wallenstein were suggested, and the last adopted was a resolution to slay him and his friends at a banquet to which they were invited. All the avenues were blocked up by troops. The feast was protracted to half-past ten at night, and Wallenstein had retired, when Colonel Gordon filled a goblet with wine, and proposed the health of the cunning Elector of Saxony, the chief enemy of the Emperor.

Butler affected astonishment, pretended high words ensued, and while the friends of the fated Wallenstein looked about them in perplexity the hall doors were dashed in, and two Irishmen, Geraldine and Deveron, with their armed soldiers, rushed in with shouts of "Long live Ferdinand the Second!" Then Butler, Gordon, and Leslie seized up each a candle and drew their swords.

Wallenstein and his friends snatched their weapons, the tables were thrown over, and a deadly combat began. Defending himself in a corner, Colonel Tzertzski slew three.

"Leave me for a moment," he cried; "leave me to deal with Leslie and Gordon hand-to-hand, and then kill me; but oh, Gordon, what a supper is this for your friends!"

He was hewn to pieces, together with the young Duke of Lerida and others; while Deveron and thirty soldiers rushed to the bedchamber of Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland and Prince of the Vandal Isles, who, finding escape by the lofty window impossible, turned to face his

destroyers—in his shirt, pale, defenceless, for Schiller asserts that he was disturbed in the study of astrology.

By one thrust of his partisan into his heart the Irishman slew him, though his soldiers shrunk back appalled; and then his naked body, with those of Colonels Kinkski, Illo Niemann, and Tzertzski, were carried through the streets of Egra and flung into a ditch. So perished the great dictator of Germany!

Butler was made a count, Deveron a colonel, Gordon was created a marquis of the Empire, colonel-general of the Imperial army and high chamberlain of Austria; while Leslie, who was then a captain of the Bodyguard, was created Count Leslie and Lord of Neustadt, an estate worth 200,000 florins. He died at Vienna, field-marshal, governor of Slavonia, and Knight of the Golden Fleece, in 1667-8. There is an engraving of him by Kilion, dated 1637, which states that he was ambassador from Austria to the Sultan Mahomet IV. This embassy was so magnificent that Father Taffernier, a Jesuit, wrote a particular account of it.

Butler bequeathed £3,300 to the Scottish and Irish colleges in Prague.

The famous Marquis of Montrose was in Austria in 1647 after his defeat at Philiphaugh. In summer he was in Prague with the Emperor Ferdinand, who offered him a commission as marshal, and appointed him colonel of a regiment, with power to appoint all the officers; but he seems to have declined this honour, and proceeded to the Netherlands, prior to raising the king's standard once more in Scotland.

The Leslie who figured in the Wallenstein tragedy on his death was succeeded in his titles and estates by a son of Count Patrick Leslie, James, who gave timely succour to Vienna when besieged by the Turks, and gave to the flames the town and wooden bridge of Essek (amid the marshes of Austrian Slavonia) when defended by the Turks, for which he was made a privy councillor and president of the Imperial Council of War.

Patrick, Count Leslie, twelfth of the line of Balquhain, was privy councillor to James VII, and entailed his estate in 1698. (*Shaw's Index.*)

Four counts of the Empire sprang from the family of Balquhain, whose old castle of that name, a noble square keep, erected in 1530, to replace a more ancient fortress burned by the Fortresses in 1526, still stands in the Garioch. (*Aberd. Coll.*, 4to.)

Some Scottish adventurers took part in the recapture of Buda from the Turks in 1636—among them, notably, Sir Arthur Forbes, of the Corse family, first Earl Granard, who so zealously espoused the royal cause in Scotland; George Hay, from Scotland, and “Lord Quberry (*sic*), from Scotland,” whose name was referred to in the recent Buda bi-centenary. The last given is some strange misspelling, as sent by the *chargé d'affaires* to the *Standard*, in August, 1886.

In 1735, John, eighteenth Earl of Crawford, joined the Imperial army at Bruschal on the Salzbach. He had previously been in the Scots Greys, 7th Dragoons, and Scots Guards; but finding there was no chance of distinction, when the provincial prejudices of the English and the enmity of the court were so high against Scotsmen, he re-

signed in disgust, and was received with every mark of honour by Prince Eugene of Savoy, under whom Hugh, Viscount Primrose (of Rosebery), and Captain Dalrymple were also serving as volunteers. The three served in that expedition in October, in which their force was assailed by thrice its numbers, and when the Count of Nassau was slain and Primrose was severely wounded in the head. The same afternoon was fought the battle of Claussen, in which Lord Crawford greatly distinguished himself, and the French were driven across the Moselle.

After taking a term of service with the Russian army, under Count Munich, and shining on more than one occasion in single combat with the Tartar horsemen, he rejoined the Austrians at Belgrade, and went to winter quarters with Prince Eugene's regiment at Comorra, where he employed himself till 1739 in drawing military plans.

Under Marshal Wallace he was at the battle of Krotzka, near Belgrade, where, when leading a charge of Count Palfi's cuirassiers, on the 22nd July, 1739, his favourite black charger was shot under him, and his left thigh was shattered by a musket-ball. General Count Luchiesie now ordered some grenadiers to place him on horseback, but they were compelled to leave him, and the gallant earl was found next morning by his own grooms in a deplorable condition, his face pale as death, but his hands still grasping the mane of his dead charger.

They bore him to Belgrade, but he never fully recovered from the effect of his wound, though the bullet was extracted at Comorra on the Danube, to which place he sailed. This was in February, 1740. Proceeding up the river, he

was conveyed to Vienna, where he arrived on the 7th May, still in a recumbent position, for pieces of fractured bone were continually coming away.

He was able to walk on crutches for the first time in September, and removed to the baths at Baden, where he remained till August, 1741. *Viâ* Vienna and Hanover he reached the fortified town of Hameln on the Weser, where he chanced to have an interview with George II, who was struck with his military enthusiasm, and prevailed upon him to resume his duties in the British army, in which, in the July of 1739, he had been gazetted colonel and captain of the Scots Horse Grenadier Guards, and afterwards to the Fourth or Scots Troop of Life Guards—all of which he commanded in brigade at Dettingen and Fontenoy. But he never recovered from his wounds received at Krotzka, and died in 1749, first colonel of the Black Watch.



CHAPTER X.

THE SCOTS IN AUSTRIA—(*Concluded.*)

Earl of Crawford—Field-Marshal Baron Loudon—Generals Grant and Reid—Colonel Caldwell—Counts Hamilton and Lockhart—Colonels Stuart and Fowler—Baron Fyfe.

IN 1742 the famous Baron Loudon joined the Austrian service. Born in 1716 at Tootzen, in Livonia, he was descended from the Loudons of that ilk, an important old Ayrshire family, a member of whom settled in the vicinity of Riga, where his bravery and achievements won him fiefs and honours, of which his successors were dispossessed by Charles XII of Sweden, after the peace of Oliva. During the reign of Charles XII the forfeited Loudons betook them again to the sword; one became a captain in the Royal Swedish Guards, and his nephew, Gideon Ernest Loudon, joined first, in his fifteenth year, the Russian infantry as a cadet, and made his first essay in arms when the war of the Double Election caused such a stir in Northern Europe. He served with the blockading force at Dantzic, and in 1734 his regiment formed part of the army sent by the Empress Anne to spread terror in Germany, till the peace of Vienna enabled Count Munich, with Lacy and others, to engage in barbarous wars elsewhere, and in the conquest of the Crimea as already detailed. On the reduction of the army, Lieutenant Loudon offered his

services to Maria Theresa, the empress-queen, and in passing through Berlin met several Scots with whom he had served under Munich, who urged him to join the King of Prussia. The latter affronted him by some slighting remark, so Loudon took service in Austria, and became in future wars the most formidable enemy Prussia had met in the field, and to attempt to detail his achievements would far exceed our limits.

He obtained a command in Baron Trenck's corps of Free Pandours, and was at the storming of Rheinmark, when they put the garrison to the sword, and the invasion of Lorraine, where terrible deeds were done. Loudon in disgust quitted the regiment of Trenck and was ten years on garrison duty in Croatia, where he became colonel of Croats in 1757, and distinguished himself at Hirschfeld, on the frontiers of Bohemia.

When in Croatia he spent much of his time in the study of geography and fortification. Having once obtained a great map of Germany, he spread it on the floor, and was found poring over it by his wife, Clara de Hagen, a Hungarian lady.

"My dear Major," said she, "still, as ever, busy with these horrid plans and maps."

"They will be of service to me, my dear Clara, when I obtain the bâton of a field-marshal of Austria."

Then she laughed, for Loudon was then only in his thirty-eighth year, and the bâton he referred to seemed remote indeed.

He served at the battle of Rosbach, and in all the operations of what was known as the "combined army" of French

and Austrians, to clear Saxony of the Prussians. Though daily exposed to danger for years, a bullet-wound received at Zalern was the only one suffered by Loudon in his long and arduous career.

In May, Frederick invested Olmutz, which was defended by General Marshal, a Scotsman, while Loudon with Count Daun cut off the Prussian supplies. The siege was pressed by Marshal Keith, and Loudon was made lieutenant-field-marshal and Knight of Maria Theresa; but the siege, as we have told elsewhere, was abandoned, and Frederick had to oppose the Russians under Generals Brown and Fermor, two Scotsmen, whom he ultimately drove into Poland.

Loudon, now a baron, proved one of the most famous leaders in the Seven Years' War, and the Count de Wallace was colonel of his special regiment, the Loudon Fusiliers, which they both led at the storming of Schwednitz in 1761. Previous to the attack he promised the stormers 100,000 florins to take the place without pillage.

"No, no!" cried the Walloon grenadiers; "lead on, Father Loudon; we shall follow to glory, but take no money from you."

Then Count Wallace, colonel of the Loudon Fusiliers, after being twice repulsed by two battalions of the regiment of Treskow, said:

"I must win or die! *I promised Loudon—remember our regiment bears his name, and must conquer or perish!*"

He again led them on, and the place was won.

In this war one Austrian column under Loudon was led by a General Grant, another of Prussians under Fred-

erick was led by General Read, also a Scotsman (see Smollett's *Hist.*, vol. vii, etc.). At Schwednitz there fell Colonel Hume Caldwell (of an old Ayrshire stock) in his 27th year. In 1769 he was Aulic Councillor of War and general commanding in Moravia.

In 1778 Loudon was full marshal of the Empire, and ten years after led the armies along the frontiers of Croatia and Bosnia till he captured Belgrade. In the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for September 19, 1788, we have the following :

“On the 16th August the emperor arrived at Panczova with a detachment of 40,000 men from the main army. On reaching Jabuka he ordered the troops to halt, and made a short harangue, exhorting them to persevere to the last in the glorious cause they had undertaken to defend. On this occasion the troops, with shouts of patriotic joy, assured his Majesty they would perish to a man rather than lay down their arms till the House of Austria was restored to its just rights. On the 17th the army marched in three columns for Cubin.

“General Loudon took command of the Imperial army from General de Vins on the 18th August, and on the following days the Turks made attempts to force the lines, but were saluted with so heavy a fire as to oblige them to desist, leaving behind them 20 men and 25 horses killed.”

In 1790 he died in the midst of his fame—the greatest general of the eighteenth century—and was buried at his estate of Haderdorf in a marble sarcophagus he had brought from Belgrade.

“Therein he now lies in peace, shaded by some stately

old trees, in the centre of a green meadow. His funeral monument, which is one of great magnificence, is securely walled round, and among the sculpture with which the Austrian government adorned it can still be traced the shield *argent* charged with three escutcheons *sable*, the old heraldic cognisance which the Londons of that Ilk bore on their pennons in the wars of the Scottish kings."

In 1746 an Austrian squadron, consisting of eleven sail, under a Scottish Captain Forbes, was active in the operations of the war under Maria Theresa, and when the Irish Count Brown at Nice was waiting with the King of Sardinia in consultation as to their combined operations, Forbes brought over the whole Austrian artillery from Genoa for the bombardment and capture of Mont Albano; and in these wars Sir William Gordon of Park, in Banffshire, who had escaped after Culloden, and been lieutenant-colonel in Lord Ogilvie's regiment, for his services to the Emperor of Germany, and perhaps influenced by the fact that Sir William's mother was the widow of George, Count Leslie of Balquhain—won for him and his heirs the rank of first-class nobes in Hungary. (*Burke.*) He died at Douay, 1751.

Regarding the count's family, the *Edinburgh Courant* for 1761 records the following:

"The appeal of Charles Cajetan, Count Leslie, and Antonio, Count Leslie, his son, relative to the estate of Balquhain, determined by the House (of Peers) in favour of Mr. Grant, complained of two interlocutors of the Court of Session repelling certain objections on the part of these German counts against the proof led at Vienna by the said

Peter Leslie Grant, of the place of their birth and religion, importing that, being aliens and Roman Catholics, they could not succeed by the laws of this country to any heritage, but that the same does, of course, descend to the next Protestant heir."

In the middle of the last century Anthony, Count Hamilton, was lieutenant-general and captain-lieutenant of the noble German Guard of the Empire, grand bailie, minister plenipotentiary, privy-councillor, and receiver of the Order of the Knights of Malta. He died at Vienna, 24th March, 1776.

Twenty-six years afterwards there died an Austrian-Scot of great note in those days, James Lockhart Wishart of Lee and Carnwath, whose monument, erected near Mount Marl, on his estate of Dryden, at Lasswade, records that he was "Lord of the Bedchamber to his Imperial Majesty Joseph II, Emperor of Germany, Knight of the Order of Maria Theresa, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, and General of the Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Armies. Died at Pisa, 6th February MDCCXC, in the LXIV. year of his age." His uncle, Captain Philip Lockhart, was taken prisoner at Preston in 1715, and barbarously shot in cold blood by the troops of General Willis. Count Lockhart was succeeded by his son Charles, a minor; but Dryden since then has passed to other families.

In 1799, when Vienna was menaced by the French, but saved from impending peril by the Treaty of Leoben, the citadel was garrisoned by two strong battalions of the regiment of Stuart, of whom we know only the name, unless we can connect him with the noble family of Rohen-

start. There died at Dunkeld of the effects of a mail-coach accident, 28th October, 1854, Charles Edward Stuart, Count Rohenstart, a general in the Austrian army, in his 73rd year.

In 1809 a Scottish officer, General Fowler, who was equerry to the empress, was wounded severely and taken prisoner at the battle of Wagram by the French on the 6th of July; and in 1826 Baron John Fyfe, a native of Edinburgh, of whom we know only the name, died at Vienna far advanced in years.

There was also Colonel Graham (a brother of Gartmore), who lived—and, we believe, died—in St. Bernard's Crescent, Edinburgh, who in 1854 was a marshal-de-camp in the Austrian army, and had a horse shot under him in the war against Kossuth and other Hungarian patriots. He was a Knight of the Order of Maria Theresa.

In 1779 Joseph, Count Murray of Melgum and Bart. of Nova Scotia, was counsellor of state, lieutenant-general of the armies of the emperor, general-commandant and captain-general of the Low Countries.

In that year his daughter Theresa was married at Brussels to James, seventh Earl of Findlater and fourth Earl of Seafield. (Wood's *Douglas*, fol.)

Count Joseph's son, Albert, born in 1774, married the Countess Almeria Esterhazy von Galantha, and the family still exists in Austria.

All these instances serve to show how our people won, by their worth, their probity, and valour, high honours, which, by adverse influence and political events, were denied them in the land of their forefathers.