

Bha cas Chalum Chille 'sa' churachan  
 'S a chas eil' air tir—  
 "A thairbhein a thainig thar chuan  
 'S o bhun na talmhainn fada thall—  
 Air mhial, air bhalg  
 Air ghalar dearg,  
 A lughdachadh do bhuilge,  
 'S a mharbhadh do mhial,  
 A mharbhadh fiolan fionn,  
 A mharbhadh fiolan donn,  
 A mharbhadh biast do leann,  
 A mharbhadh an tairbhean,  
 Gu'm faigh thu leasachadh—  
 Aghachain tog do cheann."

14TH MAY, 1879.

At this meeting, Sheriff Nicolson, Kirkcudbright, and Mr. Charles Macbean, 42 Union Street, Inverness, were elected ordinary members. Mr. John Mackay, of Ben Reay, read the first part of a paper by him on Mackay's Regiment.

21ST MAY, 1879.

At this meeting, Rev. Alexander Cameron, Glengarry; Mr. James Grant, M.A., Register House, Edinburgh; and Mr. William Fraser, Assistant Draper, Castle Street, Inverness, were elected ordinary members; and the reading of the paper on Mackay's Regiment, begun last week, was concluded. Mr. Mackay's paper was as follows:—

#### MACKAY'S REGIMENT :

A narrative of the principal services of the Regiment, from its formation in 1626, to the battle of Nordlingen, in 1634; and of its subsequent incorporation with the Corps now known as The Royal Scots or First Regiment of Foot of the British Army.

#### INTRODUCTION.

When King James VI. of Scotland became also King of England, there followed a lengthened period of peace and quietness throughout the two kingdoms, which was in striking contrast

to the warlike and unsettled state of affairs that preceded his reign. For men brought up to arms there was little or nothing to do in their profession at home, and, as they could not remain idle, they looked abroad for military employment. Vast numbers of brave and adventurous men accordingly left Scotland in search of fame and fortune, and took service under the banners of the various princes who were then warring for supremacy on the continent of Europe. There was soon plenty to do. Strong hands and stout hearts were wanted; for, before the first quarter of the seventeenth century had passed, a fierce war was raging, which convulsed the whole of Europe. This was the long and terrible struggle, now known in history as *the thirty years' war*. That war had begun by the Elector Palatine (Frederick IV.) accepting the crown of Bohemia, offered to him by the protestants of that country, who were then in the ascendant, and trying to carry everything with a high hand. The Elector had married the Princess Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of King James VI. of Scotland; and many Scottish cavaliers, afterwards found fighting on the side which became identified as that for the preservation of civil and religious liberty, had joined in the struggle, simply because the Princess was looked upon as one of themselves. This explains how such leaders as Sir Andrew Gray and Sir John Hepburn, and other Roman Catholic gentlemen were found in the protestant ranks. It was the principle of loyal devotion to their King's daughter that led them to enter the struggle, and not any preference for the Elector rather than the Emperor, for the interests of both rulers were alike indifferent to them. The accepting of the crown of Bohemia by the Elector, led the Emperor of Austria to oppose his claim. Both had their friends and allies, and in a short time the whole of Germany was involved in the struggle.

Prominent among the military adventurers of the time was Sir Donald Mackay. He was born in 1590, had been knighted by King James in 1616, and was just in the prime of life, when, early in 1626, he left his home in the far North and proceeded to London to request permission from King Charles I. to raise a regiment for service abroad. His object, as he informed the King, was to assist Count Mansfeldt, the leader of the Bohemian army, in the war he was then waging on behalf of the Elector against Austria. The King favoured his project, and instructed the Privy Council to grant his request. The requisite commission was issued on 6th March, and in it Sir Donald was authorised to levy and transport 2000 men for the purpose named. He then returned to Scotland, and in a short time nearly 3000 men, levied almost entirely among

his own clan and kinsmen, were ready to follow him on foreign service. The regiment was thus easily raised.\* It consisted of eleven companies; but as no muster roll of the regiment, so far as I know, is now in existence, and as a company in those days numbered from 150 to 300 men, I have not been able to ascertain its strength when it left Scotland. Sir Robert Gordon, in his *History*, states that he saw the greater part of the levies (that is the 3000 men above-mentioned) embark at Cromarty for the Continent. Grant, again, in his *Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn*, gives the strength of the regiment as only 1500 men, but he adduces no authority for the statement. Munro, however, in his *Expedition*, which is the best authority extant on the history of the regiment, gives certain returns, from which it is evident that the number must have been at least 2000.

No regiment of modern times can show a list of officers † superior to those selected by Sir Donald Mackay. Most of them were of good families and position, and better men could not be found. Even among the non-commissioned officers and privates, there were many gentlemen's sons, and Munro of Fowlis joined as a volunteer.‡

According to the military system of the time, the Regiment

\* Lord Forbes (Sir Donald's cousin) furnished 800 of the men; but it would be a mistake to suppose that the Regiment was entirely composed of volunteers, for in the Privy Council Records for 22nd August, 1626, it is ordered that Robert Abrach M'Gregor and others, who were prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, were to be delivered to Sir Donald Mackay to serve in his Regiment. "In the ranks," says Chambers (*Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. II., p 10), "were included a small band of Macgregors, who had been lying for some time in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, on account of their irregularities, and who are said to have proved good soldiers under regular discipline, and with a legitimate outlet for their inherent turbulence and courage."

† See list of officers at the end of this paper.

‡ After serving in Mackay's Regiment for some time as a volunteer, so as to see service and obtain experience, Fowlis returned to Scotland, and raised a company among his own clansmen. With these he again joined Mackay's Regiment as a Captain. He afterwards became a Colonel in the army of Gustavus. The author of the *Expedition* writes as follows:—"My Chiefe and Cosen, the Baron of Fowles, being in his travels in France a little prodigall in his spending, redacted his estate to a weake point, being advised by his friends timely to looke to the wounds of his house and family, and to forsee the best cure to keep burthen off his estate, having engaged his Revenewes for teene years, to pay his Creditors, he went beyond sea a volunteer to Germanie with Mac-Keyes Regiment, well accompanied with a part of his nearest friends; and having the patience to attend his fortune, his first employment was to be a Captaine of a company of Scots souldiers, leavied by himselfe, and thereafter advanced to be a Colonell of horse and foot of strangers, under the invincible King of Sweden of worthy memorie.

"Thus farre of the Barron of Fowles . . . to animate other Cavaliers borne of lesse fortunes to follow his vertues in being patient, though their preferments come not at first, loving vertue for her end."

consisted of pikemen and musketeers ; and taking the proportions usual in those days, Mackay's force, if 2000 strong, would be made up of about 800 of the former, and 1200 of the latter. The strongest men were always selected to handle the pike, which was a spear 14 to 18 feet long, and in the hands of trained powerful men, must have been a most formidable weapon. The pikemen carried swords in addition to their pikes. The musketeers had matchlock muskets, swords, and daggers ; and every soldier was usually protected by a helmet, gorget, buff coat, and breastplate. Such was the ordinary military equipment of the period.

But in what uniform did Sir Donald Mackay's men appear ? Although Munro in his *Expedition* does not say anything on the subject, I think I am safe in assuming that the kilt was the great distinguishing dress of the Regiment. Grant, in his *Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn*, makes frequent mention of "Mackay's Kilted Highlanders ;" and in *Philip Rollo* he thus describes the Regiment :—"The whole were uniformly accoutred in steel caps and buff coats, the officers being fully armed in bright plate to the waist, and having plumes in their head-pieces ; their kilts were of dark green tartan, and belted up to the left shoulder, according to the custom of Highlanders when going on service. The musketeers carried their powder in bandoliers ; and, in addition to his dirk, every officer and man wore the claymore or genuine old Highland sword, which could be used with both hands. Their purses were of white goatskin, and properly adorned with silver." "The officers are said, in addition to rich buttons, to have worn a gold chain round the neck, to secure to the owners, in case of being taken prisoners, good treatment from the enemy, in hope of a lucrative ransom."\*

\* In the British Museum there is a collection of illustrated broadsides, printed in Germany during the thirty years war. One of these prints (a copy of which is given in Mr. J. F. Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*, Vol. IV.) represents four Highlanders. Three are dressed in the kilt, and one in something like a kilt, so tied in at the knees as to resemble knickerbockers. One of the three has the belted plaid, brogues, and mogans ; while another has no covering for his legs and feet. Two are armed with bows and arrows, one has a musket, and the fourth a staff in his hand, which may, perhaps, be intended for a pike. Surrounding the print there is the following in German :—"The 800 foreigners who have arrived in Stettin, go about in such garments. They are a strong and hardy race, and subsist upon very little food. When they have no bread they will eat roots ; and in an emergency they can go over 20 German miles [70 English miles] in a day. They carry muskets, bows and arrows, and long knives." The words I have translated *foreigners* (in the original *Irlander oder Irren*), mean literally Irishmen or Wanderers. If the words are taken as meaning Irish, then the inference is that some of the Lowland Scotch soldiers (of whom there were many then in Germany), on being asked who those foreigners were in the strange dress, replied that they were Erse or Erish,—a name in that day commonly given to High-

The flags of the Regiment were the national ensign of Scotland, and the banner of Sir Donald Mackay.

All arrangements being completed, the whole force assembled at Cromarty, where ships were in waiting to convey them to the Continent. Many of the men exhibited a strength and a stature such as can seldom be seen now-a-days; and Sir Donald's own company (the "gentlemen of the Colonells company," as Munro describes them) consisted of picked men, chiefly, it is said, from the districts of Strath Naver and Strath Halladale.\*

It must have been a glorious sight to witness the entry of the brave and gallant band into Cromarty. They were the flower of *Duthaich Mhic-Aoidh*, the country of the Mackays. Marching in sections, six abreast, we can easily imagine how, with colours flying, pipes playing, and drums beating, they would approach the town. The burnished musket barrels and tall pikes, the glittering helmets and polished breastplates, the nodding plumes and flashing steel, the measured tread of so many feet, and the regular motion and waving of the tartan, must have excited a sense of emotion and enthusiasm in the minds of all who beheld them, never to be forgotten; for assuredly no finer or braver men ever left their country for a foreign war.

On the 10th October, 1626, the fleet set sail, and, after a passage of five days, arrived safely at Gluckstadt, on the Elbe. Here the Regiment disembarked, and immediately after landing (I quote from *Monro, his Expedition*†) "was quartered in the fat

landers by the inhabitants of the south and west of Scotland. Or, if the word Wanderers is taken (*Irren*, in old German, meaning literally to wander or lose one's way), then the reference may be to the fact, that the soldiers having come from a distant country, they could, with all propriety, be called Wanderers.

But one thing is certain, the whole of Mackay's Regiment was in Stettin in 1630, and the print is probably intended to let the Germans see what sort of men Highland soldiers were. Even if there were no other evidence, it establishes the fact that the kilt was the uniform of the Regiment. *Mackay's was thus the first regularly organised regiment of which we have any record, that was dressed in THE GARB OF OLD GAUL.*

\* The men of Strath Naver and Strath Halladale were long celebrated for their extraordinary size and soldierly bearing. Even so late as the beginning of the present century, when the 93rd Regiment was formed, the men in it, who were drawn to a great extent from these districts, showed not only by their size and strength, but, above all, by their high moral character, that they were no unworthy successors of those who distinguished themselves so gallantly during the thirty years' war.

† If, however, we wish to see the descendants of these truly noble men, we must unfortunately not look for them now in the land of their fathers. Owing to the mistaken policy, known as *the Clearances*, they are to be found chiefly in Canada—not in Scotland.

† "MONRO, HIS EXPEDITION WITH THE WORTHY SCOTS REGIMENT (called *Mac-Keyes* Regiment), levied in August, 1626, by Sir Donald Mac-Key, Lord Bhees Colonel, for his Majesties service of Denmark," &c. London, 1637.

and fertile soyle of Holsten, nothing inferiour in fertilitie to any part of Dutchland, except in wines, having corne in abundance, wheat and barley; in milke nothing inferiour to Holland; and for the most part inhabited by Hollanders, especially the Cities. Their Gentry live like Noblemen, and their Communalitie live like Gentlemen." They remained in Holstein about six months, and, from Munro's account, seem to have had very comfortable winter quarters.

Sir Donald, owing to sickness, had not been able to embark with his men, but on his recovery, Munro tells us "he tooke shipping from *Scotland* to *Holland*, and from thence overland" to join them. He "arrived in the latter end of *March*, anno 1627, in *Holsten*, where he was welcomed by his Regiment."\*

THE REGIMENT TAKES SERVICE UNDER THE KING OF DENMARK.

I have mentioned that the Regiment was raised for the purpose of assisting Count Mansfeldt, the leader of the Bohemian army, in the war against Austria. Owing, however, to the death of that general, it became necessary to make other arrangements for the service of the Highlanders. These were soon completed by Sir Donald, who entered into an agreement with the King of Denmark to fight under his banner. This was a natural step to take, for the Danish King had embarked in the same cause as Count Mansfeldt, and besides, he was uncle to King Charles I. and the Princess Elizabeth, and thus service under him was quite in harmony with the feelings of the Scottish soldiers and their leaders.

"During the tedious winter the Regiment was" in Holstein, says Munro, it was "well exercised and put under good discipline, as well the particular companies as the whole Regiment, so that mine

\* Among those who accompanied Sir Donald, mention must be made of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Farquhar of Mounie. He seems to have acted as purse-bearer or paymaster, and in his *Papers* there is a statement of the money he disbursed in Scotland and Holland for Sir Donald, between 2nd January and 22nd March, 1627. The principal entries are for wines and other drinkables, and some of the items are rather curious. On embarking at Leith, there is paid "for ane rubber of Frensche wyne £2l. 12/. . . . Our supper in Bremmell 13 of Februar £8. 2/. Payit seing the Kirk thair 4/, drink silver 8/. Payit seing the Kirk and stepill of Dort 12/. Payit in syned-hous for wyne and breid thair 12/. Our supper in Rotterdam 15 of Februar 6/. Drink silver thair, and for beir, succar, and nutmuggs 14/. . . . For ane new sword to his Lordship in Amsterdam 15/. Payit for mending and washing the Colonell's blew wastoot in Amsterdam 18/."

Farquhar's papers are at Gordonstown, where they are preserved with the extensive and interesting collection bearing on the history of the North of Scotland during the Seventeenth Century, belonging to Sir W. G. Gordon Cumming, Bart. (*Sixth Report of Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 686.)

eyes," he adds, "did never see a more complete Regiment, for bodies of men and valiant souldiers."

Before the arrival of Sir Donald, a hitch had occurred regarding the regimental colours, which, however, was settled without any breach of friendship between our countrymen and the Danes, although it is said to have rankled in the breast of the King. The case was this: His Majesty of Denmark "would have the officers to carry the *Danes* crosse, which the officers refusing they were summoned to compeare before His Majestie at *Raynesberge*, to know the reasons of their refusalls; at the meeting none would adventure, fearing his Majesties indignation to gainestand openly his Majesties will, being then his Majesties sworne servants; and for the eschewing of greater inconvenience, the officers desired so much time of his Majestie as to send Captaine *Robert Ennis* into England, to know his Majestie of Great Britaines will, whether or no they might carrie without reproach the *Danes* crosse in *Scottish* colours: Answer was returned they should obey their will under whose pay they were, in a matter so indifferent." The Danish Cross was accordingly borne as one of the flags; but the Regiment did not give up the *Scottish* Cross of St. Andrew, but continued to carry it also.

Immediately after the arrival of Sir Donald, orders were given that his Regiment should proceed to Itzehoe, to be inspected by the King of Denmark, and take the oath of fidelity to that sovereign.

Munro describes the scene. "The Regiment being come together at the *Rendezvouz*, was drawn up in three divisions, attending his Majesties comming, in good order of battaile, all officers being placed according to their stations orderly, Colours fleeing, Drummes beating, horses neying, his Majestie comes royally forward, Salutes the Regiment, and is saluted againe with all due respect, and reverence, used at such times; his Majestie having viewed Front, Flancks and Reare, the Regiment fronting alwayes towards his Majestie, who having made a stand ordained the Regiment to march by him in divisions, which orderly done, and with great respect, and reverence, as became; his Majestie being mightily well pleased did praise the Regiment, *that ever thereafter was most praise worthy*. The Colonell, and the principall officers having kissed his Majesties hand, retired to their former stations, till the oath was publicly given, both by officers and souldiers being drawne in a Ring by conversion, as use is at such times. The Oath finished, the Articles of Warres reade, and published, by a Banke of the *Drummer* Major, and his associates, the Regiment remitted,

marches off orderly by companies, to their quarters, to remaine till orders were given for their up-breaking."

The next day Sir Donald received instructions to take seven companies of the Regiment across the Elbe. Two of these companies were to be left at Stade for the protection of that town, and Sir Donald was then to proceed with five companies towards the Weser, and join the English forces then in the service of Denmark. The English troops were under the command of General Morgan, a brave old Welshman, and an officer of considerable experience. The remaining four companies of the Regiment were to march to Lauenburg, as there was some apprehension that the Imperialists might cross the Elbe in that neighbourhood. The English troops were quartered near Bremen, and the five companies of Highlanders remained with them ten weeks, having "great dutie in watching, many alarmmes, but little service," although the enemy was not far off.

While encamped with General Morgan's forces, Mackay's soldiers felt it to be a grievance, and were naturally a little discontented that the English regiments should be getting regular weekly pay, whereas they were only being provided with rations of "bread, beere, and bacon." Sir Donald therefore left headquarters and proceeded to Hamburg, to solicit money for the payment of his officers and men.\* Munro praises him for this, and makes the following observation: "It is a great part of a Colonells dutie timely to foresee for all things necessary that may give content to those under his command, lest being justly discontented, he might be grieved, whiles it were not in his power to helpe himselfe, or others. The liberality of a Colonell and his care in foreseeing for his Regiment, returns to him ofttimes with triple profit, being with moderation familiar with his officers, making them, as humble friends, not as servants, under command, and he ought by all means eschewe to come in question, or publique hearing with his officers: the onely means to make himselfe famous, and his Regiment of long continuance."

\* In the Papers at Castle Forbes, there is a letter to Lord Forbes, endorsed "Letter from Sir Donald Macky, Colonell out off Germany, brocht hame be Mr. Robert Farquhar, burgess off Aberdeen, 1627," which shows that although Sir Donald was not a mercenary soldier, yet he was not inclined to continue with the King of Denmark, unless he was paid for the services of his Regiment. The letter is dated from the leagner at Wasterbad, 12th June, 1627, and evidently refers to the visit made to Hamburg above referred to. It "contains some curious details of the position of the King's army and that of his opponents," and Sir Donald, after commenting on the small pay given by the King, adds, "bot iff he opines not his pours I will sik ane uther maister; the King of Speen is ane treu man and ane good payer." (*Second Report of Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, p. 196.*)



At the end of ten weeks, orders were received by Sir Donald to march with his men to Boitzenburg, there to join the four companies which had been sent to Lauenburg, but which had been moved from the latter to the former town. They left General Morgan on the 10th July, 1627, accompanied by a regiment of cavalry as their convoy, and quartered the first night at Rottenburg "a strong passe, having a great Marrison on both sides, accessible onely by one narrow causey, which leads through the marrison to the Castell, which is well fenced on both sides with Moates, Drawbridges, and slaught bomes, without all."

After several alarms, without however coming to an engagement with the enemy, they arrived at Buxtehude, which had been appointed as their first rendezvous. Instructions were given to continue the march by way of Hamburg and Lauenburg, and to take up quarters at Boitzenburg, where they were to remain for further orders. The reason for this change of quarters is thus given by Munro. "All marches are occasioned by the accidents of the warfare. The reason of this march was the enemy's Army drawing strong to a head in *Lunniburgh* land, of intention to force a passage over the Elve to come the easier to Holsten: his Majestie being weake of foote in this quarter, having no great feare of his enemy on the *Waser*, where we lay before; we were therefore called to joyne with the rest of our Regiment at *Bysenburgh*. Another reason of this march was, the King's force in *Silesia* being also weake of Foote, standing in great neede of a timely supply, we being able to endure a long march, his Majestie resolved, after besetting well the passe on the *Elve*, to send us for a supply unto the *Silesian* Armie: Nevertheless many times we see in warres, though things be long advised on, and prosecuted after advise duely, yet the advent doth not alwayes answer to mans conjectures: For it is a true old saying, Man proposeth, but God disposeth."

At Boitzenburgh they had a happy meeting with their comrades, but they were not destined to be long together. In a few days orders were received that the Regiment must again separate. The Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, with seven companies, were instructed to march to Ruppin in Brandenburg; while four companies, under the command of Major Dunbar, were to remain for the defence of Boitzenburg.

Sir Donald was very much disappointed that the King should again have ordered the Regiment to be divided without his consent. The officers and men also grumbled at the arrangement, but, nevertheless, they faithfully obeyed orders. Two reasons have been assigned for this action on the part of the King: first, the

refusal of the officers to give up the Scottish Colours, which, it is reported, angered him, and led to his ordering the Regiment to posts of the greatest danger; and second, a dispute which Sir Donald had with him about the cashiering of some of the officers for alleged inefficiency. The King insisted on having his own way, notwithstanding all Sir Donald could say on the subject. Two of the officers referred to were Captain Learmonth (brother of Lord Balcomy) and Captain Duncan Forbes, most efficient men, and highly esteemed by Sir Donald.

Munro mentions that the parting between the two divisions of the Regiment was very affecting. There seemed to be a presentiment of impending evil, and Captain Learmonth, on taking leave of Sir Donald and other officers, "did with griefe in a manner foretell his owne fall, alleging they should never meet againe." The sequel proved the truth of the sad foreboding.

Boitzenburg is a small town pleasantly situated at the junction of the Boitze and the Elbe, and being one of the leading highways into Denmark, its defence was of great importance. The inhabitants, who feared the cruelties so frequently inflicted by the enemy, had all fled. A vast force of the Imperialists, under John de Tsercla, Count of Tilly, was approaching Denmark from the centre of Germany, and one of the columns was marching directly upon the point these four companies of Highlanders were ordered to defend. Tilly in early life was a Jesuit priest, but having seen the virgin in a vision, as he said, commanding him to take up arms in defence of the Church, he entered the army, and his talents and bravery soon won him a baton. He was undoubtedly an able general; but he was cruel and uncompromising, and the horror, caused by his many deeds of atrocity carried terror wherever he went.

It was on the third day after the departure of Sir Donald with the main portion of the Regiment, that the approach of the enemy was announced. They came to a halt within cannon shot distance, and at once began preparations for the siege.

But Major Dunbar had not been idle. He was well versed in the theory, as well as the sterner practice of war, and had every qualification for a commander. He left nothing undone that would enable him to defend his post like a man of honour. He undermined the bridge, repaired the weak places in the walls, and erected a strong sconce on the Lüneberg side of the town. This sconce the enemy resolved to storm. Once across the Elbe, the rich and fertile plains of Holstein could be easily overrun, and would be entirely at their mercy.

The four companies of Highlanders numbered only about six hundred men, while the attacking force numbered at least ten thousand.

The first night a gallant and successful sortie was made, under the personal leadership of Major Dunbar, and after inflicting a severe punishment on the advanced posts of the Imperialists, the little band returned to the town, with scarcely any loss. The enemy were determined to be avenged for this, and on the following day attacked the sconce at all points, but after a long and desperate struggle were beaten off, with a loss of over five hundred men. But fresh troops were pressed forward, and again the attack was renewed with increased fury; the front rank rushed on, and with hatchets attempted to force a passage through the palisades; then the artillery opened fire, and every now and then a heavy cannon shot would boom overhead, or crash among the roofs of the houses; or, with a dull heavy thud, sink into the turf breastwork of the sconce. The defenders replied with their brass culverins, and every shot must have made a frightful lane through the dense column of attack. A close and deadly fire, too, was poured by the Highland musketeers upon the Imperialists, and though the latter replied with equal rapidity, yet they could not with equal effect, for the Highlanders were protected breast high, by the earthen parapets, while the assailants were wholly exposed. The whole fort was soon enveloped in smoke: the enemy could not be seen, but the crash of their axes was heard among the falling palisades, and the cries of the wounded told of the dreadful carnage. The Imperialists were baffled, and again fell back. But a third, and even more desperate attempt was made to carry the sconce. The sconce, I may here remark, defended the bridge, and if captured, the Imperialist cavalry might have crossed the Elbe, and overrun Holstein before the king could have been informed that Boitzenburg had fallen. The defenders felt that every effort would be strained by the enemy to carry the little fort by storm. If numbers could accomplish this, its fall was certain. The storming parties came on in great force, and made a most vigorous assault; but the firing of the Highland musketeers once more told with deadly effect. The thunder of the enemy's artillery was incessant, yet the shot did more damage to the houses of the deserted town than to the earthworks of the sconce. Again the culverins were brought into play, and, under Dunbar's directions, did dreadful execution on the Imperialists; but, in spite of this, they continued to press on, and the gaps made in their ranks, by the well-directed fire of the Highlanders, were constantly and steadily filled up. The loss was

not, however, all on the side of the enemy. Many of the defenders were killed, and a large number wounded.

But after a time the firing of the Highlanders slackened, and then suddenly ceased. Their supply of ammunition was exhausted ! The Imperialists surprised at the unexpected silence on the part of the defenders, instinctively guessed the cause, and redoubling their efforts made a rush at the walls.\* The Highlanders, for a moment, were at their wits end ; but the energy of despair prompted them. They tore the sand from the ramparts, and threw it in the eyes of their assailants as they attempted to scale the walls ; and then furiously attacking them with the butt ends of their muskets, drove them from the sconce. But it was a dreadful struggle. At last the trumpets of the enemy sounded the retreat, the storming party fell back, the fire of the artillery ceased, and Boitzenburg was saved. The enemy had again over five hundred men killed, and a very large number wounded.

The Highlanders had two officers and forty men killed. The officers were Captain Learmonth,† a good and brave soldier, and his Lieutenant, David Martin, “an old stout and expert officer,” as Munro describes him ; “while,” he adds, “many others carried the true markes of their valour imprinted in their bodies, for their Country's credit.”

The Imperialists finding Boitzenburg so well defended, decided on crossing the Elbe at another point. This they effected considerably higher up the river, where, coming unexpectedly, they surprised the German guard, and secured a passage across. In the meantime, the King of Denmark had sent orders to Major Dunbar to retire from the sconce, bring off his cannon, if he could, and blow up the bridge. He was then to leave two companies of the Highlanders at Lauenburg, and retire with the rest to Gluckstadt. All these orders he carried out in a masterly manner.

This was the first opportunity the Mackay Regiment had of showing the quality of its men. Gallantly did they distinguish themselves, and nobly did they fulfil the hazardous task to which they had been detailed. It was a desperate position to defend, and looked like certain destruction to all. Their deeds showed what they were—a band of *Scottish Invincibles*.‡

\* Munro says—“There was also a *Scottish* gentleman under the enemy, who coming to scale the walls, said aloud, Have with you, gentlemen, thinke not now you are on the streets of *Edinburgh* bravading : One of his owne country-men thrusting him through the body with a pike, he ended there.” There were many Scotsmen in the service of the Imperialists.

† See ante, page 137.

‡ Gustavus Adolphus, when the Regiment was in his service, spoke of it as the *Scottish Invincibles*.

Munro was with the main division of the Regiment, but he writes—"This Skonce so well maintained by our Countrymen is to their prayse recorded at length in the *Dutch Story* of the Danes Warres, where the curious Reader may learn more of it. . . . After this service the renowne spread so abroad, where ever we came, that the Gentie of the Country were ready meeting us, providing all necessaries for us. The Duke of *Wymar*, the Dukes of *Meclinburgh*, with a number of gallant Ladies, did visit us in our march, to congratulate with us the good fortune, and good service, done by our *Camerades*. But if we should look to the outside of souldiers, these foure Companies were the meanest of our Regiment to the outward appearance . . . . For though, as I said, by appearance to looke but on their outsides, they were the meanest in show of our whole Regiment; yet *God that gives hearts, and courage unto men*, made them the instruments of our Regiment's first credit in the warres of Germany. They were, I confesse, led by brave officers, which were seconded and obeyed by resolute and stout souldiers, that gained victory and credit, over their enemies, in extremitie, by casting sand in their eyes . . . . shewing that sometimes the meanest things doe helpe us much against our enemies, especially when the LORD will blesse our fighting."

The two companies, which were left by Major Dunbar for the defence of Lauenburg, were speedily besieged. Count Tilly summoned the small garrison to surrender, but Major Wilson, the officer in command, refused to comply with this demand. The enemy's batteries then opened fire on the castle, and after a brief cannonade, Major Wilson, seeing he could not hold his position, asked for a truce to arrange terms of surrender. This was granted, and conditions were agreed upon. These were, that the garrison should march out with bag and baggage, and drums beating, and that they should have a convoy to conduct them to Gluckstadt. Count Tilly had been severely wounded during the siege, or probably he would not have agreed to such terms. Pledges having been given, the agreement was duly signed, but Major Wilson had not been careful as to details. On leaving the castle his colours were taken from him, and on his complaining of what he considered a breach of faith, he was told to read the agreement. He was then forced to march to Gluckstadt without colours. For this oversight he was dismissed from the Regiment with disgrace, and his command given to Captain Duncan Forbes, one of the officers who had been cashiered by the King of Denmark. This showed that the King had committed a great mistake in acting as he did, for Major Wilson was one of the officers he had appointed over Captains

Learmonth and Forbes, to the annoyance of Sir Donald Mackay, as already mentioned.

But there was no idle time for the Highlanders. Major Dunbar and the four companies were at once ordered to defend the Castle of Bredenburg, for the enemy had now got a footing in Holstein, and were over-running the land, while the troops of King Christian were fast falling back before them. Bredenburg was the principal stronghold of the Counts of Rantzau, a noble and warlike family of Holstein; and Dunbar was instructed that the castle was not to be surrendered on any condition. A large number of people had taken refuge in it, when the enemy first entered the land, and had carried with them a great amount of treasure. There was also stored in it much valuable property belonging to Count Rantzau.

The little garrison sent to maintain this important place numbered only about four hundred men, for Boitzenburg and Lauenburg had thinned the ranks of the four companies of Highlanders considerably. The castle was but poorly fortified, and the enemy came so suddenly upon it, that Dunbar had scarcely time to get the drawbridge pulled up, when Tilly and his forces surrounded the place. A trumpeter was at once sent by Tilly with a summons, demanding an instant surrender. This, of course, Dunbar refused. The enemy immediately began a hot and vigorous siege, which lasted without intermission for six days. The defenders resisted bravely, and their shot told heavily on the ranks of the assailants. At length the enemy's guns made two breaches in the walls, and the Imperialists approached the moat. Tilly then sent a drummer to the Major to see if he would now surrender, but the drummer returned with the answer "that so long as there was blood in Dunbar's head, the place should never be given over." This answer so incensed Tilly, that he swore when once he got "the upper hand over them, they should all die without quarter." The defenders must have been very much exhausted after these six days of severe exertion, and there was no relief for them, while the enemy were able to send fresh men to the assault every few hours.

Shortly after Dunbar's answer had been returned, the brave man was struck on the head by a musket ball, and instantly killed. But even though he was dead the other officers would not capitulate, and the siege went on with renewed fury. Captain Duncan Forbes was the next officer to fall, then Lieutenant Barbour and Captain Carmichael. The enemy had now passed the moat, and getting possession of the castle, a wholesale massacre took place. All quarter was refused, and every one, without distinction of rank,

age, or sex, was cruelly put to the sword. With the exception of Ensign Lumsden, who escaped almost miraculously, every officer and man of the Highland detachment was either killed while in the discharge of duty, or savagely butchered. Even their chaplain was put to death. On his knees he begged for life, but mercy was denied him. While, of the country people who had taken refuge in the castle, only a few were able to escape with their lives from the brutal soldiery. After the slaughter, search was made for Major Dunbar's body, which, having been found by the Imperialists, was barbarously mutilated.

The enemy had above a thousand men killed before they took the castle.

Munro, who received an account of these proceedings from Ensign Lumsden, gives a harrowing picture of what took place. "The whole court and lodgings running with blood, with which walls and pavements are sprinkled. . . . These cruell murderers did by their monstrous and prodigious massacre" show no "mercy to officer, souldier, or Preacher. . . . Was there greater perfidie in the world than was used here, willingly to harme the dead, and the innocent? For to wrong an innocent Preacher was savage, beseeeming a beast, not a man; and to give a stabbe, as was done here, for the innocent smile of an Infant, was devillish blacke at the heart. . . . And I perswade my selfe, none but villanous persons, being Commanders, ever suffered the like to have been done without moderation."

This terrible disaster left only the seven companies of the Regiment, with which, as I have already mentioned, Sir Donald had been ordered to march from Boitzenburg to Ruppin. At Ruppin, instructions were given by General Slamersdorff, who then commanded the King of Denmark's forces in that district, that after resting for eight days, the march was to be continued into Silesia, to join the Danish army in that territory. Within a week, however, the startling intelligence was received, that the Danish army in Silesia had been totally defeated, that the victors had pushed rapidly on and crossed the Elbe, and that their troops occupied all the passes leading into Holstein. To retreat by land and join the king's army was thus impossible, and as the Regiment could not remain where it was, orders were given to make for the island of Poel, near Wismar, on the Baltic, and wait there till shipping could be provided to carry them to Holstein.

General Slamersdorff had appointed Perleburg, a small town on the Stepnitz, as the rendezvous for the remnants of the defeated army, and thither they marched with all haste. When mustered,

they numbered about ten thousand men of all arms. The General seems to have been very much frightened, for he marched the troops night and day until they got to Wismar, being naturally afraid that the enemy might get between him and the sea. The troops encamped about a mile from Wismar, and opposite the island of Poel. They made a drawbridge to the island, and fortified it with sconces and redoubts. It was harvest time, and being uncertain how long they might have to remain, they conveyed provisions and stores to the island, sufficient to last them all winter, should they be kept there so long. But they only remained five weeks. Munro says, that during this time they had "abundance of flesh and drinke" but were slightly provided of bread and salt . . . a Souldier had but one pound of bread allowed him in ten dayes, if that he tooke it not off the field ;" that is, unless he went to the field and gathered there wheat or rye. The Highlanders, he further adds, called their encampment "the flesh Leager, and justly, for the Souldiers were so cloyed with flesh, that Oxen flesh was let lie on the ground, the Hides taken off by the Souldiers and sold for a Can of Beere a Hide, the whole body left on the place untouched." Our countrymen, also, seemed to consider the sheep's head and trotters quite as favourite a dish then, as many do at the present time, for it is recorded of the soldiers, that at last they got "weary of mutton also, eating only the heads and feet, being boyled with wheat brought off the fields." One of the results of eating so much animal food without bread or salt, was the breaking out of a serious pestilence in the camp, of which many soldiers died ; "but of our nation fewest, for to speake truth," I again quote from Munro, "I never did see more durable men against all Toyle, travelle and tediousnesse, than they were." The people of Wismar behaved very discourteously to the officers and men of the defeated army, even the merchants being unwilling to sell them such articles as they desired to purchase. "Likewise I did observe first here," Munro further adds, "that the Townes of Germanie are best friends ever to the masters of the field, in flattering the victorious, and in persecuting the loser, which is ever well seene in all estates."

At last arrangements were completed for transporting the army to Holstein. Ships arrived from Copenhagen, and the embarkation at once took place. General Slamersdorff was left with two thousand men to defend the island, while the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, with eight thousand horse and foot, sailed for Heiligenhagen, where the whole force was safely landed. The Highlanders were included in the eight thousand.



Immediately after landing, orders were given to march to Oldenburg, where it was hoped the Danish forces, if united with the eight thousand just landed, might be able to defeat Count Tilly, who was known to be advancing with an immense army, for the purpose of overrunning Holstein. The Pass of Oldenburg, through which the invading army must of necessity come, had, by some strange overlook on the part of the Danish generals, been left unfortified. The Highlanders, on arriving at the Pass, immediately set to work to make trenches, so as to secure it against the enemy. They worked all night, and next day till noon, when they discovered the Imperialists advancing in formidable numbers of horse and foot. Before three o'clock in the afternoon the latter had planted their cannon, and the Danish general being informed of this, orders were given to double the guards, barricade the pass; and, during the night, cast up a redoubt before it.

By day light the next morning the battle began—the enemy trying to force the pass, the Danish army to keep it. The fighting was mainly confined to the cavalry. At last the Danish soldiers began to give way, when the General commanded Sir Donald, “in all haste . . . to march with the halfe of his Regiment to maintain the passe.” The General asked the Highlanders, as Sir Donald was leading them on, if they went on with courage. This being interpreted to the men, they, “shouting for joy, cast off their hats, rejoicing in their march, seeming glad of the occasion.” Then, commending their courage and resolution, the General blessed them, and passed on. As the Highlanders advanced, the enemy's cannon played continuously upon them, and their colours were torn in pieces. Lieutenant Hugh Ross was the first that felt the smart of the cannon ball. He was shot in the leg, and falling, called out courageously, “Go on bravely, comrades, I wish I had a Treene (*i.e.* a wooden leg) for your sakes.” As they drew near the Pass, the Germans [Holsteineers] that were on service had all fled except their Captain. The Pass was thus nearly lost; but Sir Donald hurried an officer forward with a platoon of musketeers, “mostly young gentlemen of his own company,” with directions to maintain the Pass, which they did; “but being hard pressed, many of them died in defence of it.”

The others were not idle, and a hot engagement took place. The pikemen had to stand “for two howers in battell under mercy of Cannon and musket, so that their sufferings and hurts were greater both amongst officers and souldiers than the hurt done to the Musketers, for few of their officers escaped unhurt, and divers also were killed.” During the engagement, a barrel of gunpowder “was

blowne up, whereby," Sir Donald, "was burnt in the face, and many souldiers spoiled." The enemy, having seen the explosion of gunpowder, again tried to force the passage; but their efforts were in vain, and they had to retire. The first division of the Regiment had been fighting upwards of two hours, when the second division came up, "who falling on fresh, with man-like courage, the other division" fell "off to refresh themselves."

The engagement continued for some time with unabated vigour; but after mid-day the Regiment was enabled to keep the pass "by companies, one company relieving another till night, that it grew darke, and then darknesse, the enemy of Valour, made the service to cease." This engagement lasted from seven o'clock in the morning till about four o'clock in the afternoon. The Imperialists certainly got a check; and by the indomitable pluck of the Highlanders, the Danish army was saved for that day, and an opportunity afforded the Generals to decide on future action. But it was a sad struggle for our brave countrymen; for in the unequal contest they had three officers and about four hundred men killed, and thirteen officers wounded.\* The officers killed were Andrew Munro, Farquhar Munro, and Murdoch Polson. Among the wounded were Sir Donald Mackay, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Seton, Captain Sir Patrick Mackay, Captain John Forbes of Tulloch, and Munro, the author of the *Expedition*.

Such a service might have been considered most ample work for any one regiment to have accomplished in a single day, but there was yet more work in store for the Highlanders—they had again to guard the Pass. The General, apparently out of his whole army, had no other regiment he could trust for this important duty.

Munro says, the Duke of Weimar, after paying a high compliment to Sir Donald and his Regiment, requested "him that, as the Regiment had done bravely all day, in being the instruments under God of his safety, and of the armies, he would once more request that his Regiment might hold out the inch as they had done the span, till it was darke, and then they should be relieved, as he was a Christian."

The Duke faithfully kept his promise. That night the Council of War decided that it would be hopeless to attempt to stand

\* One of the officers wounded, an Ensign, "being shot through the body above the left pappe, went a little aside till he was drest, and returned again to his station, keeping his colours in his hand, till night, before the enemy, never fainting with his wound, an example of rare courage, and of great strength of bodie, neither did he ever thereafter keepe bed or lodging one hour, more than ordinary, for all this hurt."—*Munro*.

against Tilly's overwhelming forces. It was therefore resolved that the army should retire with all speed to Heiligenhaven, get on board the ships lying there, and sail for Denmark. The Duke remembered his promise to Sir Donald, and insisted that, as the Highlanders had behaved so heroically, they should have some special mark of favour. It was accordingly arranged that they, as they "deserved best," should be "first brought off, getting orders to march in the night to ships." Munro writes regarding this as follows:—"Here also I found that a friend in need was better than gold, for had not the Duke of Wymar beene our friend, we had bin left behinde at the passe, and beene prisoners the next day with the rest of the Army. . . . Likewise, I have found by experience that those who fight best in occasions, have ever the best of it, though they chance to suffer loss; if it come to a retreat, commonly they are most respected and come first off, as we did at this time, and it is ever better to fight well, and to retire timely, than for a man to suffer himselfe to be taken prisoner, as many were that morning after our retreat."

When all was quiet, the retreat began. The General, accompanied by Sir Donald, was the first to leave. Then the Highlanders followed; it having been arranged that they should embark before any of the other troops. It was a moonlight night in October, and at ten o'clock they reached Heiligenhaven, and drew up on the shore. There, it had been arranged, they were to wait for Sir Donald, whose object in leaving in advance of his Regiment was that he might procure shipping for their transport. He had gone out to the roadstead for this purpose; but there was quite a panic among the mariners, and he could not get any one to obey him. Munro's statement is that they had been alarmed by the incessant firing which they had heard during the day, and "feare so possest them all that they lacked hands to worke and hearts to obey," and Sir Donald had to return without being able to induce the masters of any of the ships to bring their vessels near to the shore to receive his men.

What had been intended to be a quiet and orderly retreat, had become a hurried and pell-mell rout; for when it was known that the Highlanders had left the Pass, the rest of the army, horse and foot, made a rush from the camp to the seaboard; and ere long the cavalry came galloping down to the water's edge in the greatest disorder. There was no head to direct, and everything was in confusion. The officers had lost all control over their men, and discipline was at an end. The number of fugitives rapidly increased, and soon men and horses, pioneers, musketeers, and pikemen, baggage and

ammunition, were crowded in an unwieldy and unmanageable mass on the pier and shore.

Sir Donald realised the gravity of the situation, and resolved upon a plan by means of which the remains of his Regiment might be brought off with safety. The enemy was known to be in pursuit, and there was not a moment to be lost. He must either embark his men at once, make a desperate but useless stand against the enemy, to "die with back to the water and face to the foe," or surrender with the broken Danish army to Count Tilly. The runaway cavalry (which consisted chiefly of German levies in the Danish service), had crowded the long mole or pier, and were in the act of seizing the shipping for the conveyance of themselves and their horses. Sir Donald saw he had only one chance, and ordered his Highlanders to clear the pier of these horsemen. "Pikemen to the front!" he cried; and we are told that formed in line, eight ranks deep, the whole breadth of the mole, the Highlanders, pikemen in front and musketeers in the rear, steadily advanced, and charging the horsemen, forced them over the shelving edges of the pier into the water. But the channel fortunately was shallow, so they escaped drowning. The Highlanders seized upon a ship, and after placing their colours and a number of men on board, had it moved a little from the shore to prevent its getting aground. This accomplished, the ship's boat was manned with an officer and some musketeers, who were "sent to force other ships out of the Roade" into their service, and thus a sufficient number of vessels being secured, the Regiment was at last safely embarked. All, except some villains, as Munro calls them, who had "gone a plundering in the Towne, but not knowing the danger they were in," stayed away all night, and were taken next morning by the enemy. It was hard work getting the men shipped. Some of the officers toiled all night ferrying the sick and wounded from the shore, and the last boatful was just leaving when the Imperialists entered Heiligenhaven. It was such a narrow escape that Captain Robert Munro's boat was beaten from the shore by the enemy's horsemen. Among the many incidents recorded, Munro mentions the following:—"A Gentleman borne in the Isles of Scotland, called *Alexander Mac-Worche*, being wounded in the head, and shot in the arme, the enemies Horsemen shooting at him with Pistols, he leapes from the shoare, with his clothes on, notwithstanding those wounds, and swimmes to my Cosen Captaine *Monro* his boate, and being brought in, died the next day, and was much lamented for of his *Camerudes*, as a Gentleman of great hope." The baggage of the Highlanders and the horses of their mounted officers had all to be left behind.

Tilly's army had now possession of Heiligenhaven ; and the Highlanders from on board their ships witnessed the surrender of the Duke of Weimar's army to the Imperialists. They gave themselves up without striking a blow ! The German horsemen, whom the Highlanders had driven from the pier, were mercenaries, and nothing more, for they at once took service under Tilly, being "quite ready to fight to-morrow the Master they had sworn to defend to-day." Munro very quaintly describes the scene. He says—We saw "the enemies Army drawne up in battell, horse, foote and cannon, and" the routed Danish "Army of foote and horse opposite unto them : I did see six and thirty Cornets of horse being full troupes without loosing of one Pistoll give themselves prisoners in the enemies mercy, whereof the most part took service. As also I did see five Regiments of Foote, being forty Colours,\* follow their examples, rendering themselves and their Colours without loosing of one musket." Of the whole of the Duke of Weimar's army, the Mackay Regiment alone escaped.

The loss of his army was not the only misfortune that this stroke of ill-luck brought to the King of Denmark. The provinces of Holstein and Jutland were also lost, and from that day till the siege of Stralsund, his whole military operations were, with a few exceptions, little more than a series of flights. For a time the Austrian Eagle spread its wings over the mainland of Denmark, from the Elbe to the Skager Rack, and the Danish Islands alone remained under the sway of King Christian.

Sir Donald, on leaving Heiligenhaven with his Highlanders, sailed for Flensburg, to report what had taken place to the King, and receive further orders from His Majesty. The King was much grieved on learning the heavy loss his forces had sustained ; but seeing he could not then again enter the field against the Imperialists, he prudently resolved to act upon the defensive, till he could organise another army for active operations. In the meantime he directed Sir Donald to proceed to Assens, in the Island of Funen, and there the Highlanders landed. It was only a year since they had left Scotland, and six months since they had entered on active service, but the struggles they had been engaged in had been of so sanguinary a character, that already the Regiment was reduced to less than half the number which embarked at Cromarty on the 10th of October, 1626. "We landed at *Assens* of our Regiment," says Munro, "eight hundred souldiers besides one hundred and fifty wounded and sicke men, and being put in good

\* Each company in those days carried a colour.

quarters, we rest us, leaving the enemy to rest in the fat land of *Holsten* and *Yewtland*, having a good broad and deep fosse (the sea) betwixt us, we were by Gods mercy secured."

The King of Denmark had also gone to Assens, and after Sir Donald had consulted with his Majesty, it was arranged that two companies of the Regiment were to remain there, while the rest should be quartered in the neighbouring villages. A comfortable and convenient hotel, or country house, was also provided for "the wounded and sicke men, where they were to be entertained together till they were cured, and his Majestie graciously ordained skilfull Chirurgicalians, diligently to attend them, being an hundred and fiftie, besides officers."

It was after getting to Assens that news reached them of the gallant defence of Bredenburg, and the massacre of the garrison. The news filled every one with the deepest sorrow.

The heavy losses the Regiment had sustained now became matter for serious consideration. Sir Donald called the officers together for consultation, and the result of their deliberation was that he entered into a new agreement with the King for a further prosecution of the cause in which they had embarked, and at once made preparations to go to Scotland for the purpose of bringing over a thousand men to recruit the Regiment. Officers from each company, it was arranged, were to go with him, and in most cases the captains were selected, leaving the command of their respective companies during their absence to their lieutenants. By taking these officers with him, Sir Donald expected to recruit with greater expedition than if he had gone alone.

Captain Robert Munro (the author of the *Expedition*) having done duty as major for some time, was, on the news of the death of Major Dunbar, appointed by his "Colonel's respect and his Majesties favour," major of the Regiment; or, as the rank was then designated, sergeant-major, an office almost precisely similar to that of adjutant of the present day. Munro's account of his instalment is interesting, as the description of a bygone military ceremony. "Orders were given unto the Commissary that mustered us, according to my Patent [or Commission] to place me as sergeant-major over the Regiment, which all duely obeyed by the Commissary, the Drummer Major, accompanied with the rest of the drummers of the Regiment, being commanded, beate a bancke in head of the Regiment. The Commissary having his Majesties Patent in his hand [the Commission was signed by the King], makes a speech, signifying his Majesties will unto all the officers of the Regiment, and without any contradiction placed me Sergeant-major, and delivering me my

Patent takes me by the hand, as the Colonell did, Lievetenant-Colonell with the whole officers of the Regiment, wishing me joy, with the generall applause of the whole *Soldateska*, which ceremony ended, the Regiment marched off, by companies unto their severall quarters as before."

The officers that accompanied Sir Donald Mackay to Scotland, were Captains Sir Patrick Mackay, John Munro of Obisdell, John Munro (commonly called Assynt Munro), Sinclair, Forbes, and Annan, and Lieutenant Robert Stewart. Major Munro was left in command of the Regiment, as Lieutenant-Colonel Seton had gone to Holland on leave.

Before returning to Denmark, Sir Donald Mackay went to London for a short time, and on the 19th February, 1628, the King advanced him to the dignity of the peerage, under the title of LORD REAY, by patent to him and his heirs male for ever, bearing the name and arms of Mackay.

During his absence, the Regiment had hot work on several occasions. He left for Scotland in October, and in November Major Munro was ordered to proceed with four companies to the Island of Laaland, to keep the Imperialists in check, as they had crossed the Belt and laid the Island of Femern under contribution. Some months later (22nd March, 1628), the King also landed in Laaland with 2500 foot, being resolved to drive the enemy from Femern, as he was afraid, if they were left undisturbed there, they might get possession of some of the other Islands. On the 6th of April the expedition sailed, and on the 8th landed at Femern. After a short resistance, the Imperialist garrison surrendered unconditionally, and leaving their arms, baggage, and ammunition, were sent away in boats to Holstein. After resting three days, during which time the King appointed a Governor, and told off a garrison for the protection of the Island, a second expedition was agreed upon. On the 11th of April, the ships again set sail, and kept along the coast of Holstein till they came to Eckernfiord, where there was a garrison of the Imperialists. Here the troops landed, the King remaining on board ship to watch proceedings. The force consisted of close upon 2000 men, English, Scots, Dutch, and French, in about equal numbers. It was agreed to cast lots as to which should lead the attack, and the lot fell on the Highlanders, the English coming next. The town was taken and plundered, but there was some hard fighting and considerable loss. Before the attack began, Mr. William Forbes, the preacher to the Regiment, wished the Highlanders success "in the name of the Lord." Part of the defenders retired to the church, which

they barricaded, and shooting out of it did great damage to the attacking party. On the church being forced, it was discovered that the defenders had retired for safety to a detached gallery ; but, before doing so, they had laid a train of gunpowder over the floor, for the destruction of the building, when the invaders entered it. Major Munro, on noticing this, had barely time to warn his men of their danger, when an explosion took place, by which about one hundred were killed. The Highland soldiers not having forgotten the enemy's cruelty to their comrades at Bredenburg, then resolved to give no quarter, and about two hundred and fifty of the enemy were destroyed. Several of Mackay's officers were wounded, among others, Captain Mackenzie, who " was favourably shot in the legge," and Lieutenant David Munro, who was " pitifully burnt."

The chaplain, " Master William Forbesse," is described by Munro as " a Preacher for Souldiers, yea and a Captaine in neede, to lead Souldiers on a good occasion, being full of courage and discretion and good conduct, beyond some Captaines I have knowne, who were not so capable as he. At this time, he not onely prayed for us, but went on with us, to remarke, as I thinke, mens carriage, and having found a Sergeant neglecting his dutie, and his honour at such a time, did promise to reveal him unto me, as he did after their service ; the Sergeant being called before me, and accused, did deny his accusation, alleaging that if he were no Pastour that had alleaged it, he would not lie under the injury, the Preacher offered to fight with him, that it was truth he had spoken of him, whereupon I cashier'd the Sergeant. . . . The Sergeant being cashier'd never call'd Master *William* to account, for which he was evill thought of, so that he retired home, and quit the warres."

Munro very ingenuously gives three excuses for pursuing men who had " retired to a Church being a place of refuge." First, our orders " were to beate our enemies, in taking them prisoners, or by killing them, which we could not effect, . . . without entering the Church." " Secondly. They having banished the Gospell, and the Preachers of it out of the Church, we had good reason to banish them, who had made of the house of *God* a *Denne* of theeves and murtherers, as they were at *Bredenburg* having killed our *Camerades*, and massacred our *Preacher* being on his knees begging mercy, and could find none. Thirdly. They treacherously retired themselves to a Loft apart in the Church, for their own safeties, and left trains of Powder to blow us up at our entry, which made our Compassion towards them the Colder ;" and then he adds, however, " I refused not to shew compassion



on those who did beg it of me, and what others did in their fury, I did tolerate, not being powerfull to hinder them." Truly war is a cruel teacher, when it can justify such excesses, even as acts of retribution.

Having returned to their ships, the King directed that they should next sail along the coast till they came to Kiel. Here a landing was attempted ; but the preparations made by the Imperialist leader, defeated the attempt to take the town, and the greater number of the men detailed for this purpose were killed. The attacking party was led by an English officer, who displayed great bravery. He got off, but died of his wounds the following day. Thirty Highlanders were among the number which landed ; and of these twenty-two were killed ; the remaining eight were wounded, but escaped by swimming to the King's ship, into which they were taken. Munro remarks—" Here also our *Scottish High-land-men* are prayse worthy, who for lacke of Boats, made use of their vertue and courage in swimming the Seas, notwithstanding of their wounds, with their cloathes, shewing their Masters they were not the first came off, but with the last ; following the example of their leader, they would not stay to be Prisoners, as many doe at such times, and never returne." After this disappointment and repulse, the ships returned to Femern. An attempt was made shortly afterwards to establish a footing in Holstein, but also failed ; and orders were then given to sail back to Laaland.

But another great struggle was at hand. Tidings were brought to King Christian that Stralsund, one of the free cities of the Hanseatic League had been besieged by the Imperialists, under Marshal Arnheim. It had remained neutral during the war, pursuing those habits of peaceful industry which had secured it so many privileges from the Dukes of Pomerania ; but its noble harbour, and its vicinity to the coasts of Sweden and Denmark, made its possession of great importance to the conqueror. Wallenstein, then the generalissimo of the Emperor, had declared he would sweep the shores, and also the waters of the Baltic ; and in pursuance of this plan resolved to seize Stralsund. He sent an officer requesting the burghers to receive an Imperial garrison, which they declined ; he then asked for permission to march his army through the city, but the burgomaster was too wary, and this also was refused ; then the gates were closed, and cannon loaded—the city stood upon its defence, and Marshal Arnheim was commanded to begin the siege at once. The burghers of Stralsund thereupon sent a message to the King of Denmark, humbly begging for his assistance. This, he at once promised, for he knew if

Stralsund fell into the hands of the Imperialists, the free navigation of the Baltic would be lost, and the Danish islands, as it were, at the mercy of the conqueror. He selected Lord Reay's Regiment for the hazardous duty, "having had sufficient proof of its former service . . . so that before others they were trusted on this occasion." Orders were given that they should at once proceed to Stralsund. Lieutenant-Colonel Seton having returned from Holland, was instructed to take shipping direct from Funen, with the three companies which had been left in that island; while the four companies which were stationed in Laaland were to march to Elsinore and embark there. Lieutenant-Colonel Seton with the three companies must have entered Stralsund on the 24th or 25th of May; for Munro, who arrived with the other four companies on the 28th, says, we were "no sooner drawne up in the Market place, but presently we were sent to watch at *Franckendore*, to relieve the other Division, that had watched three days and three nights together uncome off, that being the weakest part of the whole Towne, and the onely poste pursued by the enemy, which our Lievetenant-Colonell made choice of, being the most dangerous, for his Countries credit."

For the space of six weeks their duty in defending the town was hard and unremitting. During this time, "neither officer nor Souldier was suffered to come off his watch, neither to dine or suppe, but their meate was carried unto them, to their poste." And Munro says, that in these six weeks his "clothes came never off, except it had been to change a suite or linnings"—[linens]. The town's people too, were very surly and inhospitable, or as Munro expresses it, "ungratefull and unthankfull;" and this added considerably to the discomfort of the soldiers.

Day after day, and night after night, the Highlanders were kept at their posts without any respite. They had to keep double watch, and their position was being constantly assailed by the enemy. The Franken-gate, which was their especial charge, was at the weakest part of the city wall, and the enemy, as a matter of course, directed most of their efforts to carry that point. Attempts were made by the Highlanders to strengthen their position; but they had to work, so to speak, with spade in one hand, and pike or musket in the other; for the Imperialists were constantly on the alert to attack them at any moment. Many of the defenders were killed, and many more wounded. "When cannons are roaring and bullets flying, he that would have honour must not feare dying: many rose in the morning, went not to bed at night, and many supped at night, sought no breakfast in the morning." So

writes Munro, and then he adds, "some had their heads separated from their bodies by the Cannon, as happened to one Lievetenant and thirteene Souldiers, that had their fourteene heads shot from them by one Cannon bullet at once. Who doubts of this, he may go and see the reliques of their braines to this day [1636, about eight years after the siege], sticking on the walles, under the Port of *Franckendore* in *Trailesound*."

Wallenstein was so annoyed that the siege should last so long, that on the 26th of June he arrived in the camp for the purpose of conducting the operations himself. He examined the walls, and swore he would "take the place in three nights, though it were hanging with Iron chaines, betwixt the earth and the heavens." "But," as the historian writes, "forgetting to take God on his side, he was disappointed by him who disposeth of all things."

Between ten and eleven o'clock that night the assault was made, and the post guarded by Mackay's Regiment, being, as I have already mentioned, the weakest, the enemy's efforts were directed chiefly against it. But it was known that Wallenstein was in camp, and the Highlanders were prepared for a more than ordinary attack on their position. The sentries were doubled, and posts strengthened; and when the enemy advanced, "above a thousand strong, with a shoute, *sa sa, sa sa, sa sa!*" the sentry gave fire, the defenders were at once called to arms, and after a severe struggle of an hour and a half, the assailants were repulsed. But they had reliefs at hand, and were at once succeeded by a storming party of equal number, and these again by others, and so on until morning, when day breaking, a last and desperate effort was made to force the gate. They got within the outworks, but were beaten "backe againe with greate losse, with swords and pikes and butts of muskets, so that" they were "forced to retire, having lost above a thousand men," while the Highlanders lost "neare two hundred, besides those who were hurt." The moat was filled with the dead bodies of the enemy up to the banks. The works were ruined and could not be repaired, "which caused the next night's watch to be the more dangerous."

The defence was conducted by Major Munro, who was severely wounded; and he tells us that, "during the time of this hot conflict, none that was whole went off at the coming of the reliefe, but continued in the fight assisting their Camerades, so long as their strength served." He remained till "wearied and growne stiff with" his wounds, he was assisted off. The number of Highland officers killed and wounded was very heavy.

The Regiment was badly treated. They asked for assistance,

but although nearly all the force of the enemy was directed against their position, no support was sent them. But just before the last assault was made, Colonel Fritz, who had recently arrived in Stralsund from Sweden, went to the help of the Highlanders "with foure score muskietiers." Colonel Fritz was killed, and also his Major, who was named Semple; and his Lieutenant-Colonel, MacDougall, was taken prisoner, and was missing for six months.

It is reported of Wallenstein, that he was so eager to get into the town, that, when his wounded officers retired, he ordered them to be shot, branding them as cowards for leaving their places so long as they could stand.

Munro very drily remarks on the shouts, "Sa sa, sa sa, sa sa!" made by the Imperialists, when entering on an engagement—"Shouting like *Turkes*, as if crying would terrifie resolute Souldiers: No truely . . . seeing we were more overjoyed by their coming than any wise terrified; and we received them with Volees of Cannon and Musket in their teeth, which faire and wellcome was hard of digestion unto some of them. . . . True courage consists not in words . . . but in the strength of the Valiant Arme, and not in the Tongue. . . . It may well be said of them as the *Proverbe* is that the dogges did barke more than they did bite."

The following day Lieut.-Colonel Seton visited the wounded Major at his lodgings, and gave him particulars of the loss the Regiment had sustained. So few men were left that were really fit for service, that Munro advised that they should all be put into the Colonel's company, so as to form one strong company, in the meantime, and when the recruits came from Scotland, the companies should then be formed anew.\* When night came, the

\* The second sight had not quite died out in those days, for Munro adds, in connection with the visit made to him by Lieut.-Colonel Seton:—"To make my Lievetenant-Colonell laugh, I did tell him a story of a vision, that was seene by a Souldier of the Colonell's company, that morning before the enemy did storme, being a predictive dreame, and a true. One *Murdo Mac-claude* borne in *Assen*, a Souldier of a tall stature, and valiant courage, being sleeping on his watch, awakened by the breake of day, and jogges two of his Camerades lying by him, who did finde much fault with him for sturring of them, he replied, before long you shall be otherwise sturred, a Souldier called *Allen Tough a Loghaber-man*, recommending his soule to God, asked him what he had seene, who answered him, you shall never see your country againe, the other replied, the losse was but small if the rest of the company were well, he answered no, for there was great hurt and death of many very neere, the other asked againe, whom had he seene more that would dye besides him, sundry of his Camerades he tould by name, that should be killed: the other asked what would become of himselfe, he answered, he would be killed with the rest: in effect, he describeth the whole Officers by their cloathes that should be hurt: a pretty quicke boy neere by asked him, what

enemy made another furious assault, and the Highlanders had for a time to abandon their outworks and retire to the ravelin ; but as soon as the morning light shone, led by their officers, and armed — some “ with corslets, head-pieces, with half-pikes, morgan sternes, and swords,” they rushed out “ Pell mell amongst the enemies, and chased them quite out of the workes againe, and retiring with credit, maintained still the Triangle or Raveline.” The loss of life was again great on both sides.

Wallenstein finding he could not take the city so easily as he imagined, sent a trumpeter to know if the defenders would treat with him upon terms. Lieut.-Colonel Seton (in the absence of Colonel Holke, the governor of the city), was glad of the offer, and an armistice of fourteen days was agreed upon to draw up the terms of a treaty, and to give time to ascertain the King of Denmark's views on the subject. The treaty was just ready for signature when orders came to Lieut.-Colonel Seton not to sign it, as troops were in readiness to come with all haste for his relief. “ Whereupon my Lord *Spynie*, a Scots Noble man, with his Regiment, with sufficient provision of money and Ammunition, were sent unto the Towne, and being entered the treaty was rejected, and made voide.”

Shortly after this an arrangement was entered into by the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, by which the defence of Stralsund was undertaken by the latter. Sir Alexander Leslie, “ an expert and valorous Scots commander,” was appointed governor,† with some Swedish troops ; and the forces employed by the King of Denmark were ordered to be withdrawn from the garrison, and Swedish troops employed in their place.

Leslie had no sooner taken the command than he resolved to attack the besiegers, and drive them from their works. Desirous of conferring “ credit on his owne Nation alone,” he “ made choice of *Spynie's* Regiment, being their first service to make the outfall,”

would become of the Major, meaning me, he answered, he would be shot, but not deadly, and that the boy should be next unto me, when I were hurt, as he was.”

† Munro enlarges in glowing terms on the special blessings bestowed on the Stralsunders in having obtained a Scotaman for their ruler : “ And what a blessing it was to a Towne perplexed, as this was, to get a good, wise, vertuous and valiant Governour in time of their greatest trouble, which shewes that we are govern'd by a power above us.” And then waxing more eloquent on the good fortune of the city, and the merits of his countrymen, he adds, “ It faring then with *Trailesound*, as with *Sara* ; she became fruitfull when she could not believe it, and they become flourishing having gotten a Scots Governour to protect them, whom they looked not for, which was a good *omen* unto them, to get a Governour of the Nation, that was never conquered, which made them the onely Towne in *Germany* free, as yet, from the Imperiall yoke, by the valour of our Nation, that defended their City in their greatest danger.”

and "the remainder of Mackay's Regiment to second them for making good of their retreat." They fell upon the enemy's works, forced them to retire, and drove them back to the main body of their army. But overpowered by numbers, they, in their turn, were obliged "to retire with the losse of some brave Cavaliers." To make their retreat good, Captain Mackenzie advanced "with the old *Scottish* blades" of Mackay's Regiment. He succeeded in driving off the enemy, and then covering Spynie's men, till they had arrived within their own works, he, still facing the foe, gradually retired to his own position. But the loss of the Highlanders was again considerable, for they had thirty men killed.

Immediately after resigning the protection of Stralsund to Sweden, the King of Denmark made an attempt to secure for himself the province of Pomerania, then held by the Imperialists. For this purpose he left Denmark with a force of cavalry and infantry, with which he landed at Wolgast. He then recalled Mackay's and Spynie's Regiments from Stralsund; and the remains of these two Scottish corps reached Wolgast about the end of July. The King immediately prepared to attack the Imperialists, but he was no match for them. They destroyed the greater part of his army without even coming to any regular engagement; and then pressing him hard, forced him to retire, in great haste and confusion, until he was again within the town of Wolgast. Here finding he was in danger of being taken prisoner, he put all the Scottish troops under command of Captain Mackenzie of Mackay's Regiment, who was ordered to skirmish with the enemy till the King had passed the bridge; and then, with his Highlanders, he was to retire, and set the bridge on fire, "which the Captaine did orderly obey," says Munro, "doing his Majestie the best service was done him in the whole time of the warres, not without great danger of the Captaine, and his followers, where the Bridge once burning, he was then the happiest man that could first be shipped."

The King immediately embarked for Denmark with the remainder of his forces. They arrived at Copenhagen on the 9th of August, and were met by Lord Reay, who had just returned from Scotland, with about a thousand recruits for his Regiment.

I may here mention that the Highlanders had no further share in the defence of Stralsund. An idea of the hard work they had, may, however, be inferred from the fact that upwards of five hundred of them were killed during the short time they were engaged in defending that city. The siege lasted four months in all, and cost the Imperialists upwards of twelve thousand of their best soldiers. But notwithstanding this immense sacrifice, they

were compelled to retire, after spiking their cannon, destroying their baggage, and setting fire to their camp, so as to prevent any booty falling into the hands of the gallant defenders.

At Copenhagen, Lord Reay immediately set to work to reorganize his Regiment. So few, however, of the band survived which had sailed from Cromarty on the 10th of October, 1626, that the task was like forming a new regiment altogether. Munro says, that when the survivors left Stralsund of "both officers and souldiers I doe not think one hundred were free of wounds, received honourably in defence of the good cause." The record is almost without a parallel in history.

Two companies sent over by Colonel Sinclair (of which one was a Welsh Company, commanded by Captain Trafford), were joined to the Regiment; and Lieutenant-Colonel Seton having retired, Major Munro was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in his place. When completed and mustered, the new Regiment numbered fourteen hundred men, besides officers.

Shortly after his return to Denmark, the King decided on raising another army, either "to beate the enemy out of *Holsten*, or otherwise with his sword in his hand, make an honourable peace." Having made all the preliminary arrangements for the campaign, which, it was intended, should open in the following spring, the King ordered the army into winter quarters.

In April the troops were brought together, and plans prepared for a descent on Holstein. The different companies of Lord Reay's Regiment, which had been quartered in various places during winter, assembled at Enge, where, it was proposed, hostilities should begin. There was every indication that a fierce and terrible struggle was at hand; but before again drawing the sword, the King decided on trying to arrange a treaty of peace with the Emperor of Austria. In this he succeeded. The preliminaries were agreed upon in May, and in August the treaty was signed. Holstein and Jutland were restored to the King, and the conditions imposed upon him were that he should not interfere in the affairs of Germany further than he was entitled to do as Count of Holstein; that on no pretext was he to enter the circles of Lower Germany; that he was to leave the Elector Palatine to his fate; and that the Scottish troops in his service were to quit it forthwith.

"Thus by a strange combination of misfortunes, was the most gallant of the Danish monarchs compelled to retire ingloriously from the great arena of the German war."

The service of Mackay's Regiment was now ended in Denmark. The King settled liberally and honourably with Lieutenant-Colonel

Munro (in the absence of Lord Reay, who had again returned to Britain); and then graciously dismissed the Regiment, "in whom the least omission could never be found, much lesse to have committed any grosse error worthe imputation." Orders were given to provide shipping to convey officers and men to Scotland, and "till the shippes were ready to saile," they were to be furnished with free quarters at Elsinore.

But the Regiment did not return to Scotland. The war between Denmark and Austria certainly was ended, but the great struggle had little more than begun.

THE SERVICE OF THE REGIMENT UNDER GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,  
KING OF SWEDEN.

In the summer of 1629 a large army was sent by the Emperor of Austria to the assistance of the Poles, who were then fighting against Sweden. This, of course, led to war between the Swedes and Austrians, and brought Gustavus Adolphus into the field. The King of Sweden appeared upon the scene as the champion of Protestantism, while the Emperor fought for the supremacy of the Church of Rome. The struggle was a long one; and though, after a time, selfish and political interests took the place of the religious elements with which the war began, it yet ended ultimately in the establishment of civil and religious liberty in Germany.

Acting under instructions from Lord Reay, Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, instead of returning with the Regiment to Scotland, tendered its services to the King of Sweden. Gustavus, who had formed a high opinion of the Scottish soldiery (he had many of them in his service), was glad to secure the assistance of a regiment which had already made itself so famous, and very speedily agreed to such conditions as were satisfactory to all concerned; and under him the Regiment gained even greater honours, if that were possible, than it had achieved, when originally embodied, and serving the King of Denmark.

When the arrangements were completed, six companies of the Highlanders were, on the orders of Gustavus, despatched, "as a beginning," by Munro from Elsinore to Braunsburg in Prussia. There they had a very easy time of it, for they were stationed in that district for more than a year without being engaged in any active service. The remainder of the Regiment must have been removed to Holland, to wait reinforcements and instructions from Lord Reay, for Munro says, "other sixe Companies of the old Regiment, the Colonell directed from *Holland to Sweden*, in *November 1629*, where they



remained in Garrison till *May* 1630." This would make the total strength of the regiment twelve companies, or about 2000 men, when it entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus.

Munro remained in Denmark to meet Lord Reay; and they both passed the winter in that country. In February, 1630, his Lordship proceeded to Sweden to wait on the King, and was accompanied by Munro.\* His Majesty received them graciously, and they found him so well pleased with the condition and discipline of the Highlanders, that he "did wish in open presence of the Army that all his Foot were as well disciplined. . . . And having caused the Regiment march by towards their Quarters his Majesty did mightily and much praise the Regiment for their good order."

Lord Reay remained in Sweden with the division of his Regiment which was there; but Munro was directed to proceed to Prussia, to take command of the six companies which had been sent to Braunsburg.

In the month of May the King took shipping with his army for Germany, and Lord Reay, with the division of his Regiment, accompanied him. The first service they had was the taking of Stettin. This city was then governed by the Duke of Pomerania, and on reaching it a trumpeter was sent to demand entrance. The Duke replied that he wished to remain neutral; but as this answer was not considered satisfactory by Gustavus, the Duke came out to have a personal interview with the King. After some conversation, he returned to the city, "and the drawbridge being let down for him, Lord Reay, at the head of his men, sprang upon it along with him, and rushing in at the gate, they were followed by the King and his army." There was no active resistance, and the city was taken without any bloodshed.† But Tilly was in the immediate neighbourhood, in command of the Imperialist army, and like a vulture scenting its prey, was on the watch.

Gustavus, on getting into Stettin, immediately appointed a solemn thanksgiving, to be held by the army, for their easy victory. Tilly, ever on the alert, took advantage of this, and fell upon the

\* Lord Reay and Munro "were nobly and courteously entertained" on their journey through Sweden. They visited many of their countrymen, who had settled in the land, and among others "that worthy *Cavaliere*, Colonell *Alexander Hamilton* at his Worke-houses at *Urbowe*, being then employed in making of Cannon and fire-workes for his Majesty." This was Sir Alexander Hamilton of Redhouse, a celebrated artillerist, whose cannon were long famous in Germany; and guns made on his principle, and known as *Canon a la Suedois*, were used in the French Army till 1780. He returned to Scotland, became famous in the wars of the Covenant, and was killed by an explosion at the castle of Dunglass.

† History of the House and Clan of Mackay.

outposts ; but an alarm being given, he was soon repulsed. Then thinking, perhaps, that the death of Gustavus would bring the war to an end, he bribed two German soldiers to assassinate the King. But the treason was discovered : One of the men was apprehended and executed, the other, however, escaped.

The division of Highlanders remained for several months at Stettin, and were afterwards joined there by the six companies which had been sent to Braunsburg, whose adventures I shall now relate. On the 12th August, 1630, they were ordered to proceed to Pillau, and from thence to take shipping to Wolgast. Three vessels were employed for their conveyance ; but a few days after sailing, one of the ships, that in which Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, with three of the companies, had embarked, was driven ashore in a storm, and became a total wreck, those on board barely escaping with their lives.\* From some peasants it was ascertained they had been wrecked on the Island of Rugen, and that the Imperialists were in considerable force in the neighbourhood. The shipwrecked men were in miserable plight, their ammunition had been destroyed, and they had no weapons "but swords, pikes, and some wet muskets." With the enemy near at hand, prompt action was necessary. The Castle of Rugenwalde, belonging to the Duke of Pomerania, was not far off. The Duke was a secret partisan of Gustavus, and though the Imperialists had taken possession of the town, they strangely had left the castle under the charge of the Duke's retainers. Munro sent an officer, under the direction of a guide, to the commander of the castle, to say that if he would furnish muskets and ammunition, he (Munro) would clear the town of the Imperialists, and defend it for the King. This the commander at once

\* As there is no further reference to the other ships, it may be presumed that they reached their destination in safety, and that the remaining three companies of the Regiment arrived at Wolgast, and afterwards joined the head quarters at Stettin.

Among the incidents connected with the shipwreck, Munro mentions "that in the very moment when our ship did breake on ground, there was a *Sergeants* Wife a shipboard who without the helpe of any women was delivered of a Boy, which all the time of the tempest she carefully did preserve, and being come ashore, the next day she marched neere foure English mile, with that in her Armes, which was in her Belly the night before, and was Christened the next *Sunday* after sermon, being the day of our thanksgiving for our Deliverance, our Preacher Mr. *Murdo Mac-Kenyee*, a worthy and Religious young man, having discharged his part that day, after with much regrate did sever from us, and followed my Lord of *Rhee* our Colonell unto *Britaine*." Mackenzie, the preacher, was afterwards minister of Suddie, in Ross-shire.

Munro also mentions that two of those on board "that took a pride in their swimming, thinking by swimming to gaine the shore, were both drowned." These were the only men lost. The one was a Dane (probably one of the sailors), and the other "Murdo Piper."

agreed to, and fifty muskets with ammunition were supplied. When night came, the Highlanders were admitted by a secret passage into the castle, and from thence passed easily into the town below. There they fell suddenly on the Imperialists, who were prepared for an attack from without, but not from within; and not knowing the numbers of the force thus so unexpectedly appearing, the usual effect of a panic followed. In short, such was the impetuosity with which the Highland musketeers and pikemen made their attack, that the whole band of Imperialists were either killed or taken prisoners. The keys of the town and castle were then delivered to Munro, and next day he sent a messenger to Stettin to acquaint his Majesty with the manner of his landing, and his "happy success" thereafter. He got orders from the King to maintain this valuable acquisition, "to keepe good watch and good order over the soldiers, and not to suffer them to wrong the country people whom" he "should presse to keepe for" his "Friends."

"Thus by a daring midnight attack, resolutely executed, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, a few Scottish Highlanders rewon the fertile Isle of Rugen for Gustavus."\*

Munro retained Rugenwalde for nine weeks, during which the cannonading, firing, and skirmishing were incessant. But the Austrians closed in upon all sides, and his situation soon became one of the greatest peril. He was, however, relieved by an old friend and fellow student, Sir John Hepburn, who, by order of the King, pushed forward to his assistance, by forced marches from Polish Prussia.

The next service of the Highlanders was the defence of the castle and town of Schiefelbein, described as "a scurvie hole for any honest cavalier to maintain his credit in," though it had been a post of strength. The castle, however, was in a dilapidated condition, and the town almost deserted, nearly half the inhabitants having died of a pestilence. A large force of Imperialists was known to be marching to the relief of Colberg, which was invested by General Kniphausen; and, as the relieving party must needs pass Schiefelbein, Munro was commanded to take possession of the castle. He had barely time to throw up some earthworks, when the enemy appeared. The orders he had received were brief and clear: "Maintain the town as long as you can; but fight to the last man, and do not give up the castle." Obedient to this, when the enemy appeared, and sent a trumpeter to propose a treaty of

\* Grant's *Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn*.

surrender, Munro replied, "I have no such orders, but I have powder and ball at your service." Upon this the attack began; but not being able to maintain the town, the defenders retired to the castle. The enemy having brought in their artillery and ammunition to the Market place, again sent to see if Munro would deliver "up the Castle upon good conditions, but if not, he should have no quarter afterwards." An answer similar to the first was returned, and then the attack began anew. The Imperialist force was under the command of Count Montecuculi, and numbered about eight thousand men. The castle was at once invested on all sides, and at nightfall the enemy began to "plant their Batteries within fourtie paces of our walles, which," says the gallant defender, "I thought too neere; but the night drawing on, wee resolved with fireworkes, to cause them remove their quarters, and their Artillerie." Munro soon showed what he meant by fireworks. He resolved to burn out the enemy by setting fire to the town; and his proceedings were speedy and simple. He directed one of his soldiers to fix a fire ball on the house that was nearest the castle, and the result was, as he tells us, that "the whole street did burne right alongst betwixt us and the enemy, who was then forced to retire, both his Canon and Souldiers, and not without great losse done unto him by our Souldiers." "Upon this the wary Montecuculi—auguring from the resolution of the governor, and the sturdy valour of his bare-kneed soldiers, that no laurels would be won . . . retired in the night without beat of drum, and under cover of a dense mist. Thus did five hundred Highlanders repel sixteen times their number of Imperialists."\*

Count Montecuculi resumed his march towards Colberg, his main object being, as we have seen, to relieve that stronghold. But this he was not permitted to accomplish; for Field-Marshal Horne, accompanied by Lord Reay, with some Highland Musketeers, had come up from Stettin and joined General Kniphausen, and thus stopped his march in that direction. An engagement took place between the two forces on the 13th November, without, however, leading to any decisive result, for a thick fog again coming on, the Imperialists were able to retire, though not without some loss. Indeed, if it had not been for "the Scottish musketeers of Hepburn and Lord Reay, who were in the van . . . and stood like a rampart, pouring in their volleys from right to left," the Imperialists would probably have been the victors. The Swedish infantry, who were led by a young and inexperienced officer, fled almost without

\* *Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn.*

firing a shot; and their cavalry also were seized by an unaccountable panic, and likewise took flight. Indeed, two of the troopers galloped to Schiefelbein, and told Munro that the Swedish army was beaten. Munro, however, did not believe this, and had them imprisoned until he ascertained the truth. He shortly afterwards saw the enemy retreating, about a mile off, and gives the following account of what took place:—

“The morning being dark with a thick mist the horsemen charging one another, they came in confusion on both sides, being affrighted alike, retired from each others with the losse of foure score men on both sides. The particulars whereof I will not set downe, having not seene the service.”

Although taking part in various engagements, nothing of importance occurred in which the Regiment was concerned, for some time after this. Munro, of course, went to see his Colonel, Lord Reay; and a few days after the retreat of the Imperialists, was ordered to remove with his Highlanders from Schiefelbein, and march to Stettin, to join the headquarters of the Regiment.

Lord Reay had again to proceed to Great Britain.\* Gustavus Adolphus wanted more men, and commissioned his Lordship to raise new levies, not only for completing the ranks of his own Regiment, but also to form two new Regiments—one English, and the other Scots. This he accomplished—Sir John Conway being appointed to the command of the English, and Munro of Obisdell to the Scots. During Lord Reay's absence on this mission, the command of the Regiment was given to Lieut.-Colonel Munro.

In January, 1631, the army left Stettin. The King, with about eight thousand horse and foot, marched to New Brandenburg, while the rest of the army was left at Landsberg, under Field Marshal Horne. Arriving at New Brandenburg, the King arranged the order of battle. After some sharp cannonading on both sides,

\* A collection of holograph letters, written by Gustavus Adolphus to Lord Reay, was lent by the Honourable George Mackay of Skibo, “to an individual of eminence in Edinburgh, but, probably by mere accident, never returned subsequently to that gentleman's sudden decease. It is understood that those letters were of a deeply interesting kind, elucidating the true principles and character of that eminent prince, as well as those of his Scottish auxiliary and associate in warfare, whom Gustavus honoured with his unreserved confidence and intimate personal friendship. The representative *havers* [custodiers] of such interesting memorials can surely not be any way profited by prolonging their custody of them.” (From a Newspaper notice on the death of *Admiral the Hon. Donald Hugh Mackay*, who died on the 26th March, 1850.)

Efforts have been made to discover the above-mentioned letters; but hitherto without success, as it is not known in whose hands they now are. They would, without doubt, throw much light on the history of Mackay's Regiment; and it is to be hoped they may some day be found and given to the public.

the Highlanders stormed a Triangle or Ravelin, and forced the enemy to retire within the town, when, fearing a general storming of the place, they sent a drummer to desire a truce, so as to arrange terms of surrender. Conditions were agreed upon, and the garrison, which, according to Munro, was a brave little band "of five hundred Horse, and twelve hundred Foot, being as complete to look on as you could wish," were allowed to "march out with baggage and baggage Horse and Foot with full Armes" and a convoy to Havelburg.

A small garrison was left in New Brandenburg, and the Swedish army pursued its march, taking various towns, and inflicting great damage on the Imperialists. Trepto, Letts, and Demmin were captured, and considerable booty fell to the share of the troops. At Demmin, the King highly commended the bravery and charity of the Highlanders, for a Swedish officer being left wounded within range of the enemy's cannon, and his own countrymen through fear refusing to bring him off, a small party of Mackay's Regiment rushed in and brought him away, "to their great praise," as Munro expresses it.

In March, 1631, Gustavus Adolphus formed what was known as the *Scots Brigade*, giving the command to one of the bravest and ablest leaders of the age—Sir John Hepburn. The Brigade consisted of four picked Scottish regiments, viz. :—Hepburn's own Regiment, Mackay's Highlanders, Stargate's Regiment, and Lumsden's Musketeers. From the colour of the tartan of the Highlanders, and the doublets of the other regiments, it was also sometimes designated the Green Brigade. At this time Gustavus had upwards of thirteen thousand Scottish soldiers in his service.

A movement was now made by the King towards the Oder, but before marching in that direction he increased the garrison of New Brandenburg, by leaving in it six companies, or nearly a thousand of the Highlanders, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, and an equal number of Swedes, under General Kniphausen. The King's object was to have Tilly's army detained there, while he prosecuted the campaign in another direction.

New Brandenburg was in a wretched condition to stand a siege. The walls were in ruins, and the moat nearly filled up; and there were only a couple of falconets or two-pounders, as the whole artillery of the defenders. On the King's departure, Tilly at once brought up his army, which consisted of twenty-two thousand men, with twenty-six pieces of artillery, and beset the town on all sides. On surrounding the town, Tilly summoned the garrison to surrender, which, of course, they refused to do, and the siege immediately be-

gan. It lasted nine days. The resistance was desperate. An accidental blunder led the defenders to deem it their duty to hold out; for although instructions to capitulate had been transmitted to General Kniphausen, yet, in some unaccountable manner, these instructions miscarried. Worn out, and seeing no chance of succour, the defenders at last offered to surrender; but Tilly now refused to give them any quarter. Then followed the last assault; and after a stubborn and heroic resistance, the town was taken. A merciless slaughter was the result. On that memorable and miserable occasion, the fury and cruelty of the Austrian General was expended chiefly on our brave countrymen, for even the greater part of the prisoners taken, were barbarously murdered; and over six hundred of Lord Reay's Highlanders were on that day cut to pieces. Only two officers and a few men escaped by swimming the moat.

In Colonel Mitchell's *Life of Wallenstein* it is stated:—"This nine days' defence of an old rampart without artillery, proves how much determined soldiers can effect behind stone walls; and it is exceedingly valuable in an age that has seen first-rate fortresses, fully armed, surrender before any part of the works had been injured—often, indeed, at the very first summons."

A lamentable account of the slaughter was brought to Sir John Hepburn by the two escaped officers, Captain Innes and Lieutenant Lumsden. It filled the whole camp with horror, and a vow of vengeance was uttered, which was soon to be fulfilled.

When the dreadful information was received, Hepburn was on his way to Frankfort on the Oder, and there the Scots Brigade resolved they would be revenged for the slaughter of their countrymen. The army was led by the King in person, and consisted of about ten thousand horse and foot, with a considerable force of artillery. Hepburn's Brigade formed the van of the army.

Frankfort, being a rich and important city, was well defended. It was surrounded by strong ramparts with massive gates, and had then within its walls a garrison of ten thousand men, commanded by Counts Schomberg and Montecuculi. When the Swedish army drew near, the whole line of the "embattled wall . . . was bright with the glitter of" the Austrians' "helmets; while pike-heads, the burnished barrels of muskets, and sword blades, were seen incessantly flashing in the sunshine."

Gustavus was not long in settling the plan of attack, and getting his army into position. This accomplished, he detailed Field Marshal Horne to occupy the pass between Frankfort and Berlin, in order to prevent Tilly, who was known to be hurrying on, from attacking the Swedish army in the rear.

"On Sunday, in the morning, being *Palme-Sunday* (3rd April, 1631) his Majestie with his whole Armie in their best apparell served God; his Majestie after Sermon, encouraging" the "Souldiers, wishing them to take their evil dayes they had then, in patience, and that he hoped before long to give them better dayes;" and then commending "all to be in readinesse, with their Armes, against the next orders," it was suspected by some that an attack would at once be made upon the city. Thereupon (very quietly adds Munro, as if it were a mere every day occurrence) a number of the men belonging to Sinclair's company, "provided themselves of some ladders." That is, without being commanded to do so, they got the materials ready, with which, in case of need, they might scale the walls, should the city be stormed. This shows that these Highlanders were imbued with the true spirit of soldier ship and military adventure.

That afternoon the King issued orders for a general assault, and in the evening Frankfort was taken. The various points of attack having been decided upon, and the different Regiments told off for their special services, the final order was given. It was this: that when the Swedish artillery fired a grand salvo against the walls, then, on the first discharge, and under cover of the smoke, Hepburn's and Banier's brigades "should advance to the storme." Before the signal was given, it is reported that the King called Sir John Hepburn and another Scottish officer, Sir James Lumsden of Invergellie, and addressing them, said—"Now, my valiant Scots, remember your brave Countrymen who were slain at New Brandenburg!"\*

A trumpet sounded. The whole of the Swedish artillery poured a thundering discharge upon the enemy's works; and the Scots Brigade, with levelled pikes, and led by Hepburn and Lumsden, rushed on to storm the Gûben gate. Both officers carried lighted petards; and amid a cloud of fire and smoke, with bullets of every size—lead, iron, and brass—discharged by the Imperialists, from walls, parapets, and palisades, whizzing around them, they resolutely advanced and attached the small but powerful engines to the gate. The officers retired a few paces, the petards burst, and the strong gate was shivered into a thousand fragments.

But the defenders were not unprepared for this. They had planted what Munro calls "a flake of small shot that shot a dozen of shot at once," and "two peeces of small ordinance" to guard the entrance. As the Scots Brigade advanced, these made tremendous

\* Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn.



havoc in their dense ranks, while the Austrian musketeers, at the same time, poured volley after volley, which "made cruell and pittifull execution on our" countrymen.

While Hepburn's own Regiment was advancing in this way, the Highlanders were approaching from another direction. They had crossed the moat amidst mud and water which came up to their gorgets (that is higher than the middle), and boldly planting their ladders, clambered over the sloping bastions under a tremendous fire, and carried the outer palisades. They were now close by the Gùben gate. Sir John Hepburn, leading on his pikemen, was just then shot in the knee. He noticed Munro, with his Highlanders, and cried out to him (they were, as I have mentioned, old friends), "Bully, Munro, I am shot." He was carried away in great pain. His Major, "a resolute cavalier," who had advanced to take his place was also shot dead, "whereupon the Pikes falling back and standing still," wavered for a moment. "Forward!" cried Munro to his Highlanders, "Advance, Pikes!" and the gate was stormed in a twinkling. Side by side, with Hepburn's Regiment now led by Lumsden, the Highlanders rushed on; the Austrians were driven back in confusion; and their own cannon being turned on them within the gate, many were literally blown to pieces. On Hepburn's men and the Highlanders pressed through one street, densely crowded with Imperial troops, followed by General Sir John Banier with his brigade, who pressed the enemy in another. Twice the retreating Imperialists beat a parley: but amid the roar of the musketry, the boom of the artillery, and the shouts and cries of the combatants, the sound of the drum was unheeded. Still the struggle continued, and the carnage went on. Inch by inch, every foot of the way was contested. "Quarter! quarter!" cried the slowly retreating Austrians; but to every such appeal the Scottish soldiers' only answer was "New Brandenburg! Remember New Brandenburg!" The Scots Brigade still pressed forward, and Highlander and Lowlander, shoulder to shoulder, advanced like moving castles, the long pikes levelled in front, while the rear ranks of musketeers volleyed in security from behind. It was a dreadful retribution. Four colonels, thirty-six other officers, and about three thousand soldiers of the Imperial army were left dead in the streets. Fifty colours were taken, and an immense quantity of treasure; for whole streets were left "full of coaches and rusty waggons, richly furnished with all sorts of riches, as Plate, Jewells, Gold, Money, Clothes," &c., a great portion of which fell to the share of the victorious soldiery.

The total loss sustained by Gustavus's army was about eight

hundred men ; and of this number three hundred belonged to the Scots Brigade. Two Colonels were the only officers of rank wounded.

There was no wilful injury done to any of the inhabitants ; and as soon as order was restored, the King caused a day of thanksgiving to be observed for the victory.

The army remained for a few days at Frankfort, and then Gustavus, leaving a small garrison behind, proceeded to Landsberg, a strongly fortified town, in the capture of which the Highlanders took a prominent part. Success attended the Swedish army, and in a short time "the Lion of the North" cleared Pomerania and Brandenburg of the Imperialists. The Highlanders returned to Frankfort, and remained there five weeks. Then followed a series of marchings and counter-marchings, in which there were frequent skirmishes but no pitched battles. In most of these the Highlanders came in for a share of hard knocks, but "not being used to be beaten," they always came off with credit.

The next service of importance was the battle of Leipzig, fought on the 7th September, 1631. This great battle was the most important of the struggle, and may be said to have formed the pivot, on the turning of which the liberties of Germany—of Europe—depended. The Imperialists, under Tilly, numbered about forty-four thousand men, and the Swedish army, under Gustavus, about thirty thousand. At one time it seemed as if fortune were about to forsake the Swedish King, for the Saxon cavalry, on being charged by the Imperial horsemen, turned and fled, their cowardly leader being the first to quit the field, from which he rode ten miles without drawing bridle. The Imperialists finding the Saxon cavalry too swift for them, and seeing the Scottish regiments advancing, stopped, when their leader cried, "let us beat these curs, and then all Germany is our own ;" \* but the deadly fire of the Scottish musketeers checked their career, and emptied many a saddle. Hepburn, who was again able to take his command, was advancing with his Brigade, which he kept moving steadily on until they got so close to the Austrian soldiers, that the very colour of their eyes was visible. Then he gave the word, "Forward, pikes !" In a moment the old Scottish weapon was levelled to the charge, and with a loud cheer, each of the four regiments rushed on the columns of Tilly, driving them back in irredeemable confusion, and with frightful slaughter. Lord Reay's Highlanders "formed the leading column . . . and had the honour of *first* breaking the Austrian

\* Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn.

ranks. They were [then] a thousand strong, composed of that nobleman's own immediate clansmen; and the Imperialists regarded them with terror, calling them *the invincible old Regiment*, and the right hand of Gustavus Adolphus.\*\*

I shall not attempt to describe the battle. The Imperialists suffered a most severe defeat, and their retreat from the battlefield was like a race for life. Unfortunately Gustavus did not follow up his victory by pursuing the enemy, and marching on to Vienna, where the panic was so great, that he could probably have arranged satisfactory terms, and so ended the war. This, at all events, is the opinion of some of the historians.

Tilly was wounded and once taken prisoner, and was only rescued after a desperate conflict. Though cruel, he was personally brave, and it is reported "burst into a passion of tears on beholding the slaughter of his soldiers, and finding that the field, after a five hours' struggle, was lost by the advance of Hepburn." He escaped, but he left many of his best officers, and nearly eight thousand soldiers, dead on the field.

It was at Leipzig "that the Scottish regiments first practised firing in platoons, which amazed the Imperialists to such a degree that they hardly knew how to conduct themselves."†

The Scots Brigade was publicly thanked in presence of the whole army, and promised noble rewards, as we are told by Munro, who modestly adds—"The battaile thus happily wonne, his Majesty did principally under God ascribe the glory of the victory to the *Sweds and Fynnes* horsemen . . . yet it was the *Scots* Briggads fortune to have gotten the praise for the foote service; and not without cause, having behaved themselves well, being led and conducted by an expert Cavalier and fortunat, the valiant *Hepburne*."

The loss sustained by the Scottish soldiers is not mentioned; but Gustavus's total loss did not exceed three thousand men, and of this number only seven hundred were of the Swedish army; the rest being Saxons. One half of Gustavus's army on this occasion was made up of Saxons; and, as I have mentioned, they early in the day tried to find safety in flight. The battle may therefore be said to have been an engagement between fifteen thousand men on the part of the Swedish King, and forty-four thousand on that of the Emperor of Austria.

Many prisoners were taken, and an immense amount of booty.

\* *Hepburn's Memoirs.*

† *Harte's Life of Gustavus.*

Of the prisoners, three thousand expressed themselves willing to take service with Gustavus, and were distributed among the Dutch Regiments. Munro relates that he requested the King's permission to fill up the ranks of Mackay's Regiment from among the British and Irish who might be among those three thousand, seeing that the Regiment had become weak from "the great losse sustained on all the former occasions of service." This request the King granted, and Munro went away "overjoyed, thinking to get a recreut of old Souldiers," but he was sadly disappointed, for there were only three Irish among the prisoners, and he declined to take them.

"After the battle of Leipzig, with the sword in one hand, and mercy in the other, Gustavus Adolphus traversed Germany as a conqueror, a lawgiver, and a judge, almost with as much rapidity as another could have done on a journey of pleasure, while the keys of towns and fortresses were delivered to him by the inhabitants as to their lawful sovereign."\*

I need not enumerate the various places that were taken by the "ever victorious army;" but will merely mention that before the end of September, all the towns between Leipzig and Wurtzburg had surrendered to the King.

At Halle, Munro mentions he got "fifty old souldiers that took service in the Regiment." Here also, he adds, "His Majesty on the Sabbath day in the morning went to Church, to give thanks to God for his by-past victories: this Church being the Bishop's Cathedrall seate, I did heare there sung the sweetest melodious musicke that could be heard, where I did also see the most beautiful women *Dutchland* could afoord."

Oppenheim, an ancient town on the Rhine, with a strong castle, was taken in the month of December. The weather was bitterly cold, with frost and snow, and the Brigade had to lie in the fields, having no shelter but some bushes. The enemy's cannon plagued them much, especially at night, when the camp fires were lighted; for the light from these fires served the enemy as a mark, and the Brigade suffered considerably in consequence from their shot. "Sitting one night at supper," says Munro, "a Bullet of thirty two pound weight, shot right out betwixt Colonell Hepburnes shoulder and mine, going through the Colonells Coach; the next shot kill'd a Sergeant of mine, by the fire, drinking a pipe of Tobacco."

The castle was taken the next day. The garrison, "being Italians," got "more honourable quarters than in truth their car-

\* Schillers' Thirty Years War.

riage did deserve, having got licence to march out, Bag and Baggage, with full Armes."

One hundred of Lord Reay's Highlanders and one hundred of Lumsden's musketeers were placed in the castle, and Hepburn with the rest of the Brigade then crossed the Rhine to assist Gustavus in reducing the old castle of Oppenheim, a place of vast size and strength.

Mentz (or Mayence), reputed by the Germans of old the strongest of their fortresses, was the next important point to which Gustavus marched his army. "Colonell *Hepburnes* Briggad (according to use) was directed to the most dangerous Poste, next the enemy." They were cannonaded from the citadel, and of course lost many men.

After being invested three days, the town was delivered up under a treaty, the garrison marching out, but without arms. "They being gone, quarters were made for the whole foote within the Towne, where three days before Christmase we were quartered, and remained there, being lodged in the extremitie of the cold with the Hopstaffe,\* to the fifth of March 1632." "At this siege," adds Munro, "our Briggad did sustaine more hurt than the rest of the Armie, being most employed on all commands, both in respect of their valour, and of the good conduct and fortune followed them, and their Leaders."

On the 5th of March, Hepburn's Brigade left Mentz. They had been ten weeks in that city, and were well rested after the severe campaign of the previous year. "Their arms and accoutrements were polished till they shone like silver in the spring sunshine, as with their green silk standards unfurled, and their drums beating and tall pikes glittering" they "crossed the Rhine by the pontoon bridge. Lord Reay's Kilted Highlanders with pipes playing and matches lighted, formed the leading column of the brigade, which, conform to his orders, Hepburn marched straight to Frankfort, on the Maine."† From thence they marched to Aschaffenburg, where they were reviewed by Gustavus and the King of Bohemia. Then crossing the Maine, they commenced their march towards Bavaria, which the King had resolved to invade and clear of the Imperialists. Arriving at Weinsheim on the 10th, they were again reviewed by Gustavus and the King of Bohemia, and Hepburn was complimented on the fine appearance and distinguished bravery of his soldiers. The King of Bohemia expressed a deep

\* The principal officers of the staff.

† Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn.

interest in the Scottish troops, as being the countrymen of Elizabeth Stuart, his beautiful and high spirited Queen.

Gustavus had mustered a large army at Weinsheim, there having been present at the review a force of twenty thousand horse and foot, besides artillery. After the review, the march was resumed. On the 26th, Donauwörth was taken. It was a short but sharp conflict. Here Hepburn was again publicly thanked for his good services, the whole honour of the capture being ascribed to his courage, and the masterly conduct of his soldiers; for, says Munro, "had it not been for the valour of the Scots Brigga'd, they had all been lost and defeated by" the enemy.

The following incident in connection with the taking of Donauwörth is related. The Rex Chancellor Oxenstiern ordered the Dutch regiments to march towards the enemy, and "beate the Scots march, thinking thereby to affright the enemy; but it fell out contrary." The Imperialists charged. The Dutch at once turned and fled, and "made a base retreat," but the Scots coming up, resisted the enemy, and gave "the victory that before was doubtful" to the Swedes.\*

After resting four days at Donauwörth, Gustavus, having received large reinforcements, advanced at the head of thirty-two thousand horse and foot, to force the passage of the Lech. On the Bavarian side of the river, Tilly, with a large body of troops, lined the banks at the very point towards which Gustavus was marching with his army. They came in view of each other on the 5th April, and the battle at once began. The bronzed veterans of Tilly stood firm, and for thirty-six hours a cross fire was maintained by the artillery of the two armies, from opposite sides of the stream. The Austrians suffered severely. Tilly, then seventy-two years of age, was shot in the leg, and from the nature of his wound was forced to retire. Deprived of the animating presence of their leader, the Austrians gave way and retreated. Gustavus then crossed the river, the Scots Brigade forming the van, for in every desperate duty they had the post of honour. Three days afterwards Tilly expired in great agony at Ingolstadt, to which city he had retreated with a portion of his army.

Gustavus, with his invincibles, swept on like a comet! City after city was taken, and in a short time the whole of Bavaria, as far as the barriers of the Capital, lay open to his soldiers, whose

\*Grant in his Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn says, The Dutch here resorted to their old *ruse* of beating the *Scottish March*, as they approached the enemy; and again, The Dutch in Gustavus's service were *many times glad* to beat "the old Scots march" when they designed to frighten or alarm the enemy.

valour seemed to be irresistible. On the 6th of May the victorious army halted before Munich.

Fearing that resistance might be made, Gustavus sent Hepburn with his brigade round the town, by a circuitous road, to the bridge of the Iser; where, arriving in the night, they remained under arms till daybreak. Then the Scots Brigade had the honour of first entering the city. "The din of their drums beating the *old Scots March*, mingled with the wild war pipes of Lord Reay's Highlanders, ringing in the empty and stately streets of the Bavarian Capital, spread terror and consternation among the citizens;" but the leading men had faith "in the magnanimity of the conqueror and the mercy of his chivalric soldiers," and received Gustavus and his army with all due respect.

Only the Scottish Regiments were permitted to have their quarters within the walls of Munich, the rest of the army being encamped outside the city; and to the Highlanders was entrusted the honourable duty of being body-guard to the King during the three weeks they were in the Bavarian Capital. The Highland pikemen stood in all the doorways and staircases, and the officers were not permitted to leave their guards, having their meals served up from the King's own table.\* This preference excited the jealousy of the Swedes and Dutch. Munro says—We were "ordained to lie in the great Courte of the Palace, night and day at our Armes, to guard both the Kings persone, and to set out all Guards about the Palace, where I was commanded with our whole officers, not to stirre off our watch, having allowance of Table and diet for us and our officers within his Majesties house, to the end we might the better look to our watch: and the command of directions under stayers [stairs] was put upon me, being then Commander of the Guards; where I had power over the whole officers belonging to the house, and might have commanded to give out anything to pleasure Cavaliers; having stayed in this charge three weekes nobly entertained."

On the 1st June the King issued orders to Hepburn to leave Munich with the Scots Brigade for Donauwörth, where they were to join the main army. From Donauwörth they marched to Fürth, a few miles from Nurnberg, and there Gustavus at once made preparations for opposing Wallenstein, the Imperialist Commander in Chief, who was reported to be advancing with great rapidity, and only a few days' march distant. He had a force of about sixty thousand men, while Gustavus had then only eighteen thousand.

\* *Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn.*

Gustavus, however, occupied a good position, which he resolved to strengthen and defend. The people of Nurnberg, moreover, were favourable to his cause, and immediately raised twenty-four companies of musketry for his assistance. He also called upon the Duke of Saxe Weimar and others for aid, which was at once granted. Protestant soldiers too, of all nations flocked to his banner; and by the end of July he found himself at the head of an army of seventy thousand men.

Here unfortunately Hepburn quarrelled with Gustavus, and left his service. Various reasons have been assigned as the cause of the quarrel, one of which is that the King upbraided Hepburn on account of his religion, which was Roman Catholic, and which he prized more than his life. He had left Scotland to fight for Elizabeth Stuart, and not for the Protestant cause, although, as we know, her cause became that of Protestantism. But, whatever the quarrel, Hepburn resigned his commission, and haughtily withdrew. He returned to Britain, and six months later entered the service of France.

Gustavus had placed more confidence in him than in any other officer (he was seven years in his service), and "made several condescensions to Hepburn and appeared particularly desirous of retaining so valuable an officer in his service; but the Scottish hero was inflexible. Unable to brooke an imaginary insult even for a moment, 'Sire,' replied the fiery cavalier, laying his hand upon his rapier, 'I will never more unsheath this sword in the quarrels of Sweden.'"\*

No one regretted the departure of Hepburn more than Munro. They were very old friends. I was "ever much obliged to him," writes Munro, "not only for his love . . . but also for his good counsell, he being long before me in the *Swedens* service. And as we were oft Camerades of danger together; so being long acquainted we were Camerades in love: first at Colledge, next in our travells in *France*, at *Paris* and *Poictiers* Anno 1615, till we met againe in *Spruce* [East Prussia] at *Elben* in August 1630. . . . Who is more worthy to be chosen for a friend, than one who hath showne himselfe both valiant and constant against his enemies, as the worthy *Hepburne* hath done, who is generally so well known in Armies, that he needs no testimony of a friend, having credit and reputation enough amongst his enemies."

It was not, however, till after the battle of Nurnberg had been fought, and the army of Gustavus had retired to Newstadt, that

\* Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn.



Hepburn left his old friends. Although refusing to take any active part in the engagement, he yet, by his advice and otherwise, was of great service. When he did leave, all the Scottish officers in the Swedish army accompanied him a long German mile\* on the road; and when the moment of parting came, it was like the separation which "death makes betwixt friends and the soule of men, being sorry that those who lived so long together in amitie and friendship, as also in mutuall dangers, in weale and in woe, and fearing we should not meet againe, the splendour of our former mirth was obnubilated with a cloud of grieffe and sorrow; which vanished and dissolved in mutuall teares of love, severing from other, in love and amitie; wishing one another the mutuall enterchange of our affections, as souldiers, and not as complementing courtiers."

The two armies had now been lying in sight of each other entrenched in their respective camps for about six weeks, and no regular engagement had taken place between them. There had been a good deal of skirmishing and intercepting of convoys, but nothing further—the one was waiting for the other to begin the attack. Provisions had for some time been getting scarce in both camps—it was next to impossible for either to get supplies, and the people in the town were almost in a state of starvation. It was necessary, therefore, that a decisive step should be taken.

On the 22nd August, the battle may be said to have begun, and the fighting, which continued for three days, was of a most desperate character. Munro had been appointed to the command of the Scots Brigade on the resignation of Hepburn, and on his first service in that capacity was severely wounded. Many of his officers were killed, and the Brigade suffered so severely that there were hardly pikemen left to guard the colours. The musketeers also suffered, but not in an equal degree. It was a drawn battle. Both parties remained in their respective positions till the 14th September, when, leaving five thousand men in Nurnberg, Gustavus retreated "towards Neustadt, leaving no less than ten thousand citizens and twenty thousand soldiers dead behind him, in and around Nurnberg; for such were the terrible effects of sickness, famine, and the casualties of war."\*

When the Imperialists discovered that the army of Gustavus had left, they also took their departure from Nurnberg, burning all the villages that were near. They took a northerly direction, marching to Forchheim, while Gustavus had moved towards the west and south.

\* A German mile is equal to three and a half English miles.

† Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn.

The Scots Brigade was so reduced in numbers that, when they got to Dunkelsbühl about the end of September, the King gave orders that they should go into quarters for rest, and to wait recruits. His Majesty took leave of the remnant of the Brigade in view of the whole army, thanking them for their past services, and saying he was grieved to leave them behind. He appointed quarters for them, the best in Swabia, and then calling upon the Count-palatine Christian, recommended them particularly to his care, and ordered that all moneys due them should be paid up. He hoped, he said, he would find the Regiments strengthened against his return.

Munro, somewhat recovered from his wounds, took leave of the King at Donauwörth on the 11th of October. They never met again, for within one month after their parting, the great Gustavus was slain on the plains of Lützen, near Leipzig.\* This was on the 6th November, 1632. It is remarkable that this unfortunate occasion was the only one in which he had engaged the enemy without the mass of his Scottish troops. But although the King was slain, victory remained with the Swedish army; for Wallenstein and his Imperialists were totally defeated, and forced to retreat to the Mountains of Bohemia.

With Gustavus were buried the hopes of the Elector Frederick, who, finding the Bohemian throne was lost to him for ever, died soon after, it is said, of chagrin and grief.

The death of "the Lyon of the North, the invincible King of Sweden," was a great blow to the cause for which he had been fighting, and which he had so much at heart. Munro seems almost to have worshipped him, and in his panegyric says—"if *Apelles* with his skill in painting, and *Cicero* with his tongue in speaking, were both alive, and pressed to adde anything to the perfection of our Master, Captaine and King, truely the ones best Colours, and the others best Words were not able to adde one shaddow to the brightnesse of his Royall Minde and Spirit; So that while the world stands, our King, Captaine and Master cannot be enough praised."

\* Several officers who had served in Mackay's Regiment were with Gustavus at Lützen; and William Mackay (son of Donald of Scoury), then a lieutenant-colonel of Swedes, fell there along with his Commander.

The large rowelled spurs which Gustavus had on when he was slain are preserved in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh. They were taken off his boots on the field of battle, by Colonel Hugh Somerville, then his *aide-de-camp*, and presented to the Society by Sir G. Colquhoun on the 8th July, 1761. They are interesting relics, in so far as they were worn by one who was probably the greatest military genius of the seventeenth century, and under whom so many Scotsmen of eminence served and learned the art of war.

There is now but little more to say regarding Mackay's Highlanders. In the summer of 1632, Lord Reay had decided to take no further personal share in the command, and, while the Regiment was at Nurnberg, sent instructions to Munro to deal with the King for the making up of the Regiment, which was then greatly reduced. Hence, probably, one of the reasons why Gustavus sent the Regiment into quarters to wait for recruits.

Although sent to Swabia to rest, the Scots Brigade were not allowed to be idle. They, along with some Swedes, and Sir John Ruthven's Brigade, were marched to Landsberg, which they besieged. When the town was invested, there arose a rivalry or "contestation of vertue," between the Scotsmen, as to which of them, with their approaches, should first come to the wall. But the Highlanders had the best of it, as Ruthven's Brigade "could not but acknowledge; . . . for in effect," says Munro, "we were their Schoolmasters in Discipline," and they "were forced, notwithstanding of their diligence, to yield the precedency unto us, being older blades than themselves."

Landsberg was taken; and then, instead of returning to their appointed quarters, "to rest and recruit," the Scottish Regiments were kept constantly on the move; and many a weary march they had, and many a stubborn fight. The shores of the Danube had to be scoured by the hardy band; Kaufbeuren had to be stormed; and Kempten to be besieged; and, in addition, many a small town and fortress, which had been taken possession of by the enemy, had to be recaptured, and held for the representatives of Gustavus.

Munro mentions that during these movements he was unable to walk, owing to his wounds, so he commanded his troops on horseback, from which it may be inferred that a Colonel of Infantry in those days led his men on foot, like the Captain of a Company.

In July, 1633, the Scottish Regiment, which had been raised about three years previously by Lord Reay, at the request of Gustavus Adolphus, and the command of which had been given to Munro of Obisdell,\* was so reduced in numbers that only two companies were left. These two companies were, by orders of Rex Chancellor Oxenstiern, handed over to Munro, and joined to Lord Reay's Highlanders.

Munro was very desirous of having the Regiment made up to its full strength, and shortly afterwards left Germany for Scotland, to procure recruits. Lieutenant-Colonel John Sinclair (brother of

\* Brother of Lieut.-Colonel Munro, the author of the *Expedition*.

the Earl of Caithness) got command of the Regiment on his departure; but Sinclair was killed at the battle of Neumark, almost immediately thereafter. The command then devolved on Major William Stewart (brother of the Earl of Traquair), who thus became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment.

Recruits arrived from time to time, and within twelve months after Munro's departure the ranks of the Highlanders were well made up; for in 1634 they again mustered twelve companies, or from eighteen hundred to two thousand men. That was a disastrous year for them, for on the 26th of August, the terrible battle of Nordlingen was fought.

After the death of Gustavus, jealousy on the part of the leaders of the Swedish army prevented that unanimity of action among the generals, which is so necessary for the successful carrying out of any campaign. At the battle of Nordlingen the disastrous effects of this were painfully exemplified, for the petty jealousies of those in command led to no properly defined plan of attack having been arranged, and the result was that after a desperate struggle, the Imperialists, under Ferdinand, the young King of Hungary, and Generals Gallas and Von Werth, gained a complete victory over the Swedes. Field Marshal Horne, one of the best and bravest of the Swedish officers, was taken prisoner. But, notwithstanding these jealousies, had the other sections of the Swedish army fought as well as the Highlanders, the result would have been different. It was a dreadful day for Mackay's Regiment, for out of the twelve companies of which it was then composed, only one company survived, the rest having literally been cut to pieces. This was such a frightful disaster that the Regiment did not recover from the loss.

Nearly all the German allies of Sweden deserted her after the defeat at Nordlingen, and selfishly entered into a treaty with Austria, for the security of their territories.

Called in originally to assist the German Protestants, the Swedes found themselves, after years of hard fighting, all at once deserted by the very men for whose liberties they had been shedding their blood, and regarded as foreigners and intruders, whom it was expedient to get rid of as quickly as possible. The whole weight of the war was thus thrown upon Sweden. But a new and unexpected ally against Austria was soon found. That ally was France. The war which had been begun for a noble purpose then assumed the character of a struggle for the most selfish ends. France was jealous of the immense power of Austria, and had long been waiting for a favourable opportunity to take a part in the conflict. That moment had arrived, and it seemed that

French interests could best be served by co-operating with Sweden. The war after this was waged between France, Sweden, and one or two of the small German States on the one hand, and Austria, with the vast majority of the German States, on the other. I need not enter further into the details of the struggle. Ultimately Sweden and her allies triumphed, the power of Austria was much curtailed, and the thirty years' war came to an end. The treaty of peace was signed on the 24th of October, 1648. I may mention that, by that treaty France obtained the sovereignty of Upper and Lower Alsace, and a number of minor properties, which, after holding for upwards of two hundred years, she had to resign to Germany, as the result of the late Franco-German war.

#### CONCLUSION.

But what about the few Highlanders who survived the battle of Nordlingen ? The story is soon told.

After that disaster the remnants of the Scottish regiments were placed under the command of Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, who for a considerable time hovered about the Rhine, and kept the Imperialists at bay. When the agreement had been arranged between Sweden and France, it was decided that Duke Bernard's troops should be taken into the pay of the latter country ; and shortly afterwards a junction was formed at Landau between Duke Bernard's forces and the French troops, which were under the command of Marshal de la Force and Sir John Hepburn. Duke Bernard had only a small army, "but there were none save brave and experienced men in it ; and the officers were all soldiers of fortune, who expected to raise their fame by the sword alone." The foot consisted almost entirely of Scotsmen, and were all that remained of the thirteen gallant regiments which had served so long and so bravely under Gustavus. Among those veterans were the remnants of Hepburn's own old regiment, and the one remaining company of Mackay's Highlanders. "All greeted their old commander with acclamation and joy, by beating the Scottish march as he approached, while a deafening cheer rang along their sunburnt lines, *and the last solitary piper of MACKAY'S HIGHLANDERS blew long and loudly a note of welcome on the great war pipe of the north ;* and as they all wished to 'take service' under him in France, the whole were incorporated into one corps, to be styled in future *Le Regiment d'Hebron*."\* "It consisted of 3 field officers, viz,

\* Hepburn's name is spelled in this way in the French military records.

Colonel Sir John Hepburn, Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, and Major Sir Patrick Monteith; 45 captains; 1 captain-lieutenant; 45 lieutenants; 48 ensigns; 4 surgeons; 6 adjutants; 2 chaplains; 1 drum-major; 1 piper; 88 sergeants; 288 corporals; 288 lance-pesades; 96 drummers; in all 48 companies, consisting of 150 musketeers and pikemen each—making a grand total of 8116 men; and forming altogether, when their experience and valour, spirit, bearing, and splendour of equipment are considered, one of the finest regiments that ever unfurled its banners in battle. In itself it represented many other corps; the Bohemian bands of Sir Andrew Gray, all the Scottish regiments of Gustavus, and even the Scottish Archer Guard of the French kings, to which venerable body many of its officers belonged.”\*

The new regiment, by orders of the King, took precedence of all others in the service of France. I shall mention one anecdote about it.

Frequent quarrels and jealousies took place between Hepburn's officers and the officers of a French regiment, known as that of Picardy. The Picardy regiment had been raised in the year 1562, and considered itself the oldest in the service of France. But Hepburn's Regiment, “in consequence of having had incorporated with it some of the Scottish Archer Guard (which dated its origin to the period of the eighth crusade, 1249-1270), considered its rights to priority to be indisputable. This claim to antiquity the regiment of Picardy treated with ridicule, as being somewhat overstrained, and nicknamed Hepburn's corps *Pontius Pilate's Guards*, a sobriquet which the First Regiment of Foot (the Royal Scots) retains at the present day. On one occasion, after a sharp dispute, one of Hepburn's officers said to an officer of the regiment of Picardy, “You must be mistaken, Sir; for had *we* really been the guards of Pontius Pilate, and done duty at the sepulchre, the Holy Body had never left it!” This was a keen and a sarcastic retort, implying that if the Scottish sentinels had been there, they would not have slept at their posts, whereas it was well known that the regiment of Picardy had been guilty of such a serious military offence.†

I need not attempt to carry the story of Mackay's Regiment further; for, reduced to a single company, and embodied in a new and mixed regiment, its individual characteristics were lost, and as a separate corps it ceased to exist. But the services of the Regiment are matters of history.

\* Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn.

† Hepburn's Memoirs.

Munro has a few observations about it which are worthy of consideration. He says, the discipline and service of the Regiment were of so high a character that many that were trained in it rose "from souldiers to be inferiour officers, and then for their preferments and advancements" they left their old leaders, being promoted to other regiments;\* "for having attained to a little experience under this Regiment, they are now like the Eagles birds, that how soon they can but flee, they take command on themselves, and that most worthily, knowing it is ambition grounded upon vertue, makes the meanest Souldier mount from the lowest centrie [sentry] to the top of honour to be a Generall: as some of our worthy Countrimen have done under the Crowne of *Sweden*, to their eternall glory."

Again, he says, even their enemies "could not but duely prayse them, calling them the *Invincible old Regiment* . . . so that Mackeyes name was very frequent through the glorious fame of this never dying Regiment, never wrong'd by fortune in their fame, though divers times by their enemies valour they sustained both losse and hurt: But would to God, we had always met man to man, or that our Army had consisted all of such men and such officers, whereof I was the unworthiest! If so had beene our conquest had extended so farre as the *Romanes* of old did extend the limits and borders of their Empire."

Of a different character is the following observation, with the closing part of which, I am sure, all military commanders will agree. From what Munro says, it will be seen that however severely the Regiment suffered during its many engagements, yet, when in quarters, officers and men, as a rule, were very comfortably off. "This Regiment in nine yeeres . . . had ever good lucke to get good quarters, where they did get much good wine, and great quantity of good beere. . . . They were oft merry with the fruits and juice of the best berries that grew in those Circles; for to my knowledge they never suffered either penury or want, I being the Leader, but oftimes I did complaine and grieve at their plenty, *seeing they were better to be commanded, when they dranke water, than when they got too much beere or wins.*"

But I must now return to *le Regiment d' Hebron*. Hepburn

\* Among the "inferiour officers" who were advanced to other commands, Munro mentions "Captaine *Gunne*, Lievetenant *Brunfield*, Lievetenant *Dumbarre*, Lievetenant *Mackey*, Lievetenant *Southerland*, Ensigne *Demune*, and diverse more, which were preferred under *Ruthven's* Regiment."

Captain Gunn became afterwards Colonel of a Dutch Regiment, and was knighted by King Charles I. for his bravery at the Brig of Dee.

unfortunately did not live to command it long. He was killed at the battle of Saverne, on the 21st July, 1636. His fall was deeply regretted by the whole army and Court of France, for he was looked up to as "the best soldier in christendom, and consequently in the world." After his death, the Regiment was known as *le Regiment de Douglas*, from the name of its new commander, Lord James Douglas.

Though serving under foreign powers, these Scottish soldiers of fortune were yet true to their own King and country. Thus, in 1661, on the call of King Charles the Second, after the Restoration, the remains of what had been Hepburn's Regiment came over to England. They remained in Britain for eight years, when they returned to France, and continued in the service of that country till 1678, when they were again called home and incorporated with the British Army. They are now known as the ROYAL SCOTS, or First Regiment of Foot, and take precedence of all other regiments of the line.\* This is probably the oldest regiment in the world; for, having been partly formed from the Scottish Archers in the service of France, it may be said to have been embodied for upwards of six hundred years; and it certainly is one of the most celebrated, for its records show that since the battle of Bauge, in 1421, at which it greatly distinguished itself (being then the body-guard of the King of France), it has taken part in 228 battles and sieges, exclusive of the later wars of the Crimea and India. "No other regiment in the world can show such a roll of glory!"†

I have thus narrated the principal services in which the Regiment was engaged, from its formation by Sir Donald Mackay, the first Lord Roay, in 1626, to the time when it lost its identity as a separate regiment, in 1635, by becoming a portion of *le regiment d'Hebron*, in the service of France. I have also shown how the successors of Hepburn's veterans became incorporated in the British army, under the name of the ROYAL SCOTS; and that the survivors of the brave men who formed the "Old Invincibles" of Gustavus

\* A portion of the Scots Guards in the service of France, were sent by the King of that country to Scotland, in 1633, to be present at the coronation of King Charles I. They remained in Britain about twelve years, when they returned to France "and continued to serve there with little interruption, till 1678, when they finally re-entered the British service." [*Records of Royal Scots.*] On returning to France, these soldiers of the Scottish Guards were incorporated with Hepburn's Regiment, but then known, however, as Douglas's, from the name of its commander, as has been already stated. And from having served in Scotland in 1633, as mentioned above, the Royal Scots date from that year in the Army List.

† Cassell's "British Battles."



Adolphus (that is Mackay's Highlanders)\* constituted no inconsiderable part of that celebrated regiment. Their whole service is a record of which *any nation* may be proud, what then might be said when their equipment was the work of *one individual* ?

The raising and transporting of so many men cost Lord Reay a very large sum of money ; and, unfortunately, by the untimely death of the King of Sweden, he was not re-imbursed for the heavy outlay he had incurred in his service. From first to last he sent over to "the German wars" upwards of 5000 men, and Munro says, "our noble Colonell did engage his estates, and adventured his person" for the good cause. "Such was his sense of dignity, that, it is said, he asked no money from the King to furnish his troops till after their arrival in Germany ; and as the King was killed soon after the last levies were sent, Lord Reay himself had to bear the loss of his outlays ; only he had the consolatory reflection that his loss was sustained in the best of causes. It was not with a sordid view of gain that he undertook his expeditions, for there was nothing sordid in his composition ; . . . but first from loyalty . . . and love of honour ; and afterwards from a regard to the protestant religion, which he had previously conceived at home, and in Denmark."†

To meet the debts he had thus contracted, he was obliged to sell his lands in Ross-shire and Caithness, and, saddest of all, the district of Strathnaver. But there was no other way by which he could get out of the difficulty, and so the lands had to go. No one, so far as our country is concerned, did more for the cause of liberty than the first Lord Reay, and no clan shed more of its best blood in the same cause than the Clan Mackay.

#### OFFICERS OF MACKAY'S REGIMENT.

The following list is made up from the various works consulted in compiling the foregoing narrative, and consists of the names of officers who served with the Regiment from its formation in 1626, to the battle of Nordlingen in 1634. It is, however, not quite complete, as no record has been preserved of the names of many of the junior officers.

\* The author of the *Characteristics of the Highland Soldiers*, says of Mackay's Regiment, while serving under Gustavus Adolphus, "they were his right hand in battle, brought forward in all dangerous enterprises ; and they may, like himself, be said to have fallen in the field, and to have been buried with the honours of war."—*History of the House and Clan of Mackay*.

† *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*.

Munro, in his list of *Scottish Officers that served under Gustavus Adolphus*, gives Field Officers only, and adds: "Diverse Captaines and inferiour Officers of the Nation followed the Army . . . which I omit out of the List;" while most others who have written about the Scottish Soldier abroad, have been contented with giving the names of a few of the leading officers only.

The list is arranged in two divisions. The first contains the names of those officers whose rank in the Regiment I have been able to ascertain,—the second those whose rank I have not been able to find out; and in both I have mentioned the rank to which a number of the officers attained after quitting the Regiment and entering on other service. The two divisions combined, contain the names of all officers who served in the Regiment, whose names are recorded, so far as I have been able to discover.

The Regiment was quite a Military School. Numbers of gentlemen, from all parts of the country, joined it as junior officers, for the purpose of learning the art of war (and some also indeed served in the ranks); but they left as soon as they believed they had acquired sufficient skill, to take upon themselves the responsibilities of a command. This accounts for so many names which are foreign to the North of Scotland being found in the list.

#### Colonels.

Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, Scorched by powder at Oldenburg.

Robert Monro (author of the *Expedition*), . . . . Wounded in various battles.

#### Lieutenant-Colonels.

Arthur Forbes (son of Lord Forbes), Died in Holstein.

Alexander Seton, . . . . Wounded at Oldenburg.

John Lindsay of Bainshaw, . . . Killed at New Brandenburg.

John Sinclair (son of the Earl of Caithness), . . . . Killed at Neumark.

William Stewart (brother of the Earl of Traquair), . . . Wounded at Oldenburg.

#### Majors.\*

James Dunbar, . . . . Killed at Bredenburg.

John Forbes of Tulloch, . . . Killed at Nordlingen.

\* The names, beginning with the Majors, are arranged alphabetically, and not according to seniority.

*Majors—(continued).*

John Forbes,	. . . .	Afterwards Colonel of Dutch.
William Keith,	. . . .	
David Munro,	. . . .	Scorched by powder at Eckernfiord.
William Sennott,	. . . .	Died of the Plague at Stettin.
Francis Sinclair (son of James of Murkle),	. . . .	Afterwards a Lieut.-Colonel.
— Wilson,	. . . .	

*Captains.*

— Annan,	. . . .	
— Armiss,	. . . .	Wounded at Stralsund.
— Beatoun,	. . . .	Wounded at Stralsund.
— Boswell,	. . . .	Murdered by the Boors at Bremen.
William Bruntfield,	. . . .	Afterwards Major in Ruthven's Regiment.
— Bullion,	. . . .	
— Carmichael,	. . . .	Killed at Bredenburg.
— Dumaine,	. . . .	Died at Frankfort.
— Duncan,	. . . .	
Duncan Forbes,	. . . .	Killed at Bredenburg.
Adam Gordon,	. . . .	
William Gunn,	. . . .	Afterwards Colonel of a Dutch Regiment, and Knighted by King Charles I.
Alexander Hay,	. . . .	Afterwards Lieut.-Colonel of Dragoons.
George Heatley,	. . . .	Killed at Oberlin.
Robert Hume,	. . . .	
Patrick Innes,	. . . .	Killed at Nurnberg.
Robert Innes,	. . . .	Afterwards a Lieut.-Colonel.
William Kerr,	. . . .	Wounded at Eckernfiord.
John Learmonth (brother of Lord Balcomy),	. . . .	Killed at Boitzenburg.
— Learmonth,	. . . .	
William Lumsden (the sole survivor of the Massacre at Bredenburg),		
Sir Patrick Mackay of Lairg, in Galloway,	. . . .	Died of wounds received at Oldenburg.

*Captains—(continued).*

Iye Mackay (son of William of Big-house, . . . . .)	
William Mackay (son of Donald of Scoury), . . . . .	Afterwards Lieut.-Colonel of Swedes, and killed at Lutzen.
William Mackay, . . . . .	
Thomas Mackenzie (brother of Earl Seaforth), . . . . .	Wounded at Eckernford.
— Moncreiffe, . . . . .	Killed at New Brandenburg.
Andrew Munro, . . . . .	Killed in a duel at Femern.
Hector Munro of Fowlis, who succeeded his brother, and was made a Baronet, . . . . .	Afterwards a Colonel of Dutch.
John Munro of Obisdell, . . . . .	Afterwards Colonel of a Scots Regiment.
John Munro (commonly called <i>Assynt</i> Munro), . . . . .	Afterwards a Lieut.-Colonel.
Robert Munro of Fowlis, . . . . .	Afterwards Colonel of Swedes.
— Pomfrey, . . . . .	
Nicholas Ross, . . . . .	
George Stewart, . . . . .	Afterwards Lieut.-Colonel of Conway's Regiment.
Alexander Tulloch, . . . . .	
— Trafford, . . . . .	

*Lieutenants.*

Arthur Arbuthnott, . . . . .	Wounded at Stralsund.
— Barbour, . . . . .	Killed at Bredenburg.
— Brumfield, . . . . .	Promoted in Ruthven's Regiment.
— Dunbar, . . . . .	Promoted in Ruthven's Regiment.
— Keith, . . . . .	Killed at New Brandenburg.
James Lyell, . . . . .	Afterwards Captain in Ruthven's Regiment, and murdered in Westphalia.
— Mackay, . . . . .	Promoted in Ruthven's Regiment.
David Martin, . . . . .	Killed at Boitzenburg.
Hugh Ross, of Priesthill, . . . . .	Wounded at Oldenburg.

*Lieutenants—(continued).*

Andrew Stewart (brother of Earl of Traquair), . . . .	Died of wounds received at Oldenburg.
Robert Stewart, . . . .	Afterwards a Colonel of Lumsden's Pikemen.
— Sutherland, . . . .	Promoted in Ruthven's Regiment.

*Ensigns.*

Patrick Dunbar, . . . .	Wounded at Stralsund.
— Denoon, . . . .	Promoted in Ruthven's Regiment.
— Hadden, . . . .	Killed at New Brandenburg.
John Rhode, . . . .	
— Seaton, . . . .	Killed at Stralsund.

*Officers whose rank is not recorded.*

Gavin Allan, . . . .	
— Barrie, . . . .	
Robert Farquhar, . . . .	Afterwards Knighted by King Charles II.
Arthur Forbes, . . . .	
Hugh Gordon, . . . .	Wounded at Oldenburg.
John Gordon, . . . .	Afterwards Colonel of Dutch.
John Gordon, . . . .	
— Graeme, . . . .	
George Gunn, . . . .	
John Gunn, . . . .	
John Innes (son of William of Sandside), . . . .	Killed at Stralsund.
— Johnstone, . . . .	
Henry Lindesay, . . . .	Afterwards Lieut.-Colonel in Leslie's Regiment.
— Lindesay, . . . .	
Robert Lumsden, . . . .	Afterwards Lieut.-Colonel.
Hugh Mackay, . . . .	
David Martin, . . . .	
Andrew Munro, . . . .	Killed at Oldenburg.
David Munro, . . . .	Wounded at Oldenburg.
Farquhar Munro, . . . .	Killed at Oldenburg.

*Officers whose rank is not recorded—(continued).*

Hugh Mowatt,	.	.	.	.	
Hugh Murray,	.	.	.	.	
Murdoch Polson,	.	.	.	.	Killed at Oldenburg.
David Ross (son of Alexander of Invercarron),	.	.	.	.	
— Semple,	.	.	.	.	

*Chaplains.*

William Forbes.  
 Murdoch Mackenzie, . . . . Afterwards Minister of Suddie,  
 Ross-shire.  
 And the Chaplain or "Preacher" who was slain at Bredenburg, but  
 whose name is not mentioned.

28TH MAY, 1879.

At this meeting Mr. Lachlan Macdonald of Skæbost, Skye, was elected a life member; and Mr. F. C. Buchanan, Armadale Row, Helensburgh, and Mr. Donald Ross, M.A., H.M. Inspector of Schools, ordinary members.

The following paper by Mr. C. S. Jerram, M.A., Windlesham, Surrey, was read:—

### CELTIC ETYMOLOGIES.

The science by which the laws of language are regulated and recorded, is called Comparative Philology, a young science as yet, but one that is making rapid progress. It has been popularised in this country mainly through the exertions of Professor Max Müller, to whose *Lectures on the Science of Language* especially I shall have occasion to refer. The three great 'families' (as they are called) of human speech, are known as the Indo-European or Aryan, the Semitic, and the Turanian; it is with the first of these that we are now concerned, because the Celtic languages are ascertained to belong to it. Of the six or eight divisions under which the languages of this great Aryan family have been arranged, the Celtic is further sub-divided into Cymric and Gaedhelic; the former division comprising Welsh, Breton, and the now extinct Cornish; the latter, Scotch and Irish Gaelic, and the dialect of the Isle of Man. The important thing to bear in mind respecting all these Aryan languages is that, notwithstanding the differences that now exist between these divers groups, and even between various languages