
Scotsmen Serving the Swede

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Scotsmen Serving the Swede

THE tercentenary of the accession of Gustavus Adolphus, who succeeded his father, Charles IX., as King of Sweden on October 30, 1611, cannot fail to arouse sympathetic interest in this country, especially amongst those Scottish families whose annals contain some record of reputation won or achievement performed under the great champion of the Protestant faith in Europe. His brief, but brilliant, intervention in the Thirty Years War attracted many officers and men to his standard, as appears from the number of royal warrants for the levying of troops for service abroad.¹ Whilst he lived his 'valiant Scots,' as he affectionately called them, contributed in no small degree to the success of his cause; and after his death at Lützen, they remained on in Germany to gain fresh laurels under his successors, Duke Bernard of Weimar, Gustavus Horn, Baner, Torstenson, and Wrangel. Then the news of the troubles at home reached them. Writing to Secretary Windebank on September 26, 1640, Sir Thomas Rowe says:—'Advice has come to me that twenty-six of the principal colonels and officers that have served the Swede have obtained their license and got their rests in munitions of war, a course begun by Leslie the Great, and are preparing at Gottenburg to sail in three ships for Scotland.' Although the Peace of Westphalia was not concluded until 1648, the majority of officers, who had survived the prolonged struggle, returned home at the outbreak of the Civil War to take sides with King or Parliament.

In his essay on Gustavus, Archbishop Trench points out that none of his officers were more entirely trusted by the king when some difficult and dangerous exploit had to be undertaken than those belonging to the Scottish brigade.² Perhaps the hardest

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, Dom. Ser. 1626-32. It was about two months before Gustavus actually assumed his father's title.

² *Gustavus Adolphus and Social Aspects of the Thirty Years War*, London, 1865, p. 22.

task which fell to the lot of any of them was the defence of Stralsund by Sir Alexander Leslie against Wallenstein in 1628, just two years before the King of Sweden himself landed at Usedom to carry out his arduous work. Stralsund was one of the most flourishing cities of the north. It belonged to the Hanseatic League, and owed no allegiance to the Empire. Though nominally subject to the Duke of Pomerania, it was practically independent; and, sheltered by the Island of Rugen in the very centre of the Baltic trade, its geographical position rendered it of the utmost importance. The Emperor Ferdinand II. had seized the possessions of the two Dukes of Mecklenburg for supporting Christian IV. of Denmark, and had conferred their duchies on Wallenstein, who assumed the high-sounding title of Admiral of the Baltic and the North Seas. He sent his lieutenant Arnim to besiege Stralsund, and he was determined to have it. The town was triangular in shape;³ one side of it was washed by the sea and the other two sides were protected by wide lagoons and salt-marshes, over which three causeways led to the gates.

In February hostilities began. The garrison at first consisted of only 150 soldiers, with 2000 citizens capable of bearing arms; but it was augmented by fugitives from the Danish War and peasants seeking safety from the cruelty of the Imperialist soldiery. By May 23 Arnim had taken all the outworks, when Wallenstein arrived in person to aid him. Gustavus then allied himself with the German town against the Emperor, and sent Count Brahe and Colonel Alexander Leslie to Stralsund with 2000 picked troops. They forced their way into the fortress on July 18th, and Wallenstein, who had assembled a huge army of 25,000 men⁴ round the place, found himself opposed by a garrison of experienced soldiers. Still the odds in favour of the besiegers were fearful.⁵ Wallenstein 'tried it,' according to Carlyle, 'with furious assault, with bombardment, sap and storm; swore he would have it, "though it hung by a chain from Heaven"; but could not get it, after all his volcanic

³ *Life of Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland*, by Lieut.-Col. J. Mitchell, London, 1837, p. 117; and see map of Stralsund in *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, by C. R. L. Fletcher, 1910, p. 84.

⁴ Gardiner does not hesitate to say that it was the most numerous and well-appointed army which had been seen on the Continent since the days of the Romans (*History of England*, vii. p. 97); *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv. p. 107 (1906).

⁵ Gardiner's *Thirty Years War*, 1874, pp. 107-8.

raging.’⁶ At length rain began to fall in torrents, and the flat oozy ground upon which the invading army was encamped became untenable. The Imperialist commander gave orders on August 3 to raise the siege, and his failure marked the limit of Austria’s advance.⁷ All historians, including Carlyle, who regarded the affair as world famous, are agreed that it was an event of incalculable importance, and that if the city had fallen both Sweden and Denmark would have been excluded from further interference in Germany. Leslie received a gold medal from Gustavus, and the grateful Stralsunders, who claimed the victory as a triumph for the Hanseatic League, caused further medals to be struck in his honour.

The gallant defender of Stralsund served in the Swedish army for thirty years (1608-1638), at first under Charles IX. and then under his successor in their campaigns in Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Germany. Before the advent of Gustavus, Leslie was busily employed in 1630 recruiting along the coasts of Mecklenburg and Pomerania; and on hearing that Wallenstein, whose troops were in possession of Rugen, intended to hand it over to Christian IV. in the hope of embroiling the two Northern Powers, he promptly occupied the island and turned out the Imperialist garrison of two thousand men.⁸ He was then appointed commandant at Stettin, and when the King of Sweden continued his march to Landsberg after the storming of Frankfort-on-the-Oder on April 3, 1631, he left Leslie behind as Governor.⁹ He was present at the Battle of Lützen, where the Protestant leader fell on November 6, 1632,¹⁰ and he retired six years later from the service of Sweden with a pension of 800 rix-dollars. Then he set about organizing the forces of the Covenant. The favourite field-marshal of Gustavus, his influence in Scotland was also great.¹¹ ‘Such was the wisdom and authority of that old, little crooked soldier,’ writes Baillie the Covenanter of Leslie at Dunse Law, ‘that all with one incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, give over themselves to be guided

⁶ *Frederick the Great*, book iv. chap. v.

⁷ *The House of Austria in the Thirty Years War*, by A. W. Ward, M.A., 1869, p. 61.

⁸ *Gustavus Adolphus*, by C. R. L. Fletcher, 1910, pp. 114 and 127.

⁹ *An Old Scots Brigade*, by John Mackay, 1885, pp. 109 and 142.

¹⁰ *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, vol. v. 1908, p. 374.

¹¹ *The Scottish Covenanters*, by James Dodds, 1860, p. 32.

by him as if he had been Great Solyman.’¹² He was created Earl of Leven and Lord Balgonie in 1641, but his subsequent career does not concern us. ‘Excellent, though unfortunate,’ is Carlyle’s valediction, and he recalls his supreme achievement. ‘He bearded the grim Wallenstein at Stralsund once, and rolled him back from the bulwarks there, after long tough wrestle; and, in fact, did a thing or two in his time. Farewell to him.’¹³ He died at Balgonie, Fifeshire, in 1661, and was succeeded by his grandson as second Earl of Leven. His eldest son, who was significantly named Gustavus, predeceased him.

Both Leven and his kinsman David Leslie, afterwards Lord Newark, another officer of Gustavus and Cromwell’s opponent at Dunbar, were prominent at Marston Moor. The Earl brought an army across the border with Major-General David Leslie as Commander of the Horse, and occupied the centre of the field between the armies of Manchester and Fairfax. It is a debatable point whether the victory was due to Cromwell or to Leslie, but the Scottish officer’s magnificent handling of the cavalry seems to have decided the issue.¹⁴ That is not surprising. Leslie had the experience of the Thirty Years War behind him, whilst Cromwell’s reputation as a military commander was yet in the making. The various accounts of the battle are somewhat conflicting, but its interest for us lies in the fact that opposed to the Leslies was James King, Lord Eythin, their comrade in arms in Germany. He was second in command to the Marquis of Newcastle and led the Royalist centre. It is possible that if he had been able to co-operate freely with Prince Rupert throughout the campaign unhampered with Newcastle’s sluggishness, and they had come to appreciate each other’s good qualities, the day might not have proved so disastrous for Charles. However that may be, Eythin declined at Rupert’s request to begin the battle late in the evening, and blamed him for drawing up his men so near the enemy. The prince admitted his fault and offered to move them to a further distance. ‘No, sir,’ replied Eythin, ‘it is too late,’ and the Parliamentarians, noticing certain signs of unpreparedness, commenced the attack.¹⁵ Clarendon says¹⁶ that King was an officer

¹² Carlyle’s *Miscellaneous Essays*, edit. 1866, iv. p. 234.

¹³ *Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches*, edit. 1857, ii. p. 299.

¹⁴ *History of Scotland*, by J. H. Burton, edit. 1870, vii. p. 180; *The Scots Peerage*, vol. vi. 1909, p. 440; *Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches*, edit. 1857, i. p. 151.

¹⁵ Gardiner’s *History of the Great Civil War*, 1893, i. p. 377.

¹⁶ *History of the Rebellion*, edit. 1720, ii. p. 509.



JAMES KING, LORD EYTHIN.

DIED 1652.

From oil painting in the collection of Colonel Alexander J. King of Tertowie.

of great experience and ability, and that the marquis being utterly unacquainted with war, referred all matters of importance to the discretion of his lieutenant-general.

As early as 1609 King sought service in Sweden, and he attained the rank of general-major and colonel of the Dutch Horse and Foot. He became Governor of Vlotho, a fortified town on the Weser, which belonged to the Dukes of Brunswick and Counts of Waldeck.¹⁷ After the death of Gustavus he fought under his generals Baner and Wrangel, and his portrait is still to be seen with others of his adventurous countrymen in the Chateau of Skokloster, near Upsala, which belonged to the Wrangel family. He received the Swedish order of knighthood in 1639, and returned to England. He was an Aberdeenshire laird, and his Scottish title, which was bestowed upon him on March 28, 1642, is taken from the river Ythan in that county.¹⁸ The Queen sent him from Holland next year, with other officers of reputation, to join Newcastle in the North, who accepted him as his military adviser. After Marston Moor he crossed over to the continent, and Queen Christina, in recognition of his services to her father, created him a peer of Sweden with the title of Baron Sanshult and granted him estates in the district of Calmar as well as a pension of 1800 rix-dollars annually. At his death in Stockholm, on June 9, 1652, he was accorded a public funeral, the Queen attending in person, and was buried in the Riddarholm Church, where rest the remains of Gustavus and Charles XII. Lord Eythin left no children, but two of his brothers died in Swedish service.

Sir Donald Mackay of Strathnaver, Lord Reay, may be described as the recruiting sergeant for Gustavus in Scotland. Whilst assisting Christian IV. of Denmark he distinguished himself at the Pass of Oldenburg in Holstein, where in 1627, with his famous regiment¹⁹ he kept Tilly and the Imperialists at bay, being himself wounded in the engagement.²⁰ But the exploits of 'Drunken Christian,' as Carlyle calls him, soon came to an end and he was easily beaten.²¹ And so we find Mackay two years

¹⁷ *Life of Sir John Hepburn*, by James Grant, 1851, p. 167.

¹⁸ *The Scots Peerage*, vol. iii. 1906, p. 592.

¹⁹ Its achievements are set out in Colonel Robert Monro's rambling, but valuable *Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keyes Regiment*, London, 1637.

²⁰ *An Old Scots Brigade*, p. 36.

²¹ *Frederick the Great*, ed. 1858, vol. i. p. 331.

later, back again in Scotland, collecting men on this occasion for a worthier master, the King of Sweden.²² He was present with him at the taking of Stettin and Damm when they surrendered, and was mainly responsible for the capture of Colberg in Pomerania. In an encounter with the Imperialists who had advanced to its relief, the Swedes, led by an inexperienced officer, fled without firing a shot, and if it had not been for Lord Reay's Scottish musketeers, who were in the van and stood firm, the enemy would have been victorious. In 1631 he returned home, but he was in constant communication with Gustavus regarding the raising of fresh levies. The death of his patron was a great blow to him. Of the large sums of money which he had spent to pay his recruits he received nothing back,²³ and he was compelled to denude himself of part of his estates to pay his debts.

When the King of Sweden accepted the Order of the Garter at the hands of King Charles's envoys after the Battle of Dirschau in West Prussia in the autumn of 1627, he made six knights. The ceremony took place in the presence of the whole army in front of the royal tent, and was performed with great triumph.²⁴ One of the recipients of the honour was Sir Alexander Leslie, and another Sir Patrick Ruthven, who afterwards became Earl of Forth and Brentford.²⁵ Powerfully built and covered with scars, or, as Colonel Robert Monro, the author of the *Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment* puts it, 'carrying the marks of valour on his body,' he was a man of great courage and a trusted leader. In spite of his propensity to hard drinking which earned him the nickname of General Rotwein (red wine), he always kept a cool head.²⁶ Scott probably had him in mind in drawing Dugald Dalgetty, for his hero is said to have acquired in these wars a capacity to bear an exorbitant quantity of strong liquor. Ruthven's career as a soldier began about 1606-9, when his name figures in the lists of Swedish officers, and he was soon appointed captain in a regiment of Scots in Sweden. Thus he joined the army at the same time as Leslie, and he must have served with him under Charles IX.

²² *The Book of Mackay*, by Angus Mackay, 1906, p. 134.

²³ *The Scots in Germany*, by T. A. Fischer, Edin. 1902, p. 91; *The Book of Mackay*, p. 136.

²⁴ *Ruthven Correspondence*, Roxburghe Club, 1858, Introd. p. ix.

²⁵ *The Scots Peerage*, vol. iv. 1907, p. 104.

²⁶ *The Scots in Germany*, p. 107.

After his accession in 1611 the attention of Gustavus was first engaged by the war in Denmark, in which Ruthven does not appear to have taken any part. But he was ordered during the Russian war to conduct certain troops to Narva, and was present at the storming of Pleskoff (1615), having in the following year the command of an East Gothland troop of 300 men; and in the campaign against Sigismund III. of Poland he shared in the successful siege of Riga (1621). He held successively the Governorships of Memel, Marienburg and Ulm, and many of his letters to Axel Oxenstiern, commencing in 1629, have been preserved.²⁷ He urges on the Swedish Chancellor the necessity of rendering Memel safe from the attacks of the enemy. When at Marienburg he defends himself against the charge of having delayed General Wrangel's departure by not supplying him with horses and conveyances. 'I did command the magistrates,' he writes, 'two days previous to be ready with their horses and carts, but what they furnished was of such miserable description that I put the mayor into prison, and sent him home after a time to provide better horse material.' He thanks Oxenstiern for allowing him the rights of fishing in the neighbourhood, and begs for money to pay his troops. As to this, he complains in one letter, dated August, 1630:—'I and my captains have ever and anon pawned our store of clothes and other things to content the men, but now the well is exhausted and I know of no other means.' Whilst in command of Ulm he succeeded by his vigilance in suppressing two conspiracies and in reducing a number of Catholic towns in the vicinity, although his garrison only amounted to 1200 men. His reward was the Grafschaft or Earldom of Kirchberg, near Ulm, worth about £1800 a year.

In May, 1632, Ruthven was raised to the rank of major-general, and was given the first command with Duke Bernard of Weimar of 800 men in Swabia, to watch the movements of the Catholic general Ossa, who was threatening Ulm. Seeing that he was engaged with Christian of Birkenfeldt at the siege of Landsberg near Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in October, he cannot have been present at the Battle of Lützen in the following month. During 1634-5 he was travelling in Scotland, England and France, but he returned to Germany to take part in the Battle of Nördlingen, so disastrous for the Swedes. Later on he was lieutenant-general with Baner and assisted him in defeating the Catholics at Domitz,

²⁷ *The Scots in Sweden*, by T. A. Fischer, Edin. 1907, p. 102.

Lützen, Goldberg and Kosen.²⁸ In 1636 Ruthven retired from active service abroad. Clarendon²⁹ says that he joined King Charles at Shrewsbury, and he was appointed to command as general at Edgehill, succeeding the Earl of Lindsey who fell at this battle. His place was, however, soon taken by Prince Rupert, and the last we hear of him in connection with the country he served so well was in 1649, when he was sent on a royalist mission to Sweden.

The oldest colonel at the great battle of Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, on September 17, 1631, where, in spite of the cowardice of his Saxon allies, the King of Sweden defeated the aged Tilly with the loss of 6000 of his veterans, was Sir James Ramsay, who commanded three regiments of chosen musketeers forming the vanguard.³⁰ They sustained a furious charge by a body of cuirassiers under Pappenheim, the bravest soldier, according to Schiller, Austria possessed, whom they compelled to fall back on their main body by dint of pike and musket.³¹ This officer was usually called the Black Colonel of Scots, to distinguish him from Sir James Ramsay the Fair, Governor of Brissac. With a detachment of his countrymen he led the storming party at the capture of Würzburg in Franconia on October 10, and was wounded in the arm. Monro says that this was the greatest exploit performed during the war. The castle was approached by a bridge which had to be repaired under a shower of cannon and musket shot. Gustavus asked the Scots if they were willing to take the place by assault, knowing that if they refused it would be useless to expect any others to go upon such a forlorn hope.³² For these and other conspicuous services Ramsay received a grant of lands in the Duchy of Mecklenburg and the government of Hanau, an important fortress on the river Main near Frankfurt.

After the defeat of the Swedes at Nördlingen in 1634 the Imperialists besieged Hanau, which its commander defended with the greatest skill and courage. His sallies from the town were well conducted and generally successful, and, in order to gain time and rest for his worn-out garrison, Ramsay began a series of

²⁸ *The Scots Peerage*, vol. iv. 1907, p. 104.

²⁹ *History of the Rebellion*, ed. 1720, vol. ii. pp. 40 and 57.

³⁰ *Monro's Expedition*, ed. 1637, ii. 63.

³¹ *Life of Sir John Hepburn*, by James Grant, 1851, p. 101.

³² *An Old Scots Brigade*, p. 163; *Gustavus Adolphus*, by C. R. L. Fletcher, p. 207.



PATRICK RUTHVEN, EARL OF FORTH AND BRENTFORD.

DIED 1651.

From oil painting in Skokloster Castle, Sweden, formerly the seat of General Wrangel.

The correctness of the attribution of this portrait has not been doubted.

See page 43 for another portrait of Patrick Ruthven.

sham negotiations with the Catholic general Lamboy, proposing to send an envoy to Oxenstiern and to Duke Bernard of Weimar for their condition to surrender the fortress, which he knew would never be given.³³ Undaunted by plague and famine, Ramsay held on doggedly, until the besieged were reduced to feeding on dogs and cats. He was so joyful at the success of his punitive exhibitions against Lamboy that he could afford to indulge in a grim joke at his expense. His enemy had scornfully presented him with two fat pigs, when the Governor sent him in return a gift of fifty pounds of carp caught in the moats, with the mocking request for news, especially concerning the rumour current in the town, of Hanau being besieged.

At length the brave defenders were relieved. The London apprentice, Sydnam Poyntz, who joined Wallenstein's army and wrote an account of his campaigns, bears witness to the stubbornness of their resistance to the last. 'The Comaunder of Hannow' he writes, 'who was old Coronell Ramsey, a Scotch man, having gotten notice of the Duke of Hessen's coming to succour hym and at hand, and the other side not dreaming of any Adversary nere, sallyed out of the Towne, beat the Imperialists out of their Trenches, killed and drowned in the River of Mume (Main) as good as fower thousand and levelled all their workes.'³⁴ On June 23, 1636, the Landgrave of Hesse and Sir Alexander Leslie entered the town amidst the ringing of bells and joyful shouts of the populace, bringing with them 600 waggon loads of provisions and herds of cattle for slaughter. In memory of this deliverance the so-called Lamboy festival is celebrated in Hanau to this day. Ramsay's end was a tragic one. In the same year the fortress was again invested by the Elector of Mainz, and the Governor, realising the impossibility of sustaining another siege, agreed to evacuate it on certain terms. When, however, it was clear to him that the treaty was about to be violated he retook the place, which was eventually surprised by Henry, Count Nassau Dillenburgh. Ramsay defended himself as best he could in this extremity, but he was wounded, and, after having been treated with the most cruel rigour and severity, he died a prisoner in the Castle of Dillenburgh, on March 11, 1638. He was buried in the church there, but the grave of this devoted hero has never been discovered.

³³ *The Scots in Germany*, p. 94.

³⁴ *The Relation of Sydnam Poyntz (1624-1636)*, Camden Society, Third Series, vol. xiv. p. 1908, 122. We cannot vouch for the accuracy of this writer's figures.

Next to Gustavus himself Sir John Hepburn was accounted the ablest leader on the Protestant side. He was the second son of George Hepburn of Athelstaneford near Haddington, and he may be described as a typical man of action, and one of the most famous soldiers the world has ever seen. With a genius for command, he combined quick decision and dauntless courage. Handsome in appearance and dignified in bearing, he far outshone his comrades in the magnificence of his arms and attire, and this seems to have been the only fault that the plain Swedish king had to find with him. Like Dugald Dalgetty, who is never tired of telling us that he had studied humanity at the Marischal College of Aberdeen, and had served half the princes of Europe, Hepburn was scholar as well as courtier. When the unfortunate Winter King, Frederick, Elector Palatine, lost the crown of Bohemia after his defeat by Tilly and the Catholic League at the White Hill of Prague on November 8, 1620, his bodyguard consisted of a company of Scots under Sir Andrew Gray, in which young Hepburn commanded a band of pikes. Two years later he distinguished himself with Ernest, Count of Mansfield, against the Spanish commander, Spinola, at the defence of Bergen-op-Zoom, and at the Battle of Fleurus in the Low Countries. Attracted to Sweden by the fame of its ruler, his services were readily accepted by Gustavus, who, in 1625, appointed him colonel of one of his Scottish regiments.

Thenceforth Hepburn's career is in the nature of a triumphal progress. During the King of Sweden's first campaign in Pomerania and Mecklenburg in 1630, he was sent by Oxenstiern to the relief of his fellow countryman and constant companion in these campaigns, Colonel Robert Monro, at Rugenwalde,⁸⁵ and he was rewarded with the governorship of that place. Already he had been knighted, as his name appears in the *Swedish Intelligencer* of the time as 'Sir John Hebron.' In conjunction with Kniphausen and Bauditzen he successfully intercepted the Imperialists who were advancing to succour Colberg, then being blockaded by the Swedes. In March, 1631, Gustavus formed his Scots Brigade, consisting of Hepburn's own regiment, Mackay's Highlanders, Stargate's Corps, and Lumsden's Musketees, and gave the command to Sir John. Throughout the army it was known as the 'Green Brigade,' from the tartan of the Highlanders and the colour of the doublets, scarfs, feathers,

⁸⁵ *Gustavus Adolphus*, by C. R. L. Fletcher, p. 137.

and standards of the other regiments.³⁶ The actual date of Hepburn's birth is unknown, but his biographer³⁷ claims that at the age of thirty he was at the head of the four best regiments in the Swedish army. With every allowance for partiality there appear to be sufficient grounds for this contention, judging from the subsequent exploits of the brigade. During the Thirty Years War the Saxons could not understand Tilly's veterans and always ran away, the Swedes and the Finns generally acquitted themselves nobly, but the Scots as a rule were entrusted with the most perilous enterprises and invariably stood firm.

The brigade soon had an opportunity of displaying their courage at Frankfort-on-the-Oder which was taken by storm on April 3, Hepburn and Colonel James Lumsden directing the attack on the Guben Gate, lighted petards in hand. 'Now my valiant Scots, remember your brave countrymen who were slain at New Brandenburg,' cried Gustavus in allusion to the terrible massacre of Lord Reay's Highlanders by Tilly a few days before. Monro in his *Expedition* has given a graphic account of the struggle which was stubbornly maintained on the part of the Imperialists by Walter Butler and his Irishmen. Hepburn was hit above the knee and retired for a time to get his wound dressed. 'Bully Monro, I am shot,' he jocularly called out to his friend who was passing into the line of fire with his Highlanders; at which the other tells us in his characteristic way he was 'wondrous sorry.' The enemy's guns were captured and turned upon them. In the streets the ground was contested inch by inch, the Austrians slowly retreating and begging for quarter, but to every appeal the merciless answer was 'New Brandenburg. Remember New Brandenburg!' Thus was the slaughter of the Scots avenged, for three thousand of the garrison were put to the sword.³⁸ Landsberg then fell, after a blockade of ten days, on April 16, and Hepburn, although still suffering from his wound, was actively engaged upon the operations which led to its surrender.

During the next few months the Green Brigade was encamped in the open fields, at first near Berlin and later at Old Brandenburg, where they lost many of their men by pestilence. In July Gustavus concentrated his forces at Werben, and Tilly with

³⁶ *An Old Scots Brigade*, p. 125.

³⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.; Life of Hepburn*, by James Grant.

³⁸ Fletcher's *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, p. 160.

20,000 troops appeared in the neighbourhood of his camp. The Catholic leader reduced Leipzig, and his opponent, drawing out his army in full battle array, marched towards the city. After the flight of the Saxons at Breitenfeld, Hepburn's brigade, which was held in reserve, was hurried up to the assistance of Field-Marshal Horn, who commanded the Swedish left wing, and was being hard pressed by Tilly. Lord Reay's Highlanders are credited with being the first to make the breach in the enemy's ranks which decided the issue. The slaughter which ensued was fearful. About 600 of Tilly's veterans who remained alive closed round their aged leader and bore him wounded from the field. The Scottish Brigade was publicly thanked in the presence of the whole army, and Monro, who himself fought valiantly, says that whilst Gustavus principally ascribed the victory to the Swedish, Finnish, and Dutch horsemen, Hepburn's men got great praise for their foot service. Following up this success General Bauditzen and Sir John between them captured six large towns on the way to Würzburg. The latter's defence of Oxenford was a notable achievement. The Duke of Lorraine reinforced Tilly after his defeat with 12,000 troops, and the Imperialist ranks rose to 40,000 men. Gustavus ordered Hepburn to garrison this place with 800 musketeers so as to prevent the enemy crossing the Maine, and if he found the service too desperate to blow up the bridge and retire on Würzburg. So skilfully did Hepburn make his dispositions that Tilly, with his huge army imagined that a large force was behind the walls and turned aside to Nürnberg.

In December, 1631, Gustavus crossed the Rhine and attacked the first Spanish garrison at Oppenheim. After taking a strong fort or sconce on the east side of the river and putting the commandant under terms to depart to Bingen, Hepburn immediately went to the assistance of his chief in reducing the castle, which surrendered after the seizure of one of its outworks. Mainz gave the Swedes very little trouble. Such was Hepburn's reputation at this period, it is said that when Don Philip de Silvia and his Castilians saw his brigade about to storm they laid down their arms. The conquerors remained in the city till March, 1632, when they marched to Frankfort-on-the-Maine to take part eventually in the capture of Donauwörth, from which Gustavus drove the garrison after a hot resistance. At the passage of the Leck, a tributary of the Danube, where Tilly received his mortal wound, Hepburn led the van. It was, however, an artillery



PATRICK RUTHVEN, EARL OF FORTH AND BRENTFORD.

DIED 1651.

From oil painting in the Bodleian Library.

It differs in various particulars from the dated portrait of Ruthven at Skokloster (see page 44), and also from the engravings of him. Hence its identity must remain doubtful.

duel in which the Swedish guns were vastly superior.³⁹ The Austrians had taken up a position on the right bank of the river, between Augsburg and Rain, and on the night of April 3, Gustavus threw up earthworks upon which he mounted 72 pieces of artillery. The enemy were forced to retire by a converging fire, and he gained the passage of the river. With Frederick of the Palatinate in his train, the king entered Munich in triumph, a city which Hepburn knew as a subaltern in the Scottish bands of Sir Andrew Gray, and of which he was now made military governor.

The merits of the quarrel between Gustavus and Hepburn which deprived the Protestant leader of the services of his ablest general before the battle of Lützen have never been ascertained. It is sad to have to recall this unhappy termination of their friendship, but whether it was the outcome of a taunt regarding Hepburn's religion, which was Catholic, or the extreme magnificence of his armour and apparel is not very material at this date. At all events the haughty Scot took offence at some real or imagined slight, and vowed never to unsheath his sword in the service of Sweden again. He remained on, however, to perform some hazardous work for his master against Wallenstein on the Altenburg, and there was an affecting parting between him and the Scottish officers who accompanied him for a mile on the road. Within a month of his departure Gustavus fell. The Scots Brigade, having lost heavily at Nürnberg, were not present at Lützen, though Alexander Leslie and several officers of Mackay's regiment were with the king at the end. There was no need, however, for leadership at this supreme moment, for each individual Swede fought with furious courage to avenge him. 'Life falls in value, since the holiest of all lives is gone; and death has now no terror for the lowly, since it has not spared the anointed head.' Such is Schiller's tribute to the romantic devotion of the victorious army.

Hepburn's last years were spent in the wars of France, where he gained the friendship and esteem of Richelieu, and fought under the Cardinal Duke de la Valette and the great Turenne, then at the outset of his career, against his old enemies the Imperialists. Before he reached his fortieth year this brave soldier of fortune was shot in the trenches at the Siege of Saverne, assisting Duke Bernard of Weimar, on July 8, 1636, and his death was universally mourned. In his distress at the news Richelieu wrote a touching letter to Valette, extolling the worthi-

³⁹ Article on Artillery in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

ness of his character and deploring his loss, which had affected him so sensibly that he found it impossible to receive any comfort.

While Hepburn, Ramsay, Ruthven, Mackay, King, Alexander Leslie and Robert Monro were the principal officers 'serving the Swede,' the military achievements of three other Scottish colonels stand out conspicuously. What Gustavus would have done without Alexander Hamilton's guns, especially at the passage of the Lech, it is difficult to say. 'Dear Sandie,' as he was called, was half-brother of the first Earl of Haddington and a celebrated artilleryman. He had workhouses at Urbowe or (Örebro) in Sweden, which Lord Reay and Monro visited in 1630, and he invented 'cannon and fireworks for his Majesty.'⁴⁰ Gustavus recognised the need of mobile field artillery and used iron 4-pounder guns, weighing about 5½ cwt. and drawn by two horses, whilst Tilly's weapons were cumbrous 24-pounders, each requiring 20 transport horses, and 12 horses for the waggons. The service of his guns was primitive and defective, but the Swedes obtained rapidity of fire by the use of cartridges in place of the old method of ladling the powder; and as two of their light guns were attached to each regiment, they had a distinct advantage over the Imperialists who had difficulty in moving their artillery during the course of an action.⁴¹ Hamilton returned home about 1635, and joined the Covenanters; and his guns were mainly responsible for the defeat of Lord Conway, who opposed the Scots under Leven at the passage of Newburn-on-Tyne.

The officer in command of Lord Reay's Highlanders, who were slaughtered at New Brandenburg, was Lieutenant-Colonel John Lindsay, grandson of David, tenth Earl of Crawford.⁴² In March, 1631, Tilly with 15,000 troops arrived before the town, where General Kniphausen was stationed with 2000 men.⁴³ His garrison included about 600 Highlanders under Lindsay, who, although in his twenty-eighth year, had seen much service, having been dangerously wounded at the Siege of Stralsund. Gustavus ordered Kniphausen to retire, as the place being in a wretched condition of defence was not worth holding against such fearful odds. The message miscarried. For nine days the heroic defenders kept the Austrian veteran at bay. At length the town,

⁴⁰ *An Old Scots Brigade*, p. 88. As to Hamilton's guns in the Civil War see *Cromwell's Army*, by C. H. Firth, 1902 (*passim*).

⁴¹ Article on Artillery in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

⁴² *The Scots Peerage*, vol. iii., 1906, p. 30.

⁴³ *Gustavus Adolphus*, by C. R. L. Fletcher, p. 158.

after a desperate struggle, was taken, and the entire garrison, except the commander, his wife and daughter, and about sixty men, were barbarously massacred. Lindsay fell in the breach, fighting to the last with a pike in his hand, his tartaned soldiers slain in a heap around him. In the town records he is singled out as the Scottish nobleman 'Earl Lindz,' who defended his post long after all other resistance had ceased. According to Monro the first men over the ramparts at Frankfort-on-the-Oder to avenge this slaughter were Major John Sinclair and his lieutenant Heatley. They placed their backs against the wall and resisted the attack of the enemy's oncoming horsemen with a handful of musketeers until relieved. Sinclair was the third son of George, fifth Earl of Caithness, and he obtained the temporary command of Mackay's famous regiment when Monro returned to Scotland to procure recruits. He was killed at Newmarke in the Upper Palatinate in 1632, his place being taken by Major William Stewart, brother of the Earl of Traquair. Lamenting the loss of his friends during the war, Monro writes thus: 'Shortly after him (*i.e.* his own brother, Colonel Monro of Obstell) my dear Cosen and Lieutenant-Colonel John Sinclaire being killed at Newmark, he did leave me and all his acquaintance sorrowfull, especially those brave Heroics Duke Barnard of Wymar and Feltmarshall Horne, whom he truly followed and valourously obeyed till his last houre; having much worth he was much lamented, as being without gall or bitterness.' His epitaph in Latin by Joannes Narssius is prefixed to Monro's remarkable narrative.

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