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Scottish Women and the Scandinavian Wars of the Seventeenth Century

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PREVIOUS studies of the history of warfare have often ignored the role of women altogether, making it appear that only men, as combatants, have really been affected.¹ More recently, several historians have recognised that the role of women in history needs to be somewhat qualified, and certain works have made reference to the fact that the role women played in history

1 R. Frost, *The Northern War, 1558-1721* (Essex, 2000); G. Parker, *The Thirty Years' War* (London, 1987) are prime examples of study which, though extensively covering their chosen topic, do not make any mention of the role of women in this period, peripheral or otherwise. My thanks go to Steve Murdoch for providing me with access to the array of sources he used in compiling the SSNE Database and translating the Swedish language texts for me.

is much more varied and significant than has been hitherto suggested.² In focusing on the role of specifically Scottish women in the Scandinavian wars of the seventeenth century, this article proposes to re-evaluate both the roles and significance played by women in this period, and to afford them the credit for their participation that is presently lacking. This results from a wealth of new scholarship that incorporates mention of women in peripheral roles in warfare, but which also has facilitated a broader study based on the archival seams uncovered in the production of those studies.³

While there is a plethora of books surrounding the events of the Scandinavian wars in this period, a selection of memoirs and diaries of the men involved, and a limited but valuable amount of work done on the effects of the war on Scotland as a whole, the role of women has, for too long, been ignored.⁴ There has, clearly, been some extensive production of literature on women such as Elizabeth Stuart (queen of Bohemia), however studies of this nature only extend to those women who were so prominent that it could not be helped that sources surrounding them have been

- 2 See, for example, Bridenthal R., Koontz, C. and Stuard, S., *Becoming Visible* (Boston, 1987) especially pp 211-229; Hufton, O., *The Prospect Before Her: a History of Women in Western Europe*, volume I (London, 1995). Even the valuable work *Lives of Scottish Women* fails to address the issues at hand, and a discussion of the role of women related to war focuses merely on the appropriateness of women's dress in hospital – hardly the crux of the matter (Knox, W., *Lives of Scottish Women 1800-1980* (Edinburgh, 2006) pp 155-6).
- 3 For example, Grosjean, A., "Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?" in Murdoch, S. and MacKillop, A. (eds.), *Fighting for Identity* (Leiden, 2002) pp 78-9; Ailes, M., *Military Migration and State Formation: The British Military Community in Seventeenth-Century Sweden* (London, 2002); Glozier, M., "Scots in the French and Dutch armies during the Thirty Years' War" in Murdoch, S. (ed.), *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden, 2001); Murdoch, S., "The Scots and Ulster in the seventeenth century: a Scandinavian perspective" in Kelly, W. and Young, J. R., (eds.), *Ulster and Scotland, 1600-2000: History, Language and Identity* (Dublin, 2004); Pedersen, N., "Scottish Immigration to Bergen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in Grosjean, A. and Murdoch, S., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005).
- 4 For examples of these memoirs, diaries and letters see Anon., *A Most True Relation of the late Proceedings in Bohemia, Germany and Hungaria* (Dort, 1620); Anon., *The Swedish Intelligencer* (London, 1632); Anon., *The Modern History of the World* (London, 1635); Horsbroch, D., "Wish You Were Here? Scottish reactions to 'Postcards' home from the 'Germane Warres'" in Murdoch (ed.), *Thirty Years' War*; Lithgow, W., *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painfull Peregrinations* (Glasgow, 1906); Brockington, W., (ed.), Monro, R., *Monro His Expedition with a worthy Scots regiment called Mac-Keyes* (London, 1637) (London, 1999) (hereafter *Expedition*); Turner, Sir J., *Memoirs of his own life and times* (Edinburgh, 1829); van Strien, C., *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period* (Leiden, 1993).

investigated and debated. The role of Elizabeth Stuart, for example, has been seen as instrumental in the initial influx of Scots to the Continent during the warfare of the seventeenth-century,⁵ and she could thus be viewed as a 'recruiters' icon'. There are many examples of depictions of her as such, for example Monro, in his *Expedition*, cites her as the reason for his and many others' participation in the wars.⁶ By comparison, the role played by the ordinary women, either at home or abroad, has seldom been examined. Yet what is clear from the evidence available is that we actually have a great deal of information relating to the female role, particularly regarding those women in, or who had family in, the service of Sweden during this period.

In addition to comparing the experiences of royal and non-royal women, this distinction must be broken down still further. Those women who were related to nobility would have had a very different experience to those related to common soldiers. Whether the women considered were at home or on the Continent is another important point to consider. Women who followed their husbands to the Continent (more common at the beginning of the century) would have experienced something different to foreign women marrying Scottish men, or to the daughters of these couples, who subsequently went on to make lives for themselves in their new homelands and cemented the ex-patriot communities together. Any children must again be considered in terms of those who were born on the Continent and those who were born at home in Scotland. Those Scots born on the Continent, often termed 'second-generation Scots', may not have considered the wars from an exclusively Scottish point of view, and, as such, their experiences would again differ. Work has previously been done on the consequences of these second- and third-generation Scots for the expatriate community abroad, and therefore the development of those within it.⁷ There are also the women who were neither married to, nor related to, any Scottish

5 See Worthington, D., "Scottish Exiles at the Court of the Habsburgs", in Murdoch (ed.), *Thirty Years' War*, pp 54-5, the case of Sir Thomas Roe Matthew, H. and Harrison, B, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (30 volumes, Oxford, 2004) [hereafter *DNB*] (Oxford, 2004) volume 47, pp 512-517.

6 *Expedition*, p 16; see also Kellie, T., *Pallas Armata or Militarie Instructions for the Learned* (Edinburgh, 1627) intro p 3; Johnston, A., *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, volume 1, esp. poem VIII, (Aberdeen, 1892) p 78.

7 Murdoch, S., *Network North* (Leiden, 2006); Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*.

men participating in the wars to consider: for example, those who travelled alone either as prostitutes and camp-followers or as pedlars. Finally, there are those women who remained in Scotland but who were affected by the war – wives, daughters, sisters and widows. While it would be easy to dismiss these women as separate from the conflict, this is not necessarily the case. Seventeenth-century Scotland comprised many rural communities, which were in nature closely-knit, and as a result the news and effects of the wars in Scotland went further than direct family alone.⁸ This can be seen from numerous letters home, in which the author not only sends his love to his parents or whoever he is writing to, but also extends this love to other members of the community: wider family members and friends.⁹ Given the extent of Scottish participation, especially during the early part of the wars, it is unlikely that there were many, if any, people in Scotland who were not associated with someone on the Continent. As with so many aspects of history, it is impossible to generalise about the experiences of women during this period – their individual circumstances have to be taken into account.

Royalty

AS mentioned above, some women were so prominent it is inevitable that details of their existence have survived, and the life of Elizabeth Stuart does not need recapping here.¹⁰ It is clear from the tone of her letters that she was a confident woman, even considering the situation she was in and the people she was writing to. She had every belief that the Palatinate belonged to her family, and even after the death of her much beloved husband in 1632 she never lost faith in her campaign to recover the territory. Like so many women overlooked in the conflict, Elizabeth is an example of one Scottish

8 Horsbroch, D., "Wish You Were Here?" pp 246-250.

9 For an example see a letter from James Spens (drummer major in the Swedish army) to his parents, reproduced in Murdoch, *Network North*, Appendix A, p 358. See also Horsbroch, "Wish you were here?" pp 246-250; Mortimer, G., *Eyewitness accounts of the Thirty Years' War 1618-1648* (Basingstoke, 2002), passim.

10 For further information on Elizabeth's life and relevance to the wars see Benger, E., *Memoirs of the Queen of Bohemia*, volume 2, (London, 1825); Buchan, A., *A Stuart Portrait* (London, 1934); Oman, C., *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (London, 1964); Ross, J., *The Winter Queen* (London, 1979); Zickermann, K. and Ruffer, H., "German reactions to the Scots in the Holy Roman Empire during the Thirty Years' War in Murdoch, (ed.), *Thirty Years' War*, pp 272-5.

woman who coped with the trials of the war commendably, especially given the lack of support she received from family members she rightly expected she could rely upon. Christian IV, Elizabeth's uncle, was particularly inactive in supporting her plight. This is demonstrated in a letter written by Elizabeth, saying that, 'The king of Sweden offers as much as can be desired; I would my uncle would doe soe to; but he is more backwards than so neare a kinsman should be'.¹¹ There are numerous examples of Elizabeth pleading with her father, James VI and I, or her uncle, Christian IV, for help in removing her from exile in The Hague and restoring the Palatinate to her and her family. In 1621 she wrote to her father that 'the Palatinate is in danger of being utterly lost, if your majesty give us not some aid'.¹² While an important figure in any discussion of women affected by the wars of the seventeenth century, it is a shame that, for too long, prominent women such as Elizabeth have been taken as representative of the role of women in the wars of this period, whereas the majority of women participants had very different experiences.¹³

Ambition

IT has previously been recognised that women benefited from being attached both to the nobility and to the various businesses on the Continent that resulted from warfare in this period.¹⁴ These attachments have, however, always been perceived as being through marital or blood relations, yet although this was a common phenomenon, there were a number of women who maintained successful careers on the Continent independently, often operating at the highest levels of their profession. As has previously been recognised, perhaps over-emphasised, this was often achieved by marrying into the nobility. This was a route many took, for example the two daughters of Scots, Sofia Wilhalmsdotter von Estorph and Alexander

11 Benger, *Memoirs*, volume 2, p 224; see also Murdoch, S., *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart* (East Linton, 2000) pp 60-1.

12 Baker, L., *The Letters of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia* (London, 1953) pp 57-8.

13 We are currently awaiting the survey of Nadine Akkerman (University of Amsterdam) on Elizabeth, due in 2007 which should shed more light on the life of this remarkable woman.

14 See Grosjean, A., *An Unofficial Alliance* (Leiden, 2003) especially chapter 5, Glozier, "French and Dutch Armies".

Anderson.¹⁵ However, there are also several references to Scottish women being ennobled in Sweden in their own right. Barbara King was a noblewoman buried in Gothenburg in March 1653;¹⁶ Elizabeth Drummond was ennobled in Sweden sometime after 1640,¹⁷ and although details surrounding these ennoblements are somewhat sparse, they do not seem to have resulted from familial relations, but appear to be examples of women who made careers for themselves in their own right.

It has for too long been assumed that Scottish women who travelled abroad (usually with husbands or fathers) simply focused on bringing up their families and supporting their husbands.¹⁸ As well as the examples of ennoblement highlighted above, there are various examples of women in civic society during this period. One role of these women would have been as pedlars, often moving around Europe, following the conflict, to sell their wares. Often we have seen these women depicted as ‘Mother Courage’ characters, struggling to make ends meet and remaining at the lower levels of society, and this is the standard ‘pedlar’ image we have become accustomed to.¹⁹ However, the evidence reveals that women operated at much higher levels of economic society during this period. While extensive studies have been done on the position of Scottish mercantile traders in the Scandinavian countries,²⁰ little attention has been afforded thus far to women who also established themselves in these capacities.

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- 15 Elgenstierna, G., *Den Introducerade Svenska Adelns Årtavlor, med tillägg och rättelser* (9 vols., Stockholm, 1925-1936) [hereafter SAA] volume 1, p 127; Marrayat, H., *One Year in Sweden, including a visit to the isle of Gotland* (London, 1862), p 485. For more on this family's connections to the wars in Scandinavia see Donner, O., *A brief sketch of the Scottish families in Finland and Sweden* (Helsingfors, 1884) p19; Grosjean A. and Murdoch, S. (eds.), *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe Database* (1998-2007) [Hereafter SSNE], consulted at www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne SSNE no. 6256. For a more detailed discussion of the marriage patterns concerning entry into the Swedish nobility see Grosjean, *Unofficial Alliance*, chapter 5.
- 16 Berg, W., *Samlingar till Göteborgs Historia Christina Kyrkas böcker*, (Gothenburg, 1890) volume1, p 453.
- 17 SAA, volume 2, p 328; SSNE no. 6375.
- 18 For example, see Ailes's assertion that women “generally tended to the needs of their husbands ... finding and preparing food, making and mending clothes and helping the sick and the wounded”, unpublished PhD thesis, “From British Mercenaries to Swedish nobles: the immigration of British Soldiers to Sweden during the Seventeenth Century” (University of Minnesota, 1997) p 82.
- 19 Brecht, B., *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder* (Stuttgart, 2003).
- 20 See especially Grosjean, A., and Murdoch, S., “The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg” in Grosjean, A., and Murdoch, S., (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad* (Leiden, 2005) pp 191-224.

We know that there were at least two Cracow-based female merchants, of possible Scottish extraction, active in 1650: Ursula Emzle was importing goods from Silesia and Prussia, and Anna Hewison was importing from Prussia alone.²¹ Another example is the Scot, Anna Cummings, who was made burgesse of Gothenburg in 1639.²² There are no more details known about her – it is not known whether she initially arrived in Gothenburg with a husband or father – however even if this was the case, she still received the title of burgesse in her own right, and there are many more examples of women who were made burgesses of this particular town.²³ While it is unlikely that Anna arrived in Gothenburg alone, there are no male Cummings on the surviving lists of burgesses and we can therefore, albeit cautiously, attribute her success to her own abilities.²⁴

As well as those women who achieved citizenship and the title of burgesse, there were also those who actively engaged in freighting cargo.²⁵ Sophia Forbes was a shareholder and director of the *Västervik Skeppscompagnie* (Västervik Shipping Company) which had become the largest in Sweden by the mid-1660s.²⁶ This is an example of a woman not only taking part in the shipping activities of Scots abroad, but being granted a highly influential role in a Swedish (not Scottish) company. In the case of Sophia Forbes, her participation stems directly from Scots involved in the Swedish war effort, as she was born in Stockholm in 1649, the daughter of Arvid Forbes, a third-generation Scot and a colonel in the Swedish army who was ennobled in 1638.²⁷ Her husband, Axel Julius de la Gardie, was a

21 Bieniarzówna, J. and Małecki, J., *Dzieje Krakowa: Kraków w wiekach XVI-XVIII*, (Kraków, 1994) volume 2, p 471; Wijaczka, J., *Handel zagraniczny Krakowa w połowie XVII wieku* (Kraków, 2002) p 109. I would like to thank Mr. Peter Bajer for providing this information.

22 Grosjean and Murdoch in *Communities* appendix A p 221; Långström, E., *Göteborgs Stads Borgarelängd 1621-1864* (Göteborg, 1926) p 23, SSNE no. 4687.

23 See especially Grosjean and Murdoch, "Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg", p 209.

24 Grosjean and Murdoch, "Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg", p 203, n. 46. It must be noted that using these burgesse lists as evidence can be problematic. Not only are many of the burgesse lists of Gothenburg incomplete, some years are missing in their entirety. The incomplete years are 1622-31, 1637, 1644, 1667, 1670. The years missing altogether are 1632-6, 1638-43, 1645, 1648, 1657-61, 1663-4, 1689. However, Anna Cummings appears in Långström, *Göteborgs Stads Borgarelängd*, p 33, and p 11 suggests that there may have been a list for 1639 at some point.

25 Grosjean and Murdoch, "Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg", p 210.

26 Murdoch, *Network North*, p 211.

27 SSNE no. 6318.

Swede and a soldier, leaving the business side of life to her.²⁸ Sophia's involvement in the *Västervik Skeppscompagnie* was not her only contribution to business – her trading continued throughout her life, and in July 1688 she traded four boatloads of roofing beams from Arnö. She was clearly an independent woman, who even sued several men who she felt had unfairly dealt with her in business transactions, and has been described in one biography as *en synnerligen energisk kvinna*: “An extremely energetic woman”.²⁹ While her presence of the continent can only be attributed to the presence of her father, and later her husband, this should not be seen to detract from her achievements, as has been implied in previous studies. Her litigious example is reminiscent of another independent woman, Agnes Gordon, who sued the local cobblers' corporation in Sandomierz in Poland in 1640.³⁰ While there are no more details known of this case, this again is a woman acting independently and on equal terms with men.

Women in this position, unconnected directly to the war effort, were also not uncommon in Swedish society. Margaretha Strang, widow of William Strang (Forfar merchant burgess of Stockholm), owned several ships, which she probably inherited from her husband upon his death in the 1660s. One Ingrid Boij became an owner of an iron mine at Grängshammar at Dalarna in Sweden after the death of her husband, Jean Utterklo,³¹ and it is unlikely that this had anything to do with Scottish participation in the warfare. Nonetheless they reflect a tradition of Scottish women taking economic roles in Scandinavia dating back long before the seventeenth century.³² Integration

28 SSNE no. 2227, no. 6318. For references to Arvid Forbes as a Scot see Murdoch, *Network North*, pp 21-3, 56-9. *Expedition* pp 113-8 also includes several members of the Forbes family in a list of “Scottish Officers in Chiefe” serving the King of Sweden, including Arvid Forbes under his Scottish guise of Alexander ‘Finn’ Forbes.

29 Hofberg., H., *Svenskt Biographiskt Handlexicon* (2 volumes, Stockholm, 1906) volume 1, p 232; SSNE no. 6318.

30 Kowalski, W., “The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad*, p 95. Kowalski presents much valuable information on the role of pedlars in general in this paper.

31 The Boijs were a small but important iron family, so this is clearly an example of a woman who entered this trade in Sweden on the back on her family's careers, however she clearly became important in her own right, albeit through inheritance. See Murdoch, *Network North*, pp 186-7.

32 Pedersen, N., “Scottish Immigration to Bergen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Communities Abroad*, pp 135-165; on the Scots’

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for women happened at the highest levels of society – and these were not positions somehow reserved for men.

It has often been assumed that women, save for those in the position of Elizabeth Stuart, mentioned earlier, were not in high enough positions in society to correspond with those in high authority – for example monarchs such as Gustavus Adolphus – or with councillors, such as Axel Oxenstierna. However, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that women, as well as men, made and maintained connections with important people on the Continent. Margaretha Forratt received financial aid of 1000 riksdåler in 1634 from the Swedish state.³³ While this was probably used to benefit the state (building a new burial place in Riddarholm church in Stockholm), it is a testament to the trust afforded to her that she was granted this money in the first place. Forratt was the sister of a Scottish admiral in Sweden, Alexander Forratt, and the wife of two Scottish soldiers (Sir James Spens of Wormiston and Hugh Hamilton respectively), and her presence on the Continent is therefore directly connected to Sweden's need to employ Scots for her war-machine. There are several letters written by Forratt to Axel Oxenstierna (the Swedish Chancellor and Regent) in this period, which act as a prime example of a woman more than capable of making direct approaches to the highest echelons of government. Margaretha thanked Oxenstierna for the favours he had done for both her and her two sons, 'as a father'. She is then not afraid to ask him for a further favour, as her husband (Hamilton) wished to 'stand still' for a moment or two longer, possibly so that he could sort out some of his affairs in Sweden.³⁴ She also clearly exercised some influence in her son's career, as she mentioned her concerns over her son entering the

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presence in Scandinavia before this period see Dow, J., "Scottish Trade with Sweden 1512-80" in *Scottish Historical Review*, volume 48 (1969); Lillehammer, A., "The Scottish Norwegian Timber Trade in the Stavanger Area in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries" in Smout, T.C. (ed.), *Scotland and Europe 1200-1850* (Edinburgh, 1986).

33 See the various letters from her to Axel Oxenstierna contained in Swedish Riksarkiv [hereafter SRA], *Axel Oxenstiernas Brefvexling*, E619; Marrayat, *One Year in Sweden*, pp 465-466; Fischer, T., *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh, 1907), Supplement, pp 215-267; *SAÄ*, volume 3, p 453 and volume 7, p 429; Curman, S. and Roosval, J. (eds.), *Riddarholmskyrkan: Sveriges Kyrkor, Stockholms Kyrkor*, (Stockholm, 1937) volume 2, p 724; SSNE no. 6267.

34 SRA, Axel Oxenstiernas Brefv. E619. Margaretha Forratt to Axel Oxenstierna, Riga, 07/08/1643. My thanks go to Kathrin Zickermann for her transcriptions/translations of these documents.

army, but asked if the (unnamed) field-marshal would be able to keep his place open until the son (Jacob Spens) had replied – clearly a rather large favour to ask on behalf of her son.³⁵ This could suggest that, although it is her son entering the service of the field-marshal, she is exercising more influence by letter than her son could exercise himself.

Forratt was not the only woman in this period to exercise the sort of influence previously thought impossible for a woman. Margaret Bursie, the mother of Thomas Livingstone, a soldier in the Swedish forces who was eventually ennobled in 1668, wrote to the Krigskollegium (war college) in 1667. The purpose of the letter appeared to be to allow Livingstone, who had never been to Scotland, to be released temporarily from service to allow him to go to Scotland to deal with some family business, and he was subsequently granted eight months leave of absence.³⁶ Lady Jane Ruthven, the daughter of Patrick Ruthven, who fought in Swedish service and later for the Royalists during the British civil wars, was also the sister of Colonel John Henderson (aka Peter von Berg), army officer and diplomat on both Danish and Swedish service during this period.³⁷ Her position as lady-in-waiting to Queen Kristina of Sweden gave her the opportunity to exercise a certain amount of influence over the Swedish monarch. In 1651, she encountered some problems regarding her land back in Scotland, and wrote to Scotland stating that ‘that portioun of the saidis meanes and moneyis which wes provydit to me ... I have richt in law and equitie’, and that she was putting her affairs regarding this matter in the hands of James Pringle, ‘which I micht doe thairin my self if I was personallie present and resident in that realme’.³⁸ This is not the action of a woman who saw herself as less equal to a man with regards to property. The daughter of Sir James Spens of Wormiston, Cecelia Spens, received a special royal concession from

35 SRA, Axel Oxenstiernas Brevf. E619. Margaretha Forrat to Axel Oxenstierna, place unknown, 02/04/1650.

36 Murdoch, S., “Children of the Diaspora: the ‘homecoming’ of the second-generation Scot in the seventeenth century” in Harper, M. (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005) pp 64-65.

37 DNB volume 26, pp 321-2 (John Henderson); DNB volume 48, pp 410-3 (Patrick Ruthven).

38 *National Archives of Scotland* (hereafter NAS), WS Papers GD 246, box 26, Bundle 5, Item 19. For more information on Patrick Ruthven see DNB volume 48 pp 410-13. A similar case is that of Clara Berer, wife of Patrick Earl of Forth, Lord Ettrick, writing shortly after his death in order to claim what was rightfully hers in Scotland, to prevent her from being “forceit to seik halp and maintenance abroad in forrayne natiouns”. NAS, WS Papers GD 246, box 26, bundle 5, Item 20.

Gustavus Adolphus to remain on her late husband's land, even though he had left her in terrible debt. She also corresponded with Oxenstierna, obtaining funds and rights to land.³⁹ Isabella Ramsay, wife of Sir James Ramsay (cousin of John Durie), received travel funds via her connections to Oxenstierna, to visit her husband in Mechelenburg.⁴⁰ She was clearly able to converse quite happily with Oxenstierna, and Durie himself acknowledged her help in arranging safe passage for him from Elbing to the king's camp at Wittenberg. In a letter to Samuel Hartlib, written in 1632, Durie stated that, on receiving

intelligence that my Ladie Ramsay was in towne whose husband doeth call me Cousin; and shee hadde beene two yeares at Elbing acquainted with me; I let hir know my difficulties, & shee made the matter acquaint to Sir Dauid Drummond.⁴¹

This illustrates not only that she did, indeed, help him, but also that Durie held her personally in high regard, as the wife of his cousin, and had every confidence that she was capable of helping him, notwithstanding her gender. All of these examples demonstrate that women were by no means prevented or incapable of operating at the highest levels of society abroad, both in the nobility and in an economic sense, and many certainly saw themselves as worthy of conversing with those in positions of authority in these countries, being similarly observed by the recipients of their correspondence.

Prostitutes and Protection

THERE were also, of course, women present on the Continent in much less respectable capacities – for example camp followers (essentially prostitutes).

39 SAÄ, volume 7, p 429, Swedish Riksarkiv, Axel Oxenstiernas Brefvexling, E589. Several letters, Cecelia Spens to Axel Oxenstierna, undated but c.1639-1643; Rudelius, F., *Kalmar Regementes Personhistoria, 1623-1927* (2 volumes, Norköping, 1952) volume 1, pp 29-30; SSNE no. 6129.

40 *Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas skrifter och brevvevling* (15 vols., Stockholm, 1888-1977), VII, p 252, Axel Oxenstierna to Heusner von Wandersleben, 28 April 1632; SAÄ, volume 7, p 429; Rudelius, F., *Kalmar Regementes Personhistoria 1623-1927* (2 volumes, Norköping, 1952) I, p.42; Riis, T., *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot ... : Scottish-Danish Relations c. 1450-1707* (Odense, 1988) volume 2, p 72; SSNE no. 6263.

41 Samuel Hartlib Papers, HP 60/5/1a-8b. John Durie to Samuel Hartlib, Narrative of his German travels, 1632. See also Murdoch, *Network North*, p 287.

Thomas Riis has identified a number of these women – for example Elizabeth Davidsdatter, a prostitute banished from Malmö.⁴² The existence of these women is demonstrated by the fact Oxenstierna felt it necessary, in 1621, to present his ‘Articles of War’ to the soldiers assembled on Årsta Meadow, including several articles relating directly to women.⁴³ The Articles were subsequently read out by commanders to their troops each month and eventually became a part of the *Swedish Discipline*, a copy of which all soldiers in Swedish service owned.⁴⁴ It was asserted clearly that no ‘loose women’, or *Hurenweibel*, were to be permitted in camp, stating that

No whore shall be suffered in the League – but if any will have his oun wife with him, he may. If any unmarried woman be found, he that keepes her may have leave lawfully to marry her, or els be forced to put her away.⁴⁵

Clearly, the problem of soldiers being somewhat distracted by the presence of these women was a very real problem.⁴⁶ This is a theme reiterated by Colonel Robert Monro in his *Expedition*, as he states that men should be ‘hindered from such vices’ as idleness, drinking and also

the fourth remedy is to keepe both women and maides in a convenient modesty of a chast behaviour, without which there is a doore opened to all; villany and filthiness.⁴⁷

However, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, provisions were also made for women who were abused or attacked by soldiers. The Articles stated ‘he that forces any woman to abuse her; and the matter be proved, he shall dye for it’.⁴⁸ A private, Donald Ross, in Thomas Mackenzie’s Company during

42 Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot ...* volume 2, p 163. There are more examples of such women throughout this volume, see for example, p 177, p 184.

43 Roberts, M., *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of Sweden 1611-1632* (2 volumes, London, 1958) volume 2, pp 240-2.

44 Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, p 240.

45 Anon., *The Swedish Discipline* (London, 1632) p 55, article 89; see also *Expedition I*, p 152. The presence of wives was perhaps permitted because they were so well-behaved; Monro observed that he “having seene more love ... and by appearance more chastity in them to their husbands, than ever I did see in any other profession”.

46 Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, pp 240-2. See also Ailes, “British Mercenaries to Swedish Nobles”, p 84.

47 *Expedition I*, p 56.

48 *The Swedish Discipline*, p 55, article 88.

the Thirty Years' War in Danish service, was accused of rape committed under the company's march through Sjælland and was executed, without trial, in 1628.⁴⁹ Women, therefore, even single women, were not necessarily seen as prostitutes; their rights were somewhat protected (although it is, of course, debateable how often the soldier would, in reality, be punished). Inclusion of such articles relating to the presence of women in the *Discipline* demonstrates not only that women were present but that they were prominent enough to warrant rules being distributed regarding them. These women then, were not as peripheral as has been previously suggested, as their presence had a very real bearing on rules and procedures governing army camps in this period.

Elsewhere in Scandinavia, there were possibly different rules governing the presence of wives accompanying their husbands. While in Swedish armies wives seem to have been permitted, there is a case in Norwegian service where a Mrs George Sinclair went on board a ship on an expedition to Norway in disguise, only revealing herself to the troops when they were out at sea.⁵⁰ A married woman having to travel in disguise would suggest that the presence of women in camps and the rules governing it varied in different countries, although the rules in Sweden appear to have been standard throughout the army. What is perhaps of more interest in this particular case is that Mrs Sinclair voluntarily placed herself in a dangerous situation in order to accompany her husband into the conflict. Indeed, although evidence surrounding her is somewhat incomplete, we know that she survived a massacre in 1612.⁵¹ There are further examples of similar women, placing themselves in disguise among soldiers in order to participate in conflict, although they fall out of the scope of this article – such as Miss John Brown who joined the Royal Africa Company as a soldier in the 1690s.⁵²

49 *Expedition I*, pp 74-5; Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot ...*, volume 2, p 124.

50 Michell, T., *History of the Scottish Expedition to Norway in 1612* (London, 1886) p 80.

51 Michell, *History of the Scottish Expedition*, pp 108-9, 124. In these pages, Michell presents several theories on the possible fate of Mrs. Sinclair.

52 See *Expedition*, II, p 153, for an example of a woman cavalier in the Middle Ages; also Murdoch, S., "John Brown: A black female soldier in the Royal African Company" in *World History Connected*, volume 1, no. 2 – . Please note that the latter is a case of a female disguising herself in order to take part in the conflict – in the case of Mrs. Sinclair it seems more likely that she merely wanted to be with her husband, rather than take part in the conflict herself, although she seems to have had no qualms about getting involved in the very heart of it.

Family

THE case of Mrs Sinclair should not be seen as an isolated case of a wife wishing to be with her husband. Marie Leslie, married to William, Third Lord Cranstoun, serving in the Swedish army, wrote to her husband in 1657 to say

I may no mor be miserable by leaving at uncertentys and such a distance from you. I was houpfall that long beifor this tym you wold hav mynded your promises to me at parting ... aither risolv to bi with me heir or send for me wher you ar.⁵³

Clearly these Scottish women were not fazed by the war (much as Elizabeth of Bohemia was not – clearly it was not just royalty who could cope with the horrors of this era) and were prepared to do whatever they needed to do to be with their husbands. It was not just wives who faced the war in order to keep families together: children of the combatants often followed the armies around Europe. Isabella Urquhart's parents moved around Germany with the Swedish army, and so did she (although it is not known whether her father was a combatant, it is likely).⁵⁴ Margaret Gibson married James Scott, a Scottish officer, and they lived in Sweden. Their son was in Swedish service and their daughter married a Swedish-Scot, Thomas Kinnemond, again presumably after following the army.⁵⁵

While it is, obviously, debatable how much this would have been their own choice, as children, those brought up on the Continent often followed the lives of their fathers, and there are many examples of sons who followed their fathers into foreign service, or daughters who married foreign soldiers, as their mothers had done. This seems to demonstrate that life as the wife or child of an officer in foreign service was not a bad one – otherwise surely the example would not have been followed. The daughter of Scottish born Janet and Francis Sinclair, Regina, married a Scottish soldier, and their son entered Swedish service and married a member of their Scottish community.⁵⁶ The

53 SRA, Coyetska Samlingen 3400, volume 4, folio 46 Marie Leslie to Lord William Cranstoun, August 1657.

54 SAÄ, volume 7, p 581.

55 SAÄ, volume 7, p 121; Marrayat, *One Year in Sweden*, p 496.

56 SAÄ, volume 7, p 273; Balfour Paul, Sir J., *The Scots Peerage* (Edinburgh, 1904-1914) volume 2, p 340; SSNE no. 2835.

son of the Scots Sofia Wilhalmsdotter von Estorph and Alexander Anderson both served in the Swedish army.⁵⁷ There are many more examples like this.⁵⁸ It would be easy to conclude that following one's husband around Europe, never being able to settle in one place, would be undesirable, yet this was a life actively enjoyed by many women during the conflict of the seventeenth century. The growth of Scottish communities abroad must have helped tremendously, as there would have been many women travelling together in the same situation. These women may even have had a hand in the establishment of these foreign communities.⁵⁹ It is not unlikely that it was women, rather than their soldier husbands, who took the time to try to get their family settled, enlisting the help of other women in order to do so. While this is only conjecture, this ties in with the view of women as the home-builders, being responsible for the upbringing of the children, but also affords women much more credit for their role in establishing these communities, rather than simply concentrating on their role within it, as previous studies have done.

Given the dangerous nature of service in the armies of the seventeenth century, it was not uncommon for women abroad to be married more than once, or for the soldiers themselves to take more than one wife throughout the course of their service.⁶⁰ It is also hard, in communities that were integrated as much as the Scots in Gothenburg were, to detect any true marriage 'patterns' among the Scots settled there.⁶¹ What is, perhaps,

57 Alexander Magius was the major of the Osterbotten regiment, Herman Alexander lieutenant captain. Donner, *A Brief Sketch* p 19.

58 For example the entries for Elizabeth Wedderburn and Christina Gladstone in *SSNE* nos. 6119, 6251.

59 See for example the work of Pedersen, Grosjean and Murdoch in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad* which are examples of the sort of recent scholarship that seeks to broaden out the subject to include women, but has not yet differentiated between the roles played by women and men to the degree necessary for a full study of the role of women during this period.

60 Grosjean, *Unofficial Alliance*, pp 142, 158 (the case of Nils Asserson Mannersköld); Murdoch, "The Scots and Ulster", p 92 (the case of Hugh Hamilton). For extensive studies on marriage patterns during this period see Ailes, *Military Migration and State Formation*, 58-72; Glozier, "Scots in the French and Dutch Armies", pp 131-137, Grosjean, A., "Scots and the Swedish State: Diplomacy, Military Service and Ennoblement 1611-1660" unpublished PhD thesis (University of Aberdeen, 1998).

61 Grosjean and Murdoch, "Seventeenth Century Gothenburg", pp 211-4. For just some examples of the many marriages that took place in this period between emigrant Scots and Scandinavian natives, see Donner, *Scottish families in Finland and Sweden*, pp 9 (Arvid Forbes), 12 (James Myhr), 13 (John Ramsay), 23 (Alexander Crawford of Anachie), 25 (William Dunckham), 28 (Robert Guthris).

surprising, is that many of the women who went abroad, following their husbands from Scotland, did not return home upon their deaths, but often preferred to stay abroad and continue to make a life for themselves, often remarrying. It has often been accepted that the Scots serving abroad went abroad because there were simply better prospects than at home.⁶² That fact that women chose to remain abroad rather than return home perhaps suggests that this was true for women also. The fact that this required strong integration into society makes it especially true of second- and third-generation Scots. Females abroad were also often granted the responsibility of god-parenting – women much more often than men – and god-parents were often chosen from outwith the kin of the child concerned – extending the family's relations and further easing integration into foreign societies.⁶³ There is archival evidence to demonstrate numerous cases of Scottish women (and men) being chosen as god-parents in Sweden. On 3 November 1675, Miss Catharina Gordon, Mrs Macklier and Gabriel Spalding became god-parents to Heinrich Schmidt's daughter, Henrietta Christina. On 28 October 1688, Miss Catharina Gordon, along with John Macklier and Gustaff Macklier became god-parents to their nephew, David Macklier's son Rutzer. Towards the end of the century, on 16 July 1692, Mr Elias Green became god-parent of Johann Henrich Straub's son Johan Friderich, and there are many further similar examples.⁶⁴ God-parenting was also used to bond together members of the same community. When Elisabeth Clerck was baptised in 1674, her god-parents included Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm Hamilton and Major Gustav Maclean, both of Scottish descent.⁶⁵

Investigation into god-parenting links reveals the extent of the integration of Scots abroad into society, adding to the existing work on the

62 Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, pp 194-5.

63 Fagerlund, S., "Women and Men as God-parents in an Early Modern Swedish Town" in *The History of the family*, volume 5 (2000) p 348. For more detail on the significance of such "fictive" relationships see Murdoch, *Network North*, chapter 1 esp. pp 27-38. The closeness of these relationships meant that often a ban was imposed on inter-marriage, as with biological kin.

64 Berg, W., *Samlingen till Göteborgs historia: Christina Kyrkea Böcker, bind 1* (Gothenburg, 1890) pp 133, 222, 250. I am grateful to Dr. Alexia Grosjean and Dr. Steve Murdoch for supplying me with this information.

65 Murdoch, *Network North*, p 28. For more examples of Scots acting as god-parents in this period, but in the context of Poland-Lithuania, see Kowalski, "The Placement of Urbanised Scots", pp 88-101.

subject.⁶⁶ It is debatable how far Scots born on the Continent viewed themselves as Scottish, or whether they became so integrated into society that they began to see themselves as belonging to the country in which they were living. Members of the second-generation Scots were more likely to marry natives than were their parents.⁶⁷ There is also a debate over how far the children of these respective couples would have viewed themselves as Scottish. Johanna Kinnaird was the daughter of Scots in Gothenburg, and married a Scot in 1620. However, their children were given Swedish names – Johan, Johanna, Margareta and Catharina.⁶⁸ This could mean one of two things: either these children, and their parents, were beginning to see themselves as inherently Swedish, or they were simply attempting to integrate both themselves and their children as far into Swedish society as possible. As a counter to this argument, Johan Skytte, son of a Swedish born Scotswoman, Mary Neave and a Swede, John Skytte, was a third generation Scot in Sweden, yet gave his orders to his troops in Scots, rather than in Swedish. While this could be attributed to the fact that a large proportion of his soldiers would have been Scottish, he was naturalised as Scottish in 1635. For someone born and raised in Sweden, as both his parents before him were, this perhaps demonstrates that while he was, to all intents and purposes, Swedish, he did not forget his roots and even wanted to be known as Scottish.⁶⁹

Remembering Scottish Roots

DESPITE the desire to be integrated into societies abroad, even while away from home, women, just as much as men such as Skytte, did not forget their Scottish roots. There is evidence of several women in 1651 contributing to the subsidy for Charles II. These included Christina Allen (Cristina Alliana),

66 See Murdoch, *Network North*, esp. chapters 1 and 2.

67 Grosjean, "Scots and the Swedish State", p 141; Ailes, "From British Mercenaries to Swedish Nobles", p 80.

68 *SAÄ*, vol. 3, p.410, vol. 4, p.98 and vol. 7, pp.370-372. See also Spalding, E., *Geschichtliches, urkunnden, stamm-tafeln der Spalding in Schottland, Deutschland und Schweden: Während der letzten sechs jahrhunderte, speciell der Deutsche zweig der familie* (Greifswald, 1898) pp 12-13 and Appendix V, family tree for Johan Spalding in Gothenburg; *SSNE* no. 2711.

69 For the naturalisation document see Murdoch, *Network North*, appendix a2:1, p 357-8; For details on Mary Skytte see *SSNE* no. 6272, for more on the Skytte family in particular see Murdoch, "Children of the Diaspora", p 63; SRA, Deposito Skytteana A:5, E5412, un-foliated documents.

in Bialemburg in Poland-Lithuania, a Scot who paid 657 florins with Thomas Andrews (Tomas Andrys) and George Ferens (Iurgi Ferens), two more Scots (presumably from the same community).⁷⁰ There is no mention of a contribution from Christina's husband – it is only speculation but it is possible that he was dead. The consequences of this will be examined later, but in this instance it would seem that Christina, if indeed she was a widow, carried on living in a Scottish community abroad quite happily, demonstrating the strength of such communities and that she was not entirely dependent on her husband.⁷¹ Another woman, known to be the widow of John Gordon, also subscribed to the subsidy, this time as part of the Scottish community in Tuchola, in Poland-Lithuania. This is a patent example of a woman who, after the death of her husband, carried on living abroad in a community of Scots, with her sons and nephews.⁷² This willingness to continue living abroad after the deaths of husbands shows that women became settled and happy in their new communities – they were not there simply to be with their husbands. There are further examples of women abroad thinking of events at home. In January 1638 Margaretha Forratt wrote to Oxenstierna, asking for news of the meeting of her second husband, Hugh Hamilton, with Charles I.⁷³ There is also evidence to suggest that Hamilton maintained the use of the Scots language abroad,⁷⁴ demonstrating that he was not looking to fully integrate to the point of losing his Scottishness and that Margaretha, more than likely, also spoke Scots. In some cases, it was the Scottish parents who ensured that their children remained Scotticised. Karen Mowatt was the daughter of Andrew

70 Pernal, A. and Gasse, R., "The 1651 Polish Subsidy to the exiled Charles II" in *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, volume 32 (Oxford, 1999) p.38; Guldon, Z. and Stepkowski, L., Szkości i Anglicy w Koronie w połowie XVII wieku, in *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne* (1977) volume 2; SSNE no. 6805. Some Scots in Poland did, inevitably, react against the levying of this subsidy. See Pernal and Gasse, "1651 Polish Subsidy", especially pp 11-5.

71 Pernal and Gasse, "1651 Polish Subsidy".

72 Pernal and Gasse, "1651 Polish Subsidy", p.39; Guldon and Stepkowski, Szkości i Anglicy w Koronie w połowie XVII wieku, *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne* (1977) volume 2; SSNE no. 6822.

73 SRA, Axel Oxenstiernas Brevvevling, E619, unfoliated documents; Marryat, *One Year in Sweden*, pp 465-466; Fischer, *Scots in Sweden*, Supplement, pp 215-267; Berg and Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden*; SAA, volume 3, p 453 and volume 7, p 429; Curman and Roosval (eds.), *Riddarholmsskyrkan: Sveriges Kyrkor, Stockholms Kyrkor*, volume 2 (Stockholm, 1937) p 724; SSNE no. 6267.

74 Murdoch, "The Scots and Ulster", p 92.

Mowatt and his Swedish wife – the half-sister of Axel Mowatt (who was in the Danish-Norwegian navy). Her father ensured that she received her education from a Scottish governess, and it is reported that she could write better Scots than Norwegian, despite being born and brought up in Norway.⁷⁵

Difficulties of Inheritance

THERE were inevitably negative aspects of leading a life on the Continent, and these should be briefly examined. One of the main problems concerns inheritance. Catharina Isabella Monepenne was the daughter of a major in the Swedish artillery, and in 1699 he, his wife and two sons died of the plague. He left another son and two daughters, including Catharina, to inherit his property. Although we do not know the circumstances, the entitlement to their father's land was not received until December 1716, long after his death.⁷⁶ Even given the relative lateness of this source, it appears that making claim to the lands of your parents, when it is foreign land, was not easy during this period. There is a similar case of Christine Hansdatter Cunningham, the adoptive daughter and legal heir of Admiral John Cunningham, *lensman* (regional governor) of Finnmark. After the death of her father, she and her husband became embroiled in an inheritance dispute, and although winning the property they were entitled to in Copenhagen, they lost their claim to his manor house in Finnmark.⁷⁷ There are other examples of which we do not know the outcome. Barbara Kinnaird, a Scotswoman born in Sweden, attempted to pass her late husband's estate to

75 *Norwegian Rigsarkiv, Danske Kanselli: Norske Kansellinnleg* 1121/50, p 238; Fladby, R. (ed.), *Norske Kongebrev* (6 volumes, Oslo, 1962), I, p 242; Espeland, A., *Skottene i Hordaland og Rogaland, Fra Aar 1500-1800* (Norhemsund, 1921) pp 31-32; Wiesener, A., 'Axel Movat og Hans Slegt' in *Bergens Historiske Forenings Skrifter*, no. 36 (Bergen, 1930), p 93; *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon*, X, p 523; SSNE no. 5371.

76 Uppsala University Library, *Palmskioldiska Samlingen*, volume 226, p 333; Swedish Riksarkiv, *Föreckning över Landshövdingens i Kronobergs Län Skrivelser till Kung. Maj:t. 1637-1840*, volume 3 - Monepenne, 29/12/1716; SSNE no. 6481.

77 Murdoch, S., "Scotsmen on the Danish-Norwegian Frontiers", p 20; Hagen, R. "At the Edge of Civilisation: John Cunningham, Lensmann of Finnmark, 1619-51" pp 37-8, both in Murdoch, S. and MacKillop, A. (eds.) *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers, c. 1600-1800* (Leiden, 2003); Fladby, ed., *Norske Kongebrev*, volume 5, p 78; Thomle, E. (ed.), *Norske Rigsregistranter* (Christiania, 1887) volume 10, p 491; Letter of Hans Jensson Orbrech [Christine's husband], 4 October 1652, noting the legal dispute with the Scots inheritors SSNE 5393.

her brother, 'a Scots laird and gentleman'.⁷⁸ It is not known if this happened, but it would be surprising, given contradictory evidence, if it happened smoothly. What must have made these episodes even harder to bear was that women were not expected to be seen to be grieving for their husbands, especially if they had been abroad with them. Monro states that 'mothers, friends, or sisters, are to be condemned, that mourne for them ... let them shed no tears', presumably in order to not distract or discourage the remaining troops.⁷⁹

A close examination of wills left in this period from men in the Dutch military demonstrates to whom soldiers chose to leave their money.⁸⁰ Robert Manders, from Dumbarton, was in Rotterdam in this period, choosing to leave his money to his Dutch fiancée, Maycken Pietersdr, on the condition that she remained faithful to him.⁸¹ It may not seem anything out of the ordinary for a soldier to leave his money to his fiancée, however there are other examples showing that this was not the pattern always followed. Joris Sims, another Scotsman in Rotterdam, left his money to his two sisters and, more surprisingly, his landlady and her daughter,⁸² demonstrating again that ties on the Continent were not exclusively with relations, but that Scots were becoming truly integrated in all areas of their lives. This is shown again, as the Scot Robbert Kintoor bequeathed his belongings primarily to his father, but also his half-brothers and sisters, who were essentially Dutch, not forgetting them simply because they were not Scottish.⁸³ Another similar example is that of the Scot Willem Carels, from Edinburgh, who named his step-mother as heir should his brother die.⁸⁴ Indeed, it seems that, in this period, Scots who went abroad did not exclusively remain in the 'Scottish

78 SAÄ, volume 5, p 537; Cappelan, T., (ed.), *Finsk Biografisk Handbok*, (Helsingfors, 1903) p 378; SSNE no. 6400.

79 *Expedition*, I 37.

80 The following examples are concerning men in the VOC (Dutch East India Company) and the WIC (Dutch West India Company).

81 Gemeentearchief Rotterdam: Oud Notariel Archief Rotterdam, volume 104, act 125/191. Notarie Nicolaas v.d. Hagen, 16/12/1623.

82 Gemeentearchief Rotterdam: Oud Notariel Archief Rotterdam, volume 37, act 146/317. Notarie Jacob Duyfhutsen, 18/12/1619.

83 Gemeentearchief Rotterdam: Oud Notariel Archief Rotterdam, volume 201, act 241/327. Notarie Jacob Duyfhutsen junior, 25/03/1641.

84 Gemeentearchief Rotterdam: Oud Notariel Archief Rotterdam, volume 202, act 329/461. Notarie Jacob Duyfhutsen junior, 05/01/1642.

communities' we often hear about. Many clearly integrated to various degrees into the wider host-societies in which they lived.⁸⁵

Whether beneficiaries of their military husbands or not, actually collecting inheritance proved difficult for a number of women. Margarethe Mackenzie, the wife of George Mackenzie, was left a widow when her husband died in 1645. In July 1656 King Frederik III of Denmark-Norway approved an annual payment of fifty *Rigsdåler* to her, presumably in honour of her husband's service, however it was eleven years after becoming a widow that she received this payment. While we have no further details on this case, it demonstrates that her husband, and maybe she herself, must have been important to the Danish army.⁸⁶ Elisabeth Clerck, the daughter and sister of two admirals in the Swedish navy, was left a widow with three young children in 1645. She wrote to Oxenstierna explaining that she was penniless, and requested his intercession with Queen Kristina to help bury her husband and feed her children.⁸⁷ While the outcome of this specific case is, again, not known, this is a further example, building on those examined above, of a woman feeling that she was fully entitled to write to the Swedish Chancellor, Oxenstierna, directly – highlighting yet again not only the integration of Scots into high levels of Swedish society but also that women achieved this level of status and privilege in their own right.

Women Remaining in Scotland

INEVITABLY women left behind at home were affected by the conflict just as those abroad. Marie Leslie, wife of Lord Cranston was greatly affected by remaining in Scotland, as demonstrated by the letters she wrote to her husband. Two months after she wrote to him, Cranstoun wrote to P. J. Coyet,

85 Many of these Scottish communities, all over Europe, are discussed in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*. For further examples see Gemeentearchief Rotterdam: Oud Notariel Archief Rotterdam, volume 205, act 150/207; volume 205; act 157/217; volume 216, act 58/220; volume 216, act 60/223; volume 217, act 78/285; volume 37, act 141/305; volume 80, act 169.

86 Ovenstad, O., *Militærbiografier: Den Norske Haers Officerer* (Oslo, 1949) p 148; Thomle (ed.), *Norske Rigsregistranter*, volume 11, p 614; Sandberg, J., *Kvinner gift med offiserer i den Norske Hær 1628-1814. Fra stabsfanejunker O. Ovenstads Militærbiografier* (Oslo, 1961) p 57; SSNE no. 5429.

87 Swedish Riksarkiv, Axel Oxenstiernas Brefvexling, E589; SAÄ, volume 2, p 328 and volume 7, p 292; Rudelius, F., *Kalmar Regementes Personhistoria 1623-1927* (2 volumes., Norköping, 1952) volume 1, p 59; SSNE no. 2836.

a financier and Swedish agent in England, regarding his wife's position, saying

see that I am necessitated to sell my landes to satisfie my officeres of ther levy munay whoe att present are persuing my Waife in Skotland.⁸⁸

There can not be any wonder that Marie wished to be with her husband, given all she was having to put up with at home in her husband's absence.

Many Scottish noblewomen at home were connected closely with the wars of the seventeenth century. Anna Cunningham, Marchioness of Hamilton, was closely connected to the court of James VI and I. Her date of birth is unknown but on 30 January 1603 she was contracted to marry the fourteen-year-old Lord James Hamilton, who was made a gentleman of the bedchamber, a privy councillor and steward of the royal household by James VI and I in 1604. He spent the majority of his time at court, leaving his capable wife to bring up their family of an estimated eight children and to run his vast estates, which she did well. She oversaw all expenditure and personally rode constantly around all of their lands. She undertook building-work and also supervised industrial activities. When her husband died suddenly in 1625, Anna continued to run the estates for her eldest son James, 3rd Marquess of Hamilton, who was Charles I's principal advisor and absent at court in London. Importantly, she also did so during the time that the marquis led a British army into Germany to help Gustavus Adolphus between 1631-2, and again when he resided in London throughout the 1630s. However, Anna was a staunch Covenanter and when her son was appointed to command a Royalist fleet in June 1638 with the view of suppressing the Covenanters, she raised a troop of cavalry for the Covenanting cause. 'This lady came forth armed with a pistol, which she vowed to discharge upon her own son, if he offered to come ashore – a notable virago'.⁸⁹ Anna is an example of a woman abandoned for both court duty and military service, and left to oversee the running of the Hamilton

88 SRA, *Coyetska Samlingen* 3400, vol 2, f 136. William Lord Cranston to P.J. Coyet, Hamburg, 28 October 1657.

89 Furgol, E., *A Regimental History of the Covenanting Armies, 1639-51* (Edinburgh, 1990) p 26.

estates, incorporating those duties commonly believed to be those of the man of the house, as well as general household duties.⁹⁰

In addition to consideration of noble cases such as Marchioness Hamilton, it is also necessary to consider those women in the lower echelons of society who were left at home in Scotland while their husbands were abroad. There is evidence of some of these women travelling through Europe alone in order to be reunited with their husbands. Unfortunately, few documents highlighting these cases have survived, as they concern ordinary women, and have not previously been thought to be of any importance. Luckily, some of the letters of James Spens, Drummer Major in the Swedish army, and his wife Elizabeth (née Baillie) have been preserved, albeit accidentally, and these give us an insight into the effect the war had on the ordinary woman in Europe.⁹¹ While travelling through Sweden to meet her husband in Riga, she wrote to him that 'I com to Stockholm I had not so much as my sark to put upone my back not nothing to live upon war not my Lord Wormiston and his son Lieutenant James Spens gave me money'.⁹² This highlights firstly that economically, life for the ordinary people was not easy, and secondly the fact that kith and kin networks, which have been examined extensively elsewhere, were essential for the survival of many Scots on the Continent in this period.⁹³ It is unfortunate that so few records such as this survive and, when considering the plight of the ordinary people, we are so often dependent on speculation.

Women remaining at home were clearly affected in different ways and, arguably, more deeply than those who travelled abroad with their husbands or family and could make a new life for themselves. Christopher Duffy describes the 'sadness and quiet dignity, attended with gruff words from the father and the proud tears of the mother' which accompanied the parting of a young man from his home and family.⁹⁴ William, 3rd Lord Cranstoun, who in 1656 left Scotland for Swedish service, had first to put his affairs in order. While this is really beyond the scope of this investigation, it demonstrates

90 *DNB* volume 14, pp 678-9.

91 It is likely that these letters were initially incorrectly believed to be concerning James Spens of Wormiston.

92 *NAS*, RH9/2/231-242, Elizabeth Spens (née Baillie) to James Spens, Drummer Major in the Swedish Army.

93 See Murdoch, *Network North*.

94 Duffy, C., *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason* (London, 1987) p 57.

the fact that those leaving to go abroad relied on the help of people at home – men and women. Indeed, Cranstoun is said to have appointed as his administrators Dame Marie Leslie and Lady Cranstoun, among others, certainly assigning them as much responsibility as the men in his social circle.⁹⁵

Women remaining at home could suffer as a result of the wars if their husbands or fathers lost money while attempting to become ‘soldiers of fortune’ abroad. For example, Colonel Anthony Hamilton acted as guarantor for a loan to Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth, who did not pay the loan back before his death. Hamilton eventually pleaded with his brother to

do so much for him who lay in the same belly ... let him not be cursed in the grave, by the pure widow and children he left behind it well be known to yourself and me, what troubles I freed you of in bringing him out of Scotland with me.⁹⁶

In reality, it was Hamilton’s own wife and children he was concerned about, demonstrating what could happen if one mistake was made abroad. Failure abroad could result in the dishonoured individual ‘shaming his whole otherwise deserving family’ – demonstrating that the consequences were not just material, and that the family could be humiliated as well.⁹⁷ In a similar vein, it has been argued that the exodus of men to the continent in this period markedly increased the persecution of witches in Scotland, as there were increased numbers of single, poor women on the margin of society. This adds more weight to the contention that loss for these women was often not just material.⁹⁸

One of the reasons for entrusting estates to those at home was that it was not easy to obtain the pass required to take leave in order to return home. Ensign Carstairs, serving in France, received one such pass in 1663 in order to attend to his affairs in Scotland.⁹⁹ This demonstrates either that he

95 Grosjean, “Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?”, pp.78-79; NAS, Earl of Stair’s Muniments, GD 135/1032, Commission by Lord Cranstoun, 3 March 1656.

96 Glozier, M., *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King* (Boston, 2004), pp 78-9.

97 Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers*, pp 78-9.

98 Goodare, J., “Women and the With-Hunt in Scotland” in *Social History*, volume 23 (London, 1998) p 292.

99 Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers*, pp 80-1.

had no one to look after his affairs in his absence, or that he did not trust his family to do so. This is the exception rather than the norm – the majority of soldiers serving abroad trusted someone at home to manage their affairs (usually their wife) and relied on correspondence to keep a check on them. Glozier suggests that the ability of many Scottish soldiers of fortune to cope with vicissitude owes much to their understanding of the soldiers' lot and to their professionalism.¹⁰⁰ It could be argued, a point not considered by Glozier, that this applies just as much to the women who were affected by the conflict, at home and abroad, as to the men – maybe even more so as they were not the victims of their own misfortune, but of someone else's.

Conclusion

THIS article has sought to redress the roles previously attributed to women in the seventeenth century, in particular in connection with the conflict in which Scandinavian countries were involved. What has been clearly demonstrated is that the perception of the role of women, to this point, has not only failed to afford them the appropriate credit for their actions and input into society, it has not sufficiently examined archival evidence relating to the role of these women abroad. Women were not only present in this arena as wives or daughters; many made careers and homes for themselves, regardless of the status or wealth of their husbands. Those women who travelled abroad with their husbands were, of course, not with their husbands day and night, and it is staggering that their activities during the time their husbands were not present has not been previously examined. Women were important in their own right during this period, not simply as an historical aside to the activities of men. It has been possible to demonstrate their activities at all levels of society, from the poorest wife of a common soldier, to prostitutes, pedlars, sophisticated businesswomen and, as expected, the higher nobility. Through Marchioness Hamilton we have also seen that, when called upon to do so, women could lead a regiment in what has been described as Britain's first professional army. It is hoped that this study will encourage historians of other disciplines to re-evaluate the recognition, or lack thereof, they afford to the accomplishments of women, and not be content to consign their historical significance to the sordid or mundane pastimes of prostitution, homemaking or simply being a wife.

100 Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers*, p 84.

There has not been space to develop an argument as to why the women subjects in this article became involved in the way they did during wartime – for most we simply do not have that answer yet. However, from this starting point it is hoped that further comparative analysis from other archival seams will give us a fuller understanding of where and why women had a role to play in early modern warfare.

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