

THE SCOTISH TROOPS IN THE SERVICE OF
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

IN the year 1626, a regiment was levied in the north of Scotland by Mackay, Lord Reay, for the service of the King of Denmark; and in 1629, at the conclusion of the war, after performing many acts and travelling about 900 Dutch miles, throughout two unsuccessful campaigns against the imperialists, it received an honourable discharge. It then enlisted under the banners of Gustavus Adolphus, the royal heir of Sweden; and was soon after incorporated with three other regiments into a national brigade. Great numbers of Scottish and English officers and mercenaries, both before and after this event, were attracted by Gustavus's bounty and fame; and they made a prominent figure in his wars, and contributed largely to many of his most brilliant successes. The brigade which comprised Mackay's regiment, amounted to upwards of 2,000 men; and other brigades of British soldiers of fortune were formed which raised the entire number of British troops under Gustavus to about 10,000. And if we may judge from the officers, the great majority of these were Scots; for while so many as thirty-five colonels and fifty lieutenant-colonels were Scots, only three colonels were English. All were incorporated with Gustavus's ordinary army; and acted as strictly under his own orders, or under those of his marshals, as if they had been Swedish subjects; and they displayed a fidelity, a constancy, and a heroism quite as distinguished as are usually found in armies of patriots fighting for the protection of their own hearths and the liberties of their native land. The original brigade, in particular, was generally one of the most zealous and efficient corps in all the army; it achieved wonders of both endurance and performance in some of the most notable crises of the campaigns; it was elastic under privations and mighty in assaults

and stormings; and it bore a large and very efficient part in the great victory of Leipsic which opened to the conquering Swede the whole of Germany, from the Baltic to the Rhine, and from the mouth of the Oder to the sources of the Danube.

When Gustavus invaded Germany, another British force, paid with British money, and kept much more distinct than the other, crossed the German ocean from Britain to his aid. This consisted of 6,000 men; and was secretly furnished by Charles I. of Britain, with the view of procuring the restitution of the palatinate; but, in order that Charles might have the appearance of preserving a neutrality in the war, it was levied, maintained, and put into co-operation with the Swedish army in the name of the Marquis of Hamilton, as if he had been an independent prince. A charge was brought against the Marquis by Lord Ochiltree, his hereditary enemy, that a design was on foot, and had been communicated to Lord Reay on the Continent, to raise the Marquis to the throne of Britain when his army should return from Germany; and this occasioned a delay in the expedition, but ended in the complete exculpation of the Marquis, and in the punishment of Lord Ochiltree for leasing-making. The Marquis's force was disembarked on the banks of the Oder; and a report speedily spread through the neighbouring country that it amounted to 20,000; and this report occasioned the detaching of a powerful body from the imperial army to meet it, and, by the consequent weakening of Tilly's strength, contributed materially to Gustavus's splendid and momentous victory of Leipsic. The Marquis's force afterwards co-operated with the Swedes in the recovery of Magdeburgh, and in other important achievements; but it gradually became much reduced by pestilence and slaughter, and was eventually incorporated with Gustavus's army.

The Marquis of Hamilton now solicited from Gustavus the restoration of the palatinate; but could not obtain his consent except on terms which would have made the palati-

nate an hereditary province of Sweden, and reduced the elector to the condition of a vassal. Gustavus seems not to have had a high opinion of the Marquis's importance, or of the value of his services, and paid little deference to his judgment, and thought him too young, too inexperienced, and too fiery to be able to make a good use of any supreme military command. The Marquis, on the other hand, cherished very lofty notions about himself, and was impatient of control, and could not endure the position of a subordinate; and he therefore gave up his connexion with Gustavus in disgust, and set out for Britain a few weeks before Gustavus's death at the great victory of Lutzen.

The Marquis's soldiers, however, continued to adhere to the Swedish standard; and both they and the other British brigades shared in the fortunes of the Swedish generals after Gustavus's death, and were occasionally recruited with fresh adventurers from their native land; and many of them eventually returned to Britain, highly experienced in the military art, warmly attached to the principles of religious liberty, hotly zealous against the political domination or encroachments of Roman Catholicity, and therefore every way qualified and ready to act a conspicuous part in the dissensions and civil wars of this country, from the time of Charles the First's rupture with the English parliament till the epoch of the Revolution; and not a few of their officers held high posts, and exerted powerful influence, in the armies of the Covenanters and the Cromwellians.

Robert Monro, who was at first a lieutenant in Mackay's regiment, and who afterwards rose to the rank of Colonel, published in 1637 a small folio volume of 354 pages, describing the career of that regiment in a long series of services, "first under the magnanimous King of Denmark during his wars against the emperor, afterwards under the invincible King of Sweden during his Majesty's life-time, and since under the Director-General the Rex-Chancellor Oxensterne

and his generals." This work is graphic, perspicacious, and fine-spirited far beyond most military and historical works of the 17th century; and besides fully narrating the fortunes of the particular regiment to whom it was devoted, it affords instructive glances at all the British brigades under the Swedish flag, and charmingly illustrates the peculiar character of our countrymen in the capacity of mercenary soldiers, and largely, though incidentally and unwittingly, depicts the training through which many of them passed for afterwards performing high deeds as patriots at home. We once thought of presenting our readers with a digest of the volume,—but we suspect the spirit and manner of Monro will be felt almost as interesting as his matter; and we now prefer to make four extracts, which may be taken as a good specimen of the whole, and which fully describe four events,—the perilous landing of Monro's battalion at Dantzic on its way to join Gustavus's army, the taking of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, the battle of Leipsic, and the battle of Lutzen; and we shall not take much further liberty with them than to correct the punctuation and modernize the spelling.

The Adventures of a Scottish Battalion in Pomerania.

“The twelfth of August, 1630, having received his Excellency's orders the Rex-Chancellor, for to ship my soldiers at Pillau in Prussia, and from thence to transport them unto Dutchland, towards Wolgast in Pomerania, in obedience to the orders, having divided the companies at Pillau, my own company, Captain Hector Monro's, and Captain Bullion's company, were put, with myself, in a ship of his Majesty's called the Lilly-Nichol; the other three companies, (viz.), Major Senott's, Captain John Monro's and Lermond's were put on another ship of his Majesty called the Hound, our horses and baggage being put on a small skoote or boat, the wind favouring us, we being victualled for a week, we make

sail from Pillau towards Pomerania, having calm weather for two days. The third day with a strong wind, and a great tempest from the west, we were severed from the fleet, and our ship striking a leak, we were driven into Bornholm Road in Denmark, where the tempest being past, we go ashore to victual our ship anew. The wind favouring us, we weigh anchor again, and setting sail, we take our course towards Wolgast. Being near the coast, the wind contrary, we were not able to double our course, and our ship being leaky, we durst not adventure far from land; and putting forty-eight soldiers to pump continually by turns, they were not able to keep her dry, and being overcharged with much water, though there blew a great wind after us, we made but a slow course. Our resolution was, being turned back, and before the wind, to make for Dantzic, as our best refuge. But keeping so near the land, under night, we bayed within lands, the wind blowing hard, with a great tempest on the shore, being a shallow sandy coast, all sails being up, by eleven o'clock at night we struck on ground. Our ship, old and weak, breaks in the midst below, but kept fast above. Our soldiers coming all above hatches, they were pitifully drenched and wet with the waves, and being in danger of out-washing, they tie themselves with ropes to the ship's sides. Yet two that took a pride in their swimming, (a Dane, and a Scot called Murdoch Piper), thinking by swimming to gain the shore, were both drowned; the mariners setting out one boat after another, were both broken, and they being feeble fellows they lost courage. Thus under the mercy of the raging seas and waves, going higher than the masts over the ship's sides, we patiently attended the Lord's mercy with prayers, till one of the clock the next day; during which time I forced the mariners and soldiers that could best work, having cut the masts and the ends of the cross yards, with deals and the decks of the ship to make a float. Being made, it was tied to the ship within with tows hanging at it which the waves

could carry ashore. The float, thus ready, with strength of men was let down by the ship's side; whereon four of the most courageous soldiers did adventure to go. Some boors ashore having got hold of the tows that were bound to the float, with the help of the waves, draw the float ashore; and being drawn back to the ship, we did continue in this manner ferrying out our soldiers, till at last the most part were landed,—who being landed sought along the coast, and finding a boat, did bring it with horses on a waggon, whereof we made use in landing the rest of our soldiers,—whereof I remained the last, till I saw our armies landed. But our ammunition and baggage being lost, we were in a pitiful fear, being near unto our enemies, and above twenty Dutch miles from his Majesty's army. Being without fix arms, and lacking ammunition, we had nothing to defend us but swords and pikes, and some wet muskets.

“ Our resolution behaved to be short, where having learned of the boors how near the enemy was unto us, I suffered none to go from us, lest we might be discovered to our enemies. After advisement I sent Captain Bullion with a guide to the Captain of the castle of Rougenvalde, belonging to the Duke of Pomerania, offering, if he would furnish us some fix muskets, with some dry ammunition and bullets, we would cut off the enemy that lay in the town, and defend town and castle from the enemy for his Majesty, till such time as his Majesty might relieve us. The proposition so pleased the Captain, that he gave way to my suit, and withal, he, for fear of such suspicion, goes unto the country, having sent a gentleman with ammunition to me, to convey me a secret way unto the castle, where I should receive fifty muskets, my Captain retiring to me, with the gentleman and ammunition. I marched till I came safe to the castle, and then from the castle falling on the town with commanded musketeers, under the command of Captain Bullion, I stayed myself with the reserve. My folks entering the town, the

enemy aloft drew to arms. Thus service began. My party being strongest, some of the enemy shot, the rest got quarters and mercy, our watch duly set, the keys of the town and castle being delivered unto me, my greatest care was then, how to put ourselves in safety against our enemies, being at Colberg within seven miles of us. I begun to learn from those on the castle what passes did lie betwixt us and Colberg. I was told of a little river did lie two miles from us, which was not passable but at one bridge; where I went to recognosce. And finding it was so, I caused them to break off the bridge; where I did appoint a company of boors with arms, and horses by them to watch the pass; and if in case the enemy should pursue them, they had orders from me to defend the pass so long as they could, commanding them also at the first sight of the enemy to advertise me, whereby they might be supplied, and I put on my guard.

“ Being retired from the pass, immediately I did send a boor on horseback, in the night, to acquaint his Majesty of Sweden (the army then lying at Stetin, twenty Dutch miles from us) with the manner of our hard landing, and of our happy success after landing; as likewise desiring to know his Majesty’s will, how I should behave myself in those quarters, the enemy being strong, and I very weak. His Majesty returned for resolution unto me, that I should do my best to fortify and beset the passes that were betwixt me and the enemy, and to keep good watch and good order over the soldiers, and not to suffer them to wrong the country people, whom I should press to keep for my friends. This order being come, I began with the country boors, first to fortify the passages without me, and next to make sconces and redoubts without the town, as also to repair the fortifications about the castle, and in cleansing of the moat, that it might be deeper of water. The other parts also without me, I brought under contribution to his Majesty, by sending parties of dragoniers athwart the country, in Hinder Pomerania, be-

twixt me and Dantzic, being twenty Dutch miles in length; which all in short time I did bring under contribution to his Majesty. As also the enemy having had a magazine of corn at Rougenvalde and Stolpe, by our landing here, was made good for his Majesty's use and his army.

“ Being thus busied for a few days, another ship of the same fleet, being long beaten with the tempest at sea, at last was forced, for scarcity of victuals, to anchor on the same coast, being four hundred men, of Colonel Fretz Rosse's regiment of Dutch. His Lieutenant-Colonel, called Tisme Howsne, did come ashore, entreating me to supply him with victuals, which I did. In the meantime he asked my advice, if he might land his soldiers there. I told him I had no counsel to give him, seeing there was no necessity of his landing, and which was more, his orders were to land at another part, so that he had to advise whether he should follow his orders, or for second respects if he might neglect his orders; so that on all hazards he landed his people also, which were quartered with me in the town. Shortly after, he would contest with me for command, which bred a coldness betwixt us. Whereupon I again advertised his Majesty of our difference, desiring his Majesty might dispose of the command. His Majesty, offended with the other, did send an absolute warrant unto me to command him and the whole garrison at my pleasure, for the weal of his Majesty's service, during our being there, where we remained nine weeks, fighting and skirmishing with the enemy, till Sir John Hepburne with his regiment was sent by his Excellence the Rex-Chancellor from Prussia to relieve us.”

The Taking of Frankfort-on-the-Oder.

“ The twenty-fourth of March, 1631, his Majesty having disposed of his army, in putting them in good order of brigades, horse and foot, through the several occasions and

accidents happening in war, his Majesty before his march, finding the enemy lay strong in the Silesian and at Lansberg, lest he might fall down unto Pomerania and Mark, to disturb the new forces that were expected to come from Prussia and from Scotland, his Majesty directed Field-marshal Horne, with a part of his horse that crossed the bridge at Swede unto Pomerania, and the Wart, to collect the forces there, to be embodied and led towards the Wart and Lansberg, to give the enemy somewhat to think on, while as his Majesty might march with the rest of the army (consisting then of ten thousand foot and horse) towards Frankfort, where, under the command of the Field-marshal Tuffenback and the Grave Fon-Schonberg Governor of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, there were drawn together of the Imperialists near nine thousand foot and horse. General Tilly, with his main army then lying at Rapin, after his return from Brandenburg with two and twenty thousand foot and horse; his Majesty then not being sure neither of his brother-in-law the Duke of Brandenburg, nor yet of the Duke of Saxony, though the league was ended with the King of France; his Majesty's affairs thus standing doubtful, we marched towards Frankfort, with a resolution to pry into the enemy's designs, more than any ways resolved for a beleaguering, having such strong enemies and armies about us, without assurance of our pretended friends and confederates.

“ Yet having continued our march till within a mile of Frankfort, our enemies retiring out of all quarters were come into one body at Frankfort, who having joined, we did hear the enemy was almost as strong within as we were without, and he having of us the advantage of the town behind him for his retreat, we expected no other thing than that the enemy should come out and offer us battle. Wherefore his Majesty himself discharging the duty of a General Major (as became him well) having sought the aid and assistance of Sir John Hepburne, beginneth to put the army, horse, foot, and

artillery, in order of battle. The commanded musketeers, as his forlorn hope, advanced before the army. Having placed platoons of them by fifties, to march with his squadrons of horse, all being in even front, the sign given for advancing, trumpets sounding, drums beating, colours displayed, advanced and flying, every commander directed and appointed on his command and station, the magnificent and royal King leads on. This royal army marching in battle order for half-a-mile, as comely as one body could do, with one pace and one measure, advancing, stopping, moving, and standing alike, till at last coming near the town, and finding no hostile rencontre made by the enemy, we halt standing a while in the ranks, and then resolved, since the enemy durst not meet us in the fields, we would press on the sudden to be masters of Frankfort, or not at all, knowing of the nearness of our enemies, and of the great strength they had together. And seeing we were not sure of the Princes, we resolved the taking of time was the best for us; and incontinent, his Majesty commanded out the most part of his cavalry, to make a caracole behind us, betwixt us and Berlin, fearing General Tilly with his army might come behind us, while we were engaged with the town; keeping only of all the cavalry the Rhinegrave and his regiment, besides the infantry, in case of out-falling, to second us against the horsemen, that were within the town.

“The cavalry thus directed, his Majesty then perceiving the fear of his enemies, having voluntarily fired their fore-town (took their fear as a presage of his future victory) commanded a part of the commanded musketeers to go in, through the fore-town being on fire, and to lodge themselves, being advanced to the very port, till such time as his Majesty should dispose of the rest of the army, in directing every brigade apart to their several posts. The yellow and the blue brigade were directed to lodge in the vineyards on the side of the town next Castrene, being commanded to advance their guards before them, while as the rest of the brigade should

lodge and lie in one body at their arms, to be still in readiness in case of an out-fall; the white brigade, called Damit's brigade, was appointed to lodge in the fore-town, to guard the commanded musketeers that lay betwixt them and the danger, at the port right under the walls. Hepburne's brigade was commanded to lie near unto the other port, and to advance their guards also; the rest of the commanded men to lie near unto the other port, and to advance their guards also. The rest of the commanded musketeers being commanded by Major John Sinclair, were commanded to lie on a height near a church-yard that was direct before the enemy's works, besides which, there was a battery made, and the artillery and ammunition of the army (as commonly was usual) was placed behind our brigade, and the Rhinegrave's horsemen behind us; all things thus ordered and placed, commanded folks out of all brigades were commanded out proportionally for making of cannon baskets, and for casting of trenches.

“ Then, according to custom, his Majesty himself and Colonel Tyvell went to recognosce near the wall, where Colonel Tyvell was shot in the left arm, his Majesty then making openly great moan for him, alleging he had no help then but of Hepburne. In the same instant my lieutenant, David Monro, was shot in the leg with a musket bullet, and my Major, John Sinclair, commanding the commanded musketeers near to his Majesty, where the battery was making. The enemy hanging out a goose in derision, they presently fell out above two hundred of them upon our guard, who received them with volleys of musketry; and they being too strong for the guard, his Majesty commanded the Major to send an officer and fifty musketeers more to second the guard. Nevertheless, the enemy still pushing our guard backwards, making them give ground, incontinent his Majesty commanded the Major, with a hundred musketeers more, to fall on, and to resist the enemy in relieving the guard, which

the Major suddenly obeyed, making the enemy retire with greater haste than he advanced, where their Lieutenant-Colonel and a Captain were taken prisoners. And after the Major taking in a church-yard, that lay right before the enemy's works, and keeping his guard there, he did keep the enemy under awe; so that we were no more troubled with their out-falling, though divers of our officers and soldiers were hurt by them from their works, the church-yard being no shelter for our guard, that lay just under their works.

“ On Sunday, in the morning, being Palm-Sunday, his Majesty with his whole army in their best apparel, served God. His Majesty, after sermon, encouraging our soldiers, wished them to take their evil days they had then in patience, and that he hoped before long to give them better days, in making them drink wine instead of water they were then drinking; and immediately his Majesty gave orders unto General Bannier to command all the brigades to be in readiness with their arms against the next orders. This command given, some of the commanded men that were under Sinclair, suspecting a storm, provided themselves of some ladders. By five of the clock in the afternoon, his Majesty coming towards our brigade, called for a Dutch Captain under Hepburne's regiment, named Guntier, and desired him to put on a light corselet, with his sword drawn in his hand, and to take a sergeant and twelve other good fellows with him, and to wade through the grass, and then to ascend to the top of the wall, and to see if men could be commodiously lodged, betwixt the mud-wall of the town and the stone-wall, and then to retire so suddenly as they might. Which being done, his Majesty getting resolution that there was room betwixt the two walls to lodge men, the brigades being already in array, they fall on at a call, the Captain being retired without hurt. Whereupon his Majesty directed Bannier and Hepburne with our brigade, to pass the grass and to storm, and if they repulsed the enemy from the outward wall, to lodge

under the stone wall, betwixt both the walls, and if the enemy fortun'd to retire to press in with him. The like orders given to the rest of the brigades, all being in readiness, his Majesty having a number of cannon great and small charged on the batteries, caused to give notice at all posts, that when the cannon had discharged, the first salvo in the midst of the smoke, they should advance to the storm, as they did. Where in passing the grass, we were over the middle in water and mud, and ascending to storm the walls, there were strong palisades, so well fastened and fixed in the wall, that if the enemy had not retired from the walls in great fear, we could not without great hazard have entered.

“ The enemy feebly retiring, our commanders and leaders following their orders received from his Majesty, we press to follow in after the enemy, at a great sallying port, that was betwixt both the walls, that opened with two great leaves, where they entered. After their retreat, they planted a flake of small shot, that shot a dozen of shot at once; besides which there were set two pieces of small ordnance, that guarded also the entry, and musketeers besides, which made cruel and pitiful execution on our musketeers and pikemen. The valorous Hepburne leading on the battle of pikes of his own brigade, being advanced within half a pike's length to the door; at the entry he was shot above the knee, that he was lame of before, which dazzling his senses with great pain, forced him to retire, who said to me, ‘ Bully Monro, I am shot,’ whereat I was wondrous sorry. His major, then, a resolute cavalier, advancing to enter, was shot dead before the door, whereupon the pikes falling back and standing still, General Bannier being by, and exhorting all cavaliers to enter, Colonel Lumsdale and I, being both alike on the head of our own colours, he having a partisan in his hand, and I a half pike, with a head-piece, that covered my head, commanding our pikes to advance, we led on shoulder to shoulder, Colonel Lumsdell and I fortunately without hurt, entered the

port, where at our entry some I know received their rest; and the enemy forced to retire in confusion, being astonished at our entry, they had neither wit nor courage as to let down the portcullis of the great port behind them, so that we entering the streets at their heels, we made a stand till the body of our pikes were drawn up orderly, and flanked with musketeers, and then we advanced, our pikes charged, and our musketeers giving fire on the flanks, till the enemy was put in disorder. After us entered General Bannier with a fresh body of musketeers, he following the enemy in one street, and Lumsdell and I in another, having rencountered the enemy again, they being well beaten, our officers took nine colours of theirs, which were to be presented to his Majesty. And the most part of the soldiers were cut off, in revenge of their cruelty used at New Brandenburg; but some of their officers got quarters, such as they had given to ours. This regiment defeated, we directed an officer with a strong party to possess the bridge, and that to hinder their escape. Their passage being cut off, they were also cut down themselves, till the streets were full of dead bodies, and that the most part of our soldiers and officers disbanded to make booty, leaving me and a few number of honest soldiers to guard my colours; which disorder, I confess, stood not in my power to remedy. Thus far for Lumsdell's part and mine, which I dare maintain to be truth.

“ And as I have spoken truth of our own actions, without ostentation, which no man can control that is a friend to virtue, I will now relate other men's actions, so far as I know to be truth by relation of my honest comrades. Lieutenant-Colonel Musten being appointed to command the musketeers of Lumsdell's regiment and of my Colonel's, then under my command, he seeing us entered did follow after us, and commanded those he led on execution apart, giving no better quarters than we did. The Dutch also, remembering the enemy's cruelty used at Brandenburg, they gave but slight quarters

Major John Sinclair, as I was credibly informed, being accompanied with Lieutenant George Heatly, being both resolute and stout, were the first that came over the walls with ladders, who at their first entry having but a few musketeers with them, they were charged on the streets by the enemy's cuirassiers, or best horsemen, where they were forced to stand close, their backs to the wall where they entered, and to give several salvos of musketry upon the enemy, till they were made to retire. Likewise after we were entered, the yellow and the blue brigades, being esteemed of all the army both resolute and courageous in all their exploits, they were to enter on the Irish quarter, where they were twice with great loss furiously beaten off, and were cruelly spoiled with fire-works thrown by the Irish amongst them. But at last they having entered, notwithstanding the inequality of their strength, the Irish though weak stood to it, and fought with sword and pikes within works a long time, till the most part of the soldiers fell to ground where they stood fighting, so that in the end, Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Butler, who commanded the Irish, being shot in the arm, and pierced with a pike through the thigh, was taken prisoner, so that the next day, it was to be seen on the post where the best service was done; and truly had all the rest stood so well to it as the Irish did, we had returned with great loss, and without victory.

“The fury past, the whole street being full of coaches and rusty waggons richly furnished with all sorts of riches, as plate, jewels, gold, money, clothes, mules and horses for saddle, coach and waggons, whereof all men that were careless of their duties were too careful in making of booty, that I did never see officers less obeyed and respected than here for a time, till the height of the market was past. And well I know, some regiments had not one man with their colours, till the fury was past, and some colours were lost the whole night, till they were restored the next day, such disorder was amongst us, all occasioned through covetousness, the root of

all evil and dishonesty. At last the execution past, his Majesty entered himself, being guarded with the Rhinegrave and his horsemen, who immediately were commanded to cross the bridge, and to follow the enemy at their heels, being on flight towards Glogoe, where the Field-marshal Tuffenback, the Count Schonberg, and Mounte De Cucule had retired with such as escaped. His Majesty having but scarce quartered in the town, the fire beginning to burn the city accidentally, orders were given with stroke of drum with a bank beaten in all streets, that all officers and soldiers, under pain of death, should repair presently to their colours, on the other side of the Oder, in the outer works, where Sir John Hepburne was ordained to command within the works, except such as were appointed to guard the posts of the town, his Majesty's quarter, and the general's lodging on the market-place, where a strong guard was kept to suppress plundering and the insolency of soldiers. Nevertheless these orders proclaimed and published, many disobeyed, remaining in the town for plundering.

“ In this conflict, the enemy lost near three thousand men, besides the officers that were killed, viz. four colonels, and above thirty-six other officers. Likewise there were taken prisoners, one colonel and five lieutenant-colonels of Dutch and one Irish cavalier,—that behaved himself both honourably and well; colours also they did lose, as I did see the next day made count of before General Bannier, forty-one, and cornets of horse nine. On our side were lost also at least eight hundred men, whereof the blue and yellow, for their parts, lost five hundred. His Majesty also did get here a great deal of provision for the army, as corn, ammunition, and eighteen pieces of ordnance. The next day his Majesty appointed General Major Leslie as governor over the town, giving him orders to repair the ruinous works and walls, as also orders were given for burying of the dead, which were not buried fully in six days; in the end they were cast by heaps in

great ditches, above a hundred in every grave. The next day we were ordained to assemble our regiments, and to bring them together in arms, that they might be provided of what they wanted of arms, having lost many in their disorder."

The Battle of Leipsic.

"The conjunction agreed upon betwixt his Majesty and the Duke of Saxony, all things sealed and subscribed, his Majesty gave orders to break up with the army, and to cross the Elbe, over the bridge at Wittenberg, for to join with the Duke's army. The orders were obeyed with great contentment; and entering into Saxony, we quartered the first night not far from Diben, the place appointed for our rendezvous. The next morning we marched thither, and were drawn up in order on the fields, where in the afternoon the Duke's army arrived, being drawn up in order within cannon shot of us. The whole officers of our army were commanded to be in readiness on horseback, to convey his Majesty for to welcome the Duke and his army, which for pleasing the eye, was the most complete little army, for personages of men, comely statures, well armed, and well arrayed, that ever mine eyes did look on, whose officers did all look as if they were going in their best apparel and arms to be painted, where nothing was defective the eye could behold. This show seen by his Majesty and his officers, his Majesty returning, the Duke with his followers did convey his Majesty to the sight of our army, which being called to their arms, having lain overnight on a parcel of ploughed ground, they were so dusty, they looked out like kitchen-servants with their uncleanly rags, within which were hidden courageous hearts, being old experimented blades, which, for the most part, had overcome by custom the toil of wars. Yet these Saxon gentry, in their bravery, did judge of us and ours according to our outsides, thinking but little of us; nevertheless, we thought not the

worse of ourselves. The ceremony past, we were all remitted to take rest for that night in our former quarters.

“The next morning, by break of day, we were called up to march, where both our armies were ordained to march on several streets; one rendezvous being appointed for us at night, within a mile and a half of the enemy’s army; where being come to our rendezvous by four o’clock in the afternoon, and drawn up in battle, our guards drawn out to watch, were directed to their posts, and then we resting by our arms, as we were in order, we slept lying where we stood, that in case of an alarm, we were not to be found in disorder, being ready to fight where we stood. Immediately after the army was settled in quarters, news was come to his Majesty in post, that the castle of Leipsic was given over by accord to the enemy; as also that General Tilly, with a mighty and strong army, was come a mile from Leipsic, and was preparing for a fight; which news did nowise alter his Majesty’s countenance, being resolved before for the like, to have sought him to fight. So that being both willing, and so near, it was easy bringing them together. Our baggage was appointed to go back to Diben; our horse and foot watches were strengthened; and we were in readiness, and refreshing first our bodies with victuals, we slept till the next morning.

“As the lark began to peep, the 7th September 1631, having stood all night in array a mile from Tilly’s army, in the morning the trumpets sound to horse, the drums calling to march, being at our arms and in readiness, having before meditated in the night, and resolved with our consciences, we began the morning with offering our souls and bodies as living sacrifices unto God, with confession of our sins. Lifting up our hearts and hands to heaven, we begged for reconciliation in Christ, by our public prayers and secret sighs and groans; recommending ourselves, the success and event of the day, unto God, our Father in Christ. Which done by us all, we marched forwards, in God’s name, a little, and

then halted again, till the whole army, both the Duke's and ours, were put in good order; our army marching on the right hand, and the Duke's on the left, our commanded musketeers marching in the vanguard, being in one body before the army consisting of three regiments, whereof two of Scots, and one Dutch, all musketeers, led by three Scotch Colonels, men of valour and courage, fit for the command concredited unto them, being made choice of, as men, that could fight exemplarily to others,—viz., Sir James Ramsey, called the Black, Sir John Hamilton, and Robert Monro, baron of Fowles. We marched thus, both the armies in order, horse, foot, and artillery, till about nine of the clock in the morning. We halted half-a-mile distant from the Imperial army that were attending us in order, consisting of forty-four thousand men, horse and foot, our army consisting of thirty thousand men, whereof, to my judgment, his Majesty's army were eight thousand foot and seven thousand horse. The Duke also would be eleven thousand foot and four thousand horse. Having refreshed ourselves with victuals, leaving our coaches behind us, the whole army did get green branches on their heads; and the word was given, 'God with us,' a little short speech made by his Majesty.

“ Being in order of battle, we marched towards the enemy, who had taken the advantage of the ground, having placed his army on a place called God's Acre; where their General did make choice of the ground most advantageous for his foot, artillery, and horses. He also did beset the dorps, that environed the ground, which was left for us, with dragooneers and crabbats, to encumber our wings by their evil neighbourhood. Yet, notwithstanding of all the advantages he had of ground, wind, and sun, our magnanimous King and leader, under God, inferior to no general we ever read of, for wisdom, courage, dexterity, and good conduct, was not dejected; but with maguanimity and Christian resolution, having recommended himself, his army, and success to God,

the director of men and angels, able to give victory with few against many, he ordered his army, and directed every supreme officer in the field, on their particular charge and stations committed unto them for that day. As also he acquainted them severally of the form he was to fight unto, and he appointed platoons of musketeers by fifties, which were commanded by sufficient officers to attend on several regiments of horse; and he instructed the officers how to behave themselves in discharging their duties on service. Likewise he directed the officers belonging to the artillery how to carry themselves, which orderly done, the commanded musketeers were directed to their stand where to fight. His Majesty then led up the four brigades of foot, which were appointed to be the front of the army, with a distance betwixt every brigade, that a regiment of horse might march out in gross betwixt the brigades, all four being in one front, having their ordnance planted before every brigade, being four pieces of great cannon, and eight small; whereof four stood before the colours, that were the front of the brigade, with ammunition and constables to attend them. On the right hand pikes, before the colours were the other four pieces of cannon, with ammunition and constables conform; and on the left wing of pikes and colours were placed the other four pieces of cannon, as we said before. Behind these four brigades were drawn up the three brigades of reserve, with their artillery before them, standing at a proportionable distance behind the other four brigades, with the like distance betwixt them, as was betwixt the brigades of the front. The brigades of horse which had platoons of musketeers to attend them, were placed on the right and left wings of the foot, and some were placed betwixt the front of foot and the reserve, to second the foot as need were; other brigades of horse were drawn up behind the reserve of the foot brigades. The Field-Marshal Horne, General Bannier, and Lieutenant-General Bawtish were commanded to oversee the horsemen; his Majesty,

the Baron Tyvell, and Grave Neles, were to command the front of foot; Sir James Ramsey, as eldest colonel, had the command of the fore-troops, or commanded musketeers; and Sir John Hepburne, as eldest colonel, commanded the three brigades of reserve.

“ Our army thus ordered, the Duke of Saxony and his Field-Marshal Arnheim having ordered their army (whereof I was not particularly inquisitive of the manner,) they were ordained to draw up on our left hand; and being both in one front thus ordered, we marched in order a little, and then halted again, till his Majesty had commanded out some commanded horsemen, on the wings of the army, a large distance from the body, to scour the fields of the crabbats. We marched again in order of battle, with trumpets sounding, and drums beating, and colours advanced and flying, till we came within reach of cannon to our enemy's army; then the magnificent and magnanimous Gustavus the invincible, leads up the brigades of horse one after another to their ground, with their platoons of shot to attend them. As also he led up the brigades of foot one after another to their ground, during which time we were drawn up according to our former plot, the enemy was thundering amongst us, with the noise, and roaring whistling and flying of cannon-bullets; where you may imagine the hurt was great. The sound of such music being scarce worth the hearing, though martial I confess, yet, if you can have so much patience, with far less danger to read this story to an end, you shall find the music well paid; but with such coin, that the players would not stay for a world to receive the last of it, being overjoyed in their flying.

“ By twelve of the clock on Wednesday the 7th of September, in despite of the fury of the enemy's cannon, and of his advantages taken, they were drawn up in even front with the enemy, and then our cannon began to roar, great and small, paying the enemy with the like coin, which thundering continued alike on both sides for two hours and a-half,

during which time, our arrays of horse and foot stood firm like a wall, the cannon now and then making great breaches amongst us, which was diligently looked unto, on all hands, by the diligence of officers in filling up the void parts, and in setting aside of the wounded towards chirurgeons, every officer standing firm, overseeing their commands in their own stations, succeeding one another as occasion offered. By half three, our cannon a little ceasing, the horsemen on both wings charged furiously one another, our horsemen with a resolution, abiding unloosing a pistol, till the enemy had discharged first, and then at a near distance our musketeers meeting them with a salvo. Then our horsemen discharged their pistols, and then charged through them with swords; and at their return, the musketeers were ready again to give the second salvo of musketry amongst them. The enemy thus valiantly resisted by our horsemen, and cruelly plagued by our platoons of musketeers, you may imagine, how soon he would be discouraged after charging twice in this manner, and repulsed.

“ Our horsemen of the right wing of Finnes and Haggapells, led by the valorous Field-Marshal Horne, finding the enemy's horsemen out of order, with resolution he charged the enemy's left wing, forcing them to retire disorderly on their lines of foot; which caused disorder among the foot, who were forced then to fall to the right hand. Our horsemen retiring, his Majesty seeing the enemy in disorder, played with ordnance amongst them; during which time, the force of the enemy's lines falls on the Duke of Saxony, charging with horse first in the midst of the lines, and then the foot giving two salvos of musketry amongst them, they were put to the rout, horse and foot, and the enemy following them cried ‘Victoria,’ as if the day had been won, triumphing before the victory. But our horsemen charging the remnant of their horse and foot, where their general stood, they were made to retire in disorder to the other hand towards Leipsic; our

army of foot standing firm, not having loosed one musket. The smoke being great, by the rising of the dust, for a long time we were not able to see about us; but being cleared up, we did see on the left hand of our reserve two great bodies of foot, which we imagined to have been Saxons, that were forced to give ground. Having heard the service, though not seen it, we found they were enemies, being a great deal nearer than the Saxons were. His Majesty having sent Baron Tyvell to know the certainty, coming before our brigade, I certified him they were enemies, and he, returning towards his Majesty, was shot dead. His Majesty coming by, gave directions to Colonel Hepburne to cause the brigades on his right and left wing to wheel, and then to charge the enemy. The orders given, his Majesty retired, promising to bring succours unto us.

“The enemy’s array standing firm, looking on us at a near distance, and seeing the other brigades and ours wheeling about, making front unto them, they were prepared with a firm resolution to receive us with a salvo of cannon and muskets; but our small ordnance being twice discharged amongst them, and before we stirred, we charged them with a salvo of muskets, which was repaid; and incontinent our brigade advancing unto them with push of pike, putting one of their divisions in disorder, fell on the execution, so that they were put to the rout. I having commanded the right wing of our musketeers, being my Lord of Rhees and Lumsdell’s, we advanced on the other body of the enemy, which defended their cannon; and beating them from their cannon, we were masters of their cannon, and consequently of the field. But the smoke being great, the dust being raised, we were as in a dark cloud, not seeing the half of our actions, much less discerning either the way of our enemies or yet the rest of our brigades. Whereupon, having a drummer by me, I caused him beat the Scotch march, till it cleared up, which re-collected our friends unto us, and dispersed our

enemies, being overcome; so that the brigade coming together, such as were alive missed their dead and hurt comrades. Colonel Lumsdell was hurt at the first, and Lieutenant-Colonel Musten also, with divers other ensigns, were hurt and killed, and sundry colours were missing for that night, which were found the next day. The enemy thus fled, our horsemen were pursuing hard till it was dark; and the blue brigade, and the commanded musketeers were sent by his Majesty to help us. But before their coming, the victory and the credit of the day, as being last engaged, was ascribed to our brigade, being the reserve, were thanked by his Majesty for their service, in public audience; and in view of the whole army, we were promised to be rewarded.

“ The battle thus happily won, his Majesty did principally under God ascribe the glory of the victory to the Swedish and Finnish horsemen, who were led by the valorous Field-marshal Gustavus Horne. For though the Dutch horsemen did behave themselves valorously divers times that day, yet it was not their fortune to have done the charge, which did put the enemy to flight. And though there were brave brigades of Swedes and Dutch in the field, yet it was the Scotch brigade's fortune to have gotten the praise for the foot service; and not without cause, having behaved themselves well, being led and conducted by an expert cavalier and fortunate, the valiant Hepburne, being followed by Colonel Lumsdell, Lieutenant-Colonel Musten, Major Monypenny, Major Sinclair, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Munro, with divers others cavaliers of valour, experience, and of conduct who thereafter were suddenly advanced unto higher charges. The victory being ours, we encamped over night on the place of battle, the living merry and rejoicing, though without drink at the night-wake of their dead comrades and friends, lying then on the ground in the bed of honour, being glad the Lord had prolonged their days for to discharge the last honourable duty in burying of their comrades. Our

bonfires were made of the enemy's ammunition-waggons, and pikes left for want of good fellows to use them; and all this night our brave comrades, the Saxons, were making use of their heels in flying, thinking all was lost, they made booty of our waggons and goods, too good a recompense for cul-lions that had left their Duke, betrayed their country and the good cause, when strangers were hazarding their lives for their freedom.

“ Our loss this day with the Saxons did not exceed three thousand men, which for the most part were killed by the enemy's cannon. Of principal officers we lost a number, and chiefly our horsemen, as Colonel Collenbath, Colonel Hall, and Addergest; and of the foot colonels, the Baron Tyvell, being all of them brave and valorous gentlemen, we lost also four Lieutenant-Colonels, together with a number of rutmasters; captains, lieutenants, and ensigns. Of the Saxons were lost five colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, with divers rutmasters and captains, and of inferior officers many. To the enemy were lost on the field nearly eight thousand, besides officers of note, such as the Fieldmarshal Fustenberg, the Duke of Holstein, the Count of Schomberg, old General Tilly hurt and almost taken. A number of other officers of the field were killed, and taken prisoners. They lost also thirty-two pieces of cannon, with three score waggons of ammunition; and their general and Papingham were chased towards Halle, and from thence were forced with a small convoy to take their flight for refuge to Hamell on the Weser.”

The Battle of Lutzen.

“ The King's Majesty of Sweden, knowing that the Duke of Friedland had quit the town and castle of Visenfelts, and had, the fourth of November marched with his army towards Lutzen, two miles from Leipsic, his Majesty, on the fifth of November, with the whole army, two hours before day break

up from Nawnburg, setting after the enemy, coming the same day after noon-tide in sight of them. He presented himself with his army in order of battle; so that incontinently the skirmish went on apace by the troops, which were commanded out from both armies; whereupon the Swedes made still good use with their small cannon, till the night did put them asunder, in which skirmish the Swedes had gotten one of the crabbat's standards, whereon was drawn the fortune and the eagle, which on our side was holden for a good beginning.

“The Swedish army this whole night standing in line, his Majesty was of intention to have fallen on the imperial army two hours before day. But by reason of a thick mist which had fallen, it behoved his Majesty to attend the rising and clearing up of the day. But the enemy perceiving the Swedes coming so near unto him, it could not go off without fighting. He did in the meantime see well to his own advantage, giving out orders they should incontinent make the moat or ditch they had before their front deeper than it was first made, and to lodge musketeers within it, which they might have before them, equal to any breastwork or parapet for their better safety. His Majesty then having ended the morning prayers, and that the mist was vanishing away, by the rising of the sun, giving out, by all appearance, the tokens of a clear day, his Majesty then with comfortable exhortation exhorted every man, foot and horse, to fight bravely, especially directing his speech to the Swedes and Finns: ‘You true and valiant brethren, see that you do valiantly carry yourselves this day, fighting bravely for God’s word and your king; which if you do, so will you have mercy of God, and honour before the world, and I will truly reward you; but if you do not, I swear unto you, that your bones shall never come into Sweden again.’ The Dutch also his Majesty exhorted after this manner: ‘You true and worthy Dutch brethren, officers and common soldiers, I exhort you all, carry yourselves manfully, and fight truly with me; run not away,

and I shall hazard my body and blood with you for your best, if you stand with me, so I hope in God to obtain victory, the profit whereof will redound to you and your successors; and if otherwise you do, so are you and your liberties lost.' His Majesty, having ended this speech, saith: ' Now let us to it, and let us cry unto God with one voice, Jesu, Jesu, Jesu help me this day to fight, for the glory of thy name.'

“ He advanced then in full array fasting, having neither tasted meat nor drink, right forwards towards the town of Lutzen, where on both sides the Duke of Friedland's horsemen did present themselves, until such time as their General had brought their infantry in order, beside the wind-mill, and then to a side, by the ditch that was before their front. They retired back a little, and set themselves in order, on the right hand of the town of Lutzen, and then putting the town on fire, to the end the Swedes on that quarter could do them no harm. Notwithstanding whereof, with full resolution the Swedish army, in full array, marched by the side of the town on the ditch, where their musketeers were lodged, and presented themselves in good order, against the mighty and strong imperial army. Whereupon the Imperialists' great cannon, that were planted by the wind-mill, began to give fire in the midst of the Swedish army, and were incontinent repaid and answered with the like noise; so that the cannon played two long hours on both sides, the fight going bravely on, betwixt nine and ten of the clock, that his Majesty himself advanced towards the enemy, with the vanguard of his army, even to their grass, where their musketeers were set much to his Majesty's disadvantage, so that sundries of his majesty's forces fell therein. Nevertheless, they chased the enemy a little out of the ditch, and took seven of the Imperialists' cannon that were planted along the moat. After this, the other Swedish brigade or yellow regiment of the guard is come after, and not esteeming of the moat in their way, or of the three squadron, or divisions of the

enemy's foot, being four times stronger than they, which they manfully did beat, making them to give ground till they were ruined, and then on the second time, scattering them also even until the third advancing, and being grown weak and weary with so many brave charges, being resisted by the enemy's third division, which were seconded well with two squadrons of horsemen, at last, with the blue regiment coming up to relieve them, driven back, and almost so scattered that they were ruined, and the seven cannon which formerly they had won, were taken from them again. In the meantime the Swedes' small cannon, that were planted before the brigades, being righted on the enemy's cannon at the wind-mill, whereon also Duke Barnard's cannon, which were before his brigade, played on the enemy's cannon towards the wind-mill, doing great hurt to the enemy, so that they were forced to retire their cannon a little behind the miller's house. In this meantime, his Majesty, with some squadrons of horse, charged the enemy, that was thrice stronger than they, charging with their right wing, his left wing falling on them with such fury, that their rear-guard or reserve were astonished, being so furious that they went through their enemies, putting them to the flight. But especially his Majesty himself having charged too far with four cornets in the midst of the enemy's troops, being deadly wounded, gave up the ghost. Fighting for God and for the defence of the true religion, he departed valiantly and happily for him in Christ our Saviour.

“ Nevertheless, two great bodies of crabbats of the enemy's left wing stood firm, and falling on the right wing of the Swedish horsemen, with such a cry and fury, advanced so far that they were masters of the Swedes' ammunition waggons, bringing also some of the Swedes' horsemen in disorder. Whereupon incontinent did fall on three squadrons of the Swedish horsemen, under whom Lieutenant-Colonel Relingen was one, that did second the rest bravely, who was shot in the army. Nevertheless the crabbats were beaten back

again with loss, during which time, Duke Barnard of Weimar was not idle, with the left wing of the Swedish horsemen, but with the commanded musketeers being of Leslie's regiment, and with the small cannon, charged the enemy's right wing, making them retire on their cannon by the wind-mill and gallows; and after long fighting, they were made at last to give ground, quitting to the Swedes fourteen pieces of great ordnance. As the Duke of Weimar did charge the enemy, their ammunition-waggons took fire, which did endamage the enemy much; but thereafter, Papenhaim coming from Halle with a fresh supply unlooked for, the service was begun again more sharp and violent than before, which continued for a while very vehement, he having re-collected the scattered troops, the order whereof can scarce be well set down, by reason it was so near night before Papenhaim's coming, yet the service continued hot and cruel so long as he lived, till it was past eight o'clock at night; that in end Papenhaim being killed, the Imperialists losing courage, through the assistance of God, and the manly and valiant courage of Duke Barnard of Weimar, the victory was come on the Swedes' side, the enemy having quit the field, and burnt off his leaguer with his whole baggage, and three pieces of cannon, which he could not get carried away with him. He took his retreat again on Leipsic.

“ There were killed of the Imperialists the abbot of Fulda, the grave Fon Papenhaim, Colonel Lane, Colonel Vestrum, Lieutenant-Colonel Lorda, Lieutenant-Colonel Taphim, Lieutenant-Colonel Camerhooffe, Colonel Soves, with many other inferior officers and soldiers. On the Swedish side were lost, with his Majesty, General-Major Isler, Colonel Gerstorfe, General-Major Grave Neeles, a Swede, Colonel Vildesten, and divers more were hurt, and of our nation was hurt with the cannon and musket, twice Captain Henry Lindesay, brother to Bainslow, who for a time did lie almost dead in the field, divers officers of Colonel Lodowicke Leslie's regi-

ment were also hurt, having behaved themselves well, being, for the most part, old expert officers, and old-beaten blades of soldiers. In this battle, as was thought, were killed nine thousand men, besides those were hurt, whereof many thereafter died of their wounds, such as on the emperor's side Grave Berherbold, Fon Walestine, Colonel Comargo, Colonel Browner, the old Colonel Viltzleben, and others. On the Swedish side also died of his wounds after the battle, General-Major Grave Neeles.

“ After his Majesty's death, there was great and extraordinary grief and sorrow over the whole army. Yet they never suffered the same to be seen outwardly, but prosecuted still the enemy more vehemently, and more cruelly than before. For the Duke of Weimar, and the rest of the cavaliers of the army, understanding the great misfortune of his Majesty's death, resolved all alike, it was better to die on the place with his Majesty than to retire one foot of ground. Which resolution was the cause, that in the end they did crown the lamentable death of the King's Majesty with a stately and heroic victory, so that his Majesty in the highest degree of glory may be imagined before any king or emperor to have died; and his life doth eternize alike both his praise and glory, being victorious before death, in his death, and after death.”

Drummond of Hawthornden, apostrophising the dead Gustavus Adolphus, says,

“ O could not all the purchased victories
 Like to thy fame thy flesh immortalize?
 Were not thy virtue, nor thy valour charms
 To guard thy body from those outward harms
 Which could not reach thy soul? Could not thy spirit
 Lend somewhat which thy frailty could inherit,
 From thy diviner part that death nor heat
 Nor envy's bullets e'er could penetrate?

Could not thy early trophies in stern fight
Turn from the Pole, the Dane, the Muscovite?
Which were thy triumphs, seeds as pledges sown,
That when thy honour's harvest was ripe-grown
With full-plumed wing thou falcon-like could fly,
And cuff the eagle in the German sky,
Forcing his iron beak, and feathers feel
They were not proof 'gainst thy victorious steel.
Could not all these protect thee, or prevail,
To fright that coward Death, who oft grew pale
To look thee and thy battles in the face?
Alas they could not; destiny gives place
To none. Nor is it seen that princes lives
Can saved be by their prerogatives.
No more was thine; who, clos'd in thy cold lead,
Dost from thyself a mournful lecture read
Of man's short dated glory. Learn you kings,
You are like him but penetrable things;
Though you from demi-gods derive your birth,
You are at best but honourable earth.
And howe'er sifted from that coarser bran
Which doth compound and knead the common man,
Nothing immortal, or from earth refined
About you, but your office and your mind.
Hear then, break your false glasses which present
You greater than your Maker ever meant.
Make truth your mirror now, since you find all
That flatter you, confuted by his fall."
