

Scottish Involvement in an Anglo-Dutch Army in Danish Service: Reassessing the 'English' Expedition of Sir Charles Morgan, 1627-9

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Introduction

IN EARLY 1627, four regiments under the command of Sir Charles Morgan departed the Dutch Republic to serve under Christian IV of Denmark-Norway during the 'Danish Phase' of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).¹ Christian, having declared war in 1625 as Duke of Holstein rather than King of Denmark-Norway, had intervened against the Holy Roman Empire for several reasons.² For one, as Duke of Holstein and Lieutenant-General of the Lower Saxon Circle, he wished to consolidate his power in Northern Germany and resented the growth of Habsburg power there.³ Secondly, as King of Denmark-Norway, Christian was concerned about the growing military might of Sweden and wished to be at the forefront of the Protestant cause before Gustav II Adolf.⁴ Thirdly, intervention in the Thirty Years' War was part of a larger family affair. Christian IV was the maternal uncle of Elizabeth Stuart, erstwhile Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia.⁵ Since 1618, Elizabeth's father and brother, James VI and I and Charles I, had sought the restitution of the Palatinate by both official and unofficial means, namely diplomatically, monetarily, and militarily.⁶

Christian had not entered into the conflict alone, joining in an alliance at The Hague with the Dutch Republic and Britain with the intention of 'reestablishing the Palatinate and the security and freedom of [the United

1 Beller 1928, 529.

2 Murdoch, Grosjean 2014, 43.

3 Zickermann 2013, 31.

4 Murdoch, Grosjean 2014, 43; Wedgewood 1938, 196-197; Wilson 2009, 387.

5 Akkerman 2021, 13; Murdoch 2001, 18.

6 Beller 1928, 528; Akkerman 2021, 139; Polišínsky 2001, 109-115; Murdoch 2019, 17-19.

Provinces].⁷ As part of the alliance, Charles I pledged to pay Christian a subsidy of £30,000 pounds per month, and the Republic – still fighting Spain in the Eighty Years' War – offered another £5,000.⁸ In addition, Charles I pledged 7,000 soldiers, and Morgan's troops were meant to fulfill this obligation.⁹ Unfortunately, before most of the soldiers had even been raised, dual defeats on the Continent seriously hampered Christian's war effort. In April 1626, an army under Count Mansfeldt was defeated by an Imperial army at Dessau Bridge, delaying him from reinforcing Christian.¹⁰ Then, on 26 August, Christian engaged the Count of Tilly at Lutter-am-Barenberg and was soundly defeated, losing perhaps as many as one-third of his army.¹¹ Morgan's fresh levy was thus critical in bringing Christian's army back up to strength, a point made explicitly by Charles I.¹²

However, the Morgan expedition was doomed almost from its inception. By 2 April 1627, nearly 50% of its soldiers had deserted.¹³ While attempts at pressing more men brought the strength up to 4-5,000 men, lack of pay and provisioning made the threat of further desertion and mutiny a serious problem during the duration of its service.¹⁴ In April 1628, Morgan had surrendered Stade and returned temporarily to the Dutch Republic.¹⁵ By 1629, the expedition was over. Glückstadt had capitulated and the regiments had returned permanently to the Dutch Republic, perhaps having lost as many as two-thirds of their men.¹⁶ The Hague Alliance effectively crumbled with the Peace of Lübeck, when Christian IV exited the Thirty Years' War.¹⁷

Until recently, the foremost authority on the Morgan expedition was E A Beller, whose seminal article on it has informed historians of the Thirty Years' War and Stuart-British foreign policy since its publication in 1928.¹⁸ Beller focused on the military exploits of the expedition, outlining some of the reasons for its failure within both a political and military context. Recent historiography has, however, significantly advanced our understanding of the Morgan expedition within its British and Danish contexts. For one, Beller's statement that Morgan's expedition was 'the only military assistance

7 HH, CP 131/45, England and the Low Countries, 13 Aug. 1630.

8 Wilson 2009, 391; Israel 1995, 493; Murdoch 2010, 165; Marks 2018, 177.

9 Marks 2018, 177; Beller 1928, 528; Petersen 1987, 74.

10 Petersen 1987, 77

11 Ibid. 77; Murdoch 2003, 203.

12 HH, CP 131/2, The King to the Earl of Salisbury, 9 Feb. 1626/7; Murdoch 2003, 203.

13 TNA, SP84/133, fo.98, Strength of 4 Regiments in the Low Countries, 2 April 1627.

14 Beller 1928, 530; Marks 2012, 127, 192; Marks 2018, 177-178.

15 Beller 1928, 534.

16 Parker 1987, 202.

17 Wilson 2009, 423.

18 Beller 1928; Parker 1987, 277 n.28; Zickermann 2013, 32-33, 35-36; Spring 2016, 153.

given by [Charles I] to [Christian IV]' during the whole of the *Keijserkrieg* has been proven by Steve Murdoch to be completely untrue as over 13,700 Scottish soldiers served in Denmark between 1627 and 1629.¹⁹ The work of Adam Marks has placed the Morgan expedition within a wider context of English and British warfare in the late 1620s, demonstrating the 'considerable strain the English military community was placed under' during the period.²⁰ Perhaps the best information on the Morgan expedition can now be found in the work of Kathrin Zickermann, who has placed the expedition within a British diplomatic context and the strategic implications in the Elbe-Weser region.²¹

Despite the advancements that have been made since Beller's article was published, there are still many questions surrounding the expedition. For one, the provenance of the regiments remains unclear. Were the forty-eight companies, as Beller implied, drawn up from the existing regiments of the Anglo-Dutch Brigade?²² The Anglo-Dutch Brigade operated in much the same way as the Scots-Dutch Brigade: although in Dutch service and under a Dutch payroll, they were ultimately loyal to the king in Britain, and could be redeployed as he wished.²³ Under further scrutiny, it becomes clear that they could not have come from the Anglo-Dutch Brigade. On 1 May 1629, after Morgan's ultimate return to the Republic, the Dutch army had besieged 's-Hertogenbosch, no fewer than sixty-eight full English companies were fielded.²⁴

Furthermore, almost every recent study which mentions the Morgan expedition refers to it as an entirely 'English expedition' made up of 'English troops'.²⁵ This is not necessarily incorrect as organising payment, reinforcing, victualling, and dispatching of the soldiers fell under the remit of the English Privy Council and so was a bona fide venture of the English government.²⁶ However, since 1603, the Stuarts had been embarking on a program of creating a more unified British state, and though the Stuart political, ecclesiastical, and

19 Beller 1928, 539; Murdoch, 2001, 19; Murdoch 2003, 206.

20 Marks 2012, 123-135.

21 Zickermann 2013, 32-37, 56, 137-139.

22 Beller 1928, 528-529.

23 Murdoch, Grosjean 2014, 31; Marks 2012, 63.

24 De Cauwer 2008, 69, 295; Wilson 2009, 437; Delft University of Technology, *Obsidio et Expugnatio Sylvædvics, Aufpiciis Ordinum Belgicæ Fæderatæ, Ductu Illuſtmi. et invictmi. Principis Frederici Henrici Araufionunſium Principis etc. cic ic c xxix*. Joan Blaeu, engraving, Toonnel der Steden van de Vereenighde Nederlanden, Amsterdam, J. Blaeu, 1649.

25 Fissell 2001, 271; Spring 2016, 150; Zickermann 2013, 32; Murdoch 2003, 203; Murdoch, Grosjean 2014, 44; Murdoch 2019, 24; Marks 2012, 124.

26 Even Morgan, despite being Welsh, referred to his regiments as English. See TNA SP84/137, fo.101, Morgan to Buckingham, 3 May 1628.

diplomatic programs are well-known to historians, this also extended to the military. Steve Murdoch has demonstrated that a 'British' military identity had begun to seriously develop in the 1610s and 1620s, with integrated British armies raised for service in Juliers-Cleves (1609, 1614), Denmark-Norway (1612), Bohemia (1620, 1624), and Sweden (1629).²⁷

Unsurprisingly then, there are some added nuances to the Morgan expedition. For one, many of the soldiers and officers – including Morgan – were Welsh.²⁸ However, James Fallon also noted that in the muster rolls of Morgan's four regiments the names of some officers suggested 'a possible Scottish connection'.²⁹ More perplexing is the fact that on 31 May 1628, Morgan and his four regiments arrived in Zwolle after temporarily returning to the Republic, along with several contingents of Scots.³⁰ Furthermore, on 12 June 1628, the States-General of the Dutch Republic motioned to disband some Scottish companies that had returned with Morgan.³¹ Much to the annoyance of paymaster Philip Calandrini, as well as to Christian IV and his ambassadors in the Republic, these Scottish 'regimenten' were disbanded by 18 July.³² But where did these Scots come from? Who were the officers? And why did the Dutch Republic opt to disband them?

This article will seek to answer these questions and, in doing so, make several broader points. First, this article will add to and integrate the existing literature of Britain and the Thirty Years' War, demonstrating that Scots and Englishmen abroad did not work in entirely separate spheres and that the Morgan expedition was not just 'English'. Secondly, this article will demonstrate the fluid relationship that the developing British military establishment had with its allies. As will be seen, quartering, provisioning, and disbandment could fall on any of the partners within The Hague Alliance. Thirdly, this article will offer another critical reassessment of Charles I's military aid to Christian IV. Not only was Christian provided with more troops than initially agreed in the form of the Scottish levies, Sir Charles Morgan's expedition was made up of a veteran British officer corps provided by Charles to his uncle.

27 Murdoch 2002, 11-24.

28 Murdoch 2003, 204-205; Yee 2016; Beller 1928, 539; Murdoch 2019, 24; Spring 2016, 150; Marks 2018, 178.

29 Fallon 1973, 200.

30 BSG: 31 May 1628 (18); TNA SP75/9, fo.148, List of Morgan's troops from Stade, 27 May 1628.

31 BSG.: 12 June 1628 (2)

32 Ibid.: 17 June 1628 (2); 7 July 1628 (19); *Resolutien van Holland*, 1627-1630: 19 July 1628—*Propositie van den Marquis Rosenkranz*, 475-176.

Identifying Morgan's Scottish officers

The first question posed above, the identity of those possible Scottish officers who served in the 'English' regiments under Morgan, can be tackled fairly easily. Of the forty-eight company commanders that accompanied Morgan straight from the Dutch Republic, no fewer than six were Scottish: captains Ogilvie, Livingston, and Ramsay, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Seton, as well colonels Sir James Livingston and Sir John Swinton.³³ Furthermore, there may have been several more Scots serving as subaltern officers, such as Lieutenant Stewart (serving under Captain Ramsay), who had come over in the initial levy.³⁴ This may not seem like a significant amount, however, it is worth emphasizing that of the four regimental commanders – Sir Charles Morgan, Sir John Borlase, Sir James Livingston, and Sir John Swinton – the latter two were both Scottish. Thus, of the colonels in the 'English' expedition, 50% were Scottish and only one – Borlase – was actually ethnically English. But how did two Scots come to command English regiments in Dutch and then Danish service? Were they, and the other Scottish captains, pulled from the Scots-Dutch Brigade for the expedition? Following the careers of these two officers actually provides more insight into the origins of these four regiments as a whole.

The later military career of Colonel Livingston is well known, for he was in fact the future Earl of Callendar and general in the Army of the Covenant during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.³⁵ Livingston first began his career as a lieutenant in the Scots-Dutch Brigade in the company of his older brother, Sir Henry Livingston, as early as 1616, but may have departed service temporarily in 1618 due to ill health, before returning as a gentleman voluntary for the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1622.³⁶ By 1626 Sir James was noted in a Scottish procuratory letter as 'colonel of an inglis regiment under the estates of the united provinces in holland'.³⁷ That Livingston would appear as a colonel in 1626 is very surprising, given that there is no record of him advancing to the rank of captain in the Scots-Dutch Brigade before this.

Colonel Swinton, on the other hand, had some experience serving as a company commander before becoming a colonel. He had served in the army of Christian of Brunswick, fighting in the Palatinate sometime before 1623.³⁸ On

33 TNA, SP84/137, fo.147, Muster roll of Morgan's regiments at Zwolle, 17 May 1628.

34 TNA, SP84/121, fo.255, List of English officers for troops in Dutch service, [Undated] 1624.

35 Murdoch, Grosjean 2014, 114; Ferguson 1899, I, 325 and n.

36 Maclean 1976, 281; Ferguson 1899, I, 297; de Rijcke et al. 1623, list appearing at the end of the book.

37 NRS: GD86/480, Procuratory of Resignation, 10-11 March 1626.

38 TNA SP63/267, fo.18, List of Captains to have the command of the companies to be now levied for the Army, Feb. 1625; RSG, 1623-1624: 4 Dec. 1623 – No. 2347, 374.

4 December of that year, Swinton approached the States-General of the Dutch Republic with a request, probably for a commission in the Dutch army, but this was denied on the grounds that he had been captured by the enemy during his service under Christian.³⁹ By 1625, Swinton had been 'specially recommended' by Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia for further military service in Ireland.⁴⁰ Thus, like Livingston, there is no evidence that he served in the Scots-Dutch Brigade during the early 1620s, and so it is unlikely that the other Scottish officers that served under Morgan were pulled from the Brigade.

Instead, Livingston, as a lieutenant-colonel, and Swinton, as a sergeant-major, along with most of the Scottish captains, enlisted in the levies of the Earls of Oxford, Essex, Southampton and Lord Willoughby in 1624.⁴¹ It has been previously held that these levies did not '[provide] the support that was expected of them', the implication being that they simply disintegrated after the deaths of Southampton and Oxford on arriving in the Republic.⁴² Adam Marks has shown this to be an unfair assessment, pointing out that the four new regiments joined the old regiments in the Dutch army, serving at least partially at the siege of Breda in 1625.⁴³ It was on Oxford's decease that Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston assumed the colonelcy of the regiment, while Sir John Borlase, a veteran of the Palatinate, took command of Southampton's regiment.⁴⁴ Of the other Scottish officers, Seton had joined Oxford's regiment as sergeant-major before assuming the lieutenant-colonelcy from Livingston, Ramsay was a captain in Oxford's regiment, while Captain Livingston had joined as a lieutenant under Sir James.⁴⁵ Sergeant-Major Swinton assumed the colonelcy from the Earl of Essex in 1627 on Essex's refusal to serve under Morgan in the Danish expedition, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Charles Rich's recall for the expedition to La Rochelle.⁴⁶

By determining that these Scottish officers entered Dutch service (or reentered, in Livingston's case) in the 1624 levies, and were not pulled from the Scots-Dutch Brigade, makes it clear that the four regiments did not just

39 RSG, 1623-1624: 4 Dec. 1623 – No. 2347, 374.

40 TNA SP63/267, fo.18, List of Captains. to have the command of the companies to be now levied for the Army, Feb. 1625.

41 TNA SP84/118, fo.172, List of garrisons of new troops, 13 July 1624; TNA SP84/121 fo.255, List of English officers for troops in Dutch service, [Undated] 1624; NL-HaNA, Staten-Generaal, 1.01.02, inv.nr. 8048, Staten van Oorlog, 1625.

42 Murdoch 2001, 5; Dunthorne 2013, 90

43 Marks 2012, 72-73; TNA SP84/121, fo.255, List of passage of the Dutch army by Geertuidenberg, and another copy, 21 Sept. /1 Oct. 1624.

44 HSL, IV, 15; TNA SP81/29, fo.349, List of English captains late in the Palatinate, [Undated] [1623].

45 TNA SP84/121, fo.255 – List of English officers for troops in Dutch service, [Undated] 1624.

46 HSL, IV, 15; Spring 2016, 150.

disappear off the map in 1625 and that the Danish expedition was not made up of the four long-standing regiments of the Anglo-Dutch Brigade. In fact, of the forty-eight company commanders that served in Germany, no fewer than thirty-two officers – two-thirds of the entire expedition – were part of this initial 1624 levy.⁴⁷ At least ten of those officers served below the rank of captain (either as lieutenants or ensigns) and were presumably replacing officers that either died in the field, of disease, or had, like Lieutenant-Colonel Rich, Sir Peregrine Bertie, and Captain John Ratcliffe, been recalled to Britain to serve in the expedition to La Rochelle.⁴⁸ Furthermore, Swinton was a veteran officer with experience in the Palatinate, which provides an explanation for his recommendation from the Queen of Bohemia (see above). A survey of all the officers – English and Scottish – that served in Morgan's expedition reveals that an additional twelve officers were veterans of the Palatinate, like Captains Hubbert and Kevitt, who appear to have served alongside Swinton.⁴⁹ In total at least thirty-six out of the forty-eight officers, three-quarters of the expedition, had seen some service before. Therefore, by sending the four regiments levied in 1624 to Denmark-Norway, Charles I was able to provide a veteran officer corps – if not a veteran army – while still recalling some officers for La Rochelle and not entirely depleting the four original regiments of the Anglo-Dutch Brigade.

Along with the participation of Scots within the regiments themselves, Scots were also involved in reinforcing Morgan with troops directly from Britain. At the forefront of this was Captain Sir Archibald Douglas of Tilquhillie, who was commissioned by the English Privy Council on 20 March 1627 to take charge of the transportation of 1,150 new recruits in London to reinforce Morgan in Germany.⁵⁰ Douglas had previously served as a captain in the Cadiz Expedition, and his troops were part of a larger force intended to reinforce Morgan.⁵¹ Similar warrants had been issued both to Captain Francis Cunningsby, who was to take 1,350 men from Hull, and Captain Richard Saltonstall, who was to depart with 500 men from Harwich.⁵²

47 TNA SP84/118, fo.172. List of garrisons of new troops, 13 July 1624; TNA SP84/121 fo.255. List of English officers for troops in Dutch service, [Undated] 1624; NL-HaNA, Staten-Generaal, 1.01.02, inv.nr. 8048, Staten van Oorlog, 1625.

48 Marks 2012, 120; Spring 2016, 242, 244; TNA SP84/130, fo.144. List of Officers who have left Dutch for English Service, and list of sea captains, [Undated 1625].

49 TNA SP63/267, fo.18. List of Captains. to have the command of the companies to be now levied for the Army, Feb. 1625; Muster roll of Morgan's regiments at Zwolle, 17 May 1628. Marks noted that there was also an overlap of officers between the Mansfeldt levy of 1624 and the Dutch levies. See Marks 2012, 71.

50 *APC*, 42: 20 March 1626/7, 145; Johnston 1907, 85.

51 *APC*, 42: 30 March 1627, 178.

52 *Ibid.*: 20 March 1626/7, 145.

Douglas was, by and large, transporting English recruits. On 25 March, he was instructed to receive 100 soldiers from Berkshire, while on 17 April he refused to receive sixty recruits from Surrey for unknown reasons.⁵³ However, was there a deeper Scottish element to the recruits that embarked with him? In a list from April 1627, three regiments were noted as reinforcements for Morgan under colonels Sir Jacob Astley, Sir James Hamilton, and Sir James Ramsay.⁵⁴ Astley's regiment appeared to be drawn up entirely from counties in England and Wales, but there were three Scottish captains in the regiments of Ramsay and Hamilton: captains Auchterlony, Beton, and Douglas. By 12 June, Douglas, Cunningsby and the reinforcements had arrived at Morgan's quarters at Wasserbaden.⁵⁵ The following week, Morgan wrote of their arrival, despairing that the recruits were 'farr from being sufficient to ... make our troupes compleat'.⁵⁶

The Scottish-Danish regiments in the Dutch Republic

This still does not account for the mystery of the Scots that appeared in the Dutch Republic in the summer of 1628 and were disbanded. The problem of their origins is compounded by the fact that sources do not seem to agree on how many Scots actually came with Morgan from Stade. Some resolutions of the States-General note two Scottish 'regimenten' and some note four.⁵⁷ F J G. Ten Raa and F de Bas wrote that by 31 May there were eight Scottish companies in Zwolle, made up of 300 men each, in addition to the forty-eight companies under Morgan.⁵⁸ These disbanded soldiers were unlikely to be in Morgan's regiments, but had fallen under his command while garrisoned in Stade.

53 TNA SP16/58, Sec. Conway to Sir Archibald Douglas, 25 March 1627; TNA SP16/60, fo.67, Deputy Lieutenants of Surrey to Viscount Wimbledon, 17 April 1627.

54 TNA SP16/526, fo.101, Note of forces preparing to join the expedition of Sir Charles Morgan in aid of the King of Denmark, [April] 1627. This list does appear almost identical to a later list of regiments meant for Swedish service under the same colonels in 1631, however there is evidence that many of the captains in those regiments had been Morgan's reinforcements. On 10 December 1628, several captains in Glückstadt complained of their miserable conditions, and the signatories included John Talbott, Francis Tirwhit, Richard Fielding, and Charles Vavasour, who had all been listed in Ramsey and Hamilton's regiments. See TNA SP75/9, fo.335, Captains in Gluckstat to —, 11 December 1628. See APC, 46: 8 June 1631, 376-378, for the Swedish list. Additionally, it has been hypothesized that Astley had been in Danish service prior to Sweden, and one of his captains, John Wroughton, was also present in Glückstadt. See SSNE: Jacob Astley [SSNE 3842]; TNA SP75/9, fo.310, James Wroughton to [Dorchester], 21 November 1628.

55 TNA SP75/8, fo.148, Morgan to Conway, 12 June 1627.

56 Ibid.: fo.176, Morgan to Secretary of State, 19 June 1627.

57 BSG: 31 May 1628 (18), 6 June 1628 (18), 12 June 1628 (2), 17 June 1628 (2)

58 HSL, IV, 16.

At the same time that Douglas, Cunningsby, and Saltonstall were transporting the reinforcements from Britain, patents had been granted by the Scottish Privy Council for three regiments (a total of 9,000 men) to be raised under the Earl of Nithsdale, Lord Spynie, and Baron Murckle for Danish service.⁵⁹ These were also joined by a regiment under Donald Mackay, Lord Reay which had been diverted into Danish service.⁶⁰ There is evidence that it was in fact companies from these regiments that had returned with Morgan from Stade, having been present in the garrison with him for some time. Robert Monro, still a lieutenant in Mackay's regiment, wrote that, in mid-1627, seven regiments from Mackay's regiment were attached to General Morgan for a period of around ten weeks.⁶¹ Indeed, in July 1627, Morgan reported to Sir Dudley Carleton that 2,000 of the 'new' Scots had arrived and that Christian IV had pledged to send some directly to Morgan.⁶² It appears that Christian made good on his promise, as Morgan further wrote that by 7 August, eight companies of the Scots had arrived at Waserbaden.⁶³ Some of the companies certainly stayed with Morgan when he and his regiments withdrew into Stade later in the year and, by 25 January 1628, Morgan had complained that some Scots of the new regiment had refused to muster and that 'their officers were more debauched than [their men]'.⁶⁴

It is unclear exactly which of these 'new' Scottish companies were with Morgan in Stade and which ones returned to the Republic with him after the city's surrender on 25 April.⁶⁵ However, on returning to Zwolle in May, a muster roll indicated three extra Scottish companies, totaling 330 men, under colonels Hamilton, Mowbray, and Spynie were present there.⁶⁶ Fallon has pointed out that it is possible Hamilton and Mowbray were mislabeled as colonels on this list.⁶⁷ Mowbray was most probably Captain Alexander Mowbray, of Murckle's regiment, while Hamilton may have been Captain Alexander Hamilton of Nithsdale's, or perhaps Colonel Sir James Hamilton.⁶⁸

There were, therefore, at least nine Scottish company commanders in Stade that were able to come to the Dutch Republic after its surrender.

59 Murdoch, Grosjean 2014, 43.

60 Murdoch 2003, 206.

61 Monro 1637, 4, 6.

62 TNA SP75/8, fo.197, Morgan to Carleton, 11 July 1627; TNA SP75/8, fo.228, Morgan to the Lords of Council, 26 July 1627.

63 Ibid.: fo.252, Morgan to Secretary of State, 7 August 1627.

64 Beller 1928, 533; TNA SP75/9, fo.28, Morgan to Carleton, 25 January 1628.

65 Beller 1928, 534.

66 TNA SP75/9 fo.148. List of Morgan's troops from Stade, 27 May 1628.

67 Fallon 1973, 217.

68 TNA SP75/9 fo.148. List of Morgan's troops from Stade, 27 May 1628; SSNE: Alexander Mowbray [SSNE 544] and Alexander Hamilton [SSNE 210]; Fallon 1973, 210.

However, the Scots that were in Morgan's regiments were still commanders of companies under orders from the English Privy Council. When leaving Stade, Morgan again differentiated between the 'Scots' and the 'English', writing that the Scots had received the same terms of surrender as the English and that he hoped he could bring them out with him.⁶⁹ This becomes clearer when examining the disbandment of the Scottish troops by the Dutch Republic. On 6 June, Christian IV's secretary, Frederik Günther, requested that the Scottish soldiers be maintained by the States-General, but with payment not forthcoming from either the States or Calandrini, the Scottish contingents were disbanded.⁷⁰ Christian IV was not happy with this development, having wanted those soldiers transferred to Glückstadt, where hostilities were ongoing.⁷¹ But the Scottish company commanders in the English regiments did end up in Glückstadt: Lieutenant-Colonel Seton, for example, was present there in December 1628, when he helped to quell a mutiny within his regiment.⁷²

Conclusion

The Morgan expedition should not be taken as a case study for early modern military success and, in the words of Fallon, many of the 'English and Scottish soldiers cannot have looked back over their period [of service] with any degree of satisfaction'.⁷³ Morgan himself even stated that in his thirty-seven or thirty-eight years of military service, 'I was never troubled with such a confusion as these fower regiments have put me to at present', and that was before the Expedition had even departed the Dutch Republic!⁷⁴ More gravely, the cost of life was extremely high. Of the 4-5,000 men who initially were raised for the expedition only 1,900 returned to the Dutch Republic in 1628.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, there are several important conclusions

69 TNA SP84/137, fo.101, Morgan to Buckingham, 3 May 1628.

70 BSG: 6 June 1628 (3), 9 June 1628 (14), 12 June 1628 (2), 17 June 1628 (2). Callandrini had just received orders on paying Morgan's soldiers on their eventual redeployment to Glückstadt. See British Library, Egerton MS 2553, Copies of Navy and miscellaneous warrants, etc. including several relating to Ireland; 1628-1641, fo.40. I thank Joseph Wagner for this reference.

71 BSG: 18 July 1628 (19)

72 TNA SP75/9, fo.337, Sergeant-Major Wentworth to Morgan, 11 December 1628. Monro noted that a 'Lieutenant-Colonel Seton was commended for keeping strict discipline,' though it is unclear if Monro was referring to Sir John or Alexander Seton. Monro 1637, unnumbered page. See Brockington 1999, 109.

73 Fallon 1973, 217.

74 TNA SP75/8, fo.48, Morgan to Conway, 13/23 March 1627.

75 Marks 2012, 192; TNA SP75/9, fo.140, Muster of English regiments at Zwolle, 17 May 1628.

that can be drawn from studying the expedition and in considering the participation of Scots in it.

First, it has been asserted that Scottish and English soldiers in Dutch service had to 'be kept as separate and far away from each other as possible', that there were no 'British expeditions' to the Continent in the pre-Civil War era, and that Scottish-British military integration largely happened at the end of the seventeenth century.⁷⁶ Clearly, this was not true, as there was no issue with attaching auxiliary Scottish companies from Mackay's regiment to Morgan or colonels Sir James Livingston or Sir John Swinton leading ostensibly 'English' regiments. In the case of Swinton, he was in a way elected to the position on the advice of Morgan and a council of his officers.⁷⁷ Additionally, with four other Scots present in the 'Anglo-Dutch' regiments and perhaps even more subaltern officers, it becomes clear that this could filter down the ranks. It would not be at all surprising if there were at least a few ordinary soldiers who were Scots, or some Dutch troops in the mix as well. Thus, in the context of other military expeditions in the 1610s and 1620s, the Morgan expedition is yet another example of the development of British military identity and the British military establishment in the pre-Civil War era.

Secondly, the expedition is a useful case study of the Hague Alliance and how it operated on the ground or, rather, in the field. That English regiments – with Scottish officers – in Dutch service could serve side-by-side with Scottish regiments in Danish-Norwegian service makes clear that there was an extremely complex military situation in Northern Germany. Given this situation, it may, in fact, be useful to think of the armies present there at this time as a single army: the 'Army of the Hague Alliance'. Britain, the Dutch Republic and Denmark-Norway were all involved to an extent in the reinforcing, provisioning, and garrisoning of these soldiers. In addition, the Dutch Republic felt that it was within their remit to disband Scots-Danish companies in 1628 – even against the wishes of Christian IV. This shows a level of Dutch authority over all of the soldiers, and that the soldiers that came out of Stade were not just serving Denmark-Norway. Moreover, reinforcements were arriving from Britain – both from England and Scotland – conducted by Englishmen and Scots alike, illustrating equal partnership in reinforcing an alliance often deemed just between Denmark-Norway, the Dutch Republic and England.⁷⁸

Thirdly, it is worth considering the place of the Dutch Republic – both as a physical and political entity – as the centre of European-wide military

76 Dunthorne 1996, 111; Carver 1984, 2; Brown 1991, 148-152.

77 TNA SP75/8, fo.148, Morgan to Conway, 12 June 1627.

78 Israel 1995, 493.

migration in the era. David Onnekink and Gijs Rommelse have argued effectively that the Dutch Republic was both a 'hub of global migration' and a 'hub of European migration'.⁷⁹ The Dutch Republic was not just playing host to foreign soldiers, but acting as a pool for soldiers going further afield. To illustrate this point, it is worth considering the further careers of individual officers who served with or around Morgan.

When Morgan and his regiments returned permanently to the Republic in 1629, some of the officers were retained and reorganized into a single regiment for continued service in the Dutch Republic.⁸⁰ This regiment, with Morgan as its colonel, served again in the successful siege of 's-Hertogenbosch alongside the rest of the Dutch army.⁸¹ However, none of the Scottish officers that served in Morgan's regiments were retained. When Colonel Livingston heard that some of Morgan's officers were being reemployed, he wrote to Secretary Dorchester, stating that he too hoped to be reemployed, for it would be a 'prejudice ... to my reputation if I should bee (sic) herein neglected ... which would make me regret the day that ever I was a soldier'.⁸² Livingston was indeed reemployed in the Scots-Dutch Brigade later that year although, to his chagrin, it was only at the rank of lieutenant-colonel.⁸³ Colonel Swinton, on the other hand, was not reemployed by the Dutch Republic. Instead, in early 1630, he raised a levy for the Republic of Venice, perhaps made up of other unemployed veterans for service in the War of Mantuan Succession.⁸⁴ He managed to raise around 2,000 soldiers but, unfortunately, Swinton never made it to Venice.⁸⁵ His ship was driven onto Goodwin Sands in a storm and he drowned, along with nearly 300 other soldiers.⁸⁶

Many of those who came to reinforce Morgan or had ended up in the Dutch Republic with him also continued to serve. It is likely that Colonel Sir James Ramsay was in fact the same as Colonel Sir James Ramsay 'the fair', who ended up in Swedish service and was noted by Robert Monro as 'Colonell to a foote Regiment of English'.⁸⁷ It is unclear what happened to Colonel Sir James Hamilton, but it is possible that he was a kinsman of James, Marquis Hamilton,

79 Onnekink, Rommelse 2019, 129-137, 156-165.

80 TNA PC2/39, fo.391, A letter directed to Sir Charles Morgan, knighte, 29 [July] 1629.

81 Delft University of Technology, *Obsidio et Expugnatio Sylvædviæ*.

82 TNA SP16/75, fo.80, James Levingstone to Sec. Dorchester, 27 June 1629.

83 Ferguson 1899, I, 325n; Laing 1875, I: 20 November 1629 – Sir William Kerr to Sir Robert Kerr, 50.

84 CSPV, 1629-1632: 5 May 1630 – Gussoni to the Doge and Senate, 333.

85 Ibid.: 5 May 1630 (Enclosure) Same to Same, 334, 24 May 1630 – Ambassador in England and the like to The Hague, 342.

86 Ibid.: 19 October 1630 – Gussoni to the Doge and Senate, 429, 25 October 1630 – Soranzo to the Doge and Senate, 430, 15 November 1630 – To the Ambassador at the Hague, 439.

87 Monro 1637, unnumbered page. See Brockington 1999, 114.

as nearly all of the officers continued to serve in the Marquis's regiment.⁸⁸ Several companies outwith Morgan's regiments returned with him in 1629 as well, including five Danish companies and two Scottish companies, under captains Francis Trafford and Lindsay.⁸⁹ Trafford's company was maintained in Utrecht for at least three months before it was disbanded on the petition of Lord Reay, who wished for Trafford to be sent to Sweden.⁹⁰ In the case of Sir Archibald Douglas, it appears he did not continue to serve, instead returning to Britain in 1628, settling the estate of the deceased Captain Saltonstall, and then allegedly becoming cursed by his wife, prophetess Lady Eleanor Davies.⁹¹

Finally, a study of these regiments and Scottish involvement in them shows the dynamic connections between the countries engaged in both the Thirty Years' War and the Eighty Years' War. While the existing historiography on Scotland and England in the wider world has demonstrated their dynamic links with Europe, it often lacks integration, making it appear that Scots and Englishman abroad were tied inextricably to their host countries. This case study of Scots in the Morgan expedition makes it clear that British soldiers did not enter a vacuum in their respective countries when they went abroad. It appears that Lord Reay and Colonel Swinton knew each other on some level, for the two dined together while Reay was on his way to Denmark-Norway.⁹² In another case, on 11 May 1627, a Scots-Dutch Brigade captain, Mungo Hamilton, attempted to 'enter the service of the King of Denmark', while retaining his Dutch captaincy, but this was denied by the States-General.⁹³ Perhaps he was a kinsman of Colonel Sir James Hamilton and heard that he would be reinforcing Morgan, or perhaps he believed his services would be better spent fighting for the uncle of Charles I. Regardless, by examining the Scottish involvement in what has traditionally been understood as an 'English' expedition, deeper connections have been revealed between the Dutch Republic, Denmark-Norway, England and Scotland. There are certainly more Caledonian connections awaiting discovery and the interrogation of similar cases will continue to paint a clearer picture of Britain's involvement in the Thirty Years' War.

88 *APC*, 46: 8 June 1631, 376-378. See also Marks 2012, 140 and SSNE: Jacob Astley [SSNE 3842], on the service of Colonel Astley.

89 *BSG*: 26 October 1628 (14).

90 *Ibid.*: 2 August 1629 (22), 20 November 1628 (13); Monro 1637, 82.

91 The connection to Lady Davies makes Douglas's identity clear. After the Danish expedition, he burned some of her papers and she allegedly cursed him, at which point 'he became afflicted by a mental disorder', which, according to Hans Pawlsch, manifested itself by making Douglas '[grunt] like a beast'. Pawlsch 1985, 29; Watt 2004; Johnston 1907, 85; TNA SP16/61, fo.4, Sec. Conway to Council, 23 April 1627; *APC*, 44: 27 February 1628/9, 348.

92 Fallon 1973, 202.

93 Ferguson 1899, I, 352; *BSG*: 21 May 1627 (4), 4 June 1627 (12).

Appendix: Principal Officers Involved in the Morgan Expedition⁹⁴

Bold indicates that the officer was in the initial 1624 levy.⁹⁵

Italics indicates that the officer was a veteran of Palatine service.⁹⁶

General Sir Charles Morgan⁹⁷

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Thomas Conway

Sergeant-Major Sir Sheffield Clapham

Capt. [Francis] Terwhitt

Capt. [William] Ashbornham

Capt. Kevitt

Capt. Bradshaw

Capt. Killigrew

Capt. Chamberlain

Capt. Oglebie

Capt. Rudyarde

Capt. Standishe

Colonel Sir John Borlase

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Conyers

Sergeant-Major [Arthur] Goring

Capt. Jeukes

Capt. [Henry] Berkley

Capt. [William] Cromwell

Capt. [James] Houbertt

Capt. Conningsby

Capt. Dalmady

Capt. Garrway

Capt. Ashley

Capt. Blount

94 This list is drawn from TNA SP75/9, fo.140, Muster of English regiments at Zwolle, 17 May 1628. See also TNA SP75/9, fo.148, List of Morgan's troops from Stade, 27 May 1628. Some names were corroborated with TNA SP63/267, fo.23, Further list of Captains, Colonels, &c. [recommended for service in Ireland], [Undated] 1625.

95 Information on captains who joined in the initial 1624 levy comes principally from TNA SP84/121, fo.255, List of English officers for troops in Dutch service, [Undated 1624], from TNA SP84/118, fo.172, List of Garrisons of new troops, 13 July 1624, and from NL-HaNA, Staten-Generaal, 1.01.02, inv.nr. 8048, Staten van Oorlog, 1625.

96 Information on captains who served in the Palatinate is drawn from TNA SP63/267, fo.18, List of Captains to have the command of the companies to be now levied for the Army and TNA SP81/29, fo.349, List of English captains late in the Palatinate, [Undated] [1623].

97 Though not in the initial levy or a veteran of the Palatinate, Sir Charles Morgan was a longstanding veteran of the Anglo-Dutch Brigade. See Furgol 2004.

Colonel Sir James Livingston
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Seton
Sergeant-Major [Henry] Wentworth
Capt. Ramsay
Capt. [Sir William] Haydon
Capt. [Sir William] Bronkard
Capt. Livingston
Capt. Kirbie
Capt. Slaughter
Capt. Francisco
Capt. Ernely
Capt. Pawlett

Colonel Sir John Swinton
Lieutenant-Colonel [Thomas] Davies
Sergeant-Major Merricke
Capt. Talbott
Capt. Millarde
Capt. Fleetwood
Capt. Sir Charles Vavasour
Capt. Essex
Capt. Fyldinge
Capt. Davis
Capt. Edwards
Capt Edmonds

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Et invictmi. Principis Frederici Henrici Araufionunfium Principis etc. cic ic c xxix.

Joan Blaeu, engraving, Toonneel der Steden van de Vereenighde Nederlanden, Amsterdam, J Blaeu, 1649. <https://repository.tudelft.nl/view/MMP/uuid:3813c80e-2d71-4597-892e-9e05a0cadc1> [Accessed 29 Dec. 2019].

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Mary Haynes and Frances Drummond: Two Abandoned Wives of Scottish Soldiers during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)

Steve Murdoch

THE STORY of the soldier taking a wife through trickery and deception, only to abandon her, is one as old as the historical record. It manifests itself as a theme in poetry and song as Hartmut Ruffer and Kathrin Zickermann so eloquently reminded the audience of the first 'Scotland and the Thirty Years' War' conference at Aberdeen University in 1999.¹

First Hunter:

*Well, here you will meet with the blessed lot!
But, tell me, what have you done with the Scot
With whom you kept company?*

Canteen Woman:

*This rascal! Finally he diddled me!
Off with the lot, the knave,
All that I had pinched myself to save,
Leaving me naught but that lout of a lad.*

The phenomenon of abandoning or deceiving a woman is obviously not something confined to the Scots during the series of wars that occurred in Europe in the Early Modern period. Nor was it something restricted to ethnicity or to the soldiering class. In 1588, for example, Catalina de Zamora was the wife of royal accountant Luis de Villatoro, but found herself and her

1 *My sincere thanks to Dr Rebecca Mason who kindly read through this text and gave me valuable pointers to literature I would otherwise have missed. Cited in Ruffer and Zickermann 2001, 271. For the long eighteenth-century context of similar sentiments expressed in literature see Hurl-Eamon 2014, 356-377.

children abandoned by him, ensuring she found herself in grave debt.² Scottish soldiers of the generations prior to the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) were also brought up in front of various courts for abandonment both in Scotland and in foreign service. The Scottish parliamentary records provide numerous sources which deal with the issue of abandonment and facilitate a woman's (and indeed, a man's) right of divorce for desertion.³ This is different from cases of distress caused by the long-term absence of a man who simply served overseas (voluntarily or otherwise), of which numerous cases exist.⁴ Simply put, the vast attrition rates experienced by the soldiery during the continental wars meant that the moment a wife watched her husband board the vessel to the continent and sail away was more often than not the last time she would ever see him. In the later period it has been observed that military service has been coupled with the intention to get away from a spouse, particularly in the literature of the era.⁵ However, in the period of the Thirty Years' War we have some evidence that the intention behind military service abroad was anything but abandonment, and rather a way of ensuring the soldier's wife remained properly supported with a viable income. As the common soldier James Spens wrote to his wife in 1628 after several years apart:

and gif ze sie ane fit occasioun *quherby* I may live lyk ane honest man with zow I intreit zow to send me word *with* ye first occasioun and I sall com *with* the haist I tak; and gif ze have no knowledg as zit [...] at any *yat* loves zow and me *quher* I can pane and plane to live in better *yam* ze last I had and I sall obey *zour* first wrytting to me; for I sie ze will not com to me for I thank god I could h[...] maintaine zow honestlie heir; bot I will not trubill zow sa beand it be *zour* will not to com from *zour* friends; and I will not trubill zow bot I refer zow to *zour* awin discret[ion] for I have heir in ye moneth ten dollar swanis.⁶

2 Parma Cook 2012, 59-60

3 *Records of the Parliament of Scotland* A/1573/4/2. Act of Parliament 'Anent them that diverts fra uthers being joyned of befor in lawfull mariage' 30 April 1573. Consulted online at: <https://www.rps.ac.uk>

4 See for example the petitions in British History Online. Anne Nashe, wife of William Nashe of Bewdley, a man who had been pressed into military service in Ireland, leaving Anne to look after her children and her father. BHO, Worcestershire Quarter Sessions. Ref.110 BA1/1/2/54 (1604). Available online at: Worcestershire Quarter Sessions: 1600s | British History Online (british-history.ac.uk). I thank Dr Brodie Waddell for this reference.

5 Hurl-Eamon 2014, 356-357. The notion, as proffered by numerous historians, is robustly challenged throughout the rest of this impressive article.

6 National Records of Scotland, RH9/2/236: James Spens to his wife, Elizabeth Baillie, Riga, 1 October 1628. Discussed and transcribed in Grosjean, Murdoch and Talbot 2015, 76-101. For the transcription of this particular letter see *ibid.*, 89.

Spens's intention is clear – he requested his wife to send him information regarding any job that would sustain the couple living together in Edinburgh. He did so while he reminded her that he was on a good wage in the Swedish army, and so awaited any news that might allow him to return to Scotland where he could earn similar money. This notion, that enlistment in the army by a married man could be a move designed to support and not abandon a partner has previously been articulated by Arthur Gilbert in an article as far back as 1976.⁷ The evidence from Dutch notarial archives, for example, certainly seems to support this contention, and that common soldiers frequently went out of their way to ensure the financial support of their wives and family once they had moved away from their families.⁸

However, in the two case studies that form the subject of this essay, an attempt has been made to try to reconstruct the processes involved whereby two genuinely abandoned wives sought redress either for finances of which they had been defrauded, or simply to regain their reputation. In both these cases, the women attempt to do so in legal jurisdictions other than those in which they had been raised.

Mary Haynes

Around 1618 Robert Monro, 18th Chief of Foulis, married Mary Haynes in England and lived with her happily for some 16 weeks.⁹ Within a year he had used up her fortune of £600 and the couple soon headed for Scotland. En route, however, Monro convinced Haynes, then pregnant, to stay behind in Newcastle while he opted to proceed to Scotland to make arrangements for her arrival, promising to return within seven days. Despite writing letters to her in which he reiterated his devotion to her, he had actually abandoned her to her fate, leaving her stranded in Newcastle for ten weeks. At great cost to herself, Mary set out for Scotland with some servants and searched for her husband, but to little effect other than accruing even more debt. Frustrated, Haynes returned to London.

From the English capital, Mary pursued her husband through all legal channels available to her. Monro had not been a soldier in the continental wars, albeit the dates did coincide, rather he hid from his wife in the very

7 The article is discussed in detail in Hurl-Eamon 2014, 359.

8 Murdoch 2012, 38-57.

9 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1625-1627*, 660-662. Petition of Mary Haynes, Lady Foulis, to the Privy Council, 17 November 1625.

militarised milieu of Gaelic Scotland.¹⁰ Moreover, Haynes was not without some influence and clearly had a lot of patience. Some six years later her persistence started to yield dividends. She had managed to find a channel to the person of the king. James VI and I duly intervened and, in March 1624, he instructed his Scottish Privy Council to summon Monro before the Archbishop of St Andrews, John Spottiswoode, to answer for this 'vyle skandall'.¹¹ Regardless of her royal patron, legal proceedings moved at a glacial pace. Haynes herself travelled back into Scotland in November 1625 and petitioned the Council for financial relief. Haynes believed that Monro was living with Marjorie McIntosh on the income of his estate, which was worth around £900 Sterling per annum, and she sought a share of this money.¹² Monro did not turn up to face his wife and as a result was declared rebel and put to the horn, with George Lord Gordon being tasked with apprehending him.¹³

The Council anticipated that Monro might try to escape justice by enlisting in the regiments being raised in the north of Scotland for Danish service. They wrote directly to Colonel Donald Mackay and warned him that neither he nor any of his captains were to take Monro into their companies.¹⁴ Monro must have realised his impossible situation and obtained a month-long respite from his horning in order to meet with Haynes in Edinburgh and resolve the issue, but only after cautioners were found to ensure his good behaviour.¹⁵ He let them down and failed to turn up to the Edinburgh tollbooth on the appointed date, resulting in Lord Gordon once more being charged with apprehending him.¹⁶

By December Monro appeared before the Lords of Session and an agreement was made whereby Mary Haynes was to receive the sum of £4450 Scots (c. £371 Sterling) for the maintenance of Elizabeth Monro, Mary's

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- 10 For a general introduction to 'Scotland's Military Cultures' in this period see Murdoch and Grosjean 2014, 11-24
 - 11 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1622-1625*, 507-8. James VI and I to the Privy Council, 14 May 1624.
 - 12 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1625-7*, 660-662. Petition of Mary Haynes, Lady Foulis, to the Privy Council, 17 November 1625.
 - 13 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1625-7*, 272-273. Privy Council to George Lord Gordon, 30 March 1626.
 - 14 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1625-7*, 303-4. Privy Council to Sir Donald Mackay, 14 June 1626.
 - 15 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1625-7*, 310. Letter of Protection for Robert Monro of Foulis, 22 June 1626.
 - 16 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1625-7*, 377-8. Privy Council to George Lord Gordon, 29 July 1626.

daughter fathered by him.¹⁷ This aliment (alimony) appeared to be a yearly amount and mention of it sporadically recurred thereafter. Thus, a resolution of sorts had been agreed to, albeit the matter did not end there. On 3 March 1627 Charles I informed the Scottish Privy Council that although Haynes had obtained the right to life-rent and escheat from Monro, as an English national she had no recourse to Scottish laws or means to collect it. Thus, the monarch insisted that all remaining obstacles which prevented her from gaining her compensation were to be removed.¹⁸ It appears that finally, and after nine years of petitioning and legal wrangling, Lady Foulis not only received compensation for herself, but equally importantly she had secured compensation and an income for her daughter Elisabeth.

With 'satisfaction' granted, Robert Monro of Foulis eventually did join the Scottish expeditionary forces sent by Charles I to his uncle, Christian IV of Denmark-Norway. Whether he divorced Mary Haynes, or continued in his illicit relationship with Marjorie McIntosh, remains unclear. Nevertheless, while in Danish service, Monro managed to get King Christian on-side with his various creditors, occasioning a further intervention from Charles I in support of his request to be allowed time to deal with his finances.¹⁹ Following the Treaty of Lübeck in 1629, which saw Christian withdraw from the 'German Warres', Monro later transferred into Swedish service.²⁰ He died in March 1633 in Ulm while serving as a colonel in the Swedish army. One might think that the responsibility for Mary and Elizabeth may have died with him, but that was not the case.

Robert Monro's brother and male-heir, Hector Monro of Foulis, signed a bond in Westminster, with Colonel Robert Monro of Obisdale, in which Hector agreed to the payment of £333 6s 8d sterling to Mary Haynes, thus maintaining her claim, albeit with a slight reduction.²¹ The two men took the opportunity to get breathing space from their creditors while they tidied up the finances of

17 Highland Council Archive Service, GD93/201. Extract Contract between Colonel Robert Monro, tutor to Hector Monro, and Robert Monro of Obstell, 20 September 1639. NB: only the online extract could be consulted and I have not seen the original document.

18 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1625-7*, 536. Charles I to the Privy Council, 3 March 1627. See also Charles Rogers, ed., *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters 1885*, I, 133. The letter is identical but for the fact that here and throughout, the editor refers to Mary Haynes as 'Hayes'.

19 *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters*, I, 243. Charles I to the Chancellor, 14 January 1628.

20 For insights into his Scandinavian service and demise see Robert Monro, *His Expedition with a worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keyes (1637)*, 1, 3, 36 and 82.

21 Highland Council Archive Service, GD93/201. Extract Contract between Colonel Robert Monro, tutor to Hector Monro, and Robert Monro 'of Obstell', 20 September 1639.

the Foulis estate.²² The wording of the source of this information is not clear, but it looks like Robert Monro of Obisdale was to reissue this payment in 1639, taking on the assigned debts of the Foulis estate, including the payment to Elizabeth Monro of 1000 French Crowns, 'being in Scots money £4450' or £370 Sterling (so back to the original amount). In his will in 1656, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun noted a debt owed to him from Mary Haynes of £53 6s 8d with the annual rent thereof, indicating that Mary was still alive and had at that date still maintained contacts in Scotland.²³

Mary Haynes's tenacious pursuit of her rogue husband and financial rights was in part aided by the intervention of two kings, one of whom at least (Charles I) decisively removed the obstacle of trying to work in an alien jurisdiction. She has left us a considerable archival trail – much of it now printed – and her story appears to be one of determination and ultimate success. The same record base does not exist for Francis Drummond for whom only a single document remains to tell us of her existence. And, as it is a plea for help, with no conclusion, the outcome can only be surmised. However, there are grounds to make an argument for who some of the actors named in the letter were most likely to have been.

Frances Drummond

From the language and content of this letter we know that Frances Drummond was an English woman abandoned by her Scottish husband, 'Captain' Thomas Drummond. In this period most Scottish women retained their surname, sometimes making them easier to identify in the archival base. Even if pressed to take their husband's name, some women defiantly added their maiden name – women such as Johanna Schisbog who added 'geborne Setton' (born Seton) under her signature. Such additional clues certainly help identify individuals and, in this case, we know that Johanna was the daughter of the Scottish colonel in Swedish service, John Seton.²⁴ We have not been given such a direct clue as to Frances Drummond's identity or maiden name, but the single letter does contain enough valuable clues to venture opinions regarding important dates and the people mentioned in the epistle.

Frances Drummond composed her letter in English in what appears to be her own hand, albeit the style of writing is crude and the language that of one

22 *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters*, II, 731-732. Charles I's letters for the Monros, 10 April 1634.

23 Fraser 1892, 198-199; Mackenzie 1898, 103.

24 The Swedish National Archives (Riksarkivet). Oxenstiernska samlingen, E771. Joanna Seton to Axel Oxenstierna, c.1644.

who had competence in the vernacular but was unlikely to be Latinate.²⁵ This is indicative that she is likely to have come from a lower social class than Mary Haynes (especially when coupled with the taking of her husband's name rather than the maintenance of her own). Frances's letter is directed to one 'Lady Axelsson' and in it she directly mentions only one other individual by name, that being her husband, Thomas. It has been possible to identify only one officer of the name Thomas Drummond in seventeenth-century Swedish military service through an extensive search of the Swedish military muster rolls.²⁶ He appears as an ensign in the company of one Lieutenant Colonel Jacob Drummond, and they both served in the regiment of Major General David Drummond, the regiment also known as the Kalmar Regiment, being largely drawn from Kalmar County in Småland, southern Sweden.²⁷

Thomas had left Scotland for Swedish service in 1636, appearing in the Swedish muster rolls for the first time as a junior officer in July that year. So, if this is the right man, and there being no other candidate, this letter by Frances Drummond might be tentatively dated to c.1639, allowing for the four years of marriage claimed by Frances, and Thomas being abroad for three of them as stated by her. Certainly, Thomas remained in continuous service in Sweden until his death in Denmark in June 1659 (still at the rank of lieutenant).²⁸ This is given credence by further internal evidence. Frances's letter details a journey from England to Scotland in search of her husband and support she had received there from 'The Lord General'. In 1639 this could only have been Alexander Leslie (later Earl of Leven), a title he held until 1651.

In her letter, Frances informs us that she had already travelled to Germany to see Thomas after learning he was not dead (her initial suspicion) but was actually on active service there. How she heard this is not stated, nor how long it was after they had married that she set off to find him. It was during this meeting that he denied they had been married and called her a whore. She emphatically and movingly refuted this, here rendered into modern English (the original is below):

Madam I pray [to] God I may never enter into the Kingdom of Heaven,
nor never see the face of God if I ever knew him [Thomas] to be man or

25 Riksarkivet, SE/RA/756/756.1/D/1/D 23b. A0069580_00175. Frances Drummond to Lady Axelsson, undated.

26 All of the Scottish, English and Irish officers in Swedish service from c.1580-1707 were culled from the muster rolls and collated into the *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database*, available online at: www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne

27 The Swedish Military Archives (Krigsarkivet). SE/KrA/0022/1636/19. Muster roll, f.64. 2nd July 1636. For Drummond in the Kalmar regiment see Rudelius 1952, I, 59 and 70.

28 Krigsarkivet. SE/KrA/0022/1659/6. Muster roll, f.98. 1 July 1659.

woman till I was married to him that night, nor was [I] ever any man [’s]- Whore except but him his lawful, wife married in a church by a lawful minister

To substantiate her claim, Frances said in the letter to Lady Axelsson that she had a copy of the wedding certificate, which she had shown the Lord General in Scotland, and a letter from her husband which she claimed verified her story. But who was Lady Axelsson, the recipient of this letter? Frances refers only to ‘Lady Axellson’ using various abbreviated spellings, and in various searches of the online Swedish archival catalogues, no immediate candidate is apparent. However, remembering the discussion of English marital naming patterns, and searching for a nobleman of that name in Sweden (coupled with Frances Drummond’s determination to use her husband’s name), leads to one name jumping out of the archival record.

Assuming that Lady Axelsson is the wife of Åke Axelsson (later ennobled as Natt och Dag), then Leslie knew exactly what he was doing in sending Frances Drummond to her.²⁹ Åke Axelsson’s wife was one Elsa Gabrielsdotter Oxenstierna af Eka och Lindö, so already a member of one of the most powerful extended noble families in Sweden. She was, in fact, one of the younger sisters of Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, the regent of Sweden, and a man who was a great friend of Alexander Leslie.³⁰ Moreover, in 1639, Elsa was one of the candidates nominated to be a tutor to Queen Christina, then still in her minority.³¹ Elsa’s husband Åke already served as a member of the Riksråd (Swedish State Council) in the 1630s, was a lawman of some repute, and also served as a personal escort to Queen Christina of Sweden during her early minority.³² Of equal interest is the fact that, in 1627, Åke Axelsson was appointed the governor of Kalmar. Thus, when Frances Drummond asked Lady Axelsson ‘if my husband bee under my Lord axcells command’, the question was not without foundation given Axelsson’s role as governor of the location where Thomas Drummond’s regiment were recruited. That was in addition to Axelsson’s status in the Riksråd and the Svea Hovrätt – the highest court in Sweden at that juncture.

29 I thank Dr Fabian Persson for discussing the problems of identifying ‘Axelssons’ in Sweden with me. He first suggested I search under ‘Natt och Dag’ to find Lord Axelsson.

30 The two men, Leslie and Oxenstierna, were certainly in correspondence throughout the 1639-40 period. See for example, Riksarkivet, Det odelade kansliet Riksregistraturet, 205, fol. 163. Axel Oxenstierna to Alexander Leslie, 26 August 1640 noting earlier correspondence. We can also name the courier of Leslie’s letters in this period as Colonel John Cochrane.

31 *Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll*, vol. VII, 1637-1639, 377-378. Riksråd minute, 16 January 1639.

32 For his appointment as Queen Christina’s escort in 1633 see *Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll*, vol. III, 1633 137. Riksråd minute, 22 June 1633. For his other appointments see Anrep 1862, 20.

It has been questioned whether the existence of a single letter from a wife or widow reflected success or failure for a petitioner at their first time of asking.³³ Maybe only one letter was required, and one must surmise that this single letter of Frances Drummond was felt to be important, not least because it was kept. Indeed, given the relationships that demonstrably link Elsa Oxenstierna, Axel Oxenstierna, Åke Axelsson, Queen Christina and 'the Lord General' Alexander Leslie, it is hard to imagine that anything other than one letter was required to rectify her abandonment.³⁴ For Thomas Drummond, who defamed his wife and apparently lied about his rank to her, it would seem the game was up.

Conclusion

Although the written evidence for the Frances Drummond case appears thin at first, she nevertheless proved to be as tenacious as Mary Haynes before her in seeking to resolve her personal situation. Frances travelled from England to Germany, back to England and then onwards to Scotland. Finally, armed with the suitable introduction from the Lord General, she travelled to Sweden risking further debt and personal harm in pursuit of her reputation and wayward husband. Unlike Haynes, we cannot give a definitive outcome for the case. In Haynes's case she got a resolution to her plight before her husband left for the continent, albeit she also had to do so in a foreign jurisdiction. She achieved a settlement that was honoured long after her husband abandoned her, and had even died. It seems the 'German Wars' for Robert Monro served as a way to leave the whole case behind him and, for that matter, his illicit second wife, Marjorie McIntosh of whom we know so little. Thomas Drummond, on the other hand, certainly used the war as the means to desert his wife. If the conclusions arrived at are correct, he severely underestimated Frances Drummond's resolve and her own agency in bringing an extremely powerful network to bear in order to try to resolve her case. Both cases reinforce the resourcefulness of the women in question and provide still more evidence of the power of networking – specifically female networking – in the early modern northern world, and across several legal jurisdictions. After all, once ensconced in Stockholm, the only letter we

33 Murdoch and Zickermann 2019, 130.

34 Evidence from the Swedish archives shows that Axel and Elsa Oxenstierna were still socialising together in 1640, with invitations to dinner at Axel Oxenstierna's castle for Elsa and Åke Axelsson only being scuppered at the last minute due to a failure in supply. See for example: Riksarkivet, Oxenstiernska samlingen, E 534. Axel Oxenstierna to Åke Axelsson explaining the postponement of the family dinner due to lack of sufficient provisions, October 1640.

can demonstrate that was written by this petitioner, Frances Drummond, was sent to another woman, not a man. Further archival research will, hopefully, reveal more of this specific individual, and, indeed, hopefully shed light on similar case studies of abandoned spouses.

Appendix: Frances Drummond to Lady Axelsson. Undated
Available online at: Riksarkivets ämnessamlingar. Personhistoria
https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0069580_00175

Right Honourabl madam³⁵

I humbly beseech *your honourabl* to looke upon me a poor woman yt hath taken my journey from Ingeland to Scotland to seeke my – husband Capt Thomas Drummond whose is under my lord the axcelln commend my Lord generall hath done mee as much good as I can aspect from him & now *honourabl* madam it lieth in my Lord axcelln power to let me to find mercy in is sight I haue bine married to my husband Capt Thomas Drummond gone on foure yeere I hee hath bine gone from mee aboue three yeeres I thought hee was dead I whent down to sc (sic) scotland & there I was told yt hee was in garmni I come to him hee denie mee to bee is wife *honourabl* Madam My Lord generall did see ye satifke of ye Church & is letter that my husband did write to mee *honourabl* Madam I humbly beseech yor *honourabl* to bag for justis in ye thing that is right my-husband Capt Thomas drummond hath put mee away from him with out meane to liue on lest that god doth mooue your *Honourabl* heart to mooue my Lord axelln to a work of – Cheritie to looke uppon mee in mercy yt me yt ham a stranger in a stranger countriy & cannot speak of languages my husband thinke to loose mee hee say yt I ham a whore & not is – wife but *honourabl* Madam I pray god yt I may neuer anter in to ye kingdom of heauan nor neuer see ye face of god if I euer nue him to bee man or woman till I was married to him yt night or was euer any man-Whore alce but him is lawfull wife married in a church by a lawfull minister Madam I humbly beseech yor *honourabl* to looke uppon my great affliction I haue pouni all yt I haue to see him I humbly bag & beseech yt god will mooue yor

35 Please note that in this transcription, expansions are indicated by italicised script. The text is devoid of punctuation and rendered so here, while the irregular capitalisation remains as it is in the in the manuscript.

honourabl heart to giue mee mercy in yor honourabl sight to mooue
my Lord axcelln yt if my husband bee under my Lord
axcelln command yt my Lord axcelln will be placed to let
yor poore hand maide to haue sume meane to be aloued mee
as long as hee is under my Lord axcelln command yt god
of heauan giue yor honourabl is eternall euerlasting mercy In
the life to come yor honourabl Madam most humbly seruant
ffrances drummond

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