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THE
HISTORY
¹²⁸⁷ OF THE
CAMPAGNES
1548 and 1549.

BEING
An Exact Account of the Martial Expeditions
perform'd in those Days by the *Scots* and
French on the one Side, and by the *English* and
their Foreign Auxiliaries on the other.

Done in French, under the Title of,
The *SCOTS* War, &c.
By *Monfieur* BEAGUE,
A French Gentleman.

Printed at *Paris* in the Year 1556.

WITH AN
Introductory Preface
By the Translator.

Printed in the Year, M. DCC. VII.

THE HISTORY

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Introductory Preface
By the Translator

Printed in the Year M. DC. C. VII

T H E
P R E F A C E.

TH E Author of the following Sheets was a Foreigner ; 'tis now 151 years since he wrote this part of our History ; And I thought I should oblige the present Age, by letting them know, what a People we were in the former, and what a Figure we then made in the World, in the Judgment of Foreigners. He was also an Eye-Witness to what he relates ; and for this Reason, I humbly conceive, the Accounts he gives of us to his Country-men, must needs be diverting, especially at this Distance of Time. There is an agreeable Variety of Matter in the Book, and a more particular and accurate Detail of Things, than is to be met with in any of our own Historians. Buchanan, no doubt for some good Reasons of his own, does not bestow half a Sheet of Paper upon all the Military Performances of the Campaignes

pagnes mention'd in the Title Page; and yet there were Battles fought, Sieges carry'd on, Fortresses taken, Armies and Fleets defeated, Countries o'er-run, and Stratagems of War invented and executed, equal perhaps to any that are extant upon Record. Here a handful of Men are coop'd up on all hands by huge Armies, and yet make a Shift to escape; there unequal Numbers engage, and the Victors bring off the Field more Prisoners than they had Hands to Scise them. In some Places, the Vertues shine in their full Lustre; and elsewhere, Vice is set out in its Native Dress: But what, in my Opinion, cannot fail to take, is, that the Theatre, on which these various Parts were acted, is in our Eye; and we cannot look about us, without seeing the Scene of some notable Exploit. We are still divided in our Sentiments about the Union: Those, who like it, will conclude from the Perusal of this Translation that 'twas high time to put an end to the Calamities that attend our separate State; and those, who wish it undone, will observe, that 'twas not impossible but we could have stood our Ground, nay and prosper'd upon the Ancient Bottom: And as I cannot think, that it will be offensive, so I am satisfi'd

fy'd, it may not be altogether improper to put our new Friends in mind of our old ones. I need say no more of the Motives that induc'd me to give the Publick a Translation of this old but curious and useful Author.

The War he gives an account of, was the consequence of an Union of the two Crowns formerly agreed to in a Scots Parliament; but he made it his Business to write only what he himself had witnessed; and he witness'd it seems, no more, than the Work of not full two Campaigns. This makes his Performance very imperfect in one Sense, the Reader's Curiosity being by this means rais'd, but not at all satiated; wherefore I am of Opinion, that there lyes a consequential Obligation upon me, as being the Translator, to supply the Defect of my Author, and to give as clear an Idea of the Cause, Progress, and End of that War, as the Nature of a Preface will allow.

The Cause of it was in short this; We were engaged in an Offensive and Defensive League with France; 'twas to this League that we ow'd in a great measure our Preservation in a State of Independency for a tract of very nigh 1000 Years. This our more powerful Neighbours beyond Tweed,

Tweed, who ever they were that Domineer'd for the time, whether Romans, Saxons, Danes, or Normans, could not brook. They consider'd us as the Rivals of their Grandeur, and as they would suffer no Equals in Britain so We could bear with no Masters. Every Age produc'd some new Attempt upon the Sovereignty of our Monarchs, and Liberties of our Country; but still our own Valour and the French League, either skreen'd us from Injury, or return'd it with Interest. The Scottish Valour was not to be daunted in those Days, it seem'd fix'd to our Being, and essential to our Nature; and no sooner was a Wallace cut off, or had a Bruce expir'd, but a Randulph or a Stewart sprung out, as 'twere of their Ashes. Old-ag'd Experience had taught the English that our Minds could not be conquer'd by Force; by Kindness they hop'd our Hearts might be won; But then the French League, that Eternal Impediment that lay cross in the way, must be remov'd at any Rate. To effect this, King Henry the Eighth of England, after he had exhausted all the Subtily and Rigor of his Politicks upon frustraneous Attempts of the same kind, at last propos'd a Match between the Ap-
parent

ent Heirs of both Crowns, with Terms
 ch at any time since, would have been as
 idily accepted by us, as they were earnestly
 ter'd by him; we had never been hitherto
 so fair a way of being United with England:
 that Prince, (whose amazing Conduct in
 Affair, as in most of the other Actions of his
 e cannot be accounted for) first broke the
 eaty contrary to all the Rules either of Honour
 Policy, and then quarrell'd with us for the
 ult he himself committed, and therefore the
 ench League once more prevail'd over our
 linations, if not our Interest. But of this
 Reader will best judge, when inform'd of
 Nature and Consequences of that so famous,
 l so long uninterrupted Alliance. I presume
 hall compliment the Vulgar at least, by ac-
 nting for both in this place; 'tis necessary
 ards the better understanding of the History
 ave translated, as well as of the Ancient, and
 ost forgotten Circumstances of our Coun-
 ; and I shall equally endeavour to be so pro-
 as to instruct, and so concise as not to weary:
 I shall take care to advance nothing, but what
 vouch'd by the best Historians of Britain
 France, particularly by Cham-

ber of Ormont, a Senator of our College of Justice, in the History dedicated by him to Henry the Third King of France and Poland, which was Printed at Paris in the Year 1579; and by Mr. Houstoun in his Book entitl'd L'Escosse Françoise, Dedicated to Henry Prince of Wales in the Reign of King James the VI. that is, after the two Crowns had been United on the Head of this last. These two Gentlemen have handled the Subject more distinctly than any Others I am acquainted with.

The Unanimous Consent of all Writers has dated the League from the Reigns of Charles Magne the first French Cæsar, and our King Achaius; who in the year 777 agreed upon the following Articles.

1mo. That there shall be an inviolable Friendship and Confederacy between France and Scotland for ever.

2do. That the Injury offer'd to either of the Kings, or Nations, shall be Repuls'd by the United Forces of both.

3tio. That the Auxiliaries sent by the King of Scots to France, shall be maintain'd at the Charges of the King of France.

4to. That

4to. That Scotland, if attack'd by any Foreign Power, shall be Succour'd not only with an Army from France, but also with Money sufficient to pay them.

5to. That it shall be lawful to neither of the two Kings to make a Peace, or Truce with the Common Enemy, without the Consent of the other.

6to. That if any of the Subjects of either Kingdom shall presume to Assist or Succour the Enemy of t'other, with Arms, Counsel, or Victuals, the Delinquent shall be judg'd Guilty of High Treason against his own Sovereign, and Punish'd accordingly.

These Articles were often ratify'd, and sometimes amplify'd by succeeding Monarchs, particularly by Lewis the VIII. of France and Alexander the II. of Scotland, who agreed,

7mo. That neither of the Two shall admit within his Dominions, either the Foreign Enemy, or Rebellious Subject of one another.

If the concurring Testimonies of our best Historians, Buchanan &c. may be rely'd upon, (tho' I shall not positively assert the thing) our King Robert the I. and Charles the Fair of France,

France, added a very remarkable Clause to those above-mention'd, Viz.

8vo. That in case the Race of either of the Two Kings shall fail, or by any Means become Uncertain, the lawful Heir shall be Nominated and Declar'd by the Nobles of both Kingdoms; and thereafter shall be set upon his Throne, and maintain'd in it by all the Power of the King his Ally, who in case of Necessity shall be Bound and Oblig'd to Oppose, in Person, the Usurping Pretender.

Both Kings Swore to the Observation of this last Article, took the Sacrament upon it, and further Attested, That no dispensing Power under the Sun, should ever Absolve them from the Inviolable Oath; and that if any such Absolution, or Dispensation was offer'd, it should be of no Force or Effect.

How far the present respective Monarchs of both Kingdoms reckon themselves Bound by an Oath, or Contract of this kind, I cannot Determine; this seems certain, their Predecessors ever did. For instance,

David the II. of Scotland was, by the prevailing English thrust from his Throne; Edward Baliol was set up in his stead, and he forc'd

forc'd to retire to France, where they Receiv'd him, Nourish'd him, Taught him the Arts of War and Peace, and never ceas'd to Support, with Men and Money, the Illustrious few, I mean, the Murrays, Hays, Keiths, Setons, Randulphs, Stewarts, &c. who so Nobly withstood the Rage of that, for a long time, successful Rebellion; till by the united Forces of this Loyal Party and their French Auxiliaries, our exil'd Monarch was restor'd.

On the other Hand, the same David did not a little Contribute to defeat the Claim laid to the Crown of France, contrary to the Salique Law, tho' by his own Brother-in-Law King Edward the III. of England. To this Purpose, he rais'd a great Army of his own Subjects, and, with it and some Hundreds of French under the Conduct of Hugh Garentiers, Invaded Northumberland again and again; and tho' he himself hurry'd on by the Excess of his Improvident Courage, was at last made a Prisoner near Durham, yet he diverted the Conquering Arms of the Pretender from almost assur'd Success; and the consequence was, that Edward altho' he attain'd to the unprecedented Glory of having two Kings, that of France, and that of Scotland,

his Prisoners at once, was notwithstanding oblig'd to lay down the Title and Arms of France, and to be contented to have these Territories he had gain'd by War, preserv'd to him and his Successors by a Treaty of Peace.

Robert, Sir-nam'd John Fernzier, considering that his Eldest Son the Prince of Scotland, had been cut off by the Villany of God knows who, and perhaps distrusting the Ambition of his Brother (who I have Reason to believe, is unjustly charg'd with that Enormous Crime) sent off his Second Son James the I. in his Non-age to France, as being oblig'd to Protect and Restore him in spite of Unnaturalty or Usurpation; which, no doubt, the King of France would have done, but that the young Prince was unluckily forc'd into England by contrary Winds, and there unjustly detain'd.

Charles the VI. of France, a weak, hypochondriack, misled Prince, after Marrying his Fair Daughter Katharine with Henry the V. of England, was prevail'd upon to disinherit his lawful Son the Dauphin, and to settle, so far as in him lay, the Succession upon his Daughter, and her Husband: This last back'd with the Court-Party of France, the Burgundian
Faction,

Faction, his own Forces of Normandy, Gascony, Xaintonge, &c. and that mighty Assistance, his Kingdom of England and Lordship of Ireland afforded him, sent his Victorious Standart over all the Corners of the Kingdom, Reduc'd the Heir of it to the Title of King of Orleans (for within the Walls of this one Loyal City, the poor Relicks of that Sovereignty were confin'd) and at least, he had his Son Crown'd King of France in its Capital, Paris; since which time, the Kings of England have carry'd the Arms, and assum'd the Title of Kings of France. But we, in pursuance of our Ancient League, and the reiterated Obligations enter'd into by our Sovereigns, look'd upon the English Pretensions as unjust, Espous'd the French Quarrel, lost 20000 Men in the Cause, Invaded the English Frontiers from Scotland, Gain'd the Battel of Baugy in France, and to the Immortal Honour of our Country, were before, in Conjunction with, and after the stupendious Atchievements of the famous Pucelle, the main Instruments of the Restoration of that Monarchy and Monarch King Charles the VII. And this much I have thought fit to mention, with Reference to the Observation of the last Article of our

Ancient League. But to proceed to the further Consequences of the same;

*It was no sooner concluded, than King Achaius, the first Author of it, added the French Fleur-de-lys to his Scottish Lyon, our Ancient Arms, to Evidence the undividable Oneness of his Interest and Arms, with those of France; and immediately after, he sent over his Brother William, and as some of the French Records have it, one Boulandre De Gourdon * upon the Head of an Auxiliary Army to France, who shar'd with the Great Charles in the Glory he won by the Conquest of the Saracens in Spain, the Lombards in Italy, and Saxons in Germany. Whence, (not to mention the never fading Honours done us at Florence, the Monasteries founded, and Lands bestow'd upon our Religious in many Places of Germany, nor the Advantageous Posts granted to our Learn'd Men, in the beginning Universities of Paris and Padua) our Valour and Services, on these Occasions, were Magnificently re-pay'd with Preferments of the First Order, namely the Government of Saxony, the Mother Coun-
try*

* This Gentleman is mention'd in the *Requell des Connestables* Witness the French Author *De la Genealogie De la Maison de Guisard* ----

try of the English. Witness these uncontrovertible Words of Paulus Emilius, Saxonibus victis Magistratus gentibus alienigenis, & imprimis Scotis mandabat, quorum egregia fide utebatur.

Our King Alpin enter'd in War with Frederich King of the Picts about the Year 830. Edwin the English King of Northumberland declar'd for the latter, but terrify'd by the Threatnings of Lowis the Complaisant King of France, he was Compell'd to desist: And by this Means Alpin had an Opportunity of gaining the Battel of Rastanoth, where he Kill'd Frederich, and not long after concluded an honourable and advantageous Peace.

Charles the Fat of France, not only assisted our Great Gregory in his Immortal Exploits against the Danes, Britons and Irish; but also by his Authority constrain'd the English Alured to ly by an idle, tho' unwilling Spectator of our Triumphs.

Malcolme Kenmoir renew'd the Alliance with Philip the I. and about the Year 1062, sent over some Scottish Forces to France, who afterwards, under the Conduct of Hugh a Son of France, and in Conjunction with Gode-

froy of Bouillon, had the Honour to display our St. Andrew's Cross upon the Walls of Jerufalem, retriev'd by this Means from the Hands of ufurping Mahumetans.

As there ſhould have been no End of this famous League, ſo there were no Intervals between the Reciprocal Teſtimonies of Friendſhip that enſued upon it: But this Preface would ſwell to an unjudicious Bulk, if I ſhould further enlarge upon the remoter Ages of Antiquity. To deſcend therefore to more modern Inſtances of the ſame kind,

I do not Read, that the French afforded us any great or remarkable Supplies in the Days of that Miracle of his Time, Sir William Wallace: The Reaſon is obvious, for Edward the Son of John Baliol, was Married to a Daughter of France; and 'tis no matter of Wonder, that they were not Active againſt their ſo near Ally, who, had he not Unking'd himſelf by a treacherous unpardonable Surrender of his Peoples Liberties and his own Independency to the English Scepter, would have juſtly claim'd our Fealty and Obedience, and by conſequence the Benefit of the French Confederacy; and who knows but
Pro-

Providence permitted our Ancestors in that Heroick Age, to be thus left to their Native unassisted Courage, to Teach Posterity, that the Scots alone are able to vindicate the Rights of Scotland? However it were, the Baliol's willing Abdication (for he is no King that owns a King his Superior, and he has no Subjects, who Subjects them to any but himself) was no sooner made manifest to the World, and the Bruce's Title clear'd up, than the King of France, solicitous to prevent the like Inconveniencies in After-ages, not only struck in with the better Cause, and the lawful Succession, but also oblig'd himself and his Successors to support it for ever. This I have mention'd above, and to proceed,

Our King Robert the II. was about the Year 1385 assisted with an Army from France; and had it not been for the Divisions, and Animosities which broke out amongst the Commanders, we bid fair at that time for the Conquest of England.

All Histories record, and all Languages will ever speak the Services done by the Heroes of their time our Country-men, to the perishing Monarchy of France during the
 c Reign

Reign of King James the I. tho' then in the English Custody. Services which were repay'd with all those Returns of Gratitude that Monarchs can give, or Subjects receive.

Margaret, a Daughter of Scotland, was Married with Lewis then Dauphin, afterwards King of France, in the Year 1433, she was Conducted from Dumbarton by

*Sinclair of Rossin Earl of Orkney, and Admiral of Scotland, in a Royal Navy of 45 Scots Ships * : Two of Her Majesty's Sisters went over to Visit her in 1445, but to their inexpressible Grief came too late ; for the first Advice they got after their Arrival in France, was that of their Sister's Death, and the Second, that of their Mother the Queen of Scots. But France, ever Hospitable to the Afflicted, particularly to those of our Royal Blood, receiv'd them with open Arms, wept off their Virgin Tears, entertain'd them Nobly as their Quality deserv'd, and after some Time, with suitable Provisions, gave Leonara the Eldest in Marriage to Sigismund Arch-Duke of Austria, and the Younger to the Duke of Britany.*

James

* *Sir James Balfour's Historical Collections, in MSS.*

James the III. sent a considerable Succour, to Support the Right of Charles the VIII. of France to the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, under the Conduct of Bernard Stewart Lord d'Aubigny, who signaliz'd himself on all Occasions, namely at the Battel of Fornovo in 1494, Conquer'd the Kingdoms in dispute, and constrain'd Ferdinand King of Arragon, the Duke of Urbin, and John Sforce Lord of Pefaro, to Disband their Army, to leave the Fields, and to seek a Refuge for their Persons in the Town of Faenze.

James the IV. sent over a Land-Army of 1000 Men, under the Command of the Lord d'Aubigny, towards the Preservation of the Milaneze in the French Interest, and not long after a great Fleet under the Conduct of James Gordon of Leterfury Admiral of Scotland, together with 3000 Men Commanded by the then Earl of Arran *, to the Relief of the French Coasts, every where Insulted by the Naval Forces of England; nay, he compell'd by his Threatning to make a Diverfion at Home, King Henry

* Buchanan says, that Arran was Admiral of this Fleet, Lestly says that Gordon was in that Post, the truth is, they had both their respective Commands as above.

ry the VIII. of England to desist from taking Advantage of Lewis the XII. of France, at a time when this last, persecuted by the inexorable Hatred of the then Pope, had much ado to stand his Ground in opposition to those other Confederate Powers the Popedom had Arm'd against him.

Francis the I. of France gave us the like Assistance, in that unnatural War carry'd on by Henry VIII. against his Infant-Nephew K. James the V. who to requit the Obligation, afterwards rejected the Overture that was made by his Uncle, of a Match between him and Mary of England: And understanding that the French King was made Prisoner at Pavie, that his Territories were Invaded by almost the whole Forces of Europe, that had conspir'd against France alone, and that his Armies had been every where worsted; he resolv'd to shew himself a Friend in Danger, the only fit time of evidencing Sincerity. In this view, he rais'd considerable Forces in Scotland, embark'd upon the Head of them for France, and after being toss'd by various Tempests, and beat back by contrary Winds, at last, surmounting all Obstacles, he arrived at Dieppe, and there took Post in order to fight in Person at the Battle, on which he heard that both Armies were de-

determin'd: But meeting the King his Ally upon the Mountain of Tarare near Lyons, he return'd with him to Paris, where he was so Nobly receiv'd, and made such a Glorious Entry, as was the common Theme of all the Pens and Tongues of France for a long time: On New-year's-Day thereafter he was solemnly Married to the Lady Magdalen of France in the Church of Nostredame, in the presence of the King her Father, the King of Navarre, Seven Cardinal, &c. but this excellent Princess died not long after without Children; and he, to shew that he meant the French League should never expire, would needs again have a French Woman to his Bed, and accordingly made choice of Mary of Lorraine, so often mention'd in the following History.

I shall say nothing of the continual Supplies of Men and Money we receiv'd from France in the Reign of Queen Mary; the Reader will be satisfied as to that Point by the Perusal of my Translation: But lest it should be thought, that the Difference of Religion (for we Reform'd about this time) was of it self a Breach of that Popish Confederacy, it may not be amiss to observe here, that to return the like Obligation put upon our
King

King James the VI. by the King of France; the first sent over the Earl of Hume in the Quality of Ambassador to France, with his best Advice to that Monarch, upon the Discovery of a Plot lately broke out against him, and with Proffers of all the Forces Scotland could raise towards his Support, against any Foreign or Domestick Enemy in being: The Original of these Instructions I have seen. The History of the Edict of Nantes, done by a French Refugee, tells us, that the Scots Guard de Cors, even in the Days of Louis the XIII. were generally Protestants: The Marquis of Huntly was Captain of that Guard, as well as of the Scots Gend-armed, about the Years 1635 and 38: And much about the same time, Sir John Hepburn * who was nam'd a Marechal of France, tho' Death depriv'd him of that Honour, the greatest a Gentleman can attain to, before the Diploma reach'd him, is another Proof that the Protestant Religion and the French League were not Incompatible; nay the above-mention'd Mr. Houstoun pretends, that the very Union of the British Crowns

* I have seen a Latine Epitaph which verifies the Assertion, cut out upon the Tomb of this Gentleman, in the Cathedral Church of Toul.

Crowns could by no means dissolve it; and he pathetically exhorts the Prince of Wales to Preserve it Sacred, as the most Fundamental of our Laws, and the most Precious Jewel of his Scottish Crown; and 'tis not above 20 Years ago since 'twas still true that,

----- Sine milite Scoto

Nulla unquam Francis fulsit victoria castris.

What further Returns of Gratitude we receiv'd from this League, besides the Reciprocal Assistance of France in time of need, I shall instance in as few Words as I can.

We were all French Men, how soon we set foot on French Ground; a Privilege granted to no Nation but our own. Hence 'twas that their Cities were fill'd with our Merchants, their Harbours with our Ships, their Universities with our Students and Professors, their Courts of Justice with our Lawyers and Judges, their Armies with our Commanders, and the Louver it self with our Nobles and Gentry. 'Twere Endless and in Vain to talk of the Magistracies, Canonicates, Abbacies, Bishopricks, &c. Scots Men were preferr'd to in France: A Scots Earl of Buchan was made Constable of France, a Dignity so Great,
that

that succeeding Kings, jealous of the formidable Power and Trust, have thought fit to suppress it. The Earls of Arran, Huntly, Angus, Argile, &c. had the Honour to be rank'd amongst those Emperors, Kings, &c. who have been of the Order of St. Michael; A John Stewart was made Count d'Evreux, and Lord de Concreffaut; A Bernard Stewart was Marechal of France, Lord d'Aubigny, Constable of Naples, and Lieutenant for the French King in Calabria; A Duke of Albany, besides his other Governments in France, Rul'd the Kingdom of Naples in the Quality of Vice-Roy: The Earls of Arran have been Dignify'd with the Title of Dukes de Castlerault, and those of Douglass with that of Dukes de Touraine, not to mention the Military Employments and even the Marechal's Staff, those of this last Name and Family have often held; Titles and Dignities not meerly Nominal, since they were ever supported with Grants and Possessions suitable to the concomitant Honours. And when so many of our Nobles were in such Eminent Posts, I believe none will doubt, but that great Numbers of our inferior Gentry and Country-men, were by Patrons of that Rank advanc'd

vanc'd to whatever their Merits could claim.

Another mighty Advantage, as well as Honour, we enjoy'd by vertue of the League, was the constant Guard of Scots Men, who alwise attended the King of France's Person: By this means our Gentry were Taught, at once, the Rules of Civility and Art of War, and we were possess'd of an inexhaustible Stock of Brave Officers, fit to Discipline & Command our Armies at Home, & sure to keep up that Respect which was paid to the Scots Name & Nation Abroad: Younger Brothers could not repine at the Laws partial in favour of the First-born, when they had an open Door to Preferments, Great as their Wishes; and they might well leave the Rural Mannors of their Fathers, when they were to be Educated at the most Splendid Court in Christendom. This Guard, the most Illustrious in the World, was Instituted in the following manner.

Louis, Sirnam'd the Saint, was like to have been Assassinated, first in Egypt by the Command of the Mahumetan King of the Arsacides, & afterwards in France by the Appointment of the Countess de la March; but was as often rescu'd by the Vigilancy, Valour and good Luck of some Scots who were by him. Our King Alexander

having heard of these Attempts, sent an Ambassador to Congratulate his Happy Delivery from the threaten'd Villanies; and both Princes agreed, That henceforth the Kings of France should keep, in constant Pay, a standing Company or Guard of Scots Men, Approv'd of, and Recommended by their own Sovereign to that Trust. This Guard alone continu'd to Attend the French Kings, till the Reign of Charles the VII. who join'd some French Companies with them in the Honourable Employment; yet so, as to give the Scots the Place and Pre-eminency in all things: For Example, the Captain of the Scots Guards, so call'd to this Day, is alwise design'd the First Captain of his Majesty's Guards; he begins to attend on the First Day of the Year, and serves the First Quarter, as they express it: Nay, when others are upon Duty, he may take the first Rank, and Officiate accordingly, if he has a mind to it. When the King is Anointed, the Captain of the Scots Guards stands by him, and when the Ceremony is over, he takes the Robe as his Due. When the Keys of any Town or Fortress are presented to his Majesty, he returns them that Minute to the Captain of his Scots Guards. Twenty Five of this Guard wear alwise, in testimony of their

unspotted Fidelity, White Coats of a peculiar Fashion, overlaid with Silver Lace; and Six of these, in their Turns, stand next to the Royal Person, at all Times and Seasons, in the Church, at the Reception of Ambassadors, in the Courts of Justice, and generally on all Publick and Solemn Occasions whatever: 'Tis the Right and Privilege of these Twenty Five Gentlemen to carry the Corps of the French Kings from Paris to their Burial-place at St. Denis. In a word, that Guard has ever been in possession of all the Honour and Confidence the King of France can bestow upon his nearest and dearest Friends: And it would look very strange in that Country, if they should see the Braves and Fiers Escossiois (for these are the distinguishing Epithetes they think proper to Characterise us) sit down at, and be contented with the Sinistre.

I come now to the last and most essential Benefit we had by the French League, viz. An entire Liberty to Trade where ever the French had Dominion or Power: A Benefit so great, that had the World understood the Mystery of Trade, or had the Indies been discover'd as now, we had probably anticipated the Wealth and Splendor of our most forward

Neighbours: Nay, unskill'd as both the French and we were, yet what by Importing Foreign Commodities from all Countries to, and what by Exporting Wines, &c. to all Places from France, (both which we could do, by reason that the Customs we paid in France, were lower than even those that were exacted from the very Natives with more Advantage than any Nation in being) I say, by means of this Monopoly of the French Traffick, tho' unskill'd upon the main, we were sometimes able to Vie with, and to Vanquish the English at Sea: The great Actions of the Brave Sir Andrew Wood are so many Demonstrations of our Naval Power in those Days: In King James the V's Reign we had a Fleet of 15 Men of War, as is evident from Original Letters yet extant; and the same Documents shew, that during the Government of the Earl of Arran, we took no fewer than 30 Ships from the English in one Summer: Nay, (who would believe it, were it not Demonstrable from unquestionable Vouchers, the Records of the Mint?) so immense were our Profits this way, that in the Reign of King James the VI. we Coin'd 119 Stone weight of Gold, and 986 of Silver, within

within the space of one Year: Neither is
 this such matter of Amazement, as at first View,
 it would appear to be, since as I have already
 insinuated, 'twas so provided, by the League
 in our favour, that however his most Chri-
 stian Majesty might, upon Occasion, bighten
 the Duties or Customs impos'd upon his Natu-
 ral Subjects; yet his Naturaliz'd Allies
 were for no Reason to be Tax'd beyond a cer-
 tain Standart condescended upon, and fix'd at
 the Granting of the unequal'd Privilege;
 Witness what pass'd in Anno 1599. For at
 this time, the Customs were bighten'd at
 Rowen, Dieppe, and all Normandy over;
 and the then Overseers in these Places pre-
 sum'd to exact from our Merchants, what
 the French were oblig'd to pay. Upon this,
 one Thomas Fisher, a Burgeess of Edin-
 burgh, was immediately dispatch'd from our
 Royal Burrows to the French King for Re-
 dress; and he obtain'd a Letter under his
 Majesty's own Hand to the first President of
 the Parliament of Rowen, commanding him
 in express Terms to maintain the Rights & Im-
 munities of his Scottish Allies intire and
 inviolable: And this, I take it, is a De-
 monstra-

monstration of what I asserted above, viz. That the Reformation, which we had embrac'd, tho' in Opposition to the French Forces employ'd by the then Court and Government, to check the first Sallies of our Rapid Zeal, did not for all that put a Period to, nor was it by any Means inconsistent with our more Ancient Confederacy. However,

'Tis certain that this League remain'd in its full Force and Vigour, when King James the V. Dy'd in the Year 1542; of an Illness occasion'd by the Ignoble Defection of some of the Scots Nobility, who were so far from concurring heartily in the Prosecution of that War, which Sir Walter Rawleigh has since own'd to have been both Unjust and Cruel upon the English side; that on the contrary, they first declin'd to Fight at Kelso, and not long after made a base and willing Surrender of their Persons at Solway-Mofs, an unexampled Piece of Treachery, which no length of Time can Efface, nor Reason Excuse. The Preferment of Oliver Sinclair, who was indeed of an inferior Rank to the Scots Peerage, but otherwise a Gentleman descended of some of the greatest Houses and best Blood
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of the Nation, was given out as the Cause of this Unaccountable Conduct. After all, 'tis possible that these Noblemen might be Acted by Nobler Motives, and if it was lawful to Serve the Country by Betraying it, or to Honour GOD by Disobeying the King, Posterity would be inclinable to Pardon the Means they pursu'd, out of Respect to the End, it seems they aim'd at. For, within the space of Twelve Days (so long did they tarry at London, Prisoners unconfinn'd, and by all the Great Men of that Court Regal'd and Caress'd) they came to a perfect Understanding with King Henry the VIII. and undertook not only to effect a Peace, but also to bring about a Match, between the young Prince Edward of England, and the New-born Mary Queen of Scots; the happy Consequence of which, must needs be an Union of the Two Kingdoms for ever. Had they stopt here, and forborn to Hire themselves Blind Slaves to the English Interest and Passion, in every thing else that Court thought fit to set them upon *, I should be loath to tell the World, That, for ought we know, they were the first Scots Men that dar'd to bring along
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* Original Papers prove this Matter of Fact.

with them to this side of Tweed, that Influence under which we have Groan'd since that time: For, to do them Justice, the Peace they labour'd to bring about, was become Necessary, not only by reason of their Defection at Solway-Moss, but also because of the King's Death, and other concurring Circumstances. The Lords of the Privy Council were so sensible of this, that how soon his Majesty expir'd, they wrote to the King of England, as did not long after the Earl of Arran*, (who, for his Personal Merits and nearest Relation to the Royal Blood, was deservedly preferr'd to the Place and Quality of Governour of the Kingdom) desiring a Passport for Ambassadors that were to be sent to England, in order to Treat about a Peace: Accordingly the Peace, or at least an Abstinence, as it was then term'd, was agreed to in a Parliament held at Edinburgh in March. As for the Match, and consequently the Union of the Two Kingdoms, it also pass'd by a great Majority of Votes in a succeeding Session of the same Parliament, which met in August 1543. It must be own'd, that the English Lords (for at this time the Pensioners I have mention'd were so call'd) did very
 much

* Both these Letters are extant.

much contribute towards the Act. Besides these, the Earl of Angus and his Brother George Douglass, formerly exil'd by King James, and now restor'd to their Friends and Estates by the Mediation of King Henry, were not wanting to serve the Interest of this last *: But then the Terms of Union were so visibly Advantageous, that 'twas strange there should have been a Dissenting Vote: Both Nations were to enjoy all the Reciprocal Advantages of an Incorporating Union, that is, an Equality in all Things, especially in Matters of Trade; yet so, as to remain two distinct Nations as before, tho' under the One Name of Britain, and to be Govern'd by Laws made and to be made, in their Respective Parliaments: An Alliance or Coalition of this kind, could not fail of proselyting the most stubborn Anti-unioner of our Days. Besides this Universal Benefit, which was obvious to every Body, a great many, weary'd with the Papal Yoke, were fond of this Opportunity to shake it off. Yet all would not do, as things fell out: We were in actual Possession of the Benefits that accru'd to us from the French League, and were loath to part with a certain Advantage, for one that was

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* Buchanan, Lestly, &c.

yet uncertain; we could look back to Things past, but had not Fore-cast enough to penetrate the Future: We had been forewarn'd and frighten'd by the Expressions of an English Solomon, King Henry the VII. who foretold, That such a Match must needs prove the Glory and Happiness of England, and at the same time the Bane and Destruction of Scotland; That this last from an Independent Kingdom, would soon degenerate into the Nature, if not the Name, of a Subservient Province. Nay, most People were then prepossess'd with an Opinion, that the League with France was essential to our Existence, & unchangable as the Laws of the Medes & Persians are said to have been, that we could not break it after so many solemn Obligations enter'd into to the contrary, without unbinging our Constitution, and subverting our Government. In fine, we were not as yet sufficiently ripen'd for Reformation, at least not for such a Monstruous One, as that establish'd by King Henry in England, and the Protestants and Papists were not of Humour to burn in one Fire for believing differently. These and the like Insinuations were spread Abroad, by the then Clergy & French Faction, and they were so prevalent with the Earls of Huntly,

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Argile, Montrose, Bothwel, Monteith, &c. that these Noblemen, & a great many more of all Ranks, enter'd into a most Solemn Bond *, and notwithstanding the Act of Parliament, (which they, it seems, consider'd as Illegal and Destructive to the Civil and Religious Right both of the Crown and People) bound and oblig'd themselves to oppose the intended Match and Consequential Union, with all their Power, tho' with the hazard of their Fortunes and Lives. By these and the like means they endeavour'd, all they could, to threaten the Governour into a Compliance with the Breach of the Treaty: But he was not to be terrify'd with Threatnings; and therefore they attempted at the same time to win him with Caressees: In this view, they propos'd to secure the Crown to his own Posterity, by bestowing the Infant Queen upon his Eldest Son. 'Tis Matter of Admiration, that he should have rejected the Glorious Overture; and yet (if we may believe what the English Ambassador wrote to his Master at the time) 'tis certain that he did it again and again; so Invincibly was he attach'd or to what he thought the Interest of his Country, or to his own Reputation and Honour

now so deeply concern'd in the Observation of a Treaty he himself had caus'd to be Ratisy'd in Parliament. There was one more Engine set at work to force his Obstinacy: The Earl of Lenox was sent Home from France, full of big Hopes and lofty Pretensions; and as zealous a Devotée to the French Interest, as the English Lords were to their Pay-Master King Henry. The Earl was to out-rival the Governour with all the Power of the French King and Dissenting Scots; and 'tis not to be doubted but the contending Parties had instantly proceeded from Intrigues to Blows, had not King Henry, by an unaccountable Piece of Policy, constrain'd all Honest Men to Re-unite in one Interest and Design, which was, to Preserve their Queen, and Vindicate the Honour of their Country. This Prince had desir'd, by the mouth of Sir Ralph Saidler his Ambassador, that the Queen might be forthwith conduct'd to London. This was what no Scots Man of either Party (if Parties may be thought to have any regard for the Publick Good) could comply with: 'Twas possible that the Prince of Wales might Die, before the projected Marriage could be consummated, and the

English had given no such Proofs of their Disinterestness or Generosity in former Ages, as to induce us to believe, they would in this case dismiss our Sovereign Free and Independent to the Throne of Her Ancestors. For these Reasons the Governour and Parliament plainly rejected the Motion. King Henry did more; for he not only delay'd from Day to Day to ratify the Treaty on his Part, but at last he absolutely refus'd to do it; nay, he caus'd his Officers Seize upon a great many Scots Ships, that upon the Faith of the Abstinence or Peace had sail'd to England Loaden with French and Scots Commodities †: This was an undeniable Breach of the Articles condescended upon, and the Governour resented it to the Higbest Degree: He call'd a Parliament in December 1543, and in it declar'd the Treaty to be Void and Null, in regard the English had broke it first, join'd his own Forces with those of the Noblemen above-mention'd; and understanding that the English Lords, who stuck at nothing to Merit their Pensions, design'd to surprise the Queen, and carry her to England, gave his Consent to have Her
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† Buchanan, Lest, &c.

Majesty transported from Linlithgow to the stronger Castle of Stirling, where she was taken Care of, and Guarded by the Lords Arskin, Fleeming, Livingston, and Ruthven. Not long after this, they unanimously proceeded to Her Majesty's Coronation: The Governour assisted at the Solemnity, as did all the Noblemen, Barons and Burgessees, whose Right it was to represent the Nation in Parliament, excepting the Earls of Angus and Cassils, the Lords Summervel, Gray, &c. these last were not wanting in the mean time to the Trust repos'd in them; they not only advis'd King Henry of the State of Affairs, but also brought over to their Party the Earl of Lenox himself, distast'd by this time, both at the French and Scottish Court; the Reason was this, he had been flatter'd into the Measures he had hitherto pursu'd with Hopes of being preferr'd either to the Bed of the Queen-Mother, or to the Regency of the Kingdom in room of the Earl of Arran, but after serving the Turn, he had the Mortification to find himself balk'd of both Prospects.

All these steps were upon the Main, so many Advances towards a new Rupture
with

with King Henry, who, not content with the illegal Seizure of our Ships, thought likewise fit to send an Army under the Conduct of the Lords Wharton and Evers to the Frontiers, with a Design to intimidate the Government, and to encourage the English Lords to an open Revolt. Thus we had scarcely tasted the first Fruits of an unfaithful Peace, when we found our selves under an inevitable Necessity of renewing the War. This was in it self a Matter of no great Dread or Difficulty in those Days, when the receiv'd Maxim forbid Us to make Peace upon any Terms whatever; nay, nor to Condescend to a long Truce with the English; we had been taught of a long time before to view a War of this kind, as some People behold the Thundering Clouds, or Raging Ocean, with more Pleasure than Terrour: But that which gave but an ugly Aspect to the approaching One, and which afterwards render'd it one of the most Ruinous, we had ever sustain'd, was this: A great many of our own Country-men, as I have already Narrated, espous'd the English Quarrel, and our Domestick Foes prov'd harder upon us than the Foreigners. Some Pension-

ers under-hand, made it their Study to Thwart the publick Councils by Clandestine Counter-plots, and others above-board Rebels, openly declar'd for the Enemy; the Earl of Lenox was one of these last. But,

He had not as yet taken off the Mask, when the French King *, believing him still unshaken in his Loyalty to the Queen his Mistress, and in his Gratitude to himself his Royal Patron, sent to him, for the Use and Support of the Government, the Sum of 60000 l. Ster. a considerable Supply in that Age. His Lordship received the Money, but he had other Occasions for it than the King of France had been aware of; he wanted to have the Governour turn'd out of his Post: To effect this, he Levies an Army, and together with the Earls of Angus and Glencairn, he marches upon the Head of it to Edinburgh. The Governour had foreseen, and taken Measures before hand to ward off the Blow; and 'twas not long, ere these two contending Rivals were Reconcil'd by the prudent Mediation of the Earl of Huntly *. Indeed the Earl of Lenox seem'd so heartily Sincere, that he seal'd the Agreement with a So-
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* Lesly

lemn Oath, and promis'd that henceforth he should never entertain a separate Interest from that of the Government and Governor. These Asseverations were, it seems, nothing but Grimace and Shew; for they no sooner parted, but the Earl of Lenox set about the raising of new Forces, and began to Fortify the Town of Glasgow, but his Army was routed within a Mile of this Place by the Governor *; and the Lord Boid's Perswasions prevail'd so far upon his Generosity, that he sav'd the Lives of all those that fell in his Hands; only Eighteen Men who made Bold to Defend the Castle, were taken with their Swords in their Hands, and Hang'd. The Earl of Angus was committed to Prison, and Lenox himself fled to England.

In May thereafter, 1544, altho' the King of England had yet made no publick Declaration of War †, My Lord Lyle arriv'd at Leith with a Fleet of 200 Ships, and the Earl of Hertford with a Land-Army. The Forces of both amounted to about 20000 Foot and 6000 Horse: They requir'd the Queen to be deliver'd up to them, and upon the Govern-
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* Lesly, Buchanan, &c. † Lesly, &c.

nor's Refusal, first Pillag'd, and then set the City of Edinburgh on Fire, the Burning lasted four full Days: They also laid Siege to the Castle, but were Repuls'd with great Loss, by the Conduct and Courage of the Governor James Hamilton the Laird of Stonhouse; they Reveng'd themselves upon the Neighbouring Country, which they Ravag'd and laid Waste seven or eight Miles round. Leith, Haddingtoun, Dumbar, and all the adjacent Burghs, Villages, Castles, Abbies, Nunneries, Gentlemen's Houses, &c. felt the Fury of the incens'd Soldiers, and burnt with Flames more Fierce than those that take their rise from vulgar Love. All the Ships in the Road and Harbour of Leith, were Seis'd and carry'd off, the Peer was broke down, and the Town consum'd to Ashes. In the mean time the Governor and Earls of Huntly, Argile, Bothwel, &c. who could not provide against the Storm which had broke out unawares, without any previous Warning, made all the haste they could to divert it from spreading further: They follow'd the Enemy close upon the Heels as they Retreated, insulted their Rear, cut off their Stragglers, beat up their Quarters, kill'd and
took

took a great many Prisoners, and Harass'd them so, that till they had got back to England, not one of them durst stir a Foot from their Body, but found the Reward of his Rashness.

The Earl of Lenox, now Married with the Lady Margaret Douglass Niece to King Henry of England by his Sister the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and Countess of Angus, had undertaken to have the Castle of Dumbarton deliver'd up to the English †; he came before it accordingly, and was most kindly receiv'd, and Nobly Regal'd by his very good Friend Mr. Stirling of Glorit the Governor, and some others of the Family of Glencairn. But he no sooner told them of his Engagement to King Henry, and presuming upon the Attachment they had ever profess'd to his Person and private Interest, entreated they would Surrender the Place, and some say, offer'd a large Sum of Money, as a Reward of their Treachery, that he found to his Cost, that these Gentlemen had Scots Hearts, and that they were more Solicitous of the Preservation of their good Name, and dearer Country, than he had imagin'd. They

might have detain'd him a Prisoner in the Castle; but loath to carry their Resentment so far, contented themselves to Eject him and his English Attendants, and to force them back to their Ships. Nevertheless he left not the Coasts of Scotland, till he had done the Country a world of Mischief; He took two French Ships and their Cargo, which was Wine, as he sail'd up the River of Clyde, Ravag'd the Island of Arran, and Raz'd its Castle, which belong'd to the Governour; took the Castle of Rothsay in the Island of Bute and carry'd of the Commandant a Prisoner to England, Burnt the Town, and spoil'd the Rich Church of Dynun, rifl'd the Peninsula of Kintire, and the whole Country of Argile; and would have done much more Dammage, had he not been oppos'd by the Earl of that Name, who Fought him at last with no small Loss on both sides*.

The next Campagne 1545 was more Fortunate for the Scots. The Governor and the Earl of Angus, by this time most affectionately Reconcil'd to his perishing Country, (notwithstanding he was Brother-in-law to the King of England, and Father-in-law to the Earl of Lenox)

* Dr. Drake.

accompany'd with a Son of the Earl of Rothes, and the Flower of the Gentry of Fife, met the Lord Evers at Ancrum *, took all the Advantages of the Ground, Wind and Sun, attack'd the improvident Enemy unawares, and, tho' they were 7000 Men to not above 800 put them all to the Rout, kill'd several Hundreds upon the Spot; and amongst these, the General himself and my Lord Ogle; pursu'd them as they fled, with unspeakable Celerity and Fury, and in fine, with the Loss of no more than two of their own Numbers (which is almost Incredible) brought off the Field a Thousand Prisoners.

Not long after this, Monsieur de Lorges Count of Mountgomery, upon the Head of 3500 French Auxiliaries, landed in Scotland, and, having join'd the Army commanded by the Governor, march'd in search of the Earl of Hertford, who, to Retrive the former Loss, had enter'd Scotland with considerable Forces, and had already laid waste a great part of the middle Marches & Teviotdale, but Retir'd upon the Approach of the Scots and French. The Governor in his Turn invaded England *, beat the Enemy where ever he found them,

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* Lest, Buchan; &c. † Buchanan, Lest.

Ravag'd the Country; and the Season for Action being elaps'd, return'd with the double Glory of having defeated one Army, and given the Chase to another in one Summer. Most of the Scots came home loaded with the English Spoils: The French retir'd to their Winter Quarters, and their General Montgomery went to the Court at Stirling; but the Indefatigable Governor, having Advice that the Earl of Lenox was again tampering with the Earl of Glencairn about the Surrendring of the Castle of Dumbarton, as also that two English Ships had come thither with Lenox his Brother; and being not at all satisfy'd with the Conduct of Mr. Stirling (who, tho' an Enemy to the English, yet continu'd so obstinately fix'd in his Friendship to Lenox, that he equally declin'd to render the Castle to either of the Parties) put on a Resolution to reduce that Place to his Obedience by Force: In this View he laid a formal Siege to it, but in Vain, 'twas in a manner Impregnable; but the Earl of Huntly (a Man whose tower'ing Genius, and admirable Prudence, Impartial History will ever Proclaim) obtain'd by his Counsel and Eloquence, what was unaccessible to Fire or Sword; he Acted
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the part of a Mediator for Peace and at last prevail'd; the Castle which Mr. Stirling had held by the Favour of Lenox, whilst in his Duty, was given up to the Governour, who as such had a Right to it; Mr. Stirling's Honesty was Rewarded, and his Losses Compensated: Nay, the Earl of Lenox his Brother was Reclaim'd to his Allegiance, and restor'd to his Country.

These Successes mov'd those in the West of Scotland, who had Revolted to the English, and unluckily given up not a few of their Dependents and Kinsmen as Hostages and Cautioners of their Submission, to return to their Duty; but the Unfortunate Wretches, their Friends in England, were Sentenc'd to Die by King Henry's Order, and Executed at Carlisle †. However, their Deaths remain'd not long unreveng'd; for the Maxwells and Johnstons ceas'd not to make Havock on the English Frontiers, where they put vast Numbers to the Sword, and Enrich'd themselves with the Treasure and Cattle they frequently brought home: 'Twas to the Valour of these two Potent Families, that we own'd chiefly

† *Levy, Dr. Drake.*

chiefly the Defence of our Frontiers, and the Success of our Arms all the next Year 1546.

The Beginning of it was attended by one of the most daring Attempts we Read of in History. The Cardinal Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, and Chancellor of the Kingdom, was Murder'd in his own Palace by Nine Persons, who early in a Morning found Means to get in to his Bed-Chamber, where, having Dispatch'd him in a Minute, they hung up his mangled Corps at one of the Windows, a Spectacle to be gaz'd at by the People; whether 'twas Zeal for Religion, or English Influence, or private Disobligation, or publick Hatred, that prompted them on to the premeditated Tragedy, I do not Determine: This is certain, our great Reformer Mr. John Knox did seem, by his keeping Company with the Assassins while they held out the Castle against the Government, to give too much Countenance to the Villany they had perpetrated; at least the Enemies of his Doctrine laid hold on the outward Appearances, to blacken his Interior Sentiments, as if to make a

away with a Scandalous Prelate, he thought Murder and Rebellion lawful: But 'tis more Charitable to suppose, that this Great Man, the Flail of Popery, if I may use the Word, rather design'd their Conversion, and that 'twas none of his Fault, that, according to the Gospel Command, they gave not to God what was God's, viz. their Unfeign'd Contrite Hearts; and to Cæsar his Due, that is, the Castle, which belong'd to the Governour, as being the Supreme Magistrate for the time. But as the King of England had long before Bargain'd and Brib'd them on to the Detested Fact*; so now he continu'd by his Emissaries to inbarden their Consciences; and by the Men, Money and Ammunition he sent to their Relief, to encourage their active Impenitence. The Governour, back'd by his ever constant Friends the Earls of Huntly and Argile, took such Measures as to Repulse the English Supplies: He besieg'd the Assassines for the space of Three Months; but now their All was at stake, they could not make their Escape as at first they might have done, and therefore Defended themselves so obstinately; and the Governour got such other Diversions

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* This is made out by Two Original Letters yet extant:

from the English, that he was forc'd to raise the Siege: They continu'd Feasting in Rapine and Revelling in Sin till the next Spring, when, with the Assistance of 16 Gallies from France, the Governor compell'd them to a Surrender, and they were, in pursuance of the Capitulation, conducted to France, to serve Irredeemable Slaves on board the Gallies, or to be committed close Prisoners to various Goals. Thus they evaded the Hands of Publick Executioners; and as 'tis own'd by the Papists, that the Cardinal was none of those, who, for the Severity of their Morals or the Holiness of their Lives, have merited a Place in the Kalander of Saints; so 'tis observ'd by the Protestants, that there was not one of his Murderers but afterwards died a Violent, and, for the most part, an Ignominious Death.

But before I proceed further into the Campaign 1547, I ought not to forget, that the English Intrigues had, the preceeding Year, brought another Foreign War upon us from the Netherlands, where several of our Ships were unjustly detain'd; and it pleas'd God, not long after, to permit that we should be further Afflicted by a Fierce and Long-lasting Pest, that swept off

off vast Numbers of People, chiefly at Dundee and Aberdeen, and in the more Northern Counties. Posterity can hardly believe, we could Struggle with and Overcome such and so many Difficulties at once: And who is he that, now-a-days, would dream 'twas once possible, that Weak Uncultivated Scotland, Ravag'd by the Plague and its ordinary Attendant Famine, could at the same time wage a Triple War with England, Holland, and a Powerful Domestick Faction? And yet 'tis true that we did it. The Dutch were beat off our Coasts, and a stop was put to their Fishing; England was Invaded by the Regent, and the Castle of Langup taken; Lastly, The Rebels at St. Andrews were Reduc'd, as I have related but now. Our Affairs had a very good Aspect every where: But this lasted not long. King Henry the VIII. was now dead; but the Spirit, that animated him, was still alive; and the Duke of Somerset, Tutor to the young King Edward and Protector of England, resolv'd to make quick Work with us. In this view, he publish'd a Manifesto, expressing the Cause of the War, which he imputed to our Breach of the Treaty (a Notorious Falshood, as I have shown) and Match concluded upon about

Four Years before: He offer'd us the best Terms we could wish for, an Equality in all Things, if we would yet but condescend to be Happy: And, which was more, he desisted from the Unjust Demands of King Henry, about the giving up of our Queen to be Educated at the English Court. With the same breath he Invaded Scotland upon the Head of a Mighty Army, and was seconded by a Fleet at Sea of 24 Men of War, one Galliey and 30 Transport Ships. There were a great many amongst the Scots that lik'd the Match well enough; others were passionately bent upon it; and to say the Truth, it seem'd for no other Reason Disadvantagious, but that henceforth we must forgo the warm Influences of a Scottish Court, and be Rul'd by Councils not our own: But, as the Earl of Huntly prettily express'd the thing, We lik'd not the manner of Wooing, and we could not stoop to be Bully'd into Love. In short, the Fire-Cross is carried all over the Kingdom, and her Majesty's Lieges are appointed to attend the Governor at Musselburgh within a set space of Time, in Defence of their Country's Liberty & Sovereign's Life. Great Numbers obey'd, especially those of the Clergy, who thought the Interests of Religion to be inseparably

vably interwoven with those of the State, at least, on this occasion; nor did they conceive it possible, that two different Perswasions, with reference to Conscience, could be of long Duration in one and the same Monarchy. For this Reason, they not only put Arms in the Hands of their Followers, but also took Swords in their own; both Armies came in View of one another upon the Banks of Edinburgh-Firth; the Scots were more numerous on Land, but were out-numbered by the English at Sea, who, when they came to Engage, did the greatest Service by Firing upon and Disordering our Flanc; besides, their Army had the Benefit of an Hill, call'd Pinkin-cleugh. Most of the Scots Commanders were averse from Fighting under these Disadvantages*; they call'd to mind the dying Advice of the Great Bruce, who forbid us ever to come to a Pitch-Battle with the English, adding at the same time, that we could not fail of Skirmishing them out of the Fields, and of Vanquishing by degrees: And indeed it has been very observable, especially in these latter Ages, that as we have seldom miss'd of Defeating the English when divid-

* Lest, Buchanan a Profess'd Enemy to the Governour says otherways.

vided in Parties, tho' much superior to us in Numbers, so they have generally had the better of us in universal Engagements. That we should have the Ascendant over them in Parties, when all come to Action at once, and that one Brush determines the Matter, is to me no Subject of Wonder; for then the boldest must needs be Victors, Fortune has no time nor opportunity to play her Pranks, Treachery cannot be concern'd, and Conduct it self (I mean that diffusive Conduct that adverts in some Measure to Infinites at the same time) is here not absolutely necessary; the Intrepidity and Vigour of the Combatants, are all in all: Now that the more Northern and Mountaneous Countries are fittest to produce Men endowed with these last Qualifications, is a general Observation of all Ages and Times; and the Day was, when for this very Reason, one hundred English Men (if we may believe their own Histories) durst scarcely look ten or twelve Scots Men in the Face*. Our Armies have nevertheless been on most occasions worsted by theirs, for sometime before, and ever since the Union of the Crowns; whether this has proceeded from their superior Gold, or harder Steel, or the bet-

* *Pere Orleans* quotes several English Authors that say so.

better Conduct of their Generals, or the exacter Discipline of their Regular Forces, I shall not go about to enquire. But to break off this Digression,

The principal Reason that made the Bravest and the Wisest of the Scots Commanders unwilling to expose their Queen and Country to the Fortune of one Day, was plainly this; their most formidable Foes were suspected to lurk in their own Bosom; and it was hard to know, who of their Numbers desir'd to Win or to Lose the Field: To prevent the ill Consequences of this Disaffectation, the Earl of Huntly sent a Herald to the Duke of Sommerset with Proffers to Decide the Quarrel by means of a less Bloody but more equal Combat of 20 to 20, or 10 to 10, or of themselves Man to Man; but the Protector had not Gallantry enough to comply with that Motion, and the evil Genius of Scotland push'd on our Army to an universal Engagement. Some say, we were the Aggressors, others deny it; however it were, 'tis certain that the Vanguard, commanded by the Earl of Angus, repuls'd, with utmost Fury, the greatest Strength and Hopes of the Eng-

English their Cavalry †; kill'd the Lord Fitswoter, his Brother Sir John Clarence, and a great many more; wounded the Lord Gray; bore away the nether end of the Royal Standart of England; and Pursu'd the flying Enemy back to their main Body, where they told the Protector, That 'twas as easy to force a Wall, as to break through the Scottish Ranks: But what their Strength could not do, their Flight effected; and the Scots, by gaining the Victory, lost it; (a Misfortune that has more than once attended the overbearing Warmth of their Improvident Courage) they disfrank'd themselves for haste, and follow'd the Chase with equal Confusion and Eagerness. The English rally'd as they are wont to do; (and this is a distinguishing Character and Faculty they possess above most Nations) their Light-Horse seconded by their Archers, and protected by the irresistible Advantage of their Cannon that thundred from the Hill of Pinkinleugh upon the Front of the Scots, and from the Fleet upon their Flanc, compell'd these last to give way in their turn: Upon this the Enemy gave a great Shout, crying out, They fly, they fly; and

† *Dr. Drake* from all the English and Scots Historians.

and some Authors write, That there were among the Scots, who kept time with the Enemy, and who nick'd the Opportunity to throw away their Arms, and to cry with loud Voices, All is lost, all is lost *, which so terrify'd the remainder, that they turn'd their Backs and fled in earnest. The Highlanders, who show their Courage on all Occasions, gave Proof of their Conduct at this time †; for they kept together in one Body, and made a very Handsome and Orderly Retreat. Eight Thousand Men were kill'd in the Field of Battle, and amongst these, the Prime of our Nobility, and Hope of our Country, namely, the apparent Heirs and Representatives of the Illustrious Families of Ogilvy, Fleeming, Livingstoun, Messan, Ruthven, Rois, &c. The Monks and Friars were handled most Unmercifully *: Nay, the English were so Cruel as not to spare some of those who had both ask'd and obtain'd Quarters †; and this was the hard Fate of the Masters of Buchan, Grahame and Erskine. The Earl of Huntly Lord High Chancellor of the Kingdom, my Lord Yester, and about 1000 more, were made Prisoners, and a long time detain'd in England, where the first

h gene.

* Lesly, † Buchman, * Buchanan, † Lesly.

generously became Bail and Surety for the Ransom of several Gentlemen *, whose Presence their Country stood in need of ; but could not himself get free at any rate, till he made a Shift to escape by Flight : And this is the Reason why he was not afterwards in Person at the Siege and Battle of Hadingtoun, and upon those other Expeditions where my Author tells us, that his Vassals and Servants were so very serviceable.

The Battle of Pinkie was lost on the Tenth Day of September 1547 ; and had not the Season been so far advanc'd, 'tis probable the Victors had over-run the whole Kingdom : They Ravag'd the Country Five Miles round, sack'd Leith and set it a second time on fire, took the Island of St. Columbs, Broughty-Craig, Roxburgh, Hume's-Castle, Fast-Castle, &c. made an Attempt upon Edinburgh, but were by the wonderful Activity and Forecast of the Governor, Repuls'd with Loss † ; for he had, before their approach, taken care to provide it with Necessaries, and to plant the Cannon of the Castle so conveniently, as to keep them at a due Distance from the Town. After this Disappointment, the English were necessitated to retire ; but they
fail'd

* Larray. Lesty. † Lesty.

fail'd not to leave Garrisons behind them, in such Places as they thought necessary, towards the Preservation of their Conquests.

As if this was not enough to compleat our Miseries, the Earl of Lennox and my Lord Wharton had enter'd Scotland, much about the same time, with another Army: They took, sack'd and burnt the Town of Annan, and had the Cruelty to Demolish the Noble Church, and Steeple that belong'd to it, not leaving so much as one Stone above another †: They likewise essay'd to Debauch the Earl of Glencairn and some others from their Allegiance; but in vain: For these Gentlemen express'd a Willingness to endeavour the Restoration of their Friend Lennox to his Estate and Country; but would by no means admit of his English Auxiliaries. The Disappointed Earl Reveng'd himself, all he could, upon the Laird of Drumlanrig, routed his Men, and pillag'd his Lands; but was himself forc'd back into England by the United Courage and Conduct of my Lord Maxwell and the Johnstons.

'Twas now high time either to Acquiesce in the Terms so often propos'd by the English, or

to find out more effectual Means to evade the Direful Revenge of Rejected Love. With this last view, the Governor repairs to the Court, which was then at Stirling, where he had appointed the Nobility to meet him: He appear'd in this August Assembly, not at all Dejected or Dispirited, as Buchanan would have us to believe, but (to transcribe the very Words of Sir John Hayward †, an unsuspected Author in this Case) The Lord Governor of Scotland being of great Courage and sober Judgment, as a Man might well read in his Face; as he had amply perform'd his Duty both before the Battle, and in the Field, so especially after the Fight he declar'd himself to be of a Stout and Unbroken Spirit, &c. he assembled the Scottish Nobility, and us'd Words to this effect, &c. The Speech he then pronounc'd has so much Energy in it, and was so well suited to the Temper of those Times, that Monsieur de Larrey has thought fit to insert it, in his French History of England, &c. and for the same Reasons I shall presume so far upon the Reader's Patience as to translate it from him.

† In the Life of King Edward the VI.

I Doubt not but that many of you, My Lords, and more of the Vulgar, (whose foreward preposterous Understandings seldom judge of Things but by the various Events they are liable to) may be apt to Disapprove a War that has been attended with Consequences so Fatal to most of us. I own that I Advis'd you to Undertake it; and as then, so I am still of Opinion, that 'tis one of these Evils the Glory and Liberty of the Nation do not allow us to avoid: I know not but you may have other Sentiments at this time, and have therefore call'd you together, to Congratulate your Magnanimity, if you remain Unshaken, as I am, in your Resolution to Repulse the Encroachments made upon us; and, if you are otherwise dispos'd, as I hope you are not, to Upbraid your Fear, the Inglorious Enemy of Reason and Courage. When I took the Command of our Armies upon me, you unanimously prefer'd an Honourable War, to a Peace you thought equally Unsafe and Disgraceful; and shall we be so Mean as to yield to the first Signal Injustice of Fortune? No: I am perswaded, that, as Grating as our Misfortune at *Pinky* must needs be to you all, you'll nevertheless choose to pursue a Noble Revenge, rather than sit down with the Affront, or submit to the threaten'd Slavery. Come on't what will, I am fix'd in my first Opinion; and I had rather preserve the Monarchy at any rate, I mean, tho' at the Expence of such of the Subjects Fortunes and Blood as have been, or may yet chance to be wasted, than to spare the Estates and Lives of private Men, tho' ever so Great or Deserving, with the Loss of our Common Country. Let us labour by all Means to save the Ship, that saves us all; and to effect this, let us not grudge to cut down the Mast, nor to see our own Shares of the Loading thrown over Board: If the Foundation of an Edifice stands firm, 'tis no great Matter what comes of the Ceiling or Furniture. Our private Losses are so many Sacrifices that are due to the Publick, they weaken the State, I own it, but the Ruine of the State it self, must needs involve us all in Universal Irretrivable Miseries. Consider, My Lords, with what an Enemy we have to do, and on what Terms we may purchase a Peace. Our Enemy, is he not the same old Inveterate One, whose Avarice has, by Unjust Wars, so often attempted to Devour our Existence? And is not this present War alone sufficient to make us Tremble at the very Thought of falling under the Power of Tyrants so Unconscionably Implacable? We cannot descend to the Terms they propose, with-

out stooping under the Imperious Yoke of a People that thirst for our Blood, and whose Insolence is whetted with Fury. Cast your Eyes, on the other Hand, on your Ancient Unalterable Allies the *French*; they never yet fail'd us in our greatest Exigencies, and will not in the present Juncture of our Affairs: Neither do we want Friends in *Italy*: Nay, there are few Potentates in *Europe*, that will unconcernedly look on and behold our Destruction. Resolve, in fine, Whether we had best Defend our Liberties, or give them up; Whether 'tis most expedient to Die, if it must be so, Free and Independent, or to live Eternal Slaves to our greatest Foes. 'Tis true, they offer us fair Things; our Laws and Rights are, by the Treaty, to remain uncouch'd: But pray, who is Guarrantee for this? And if the *English* shall, in an After-game, either Break or Encroach upon the Articles agreed to, Who will Redress our Grievances? To what Tribunal shall we appeal? 'Tis a Jest to offer to set up either for Liberty or Property, when in effect we shall have given them away. We must begin, by Surrendering our Mistress to a Husband, that is, to a Master; which done, I don't see why he may not, as such, Subject her Crown to his own, or rather Unite and Confound them in one: And thus *Scotland* must inevitably become a County or Province of *England*. 'Tis impossible to reflect on the Ambitious Project without Horror and Detestation: And how can we choose, but to have the meanest Sentiments of, and greatest Contempt imaginable for such of our Countrymen as shall shew themselves Villains enough to Comply. The uncertain Events and Length of the War, may perhaps Intimidate some of us: But is't the first time that *Scotland* has seen herself expos'd to Dangers of this kind? When reduc'd to the like Extremities, did ever our Ancestors hesitate to prefer their Honour to Life? And are we so far Degenerated as to render our selves, their Offspring, unworthy of the Inestimable Treasure they purchas'd with so much Valour, and transmitted to us with so much Glory? Had the Malign Influence of our Birth involv'd us in Slavery, how far we had been oblig'd to endeavour the Recovery of that Freedom we had never enjoy'd, I shall not determine; but since we were born Free, 'tis plain that our Posterity can never Pardon our Cowardice, if we become willing to Relinquish the Independency our own Birth and Forefathers Courage have entir'd us to. If but a part of our Estates and Honours were Invaded, we might plead some Pretence or Excuse for

Dispensing with it: But the Body of the Nation is attack'd; our Country, nothing less than our Country, is at Stake; its Ancient Laws and Fundamental Constitution are on the Point of being subverted. I cannot disown, but that 'tis hard to tell what Success it shall please the Almighty to give to our Arms; 'tis certain however, that as we must bear with Patience those Maladies the Infirmary of Nature has made us liable to, so we are oblig'd to suffer with Constancy such further Losses as the Enemy's good Fortune may procure us. 'Tis not only in these our Days that the *Scots* Nation, equal to the *Romans* in this Point, have stood firm in the midst of Dangers, or that they have Conquer'd their hard Fate by the Steadiness of their Courage: Let us for no reason Affront the Memory of those Heroes that gave us a Being, and far from following the Example of those in the *March* and *Teviotdale*, let us rather detest the Infamy of their Defection. The more Vigor we shall express by our Unanimity in this Meeting, to much the more may we expect the Assistance of our Friends beyond Seas: Nay, Fortune her self seems to take Pleasure in raising that Virtue she has in vain attempted to depress. One thing at least we are sure of, The Boldness of our Resolutions cannot fail of conveying the Praises we shall deserve, down to the old Age of Time; whereas our Cowardice, if express'd on this Occasion, would render us Infamous and Unhappy at once.

This Speech, so Lively and so admirably well Adapted (*I continue to use the Words of Mr. de Larrey*) to the Genius of the Nation, one of the most Haughty in the World, had its full Effect: The Nobility Applauded the Design of the Governor; They talkt of nothing but of Means to Prosecute the War; and, whatever the Event might be, they resolv'd to Hazard All, rather than to Treat with the *English*.

To be short, they all with one Voice agreed to have Recourse to the King of France, who alone could enable us to Retrieve our Losses. As Scotland was the Troy, so the Queen of Scots was undoubtedly the Helena of that Age; and there was no Sovereign in Europe but would have been fond to Embark his Subjects and Allies in a Trojan-like War to be possess'd of the envy'd Beauty and consequential Grandeur. I need not enlarge upon the Joy His Most Christian Majesty express'd (for who could have contain'd within his own Breast the first Transports of boundless Satisfaction upon so desirable News?) when he heard that we had agreed to send over, our Queen to be Educated at his Court, till time should Ripen her for a Husband of his Choice: This was to intrust France with a Jewel, for which it was then thought that England had no Equivalent to return us.

The next Spring 1548. Mr. de Deseé was sent to our Relief, and you have in the following Sheets a distinct Account of his and our Exploits till the Month of June of the succeeding Year 1549. I shall only observe in this place, that the Author is very much out when he tells us, that my Lord Gray a Scots-Man, was become the Ter-

vor of his Native Country, that he Commanded
 an English Army against us, deliver'd up the
 Castle of Brouchy, &c. The English Lord
 Gray of Wilton, did indeed command those
 Armies he speaks of, in the Quality of General
 of the Cavalry, and the Oneness of the Name
 has probably occasion'd our Author to mistake one
 Man for another, the rather, because 'tis true,
 that the Scots Lord Gray had been deeply en-
 gag'd in the English Faction, he was one of those
 Patriots who, to save Scotland, had betray'd it
 at Solway-Mofs; he was a mighty Stickler
 in Opposition to the Court, and being in his Heart
 an early Convert to the more pure Religion,
 as Buchanan has it, 'tis not unlikely, but that
 if he did not actually give up his Castle of
 Brouchy to his English Friends, he might
 have been sorely suspected by his Scottish and
 Popish Enemies to have done it. Bating this
 one Mistake, which you see was not groundless
 neither, and the erroneous Descriptions Monsieur
 Beaugué gives us of, or rather inconsiderable
 Escapes he falls in, no doubt through misinfor-
 mation, about some of our Islands and Towns,
 which after all he does not describe to their Disad-
 vantage; I find not that he has advanc'd any
things

thing, that is not exactly consistent with the Accounts of our own Writers; and to me, 'tis Matter of Admiration, that a French Man unacquainted with our Language, Customs and Families, who stay'd so short time amongst us (for as he came, so he seems to have return'd with Mr. de Deslé) and that too, in the midst of the hurry of continual Action, should have been able to have given the World the most compleat Piece (for so much) of our Scots History that is any where to be met with; and that under the Disadvantages I have mention'd, he should have stumbled upon so very few Errors, with reference to our Country. But to draw my Preface to a close.

The End of this Campagne 1549, and the Beginning of the next 1550, were a continual Series of uninterrupted Successes to the Scots and French: The English had been worsted again and again in the preceeding Years, my Author tells us precisely How, When and Where: And as 'tis no new Thing to see the Vulgar of that high Spirited Nation, swell'd up into insulting Triumphs upon Victories obtain'd, so 'tis ordinary amongst the British in general, to pick Quarrels with one another when upon the losing hand,

band, and to aggravate the publick Misfortunes by the Addition of private Broils: The English were now divided at Home, as we had been; and their Intestine Fairs enervated their Forces Abroad. Monsieur de Thermes press'd as hard upon them, as his Predecessor Mr. de Dessé had done, he block'd up Hadingtoun and counter-garrison'd it by building a Fort at Aberlady, cut off their Convoys, intercepted their Succours, defeated their Parties, and by these means constrain'd them to abandon the Place. The Spaniards at Coldingham were, by the Germans and French, all put to the Sword, or made Prisoners, and a few Scots Peasants surpris'd, and took Fast-Castle by a Stratagem.

The Campagne 1550 was opened by the Siege of Broughty, which yielded upon Terms; and not long after, when Lauder, reduc'd to the last Extremity, was upon the point of Surrendering, the Out-works being taken and the Garrison having retir'd in to the Dunjeon, the welcome News of a Peace put a Period to further Action. This Treaty had been concluded at Boulogn by Doctor Panter Bishop of Ross Plenipotentiary for the Queen of Scots, Monsieur de Coligny for the King of France, and

the Earl of Bedford for Edward King of England: It was Proclaim'd at Edinburgh in the Month of April; and, in pursuance of the Articles condescended upon, the Forts of Douglafs, Roxburgh and Aymouth, the only Three Places we had not recover'd from the English by the Sword, were faithfully Re-deliver'd to the Governor. The English Match and Alliance were for that time laid aside, as were all their other Pretensions to Sovereignty over us, the Old League was renew'd with France, the French and German Auxiliaries return'd with the Laurels they had gain'd to their Native Countries; and, to compleat our then suppos'd Happiness, by a subsequent Treaty with the Dutch, we continu'd peaceable Possessors of the rich Cargoes and numerous Ships we had taken from them at Sea.

I need say little of the Expression, Style, Turn of Thought, Method and Order of the following History; whoever is pleas'd to take notice, that my Author wrote it in the Year 1556, that is, when the Belles Lettres were like young Plants but beginning to bud, and that he wrote it in French, the Language in the World that, till of late, was, as their other Modes,
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most liable to the Tyranny and Capricio's of Custom, must needs do me that Justice as to own, that a much better Pen than mine had not easily shap'd the Antick Form into a Modern Dress. I am but a Translator, and as such, lest I should be thought to have Inverted the Sense, have thought fit to keep close by the Letter, but where I found it equally impracticable and unnecessary. Hence 'tis that the Characters, that should distinguish one Person from another, are so often of a piece, the Praises promiscuous and sometimes flat, and the Repetitions unseasonably frequent; yet I dare say, this Ancient Way of Writing has its own Beauties, for my own part, at least, I take some Pleasure in it, for that very Reason, that 'tis Ancient. After all, what is here wanting as to Form, I hope is sufficiently made up in the Matter; and the Variety of Things will, in my Opinion, atone for the Deficiency of Stile. This is all the Apology I can make, either for the Book I have Translated, or for the Long Preface I have put to it: Upon the main, they are both alike, full of Things that ought not to be forgot.

Post-script.

THE Reader Byass'd in favour of former Authors, on whose Veracity the World has hitherto rely'd, must needs be surpris'd (and I expect to meet with abundance of Cavil, and Obloquy) to find that I, a Late obscure Prefacer, have dar'd in so many Places to contradict the receiv'd Testimony of almost all Those, that have appear'd in Print, upon the same Subject till now. For Example, who, upon the perusal of our so much Celebrated Buchanan, or any of the Numerous Train that have Copied after him, would think that King Henry the VIII. and not the Earl of Arran, had first broke the Treaty of Peace, and Alliance agreed to by the Scots Parliament? That the English Lords, so call'd, were all so many Pensioners of England, and Betrayers of their Native Country? That the Murderers of the Cardinal Arch-Bishop were set on by the Intrigues and Bribes of the English Court? &c. Nevertheless I have asserted all these Matters of Fact, as well as several other Particulars, not to be found in any of our own or the English Historians; and (I say it with all Imaginable Respect to prior Authorities) I know, I have asserted nothing, but what is Demonstrably True. Mr. William Hamilton, Son of the present Laird of Wishaw (a Young Gentleman, whose early Progress

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in the most Thorny Parts of Literature, is a plain Proof, that Knowledge and Judgment are not alwise the painful Product of numerous Years) has done me the singular favour to let me in to those hidden Mysteries, for which he has by him Original, and by consequence Unquestionable Vouchers. How soon he shall think fit to Compliment the Publick with his farther Discoveries and Observations upon the Scots History, the present Age will learn from Thence, that in spite of forc'd Eloquence and Mercenary Narrations, they themselves must needs appear in After-times the Men they really are, and not those they are now given out to be.

HISTORY OF THE CAMPAGNES

1548 and 1549.

BOOK I.

A LITTLE alter the Death of *Francis* the First, King of *France* (a Prince whose Life is deserv'dly Immortaliz'd by the Learn'd *Henry* the Second, who succeeded not only to his Kingdom and Lordships, but also to all these great Qualities he possess'd, bent all his Thoughts upon Restoring the Kingdom of *Scotland* to its Ancient Lustre and Wealth. In pursuance of this Design, the Prior of *Capue* (a Man Blest with an equal share of Piety and Honour) had no sooner return'd from thence, where he had discharg'd his Commission, with a Success answerable to his Merit and Capacity, than His Majesty, till more Forces could be levied for the Expedition, dispatch'd thither the Lord de la Cha-

pelle de Biron, with several other Gentlemen under his Command, that by these hasty Supplies, the *Scots* might be better enabl'd to Defend themselves from Ruin, which more than once before had threat'ned them, as a Consequence of their ill Management. This great Man, tho' he found *Scotland* in the greatest Confusion imaginable, not only Harass'd and Invaded, but in some Measure o'er-run by the *English*, manag'd the Affair so well, that he not only preserv'd entire what remain'd, but at the same time made head against the boldest Attempts of the Enemy, whose best laid Projects prov'd ever abortive from the very first Day of his Landing. Much about this time, the King gave Orders to the Lord *du Chastel* His Majesty's Lieutenant-General in *Little Britany* in the absence of *Monsieur D'estampes* Governour of that Province, to the Lord *de la Mailleraye* Vice-Admiral of *France*, to the Lord *d'Espoir* Vice-Admiral of *Little Britany*, and to the Lord *de Carney* Governour of *Brest*, to make all the necessary Preparations for Embarking of the Army design'd for *Scotland*: And that nothing might be omitted towards hastning the Succours so much long'd for by that Nation, he pitch'd upon the Lord *de Noailles*, now Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and then Master of the Houshold in Ordinary, to take the Care, as Super-intendent, of Reviewing the Forces, of Embarking them, of Ordering the Money, Furnishing Provisions, and what else was necessary for an Expedition of this kind.

Whilst these things were in Agitation, *Monsieur d'Andelot*, Colonel of the *French* Infantry, came to a Village call'd *Pellerin* near *Nantes*, where the
Forces

Forces now ready for the Voyage, were Rendez-vouſing : As he obſerv'd the Air of the Officers and Soldiers, their Order, Ranks and March, the Foot ſaluted him with a general Diſcharge, which unhappily laid the *Chevalier de Bonniwet* Dead upon the Spot. This Gentleman, juſtly eſteem'd for his Valour and Wiſdom, was heartily lamented by all thoſe that knew him. Immediately a diligent Search is madethro' all the Regiments, for the Author of the Fatal Shot, and at laſt a Soldier being ſeiz'd, meerly upon Suspicion, own'd that his Piece had been charg'd with a Brace of Bullets ; The *Chevalier* was found to have been wounded by both, and the unhappy Wretch was Hang'd in the Burial-place of *Pellerin*. This unlucky Accident gave no ſmall Trouble to ſo Goodly a Company, who hitherto had talk'd of nothing that was not Pleaſant and Diverting ; But the Wind turning in ſome meaſure favourable, *Monsieur de Deſſé*, who, for his great Merit, was prefer'd by the King to the Poſt of Lieutenant-General of the Army in *Scotland*, order'd every Man to be in a Readineſs to go the next Day on Board the Fleet.

There were in this Army a great many Brave Men, who had often before try'd the Force of the *Engliſh* Arms ; *Monsieur de Deſſé* himſelf was no Stranger to them at the Siege of *Landrecy*, at *Boulogn*, and other Places : And as for the *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, now under *Engliſh* Pay, our Men had frequently ſeen, and ſac'd them. However, the General, to remove that Fear, which ſome might entertain of an unknown Enemy, aſſur'd, That the Proof of their Courage, would

come short of the Reputation they had acquir'd; was Fond of nothing more, than of putting it to the Test, and of beginning instantly to let his Soldiers know by Experience, with whom they had to do; And indeed for this very Reason, the Army had no sooner landed in *Scotland*, than 'twas resolv'd they should march in search of the *English*. And because *Haddington* was the likeliest Place to cross our Designs, 'twas determin'd in a Council of War to enter into Action, by endeavouring to recover it. In this view, and that every thing might be carried on Orderly and Deliberately, *Mr. de Desse* Commanded his own Company, with the Cavalry under the Lord *d'Estauges*, to be in a readiness for further Orders, and that *Mr. d'Andelot* and Count *Rimgrave* should lead their Foot to the Fields. This done, he went and acquainted the Queen, and my Lord the Earl of *Arran*, then Governour or Regent of *Scotland*, with it; the last of these would needs join in the Attempt, with about 7 or 800 Horse, Arm'd after the *Scottish* manner, who were then at *Edinburgh*. As they left the City, *Mr. de Desse* found the *French* Infantry rank'd in order of Battle by *Mr. d'Andelot*, in a plain Field: He observ'd the Mein and Action of the Soldiery a long time, and then deliver'd himself to them, in these Terms:

“ Though you had never before try'd the *English*,
 “ yet I doubt not, Brave Soldiers, but the Weak-
 “ est amongst you, would dare singly to encounter
 “ the Stoutest Man of that Country this Day in be-
 “ ing. 'Tis certain, that had not Honour and
 “ Virtue held the first Rank in your Breasts, you
 had

“ had not so cheerfully expos'd your Lives, nor
 “ come so willingly to a Place like this, where
 “ Reputation can be acquir'd and maintain'd by
 “ no other way, but that of doing well. In my
 “ Opinion, there are very few or none here, who
 “ have not only Resisted the boasted Force, but
 “ have several times Humbled, and Reduc'd to
 “ Reason this very Enemy : And now since 'tis
 “ your Happiness to have by you so many Brave
 “ Men, at once the Witnesses of your Valour,
 “ and the Guarrantees of your Victory, Who can
 “ doubt but that we shall first trode down, then
 “ thrust out by the Shoulders, our Enemy from
 “ this Kingdom ? For my own part, I resolve
 “ in this Armour, both on Foot and on Horse-
 “ back, to shew you the Path, which leads to
 “ Glory ; and I hope that this very Arm, so
 “ often and so honourably dipt in *English* Blood,
 “ shall yet again be felt by them not at all weak-
 “ ned, or short of what it has been. Believe me,
 “ Comrades, my Heart and Hands are the same
 “ they were, and you'll infinitely more oblige
 “ me by Imitating my Deeds, than by Crediting
 “ my Words.

This short Speech was answer'd with loud
 Huzza's, which sufficiently manifested the Eager-
 ness and Courage of the Soldiers. His next Ad-
 dress was to Count *Rimgrave's* Regiment,
 which he found well Arm'd, and in admirable Or-
 der, and not so much as one Man in it, without a
 Promising and Warlike Countenance. Immedi-
 ately the Drums began to beat, and the *French*
 Infantry (as did the *Germans*) to march along
 the Sea-Coast straight to *Musselburgh* ; the Lord

Dano with the Artillerie, of which he was Commissary, taking the same Road.

Mr. *de Desse* intreated the Laird of *Dun*, a Scots Gentleman, to go along with Captain *Loup* Lieutenant to Mr. *d'Etauges*, in order to Discover the Enemy, in case they had taken the Fields, appointing at the same time Mr. *d'Etauges* himself to follow them with the remainder of the Light-horse, & to support them, if it should prove necessary.

But before I proceed further upon this Subject, it will not be amiss to observe, to what a low Ebb of Fortune the Scots were at this Time reduc'd, when the Enemy, after having Burnt their Towns, Ravag'd the whole Low-Country, and Usurp'd the greatest Strengths of their Frontiers, kept them so closely pent up, that they durst not go abroad but in very considerable Numbers; and ev'n then were so indifferently look'd upon by the *English* (a People always tainted with that *Heresie*, if I may use the word, which imposes upon them a false Belief of their own Merit, beyond that of all the Nations in the World) that about 500 Horse (for they had no more then in *Scotland*) durst scour the Fields both in the Night-time and in broad Day, to the very Gates of the Capital, thunder in Arms over all that Sea-coast, and incessantly plunder and harass the whole Neighbourhood. The Reader is not from this to imagine, that the Scots are a People less Brave, or in any thing whatsoever inferior to the *English*, but such were their Feuds and Animosities at Home, and so heartily did they distrust one another, that they not only gave their Enemy an easy Opportunity of gaining the Ascendant

over them, but also fat tamely down with the greatest Affronts and Hardships that could be put upon any Nation, tho' of a less daring Temper than theirs. This, in my humble Opinion, could take Rise from nothing but the Wrath of the Almighty, who had for the Punishment of their Sins left them for some time a Prey to those who sought their Ruin: Turks and Barbarians he often permits to be the Executioners of his Justice; Thus the *Italians* were chastis'd by *Camzoroast*, the *Babylonians* by *Nimbroth*, the *Persians* by *Sardanapalus*, the Posterity of *Abraham* by *Pharaoh*, the *French* by *Attila*; and of recent Date, the *Greeks* and *Oriental Christians* by *Mahomet Ottoman*. This seems plainly the Case with respect to the *Scots*; otherwise it had been humanly impossible for the *English* to have brought them to so low a Pass as that, in which I have seen them; from whence I conclude, that *God in his Infinite Wisdom permits Calamities of this Nature to attend a People, to Rouze their drooping Faith, and to enforce an acknowledgment of their Sins; till when the last Stake is to be thrown for, that is, when they are sincerely humbled, and have a mean Opinion of themselves, he lays aside the Rod with which he Chastis'd them, and mercifully declares for his Own.* This Reflection is sufficiently justify'd by what follow'd; for the *French* had no sooner landed in *Scotland*, than Success, that had for a long time waited upon the *English* Arms, began to desert them by Degrees, and the Ballance was turn'd upon the *Scottish* Side. But to return from whence I have digress'd.

Mr. *De Desse* having detach'd a Party to discover the Enemy, order'd the rest of the Army to
 march

march with all Expedition to the Support of such as might stand in need of it. The Army in general was divided into two Bodies, the one consisting of *Germans* under the Command of Count *Rimgrave*, a Man very capable of discharging the Post bestow'd upon him, and heartily affected to His Majesty's Service; the other of *French* under the no less daring Mr. *d'Andelot*. In the mean time, an Air of Assurance shin'd in the Countenance of the Soldiers, who longing for a View of the Enemy, mended their Pace, and hastned to advance, as if they had fear'd they should not get up in time to engage. The Army was within half a League of *Musselburgh*, when *d'Anché* a Gentleman, who belong'd to Mr. *d'Etauges* his Company, came and advertis'd Mr. *De Desse* from his Captain, That the *English* had retreated to *Hadingtoun*; upon which Mr. *De Desse* smil'd, and turning himself to the Earl of *Arran*, and to *Messieurs Strozzi* and *d'Andelot*: "Here
 " *Danché*, said he, who brings us good News;
 " for if the *English* are frighten'd before they have
 " seen us, how much more will our nearer Ap-
 " proach allarm them? He express'd himself in these and the like Terms, *on purpose to render the Enemy despicable, and to raise an Assurance of Victory in the Minds of his own Soldiers*; and *this is what all Officers ought to endeavour, especially when they are upon the Head of Forces but lately levied, and as yet Strangers to the Enemy they are about to encounter*. Immediately after this he sent *Danché* back again to Mr. *d'Etauges*, with Orders to halt at *Musselburgh*; and then, having commanded Captain *Rorouze* Lieutenant to Count *Rimgrave*, to
 cause

cause the Van-Guard march at a slow Pace, he himself went up before them, accompany'd with the Earl of *Arran*, the Lord *Peter Strozzi*, and others, and was follow'd by a considerable Troop of Horse.

Captain *Loup*, who had been detach'd, as I said before, with a Party suitable to the Design, was conducted to a Village above *Hadingtoun*, where finding nothing to do, he sent off 50 Lances to provoke the Enemy to Sally out of their Fort, and having instructed them by which Way they were to retreat, in case they should be forc'd to it, and leaving a Centinel upon an adjacent Hill, with Orders to advertise him of the first Appearance of the Enemy, he plac'd himself upon the Head of his own Troop, in an Ambush, behind the Rubbish of some old Houses. The *Scots* in the mean time advanc'd to *Hadingtoun*, where they waited long enough, in hopes that the *English* would break out upon them; but in vain, they only fir'd some Cannons from the Ramparts, as they are wont to do on the like Occasions; for (as I have often observ'd) if but two or three Horses shew themselves in view of an *English* Garrison, they fail not to discharge ten or twelve Cannons to little or no Purpose. Captain *Loup* inform'd of this, left his Ambush, and rejoin'd the *Scots*, with a Design to observe all the Quarters of the Country, and the Conveniencies it afforded for Lodging: By this time 300 Men were come out of the Town, but notwithstanding all the Endeavours us'd to draw them to an Engagement, they constantly kept within a Musket-shot of the Place; and Captain *Loup* finding that they

betray'd no Stomach for Fighting, after having view'd the Fortifications of *Hadingtoun*, at the very Foot of its Walls, from whence the wary Garrison fir'd upon him several times to no purpose, he return'd to Mr. *De Desse*. His Men were marching close, and in good order, when he discover'd a large Squadron of Horse, that were coming straight upon him from the Sea; he knew not but they might belong to the Enemy, and for this Reason he posted himself upon a rising Ground, which was just at hand, and detach'd *Beauchastel* upon the Head of 30 *French* and 25 *Scots*, of those that were best mounted, to view them; but he gave Orders to *Beauchastel* to avoid Fighting, till he himself and the Laird of *Dun* could get up by the most convenient Passes, to support or bring him off. On the other hand Mr. *De Desse* having discover'd these Lances, and mistaking them likewise for Enemies, sent Mr. *d'Etauges* with 50 Horse to take a nearer View of them, whilst Captain *Longué* was to march by another Way with a design to surprize them, and to cut off their Retreat. Thus both Parties were prepar'd to fight, for the Day was rainy, and the Heavens were clouded by a thick Mist, to which the *Scots* Climat is very obnoxious; but the reciprocal Mistake vanish'd at their nearer Approach, and so they return'd together to Mr. *De Desse*.

This last, after having appointed the main Body of the Army to lodge at *Lauret*, and given such other Orders as were necessary, drew out from amongst them his own Company, that of Mr. *d'Etauges*, and a considerable Number of *Germans*, as also 500 Arquebusiers, the choicest

of all the Regiments; and having plac'd upon their Head their own Colonel Mr. *d'Andelot*, he advanc'd to a Hill above *Haddingtoun*, towards *Aberlady*, and from thence sent off Mr. *d'Etauges* to Pickeer, at the Port of the Town; and at the same time appointed Messieurs *d'Andelot*, *de la Chapelle*, *Villeneuve* and *Achaut*, with 300 Arquebusiers under their Conduct, to fetch a Circuit behind the Hill, and to show themselves on t'other side of the Place, hoping by this means to effect something to purpose; then leaving on the Hill two Pieces of Cannon, and as many *German* Companies, with Orders to second those who should chance to stand in need of Support, he drew nearer with his Gens-d'Armes and the superplus of the Arquebusiers, and leisurely observ'd the Extent, Circuit, and weak sides of the Town, as also the Advantages of the Neighbourhood either for lodging the Soldiery, or battering the Ramparts. The Cannon of the Enemy was incessantly playing all this while; nay some *Italian* Arquebusiers and 200 Lances, sall'y'd out of the Place by that side of it, which looks to *Edinburgh*, but they were quickly repuls'd to their own Gates, by Mr. *d'Etauges* and his Company, which was compos'd of several lusty young Fellows, who in Imitation of their Captain did wonders. The *Italians* supported by some Arquebusiers, drawn up in the Fosse under *Tybere*, attempted to make Head against Mr. *d'Etauges*, but he, back'd by ten Men at Arms under the Command of Mr. *De Dessé's* Lieutenant, push'd them to their Barriers. Another Body of Bow-men and Arquebusiers, both *Italian* and *English*, to
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the Number of about 200, finding that Mr. *d'Andelot* was so far from being terrify'd by the thunder of their Artillery, that on the contrary he was advancing by degrees always nearer to the Fosse, came out with a Resolution to beat him back. At first he made a show of willingness to wait their Charge, and being seconded by Mr. *de la Chapelle*, Captain *Villeneuve*, and about 25 or 30 Arquebusiers, he gave them such a brisk Fire as kill'd severals of the most advanc'd; but when he thought that the Enemy's Courage was by this means rais'd to a desirable Pitch, he began to retreat slowly, and then to run with full speed straight to those ruinous Houses, behind which he had appointed Captain *Achault* to wait the Event of the Project. The Enemy improvident of the Stratageme trusting to their Numbers, and not doubting to make good their Retreat, broke their Ranks, and eagerly follow'd the Chase without Order or Fore-cast; for on a sudden our Men fac'd about, Mr. *d'Andelot* with his Arquebusiers falling upon their Front, whilst Captain *Villeneuve* attack'd their Flanc with that Vigour, that but few Blows came short of the design'd Effect. Many of them were kill'd, yet they stood their Ground, being encourag'd by a considerable Troop of Horse who were Galloping towards their Support; neither did our Soldiers forget their wonted Assurance; notwithstanding they saw the Enemy reinforc'd; on the contrary they stood close by one another, redoubled their Blows, and Sword in hand broke in upon the Enemy with inexpressible Fury. They sustain'd little or no Loss by Fighting in this manner with
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the *English*, for they were all furnish'd with Head-pieces and Coats of Mail, Arms most necessary to Arquebusiers (tho I know most People are now-a-days of a contrary Opinion) by reason of the various Accidents, which obliges them sometimes to come to handy-blows. In fine, the Enemy was foil'd and repuls'd from this Place by dint of Sword; the whole Way was cover'd with their Slain and Wounded; and all the Damage done to Mr. *d'Andelot* amounted to no more, than that four Gentlemen of his Retinue were wounded, and that but slightly.

We Skirmish'd in several other Places with no less Vigour, Mr. *de Desse* upon the head of 50 Horse, engag'd Sir *John Wilfoord* General of the Forces in *Hadingtoun*, who to bring off his own People, came out of the Town upon the Head of 200 Lances, and 25 Arquebusiers; but these were for the most part cut off by the Valour and Conduct of Mr. *de Desse*, and the remainder shamefully Chas'd back to the Gates of the Place. In the mean time they ceas'd not to Fire from the Ramparts, but by reason of the continual Rains, and approaching Night, as their Balls were let off without Design, so they fell without Effect. Thus, we had all the Honour of this our first Exploit, which was such, as did very much Contribute to allay the *English* Arrogancy, at least we reap'd this Advantage by it, that henceforth they never durst wait our Onset with Assurance. The Lords *Strozzi*, *de la Mailleraye d'Oisel*, and Count *Rimgrave* went on so far as to strick the Ports of *Hadingtoun* with their Hangers; and this they have often done since that time, with

with as much Bravery as ever was shown by Men. And now, every one retir'd to Mr. *de Desse*, and he to *Laurette*, the Infantry marching always in order of Battle, and the Cavalrie in the Rear, with their Arms display'd. We had only one Soldier kill'd with a Cannon-Ball, and 5 or 6 wounded in these Actions.

The same Evening Mr. *de Desse* having withdrawn with his Army to *Musselburgh*, gave them to know, that he meant to set out again to Morrow by break of Day. Accordingly he began, by Reviewing the whole Forces, then went and encamped in sight of *Haddingtoun*, whither my Lord *Hume* a *Scots* Man was gone before, and had already begun to Skirmish with the *English*, but they retir'd under their Cannon upon discovery of our Van-Guard: The Earl of *Arran*, who Commanded it, detach'd a Party to their advanc'd Guards, but kept the greatest part of his Squadron in order of Battle upon the plain Fields, whilst the *Germans* were lodging themselves, and Mr. *de Desse* was bringing up the rest of the Enemy. This last, perceiving that my Lord *Hume* was like to be worsted by the *English* Arquebusiers who had attack'd him with unequal Numbers, sent off Captain *Gourdes* upon the Head of 50 Men to Support him, which he did with that Success, that the Enemy were oblig'd to make the best of their way back to their Walls, whither they had been warmly pursued in spite of the Cannon levell'd against our Men, had not these last perceiv'd that 100 more of the Enemy were come out of the Town with a Design to Surprise them. Upon this they Retraited apace, yet so

as to spin out Time, and to put frequent Stops to the Enemy's Advances, by the repeated Fire of the Arquebusiers, till at last Captain *Villeneuve* came up with a Reinforcement of 60 Horse, and fell upon the Enemy's Flanc, broke them, and pursu'd them with great Slaughter, both of their Horse and Foot to the very Brink of the Fosse: Nay, he push'd a great many head-long into it, but here, he himself receiv'd a Musquet Shot, of which he Died on the Place, 'twas a pity, for this Young Officer had frequently given but too Flagrant Proofs of his Courage: The Soldiery regreted his Fall extremely, and there were some, that charg'd him with too much Forwardness, in thus offering himself rashly to Death: But I am rather of the Opinion of others, who believe, that *Courage could not have shortn'd his Days, nor Cowardise have prolong'd them*; For as Mr. *de Belley* has it.

Fate, on swift Wings, does unexpected come,

Nor can our Fears, or Caution change ~~the~~ Doom.

During these Skirmishes, Count *Rimgrave*, and his *Germans* were encamping before the Place, and *Duno* was ordering fit Trenches to be cast up to Guard our Artillery: A part of the *French* Infantry stood to their Arms nigh Mr. *de Desse*, and Mr. *d'Anselot* was bringing up the remainder, but was unwilling to shew himself till he had first try'd the Courage of his Parry. With this View, he appointed some of them to wait in order of Battle, in a convenient place of the Hill, that could not be seen from the Town, and he himself upon the Head of 300 Arquebusiers, march'd down the River of *Tyn* (which runs by one of the sides of *Hadingtown*) as warily as was
pos-

possible, yet he was discover'd; And Captain *Tybere* and his *Italian* Arquebusiers sallied out upon him, but so Cautiously, as to keep always under the favour of their own Cannon. For this Reason, Mr. *d'Andelot* Commanded Captain *Prade* with 25 Arquebusiers to Advance, and if possible, to draw them further off; who not prevailing upon their Obstinacy, he again detach'd Captain *Lucenet* with Orders to charge them, where they stood. The Captain advanc'd within 40 Paces of them, gave them a Volley, and then conform to his Orders, turn'd about and Retir'd with Precipitation. This animated the Enemy to pursue the Chase, but Mr. *d'Andelot*, who had not stirr'd as yet, nick'd the Opportunity so fairly, that the surpris'd Enemy were broke in a Minute, and forc'd to betake themselves to their heels, which yet they could not do so quickly, but that they left a great many by the Way expos'd to Execution. The rest got in by the Port, which they shut up, and from thenceforth condemn'd to be immur'd, never daring to make any more Sallies by that Way, whilst the Siege lasted. Ten of the slowest of their Soldiers were furrrounded, and of these Six were made Prisoners, and Four threw themselves down in the Fosse; whither Two of ours unwarrantably follow'd them, and fail'd not to receive the Reward that's owing to Temerity: The one was dangerously wounded in the Shoulder by a Musket-shot, and died four Days thereafter; the other in the left Arm, by that of an Arquebuse. Mr. *De Desse* was not idle all this while, he had not ceas'd to harass those of the *English*, who appear'd towards the Abby

of *North-Berwick*, and he had Repuls'd them so often, that at last they gave over disturbing us for that Day: For this Reason, each Body was allow'd to retire to the respective Quarters, which were assign'd them, where they Labour'd till Evening to make ready their Lodgings, and Guard the Avenues of the Camp with *Ravelins*, *Flancs*, and *Trenches*.

The Fortress of *Hadington* is Quadrangular: 'Tis Situated in the midst of a low Plain, and is Commanded by no Neighbouring Mountain nor rising Ground: 'Tis environ'd with a large and Flat-bottom'd Ditch, a strong *Curtain* of Turf, a spacious Rampart and Good and Safe Breast-works: Four strong *Bastions* are conveniently plac'd at the four Corners of the Wall, and are in Lieu of so many *Plat-Forms*, design'd to keep the weak Places from being Discover'd. Behind these, namely towards the most Champion Country, they had rais'd several Works of Earth, by way of *Plat-Forms*, and *Ravelins*, where they planted a great many Guns of a middle Size, to Annoy us, as we sat down before the Place. Above these Fortifications, they had Rear'd up a *Curtain* with *Fascines*, on which their Arquebusiers stood secure. Behind, and over against the Rampart of the first Wall, there is a deep Fosse border'd with a strong *Curtain*, and four *Turrets*, which Fence and Inclose the *Donjeon*; and betwixt the Edge of the Fosse, and the *Curtain* of this *Donjeon*, there are many *Casmates* close to, and level with the first Rampart, in which Arquebusiers may be plac'd for Guarding the Second Fosse; So that, suppose the *Turrets*, which Fence the Wall of the

Donjeon, should be ruin'd by the Cannon of the Besiegers, yet these *Casmates*, with the Help of such *Falsebrays* as are intermixed with them, would supply their Loss. The *Donjeon* it self cannot be batter'd but by one side, and that is guarded by the River of *Tyn*: Besides, they had rais'd a *Cavalier* on the most expos'd place of its Rampart, and by this means had Shelter'd both the House and the Soldiers. In fine, the Fort is so very Convenient and Spacious, that the Garrison (in case of Necessity) may Retrait into it, draw up in order of Battle; Nay, and raise new Fortifications for a further Defence. The *English* had Built it in the manner I have describ'd, probably because *Hadingtoun* is Situated in a fruitful and pleatant Country, nigh the Capital City, not very remote from the Center of *Scotland*, and for these Reasons, fit to Insult over, and Annoy the whole Kingdom: But I know not, if they consider'd, that these otherways Great Conveniencies were attended with this notable Disadvantage, that the Place was not to be Succour'd with Men nor Ammunition, without a prevailing Army. For, as I have said, it lyes almost in the Middle of *Scotland*, and at the distance of two Leagues from the Sea; and the *English* were not Master of such other Places, as were proper to Cover, and bring off those in *Hadingtoun*.

The Town was now fairly Besieg'd, and a very sharp War was already Commenc'd, when the *Scots*, who Inhabite the Islands of *Orkney* and those of the South, being Assembl'd in great Numbers at *Edinburgh*, in Obedience to the Queen's Commands, came and join'd us in the Camp,
and

and were very good Company to us for the space of 18 or 20 Days. They Skirmish'd very often, and very early with the Enemy; Nay, they enter'd into Action, before they gave themselves the Leisure to enter the Camp; for they had not thought of taking up their Quarters, when 5 or 600 stole away from the main Body, march'd close as they are wont to do, when upon Martial Expeditions, and run to Rights to the Gates of *Hadingtoun*: They wore Coats of Mail, each had a large Bow in his Hand; and their Quivers, Swords, and Shields hang as 'twere in a Sling: They were follow'd by several Highlanders; and these last go almost naked, they have Painted Waist-Coats, and a sort of Woollen Covering variously Colour'd, and are Arm'd as the rest with large Bows, Broad Swords and Targets. There was not one of them, who gave not convincing Proofs, that they stood in no Awe of the *English*, they beat off their advanc'd Guards in a Minute, with a Volley of Arrows and then with Sword in Hand advanc'd upon 5 or 600 that were posted between the Port and the Barriers; but the Noise of the Artillery, with which they had not been acquainted, soon quell'd their Courage: The Highlanders shut their Ears, and threw themselves on their Bellies at each Shot of the Cannon. The Enemy, perceiving their Disorder, thought to have made their Advantage of it; but Captain *Linieres*, with 60 Soldiers, met them half way, and put a sudden stop to their Pursuit; 25 of his Arquebusiers Fir'd upon their Flanc, whilst Mr. *d'Andelot*, upon the Head of 50 Gentlemen who had waited upon him from his Tent, as he was

going to visit the Trenches, at the first Onset push'd them back to their Barriers, where again they tac'd about; and here a Gentleman of *Lisimoge* went alone, and singl'd out an *English-man*, by whom he had been Wounded some 5 or 6 Days before, and with his Halbard struck him Dead to the Ground, and so return'd to the Party; who after effecting what they Design'd, retir'd to the Trenches. Not long after this, Mr. de Desse, the Lords *Strozzi, d'Andelot, de la Chapelle de Biron, d'Ouartis*, and at least 20 more Gentlemen, went out to observe such Places as were fittest to be Batter'd; As did the Captains *Gaillard, Gourdes*, and *Argentieu*, each upon the Head of 25 Arquebusers, to dislodge some *Italian* Soldiers, that were lying on their Bellies conveniently Intrench'd, incessantly Firing upon us, and Annoying such of our People as came in View of the Curtain; But these last divided themselves in different Bodies, and, from several places of the Enemy's Intrenchment, so Maul'd them with small Shot, that they were fain to get in to the Town. By this means Mr. de Desse had an Opportunity of taking a narrow and leisurely Inspection of the Enemy's Works and Defences, and when Retiring, he had the Pleasure to Witness a very notable and daring Attempt of one of those Highland Men that belong'd to the Earl of *Argyle*. This Fellow had by this time taken Notice of the *French* Behaviour, and had seen them go Fearlessly forward upon the very Mouth of the Enemy's Cannon, which he being willing to imitate, went straight upon a Party of the *English*, that had engag'd a few *Frenchmen* Commanded by Cap-
tain

tain *Voquedemar*, and with incredible Celerity Seizing one of them, in spite of Opposition truss'd him upon his Back, and in this Plight brought him to our Camp; where we observ'd that the Enrag'd Captive had Bit his Shoulder after so Butcherly a manner, that he had almost Died of the Wound. Mr. *de Desse* rewarded the Action with a good Coat of Mail and 20 Crowns; a Compliment which the Highlander receiv'd with all imaginable Demonstrations of Gratitude.

We did nothing more worth the mentioning, all this Day; nay, nor the next till the Evening, when 8 or 900 Scots Pioneers, under the Conduct of Mr. *de la Chapelle*, began to cast up a Trench on the left side of the Abbey-port, and to cut out such other opposit Fortifications, as were thought fittest to Shelter us from the Fire of the Enemy. Some Soldiers Sallied out of the Town, and offer'd to disturb our Work-men, but were beat back by the Valour of *Messieurs Strozzi*, and *d'Andelot*, who for most part left not the Trenches till near Day. The Enemy had 7 Men kill'd in this Attempt.

The succeeding 4 or 5 Days were spent in continual Action; for the *English*, meaning still to impede our Work, made several Sallies; and Mr. *Strozzi*, a Person whose daring Courage is not inferior to his great Skill and Capacity, was dangerously Wounded in one of these very Brisk and Handiome Rencounters: 'T were endless, and in vain, to enter into the Detail of each; This much I shall only say, The Enemy came off in not one Occasion, but with Confusion and Loss. We could attribute these Successes to nothing so much, as the admirable Prudence of our Cheit-

tains; And the Truth is, they manag'd Matters, with such Order, Counsel and Courage, that Mr. *de Desse* had Reason to Boast, that *there were as many Soldiers, as Men in his Army.*

In the mean time, an *Italian* Deserted from the Town, and gave Intelligence to the General, that the Enemy had neither Victuals nor Ammunition for a Siege of 12 Days. This he asserted, under no less Penalty than that of his Life: For this Reason, and because Mr. *de Desse* had the same Advice from a great many more hands, he caus'd Expedite the Work of the Trenches, with that Diligence, that in two Days time, they were advanc'd to the Foot of the Bulwark, which we attempted by sapping; No time was lost, and no Pains were spar'd, and ere long the Captains *Linieres, Voquedemar, Dussac, Ferrieres, Guerin, Cobtos* the younger, and several other Gentlemen and Soldiers got several times to the Top of it; Nay, a Soldier of *Gascony* bended his Cross-bow, and from thence Shot twice in upon the Enemy, with the same Unconcern'dness, as if he had been Shooting at Game meerly for Sport, then return'd to us safe and unhurt.

About Eleven of the Clock at Night, we advanc'd our *Gabionado's*, and made Loop-holes for six Guns; and thence by break of Day, we awakned those in *Hadingtoun* with a Vengeance, and Batter'd at once the Wall betwixt the Port of *Edinburgh* and *Tyberes* Bulwark, and the Breast-works of the Curtain. In these last, the Enemy had plac'd some Musqueteers and Arquebusiers, who ceas'd not to fire upon our People. This Day 340 balls were let off from our six Pieces u-

pon the Front of the Wall I have mention'd, and the Breast-works which we notably endamnag'd ; but the Curtain (being wonderfully thick, and made of Earth which deadned and drown'd the Balls) remain'd intire, notwithstanding our Battery, neither did we any great Harm to the Wall : This induc'd Mr. *de Desse* to cause remove the *Gabionado's*, and to place them a little lower at the distance of about 100 Paces from the Fosse. Here again we discharg'd our Guns 200 times, yet all this was but Noise, it did us no real Good. Wherefore Mr. *de Desse* call'd a Council of War, and propos'd to give an Assault to the Place ; he express'd his Inclination to go on in Person with the foremost, and to substitute the Lord *de la Mailleraye* in his Room for this bout: For, said he, *Mr. de la Mailleraye commands 50 Men at Arms, as I do, and you are all satisfy'd of his great Abilities. I doubt not but his Majesty will approve the thing ; Success is always attended with Praise, and nothing is Impracticable when Undertaken by Men of Honour ; the Garrison is not so very Numerous, but that if we come to a close Fight, they are sure to be Foil'd ; Besides we are no Strangers to them by this time, and 'tis impossible they can be Ignorant that we dare more than they.*

Many were of the General's Opinion, and all were dispos'd to obey ; yet after long Reasoning, and more mature Deliberation, they concluded in this, That 'twas by no means fit to attempt the Place by Storm ; That the Numbers of the *French* were but inconsiderable, and consequently not to be expos'd all at once ; That upon the Supposition of their being cut off, before a Reinforcement could

pass the Seas, the Country was probably lost; That the King could not but be displeas'd to hear, that without Necessity we had stak'd our All; And that in fine, 'twas hard to determine how heartily the *Scots* would concur with us, for a great many of them were seduc'd by, and Clandestinely brought over to the *English* Interest.

This had prov'd the Origin of their Malheurs; yet amongst all the Calamities and cross Accidents under which that Nation had Groan'd, since the Death of their most excellent Prince, King *James* the Fifth, there were none but such as might be in some measure Retriv'd. But had they gone on in the *English* Alliance, as these had wisely projected, and those as rashly agreed to: This indeed had fastned upon them such Miseries, as no humane Endeavours could have Remedy'd. *For of all the ruinous Causes, that are Recorded to have been fatal to Commonwealths, none was ever more so, than the surrendering of ones self into the Hands of an Ancient Enemy; who when Arm'd with new-got Power, can never fail to return the most feeling Demonstrations of his Will remaining ill Will.*

To prevent a Mischief of this kind, the Queen Dowager of *Scotland* took care that the Queen her Daughter should be well Guarded in the Castle of *Dumbarton*, a Place by reason of its Situation remote from *England*, very fit for the purpose; and because of the height, and steepness of the Rock 'tis built upon, and its other Advantages of Art and Nature, thought by all those that have seen it, impregnable. But that which most conduc'd to *Her Majesty's* Safety, was Her Guard of not a few *French* Gentlemen equally Honest and Resolute;
and

and these had positive Orders to suffer none living to enter the Castle, but such as brought Letters along with them from the Queen Mother. This Princess, one of the Wisest of Her time, had the Art to prevail upon the Peers and Great Men of the Kingdom, to permit the Queen her Daughter to be Conducted to, and Educated at the *French* Court, under the Eyes of our Queen. In pursuance of this Resolution, She commanded Mr. *de Villegagnon* to set Sail with 4 Gallies from the Road of *Leith*, and to make a Shew of steering for *France*; but in the mean time to Tack about to the *German* and *Pichtland* Sea (as they call it) and so, after Coasting along the Thirty Islands of *Orkney*, to return again to *Dumbarton*. This he effected quickly beyond Expectation, and had the good Fortune to demonstrate for the first time, that Gallies may fail in those Seas, tho' to speak the Truth, 'tis no easy Task; for the Tides are there incredibly strong, and the Tempests continual. For this Reason, the *English* did not imagine that we could fetch such a Compass, but were perswaded that we must needs return by the Chanel, where they lay in wait for our Gallies, sure to over-power them with the unequal Numbers of their Ships.

The Queen Dowager was gone to *Dumbarton* before *de Villegagnon's* return, She had provided all Necessaries for the Voyage, and accordingly deliver'd over the Queen Her Daughter, to the Lord *de Brezé*, a brave Gentleman sent Express by the King upon that Design; he receiv'd Her on Board the Royal Galley, when as yet not above five or six years old; but even then, one of the
 most

most perfect Creatures the Author of Nature had ever fram'd, Her Match was no where to be seen, nor had the World another Child of Her Fortune and Hopes. But I return to the Subject.

After the last Resolution of the Council, which was to forbear giving a general Assault, had been made publick to the Camp, a Soldier's Boy was taken up by one of our Centinels on a Morning, as he was stealing out of the Town, and frankly own'd, that he had been sent in by his Master, who was an *Italian*, to acquaint *Tybere* that we were not to Storm the Place, and to desire that Officer also an *Italian* to improve the Advice to the best purpose for the Honour of their common Country. *Tybere* commanded 300 Foot of that Nation in the *English* Service, and as he was a very good and vigilant Soldier, so he had taken care to cause Fortify and Repair one of the shatter'd Bulwarks, in order to prevent its falling into our Hands in the heat of the Assault, hoping by this means to obtain a safe and honourable Capitulation for himself: But upon the Intelligence he had given him of our Resolutions, he made bold to offer, not only to make good his own Post, but which was more, to defend the Breach with his Company alone. Sir *John Wilford* could by no means give Credit to a *Fanfaronado* so unreasonably grounded, for he was abundantly satisfy'd of the Intrepidity and Fury of the *French*. And indeed, I should not do Justice to my Country, if I fail'd to let Posterity know, that since the *French* have been Train'd and Disciplin'd by the Care of our most Victorious Monarch *Henry* the Second, they are neither to be Terrify'd with the sound of

Artillery, nor withstood by the assistance of Ramparts. Yet the Governour of *Hadingtoun* was Re-assur'd at last by *Tyberé's* Assertions, and we lost the Opportunity of carrying the Place.

All this time, Mr. *de Desse*, to prevent the Town's being Succour'd in the Night-time, appointed his own Gen-d'arms and the Cavalry belonging to Mr. *d'Etauges* to attend on Horseback almost continually at one of the Avenues which lead to the Camp; he could not doubt, but the *Scots* on the other side would keep Watch also, and give him intelligence of any supervening Danger. Yet the Enemy, who of a long time had been cheapning and buying a Passage to the Place, resolv'd at last to attempt its Relief, and to make the best of their Way with 200 Men, some Powder and Ball, and such other Provisions as the Besieg'd stood in need of. Mr. *de Desse* inform'd of this by his Spies (for of these his Prudence and Liberality always secur'd him a great many) came out of the Trenches, where he was wont to be almost all the Night long, to the *French* Guard, and gave them to understand, that as they had humbl'd such as their Ramparts and Ordonance could not Protect, so it behov'd them now to reduce those that would dare to meet them in the Fields. With these Words he led them on to that Road, by which he was Advis'd that the Succours design'd to come: But *The Man with the two Heads*, a *Scots-man*, commonly so call'd, perswaded him by means of a Thousand Oaths, and as many not improbable Assertions, that 'twas more Expedient to march by another Way (at which he pointed) to the East

Earl of *Arran*, that both together might fall on the approaching Enemy; Adding, that they were not as yet within three Leagues of us. This was absolutely False; and thus by reason of the Obscurity of the Night, and the Cheat put upon the General, the Succours gain'd the Town, by the same way that he had been impos'd upon to leave open and unguarded. This unlucky Accident was equally pleasing to the Enemy, and mortifying to us. We could not but grudge to find, that 200 *English*, with their Baggage and Train, had found Means to get by 8000 *Scots*, and that at no greater Distance than of 200 Paces off them, and without the least Effort made by any to defeat the Attempt.

Not long after, *The Man with the two Heads* (who was one of those that corresponded with the Earl of *Lenox*) had play'd us this Scurvey Trick; all the *Scots*, excepting 600 Lances that depended upon the Earls of *Arran* and *Huntly*, withdrew to their respective Homes. And here, I take it, 'twill not be improper to observe by the way, that the *Scots* never take the Fields, but when forc'd to Arms by necessity. The Reason is this, they serve at their own Charges, and therefore cannot Spin out Time, as all the Nations in *Europe* do, but themselves; They carry along with them all Necessaries, for the time they resolve either to Encamp, or to scour the Campagne: This time is but short, but they loose it not; for they make it their Business to seek out the Enemy with all Expedition, and Fight with invincible obstinacy; especially when they have to do with the *English*. For the reciprocal Hatred of these

two Nations is intermingl'd with their vital Spirits, and Essential to their Being; Neither is it, in my Opinion, to be eradicated from out of their Breasts, *So long as Ambition shall prompt Men to Domineer, or Jealousy Repine at encroaching Grandeur.* This done, and their Victuals being Consum'd, they break up their Camp, or retire in different Bodies one after another; and this they are sometimes necessitated to do, without having effected their premeditated Designs.

The Scots had no sooner broke up their Camp, than Mr. de Desse receiv'd Advice, that the Enemy meant to Constrain him likewise, to break up his Siege. Wherefore he dispatch'd a great many Trustees, to different Places and by different ways in quest of further Intelligence. On the other hand, convinc'd, that *Necessity is of great use in most of the Actions of Mankind, as having frequently prov'd the only means of Success,* He wisely conceal'd the *English* Project from the inferior Soldiers, with a view of hightning their Valour to an inevitable Obstinacy; but fail'd not to give timeous Advertisement of it to the Officers, and to the Queen: Her Majesty was at the time at *Edinburgh*, whither he sent off the Great Guns, keeping only Six light Field-pieces in the Camp; and, whilst Mr. d'An-delot and Count Rimgrave, to take off all pretences of Excuse in case of any Cross-accident from the Officers, order'd both them and their Soldiers to be continually in Arms, and not to stirr from their Posts on pain of Death, he himself continu'd to hasten on the *Ravelines* and Ramparts commenc'd for the Defence of the Camp; and in regard, that most of the *French* had been but lately levied Mr.

d'Andelot did not cease to see them perform their Exercises, and to teach them that Military Discipline that gains Victories. Count *Rimgrave* was not behind in any thing with our other Commanders, he labour'd incessantly to have his Men train'd up to Order and Rule. And now, the Enemy within the Town, encourag'd by the Succours they had receiv'd, Sallied out upon us at all Hours, sometimes on Foot, sometimes on Horse-back, and would come as far as the Guard of our Trenches, and to our Watch; but they still met with that Resistance, that, in spite of all their Efforts, they could never Boast they had re-enter'd the Place, without having their Numbers lessen'd. And if at any time they had the Courage to venture beyond the reach of a Musquet from their Strengths, *Mr. de Desse's* Gen'd'arms and those of *Mr. d'Etanges*, who kept constantly in considerable Numbers on Horse-back out of the Camp, never fail'd to give them the Chase, and to do Execution all the way back to the Gates of their Fort; those especially, that had not the very swiftest of their Geldings, fell often so many Victims to our Valour.

At last my Lord *Hume*, the Laird of *Dun* and Captain *Longue*, detach'd two Days before with about 300 Horse to *Roxburgh*, having prudently fallen upon Means to learn the Enemy's designs, return'd with the certain News of their March, and an Account of their having Lodg'd the last Night, at *Annich* a large Village with a good Castle to it tho' but cursly built after the old Fashion, of the property of the King's of *England*.

At the same time two Spies brought us a Confirmation of these Accounts, and Mr. de Desse, who was of Opinion, that *many Men ought not to be determin'd by the single Sentiment of one, but that he who commands great Numbers should concert his Measures with some of them,* call'd to his Tent the Lords Strozzi, d'Andelot, de la Mailleye, d'Oisel, Count Rimgrave and most of the Captains; and conform to their unanimous Opinion, he determin'd himself not to go out to meet the Enemy, both because 'twas uncertain, whether they would come by the High and Mountainous Way unfit for the Carriage of our Ordonance, and by reason that we should be obliged to diminish our Numbers to our great Loss, in case of Action, by leaving a part of them behind in the Camp: Besides, we were very advantageously posted on the Ground we had taken up, and did not doubt but the Enemy would Assail us in that place, the rather, because 'twas probable they would draw from our sitting still, a Proof of our Apprehensions; and this would afford us an Opportunity to convince the Soldiers of the necessity they lay under to Vanquish: *Conviction, upon which the most certain Hopes of Victory may be warrantably built.*

The Queen had been already inform'd of the Condition and Posture of our Affairs: She was likewise told, that a great many of the *French* were idling at *Edinburgh*, and that most of the *Scots* had retir'd to their Homes. Wherefore Her Majesty, careful of the Safety of so many brave Men, who as yet lay before *Hadingtoun*, in a readiness to spend their best Blood in Her Service, commanded all
the

the Gentlemen of Her own House, and such of Her other Servants as could carry Arms, to repair forthwith to the Camp; She did not so much as detain one Man behind to attend Her Royal Person; She also sent off large quantities of Bread, Wine, Ale and Meat, and gave Orders to the most Intelligent and Knowing of Her Domesticks, to tell the Soldiers from Her, *That She meant not to repay the Services, She expected from their Bravery, with so small a Compliment; but that they might trust to Her Word, that She would employ all the Means GOD Almighty had left in Her Hands, nay, and the Favour of all Her Friends, rather than that the particular Merit of each of them should not be fully acknowledg'd.*

These Presents were most gratefully receiv'd by all those in the Camp, and they did not a little Contribute towards the Encouragement of the Soldiers, the rather, because they were owing to Her Majesty's Bounty. Indeed 'tis highly commendable to excite Virtue with hopes of Reward; For *Presents well tim'd are wont to make a deeper Impression upon the Hearts of Soldiers, than their daily Pay, which they consider as a Debt.*

This done, the Queen mounts on Horse-back, and, Accompanied only with Her Ladies and Maids of Honour, She Visits the Citizens Houses: As she pass'd along the High Street, the Scots gather'd about Her in great Numbers; and She took that Opportunity to put them in mind of their Duty, delivering Her self to them in their own Language, to this purpose.

Is it thus, my Friends, that you Second the French? Is this the Example you give them? Had not my own Eyes

Eyes inform'd me of this your Forgetfulness of Honour and Duty, I should never have been prevail'd upon to believe it. I ever thought, and am still willing to entertain the same Sentiments, That no Nation under the Sun can vye with your Inbred and Unequal'd Gallantry; for after all, it may be, and I Flatter my self 'tis so, that you come not hither to avoid Fighting, forbid it O Heavens! but to furnish your selves with Arms and Horses, to Fight with the greater Advantage. Perswaded then, that 'tis beneath the Grandeur of Scottish Souls to deserve a just Reproach, I give you to know, that within the short space of two Days, we shall have a Battle at Hadingtoun; I know you could never forgive your selves the Unpardonable Omission, if thro' your own Negligence or Inaction, you should miss of the long'd for Opportunity, you now have in your Hands, to Re-pay the Injuries receiv'd from this very Enemy; Injuries no less, than the Ransacking your Goods, the laying waste your Inheritances, and the bringing Death to those Parents that gave you Life, and to those Friends that made Life desirable to you.

The Queen Dowager was much in the Right in the Choice she made, rather to Court the Affections of Her Daughter's Subjects by Gentle Endeavours, than to constrain them by Rigour and Pride. And this is a Maxim all great Princes ought to lay down to themselves, as the Ground-work of their Government. She took another Method with the French, who were at Edinburgh in greater Numbers than she had been aware of; and weighing well the Consequences that were like to ensue, as Matters then stood, upon the Gain or Loss of a Battle, she very much blam'd this unbecoming

Remissness in Men that set so high a Value upon the Noble Employment.

I am very much surpris'd, said She to them, that you, who have betaken your selves to Arms, and have already made such foreward Advances in the Road to Honour, should not be more afraid of being thro' your own fault depriv'd of that Reputation, your selves and all good Men have plac'd in the foremost Rank of Blessings. Five or 6000 English are at hand, with a design to beat us from before Hadingtoun, but Care is already taken, God willing, to frustrate their Attempt. I cannot doubt but you seek Honour, meerly for Honour's sake, as believing it a full Return and Compensation for all the Valour you can express; and therefore should be sorry, if you shar'd not in the assur'd Glory that waits your Fellow Soldiers in the Camp; For the Truth is, these brave Men are sufficiently Numerous, to ascertain Victory without your Additional Assistance; but then the English shall only feel the weight of their Arms, and the Universe shall loudly Proclaim your Infamy. However, do as you please, I assure my self, you will not, cannot do amiss.

Her Majesty's Speeches had all the intended Effect; for in an Hours time there was not one Soldier of either Nation (excepting the Sick) to be seen in the City: They crowded to the Battle with wing'd haste, and Fought with unusual Resolution. I shall not dwell upon the Refindness of Her Majesty's Successful Prudence; 'tis not to be admir'd in a Princess born with all the Virtues, and whose Merit alone infuses Respect, and commands Obedience.

I have already given an Account of the Care taken by Mr. d'Andelot to Form and prepare the
Soldiers

Soldiers for Action, and of the Cautions us'd by Mr. *de Desse*, towards the Discovery of the Enemy's Projects: For as he made it his great Business to Unvail their darkeſt Contrivances, ſo he was equally capable to render them Ineffectual, when Occaſions were offer'd. He had Reſolv'd, as I have above obſerv'd, to wait for the *Engliſh* in the Camp where he lay: Therefore, the Night preceeding the Day of Battle, he appointed the *French* Cavalrie to watch on an Eminence that ſtood in the Enemy's Road, and a Detachment of the *Scots* to keep Guard by them, that if neceſſary, they might be in a Condition to ſupport one another. Theſe two Cors were to be Reliev'd at Mid-night by the General's *Gen-d'arms*, and another Party of the *Scots*. He likewiſe gave Orders to 4 Companies of the *Germans* to Guard the Trenches by turns, and to an equal Number of the *French* to attend the Camp. In fine, judging it an indelible Stain for a Captain, after having been *Foil'd*, to talk that 'twas a Surprise upon him, or that he had not thought of the Matter; he commanded the Remainder of the Army to Sleep in their Armour; and he himſelf, the Lords *de la Malleraye*, *Strozzi*, & *Andelot*, Count *Rimgrave* and all the other Perſons of Quality remain'd the whole Night-long in Arms, ſome on Foot walking the Rounds towards the Avenues of the Camp and Guard of the Trenches; others on Horſeback viſiting the Watches and Scouts that were poſted upon the Enemy's Road.

About one or two Hours before Day, the *Engliſh*, in purſuance of their former Reſolutions, began to draw near our Camp, full of Hopes to find

find us asleep, and to Over-power our advanc'd Guards, ere we should have Leisure to Marshal the rest of the Army: But they had cast up a wrong Accompt; for my Lord *Hume*, a Gentleman fitted for Military Service, who had gone Abroad the Night before to observe the Posture and State of their Army, was already return'd with an Account of their Approach. Upon which, Mr. *de Desse*, assur'd that now they could be at no great Distance, made the Horse Guard to Retire, and without giving a publick Alarm, caus'd convey his Orders from Hand to Hand, commanding each Cors to be in a Readiness to Fight in such Posts and Places as had been Carv'd out before hand for the Purpose. Mr. *d'Andelot* drew out the *French* Infantry; and Count *Rimgrave*, his *Germans* in a very short time: The Orders given out were executed with such Facility and Diligence, that our Commanders had all the Reason in the World to Confide in Men so well Instructed. In the mean while Mr. *de Desse* went to all the Bodies and Ranks, talk'd to each of them, assur'd them of Victory, and rous'd their Courages, with the following Expressions.

“ Comrades, Did not inevitable Necessity constrain us, I should at this time avoid Fighting
 “ by all means possible: And the Reason is, because in this place of the World, the Loss of any
 “ one amongst us, is of an inestimable Value:
 “ But the Enemy is hard upon us, we have no
 “ time to Retrait; 'twere Cowardise to think
 “ on't, and Folly to Attempt it. Since then we
 “ can place our Hopes in nothing, but the Force
 “ of our Arms, and Hight of our Courage, let

“ us resolve to stand to it to the last. For to be
 “ plain with you, I do not see that any one of our
 “ Numbers can think to escape Death, either
 “ by Flight, (I abhor the infamous Word) by
 “ reason that our Foes are so admirably well
 “ mounted, as I know them to be, or (which
 “ is no better) by yielding our Arms in hopes of
 “ Quarters : For I am certainly
 “ inform’d, that my Lord *Bault* * *I find not this*
 “ has several times Sworn in pre- *Noble-man men-*
 “ sence of the Duke of *Summerjet*, *tion’d in any of our*
 “ that those amongst us, who *own Histories, and*
 “ shall fall in the Heat of Action *therefore cannot*
 “ (if we but dare to Engage) shall have reason *give his true Name.*
 “ to Bless their Stars ; as for the Remainder,
 “ that he would lead them in Chains, and pre-
 “ sent them to the Protector, as so many Slaves
 “ Doom’d to sit at the Oars of the Berges of their
 “ King. But as we must, so we shall dare to
 “ Engage this Insolent Enemy, and I am assur’d
 “ that they shall upon Tryal be found fitter to
 “ fill our Galleys, and that we shall prove the
 “ Executioners of the Justice of that God who can
 “ no longer bear the Hainousness of their Crimes.
 “ I could enlarge upon the Preference of our Cause,
 “ Courage and Conduct, but you may trust to
 “ it, we shall trample upon their Bodies in a
 “ shorter time than I could acquaint you with all
 “ the Means of Victory I have in my Hands.
 “ Follow me, my Comrades and Friends, and en-
 “ deavour to do well, since you have in your
 “ Eye a General that desires you but to Imitate
 “ him. There are no more Trenches nor Rave-
 “ lins to Guard the Enemy from our Blows ;

“ Our Arms are stronger, and better temper'd
 “ than theirs ; as Pompous and Shining, as they
 “ appear, you surpass them in Valour, Order and
 “ Steadiness : And (which is a mighty Advantage
 “ on our side) we are pent up between their Gar-
 “ rison in the Town and their Army in the
 “ Fields, and by Consequence necessitated to Van-
 “ quish or Perish.

As Mr. *de Desse* was thus Encouraging his Army, the Enemy appear'd upon the Neighbouring Hill, divided into two Squadrons, and consisting of about 4 or 5000 Horse, all well Arm'd, and for the most part after the *French* Fashion, their Men (excepting 200 *Albanians* Train'd up in the Wars of *France*) were all *English*, and such as had attended the Court, had signaliz'd their Courage in several remarkable Exploits, and had been pick'd out upon this Occasion from amongst the best of their Forces: In a Word, they were very Brave Men.

They came no sooner in our View, than our Soldiers gave all the apparent Signs of Joy that could be wish'd for, they demanded with loud Acclamations to be led on to the Enemy. But the *English* Officers made their Army to halt, and a great many of them went in to *Hadington*, but whether with a Design to See, or to Confer with their Friends, 'tis certain that in this they committed a great Error ; for by this means, they at once gave time to the Ardour of their own Men to Evaporate and Cool, and created in us a Contempt of their Courage, and a belief that this their trifling and wasting of Time, could not
 pro-

proceed but from their Want of Resolution or Experience.

Whilst the *English* Commanders were thus idly employ'd in Congratulating their Countrymen upon the vigorous Defence they had made, and in assuring them, that henceforth they should have no more to do, since this one Day's work was likely to put an end to the War, at least to ascertain the Overthrow of all the *French-men* in *Scotland*: Mr. *de Dessé*, abundantly satisfy'd with that Assurance which he Read in the Countenance of his Soldiers, sent off 20 of them under the Command of Mr. *d'Etanges* to Pickeer; and the Earl of *Cassils*, upon the Head of 50 light Horse of the *Scots*, was detach'd to Support them. Mr. *d'Andelot* advanc'd at the same time upon the Head of his own Battalion, and fail'd not by the way to Solicite them a-new to their Duty: He gain'd the most advantageous Ground he could observe, and placing himself on Foot in the first Rank with a Pick in his hand, and having on both his sides those he most trusted to, and, at his Back, Men determin'd to stand their Ground, he waited the nearer Approach of the Enemy with that Air of Assurance that Promises Success. Count *Rimgrave* had taken another way with his *Germans*, whom he posted a little higher on the left of the *French* Infantry, with a Design to fall on the Flanc of the *English*, how soon they should come up with Mr. *d'Andelot* his Battalion; he had also six Field-pieces planted at the side of his Regiment, in a readiness to be let off upon the first advances of the Enemy.

After this manner, did our two Battalions march in order of Battle, at a small distance from one another, with the Cavalry and Gens-d'arms on their Wings; they Skirmish'd very often with the Bravest of the *English*, who on the other hand were abundantly forward; and to say Truth, there were a great many Gallant Men amongst them, they handl'd their Arms with great Skill, kept close in their Ranks, had a good Mein, and demonstrated no small Experience, by sometimes gaining Time, and sometimes Reinforcing their Pickeers in one or more Places, as they found it Expedient. Mr. *d'Andelot* came out of his Ranks and taking along with him 200 *Arquebusers*, he march'd about (as if he had meant to found the Foord of the River, which divided us from the Enemy) and was just about to attack 40 or 50 Horse that had already got over to our side upon the Heels of 8 of our Men at Arms; but perceiving a greater Number of the Enemy who prepar'd to surprize him, he commanded his *Arquebusers* to turn their Backs, and to make a shew of flying; then seeing that they had entered the Foord in order to follow, he fac'd about unawares, and gave them so sudden, and so near a Charge, that he Kill'd a great Number. This done, he withdrew to a more convenient Ground which he vigorously maintain'd against the rest of them, for the space of a quarter of an Hour. In another place Mr. *d'Etanges*, back'd by the Laird of *Dun*, upon the Head of some *Scots*, all Brave Fellows and headstrong enough to Undertake, and to Execute the most Dangerous Exploits, had Attack'd, Born-down, and Kill'd not a few

of the *Albanians*. Mr. *de Desse's* Lieutenant, with 20 Men at Arms, came at last to the Assistance of Mr. *d'Andelot*, who as yet had kept off the *English* Horse, with whom he had been a long time engag'd, with the fire of his Arquebusiers; but they, finding themselves Assaulted on all sides by means of this Reinforcement, began to Retreat to their Squadrons, but left the whole way behind them over-laid with their Wounded and slain.

All this while our Artillery was playing, and both Armies were advancing slowly to one another; they were just about to come to an Universal Engagement, when our Forlorn-Hope fir'd upon the Enemy twice or thrice, and Kill'd several of them: And now one of their Squadrons gave a most furious Onset to our Battalion, but were so valiantly receiv'd by our Picks, that they found it no easie Matter to disorder us; yet all we endeavour'd, was to stand our Ground, being willing to keep our selves in Breath, and to lay up as 'twere in store our outmost Efforts, till the Enemy's Vigour should be spent, and their first Ardour wated, which indeed was wonderful, and such, as I believe, none but the *Scots* and *French* could have withstood. At last, Mr. *de Desse* upon the Head of his Gens-d'arms, my Lord *Hume*, the Laird of *Dun* and Mr. *d'Etauges*, with the Troops under their Command, charg'd the Enemy's Flanc all at once, whilst Mr. *d'Andelot* continu'd the vigorous Resistance he had made at first, striking a great many of them Dead on the Spot with his Halbards and Picks. He had intermixt the Arquebusiers with the rest of the Foot,
and

and those he kept in such Order, as enabled them to fight the Enemy, tho' they were on Horseback, Man for Man. But Mr. *de Desse's* Squadron endamnag'd them so, that 'twas plain they had begun to Relent; yet never were Men seen to Fight more bravely, nor to make a more handsome Defence: That which made them stand to it so stoutly, was the present Relief they look'd for from their Second Squadron which lay by as yet, to keep our *Germans* in awe: But now they made a Movement to Succour their distress'd Country-men; which when perceiv'd by Count *Rimgrave*, he made forward to stop their Career, and to prevent the Assistance they meant to give, yet they made a shift to join their Friends, and here the Fight was renew'd with matchless Fury. Mr. *de Desse*, my Lord *Hume*, the Laird of *Dun*, and the rest of our Horse did Wonders as before, broke in upon their Ranks, and carried all like a Torrent before them. Mr. *d'Andelot* and his Battalion seconded them with equal Vigour; but what compleated the Fortune of the Day, was the rude Attack they got at the same Minute from Count *Rimgrave* who fell on them Cross-ways. This last Effort disorder'd them quite; they fled in earnest, and were so quickly pursu'd, that they had neither Courage nor Leisure to Rally. The Slaughter made among them, was Terrible; for all our Officers, and most part of the Soldiers, even the *Arquebusiers*, had got their Swords in their Hands, and having mixt themselves *Pele-mele* with the Enemy, Hough'd their Horses, which terrify'd them so, that these few, who got clear of the Soldiers, could not
escape

escape the Hands of the Boors, these last cut them to pieces most unmercifully, filling all the Roads and Corners of the Neighbourhood with Heaps of their dead Bodies; nay, such was the Terror and Consternation of the Vanquish'd, that 18 of them, tho' Arm'd *cap a pee*, yielded their Persons and Arms, to the Discretion of a few Country Women, who were afterwards Enrich'd with their Ransom, the Price of their Cowardise: Others ask'd, and got Quarters from the *French*, and some of the best mounted endeavour'd to get into *Hadingtoun*; Mr. *de Desse* and his Cavalry follow'd close upon their Heels; and (*as the Rage of Victory is alwise wonderful*) he did them inexpressible Mischief ere they could reach the Port, where the speediest were receiv'd by the Governour, who, to favour their Retreat, had plac'd himself at the Barriers with 2 or 300 Men well furnish'd with Musquets and Arquebuses. In this Battel, the *English* had about 800 Men kill'd, and more than 2000 were made Prisoners; whereas there fell not above 15 on our side.

Mr. *de Desse* finding himself Master of the Field, and being perswaded that *serious and important Affairs are not to be hurried on with Precipitation*, resolv'd not to hazard the Victory he had win; and therefore return'd, to Count *Rimgrave* and Mr. *d'Andelot* who met him upon the Head of their Infantry, with a Design to hinder the Enemy from reassuming their Courage, and if possible, to pursue them to the Center of their Fort, whilst fresh Victory enabl'd their Soldiers to dare any thing: But, upon second Thoughts,

all

all agreeing in this, That recent Success, by prompting Men to greater but uncertain Achievements has been oftentimes an occasion of their losing the real Advantages they had gain'd; and that Errors of this kind have in all Ages prov'd Fatal to States, they Concluded, that since their Arms had been Crown'd with Victory, 'twas not at all expedient to endanger the losing of it, by aiming at a Greater. Therefore Mr. de Desse accusom'd to a discreet use of his Success, to a due Consideration of his Power, and to bound his Hopes within the Limits of Prudence, gave Orders to sound a Retrait.

B O O K II.

WHEN I consider, that the least Deserving are oftentimes the most presumptuous, and that 'tis no easie Matter to write of many, without raising the Spleen and Jealousie of some; I should be tempted to lay by these Sheets, and to suppress the Sequel of this History: But that I am satisfy'd that 'tis my Duty rather to Offend, by telling the Truth, than to Please by Flattering the Unworthy. Therefore I dare boldly assure my Reader, that he wrongs me if he makes the least doubt of my Honesty; and that there's nothing on Earth, capable to cause me stumble upon a Falsehood. Indeed, I had this Maxim from a Person of the greatest Worth;
That

That the Damage, that may ensue upon the discovery of Truth, can never hurt a good Man. But to proceed,

The Queen Dowager having been quickly advertis'd of the Action, arriv'd in our Camp just as they were about to beat the Reveil at the Guard. Which of the two gave greatest Satisfaction to the Soldiers, I cannot determine, or the Byass of Fortune that had waited on their Arms in this Battle, as in all the preceeding Rencounters; or the Honour done them by Her Majesty, who, in return of their Services, had the Goodness to Visit them, to take them by the Hands, to recommend them to their Officers, to Extol their Courage with the most obliging Expressions of Praise; and in short, to Reward their Deservings with no less Care than if they had been Persons of Rank and Quality.

I ever Esteem'd you, (said She to them) but I should prove ungrateful if I could fail to love every one of you, after the signal Service you have done me: Assure your selves, nothing in my power shall be wanting to testify the Value I set upon your Merits; and since the State of this Kingdom and my Service depends on you, 'tis but reasonable that I should see you Rewarded. I have order'd some Presents for you, receive them as an Earnest of my further Liberalities; I hope to be, one Day, in a Condition to make you acknowledge, That the Rewards of Victory are greater than the Hazards of War.

The Queen continu'd, all this Day and for several Months after, to Praise the Slain, and to gratify the Surviving; and the Soldiers on the other hand went up and down the Camp, and publish'd
with

publish'd with loud Voices, a most feeling Sense of their Love and Respect; all agreeing in this, That *other Princesses are for the most part indebted to Fortune for their Grandeur, but that the Queen of Scotland own'd Her Fortune to Virtue.*

The *Scots* throng'd to the Camp, and beheld the naked and mangl'd Bodies of the *English* stretch'd out upon the Ground, with an Air rather of Resentment than Pity; nay, some, who no doubt had suffer'd most of their insulting Enemy, had the Cruelty to pull out the Eyes of the Dead. *So true it is, that Men when affected with Hatred, must needs be estrang'd to Reason; and I know not after all, whether that Hatred which takes its rise from the Love of one's Country, may not be rank'd amongst the Number of Virtues.* This much I dare say, 'twas no great wonder, if the *Scots*, who had seen so many of their Towns Ransack'd, such an Extent of their Country laid waste, their Palaces Burnt, their Altars prophan'd, their Churches demolish'd, the best Blood of their Kindred let out, and their Nobles inhumanly Butcher'd by the *English* Cruelty; 'tis no wonder I say, if the *Scots* thus Injur'd in all their Natural, Civil and Religious Rights, should nourish in their Breasts a desire of Revenge. They had quite different Sentiments with reference to the *French*, for charm'd with their Civility, and pleas'd with their Valour, they express'd on all Occasions a Sense of Favour and Esteem for them; and by this means the Knot of Friendship that had fasten'd both Nations together, was made more indissoluble. And this may serve for a Proof, that Vir-

the naturalizes the Foreigner, and that in all Countries, the Just and Generous are at Home.

The Lord d'Andelot presented Mr. de Desse with an *Albanian* Soldier whom he had rescued from the Points of 100 Swords in the Battle: This Soldier had undertaken, upon his obtaining his Life, to make a very important Discovery: Upon which he was brought to the Queen's presence, and, with a confident brisk Air, he spoke to this Purpose; That 'twas plain the Fortress of *Hadingtoun*, environ'd as 'twas with Fortifications of all sorts, was Proof against all the Cannon in Scotland; that it was not to be recover'd but by one Expedient, namely a long Siege; and that considering how Impracticable 'twas to make a sufficient Breach, the Garrison was numerous and strong enough to Repulse the fiercest Assaults; but that Captain Tybere and his *Italians* were very much dissatisfy'd with the usage they receiv'd; that if Her Majesty thought fit, that Mr. de Delle should remain before the Town, but for one Month longer, provided he continu'd to take care to hinder the Entry of Provisions and Ammunition, 'twas certain that the Town forc'd by these easie means to Capitulate, would fall of Course. Upon this, the Queen call'd a Council of War, in which 'twas determin'd to endeavour to famish the Place by the Length of the Siege; and for the better Accomodation of the Army, during the Blockade, to lodge at an Abbey distant from *Hadingtoun* about 1500 Paces, where the *Scots* had Encamp'd before.

Our removal from the Camp encourag'd the Governour and Captain Tybere, both valiant Men, to Sally out upon us, more frequently than hitherto they had done, and to undertake something

or other at all the Hours of the Day and Night. By this means, they no doubt, design'd either to conceal the low Condition of their Affairs, or to proclaim the Vigour of their Bodies and Minds. 'Twere tedious to particularise all their Attempts, I shall instance but one: Some Days after we had withdrawn from the Trenches, about Eleven of the Clock at Night, they came out, to the Number of about 200 Horse *English* and *Italians*, and thinking to surprize our Horse-Guard which attended without the Camp, they went about and fetch'd a Compass round the Hill of *Aberlady*; at the same time the Governour himself broke out likewise upon the Head of 400 *English* and *Italian* Foot, and 60 *Scots* Peasants, with a view to seize upon some Barley that had been left at the Arquebusiers Post, nigh the Fosse. Now, altho in this Season of the Year ('twas in Autumn) the Nights are but short, and not at all obscure in *Scotland*, where in the Summer time the Day seems to be continual, as being only over-shadow'd a little by a short lasting Darkness, that scarcely deserves the Name of Night; yet by reason of a Mist which had clouded the Skies, and of a Rain which was beginning to fall 'twas so very Dark, that Ten or Twelve of the foremost of the Enemy could not discover two of our Centinels, but pass'd by them, at no greater Distance than the length of a Pick. The Centinels, instructed before hand by Mr. *d'Andelot* of what they should do on such an Occasion, slipt off to a lower Ground; and one of them came with an Account of the Matter to M. *d'Andelot*, who immediately commanded Captain *Gourdes* to stand still with the Company

of which he was Lieutenant, and to detatch only 12 Arquebufiers to charge and decoy them on to his Post, whilst he himself (Mr. *d'Andelot*) with another Company of the Guards should march about, and endeavour to cut off their Retrait: Accordingly, he caus'd cover the Matches of the Arquebufiers, and, after descrying a large Circuit, he got in betwixt the Enemy and their Fort; so that by reason of the Obscurity of the Night, and the noise of the Fight commenc'd by Captain *Gourdes*, he remain'd undiscover'd, till falling suddenly on their Back, he cry'd out to his Soldiers, *Fall on, Comrades, and fear not a few Rogues in their Shirts*; for the Governour and his Men had come out in a sort of Night-dress. A great number of the Enemy fell at the first onset; and the Governour, finding himself surpris'd, made straight to Mr. *d'Andelot* as being the fore-most; and he, fond of the Opportunity he had to face the Governour in Person, because of the great Reputation this last had deserv'dly acquir'd, receiv'd him with all his Heart: But, not to enlarge upon the single Combat they fought, (which to some People would seem a Story much of a piece with those of our old Romances) I shall only tell, that Mr. *d'Andelot* had the good Luck to wound the Governour in the Hand, and that with his Sword he so shatter'd his Head-piece, that several times since, he has publickly own'd, that he was never so heartily swing'd in his Life. Thus the *English* were hem'd in between our two Parties, and 'tis certain they had all been cut to pieces had not the Governour timously foreseen their Destruction, and given them Orders to Retrait with short and thick Steps: But they had come too far from their Fort, and that in the

Night time; besides, they had to do with Men flush'd with recent Victory, and emboldned to a degree of Temerity; for they intermix'd themselves with the Enemy, broke their Ranks, kill'd great Numbers, knock'd others Head-long into the Fosse, and drove them all to the foot of their Walls. Nay, they attempted to Jump over the Trenches, by which the Barriers were Flank'd; but this had certainly brought Destruction upon themselves; and Mr. *d'Andelot*, unwilling to venture them unless they had been back'd by the whole Strength of the Army, with difficulty perswaded them to Retire.

As for the Enemy's Cavalry, which had been led out by *Tybere*, they far'd no better, they were repuls'd in the same manner, by my Lord *Hume* and the Laird of *Dun* who were that Night upon Guard; They're both *Scots-men* of Quality, and have, on all the Occasions I could Witness or hear of, given the most Signal Proofs of their Loyalty, and evinc'd themselves inferior to none in the World, either in Courage or Conduct.

Altho' the *Englisb* had in so many Actions lost great Numbers of their Forces; yet they ceas'd not to express their wonted Boldness, and they choos'd rather to be often Beat than to forbear aiming at Victory: For, as some of them since that time have acknowledg'd to my self, they were so Superstitious as to be amus'd by one of their Prophecies into a Belief, That all the Powers on Earth were not able to force from their Hands, the Glory of Conquering *Scotland*. The Affair was agitated in Council, and most part were of Opinion, that the *Scots* could not be overcome in their

their own Country; they Argu'd from Numerous Precedents to the same purpose, and asserted, *That, as often as they had waged War, tho' ever so successfully in the Scottish Territories, the Scots, even without the Assistance of Auxiliaries from Abroad, had never fail'd to remain at last the Masters of their own, and had (as 'tis said of the great Antæus) recover'd Strength from their Mother Earth.* But, contrary to the unanimous Sentiment of the Board, the Protector of *England* urg'd, that, to retrieve the lost Opportunities, 'twas proper to seek out the *French*, where they now were, in the Bosom of *Scotland*; because (as he alledg'd) altho' the *French* should be routed on the Frontiers, yet the *Scots* would have leisure to Recruit, and to prevent the remainder of the Kingdom from being o'er-run; But that if they had the good Luck to defeat the *French* before *Hadingtoun*, they needed but to make a good Use of the Victory, and pursue their Fortune with more Expedition than they had formerly done; that in this Case the *Scots* should not have time to put a new Army to the Fields, and the *English* would remain their Masters and Lords. With this View, the Protector inform'd, that the Lord *de la Mailleraye* was return'd to *France* with the Ships that had transported the Army from thence, and that we had only some Gallies left us, assembl'd an Army of 18000 Foot, and between 7 and 8000 Horse; he also caus'd to Rigg out a Fleet of 30 Men of War of different Rates, four great Hoyes, 6 Berges and 2 Gallies; and, that all imaginable Caution might be us'd in the management of this Affair, he commanded the Admiral of the Fleet to keep always

in view of the Land-Army, which was to pass the *Tweed* under the Conduct of my Lord *Gray*. This last was a *Scots-man*; but loosen'd from all the Tyes of Religion and Nature, he was become the Terror and Bane of his Country. *

* See the Preface.

Mr. *de Dessé*, having got certain intelligence of these mighty Preparations, dispatch'd a Gentleman to the Earl of *Arran*, Governour of *Scotland* at the time, to put him in mind of the Promise he had made us, to assist us with 6000 Foot and as many Horse, as often we should stand in need of them, and to assure his Excellency from him, that, if he was Reinforc'd with these Numbers, he would endeavour to give him a good Account of the Land-Forces of the *English*. The Earl of *Arran* was a Prince of undoubted Merit, and was as cordially Loyal as ever any that *Scotland* has given Birth to; this he evidenc'd in the present Exigency; he was, on the other hand, solicited thereto, by the most earnest Entreaties of the Queen, with Words so forcing, that they had been sufficient to arm such as had the most fix'd Resolution to keep at Home. But 'twas too late, and for all the Earl could do (and he did what was possible) to join us with Forces sufficient to encounter the Enemy, he could not effect it in time. This necessitated Mr. *de Dessé* to his unexpressible Regret, to brake up the Siege of *Hadington*; which accordingly he did, after having Comforted the Officers and Gentry that attended him, in these Words,

There are none of you, Gentlemen, but deserves to command an Army; and you cannot but know, that

the best of Commanders must needs Retrait when unable to Fight. Yet, I am sure, you had rather choose to stay and Die with me upon this Spot, than to fly in Disorder before our Enemy, tho' they were more numerous than they are. Good Men ly under an indispensable Obligation of obeying the Commands of Honour, should they be attended with the greatest of Dangers; for as the Desire of Life is that which often brings inglorious Death upon Mankind; so the Love of Vertue proves the occasion of Life endless as Immortality.

Men of the Character of Mr. de Desse are Blest with this singular Pre-eminency; they have the same Presence of Mind, the same Air and Countenance in all the Vicissitudes of Fortune, they never descend to Irresolution or Fear; but by the steddiness of their own Courage, they keep up that of their Followers in the midst of Dangers.

The *English* were hard upon us, we had stay'd so long, that now we could scarcely get clear of them: And it had been no hard Matter for them to have reduc'd us to one of these Extremities; or, to fly to *Edinburgh* by as many different Ways as we were distinct Persons in the Army; or to force us (a handful not above 5000 Men) to stand still and engage an Army of 25000, and those good Soldiers too, whose very Countenance express'd a longing to Fight. Yet, whether it was brought to pass by Reason of their ill Conduct; or that 'twas the good Luck of our General, whose Reputation made them over-cautious, or rather (for we must not attribute all the Blessings we receive to the Endeavours of Men) that He, whose Right it is, to dispose of all Things,

as He pleases, would have it so: However it were, 'tis true that we retir'd with slow and orderly Steps, four long Leagues, in view of the Enemy (and which is wonderful) without the Loss of one Man. For the *English* amongst whom they reckon'd 1000 Foreigners and about 3000 Horse, tho' they march'd on our Wings all the way, yet they did not offer to Attack us; but after giving us this Civil Convoy, return'd to *Hadingtoun*, which they supply'd with Victuals and Men.

Two Days after our Retrait, their Horse came to the Village of *Trenent*, with a View to lay an Ambush for us; Accordingly they detatch'd about 600 of their Number to brave our Camp, and provoke some of us to come out and Pickeer. This Detachment shew'd themselves by break of Day upon the Top of a little Hill, where they stay'd not long when we pay'd them a Visit; and altho' our Party did not amount to above 50 Horse, yet the Enemy began to retire. By this it had been easie to smell out the Deceit; but our Men, being incessantly Reinforc'd by others, charg'd and pursu'd them, till they fell unawares in the Ambush, and found themselves all of a sudden surrounded by above 3000 Horse. 'Twas high time to Retrait, they did it with Precipitation, and the Enemy chas'd them about a Mile of the Way; the Captains *Longue* and *Lucenet*, having had the Courage to face about upon 5 or 6 of the most advanc'd of the *English*, were made Prisoners, the rest got back to our Camp at *Musselburgh*, without having sustain'd any more Loss. In the mean time, the *English* Fleet lay at Anchor before that Town

and ceas'd not to Cannonade those Places in which they imagin'd we would draw up in order of Battle.

One thing contributed extremely to defeat the Enemy's Projects. It was the admirable Behaviour of the Queen Mother; She was absolute Mistress of the Hearts and Hands of the *French*, and had Charm'd them into a Forwardness to do any thing for Her Service: On the other hand, Her Clemency, Justice, Liberality, Prudence, and Holiness of Life, were respected by all the better sort of the Queen Her Daughter's Subjects. And now, 14 or 15000 *Scots* (I reckon the Highlanders that came with the Earl of *Argyle* amongst these Numbers) were arriv'd in our Camp, all prepar'd to do well: They had not as yet taken up their Quarters, when three *English* Battalions and two Regiments of Horse appear'd in the same Place, where the Day before we had seen their Scouts: They tarry'd there for above the space of an Hour, and did not at all offer to descend into the Plain where we lay encamp'd. However, Mr. *d'Andelot* and Count *Rimgrave* embattel'd their respective Battalions; the *French* prepar'd most heartily for Action; and the *Scots* Highlanders were animating themselves by the Sound of their Bag-pipes, when Mr. *de Desse* sent off Mrs. *d'Etauges* and *D'Ouartis* to view the Enemy; and upon their return and the Report they made of their Posture and Numbers, he resolv'd to stand his Ground and to Fight, if they durst attack him: Yet there were who argu'd, That 'twas more proper to Retrait to *Edinburgh* or *Leith*, Places not above two Leagues distant from our Camp; that in either

of these we should bid fairer for Victory, than at *Masselburgh*, where the odds of 25000 Men to 10000 (for no more of ours could engage upon that Ground) gave a mighty Advantage to the Enemy. But Mr. *de Desse* Reply'd, That Courage was often debas'd, but never hightned by shunning to Fight; and that Fortune was not wont to wait upon such as Run, and seek Shelter from Forts; and to desert those that keep the Fields with a Resolution to ascertain Fame, by affronting Death, he concluded with these Words, Come, Reach me my Head-piece: Then Arm'd Cap-a-pee, and mounted on a Gallant Steed, he thus address'd himself to Mr. *d'Andelot's* Regiment. Here Soldiers, here on this very Spot, may the bravest Men, Scotland has ever known, lye Gloriously inter'd, rather than that Fear should make us seek to lengthen that Life, which cannot be shortned by Boldness; and since we must needs Fight, let us do it so as to vanquish; Great Attempts are ever attended with Honour, and are not always the most Dangerous.

He said no more, by reason that some of our Arquebusiers on Horseback, and some Soldiers of the Company of Mr. *d'Estauges* had already gone abroad to Pickeer: He was mindful of the recent Error of those, who but the Day before had suffer'd themselves to be brav'd and decoy'd out of their Duty, and therefore advanc'd to make them Retire. An advanc'd Party of the Enemy did the like; whilst 1000 Horse were coming by the back of the Hill to surprize, and coop up the foremost of our Men: But they no sooner perceiv'd, that the Regiments of *Arran*, *Huntly*, *d'Andelot* and *Count Rimgrave*, were on their

their march to way-lay them, than they took the Alarm, and without waiting an Onset, broke their Ranks and gallop'd back to the main Body of their Army; which also in a short time retir'd again to *Hadingtoun*. My Lord *Gray* had undertaken to Conduct the Land-Army, intrusted to his Care by the Duke of *Summerfet*, to *Leith*, and there to Facilitate the Descent design'd by the Admiral of *England*; and both in Concert with one another, were to take, fortify and keep that Place henceforth for the King of *England*: But after Tryal, his Lordship found, that without gaining a Battle (and that was more than he thought fit to hazard) 'twas impossible to make good his Promise.

After the Admiral of *England* had burnt 4 Merchant Ships at *Bruntisland*, and, as he sail'd by *Leith*, wasted some Powder and Ball, which sunk in the Moles and Banks of Earth, that defend that side of the Town which looks to the River of *Forth*, he bent all his Thoughts upon a Descent he resolv'd to make in that Country, which lyes beneath *Tay*. He had been told, that that Sea-Coast was but ill guarded, and doubted not to improve the Opportunity to his own Advantage; at least he was sure to demonstrate this Truth, That *the English are not so Ambitious of Victory, as they are fond of War*. To this end he bore off *Leith*, and conceal'd his Fleet, all he could, the rest of that Day till Eight of the Clock at Night, when he made up to about a League's distance from *Montrose*, where after giving out his Orders, he began to cause transport his Men to the Shore. The Laird of *Dun*, by reason of the valetudinary State

of his Health, chanc'd to be at home at the time : This Gentleman had a large stock of Wisdom and Honesty, and, being admirably well seen in War, was not Ignorant that *the smallest Oversight usher in for the most part Inconveniencies of the highest Importance, namely where Access is easie.* For this Reason, altho' his Illness pleaded for Sleep and Rest, yet he never retir'd by Night, till he had first visited the Guard of a Fort, which with incredible Diligence he had caus'd to be Rear'd at the mouth of the Harbour of *Montrose* ; then after wakening, or doubling the Guard, as he found it Expedient, and left proper Orders behind him, he return'd to his own House ; or when there was occasion for his Presence, he himself stay'd in the Town, and was frequently wont to say, *That as Men of Honour are bound to fear Shame, so they are oblig'd by the same Rule not to shun Dangers or Troubles.* To proceed,

He visited the Fort that Night and Hour I have mention'd, and perceiv'd, as he look'd to the Sea, a great many Ships not a far off : For the *English* imprudently made a great Noise at their Landing ; nay, and kept out their Lights not only on Board the Admiral, but also in all the lesser Ships of the Fleet. *Error unpardonable, especially in the carrying on of Nocturnal Expeditions ; or where we mean to surprize an improvident Enemy.* But,

Behold a singular Example of what a ready Wit can effect upon the most urging Emergencies. The Laird of *Dun*, having discover'd the Enemy's Fleet, and looking for the worst, (*a Consideration seldom lyable to the Pains of Repenting*) gave Orders

to some of his Men to Man the best Ships in the Harbour; and to impede the Enemy's Ingress that Way; he commanded others to Guard the Fort, and sent off a few of his own Domesticks with Orders to go about in a private Manner amongst the Burgesses, and such Foreigners whether Seamen or Merchants that were in the Town, and to cause them take Arms; then, he told them all what he would have them to do in their respective Posts, and he himself march'd with a Party towards the Enemy: But, that he might compass his Aim with more Caution than the *English* had us'd in their undertaking, he left a part of his Men out of the Town in an advantageous Place that had been fortify'd long before with Trenches and Earthen Pans, to secure his Retreat; and advanc'd with the most Nimble to discover the Matter, with that Secrecy and Diligence, that, without being taken notice of, he saw the Enemy's Frigats sailing to and from the Shore, with their Soldiers on Board of them; nay, with only one Man at his Back, he approach'd so nigh, that he could distinguish their Words, and observe their Scarfs. Having by this means penetrated into the Plot, he withdrew to the Party he had left behind at the Trenches I mention'd but now; and from thence, after having plac'd Centinels in convenient Posts to prevent Surprises, he re-enter'd the Town. By this time above 1000 of the Inhabitants were in Arms; he pick'd out above 300 of them, and appointed them to march out and to join their Friends at the Trenches; the remainder he thought unfit for Action, and therefore order'd two Gentlemen, in whose Honour

Honour and Loyalty he could Confide, to Conduct them, together with the Ship-boys, and inferior Populace, to the back of a Mountain which looks down upon that Place where the Enemy landed. He further commanded these Gentlemen to abscond all they could, till the second Fire of his Artillery should reach their Ears; and then, to draw out all this Body of Men in as good Order as they could, and to shew them from a far to the Enemy. He had Leisure enough to put these Orders in Execution; for the *English* knew but little of the Situation of the Country, and the Night was very Dark, and chanc'd to be the more so, the nearer 't was to the approaching Day; so that, altho' 8 or 600 Men were already Landed, yet they had not stir'd from the Shore. And this again was an enormous Fault; for *Attempts of this kind, require the greatest Expedition imaginable, and Deliberation often Defeats them.* However, by break of Day they hastn'd to the Town; which (thinking themselves to have been all this while undiscover'd) they doubted not but they would be able to pillage and lay waste, ere any one of the *Scots* could be in a readiness to withstand them: But to speak the Language of a learn'd Gentleman,

*A wise Man ne'er accounts that Bird his own;
Which he sees flying, and has not brought down.*

This vain Mistake prov'd prejudicial to the *English* upon many Accounts; for besides that they found Matters otherwise dispos'd than they had been aware off, it inspir'd them with an ill grounded Contempt of the *Scots*; and this again hurri'd them on in Confusion and Disorder to the

Ambu

Ambush laid for them. The Laird of *Dun* gave them all on a sudden a most terrible Onset, and the Arrows of his Men flew so quickly and so effectually, that great Numbers were overwhelm'd ere they could perceive from whence, or by whom the Storm was pour'd down. *Indeed there's no Defence so useless, as that which is disorderly and unprepar'd.* The *Scots*, who lay in Ambush, charg'd the Enemy at this Rate 4 or 5 times, till perceiving, that they had Rallied, and offer'd to repel the Shock, the former retir'd with that order that their Loss was but inconsiderable, notwithstanding the *English* follow'd swift as the Darts that had peirc'd them; but they were again stopt in the midst of their Career as they approach'd the Trenches, where the *Scots*, with the Shot of their Arrows and Fire of their Arquebuses, cut off a great many of the foremost; and without coming to Handy-blows, maintain'd their Post against the Remainder. For such were the Orders they had receiv'd from the Laird of *Dun*, who, by this time finding a favourable Opportunity to execute his intended Project, and apprehensive lest the Heat of Action should warm his Soldiers into an Excess of Forwardness, caus'd them to withdraw by little and little behind the Trenches. This he so cunningly effected, that the Enemy took no Notice of the almost insensible Retreat, till they saw him go off with the last; they pursu'd briskly, as 'twas expected: And here the Laird of *Dun* commanded three Field-pieces, he had brought thither, to be let off; which, by reason of the nearness and Confusion of the scatter'd Enemy, did them a world of Mischief. But this

was

was not all, for the *Scots*, (who fought for their Lives, their Fortunes, and Sovereign; Motives sufficient to Rouze the most dastardly Coward) alter having rais'd a great Cry, broke out upon the Enemy with their Swords in their Hands, and assaulted them with irresistable Fury. Whilst they were thus intermixt together, the Detachment, that had been sent off to the back of the Hill, made all the Neighbourhood resound with their Shoutings and Huzza's, and sail'd not in pursuance of their Orders to shew themselves at a Convenient Distance; they appear'd in the Form of a four square Battalion, and were so skilfully rank'd, that notwithstanding their Weapons were Ridiculous, the Enemy took 'em to have been Arm'd after the *French* Fashion, and concluded they were about to Way-lay them, and to cut off their Retrait. Fatal Mistake, which struck them with Terror, and made them run to the Sea, in the greatest Disorder that Fancy can represent: They durst not once turn about, nor look over their Shoulders to the pursuing *Scots*, who chas'd them so eagerly, and made such Havock amongst them, that of 900 not 100 got again to their Ships. The Fleet put to Sea immediately, and 'twas not long, ere they lost sight of the Land. The Laird of *Dan* divided the Spoils of the Vanquish'd amongst his Men, and so retir'd to the Town with the Glory of a Victory, that was owing not only to Valour and Vigilancy, but also to such a Nice piece of Martial Cunning, as at once elevated the Spirits of his own People, and intimidated the Enemy so very much, that at last they broke their

Ranks

Ranks, and tamely permitted their Throats to be cut.

After the Admiral had retir'd, my Lord *Gray* dislodg'd likewise, but he first supply'd *Hadingtoun* with 400 Horse mounted and Arm'd after the *French* Fashion, and with what else he thought necessary for the Defence of the Place. On his Way to *England*, he burnt some little Houses at *Dumbar*, within two Leagues of which, he order'd the Fort of *Dunglass* to be built, upon the Brow of a Hill: But in this he blunder'd extremely; for no Water could be had there, and that Hill was commanded by a lesser one, at the Distance of about 50 Paces, so high, that none could stand at the Breach of the Fort, without laying themselves open, not only to the View, but also to the Battery of that Superior Ground. In short, the Plan of this new Fortress was so ill laid, that 'tis plain GOD Almighty would not permit my Lord *Gray* to withstand his Designs. From thence his Lordship, unable to do more Mischief return'd to *England*; where the Protector (*as it is the constant Custom of the English*) had caus'd Reports to be spread abroad amongst the People, very contrary to what had really pass'd; and gave falsely out, that their own Men had always had the better of ours.

Mr. *de Desse* lay all this time at *Musselburgh*, a Village situated upon the Sea-side, within two Leagues of *Hadingtoun*, and in a very good Country: And here he was told, that my Lord *Gray* was dislodg'd; but that about 4 or 500 Horse, he had left in *Hadingtoun*, were abundantly forward to come abroad, and to Skirmish upon every

pearance of the Enemy. He resolv'd to pay them a Visit: For this purpose, Mr. *d'Andelos* and Count *Rimgrave* choose out 100 of their best Foot, and 300 Horse, and laid them in Ambush, behind a little Hill, not far from the Town; whilst Mr. *de Desse* detatch'd Captain *Loup* with ten Horse to provoke the Enemy to Skirmish, and appointed Mr. *d'Etauges* to advance slowly, and to back him with the rest of the Cavalry. Captain *Loup* had no sooner come in View of the *English*, than all their Horse and some Foreigners on Foot issu'd out of the Town, and fell upon the Cavalry of Mr. *d'Etauges*, who was advanc'd on purpose to make the *English* Fight with the greater Earnestness and Obstinacy. Upon this, Mr. *de Desse* sent off one with Orders to Mr. *de la Chapelle de Biron*, and to Captain *Routouze*, who had been left upon the Head of the Foot, to march straight to the Enemy, how soon he should give them Sign by the sound of a Trumpet. The Signal was given in due time, and the *English* perceiving that Mr. *de Desse*, with his Men at Arms, and two Companies of Foot, had broke forth upon them, endeavour'd to make an orderly Retrait, but in vain: Our People put them to the Rout at the very first Onset, and enter'd *pele-mele* with them the Gates of the Suburbs. Here an *English-man* enrag'd to see the Misbehaviour of his Country-men, and being of Opinion, that none of them had done any thing worth the Value he had set upon the *English* Valour (for they had all run, as soon as they were attack'd) he alone fac'd about, and fiercely setting upon Mr. *d'Andelos*, broke his Lance in the Attempt; nay,

and lost his Life to Boot: For Mr. *d'Andelot*, with a Thrust of his Sword, dispatch'd him upon the Place. Our Men laid about them most furiously with their Hangers and Clubs, drove the Enemy to the Gates of the Fort, and, without losing above Three of their own Number, sent off 300 of the *English* to the last Tribunal; before which, they must give an account of that Religion that taught them thus to Sacrifice their Honours and Lives, in a War so plainly Unjust. Besides the Glory of vanquishing the Enemy, at the Foot of their Ramparts, we had the good Luck to carry off 80 Prisoners, and that in sight of the intimidated Garrison; who, altho they were much more Numerous within, than we without the Gates, yet offer'd not to Rescue their Friends.

Not long after this Exploit, we decamp'd from *Musselburgh*, and came to *Edinburgh*, whence Mr. the Marishal *Storri*, the Lord *d'Andelot*, and several other Officers and Persons of Quality went on Board our Gallies, and set Sail for *France*. The Lord *de la Chapelle de Biron*, a Man of unquestionable Conduct and Experience in War, remain'd in the Quality of Col. General in *Scotland*; and Captain *Bache*, an *Italian*, had the Command of four well arm'd Gallies, which were left in the Service. And now, Mr. *de Desse*, in Pursuance of his former Resolutions, set about the Fortifying *Leith*; he had Reason: For this Town is situated upon the River of *Forth*, in the most proper place of the Country for that purpose; it has all the Advantages that can invite People to Reside in it; and, in a word, it is

perhaps the most important Place in the Kingdom, as being the principal *Emporium*, to which Merchants, with all sorts of Foreign and Domestick Commodities, resort. These Considerations mov'd Mr. *de Desse* to Fortify it, which he had no sooner effected, than a great many *Scots* abandon'd *Haddingtoun*, *Dundee*, *St. Andrews*, *Glasgow*, *Stirling*, and several other Places of the Kingdom, and set up in it. By this means *Leith* became in a short time both Rich and Populous: Nay, it grows daily to the better, and may be rank'd among the best Towns in *Scotland*; besides, it has this notable Advantage, that a Cittadel may be built at a very easie Rate, upon a rising Ground, which Commands the Harbour and Town; and by this means, 300 Soldiers may defend it a long time, against an Army, tho' ever so Numerous.

While Mr. *de Desse* was busied about this Work, the Queen desir'd, he would March his Men to *Tweeddale*, and give the Chase to two Companies of *Spaniards* who had taken up their Quarters at *Fedburgh*, and had brought over, either by the Strength of Arms or the Deceit of Words, most of the Inhabitants of that Country to the *English* Interest. He undertook the Thing, and made it take with his Soldiers, as cheerfully as if he had been about to lead them into Quarters of Refreshment: For continual Exercise had so hardned them to Arms and Toil, and they had been so civilly us'd by their Commanders, that neither Heat nor Cold, Fatigue nor Want were able to Divert them from their Duty. And this is a Demonstration, that a mild Government goes

greater way, with Generous and Free-born Souls, than Severity and Harshness. And altho' I have given an Account elsewhere of the Queen's most winning Behaviour; yet, I hope, I shall not weary my Reader, if I tell him again, That Her Majesty's Commands were consider'd as so many Proofs of Her Kindness; She oblig'd by giving Trouble, and he accounted himself the most Fortunate, who had the most frequent Opportunities of doing Her Service.

It seem'd new and unprecedented to about 7 or 800 Scots, that came on Horse-back along with us, to see Sutlers appointed to follow the Army: For they trouble themselves with no such impediments, by reason that they keep the Fields no longer than 40 Days, reckoning from that on which they first set out from their Houses; but there is not one amongst them so very Poor, but has either a Horse, or a lusty Servant to carry his Baggage; thus, they are provided with Necessaries during this short Campaign. But this occasion'd us to fail in the present Attempt, for they were forbid to embarrass themselves with Provisions; and having to march 18 Leagues thro' a Country ruin'd and deserted, our Victuals fail'd us on the second Day, and we were oblig'd to tarry at Peebles, till the Sutlers could get up to us. In the mean time Peter Negre and Julian Romerous, who commanded the Spanish Bands, were advis'd of our March, and withdrew to England; and we, unable to come up with them, return'd to Edinburgh, where during the short Time of our Abroad in that Capital, our Men convers'd with the Scots, as if they had been in-

debted for their Birth and Education to *Scotland*: For besides the uninterrupted Amity that has ever been between the *French* and *Scots*, 'Tis certain that the *World* has not two Nations so very like to one another, nor by much so Sympathizing, as these. The wonderful Prudence and Civility of *Mr. de Dessé* did not a little contribute to Cement the Inbred Affection of both, and his own Men needed but to know his Pleasure, and they were sure to have it effected.

Thus (as 'tis ordinary to Men a-like in Custom and Nature) the *Scots* and *French* were living together in perfect Unity and Friendship; when one of the *French*, an unknown inconsiderable Fellow, had some ill Words with Two or Three of the Citizens; and from Words they proceeded to Blows: Upon this a great many *Scots* run to the Hurry, and were carrying the *French-man* to Prison; when on the other hand, some *French*

Soldiers made haste to rescue him †. This had like to have prov'd a most Scandalous Error, and to have been follow'd by most pernicious Consequences; but the Officers were not at all to be blam'd, for they no sooner heard of the Quarrel, than they put an end to it, with equal Haste, Difficulty and Danger: Which done, they instantly deliver'd up the Author of the Sedition, and he was that same Day Hang'd in the *Grass-market* of *Edinburgh*. Thus the Evil was remedy'd, and the Breach was so quickly and so effectually made up, that altho' both Nations continu'd to converse as frequently and familiarly, as before;

† *The Laird of Stenhouse Provost of the Town, and his Son were Kill'd, as were several others on both sides.*

to this Day there was never any further occasion of Quarrelling offer'd by either of the two.

Whoever will be at the Pains to consider the Actions of Mr. *de Dessé*, he must needs own, that no Man could behave himself better amongst a Foreign People, who, having but lately recover'd their Liberty, were for that Reason more uneasy to be dealt with, than if they had never felt the Smart of Adverse Fortune. However, to convince the *English*, that the Mistakes, betwixt us and the *Scots*, were not such as they had been made to believe, Mr. *de Dessé* conven'd all his Forces, with all the Secresy he could; and notwithstanding our Numbers were very much diminish'd, yet he had the Art to make them appear, as if he had not lost a Man. He began his March in this manner to *Musselburgh*, whither his Soldiers, perswaded that he was about to Undertake something Honourable, waited on him, with all the Demonstrations of Good-will, he could desire: So true it is, that *the severest Commands, when given by one that has the Affections of his Army, become Easie and Pleasant.*

All Things being Prudently and Cautiously laid for the design'd Effort, about Eleven at Night every one arm'd, the Heaven's were o'er-spread with Darknes; yet Mr. *de Dessé* was faithfully Conducted, by a convenient and secret Avenue, to the Gates of *Hadingtoun*, where he remain'd without being discover'd (such was our Silence and Diligence) till some of the Soldiers after taking a Half-Moon before the Port, and killing three Centinels, made the Walls resound with the Name of *France*; at the same time, we attack'd

the Enemy's Guard, and found that they did their Duty but negligently. By this time, the Town was all in an Alarm: But our Men improv'd their time, all they could, in their respective Posts; some set upon those Granaries, which the *Englisb* had plac'd at the Back of an adjacent Church; and others endeavour'd to break open the Port, and effected it so suddenly, that the Garrison had but little time to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. The Guard of *Italians* were all put to the Sword in a Minute, and the few *Englisb*, who were upon Duty at some distance from the former, far'd no better; severals were kill'd in their Sleep; and those, who awakned, had but the Comfort to Die more feelingly. Thus we had leisure enough, not only to do great Execution, but also to have carry'd the Town with little or no Loss: But Mr. *de Desse* was wisely apprehensive, lest some Ingenious Fal-lacy should lurk under a Fault so evidently palpable; he very well knew, that *the most unusual Favours of Fortune are for the most part Hurtful and Fraudulent*: For these Reasons he would not suffer his Men to run Head-long upon Success, but kept them altogether in one Body. The Enemy had but one Pass to defend, and therefore were not so much put to it, as if they had been environ'd on all sides; and this Pass was very narrow, and was fenc'd with Trenches and other Earth-Works, from whence a few Men by Firing upon the Assailants were able to defeat their Attempt. Yet Mr. *de Desse*, upon the Front of his Battalion, continu'd to gain Ground, and to give such Testimonies of Valour, that

(if Fame proves not very Unjust) Posterity must needs know, that few of his Co-temporaries could come up to his Merit : He was nobly back'd by Men that had been taught to fear no Danger. Our Soldiers had already cry'd *Victory, Victory*, a Hundred times, and doubted not but She waited upon their Arms : For of 500 Men that oppos'd our Entry, some in their Shirts with Swords and Daggers, others with Halberts, and most part without any Arms at all, 250 lost their Lives upon the Spot ; whilst hitherto not one Man had fallen on our side.

Indeed Fortune till this Minute had been so partial in our Favour, that we could not doubt of Victory ; and nothing, but what happen'd, could have frustrated our Hopes. Mr. *de Dessè* and his Men were expos'd to the Mouth of a double Cannon, planted betwixt two Gabions upon the Narrowest place of that Avenue, which leads to the Town ; this Place we had not made our selves Masters of as yet ; and by chance it so fell out, that a *French* Soldier, a Native of *Paris*, (who not long before had been corrupted by the Enemy, and serv'd them as a Spy) was upon that very Spot of Ground : This Renegado, dreading the Punishment he deserv'd, turn'd Desperate ; and naked and unarm'd as he was, run to the Cannon I have mention'd, and put Fire to it ; the Ball made its way thro' the close Ranks of our Men, and could not miss of making a great Slaughter among them. For this Reason, and because of the Obscurity of the Night which kept us from the knowledge of the real Loss we had sustain'd, (which yet was not such as to

have depriv'd us of Success) behold a terrible Cry, that seem'd to be made up of several Voices join'd as 'twere in one, was rais'd all over our Battalion: And *as the least Accident is sufficient to defeat the best laid of Nocturnal Attempts, by reason of the false Imaginations that ever attend them,* these confus'd Voices no sooner reach'd our Rear, than those who were upon it, began to Retire; their Neighbours did the like by Degrees, and at last all broke their Ranks in Confusion and Disorder. Mr. de Dessé, with a good Number of the most Resolute at his Back, stood his Ground; and still aiming at Victory, he could not forbear to evidence, how much he grudg'd the lost Opportunity: Yet at last, upon the Remonstrances of his Friends, who told him, that evident Death was by no means to be sought for, and that Fortune might afterwards atone for her present Injustice, he gave Orders to sound a Retrait; and accordingly drew back with that Decency, which the Occasion requir'd. Thus, with the Loss of some of his Men and the much greater Slaughter of the Enemy, he got clear of further Danger; and prudently dissembling his Thoughts upon the Matter, he smil'd and said to the Lord d'Oisel, *Let us then suppose, my Friend, that we are at Sea, and by Storm constrain'd to lower our Sails, what then? The Wind is changeable, and a fairer Gale will yet enable us to make out the Voyage.*

I have spoke else where of my Lord † See the Preface. Gray † and now 'tis time to tell my Reader, that this Gentleman was so deeply engag'd in the *English* Faction as to deliver, into their Hands, one of his Houses call'd Fort de Gray, (Brochy)

Brochty) a Castle so conveniently situated upon
 the River of *Tay*, that when the Tide is in, Ships of
 60 Tuns may ride at Anchor within 100 or 80
 Paces of it. The Earl of *Arran* had already made
 2 Attempts to recover this Place ; and both
 Times he employ'd at least 8000 Men and 8 Pieces
 of Cannon : But he fail'd in the first, by Reason
 of a more urging Occasion requir'd his Presence
 and Arms elsewhere: And as for the Second,
 the Earl of *Argyle*, who commanded the Siege,
 made a Truce with the Garrison for a set time,
 and before it came to expire, the *English* sent such
 succours as oblig'd him to dislodge, and so much
 rather, because his Highlanders had lain be-
 fore it as long as they were oblig'd to Serve : The
English did more, they seiz'd upon a little Hill
 distant from *Brochty* about 900 Paces ; and here,
 tho' they made but a sorry Use of the wonder-
 ful Situation of the Place, and the other Advan-
 tages they were possess'd of ; yet they built a very
 strong Fortress, and spar'd no cost to render it Ad-
 vantageable, and to furnish it with Men and Ammu-
 nition of all Sorts: Nay, assur'd, that by this
 way they had open'd to themselves an easie and
 secure Entry to the very Center of *Scotland*, they
 could march from thence, betwixt 16 and 1700 Lances,
 and some *English* both Foot and Horse, to *Dundee*,
 which they enter'd without Opposition. For, al-
 tho' this last is one of the most Beautiful, Rich and
 opulent Towns in the Kingdom, and tho' 'twere
 possible to render it impregnable ; yet, as the *Scots*
 have ever been careles to fortify their Country,
 those in *Dundee* had no other Defence but the
 Walls of their private Houses: Mr. de Desse,
 being

being inform'd of this, sent off Count *Rimgrave* with his two Companies of *Germans*, and Mr. *d'Etauges* with one of *French*; and he himself, upon the Head of most of the Remainder of his Forces, follow'd them as quickly as he could.

This Expedition (as all the others undertaken by Mr. *de Desse*) was projected, and gone about with all imaginable Prudence and Secrecy: But 'twas not possible to conceal these Movements from the *English*, who, upon Advice that we were about to visit them, Demolish'd the Fortifications they had commenc'd and diligently carry'd on during the space of 8 Days, at *Dundee*, riss'd the Houses, set the Town on Fire; and so retir'd to their two Forts of *Brochty*, at the distance of a *French* League, or thereby. They had the good Luck to have employ'd faithful Spies on this occasion, else they had been intercepted by the way. For Count *Rimgrave* with his Arquebusiers on Horse-back, and Mr. *d'Etauges* with his Cavalry had gone before, with a Design to give Employment to the Enemy, till the Foot should likewise come up with them: But as they enter'd the Town, thinking to have given an unforeseen Alarm to the surpriz'd Enemy, they had the Mortification to find no Body in it but some poor Women and a few Men, who were labouring hard to extinguish those Flames the *English* had kindl'd.

Two Days after this Disappointment, the Officers, I have nam'd, went upon the Head of their Companies to view the new Fortress built by the *English* at *Brochty*. They advanc'd so very nigh, that those within it must either draw out, or allow themselves to be brav'd at the Foot of their Walls.

They choos'd to sally out, and we had a very warm Rencounter. Our *Germans* drove back the foremost to the foot of the Base-Court of their Fort, and there met with the Superplus of their Forces, who receiv'd our Men within the reach of the Ordonance of the Place: Yet our Captains and Soldiers, undaunted with the Danger, repuls'd them again and again, till seeing a proper time, they retir'd towards *Dundee* , facing about as they found it expedient, and observing to a Nicety all the Punctilio's of Honour requir'd on such Occasions. Indeed Count *Rimgrave* and his *Germans* have signaliz'd themselves so eminently in all the Exploits of this War, that 'tis certain, no Nation on Earth could have exprest more Courage or Fidelity, than they have shewn. As for Mr. *d'Etanges* , his Merit is beyond the reach either of Flattery or Malice; and the Company, he had in *Scotland* for His Majesty's Service, was one of the Finest and most Complear, I have any where seen.

After the various Undertakings and Successes of this Campagne, to prevent the *English* from getting any more Footing in those Parts of the Kingdom, Mr. *de Desse* appointed *Dundee* to be Fortify'd. For which purpose he left 7 Companies of *French* , and two of *Scots* in the Place, with Pioneers, Cannon and other necessary Ammunition to make it tenable. This done, he return'd to *Edinburgh* , and it being now high time to give some Ease and Respite from Fatigue to his wearied Soldiers, he sent the Residue of the Army to Quarter in the Towns of *St. Andrews* , *St. John-*

Johnstoun, Aberdeen, Montrose, Blackness and in some other Villages of the Shire of *Fyfe*.

St. Andrews is plac'd upon the Sea-side, and was formerly reckon'd one of the best Towns in *Scotland*; But it labours under the following Inconveniencies, its Harbour and Road are both unsafe; the City cannot be fortify'd nor Garrison'd, but at a great Charge, for its Circuit is equal to that of *Thurin*; neither is there a convenient Place for a Cittadel, without doing a considerable Damage to the Abby, where is the Seat and ordinary Residence of the Arch-Bishop, a most Beautiful and Spacious Edifice; the Castle, which was formerly here, lyes now in a heap of Rubbish, being but lately demolish'd by the Advice of the Prior of *Capua*, but it was commanded both by the Abby and Town.

St. Johnstoun is a very handsome pleasant Place, and every way capable of being made a good Town; If a Cittadel were built here in the room of the Church of the *Holy-Cross*, this would make the Inhabitants live Happy and Secure.

Aberdeen is a Beautiful and Wealthy Town, inhabited by a Courteous and good People, and situated in *Mar* upon the Sea-side; It has none of the best Roads for Shipping, but its Harbour is easie and safe, only the entry to it is narrow; it lyes between *Don* and *Dee*, two Rivers not very foordable, and therefore might be easily Fortify'd: Where the Rivers do not Run the Plains are Spacious and open, and would admit of such Bulwarks and Defences, as might prevent the Town's being hurt, from a Hill that rises towards the *Bridge*; at least 'twere the easiest Task imaginal

ginable to build a Cittadel, and from thence to Command the Town and Harbour. I had almost forgot to tell, that *Aberdeen* is an Episcopal See, and that it has also an University pretty well order'd and finish'd.

Montrose is a fair Burgh in the Country of *Angus*, where the River *Esk* enters the Sea; its Road is not so safe, but the Harbour is good, and Ships may get in to, or out of it with any Tide whatever; 'twould be no difficulty to fortify this Place: But to avoid Charges, a Fortrefs might be conveniently plac'd, so as to command the Harbour. The Fort, it has at present, is scarcely of any use at all; it wants Water, and is so very little, that it can neither lodge a Garrison, nor contain Provisions; Moreover, it is Built upon moving Sands with dry Turf, and is not, nor is it capable of being any way Flank'd.

I need say nothing of *Blackness*, nor of the Places in *Fife*, as being of no great Use in time of War. However they afforded our Men Conveniencies enough for their Winter Quarters; and the Truth is, Mr. *de Desse* dispos'd all things so orderly, that as his Soldiers had no reason to Complain, so the Enemy had no Occasion to attempt any thing against them or the Country.

In the mean time, my Lord *Hume* (of whom I have made Honourable mention several times before) had resolv'd to recover his own Castle from the Hands of the *English*, or to Forfeit his Life in the Attempt. They had made themselves Masters of it after their Victory at *Pinkie* or *Musselburgh*. The Manner was thus, The *English* crown'd with unexpected Success, had reckon'd upon the
Con-

Conquest of *Scotland* as Certain; to compass this mighty Project, they thought nothing was more necessary than the taking of the Castle of *Hume*; and the Reason was, because it is a Frontier Place, and a Bulwark to all the Kingdom; it stands upon a Rock on the high Road, that leads from *England* to *Scotland*, and the Access to it is very difficult. They had invested the Place, but it being by Nature fortify'd, altho' there were but a few within it, yet the Besiegers had spent several Days in vain: At last they bethought themselves of the following Wile; they erected a Gibbet in view of the Castle, and sent in a Trumpeter to tell my Lady *Hume* (who with some of her Domesticks had got into the Place) that, if she did not surrender within two Hours they would hang up her Son (he had been made Prisoner probably at the Battle of *Pinkie*) before her Eyes. The good Lady had no Body by her at the time, but a few poor Ignorants without Experience or Judgment, and could not, for want of Advice and Precaution, sufficiently dissemble the Terrors she was seiz'd with to the *English* Trumpeter; yet 'twas not long ere she recover'd herself from her Disorder; and seeing that they had not as yet carry'd things to the last Extremity, she Reply'd, *That the Life and Death of her Son were in the Hands of Almighty GOD; and that with His Assistance she meant to defend her House, so long as her Self or any of her Men should live.* This Answer was no sooner carried back to the Besiegers, than they laid violent Hands upon the young Gentleman, surrounded his Body and Arms with Cords, dress'd him as a Criminal destin'd to pre-
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sent Execution, and in this Equipage convoy'd him along the Fosse and Walls of the Castle. The Mother could no longer behold the Barbarous Spectacle, and unwilling to see her Son, the Hope and Darling of his Parents, so basely Murder'd, she caus'd hang out a Handkerchief, or little Flag, as a Sign of her Willingness to Capitulate. She sav'd her Son, but surrender'd her Castle; and the *English* had kept it till now, as a Fort of no small Use and Importance.

My Lady *Hume* had, in my Opinion, all the Reason in the World for what she did; The Standing and Grandeur of that Noble Family depended upon the safety of the Heir, and all the other Losses she could sustain save this one, were Retrivable, as appear'd by the more Generous and no less successful Fraud, I am about to Relate. Seven or Eight Men had been set on, long before this time, by the joint Directions of the Queen Mother and my Lady *Hume*, to Ingratiate themselves with the Garrison, to be assistant to them in helping to carry on their new Bulwarks, Towers, and Casemates, and by this means to observe the Order and Discipline they kept: To effect this, they cloath'd themselves like Boors, without Arms, and, taking some Victuals along with them, cast themselves in the way of some of the *English*, were taken by them, conducted to the Castle, and each of them Interrogated apart about the *French* Army, and that of my Lord *Hume*, as they call'd it. The disguis'd Boors answered all to the same purpose, pursuant to the Instructions they had receiv'd, agreeing in this chiefly, that all the *Scots* Forces were at *Edinburgh*. The

English trusted them, pay'd them the Price of their Victuals, and intreated them to return often; they did so for some Weeks: And now, my Lord *Gray* having Retraited into *England*, my Lord *Hume* came with a Party to those Hills that are situated about the Distance of a League from the Castle, and, lurking behind them, sent off seven of those Men, I mention'd but now, to the Garrison; they arriv'd one after another, and put off time till towards the Evening, when (as if the Heavens had been upon the Plot) there arose a most tempestuous Storm of Wind and Rain. The poor Fellows were bid stay all Night, they comply'd at first with the Welcome Invitation, and fail'd not to lodge themselves in a fit Place for their Purpose, which was to favour the Advancing Party: These last were conducted by the eighth Man, (I mean of those who had thus learn'd to betray the unwary Garrison) they had already got thro' the easiest Avenues and Roads to the Castle, and only waited till the *English* Governour, a bold Man, but unexperienc'd, should have made his Round; not doubting, but that done, he would instantly retire, as his Custom was; they knew him by the Lanthorn he was wont to have carry'd before him. This encourag'd them to advance gradually, which they did; and a Gentleman of the Name of *Hume*, about Sixty years of Age, who commanded the Party, began to Climb up an Earthen Wall, whose Ascent was the easier, because it went slopping, and was softn'd by the falling Rain; he had got within his own Length of the Top, when a Centinel, plac'd upon that very Spot, getting a Glimpse of him,

gave

gave a hasty Alarm to the Guard, and they to the whole Castle. The Governour was a-bed, but started up in a Surprise at the Noise, and in his Night Dress, with his Hanger at his Side, and Sword in his Hand, run in haste to the Place from whence the Alarm proceeded; where seeing nothing likely, in his Judgment, to what was Reported, and not believing, that People would venture Abroad in a Night so very Boisterous and Rainy, he turn'd Angry with the Centinel, and Chided him for his Impertinency; *For (said he) the French are too Remote from us for an Attempt of this kind; and they'll take Care, how they compleat the Ruin of their small Remainder by gazing at our Walls; and as for the Scots, they love to sleep in sound Skins better than so, we know what they can do in Feats of War:* With these Words the improvident Captain retir'd to his Lodgings. The Scots over-heard all he said, and were at once animated by the Indignity of his Expressions, and re-assur'd by his Folly; whereupon they helped up the old Gentleman their Leader, as quietly as was possible, to the Parapet or Breast-Work of the Wall, where he observ'd that the Centinel was walking up and down Whistling; and taking his time, when the Fellow had turn'd his Back, he made to him with a Dagger in his Hand, and stabbing him in the Throat and Stomach, soon open'd a way for the Soul to go out at. He was so quickly backed by his own Men, and so well seconded by those Seven who had enter'd the Castle the Day before, that all the *English*, he found in his way, were cut off on a sudden. My Lord *Hume* is no less to be prais'd.

for having vanquish'd his Enemy, and recover'd his own Dwelling-place by this Deceit, than if he had carried it in an open Assault, after Battering it furiously, and Besieging it with the Expense of much Treasure and Time. Indeed *to effect happily what is wisely contriv'd, to overcome without Fighting, and to Fight without Danger, is to attain to the height of that Glory, which is only due to Chiefs of the first Order.*

About this time, Count *Rimgrave* re-embarked for *France*, but left behind him his five Companies of *Germans* under the Command of the brave and experienc'd Captain *Rotouze*. But to proceed in the History commenced, I shall recount what hapned to Mr. *d'Etauges* at *Brochty*; to the end, that, if it hold true, that *what is, has always some Conformity with what has been*; my Readers, from things past, whether well or ill managed, may form Observations useful to present or future Occurrences.

Mr. *d'Etauges* was Commandant of the Garrison of *Dundee*, one of the best Towns in *Scotland*, situated upon the River of *Tay*, and very capable of being Fortified, if the Design already begun is but followed out; it lyes at a Leagues distance from the Fort of *Brochty*. This last was possess'd by the *English*; and it is a Place, which for a Thousand Advantages, would seem impregnable by the greatest Army. The Garrison of *Dundee* consisted of Mr. *d'Etauges* his own Company of Horse, all very well mounted and armed, seven Companies of *French Foot*, and two of *Scots*, the one of Foot, and t'other of Horse: All these with one Consent had made frequent
At.

Attempts upon the *English* at *Brochty*; and knowing how to improve an Advantage, and to nick an Opportunity, they had never fail'd of having the better of them. By this Means the Enemy were brought to that pass, that they durst not stir Abroad; or if they did, they were sure to keep always within the reach of an Arquebule of their own Walls. For this Reason, Mr. *d'Estauges* so much undervalued them, that one Day, he resolv'd to go with a very small Backing, to see a little Bark that was cast away nigh *Brochty*. To this effect he put on a Coat of *Spanish* Leather, and without any Arms, but his Sword and Dagger, mounts a very fine *Turkish* Horse, and, having desir'd seven or eight Gentlemen of his own Retinue, to Arm and follow him, Rides off at a good Rate, designing only to take the Air, and Pleasure of the Fields for some two or three Hours. But *Beauchatel*, who was by him at the time, thought fit to play a surer Game; he caus'd about five and twenty of our Men to Arm, and, upon their Head, Rode after his Captain with full Speed. Mr. *d'Estauges* had been already discover'd by the *English*: For all that Tract of Ground, that lyes between *Dundee* and *Brochty*, is a large and even Plain, the Way is Marishy, and by consequence deep and uneasy in the Winter time, and it is all in sight of the Fort, by reason of its being built upon the Top of arising Hill in the midst of the Plain, about a hundred Paces from the River of *Tay*. The Garrison had no sooner descry'd Mr. *d'Estauges* upon the Road from *Dundee*, than they began to discharge their Cannon: For of all the Na-

tions in the World, the *English* are those who set the highest Value upon the Fire of their Artillery, and who depend most upon it, a Maxim perhaps of some use, to terrify others, but altogether Unprofitable with relation to the *French* who now a-days are taught both to defend themselves, and to attack their Enemy in Defiance of this Artificial Thunder, they fear not. Neither did it hinder Mr. *d'Etauges* from going round the Fort, and viewing it on all sides, as he had often done before. This animated the *English* to break out upon him, which accordingly was perform'd by some *Spaniards* who belong'd to *Peeter Negre*; and by Eleven *Italians* who a little before had been mounted and arm'd by Mr. *d'Etauges's* Liberality, and who, in return to his good Offices, had turn'd their Coats, and now endeavour'd to hurt one they were so many ways indebted to. And now he was join'd by *Beauchatel* and his twenty five Horse, all brave lusty Fellows that had never fail'd to do well; he kept them by him some time, in order to draw out the *Spaniards* and *Italians* as far as he could; then seing his time, and observing that they were about to turn back to their Fort, he gave them a most furious onser, felling to the Ground such as were slowest in the Retrait. His Men, conform to their Orders, had engag'd those that advanc'd to second the *Spaniards*; and as he himself was about to take his Advantage, and to charge the Enemy a second time, his Horse in wheeling about in a Marshy place, fell upon his Right-side: He did all he could to get free of the Bog, and to Retire in *Haste*, but was surrounded by more than three Hun-

dred *English*, *Spaniards* and *Italians*. Thus
 must alight from his Horse, and trust his De-
 fiance to nothing but his Native Strength; in-
 the Fought, unarm'd as he was, with a Re-
 sion that surpasses Belief, but being environ'd
 all hands, he was at last made a Prisoner.
Beauchatel seeing him thus worsted, fac'd about,
 and did all that was possible to
 save him: But the *English* carried him off im-
 mediately, and retir'd to their Fort, leaving the
Spaniards and *Italians* under the Favour of their
 Artillery to make Head against *Beauchatel*; and so
 many Men were forc'd to Retrait with a Loss so
 much the more Grating, that it was the first they
 got at the Hands of the *English*, and (which
 was worse) to leave behind them an Officer
 of great Worth. For the Truth is, Mr. *d'Etauges*,
 besides that he was naturally Brave, had such an
 easy and familiar Deportment with the Soldiery,
 that he was always, but when in Action, he express'd
 a great regard to their Liberty, than to his own
 Eminency.

Altho' the *English* had the most cutting Con-
 sideration about their Affairs (for they had been
 beaten on all Occasions) yet the Numbers of
French were mightily decreas'd; a great
 many Officers and Gentlemen were returned to
 France with the Lords *Stozzi* and *d'Andelot*; so
 many had fallen in the Fields, and not a few had
 been carried off by the course of Maladies, which
 rose so rife, and at the same time so Fierce, that
 it was not possible to preserve the Lives of the
 greater part of these great Numbers that sickned
 at the first change of the Air: Yet nothing
 was

was left undone for their Preservation; and the Queen Dowager not only employed the Pains and Skill of her own Physicians and Chirurgeons towards their Recovery, but had also the Goodness, to visit frequently both Poor and Rich; and the Charity to share with them all the Money she her self was Mistress of. The King was fully inform'd of all this, and till the coming Spring should allow the Transportation of greater Supplies, he gave Orders to Monsieur the *Connestable* who was at *Bordeaux*, to cause four of his own Companies of Foot to be embark'd for *Scotland*. The *Connestable* obey'd with all Expedition, and the four Bands were commanded on Board a few Merchant Ships at *Bordeaux*, under the Conduct of the Count *de Visques*, and the Lord *de Fourquevaux*, both Men of Honour, and very fit for the Service: But the Season was Rough, and they were beat back by contrary Winds, and constrained to take in to *Brest*, where they lay three Months ere they could set out again for *Dumbarton*, a Port in *Scotland*, whither at last they arrived; and from thence went to wait upon the Queen, together with the Captains *Falingues*, *St. André*, *Cageac*, *la Mothe Rouge* and their Soldiers, for most part Natives of *Provence* and *Gastony*. They were very kindly received by the Queen, Mr. *de Desse* and the Lord *de la Chapelle de Biron*. Some of the Receivers of His Majesty's Revenues arrived at the same time with Money for the Soldiers: Nothing could be more *a propos*, for these three Months, that had been spent in the Voyage from *Bordeaux* to *Dumbarton*, were due to Mr. *de Desse* his Army. And I cannot forbear to tell the World

World, that never did Soldiers, who had wanted their Pay so long, and that in a Foreign Country too, and in the midst of such Pressures of all sorts, give more ready Obedience to their Chestains, nor do harder Duty, than these under Mr. *de Desse's* Command. And this was in a great Measure owing to the unequal'd Bounty and Liberality of the Queen, who had the Art to Captivate Hearts, and to Charm them into that Respect which Sovereignty deserves: Besides, Mr. *de Desse* his Civility was so taking with them, that it sweeten'd their Cares, and lightned the Weight of their Toils.

The Captains *Achault*, *Corroman*, and *Desme* were in Garrison at *Dumbar*, a Town that stands upon the brink of the Sea, about ten Leagues from *Edinburgh*, upon the Skirts of *Lothian*, in a very good Country, and accomodated with all these Advantages that conduce both to the Pleasure and Support of Life; if the Place were fortify'd and a good Harbour contriv'd, which might be done with very inconsiderable Charges, it would unquestionably claim a Precedency among the Goodliest Towns that are any where to be seen in those Islands: It has already a very strong and beautiful Castle built upon a high Rock on the Edge of the Sea; the Avenues that lead to it, are not to be forc'd but with vast Danger and Difficulty; and Art here has seconded Nature so admirably well, that there are few Places in the Universe, that can vye with those Conveniencies the Castle of *Dumbar* affords for Defence against Batteries, or any Warlike Engine, or Invention what ever; it lyes on the Road to

Berwick and to *Roxburgh*, and at no great Distance from *Lauder*, *Douglas*, *Haddingtoun*, *Aymouth* and *Eastcastle*. For this Reason, not one Day was let pass since the removal of our Camp from the Neighbourhood of these Places, but the *English*, who were constantly Abroad forraging and harassing the Country, presented themselves in view of *Dumbar*. The Captains above-mention'd had met them a great many times, but by Reason that the *English* were always on Horseback, and our Men on Foot, they had hitherto no considerable Encounter; and these Officers, (like Men that understand their Business) wisely consider'd, that 'twas proper to put on a shew of Fear, and to make but faint Sallies upon them, that so their Courage might be raised, and they by this Means drawn nearer to the Place.

The Contrivance took, for after the Enemy had taken Notice, five or six different times, of our Backwardness to Fight, they huff'd and Bullied at the old rate, and sail'd not to attribute all to their own Valour: For they did more, they dispers'd themselves throughout the whole *Burgh*; nay, and alighted from their Horses, and were about to enter the Houses: But our Officers were too subtle for them on this Occasion; for, early in the Morning, they had posted most of their Men in two Houses just opposit to one another and in a Church, at the entry to the Town, on the Enemys Road. They had also distributed some more Soldiers, with Arquebuses and the like offensive Weapons, in other Houses up and down the Streets, and given them necessary Directions for their Behaviour on all Events. And now that the

English were scattered thro' the Burgh, and that the Governour of *Hadingtoun* with fifty or sixty Arquebufiers on Horse-back was within the reach of an Arquebuse of the Castle; the Captains *Carrouan*, *Desme* and *Achault* broke out of their lurking Places, where hitherto they had lain in Ambush, and began to surround the Enemy from all Quarters. The Governour of *Hadingtoun* endeavour'd to get off to the Seaside; but three or fourscore of our Soldiers, who waited there in order to obstruct that Pass, fir'd upon his Cavalry, and marr'd their Advance: At the same Minute, the Captains *Achault* and *Desme* came up upon their Rear, and at once charg'd them from the Right and Left, with that Fury which bore a great many down to the Ground; On the other hand, the Arquebufiers, that were posted in these Houses I mentioned, in pursuance of the Orders given them, peirc'd the Walls in several Places, and thro' the Holes they had made, shot at them directly as if at a But or Mark set up for the Purpose.

The *English* thus coop'd up, and attackt on all sides with the utmost Vigour, began to exert a great deal of Courage; they resolv'd in earnest not to part easily with their Lives, for *these Weapons, which Necessity affords, prove always the sharpest*. Yet all would not do, for just then a Soldier of *Biscaye*, call'd *Pellicque*, a Brisk resolute Fellow, who was afterwards prefer'd to be Lieutenant in Captain *Cageac's* Company, assaulted the Governour, bore in upon him most furiously with his Pick, kill'd his Horse, wounded himself, and forc'd him to a Surrender. This allay'd the
Courage

Courage of his Men, they began to give over at Random, and such as were constrain'd to face about, threw themselves Hand over Head amongst sixty or fourscore of the *French*, who intercepted them in their *Retrait*: In this Place many were Kill'd and taken, others got off by the Swiftness of their Horses: But none had the Courage to stand another Chock. Thus it often falls out, that after an unsuccessful Attempt, Mens Hearts fail them; and that they become willing to Forfeit their Honours, so they can but preserve their Lives.

B O O K III.

I Have given an Account of the *Scots* Way of doing Business, of Mr. *de Desse* his Prudence and Courage; and of the Achievements of a great many brave Men, who back'd him in the *Scottish* War. I don't think I have omitted any thing of these Beginnings, that deserves to be Recorded; only this much I must needs own, I have not Words fit to express great Matters, and my want of Eloquence, has to my very great Dissatisfaction, Rob'd many of that Glory that is due to their Merits. But, besides that, their Respective Sovereigns cannot fail to re-pay Services so very Valuable, this honest Comfort will ever last, viz. *They have been Vertuous for Vertue's sake, and Martial Feats as they have an Intrinsic Worth, so they bring Honour, that is their,*
full

fall Reward along with them, and force Praise even from those that dare not deserve it.

How soon Mr. de Desse was acquainted with Mr. d'Etanges his being made a Prisoner, he proposed to lay Siege to Brochty; for he was the same in both Fortunes, and Cross-Accidents did never disquiet him; his only Care was to find out a proper Remedy: This, I doubt not, but he had effected in the present Case; for after all, the Forts of Brochty were not impregnable. But the Scots were of Opinion, that he'd do better Service to Her Majesty, if he march'd his Forces to Jedburgh; they remonstrated that the Gentry and Commonalty of Tweeddale, were all turn'd English, that they had not been sufficiently protected against the Enemy; that since we had once already been driven from thence, they look'd for no more Succours from us. These Considerations prevail'd with the Queen, and she appointed Mr. de Desse to march thither in order to prevent the English from fortifying and securing the Footing they had got in that Country. Mr. de Desse was sensible of the Hardship, under which his Soldiers labour'd, for they had not got their Pay for two full Months; and he foresaw the Inconveniencies that must attend us, in a Country Disaffected, and in which most of the Gentry and People were actually in Arms against us: Yet he frankly obey'd, laid aside his Project upon Brochty to another Season; and forthwith issu'd out his Orders to march for the Country of Tweeddale. 'Twas surprizing that not one Soldier, either of the French or Germans, did so much as offer to Complain, or express an Insinuation of

Reluctancy, He is a happy Prince that can boast of an Army of this Character, who, postponing all things to their Loyalty and Zeal for his Service, expos'd themselves to Danger and Toil, without these necessary Concomitants, Money and Victuals; and that as cordially, as if, besides their ordinary Pay, daily Presents had brib'd them to their Duty. What is it that such Men, will not, dare not do?

Immediately upon our Arrival at *Fedburgh*, which (next to *Berwick*, a Place usurp'd by the *English* and annex'd to the Province of *Northumberland*) is one of the best Towns in the *March*, the Laird of *Fernihurst* advis'd Mr. *de Desse*, that the *English* had by Fraud surpris'd and taken his Castle, about three or four Months before; and that since that time, the Captain, one of the most Barbarous Wretches in Nature, and about four-score *English* under his Command, had not ceas'd from committing such horrid Impieties, as would terrify the most Inhumane of the *Moors* in *Afric*. Mr. *de Desse*, mov'd with the Indignity of the things related, gave orders to the Captains *Jalinques*, *St. André*, *Pierre Longue*, *Cageac*, and *la Mosh-Rouge* to take the Road that leads to *Fernihurst*, with 200 *Arquebusiers* and some *Corslets*; and he himself, with the Lord *d'Oisél* and *de la Chapelle de Biron*, upon the Head of a goodly Number of Gentlemen and Soldiers the choicest of the Army, followed quickly. When they had got within the Shot of an Arrow of the Castle, they discover'd twenty five *English* *Arquebusiers* advantageously posted to dispute the Passage with them; but these were forc'd to give way upon our first Attack; We drove them before us to the Gate

of the Base-Court, where ten of the unablest to run, were fore wounded or fell'd to the Ground, for the most part with Handy-blows. Yet the foremost found Means to shut the Gates, and we to view their Walls on all sides; we wanted Leathers, by reason that some People were unwilling that any but themselves should share in the Honour of this Exploit: But we sent off in haste, and ere long were provided with some long Poles instead of Leathers. The Officers I have named, and some Gentlemen, that had come along with them, catch'd hold of the Wall with their Hands and Feet; and with the Help of their Servants and the Poles, got up at last to the Top of it, notwithstanding the Stones that were thrown down, and the Arrows that were shot at them; however back'd by their Soldiers, they won the utmost Parts of the Castle, and forc'd the Enemy to retire into a large Four-square Tower, which was in the midst of the Court. Our Arquebusiers rank'd themselves round this Tower, so that not one of those, who were within, durst so much as peep out. This done, some of our Men shelter'd themselves from the Enemy's Fire, by means of some Tables that were at Hand; and in a short time cut out a Hole in the Wall large enough to let a Man in to, or out at it. All this was so happily perform'd, that (excepting Captain *Servet*, who receiv'd a Shot in his left Hand, which pierc'd it thoroughly) not one was wounded, at least not so, as to disenable him from further Action. The *English*, thus pinn'd up and reduc'd to the last Extremity, lost Courage, and began to talk of Surrendring; accordingly the *Commandant*

dant came out, at the Hole our Men had made, and offer'd to give up the Castle upon Condition of having his own and his Soldiers Lives secur'd. To this he was answer'd by Orders from Mr. *de Desse*, That Servants are not to stand upon Terms with their Master. Upon this, conform to the Promise given before hand, he was allowed to re-enter the Tower, and our Men set about the widening the Breach with new Vigour. Things were in this Posture when the *Scots*, who had follow'd Mr. *de Desse*, after having a-lighted from, and left their Horses, as they were wont to do, forc'd open the Gate of the *Base-Court*, and join'd us. The Captain could perceive this from the *Dongeon*, and doubted not of his hard Fate, if he should chance to fall in the Hands of the *Scots*, so often and so inhumanely injur'd by him; to avoid therefore present Death, he again slipt out at the Hole, and yielded himself to Messieurs *de Duffac*, and *de la Mothe-Rouge*; these Gentlemen design'd to have us'd him as a Soldier, and would have led him out of the *Pres*: But a *Scots* Man, eying in the Person of this Tyrant, the Ravisher of his Wife and Daughters, and unable to contain his Resentment, came up ere any Body could discover his Meaning, and at one Blow struck off the Wretche's Head, so neatly, that it fell full four Paces from the Body. Above a Hundred *Scott* took it up on a sudden with loud Shootings, rais'd it on high, and expos'd to the Eyes of all present the Punishment they had inflicted upon the Author of so many foul and villanous Actions; nay, severals of them wash'd their Hands in his *Blood*, and with as many Demonstrations of Joy,

as if they had storm'd the City of London; they fix'd his Head upon a Cross of Stone, that divides three different Roads, and left it there a Spectacle to Passengers. This makes good the judicious Saying of a Gentleman of Charrolois,

*Never did weighty Crime unpunish'd go,
Altho' to some that Punishment seems slow:
For short Forbearance, Interest still is pay'd,
And Pains are not forgiven when delay'd.*

*The Gods have Feet of Wool; but Sinners feel
When late, their powerful Arms are made of Steel.*

During the time this Monster was in Scotland, he never Ey'd a young Woman, but he Ravish'd her, nor an old one unfit to satiate his Wild Desires, but he barbarously Murther'd; till at last his deserv'd Death made some Amends for so many Robberies, Massacres and Sacrileges. In the mean time, others of the Scots try'd their Skill, and contended who amongst them had the Art to cut off the Arm or Leg of an English Man with greatest Facility; and when thus they had made away with such as had fallen in their own Hands, they bought from the French: Nor lost they any time in cheapning, but gave frankly whatever was ask'd; their very Arms they parted with for the Pleasure of charming Revenge. I remember, they purchas'd one of the Prisoners from my self for a Horse; They ty'd him Neck and Heels, laid him down in a plain Field, run upon him with their Lances, Arm'd as they were, and on Horseback, kill'd him, cut his Body to Pieces and carried the divided Parcels on the sharp end of their Spears. I cannot much Commend the

Scots

Scots for this Usage; we had not the same Reasons to delight in doing Ill to our Enemy: But the Truth is, the *English* had Tyranis'd over that part of *Scotland* in the most Barbarous manner, and I do not find, that 'twas an Injustice to repay them, as the saying is, *in their own Coin*.

This done, we return'd to *Jedburgh*, from whence the Lord *de la Chapelle de Biron* March'd with a thousand Foot and Mr. *d'Etauges* Company of Horse to view *Roxburgh*, a Place two Leagues distant, which the *English* had fortify'd. This he did with very good Conduct, and, as he return'd, set Fire to those Milns that were most useful to the Enemy. He reported, that the Place was, by reason of its Situation, very strong; that it was Guarded on both Sides with two large Rivers *Tweed*, and *Lauder*, and that it enjoy'd such other Advantages of Art and Nature, as render'd it next to Impregnable. Mr. *de Desse* was satisfy'd, that to attempt the recovering a Fortrefs like this by a long and formal Siege, was to throw away more Time and Treasure, than the Project was worth; and for this Reason laid aside the Design he had upon it, till a more favourable Opportunity should be offer'd. *Nothing can more contribute to raise the Reputation of a General, than that Art which teaches to Besiege Important Places; yet those, who know both Men and Things better than I do, are of Opinion, that when a Wise Captain is convinc'd, that this way of Conquering is not like to succeed, he ought to seek Victory by other Means.* Mr. *de Desse* follow'd this Maxime; he found, as I have said, that *Roxburgh* was flank'd on both sides with two Rivers scarcely Foordable,
and

and that the adjacent Places were Marshy, and by consequence unfit for a Camp, especially in the Winter Season; therefore he advis'd with the Earl of *Arran*, about Measures more proper for the present Purpose: But one of the greatest Proofs Mr. *de Desse* could give of his great Abilities with Reference to War, was this, the Army suffer'd extremely for want of Necessaries of all sorts at *Jedburgh*; for this Reason he put them every Hour upon some Attempt or other, and keeping them thus in a constant Motion, he allow'd them no time, or to reflect on their Comrades Sufferings, or to grumble at their own Wants. To be short, (for I am loath to rob Vertue of its deserv'd Reward) Mr. *de Desse* was so well obey'd, that, in his Presence, the Soldiers avoided Idleness, & courted Fatigue with more eagerness, than some others are wont to Dispute, before the Eyes of their Chestains, an Inglorious Preference in Vice. I say, that this Wise General, considering the Extremities to which his Army was reduc'd, ceas'd not, as a Prospect of Advantage was offer'd, to set about some new Enterprises every Day. Amongst our other Exploits, we enter'd *Northumberland*, and took the Castle of *Cornwal* on t'other side of *Newark*. This Place is built after the old Fashion, strong and every way tenable, and is abundantly provided with good Waters, Wood, and the like Conveniencies: We also found, that it was stor'd with large Quantities of salted *Salmond*, and such other Eatables as were of excellent use in the present Indigency of our Soldiers.

Mr. *de Dèssè* resolv'd to pass the Mountains of *Cheviot* and *Eusdale*, but was told by the *Scots*, that the *English* were Masters of another Place within two Leagues of the Castle of *Cornwal* on the River of *Tiviot*, and that if it remain'd in their Hands, it would afford them Means to Annoy and Harass the neighbouring Country. Mr. *de Dèssè*, had no greater Delight in any thing on Earth, than in doing Service to the Queen of *Scotland*; in this view he march'd straight to the Fort I have mention'd; and upon his first Summons the Garrison consisting of between 80 and 100 *English*, yielded at Discretion. Some of our People in presence of their General, could not forbear to brand the *English* with Cowardice on this Occasion, but he was of another Opinion; and altho' no Man was readier than himself to extol true Valour, even in the Enemy, yet he could not discommend the Cautious Prudence of those who choose rather to give up, than to dispute the Possession of a Fort which the Bravest in *England* could not have defended against our Numbers.

The Sequel of this History leads me to give an Account of an Exploit equal to the most extraordinary Atchievements, or of Antiquity, or of our own Age. The *English* upon the Frontiers, grated with the Loss of their Bulwarks, were preparing with great Diligence to beat us back from their Country. They were already in Arms to the Number of about 800 Horse, and these divided in two Troops, made Courses all over the Country with a Design to harass us, and to surprise our Stragglers, The *Scots* were no less Active on their side, for they ceas'd not to Burn
and

and Plunder where ere they came on the *English* Frontier; and I cannot forbear to acknowledge, That the Scots when accusom'd to War, are without Controversy of all the Nations in the Universe the fittest for Nocturnal Expeditions, and the most lucky in the Execution of dangerous Undertakings. Captain Cobias the younger, commanded fifty Light Horse of this Nation, who were in His Majesty's Service; this brave Officer set out one Morning from *Jedburgh*, about three or four Hours before Day with these fifty, and not above six *French* Gentlemen, namely *Duffae, Desboryes, Jumo, Brouilly, Dauché, and Beau Chastel*. He was not as yet above two Leagues from our Camp, when he was told by his Scouts, that they had discover'd about 500 of the Enemy, all Mounted and Arm'd after the *English* Fashion; and that if he meant to keep the Road he was in, he should meet them ere long. This the Captain was by all means to avoid, for the odds between 500 and 6, were by much too great, and *Valour it self* as its Bounds: But as he was turning off the Way, to the covert of an adjacent Mountain, he spy'd a large Troop of the Enemy, who were coming upon him at the Gallop. These, to the Number of about 40 or 50 Horse, had been detach'd by the Enemy to view the Neighbourhood; they had discover'd our Party, but not daring to attack them return'd with the News of this Discovery to their Friends. Captain Cobias got off by this means to the Foot of the Hill of *Siddale*, where he stood upon the Head of his Army, resolv'd rather to wait the Enemy, to try the Fortune of War, and to Die in the Bed of Honour.

nour, than by flying disorderly, as otherwise his Party behov'd to have done, to despair of Life and Reputation at once. Whilst he was animating his Men to do well, and giving out the necessary Orders, the Lord *Duffac* perceiv'd the Enemy who was at hand, but in no good Posture for Action; for they advanc'd in Confusion with loud Cries, and a great Noise. *Cobios* and his Men fell with Fury on them just as they had pass'd by about the half of that hidden Spot on which we stood; their first Ranks were Broke, and Routed in an instant. I doubt not, but Fortune meant to oblige the *Scots* on this Occasion; but since the Assailants are wont to exert more Courage than the attackt, 'tis no less plain, that *Cobios* had by this Means both daunted the Enemy, and re-doubl'd the Vigour of his own; who charm'd with the Smiles of favouring Fortune, began to cry out with glad Voices, *France, France; Victory, Victory*. With these Acclamations they charg'd a-new, and put the Enemy to such a disorderly Flight, that most of them were Slain, or taken Prisoners between the two Castles of *Foord*: Few or none had escap'd, but that *Cobios* perceiv'd the Approach of Day, and, by the Advice of those Gentlemen that waited on him, was made to fear lest the flying Enemy should come to take Notice of his Numbers, and face about upon them. Upon this Consideration, he call'd back his People, who were but too eger upon the Chase, and return'd to *Jedburgh* with more Prisoners than he had Men to *Seile* them. The Earl of *Arran*, and Mr. *de Desse* receiv'd him with those Demonstrations of Ho-

nour and Esteem, which are the just Rewards of Successful Merit. From this and the like Exploits I have related, I take it, one may conclude, that there are in this Age, Men equal to the Heroes of Antiquity, at least, whose Courage is a Proof of the Assertion of a learn'd Gentleman of the *Vandomois*,

*These Stars which give the World Light,
This Sun and Moon are still the same :
In those our Days they Shine as Bright,
As when our Grandfires won such Fame.*

Mr. *de Dessé*, inform'd that all the Frontiers of *England*, after so many Defeats they had receiv'd upon the back of one another, were in a most terrible Consternation, resolv'd in a Council of War to detatch the Lord *de la Chapelle de Biron* upon the head of Mr. *d'Etauges's* Company, and 500 Foot, with Orders to Burn and Ravage all that Country which lyes between *Fedburgh* and *New-Castle*. This he effected with that Prudence and Courage he always express'd in all the Expeditions he was upon, during the course of this War; whence 'tis, that to this Day the *Scots* talk of him with an unusual regard to his excellent Qualifications. In this Journey we saw the Lake of *Myrtoun*, of which (as several Historiographers have observ'd) the one half is oftentimes congeal'd to Ice, whilst the other remains fluid as in Summer. Two Days after the Lord *de la Chapelle de Biron* was return'd to the Camp, Mr. *de Dessé* dislodg'd with all his Forces, and took four Field-Pieces along with him: He entred in Action by taking the Castle of *Foord*; which his Soldiers set on Fire: They also reduc'd to Ashes

ten Villages admirably well situated in an excellent Country within a quarter of a League to one another, the best built and the Richest of all the Frontiers of *England*. This was very prejudicial to the Enemy; but Mr. *de Desse* did them much more Mischief ere he return'd, and that without any great or vigorous Opposition; only once, when we were upon our March Homeward, we perceiv'd more than 3000 Horse from a far, and thought that they meant to Engage us. Immediately the Lord *de Villegaignon*, with some Arquebusiers on Horse-back, & a few of Mr. *d'Estanges's* Company, was detach'd to observe their Motion; but they had often been taught, to their Loss, that Mr. *de Desse* inclin'd much more to Fight than to Fly, and therefore thought fit to retreat to the Mountains. We continu'd as before, to lay waste the whole Country round us, and if at any time the *English*, who were scatter'd here and there, made a shew of Opposition, they always retir'd, how soon ten Horse went off from us to view them. At last we came back to *Jedburgh* in good Order, where the *Scots*, who had Possess'd themselves of a Booty to the value of above 900 Crowns, could by no Means be prevail'd upon to part with the least Share of it in favour of the *French*; and thus our Soldiers (besides some Wounds) reap'd no benefit from this Expedition, but the Honour to have obey'd their Leaders, and shewn their Courage.

Did my Subject require it, I could give many Instances of the Value the *English* have in all times set upon their Chimerical Prophecies. One Proof I cannot omit; Some of Captain *St. Anard's*
Com.

Company, in a Village near *Newark*, seiz'd upon several *English-men*, amongst these there was one, who, tho' he styl'd himself a Priest, yet was so very Haughty and Insolent, that he look'd more like a *Ruffian* fitted for Arms, than a Devotee taken up with the Fear and Love of God. This Clergyman, tho' a Prisoner, remain'd so obstinately Presumptuous, that he would quarrel on all Occasions with those that entertain'd him, and would tell them that the *French* had enter'd *England* to no other Purpose but to see the Places in which the *English* were one Day to make them draw the Plough instead of their better Horses, who by this means would be reserv'd once more to Over-run and make Havock in *France*. For, added he, We have a Prophecic infallible as the Holy Scriptures, by which we are assur'd, that ere three Years are ended, the *English* shall be Masters both of *France* and *Scotland*, and shall Rule over them, as the Master over his Slave. But when the Captains, *Jalinque* and *St. André* had shown him three or four hundred of his Country Men and Neighbours, that were in the Hands of the *French* and *Scots*; and when he was told by these, that their best Villages were consum'd with Fire, their Forts taken and laid flat with the Ground, and all their Frontiers as far as *New Castle* forrag'd and wasted; he Reply'd, that since the Prophecic prov'd false, he would live no longer, that he might not be constrain'd to see that Heaven, which, said he, had suffer'd such, and so great Misfortunes to fall upon the *English*: From thence forward, no Arguments could perswade him either to Eat or Drink, he

would speak no more, but lying flat upon the Ground, with his Eyes shut, he was so cruelly Courageous as to suffer himself to languish away and Die of Hunger.

Such are the Miseries of human Nature, and so various are the Accidents which attend this Life, that we can depend upon nothing that's durable; and 'tis but an ordinary Trick of Fortune to smile first upon those, for whom she designs the greatest Hardships: After Mr. de Desse had over-run a great Part of England, sack'd their Towns, cut off their Convoys, routed all those that durst shew themselves in the Fields; in a word, after he had been in some Measure satiated with variety of Successes, he had at last the torturing Grief to witness Calamities insupportable that betel his own Soldiers, and had not the Power to find out a Remedy: For we were forc'd to ly at *Jedburgh* in such Want of all Necessaries, that the only Means left us to preserve our Lives, were Hunting and Fishing; and such as were unfit for these Exercises, sunk down under the Weight of their Miseries, and Died of Hunger. By this Means we lost so many brave Men that 'twas easier to number the surviving few, than the many Dead. The *Germans* were those who provided best for their own support, and the *Scots* assure that they destroy'd the very Brood of the Fishes of *Ged* (a River that gives its Name to *Jedburgh*) and that none have been seen in it since that time.

The Queen Dowager had, as Gold in the Furnace, evidenc'd Her own Worth amidst these Malheurs, for she omitted nothing in Her Power towards the Relief of the starving Soldiers, Mr.

de Desse bestow'd upon them what he had yet left for the Charges of his own Retinue; nay, his very Equipage he made Money of for the same Purpose: The Lords *de la Chapelle de Biron & de Villeparisis* did the like; and in a word, all the Officers and Gentlemen of Note, did all they could, or ought to have done, tho' the most part of themselves were Sick, either of the Wounds they had receiv'd in Assaulting the Places we had taken from the *English*, or by reason of the feeling Compassion they had for the Wants of their Soldiers. Amongst those Captain *Jalinques*, a Gentleman of *Languedoc*, after he had exhausted his All, and could think of nothing more fit to preserve their Lives, turn'd so Melancholy upon it, (besides that the Wounds he had got some Days before, were not yet cur'd) that he was taken with a Fever of which he Died, with as much Honour, in the Opinion of all those that knew him, as if he had fallen in the midst of a Thousand of the Enemies Swords. Captain *Chartas*, a good and brave Officer, who was Ensign in Captain *St. André's* Company, the Lords *Dupont*, a Gentleman of *Poitou*, *du Veger*, and *du Mont*, with a great many more, had the same Fate: All the Honour their valiant Actions could exact was done to their Memory; 'tis not to be express'd with what Resolution they left the Miseries of Mortality. Indeed it belongs only to the Vertuous and Great to Die so Nobly: But after all, to speak the Language of one of our Virtuoso's,

*'Tis Madness all to covet long to live,
But greater at approaching Death to grieve.*

Long

Long Life's at best a Lease of painful Tears,
 And stakes us down to a long Tract of Cares.
 What find we new, since this Day's Joy or Pain,
 Assumes to Morrow a new Shape again?
 Our Months and Hours, we see, are still the same,
 In nothing chang'd but the Returning Name.
 A constant Round of Follies we Pursue
 And shift Old Toyls but to take up with New.

As it often falls out that inconstant Fortune Persecutes the greatest Courages: Mr. de Desse was advertis'd that the English to the Number of upwards of 8000 Men were assembl'd near Jedburgh, with a resolution to set upon us. No Accident could affect him with Fear, yet he was willing to guard against the Worst; for this purpose he left the Lord de la Chapelle de Biron behind him at Jedburgh, to regulate Matters there, and to remedy such Inconveniencies as might fall out; and he himself, mounted on Horseback about Midnight, accompanied with the Lords de Villeparesis and de Villegaignon, those of his own Company, and the Light Horse that belong'd to Mr. a'Etanges, with a Design to penetrate into the certainty of the Accounts he had receiv'd; as he was lurking under the Walls of some Ruinous Houses on the Way that leads from Jedburgh to Roxburgh, he learn'd from two English Men who chanc'd to fall in his Hands, that their Army were already upon their March to Jedburgh, & that they doubted not either to surprize us in our Sleep, or at least to come up with us so quickly, that it should not be in our Power to avoid Fighting: That in either Case they were confident of the Victory, as being

by much the strongest, and assur'd by a *Scotts* Man call'd *Fairefs*, that we had not in our Camp above 1000 Men capable to do Duty. Upon this, the General return'd in all haste, and Commanded the few Soldiers, he yet had under his Conduct, to take the Fields; whilst *Mr. de la Chapelle* was drawing them out, the *English* Scouts began to appear, and *Mr. de Desse* to cheat them into a Belief that we were more to be dreaded, than *Fairefs* had made them to think, detach'd Captain *Leop* and *Béauchatel* to view them, and to support these, the Captains *St. André* and *Cageac* with 100 *Arquebusiers*; they March'd straight to the *English*, who, it seems, had neither Orders, nor Inclination to engage; and therefore retir'd to the Fortrest of *Fairefs*, and our Men came back to the Bridge of *God*, where the Remainder of our small Army stood in order of Battel.

Mr. de Desse had too much Experience not to know, that 'twas impossible to keep the Fields without coming to a Battel, in case the *English* had a Mind to it; the rather, because we were environ'd with Deep and Rapid Rivers on all hands, and the Enemy was just upon us: But something must be done, and he resolv'd to March straight from thence; which he did in sight of the *English*, taking the Road that leads thro' the Mountains to the Abby of *Melrofs*, upon the River of *Tweed*. The Enemy did not so much as offer to insult us; and in this they were guilty of an unpardonable Omission; for not to Recapitulate the numerous Inconveniencies under which we labour'd, they could not but know, that we were hemm'd in betwixt them and the River of *Tweed*.

so swell'd with Waters at the time that 'twas impossible to get over it either on Horseback or on Foot; that our Soldiers both *German*s and *French* that belong'd to the Garrisons of *Dundee*, *Leith* and *Dumbar*, were at too great a Distance to come to our Assistance, and that the *Scots* could not raise 8000 Men within less than the space of ten Days: In the mean time had they but follow'd us on the Rear (and we had not then above 1500 Foot, and 500 Horse in a Condition to do Service) and given Orders to about 2 or 3000 of their Numbers that lay at *Hadingtoun*, *Douglafs*, *Aymouth* and *Lauder* to cut off our Retreat, they had certainly effected something more, than the Burning our Houses at *Jedburgh*, and we could not have shun'd to Engage with Enemies, in whose behalf the Maladies which rag'd amongst us, & all the Circumstances of Season & Place declar'd. That which made the *English* Commanders the more Slow, Irresolute and Imprudent, was, in my Judgment, the little Confidence repos'd in them by their Protector: For since they had been Routed before *Hadingtoun*, he invest'd them with so precarious an Authority, that they durst not stir without being Warranted by the daily Orders he sent them; and he Punish'd those who did any thing not positively exprest in their Commissions with as much Rigor, as if they had kept a treacherous Correspondence with the Enemy.

After the *English* had sustain'd so many Losses, 'tis not to be thought that Adverse Fortune had heightned their Courage; their Army had been Routed in Battel, and their Parties as often Foil'd, as they had appear'd in the Fields; from thence,

they

they concluded that the Way to maule the *Scots* to purpose, was to attack them by Sea: They were not Ignorant that *Scotland* for the time was but ill provided of Naval Forces, and that four *French* Gallies, were not sufficient to break their Measures. The Protector of *England* was desperately bent upon Mischief, and the Army he had sent to force us from our Post at *Jedburgh*, was no sooner return'd to *England*, but he set about the Execution of his further Designs; he had caus'd 25 Men of War to be again fitted out, and amongst these some of the King of *England's* Berges, and some large *Dutch* Hoyes, all admirably well turnish'd with Ammunition and Victuals. Their first Attempt was upon the Island of *Goose*, so call'd from those big white Birds not unlike to WildGoose, that Nettle there in such Numbers, as the *Scots* assure me, that the Garrison of the Castle of *Bass* situated within the Island, which consists of 100 or 120 Soldiers, subsist for the most part by Means of the Fishes brought daily to them by those Birds, and that they stand in need of no other Firing the whole Year long besides the Wood these same Creatures bring thither for Building of their Nests in the beginning of Summer. Now the Island, in which the Castle stands, is it self an Impregnable Rock, of a small Extent and Oval Figure, cut out by the Hands of Nature; it has only one Avenue that leads to it; and that is towards the Castle, but so very difficult and uneasy, that by reason of the hidden Sands that surround the Rock, nothing can approach it but one little Boat at a time; the Island is so exorbitantly uneven, that till one reach the Wall of the Castle he cannot have sure

Foot.

Footing in any one Place; so that (as I have often observ'd) those that enter it, must climb up by the Help of a strong Cable thrown down for the Purpose; and when they have got with much ado to the Foot of the Wall, they sit down in a wide Basket, and in this Posture are mounted up by Strength of hands. There is no getting in to this wonderful Fortress by any other Means, formerly it had a Postern Gate which facilitated the Entry, but 'tis now thrown down, and Fortify'd in such a manner as is Incredible.

This Place the *English* design'd to have carried, as being sensible of the vast Use it would be to them, by Impowering them to put a Stop to the *Scots* Trade, and to hinder Foreign Vessels to come to *Scotland* on that Side: But when they understood that it was not to be taken by Force, and found that their Ships were like to be driven from their Anchors to the Shore; (for here there's no Riding secure against any wind that blows) they went another way to work, and resolv'd to send off a Judicious Man to take a nearer View of the Place: To this end an *English* Officer of Reputation is pitch'd upon, who, dressed like a Trumpeter, went off in a long Boat, and at a pretty good Distance gave a Sign that he desir'd to come to a Parley: When he was yet nearer the Island, he Civilly intreated that he might be allow'd to speak with the Commandant? They answer'd from the Top of the Rock, that the Favour could not be granted; but that he might freely express his Orders, and that there were in the Company who would acquaint the Captain with what he should say. Then the *English* Man ask'd whether they would

would suffer one of the Officers of the Fleet to come and treat amicably about Matters highly Advantageous to those within. This was also deny'd: However he laid hold of the Opportunity to lay before them all such Motives as he thought were most Prevalent to oblige them to a Surrender; he told them among other things, that altho' the Fort was by no means Tenable against the *English* Forces who had often done greater Feats when less Numerous, yet they choose rather to Sue for the *Scots* Friendship, than to Work their Ruin; that to evidence this, the Admiral of the Fleet was willing to bestow 5000 *Nobles* upon the Commanding Officer and 300 upon each of the Soldiers, and that if they would yield the Place, they might Promise themselves much greater Rewards from the King of England. The Commandant was present, and thought not fit to permit the *English* Man to enlarge upon Arguments of this Nature; but Reply'd by way of Raillery in the following Terms, *To hear an English Man talk big, is no new thing, and I am not at all surpriz'd at the Presumption your Words express; but I did not think your Officers had been such Fools as to Imagine, that one loaded with such a Weight of Gold as you talk of, can get up to a Place accessible to none but Birds; our Birds have laid up Store of all Necessaries for our Entertainment, and Gold is superfluous, where Plenty abounds. Get you gone, and tell your Commanders so much from me, else I'll send you to the Depths with a Vengeance.* With these Words he Commanded some seven or eight Musquets to be discharged upon the *English* Man, who had no sooner got back

to the Fleet, but they Weigh'd their Anchors and stood out at Sea.

I have been somewhat prolix upon this Head, both to Inform the unexperienc'd of the Diffimulation and Fraud so ordinary in the carrying on of War, and to let my Country Men know with what Arms the *English* are wont to Attempt such Places or States as they mean to swallow up: But they had something more valuable in their View than the Conquest of the *Basse*, as will appear afterwards; however for this Day their Fleet stood off behind the *May*, another Island, much bigger than the *Island for Horses*, well provided with Fountains of sweet Water, a sort of Coal, Stones, and good feeding for Beasts. It has been always a Retrait, and has serv'd as an Ambush for Pyrates that have at any time endeavour'd to prejudge the Fisheries, Commerce and Armies belonging to the *Scots*, or their Allies; tho it might be made a Bulwark to, and a Refuge for the whole Country: For in it a Harbour might be cut out at a small Charge, Capable to contain 30 or 40 Ships, and by reason of the Conveniencies I have mention'd, Gardens and Meadows might be contriv'd, Fortifications rear'd, and the Island made pleasant and habitable. By this Means, the *Scots* and the Foreigners, who Trade with *Scotland*, would Sail in those Parts with greater Freedom and Safety, and would not lye under a Necessity of Linging as they now do, in the Harbours of *Leith*, *Bruntisland* and such others as lye along both sides the *Forth*, in Wait of a favourable Wind to carry them up that River. This would be a Convenience and Emolument, that could

not fail to redound to the Profit of all *Scott-
land*.

The *Engliff*, designing to get about their Bu-
ness with all imaginable Privacy, sculk'd long be-
hind the *May*; for they were apprehensive, lest
if they came to be discover'd, the Scope of their
Voyage should be penetrated into, and their Pro-
ject render'd ineffectual; perhaps they hop'd also
that by managing Matters alter this Manner,
they might fall unawares upon four *French Gallies*,
which were sometimes at Anchor in the Road of
Leith, and as often lay off behind the Island for
Horses, waiting an Opportunity of doing Business;
But how soon the Sun was set, they steer'd their
former Course, and before 'twas known at *Edin-
burgh* that the *Engliff* Fleet were at Sea, they
had seiz'd upon four Merchant Ships of *Scotts* and
French. On the Morrow next by break of Day,
they appear'd before *Leith* with their 29 Men of
War, where they made a mighty Parade; five or
six of their lesser Vessels came within the reach
of a Culverine to the Port, and fir'd upon it and
the Town most furiously. But this was an unprofi-
table Bravado at the best; for by reason that the
Sea lay much lower than the Plan of the Place,
a double Canon could scarcely have carried so far
as the Banks of Earth that defend it. Others
in the mean time were landing in the Island for
Horses, towards which, when 'twas high Water,
they advanc'd as near as 'twas possible in a great
Dutch Hoy loaden with Provisions, that by this
means the Ship might run a Ground upon the Eb-
bing of the Sea, and those that had possess'd the
Island, might be supply'd from her with Necessaries.

till they should provide further Conveniencies for themselves, their Victuals, and Ammunition. Mr. *de Desse*, who chanc'd to be in *Leith* at the Time, caus'd three Cannons to be planted against the advanc'd Ships I have spoke of, and compell'd them to bear off to the Fleet; he conjectur'd at the same time, that the *Englisb* could have nothing else in their View but to make themselves Masters of the Island, and said, That they might chance to find themselves very far out, if they imagin'd that these very Men, by whom they had been so lately swing'd and drub'd in their own Houses, would not be able to turn them out of those, of their Neighbours.

The *Englisb* Fleet continu'd in the Road of *Leith* ten or twelve Days; during which time they made one Night a Descent towards *Aberlady*, and supply'd *Haddingtoun* with Necessaries; they also appointed Engineers, Pioneers and other Work-Men to set about the Fortifying of the Island with all Expedition; four Companies of *Englisb* Infantry and one of *Italians* were order'd to forward the Work, and to build Lodgings and cast up Defences for their own Use and Safety. These things were doing in the Month of *June* when the Season is most beautiful; and favourable for the like Undertakings; the Air was more than usually transparent, the Sea, as stagnating Waters, Calm and Sedate, and one could see from *Leith* the Stir and Ado they made in the Island, and behold its Fortifications as 'twere in *Embrio*. Upon this the Queen caus'd a Council to be call'd, in which Mr. *de Desse* assisted; and the Result was, that 'twas proper only to look on, and sit down

down with the Affront till the *English* Fleet should be necessitated to sail off; for to what purpose should four Gallies offer to engage 25 Men of War? Or, what could 100 or 120 little Barks fit only for Fishing, which we could have brought from *Stirling*, and the Adjacent Places (and this was all the Means we had at the time to effect any thing at Sea.) I say, what could these Barks avail in an Attempt of this kind? But when the Defence of the Place shall depend chiefly upon the Courage of the Defendants, and the Island, (tho' ever so well furnish'd with Artillery) shall have but Men to Guard it; Why then? (argu'd our People) we'll boldly seek them out, and make the *English* know and feel that 'tis more Disgraceful to lose a Place one has fortify'd with Trouble and Charges, and meant to keep out with Courage and Fore-cast; than it can be thought Honourable or Beneficial to seize upon a Desert, abandon'd as unworthy the taking Notice of to the first Aggressor.

This Island (*Insh-Keith*) upon its being recover'd from the *English*, was nam'd by the Queen Dowager, † *The Island of God*, but formerly the *French* call'd it * *The Island for Horses*, and the Reason was, because hitherto it had been thought useles to Men, and so remain'd uninhabited: Yet it is not destitute of the Blessings of Nature, it is pretty large, wants not sweet Water, has spots of Ground not unfit to be converted into Pasturage or Gardens, and Places proper for Salt-Pans and Harbours. It is also furnish'd with Plenty of Coal and some Quarries of Stone.: Of these, the Inhabitants, if Industrious, might

† *L'isle dieu** *L'isle aux chevaux*

might make Lime, and at a small Charge build Houses and secure them with Fortifications of all forts; it is situated in the middle of the *Forth*, a River about 5 Leagues broad; so opportunely that it commands the Ships that sail to or from the better Part of the Kingdom. Nature it self has fortify'd it, for the Access to it is so difficult, that it cannot be come at but by three fit Places; and in these the Sea, which is intermixt with the River, is of the deepness of a Foot, or a Foot and a half: Hence it is, that by Reason of the Rocks obvious at all times to the Eye, no sort of Shipping can come nigh the Land; and one must needs set Foot upon these huge Stones, jump from the one to the other, and so gain the Land; unless he'd rather chuse to wade thro' the Sea, and in this Case, he should be in Danger to fall unawares in one of these deep and narrow Pools, that ly unseen within two or three Toises of the Island between the Rocks. On all sides you can see nothing but a continued Precipice made by the environing Rock, only towards the West, Nature has carv'd out Steps that ascend gradually to the hight of above twenty Toises; but then, there's no Possibility of getting up by their Means. Thus 'tis plain, that this Island is very strong, and advantagiously situated: For besides the above Impediments, the Roads that lead to the Banks of the Island are so very narrow, winding and untoward, that they scarcely allow three Men to walk a-breast, and they're all commanded by the Summit, on which the *English* had built a four square Fort, and had made it tenable within less than the space of 15 Days.

Not long before the Enemy's Fleet came up the River of *Farth*, the Queen had Advice, that Monsieur *de Termes* was arriv'd at *Dumbarton*, with 100 Men at Arms, 1000 Foot, and 200 light Horse, and that he was to command His Majesty's Army in *Scotland* in the room of Mr. *de Desse*. These Accounts added to the Desire this last had to recover the Island; for from his very Youth, he had begun to gain Reputation by extraordinary Atchievements, and ever since had maintain'd it in all the Exploits he had occasion to Undertake, particularly in the *Scots War* by a Resolution and Conduct suitable to the Trust repos'd in him: And now he resolv'd to join a new Victory to his old Stock of Merits, and as he express'd himself, not to transmit to his Successor Matter of Complaint, as if the State of Affairs in *Scotland* had been worsted in his Hands, or that ought was lost, which he had not either regain'd, or expended his best Blood in the Attempt.

On the other Hand, the Queen Dowager; sensible how prejudicial the Neighbourhood of the *English* would prove to the Kingdom, made use of that Prudence, which was Natural to Her, to keep the *French* Officers close to their Resolution; but this was (as the Proverb goes) *To set the Spurs to a Courser*; For all of them were bent upon the Thing; and in compliance with Her Majesty's Motion, 'twas resolv'd to send off a Man of Sense to view the Fortifications, commenc'd by the Enemy. The Lord *de la Chapelle de Biron* was singl'd out by Reason of his great Experience for the Purpose,

who, together with Messieurs *de Duffac, de Ferrieres, de Gourdes, la Mothe-Rouge* and *Nicolas*, went on Board a Frigate that belong'd to Mr. *de Villegaignon*, sail'd round the Island, and return'd with an exact Account, not only of all the Circumstances pertaining to the outward Appearance of the Works, but also of the Numbers, and State of the Garrison.

The Reports they made to Her Majesty were irksome enough; She could not but be affected with the loss of a Post of that Importance, which was not easily to be recover'd; yet as the greatest Souls are wont to conceal from publick View their inward Concerns, tho' ever so stabbing to the Mind, so She had the Wisdom to dissemble Her real Thoughts: But gravely and civilly gave us all to know, how earnest She was upon the Head, and what a Value She would put upon our forwardness in this Affair. *Intrinsic Worth is surer to beget Obedience, than Command or Duty it self;* The Queen had the Hearts and Wills of both Soldiers and Officers in Her own Hands; besides, they knew, that an Undertaking of what Nature so ever, seldom fails when the Undertaker is Wise and Resolute. Upon this last Consideration, all those, who had hitherto serv'd under Mr. *de Desse*, were more solicitous, lest the Exploit in hand should be gone about in their Absence, than Her Majesty was earnest to have them present. Thus all were inform'd of the Design, tho' not of the Day fixt for putting it in Execution. This was Politick enough, for had the *English* been let into the Plot, they had been succour'd with 20 Men of

War that waited at *Haymouth* for a fair Wind to carry them back to *Calais*.

Since I have mention'd *Haymouth*, I think 'twill not be a mis to give a short Description of its **Castle**. It is Seated upon the Sea-side, within two Leagues of *Berwick*, in the *Marche*; the two Sides of it are Fenc'd with huge and unaccessable Rocks; The River of *Tweed* comes nigh to another Side, and from the last you have nothing but a plain Field in your Eye, capable of any manner of Defence. Indeed in my humble Opinion, if the Place were Fortify'd, as it deserves to be, it would prove of very good Use to the Queen of *Scotland*: But I have said enough of this.

After Messieurs *de Desse* and *de Termes*, and the Lords *de la Chapelle* and *Villegaignon* had taken such Measures as their respective Posts requir'd; and after Messieurs *de Montuc* and *de Villepareffis* had not only been very assisting with their Advice, but also had with much Civility and Discretion prevail'd upon the *Scots* to bring in to the Harbour of *Leith* all such Boats as were to be found in the several Creeks and Havens that ly along both sides of the River: The Queen, who very well knew, that to nick Time and Opportunity was the only Means to fix the Waverings of Fortune, press'd the sudden Execution of the Project they had laid down. In this view Her Majesty came in Person to *Leith*, early in the Morning upon *Corpus Christi's Day*, both to prevent all Occasions of Quarrelling about the choice of the Boats, and to encourage the Soldiery to their Duty; as they saluted Her before their

Entering the Boats, She deliver'd Her self to them in these Words.

You are oblig'd, my good Friends, to the favourable Influences of Heaven, that has endow'd you with Courage, and afforded you with so many honourable Occasions to shew it; 'tis the Fate of the English to be born Cowards, and 'tis yours to have been render'd Invincible. Did I doubt of the mounted Ascendant you have over that dastardly Enemy, I should forget that you're French-men; as such you have a natural Right to Vanquish the English; and have kept your selves in Possession of the Glorious Advantage since you came hither. Continue then, brave Soldiers, my very good Friends; I intreat you, continue to Overcome; Remember that there's a GOD propitious to this State, and that He has sent you from France to preserve Scotland.

The Soldiers animated with Expressions so vertuously perswasive, and fond of serving Her Majesty at any Rate, with one Voice took the Heavens to Witness that they went off with a steady Resolution to Perish or Conquer. 'Tis no new thing to see one or two Soldiers so nobly dispos'd; but that 5 or 600 should personate as many Heroes, is, for any thing I know, unprecedented. All present conceiv'd great Hopes from so promising Appearances; and the Queen overjoy'd at the unfeign'd Heartiness she observ'd in the Countenance and Words of all of them, ask'd Mr. de Desse as he was going on Board his Frigate, How many Soldiers he had with him upon this Expedition? Madam, (Reply'd he) I cannot precisely condescend upon their Numbers, but this I certainly know, Your Majesty may depend upon their Courage.

Courage. The Queen said, That *the Wise are seldom out in their Hopes*, and that since he himself, as well as those under his Conduct, promis'd so fair, She concluded that he could not fail of coming off with Victory. The Event of all things, Madam (answered he again) is in the Hands of God; yet thus far I am positive, your Island shall be regain'd this Day, else *Dessé* shall never more unsheath a Sword. These Words I over-heard, and some more, but not so distinctly as to set them down in this place. And now all the Boats set sail straight for the Island, the Gallies commanded by the Lords *de Villegagnon* and *de Seur* had gone off before in order to hinder the Enemy from coming out of the Fort, to dispute our Descent; yet they had observ'd our Motions from a far, and had before hand made themselves ready to receive us. We had to struggle with a sudden and violent Storm that assaulted us by the way; and during this time the Enemy detach'd their *Italian* Arquebusiers and some *English* Bow-men to deter us from Landing; the Remainder of their Forces they divided in two Bodies, they plac'd the one within the Bounds of the Fort they had begun to build, and t'other without, at the distance of Forty Paces, so far as we could judge from our Boats. The *Italians* were drawn up apart towards the East, where a Point of the Land stoops towards the Sea, which they consider'd to be almost unaccessable, and for that Reason had not yet begun to Fortify it. In the mean time, Mr. *de Dessé* sail'd from Boat to Boat, exhorting those within them to this Purpose,

Behold, Soldiers, where the Brave and the Coward must expect a Reward suitable to their Merits. But if the Height of this Island, or the Advantage of Ground (for that's the only one the English can boast of) have in the least Measure allay'd the French Fury, follow me ; I have had the Honour to lead you on where the Danger was greater ; I say, Comrades, do but follow me, and you'll know ere long that 'tis not the Place on which Men Fight, but the Resolution with which they handle their Arms that wins the Day.

He was speaking, when, together with ten or twelve Boats that sail'd by his side, he found himself within the reach of the Stones and Arrows of the Enemy, who from above did him all the Mischief they could : Upon this he instantly enter'd in Action ; and as on Land he was wont to go on with the Foremost, so here he design'd to give the same Example ; in this View he run his Frigate upon these Rocks, which as I said above, are discoverable only when 'tis Low Water ; by this means a stop was put to his Progress, longer by much, than he could have wish'd. But at the same time, the Lord *de la Chapelle*, upon the head of some Gentlemen, arriv'd at the point of the Island, and gain'd upon the *Italians* the Advantage of a Rock, which the Ebbing Sea had abandon'd, and there kept them so closely at Work, that the Soldiers, who follow'd him in 3 or 4 Boats, had abundance of Leisure first to Land, and then to beat off the *Italians* to the height of the Island. Just then, Mr. *de Dessé* and 8 or 10 Officers with him got likewise to Land ; but here, after they had driven away those that strove to hinder their Descent ;
they

they were again retarded, by reason of their being on the Declivity of an Hill, along which they must needs walk 40 Paces with great Difficulty and Danger, before they could come to a convenient Place to ascend to the Summit of the Island, where the *English* and *Italians* were now join'd in one Body: For the Lord *de la Chapelle* had repuls'd those that offer'd to make Head against him; but as he was advancing and gaining Ground upon the Enemy, and by this Means facilitating the Descent of the following *Germans*, the Shot of an Arquebuse pierc'd his Left Hand and drove his Murrion a great way into his Head. His Friends no sooner perceiv'd the Blood gushing out of the Wound, but they essay'd to draw him away from the Field; but he said to them with an Air of Assurance and Joy, since 'tis impossible I can be preserv'd to Die in a more Honourable Occasion, I intreat you, Gentlemen, don't deprive me of the Pleasure either to fall on the Spot, or to share with you in the Glory of the Day. Thus he endeavour'd to surmount the Infirmary of Nature, but in a short time his Body was so spent, with the heat of Action and the loss of Blood, that he sunk under the Weight of his Illness. Then his Friends forc'd him on Board one of the Gallies, and took care to have a Chirurgion call'd to his Assistance; and since that time I hear that he could not forbear to complain of the injustice of Fortune, who often with one Blow robs the Man of Honour, both of Life and the Reward due to his Merit. 'Tis certain, that to undervalue Life, is the Way to Vanquish; The *English* had many Advantages over us, they had sure Footing, they stood

in a Place thought unaccessable, they had supply'd with Art, what was wanting by Nature towards their Defence, and they were more numerous within the Island, than we who attack'd them, tyr'd as we were, both by the Fatigue at Sea and the Difficulties we met with at our Landing. And to do the Enemy Justice, they made very good use for a long time of their Advantages, Fought most obstinately against both *Germanus* and *French*, and expos'd themselves to infinite Dangers, first when we attempted the Descent, and afterwards when we had gain'd the Land: But they had to do with Soldiers incapable of Fear, and Commanders of that Spirit and Courage, that altho' the *English* had the Boldness to wait, yet they wanted Vigour to sustain their Charge. Amongst others, an *Italian* Officer, who for his Skill in Martial Affairs, was very much esteem'd by the King of *England*, from an advantageous Post he had prudently taken up, found out a thousand Means to Plague us. This Man, as he was going about from Rank to Rank, making some to Fire, and others to Advance, and sometimes planting his Guns and discharging them with his own Hand, had his Head carried off with a Cannon-ball that came upon him from our Gallies. I was afterwards inform'd by some *Italian* Prisoners, that he much boasted his Knowledge of the Mathematicks, and presum'd to penetrate into, and denounce Futurities, that he could Read in the Skies the Fortunes of Mën, and the Fate of Princes, and that perswaded, that he was destin'd to Die no where, but in *Italy*, he had

had promis'd to himself nothing but Prosperity in
Britain.

But the unlucky fool was taught too late,

That none can Read the dark Decrees of Fate,

After this strange Manner, do we Mortals employ the Vigour of our Bodies and Minds, but Fortune looks on and decides. The *English* did Wonders so long as they had the Advantage of the Ground; but when they perceiv'd that we ceas'd to attempt the narrow Ways and Defiles, and were fetching a wide Circuit about, in order, to come at that Place of the Island which bends into a long Plain, they stood close by one another, but in a disorderly Manner; one of them taking Notice of this, and willing to Re-assure his Country-men, advanc'd with a pair of Colours in his Hand, with Design to set upon us; but he was but ill seconded by the rest, and forc'd to turn back, he gave them very foul Words, then as he was again making his way to us, he was Kill'd by the Shot of an Arquebuse, his Colours were taken and set up with the *Huzza's* of our Men, as a Proof or an Earnest at least of Victory. We were about 200 together in this Place, and we attack'd the Enemy with all the Vigour imaginable, yet could not get in upon them but with our Shot. Here I was a Witness of the Valour of two poor Soldiers, the one a Native of *Sens*, and t'other of *Arles* in *Provence*, who did such Feats as would certainly have prefer'd each of them to a Captains Commission, had they been either patronis'd by some great Man, or been Nobly Born; But *Merit is nothing the less for its being cloath'd in Rags; and 'tis certainly more rea-*
sonable

sonable to honour the Effects of Virtue, than the Favours of Fortune. I observ'd others, that had Reputation enough, who yet took Care, more to appear Valiant than to be so; Men of this Character are abundantly forward to Bully the World into an Opinion of their Gallantry, they'll Quarrel and Hector in the Streets; but when they come to Business in good earnest, their Hearts fail them, and soon betray the Native Timidity of their Souls; but as the Numbers of these last were inconsiderable, so they were scarcely observable amongst so many brave Men, who in a short time push'd the Enemy back upon their second Battalion. And here the English General as forward as he was (for the truth is, he advanc'd upon the Head of his small Battalion with a great deal of Resolution) found himself in a Minute environ'd with Heaps of his Slain; this did nothing diminish his Ardour; on the contrary he continu'd to advance, and to lay about him most desperately, when a Gentleman, call'd Desboryes, an Ensign in the Company of Mr. de la Chapelle, made up to him with his Sword in his Hand; but the General having the Advantage of a long Pick, thrust it into his Neck, and made way for his Soul to get out of his frail Body, and to fly to the Enjoyment of Immortal Life; a happy Change I take it: For after all, Such are the Miseries that attend our Humane Life, that it can claim no Rank but amongst the meanest and most contemptible of Beings.

By this time all our Men were Landed, and Mr. de Dessé and his Soldiers wercome to Handy-Blows with the Enemy: The English General, the same who just now had Kill'd Desboryes, was him-

himself all overlaid with Blows, and Slain before the Eyes of his Men, who, seiz'd with unbecoming Fear, made a disorderly Retrait to the Point of the Island, and were there all taken, like so many Sheep. I shall forbear describing the Terror express'd by the *English* at the sight of Death; for I am of Opinion, that the Cowardise even of an Enemy, is a thing so far beneath the Soul of a Soldier, that it ought not to be mention'd to young Men that profess Prowess and Honour. This I must needs say, our Numbers amounted only to 700, and with the Loss of about three of these we made our selves Masters of the Island, tho' defended by more than 800 *English* train'd up to War, and accusom'd to Slaughter. We found in it a huge Number of Great and Lesser Guns, abundance of Ammunition of all sorts, and a vast quantity of Warlike Instruments and Tools for carrying on the Fortifications, besides a large Hoyer fraughted with *Spanish* Wine, Bedding, Stuffs of Silk, Woollen Cloaths, and all other Necessaries: And here, 'tis worth while to observe, that *the English are the People in the World that provide best, and keep worst their strong Holds.* Mr. de Desse absolutely refus'd to share in the Booty, and said, that he would by no Means take to himself that which was become the Soldiers Property, and that he never meant to return to *France* enrich'd with any thing but Honour.

The next Day began no sooner to dawn, than two *English* Ships and one Berge approach'd the Island with a Design to supply it with more Provisions; one of the Frigates was just upon the Land, and Captain St. *André* who had been left in the Island, did all he could to decoy them further on; but I know not by what means they discover'd the Fraud, and stood out again at Sea with all the Expedition they could; de St. *André*, who hitherto had leign'd to Fire at our Gallies, put them out of ail doubt, by turning the Cannon upon them, yet they made a Shift to escape. This same Day the Queen Dowager went on Board a Gally and visited the Island, and as she observ'd the Fort of the *English*, and beheld 3 or 400 of their Slain that lay yet uninterr'd on the Ground, She said to de St. *André*, Well, Captain, is it in the power of the Enemies to Re-take this Island from us, with as much Facility as we have forc'd it from them? No, by the Heavens, Madam, Reply'd he, it has much better Ramparts to Day, than it had Yesterday; and as Mr. de *Montlus*, now Bishop of *Valence* was ad-
vising

viking the Continuation of the Fortifications commenc'd by
 the *English*; Sir, said the Captain to him, the better we
 are Fortify'd, we shall be so much the more Invincible;
 but if the Enemy offer to prevent the Work, these brave
 Men (here he pointed at the Soldiers) will not fail to
 make Ramparts of their Arms and Hearts; besides, *that*
the Elogiums bestow'd on Valour, are of admirable use to
beighten it, and that nothing is more Winning nor Taking with
Soldiers than this Civil Way of using them. The Captain did
 not thus extol their Deservings without Reason? For
 the Truth is, I never saw Men in my Life, on whom the
 King's Money was better bestow'd. Not long after this lucky
 Expedition, Mr. *de Desse* return'd with the Gallies to
France, attended with Virtue and Fortune, two Blessings
 that meet but seldom together in one Man; Never was a
 Commander happier than he, in the most daring Attempts,
 nor did ever any express more Modesty amidst the Careless
 that wait on Prosperity: There are none of those that
 serv'd under him, but must needs own, that he never ha-
 zarded the meanest of their Lives, but where his own Per-
 son was expos'd to an equal or greater Danger, and that his
 very Commands were so obligingly deliver'd, that the
 Army found I know what Taste of Letchery, if I may speak
 so, in the Vertue of Obedience.

F I N I S.













