

SCOTTISH MERCENARIES

IN THE SERVICE OF

DENMARK AND SWEDEN

1626 - 1632

James A. Fallon

Ph.D.

University of Glasgow

1972

CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>		<u>PAGE</u>
	Summary	i
ONE	Scottish Mercenaries	1
TWO	Sources	10
THREE	Recruiting Contracts and the Enlistment of Officers .	34
FOUR	Volunteers and Pressed Men	57
FIVE	Study of Modern Surnames by Areas	93
SIX	Recruiting Areas	115
SEVEN	Transportation	158
EIGHT	Danish Service 1626-7	188
NINE	Danish Service 1628-9	216
TEN	Swedish Service	248
	(a) Spens' Regiment	251
	(b) Ramsay's Regiment	261
	(c) Alexander Hamilton's and Meldrum's Regiments .	276
	(d) Mackay's Regiment	287
	(e) Swedish Service 1637-40	302
ELEVEN	Martial Aspects of Military Life	309
TWELVE	Domestic Administrative Aspects of Military Life .	346
	Appendices	382
	Bibliography	391

MAPS

	<u>PAGE</u>
i. Blair's Recruiting Area, Early 1627	94
ii. Ogilvy's Recruiting Area 1627	96
iii. Allocation of Shires to Recruiting Colonels 1627	98
iv. Blair's Recruiting Area, Late 1627.	101
v. Mackay and Monro Recruiting Areas 1626-7	116
vi. Lower Saxony and Holstein 1626-7	204
vii. Mecklenburg 1627	211
viii. Kiel and S. Danish Islands 1627-8	220
ix. Zealand 1628	220
x. Stralsund 1628	222
xi. Copenhagen, Malmö and Stralsund 1628-9	225
xii. Schleswig-Holstein and the Elbe Estuary 1629	239
xiii. Livonia 1625-6	253
xiv. East Prussia 1626-30	262
xv. Pomerania and East Prussia 1630-1	262
xvi. Rhine and Main Rivers 1631-2	268
xvii. Oder and Peene Rivers 1630-1	291
xviii. Brandenburg and Saxony 1631-2	294
xix. S. Germany 1632-3	297

SUMMARY

This study opens with an assessment of the validity of the criticisms frequently levelled against mercenaries. A detailed evaluation follows on the sources, manuscript and printed, both British and Scandinavian with particularly close attention being paid to the material to be found in Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen, and in Riksarkivet and Krigsarkivet in Stockholm.

The rest of the first half of this work concerns recruiting. The entire process is traced from the original contract between foreign representative and British colonel to the arrival of the recruits in the foreign rendezvous port. The importance of ties of family and friendship in the recruiting process is considered, and motives for enlistment by volunteers are investigated. Methods of 'pressing' unwilling men are also noted in detail, and thus a picture of the types of people who served in these mercenary units is constructed. In order to help to clarify the areas of origin for these Scottish soldiers (there being little evidence to resolve this problem from Scottish sources) a study of modern surnames in relation to areas of Scotland was undertaken. On the basis of the results of this research taken together with the other source-evidence, the names of men in company muster rolls of mercenary regiments were used to suggest the probable areas of origin for the men. Finally the problems of feeding, guarding and transporting enlisted men to their foreign campaign areas are studied, and a calculation made of the manner in which a recruiting colonel managed to balance income against expenditure.

The second half of this work concerns actual service abroad. The details of service for Christian IV of Denmark are traced, and an estimate postulated of the value of this contribution to Danish and European history. From the broad range of Scottish service for Sweden between 1620 and 1640

five specific items were selected for close scrutiny. Among these were the regiments of James Spens, James Ramsay, Alexander Hamilton, John Meldrum and Donald Mackay. The service rendered by Scots between 1637 and 1640, and the extent to which these Scots returned to their homeland at the time of the Covenanting troubles concludes this section.

In the final two chapters the quality of life experienced by recruits in a mercenary regiment is portrayed. Firstly the more strictly martial aspects of life are investigated, e.g. equipment, training, day-to-day work, duties performed by various officers and under-officers, and the reasons for the large turnover in personnel. Secondly the more 'civilian' aspects of life are revealed, e.g. the arrangements made for billeting, food and drink, religious needs, and the writing of letters. The final item to be studied is the crucial one of pay. It is there demonstrated that though a recruit in a mercenary regiment should in theory have been relatively well-paid in comparison with other workers, in fact he was so poorly paid that the mercenary Scot who served Christian IV and Gustavus Adolphus was hardly a true mercenary at all, since the currency with which he was rewarded was frequently no more than that of honour and reputation.

CHAPTER ONE

Throughout the ages the profession of arms has been regarded as a highly honourable calling which if not comparable with a vocation to religious life or the art of medical healing at least ranked with law as a suitable employment for younger sons. The height of many a young man's ambition has been promotion to a commission. Thus warfare as a trade has not in itself been generally despised. On the other hand if the soldier is a mercenary, i.e. if he serves primarily for pay, public estimation of his worth is greatly altered and he finds himself widely detested.

The reasons for this change of outlook stem from various factors, some of which were well voiced by Sir Walter Scott in his Legend of Montrose. One of his characters in the book, Lord Menteith, in his assessment of Dugald Dalgetty deplored 'a pitiful mercenary, who knows neither honour nor principle but his month's pay, who transfers his allegiance from standard to standard, at the pleasure of fortune or the highest bidder, and to whose insatiable thirst for plunder and warm quarters we owe ... much civil dissension.' The same lack of principle would appear to have been in James Turner's mind when he made out that his course of action was decided 'without examination of the justice of the quarrell, or regard of my duetie to either prince or countray'.⁽¹⁾ It is also believed by some that mercenaries have a less strict code of martial behaviour in the treatment of prisoners and occupied areas, whereas others despise the mercenary because he is foreign. Even Gustavus Adolphus who employed so many mercenaries described them on one occasion in 1629 as 'faithless, dangerous and expensive'.⁽²⁾

(1) Turner, Memoirs, 14

(2) Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, ii, 205

In reply to these criticisms it may be contended that it was certainly not true of all the Scottish mercenaries who served Christian IV and Gustavus Adolphus that they lacked honour. Indeed Monro in his Expedition shows that many of them valued honour highly and that they were very sensitive on matters which seemed to impinge on their honour. To the assertion that the mercenary valued only the principle of his pay, it may be replied that all men expect regular payment of their wages. Whether a mercenary could be said to have no other principles will be discussed later. It is easy to criticise him for changing his allegiance to another paymaster, but the Scots were notably loyal to the Scandinavian monarchs and were not guilty of fickle behaviour in changing sides. There was after all a contract between the hiring government and the soldier. If the government did not pay the agreed wages it could well be argued that the soldier was hardly bound by the original contract. In any other employment a professional man would not be expected to remain working for an employer who did not pay regular wages. If he sought plunder this was because the hiring government left him no alternative source of income. His desire for warm quarters was occasioned by the inadequate billeting arrangements of the commissariats of early seventeenth-century armies. He sought service abroad because employment is always sought where special skills are in demand. At a time when national regular armies did not exist and when the relative domestic calm in Britain in the 1620s and 1630s offered no prospect of employment in a military capacity at home it was natural for soldiers to seek service abroad. Their code of conduct while far from exemplary seldom descended to the atrocities and barbaric excesses of which national armies have been guilty in recent years.

The weakest part of the mercenary's case appears to be that of lack of principle. This is not to say that he had no standards. The performance

in the field of good mercenary units often outshone that of conscripted forces. Their courage and endurance were frequently revealed as those that would be expected of true professionals. Nor did many hesitate to sacrifice their lives on foreign fields. A considerable number of them were volunteers and in this respect it may be held that a mercenary unit which is genuinely voluntary is preferable to a national force largely consisting of conscripted or pressed men. The crucial point is that of motive. All soldiers fight for pay, and the danger of mutiny soon arises if wages are not forthcoming regularly. Assessment of the extent to which pay dominated entirely the thinking of a mercenary depends ^{on} the view taken of human nature. The cynic believes most people to be influenced mainly by base motives of self-seeking in which pay would bulk large. The idealist credits many men with motives of a higher stamp and would hold that few mercenaries would enlist solely from desire for pay. Certainly the mercenary cannot claim to be patriotic in the direct way that a member of a national army could assert. In the early seventeenth century nationalism was only beginning to evolve and national armies had not been established. Hence fervent patriotism could not be expected. It is doubtful whether most Scots were as unprincipled in their choice of side as Turner's comment would suggest. The vast majority of them opted to serve the Protestant side in the Thirty Years War and were not unaware of the fact that this was also the cause of the Scottish princess Elizabeth, married to the exiled king of Bohemia. It must however also be admitted that the opportunities of military service which were presented by the recruiting captains in Scotland during this period were almost without exception for powers on the Protestant side in the struggle. The Scots would certainly have resented being classed alongside the apparently less-principled mercenaries of the mid-twentieth century who fought in the Congo

4.

and Biafra troubles.

From the times of classical Greece mercenary troops have been recruited. As V. G. Kiernan stated in his article 'Foreign Mercenaries and Absolute Monarchy', 'the foreign soldier enlisting for pay is a ubiquitous type in history.'⁽³⁾ The need for mercenaries arises when a government determines to pursue a military policy which it is unable or unwilling to carry out with native troops. In some cases a positive decision may be taken in favour of foreign soldiers because it is felt that military losses in personnel are best incurred at the expense of foreign hired forces than at that of native troops. Alternatively it may be that the native population of the country concerned is not large enough to cope with the ambitious plans envisaged by the government. Whatever may be the criticisms often levelled against the reliability of mercenary units many governments preferred to deal with mercenary soldiers especially when disorders occurred at home. Kiernan believed that the task to which they were 'particularly well suited was the suppression of rebellious subjects'.⁽⁴⁾ Mercenaries had however been valuable tools in the hands of Italian rulers in the Middle Ages when security could depend upon the reliability of the condottieri. Mercenary troops continued to be important in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries but with the growth of national armies in the second half of the seventeenth century they gradually became less necessary. But even in 1658 at the battle of the Dunes there were in Turenne's French army a Scottish regiment that had seen service in the Swedish army and also an Irish unit, while the Spanish army opposing them contained three Irish regiments, as well as one Scottish and one English

(3) Past and Present, xi (April 1957), 66

(4) V. G. Kiernan, 'Foreign Mercenaries and Absolute Monarchy', Past and Present, xi (April 1957), 74

regiment. (5)

Scotland possessed a long tradition of military contact with certain European countries. Scots had served in France from the days of the Auld Alliance, and the Scots Guards had existed there since 1418. (6) A Scots Brigade was firmly established in Holland in the early years of the seventeenth century and survived there till the French Revolution. Military connection with the Scandinavian countries did not develop any such lasting tradition. But the years of recruiting activity in the late 1620s and 1630s were not the first time that Scots had served a Scandinavian ruler. Patrick Ruthven brought a force of between 3,000 and 3,500 men into the pay of King John III of Sweden in 1573. Dow remarked that they were predominantly infantry, 'unlike all previous Scottish mercenary troops in Sweden'. (7) Certainly the pattern of largely infantry soldiers proved to be the rule in the time of Gustavus Adolphus. Ruthven's Scots soon experienced the difficulties which later Scottish mercenary units faced. Supplies for the Estonian campaign were short and failure in the attempts to take Reval early in 1574 led to recriminations between the German and Scottish troops in the Swedish army. On 17 March 1574 conflict broke out between the Scots and Germans and resulted in the deaths of 1,500 Scots and thirty Germans. To complete the sorry fate of the Scots several of their leaders were accused of plotting the overthrow of the Swedish king. Gilbert Balfour was beheaded and Patrick Ruthven died in 1578 after four years imprisonment. (8) Nor was the Scottish force led by Alexander Ramsay in 1612 blessed with a happier fate. They were cut down by Norwegian peasants in Gudbrandsdal shortly after their arrival. (9)

A new phase however appears to have commenced with the successes

(5) J. W. Fortescue, History of British Army (London 1899), i, 270-1

(6) W. Forbes-Leith, Scots Guards in France (Edinburgh 1882), i

(7) J. B. A. Dow, Ruthven's Army in Sweden and Esthonia (Stockholm 1865), 12

(8) J. B. A. Dow, Ruthven's Army in Sweden and Esthonia, 37, 79, 84

(9) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 76

of British forces in Swedish pay against the Russians in the second decade of the seventeenth century. The name of Samuel Cobron (Cockburn) became respected in Swedish military circles for his prowess in the campaigns in the Baltic provinces against the Russians and Poles.⁽¹⁰⁾ By the early 1620s Alexander Leslie, Patrick Ruthven and John Hepburn were also climbing to high rank in the Swedish army. Scottish troops played a valuable part in the war against Poland which lasted intermittently until 1629, but the most notable contribution made by the Scots to the schemes of Gustavus Adolphus occurred when he landed in Germany in 1630 and for two years dominated the scene in central Europe. Though Scottish soldiers still served Sweden in the later 1630s and 1640s the peak had been passed and recruiting tended to be for service in France until the domestic troubles in Scotland and England during the Civil Wars offered plenty of employment for soldiers in their native country.

Evaluation of the part played by Scottish mercenaries between 1626 and 1632 in the complete story of Scottish military service for foreign powers reveals that their work for Gustavus was not unlike the description given to the glorious but brief existence of Sweden as a military power of the first rank in the seventeenth century, that of a meteor. The Scots had no permanent tradition of service with Sweden, but they experienced considerable success in the period between 1620 and 1640, especially in the epic campaigns of Gustavus in Germany in 1631 and 1632 when they assisted his armies and in return gained reflected glory from the renown of the Swedish monarch in Europe. Their earlier and later service for Sweden was comparatively undistinguished, and the aid rendered by the Scots to Christian IV of Denmark between 1626 and 1629 did not prevent his complete defeat in the field. The service of the Scots for Sweden certainly surpassed that performed by Scottish officers and men for Spain, the Empire,

(10) Sveriges Krig, i and ii

Russia or Poland during the first half of the seventeenth century, though all these countries profited from Scottish military skill and manpower. It may be questioned however whether this brief flurry of brilliant service with Sweden was more valuable than the years of loyalty rendered by the Scots Brigade in Holland or by the Scots troops in French service. The exploits of first Hepburn and later Douglas on behalf of France between 1633 and 1645 were rated highly by the French government and fall short of the Swedish service only in scale of numbers and in timing. Service with a military commander of genius in the full flood-tide of his successes is a rewarding experience. Service with Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Charles XII of Sweden, or Gustavus himself before their decline was the goal of the contemporary soldier. All seemed to turn to gold, if not in actual coin at least in reputation. Those Scots who served Gustavus between 1624 and 1632 were in this sense privileged indeed.

The main facts concerning the service of the Scots for Gustavus between 1629 and 1632 have often been recounted, but no attempt has been made at a detailed reconstruction of the recruiting procedure nor at a close study of the life experienced by the soldier in the ranks. Various chronicles of the early seventeenth century like the Swedish Intelligencer provided information about the important battles and troop movements of the early 1630s, but more personal detail is found in Monro's Expedition and to a lesser degree in Turner's Memoirs. Daniel Defoe published his Memoirs of a Cavalier in 1720 and claimed that he based his story upon a real manuscript. The many inaccuracies in matters of fact in his book however undermine the credibility of his claim. Nor does it appear that his story was based on a real cavalier, Andrew Newport of Shropshire. In fact his work is primarily dependent upon Monro and Turner with a seasoning of information from the

other more general chronicles of the time. The same is true of Dugald Dalgetty in Scott's Legend of Montrose. Scott admitted his debt to the works of both Monro and Turner in his Introduction, and he made use of specific instances from the Expedition. For example, Dalgetty's description of twelve hours sentry duty as a punishment is taken directly from Monro's book. Scott did however alter the facts slightly by making the punishment take place in bitter frost and ice whereas Monro had stressed that the weather was fiercely hot. B. Hoenig's article in German in 1902 concerning the importance in literature of the memoirs of British officers in Gustavus Adolphus' army dealt mainly with the works of Monro, Turner and Defoe.⁽¹¹⁾ Monro's Expedition therefore must be the major source in English for any work dealing with Scottish mercenaries in Scandinavian pay between 1626 and 1632.

On the other hand the many writers who have used Monro's work have never combed it thoroughly to collate the small details which together reveal much of the life of the soldiers. Nor has there been any extensive attempt to knit together Monro's narrative with the other source material relevant to the subject in both Scotland and Scandinavia. This study traces the entire recruiting system, how colonels signed the original contract and officers were gathered, how the men in the ranks were enlisted and where they came from, and how they were moved abroad. Life in the army on the Continent has been explained not only in terms of Monro's comments but in the light of the records of the Danish and Swedish governments and also of contemporary letters relating to Scots. From this study emerges the quality of life experienced by Scots in the armies of the Thirty Years War and also the price paid by the majority while the fortunate few realised their hopes

(11) B. Hoenig, 'Memoiren englischer Officiere im Heere Gustav Adolfs und ihr Fortleben in der Literatur', Beiträge zur neueren Philologie J. Schipper dargebracht (Leipzig 1902)

CHAPTER TWO

The study of Scottish mercenary troops on the Continent in the early seventeenth century suffers from two major disadvantages. British historians have been less interested in those Scots who went abroad for a military career and sometimes failed to return; while on the other hand European scholars have tended to concentrate on their own national history with its wars and military figures without devoting much attention to foreigners in their armies unless they were really outstanding. Hence references to mercenaries are widely scattered.

In Britain details for this subject lie in four main sources, (a) official documents dealing with recruiting, (b) contemporary letters referring to recruiting or reporting on military action abroad, (c) contemporary narratives, and (d) late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century works including general histories, reference volumes, and family histories. In the first category records concerning recruiting are contained primarily in the printed volumes of the decisions taken by the Privy Councils of both Scotland and England. The richness of detail varies in the volumes of the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland (First Series xii - xiii and Second Series i - viii), but the best documented year was 1627. The parallel collection in England, Acts of the Privy Council, is still in process of compilation and at present has reached only 1631. Nevertheless a great deal of excellent material concerning recruiting for Denmark is to be found there. Indeed the recruiting procedure in England is more clearly depicted there than the Scottish levying arrangements are in the RPC volumes. The latter are particularly lacking in details about the movement of enlisted men in Scotland and the arrangements for their transportation abroad. These deficiencies are rendered more serious by the fact that it proved impossible to

remedy them to any considerable extent from any other sources. Local records might have been expected to contain many references, but they have yielded little. Relatively few burghs have extant records from the 1620-40 period. The printed volumes of extracts from the records of Glasgow, Peebles, Lanark, Dunfermline, Paisley, Dundee and Stirling⁽¹⁾ and the manuscript volumes for Dundee, Culross and Dysart⁽²⁾ produced nothing at all, and the printed volumes for Edinburgh and Aberdeen merely one mention of recruiting each. This is surprising since the number of men recruited during this period was considerable, and it may suggest that recruiting was so frequent that it required no comment. The situation regarding sources for the embarkation of Scottish troops is even more bleak. Such port books as have survived, e.g. at Leith and Dundee, are few and make no mention of military troopships. Possibly, as in England, some of this transportation was done by the Dutch, but even so the port authorities might have been expected to list departures when so many Scottish individuals were on board.

Outstanding among the collections of contemporary letters is of course the Calendar of State Papers. The printed volumes for the Domestic series and for Ireland and Venice all provided some information about recruiting generally, but none of them carried much specific information about Scots. The other foreign series of State Papers are still in manuscript form, e.g. those for Denmark, Sweden and France. These also contained occasionally details of mercenaries, but again mention of Scottish troops was rare.

(1) Detailed reference for all valuable sources noted in this chapter will be found in the bibliography.

(2) The manuscript volume for Dundee is lodged in the City Chambers of Dundee and those of Culross and Dysart in the Scottish Record Office.

One of the main sources for seventeenth-century letters in Scotland is the collection of Gift Deposits in the Scottish Record Office. Relatively little concerning Scottish mercenaries in Europe was discovered there. The most useful collection is that of the 'Reay Papers' since Donald Mackay, Lord Reay, was himself a recruiting colonel for both Denmark and Sweden. These letters taken in conjunction with Monro's chronicle have formed the basis of later works by Grant, Mackay, Grimble, Terry and Berg and Lagercrantz. This is inevitable since the Reay letters and Monro's book together present a detailed account of the history of the regiment and complement each other admirably. The papers of the Airlie Family contain seven letters to Lord Ogilvy from other Scottish commanders abroad, but they are of very limited value. In the Lord Forbes Collection are included only three items of value for the story of the mercenaries, a recruiting contract, a 1632 memorandum, and a discharge for Alexander Forbes from Queen Christina. In the Seafield Muniments lies one letter from Tullibardine regarding recruiting, but the Garden of Troup collection includes nine items concerning Major Alexander Garden, Commandant of Brix. The earliest however is dated 1635, and the majority referred to the late 1640s. Finally among the Pringle of Whytbank and Yair letters are two useful boxes. Box 26 contains four items regarding Sir Patrick Ruthven, and Box 26 comprises a series of notebooks about Ruthven and other Scottish commanders in Sweden with transcripts of letters to Chancellor Oxenstierna and translations of some of them. The writer of these notebooks is unknown, but the standard of scholarship, facility of translation, and general field of research strongly suggest that they are the work of T. A. Fischer (see below).

Other letters lie in various printed collections. Fraser in his monumental series of family histories compiled at the end of the nineteenth century

endeavoured to include for each family a volume devoted to correspondence. Among these, references to Scottish service in the Thirty Years War were discussed in Volume ii of each of the following, Douglas, Grant, Melville, Sutherland, Annandale, Buccleuch, Pollok and Haddington, but the most useful of all was his Carlaverock. Some slight information was found in Laing's edition of the Correspondence of Sir Robert Ker, 1st Earl of Ancram, and his son William, 3rd Earl of Lothian (Edinburgh 1875).

Letters to and from the marquis of Hamilton are noted in the Historical Manuscript Commission Report (Hamilton), and a further collection of manuscript letters from various officers on the Continent is held at Lennoxlove, but consultation of these showed that they tended to be strictly military in subject matter and to contain few interesting references to Scottish troops.

The third main field to yield material of value was that of contemporary records printed in the seventeenth century. This area proved very fruitful. The major work is unquestionably that of Robert Monro whose Expedition described the history of Mackay's regiment from 1626 to 1634. Though abounding in classical allusions and moral observations, the work is also full of fascinating information about life in a mercenary regiment and clearly records the geographical movements of the unit. Danish and Swedish documents bear out the accuracy of Monro's statements. Because he was the only Scottish soldier to leave a really detailed account of his adventures, his book is an essential element of any study of early seventeenth-century Scottish mercenaries serving Denmark and Sweden. Slight by comparison with Monro's production is James Turner's Memoirs in which only the first fourteen pages refer to service abroad. Comment on events in Scotland, especially in Aberdeenshire in the later 1630s and early 1640s, is provided by Spalding's History of the Troubles and by Gilbert Blakhal's Narration.

Detail of events in the far north of Scotland is copious in Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland. Sir Thomas Urquhart in his 'Ekekubalaion' listed all those Scottish colonels who had served on the Continent up to 1652, and this was much broader in scope than the list compiled by Monro in his appendix to his Expedition in 1636. The contemporary situation in England emerged from J. Rushworth's Historical Collections, and the Swedish Intelligencer illustrates clearly the type of news about military events in Europe which was circulated in London in the early 1630s.

Among the authors of printed works in more modern times the figure of giant stature is that of T. A. Fischer with his three volumes, Scots in Sweden, Scots in Germany, and Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia. His German-Scottish background was an ideal combination to furnish him with the motive to research into the subject and to equip him with the necessary linguistic skills. Earlier than Fischer had been James Grant, Memoirs and Adventures of Sir John Hepburn in 1851 translated into Swedish two years later as Konung Gustaf Adolfs Skottska Krigare, and contemporary with Fischer were J. Mackay, An Old Scots Brigade, and C. S. Terry, Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of Leven, but though all of these were working in the same general field as Fischer, the contributions of Grant and Mackay to the subject of mercenaries were seldom original and Terry's was obviously narrow, in that he dealt only with one individual and devoted a good deal of his book to Leslie's campaigns in Britain. Nor is there any attempt by Ian Grimble in his Chief of Mackay to undertake an extensive expansion of Fischer's work, for he also concentrates mainly on one character, Donald Mackay, and is for the most part concerned with the domestic scene. By comparison Fischer illustrated the full range of Scottish participation in the military, ecclesiastic and civil life of Germany and Sweden. The work of Professor

Michael Roberts in his two volumes on Gustavus Adolphus touches on the subject of Scottish mercenaries. His chapters on the army and on the diplomatic and military movements between 1626 and 1632 are most valuable and emphasise the lack of any comparable source for Swedish history in the later period of 1632-48 and also the absence of a study of similar scholarship on Christian IV of Denmark. Professor Roberts has stated however that he relied almost entirely on printed sources, since these were extensive, and that he did not research into manuscript sources.

Family histories are so numerous that any comprehensive survey of them would be a vast undertaking, but in general such volumes are not good sources for Scottish military figures in foreign service. The tendency of family historians is to write about their own predecessors and to concentrate on the branches of the family which remained in their native land. This is inevitable, since British material is much more readily accessible and thus many genealogists appear to have made little attempt, or failed in their efforts, to trace the history of younger sons who went abroad. Several writers specialising in family history directed their investigations beyond the narrow confines of their own surname. Among these four are worthy of mention. Charles Rogers concentrated mainly on families from Perthshire and the north east, but in only one instance did he mention any connection with seventeenth-century military service on the Continent. Sir William Fraser's importance has already been noted, but even though he made his volumes as comprehensive as possible the majority of his books contained nothing about mercenaries. Alexander Mackenzie turned his attention to northern families, and while not as detailed as Fraser's volumes his books more frequently contain useful detail than those of Rogers,

e.g. his studies of the Chisholms, Frasers, Mathesons, Monros of Fowlis, and Clan Mackenzie. The fourth writer, John M. Bulloch, did not rival the other three in his range of families (in fact he restricted himself almost exclusively to the Gordons), but he tried to follow the history of the family members who went abroad. This is evident in House of Gordon Volume iii, Gordons in Poland, and Gordons in Germany. Unfortunately Gordons more frequently served the crown of France, and such service was not the main area of research in this present work.

For the study of Scottish family names the standard work is that of George F. Black, Surnames of Scotland. The value of Black's paragraphs varies with the particular name, e.g. his comments on the name of Hamilton are not substantiated by many references, whereas he adduced numerous sources for the surname of Baird. Nevertheless his volume is an invaluable source for information as regards Scottish surnames and quite overshadows P. H. Reaney's Dictionary of British Surnames. Other works connected with surnames in Scotland suffer from one of two deficiencies. Either they are studies of only one family and are therefore obviously limited to that surname, or the writers show little evidence to support their assertions, e.g. Buchanan's Surnames (Edinburgh 1775), or Anderson's Genealogy and Surnames (Edinburgh 1865). James Shaw's contribution to the Dumfriesshire Transactions 1892-3 is useful for several names in Kirkcudbrightshire, but he dealt with only six of them. Nor have modern works contributed much to the scientific study of surnames in connection with areas of Scotland. The subject is not studied in any detail in Kermack's Scottish Borders (Edinburgh 1967) or in D. J. Steel's Sources for Scottish Genealogy (Chichester, Sussex 1970). The statistical survey of the names of parishioners in Wigtown and Stranraer in 1684 carried

out by G. M. Stewart in his Galloway Records provides useful figures for comparison with lists of soldiers who were probably raised in the same area. To clarify further the frequency of surnames in various parts of Scotland the eight volumes of Scott's Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ were investigated to ascertain the names of ministers for every parish in Scotland between 1550 and 1800. For the study of Scots-Irish names the best Irish authority is Dr. Edward MacLysaght's Surnames of Ireland, while a useful handbook to the Gaelic surnames and Christian names in Ireland was found to be that of M. Ó Droighneáin, Gaeilge An Sloinnteoir/agus An tAinmneoir (Belfast 1966).

The 'Scotland of Old' Clan Map produced by Sir Iain Moncreiffe and Don Pottinger and published by Bartholomew & Son is a valuable source for information regarding the areas associated with particular surnames and thus acts as a means of corroboration of the material in Black. It was published in 1960 after much detailed research in the Scottish Record Office especially by Don Pottinger of the Lyon Office. He superimposed clan areas on one-inch scale regional maps of Scotland before they were all scaled down to give the final completed map of the whole country. Bartholomew's claim that the areas shown on their map are much more reliable than the suggestions made by Black and that though earlier clan maps had concentrated on the areas of the Highland clans this was the first to include clan areas for the Lowlands also.

In the field of general reference works the eight volumes of Scottish Peerage always merit investigation, but they are normally lacking in reliable information about military service on the Continent. The Dictionary of National Biography includes articles on merely a few of the Scottish commanders like Ramsay and Douglas, and Douglas' Baronage of Scotland contributed very little. No more helpful source

for the location of placenames was found than Johnston's Gazeteer of Scotland, but on occasion, e.g. for farm names in Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Aberdeenshire and Angus, it proved necessary to search the One-Inch Ordnance Survey maps for these areas.

British articles making a positive contribution to the study of Scottish mercenaries have been relatively few. E.A. Beller in English Historical Review, xliii, dealt thoroughly with Morgan's expedition 1627-9. His information concerned the English forces primarily and was largely drawn from the State Papers (Denmark), but it provides a useful background for the Scots serving in the same area of north west Germany. Beller has also written the concise article on the history of the Thirty Years War in Cambridge Modern History, iv. In the same volume is to be found a most informative contribution, 'Military Forces and Warfare 1610-48', from the late Dr. Wijn. The articles by J. D. Mackay, G. A. Sinclair, A. F. Stewart and E. E. Etzel in the Scottish Historical Review have made little positive contribution to the subject, nor did Grant Robertson's attempt to ascertain the identity of the 'Real Dugald Dalgetty' in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 1898, nor did a similar article in the Gentleman's Magazine 1906. Ian Grimble's account of the 'Royal Payment of Mackay's Regiment' in Scottish Gaelic Studies, ix (1961) includes information drawn from the letters of the Danish Chancellor, but he appears to have made little use of the detailed financial records in Copenhagen. V. G. Kiernan's article on 'Foreign Mercenaries and Absolute Monarchy' in Past and Present was noted above in Chapter One. Joan Thirsk endeavoured to trace the opportunities open to younger sons in 'Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century', History liv (1969), but she had little to say on the subject of the army and nothing about mercenary service.

The National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh contains several items

relevant for this topic. It houses the volumes of the Svensk Biografisk Lexikon, a series which has articles in Swedish on Douglas, Drummond, Forbes, and the English Colonel Fleetwood, but none of these appears to have commanded a Scottish unit. This library also holds a series of photostats of records held in Krigsarkivet, Stockholm, relating to the payment of Scottish regiments in Swedish service in 1630 (see below). There is also a typed list produced by the Swedish Military Attaché in London in 1932 showing Scots who were serving Gustavus in September 1632. These names are taken from the Muster Rolls of 1632, and are in general accurately noted, though there are some mistakes in transcription from the original. The Manuscript Room has a handwritten series of notes in Swedish about a few individual Scots in Sweden compiled for Sir G. W. Dasent in 1845.

There are no Muster Rolls in Scotland bearing the names of the Scots who went abroad, though the Public Record Office in London holds the rolls of Sir Thomas Hope's troops at Newburn in 1640 and the company lists for the Scottish Army in Ireland in 1642. Neither of these sources seemed to have any direct connection with the mercenaries who had returned from Continental service. Terry in his study of the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant 1643-1647 listed the Scottish regimental commanders and indicated those that Rushworth believed had experience of European warfare, but no closer detail was given.

For social and economic history, especially as regards the buying-power of money, information may be found in numerous original sources, e.g. the household accounts of James Mure of Caldwell in 1647, Fynes Morison's Itinerary of 1617, the anonymous account of Britaine's Busses in 1615, the Travels of Sir William Brereton during 1634-5, or the various burgh records noted previously. Though the accuracy of some of the detail in J. E. T. Roger's History of Agriculture and Prices has

been called in question in recent years, no better source for wages and prices over a wide range of goods and services in early seventeenth-century Britain was discovered.

In contrast with the situation in Scotland, there is in Sweden a profusion of sources for Scottish mercenary soldiers. Indeed the number of these sources constitutes to some extent an obstacle to the exposition of the history of the Scots in Sweden. Letters and military records are scattered throughout many collections, mainly in Riksarkivet but also in Krigsarkivet. Though there is a plethora of references for various individuals, it is difficult to find many sources for any particular individual, and letters connected with one Scot tend to lie in many different letter-collections. Nor is the time spent searching in these letter collections and military records often profitable. Letters are all too frequently merely complaints about shortages of provisions or wages, or reports of small-scale troop movements. Though military records contain many items connected with Scots, their value is slight. For example, the financial records for East Prussia include numerous small monthly receipts signed by Scottish company commanders or their representatives. These are hardly of much importance, yet the labour of finding them in manuscript volumes without indices is considerable.

Letters to and from the Swedish governmental authorities in the 1620s and 1630s are normally found in collections associated with Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstierna. The most important source for Scottish military participation in Swedish history at this time is the series of printed volumes of letters Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas Skrifter och Brefvaxling. The fifteen volumes of the First Series contain the Chancellor's letters to the king and make frequent reference to Scottish units. In the Second Series of twelve volumes are published

letters to the Chancellor. Again there are frequent references to the Scots in the communications of Gustavus himself, and occasionally in those of Johan Baner, Gustav Horn and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. Volume ix consists of letters from various generals including Alexander Leslie, Patrick Ruthven and James King. In fact however though the letters of the latter three generals were signed by Scots they make few references to Scottish troops, because these officers normally wrote as commanders of multi-national forces mainly concerned about military problems of supply and movement. The indices to all these volumes are very comprehensive, but the Oxenstierna letters after 1636 are still in manuscript form. In the manuscript collection 'Bref till Konungen Gustav II Adolfs tid' over 150 letters appear to have been written by Scots. The letters of Alexander Hamilton, James Hamilton (marquis), Robert Monro, Donald Mackay, and Francis Sinclair were investigated. The manuscript collection of 'Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas Brefvaxling' includes letters not in the printed volumes of Chancellor's letters noted above, and here the number of Scottish writers is considerable. More than 500 letters seem to have been written by Scottish soldiers or those closely associated with their service, e.g. English colleagues or Scottish diplomats. Those of William Baillie, Alexander Cunningham, Alexander Dickson, George Douglas, Alexander Forbes, John Forbes, Alexander Hamilton, James Hamilton (marquis), John Hamilton, Ludovick Leslie, Alexander Lindsay, James Lumsden, Hector Monro, John Monro, Robert Monro, Alexander Ramsay, James Ramsay, and Francis Sinclair were sampled. The amount of valuable information found there proved extremely disappointing.

Other letter collections are of some limited value. A series of boxes containing manuscript letters arranged in alphabetical order of authors' surnames is called 'Biographica'. The list of 137 Scottish surnames under which Scottish material may be filed is included below in Appendix B. The 'Biographica' index in Riksarkivet gives no indication of the number of letters under a particular surname or the dates involved

and thus it is probable that many of the Scottish names will turn out to belong to Swedes of Scottish descent. The letters listed there under Affleck, Barclay, Bordon, Cuninghame, Ennes, Leslie, Lumsdaine, Mackay, Monro and Ramsay were consulted. Two further collections deserve mention here though they were rather outwith the strict chronological dates of this particular study. The 'Skokloster Samling' of letters to Carl Gustav Wrangel consists of two separate series, the Bound and the Unbound. In the former lie twenty six letters from Scottish commanders, but the latter has more than 250, ninety of which are from Robert Douglas. The 'Horn/Bielke Samling' also includes similar communications in its three sections (Bielke, Skokloster, and Wijk), in all numbering ninety eight. Over half of these were letters from Colonel Thomas Kinninmonth at Neumünde Skans.

Primary source material concerning political discussions will be discovered in the 'Anglica' section of the 'Diplomatica', but the detailed military information in the 'Militaria' collection refers generally to the post-1640 period. There is also a box of manuscript notes on Scottish commanders in Sweden which appears to date from the beginning of the twentieth century written by Hammerskjöld, but these appear much less useful than the work of Sonden, noted below.

Two further sources at Riksarkivet, Stockholm merit consideration. The first is the collation of sources in 1915 by Per Sonden and entitled 'Militära Chefer och deras Skrivelser'. It exists in both typed and manuscript form, gives brief biographical details of all colonels in Swedish regiments, and lists the letter collections which contain material concerning each individual commander. This information is so useful that this present study contains in Appendix C the names of value for the investigation of Scottish mercenaries, (a few English officers being included

whose activities were closely interwoven with those of the Scottish troops). The second source worth noting is the work of Gustaf Elgenstierna, Svenska Adels Attartävlor. This series comprises nine printed volumes, and has replaced the earlier books produced by Anrep. It is now the standard reference source for information about the descent of Swedish noble families. These volumes are helpful for distinguishing native-born Scots from Swedes with Scottish ancestors. As might be expected its shortcomings tend to be in the Scottish material and not in the activities of the individuals while in Swedish service. The relevant Scottish names noted in Elgenstierna are noted later in Appendix D.

The material held in Krigsarkivet, Stockholm is much more specialised than that held in Riksarkivet, though some military records are, for no apparent reason, kept in the latter archive. The boxes of index cards in the biographical section of Krigsarkivet are extremely disappointing and contain little information about Scots. On the other hand the fifteen boxes of index cards (over 1,000 cards per box), 'Namn Regist. Över Officerare i Serien Rullor 1620-1723', compiled directly from the Military Rolls, have a limited value. These cards merely record the information shown on various Muster Rolls and seldom draw on other sources, but the information is conveniently collated. The ranks included range from ensign up to colonel. Thus General Staff officers are not recorded, nor are company under-officers nor men in the ranks. Even so there were well over 1,000 Scottish surnames recorded inside the period 1620-48, and in many cases a considerable number under each surname, e.g. thirty nine under 'Hamilton'.

The only reference source for information about individual soldiers in the ranks is the series of Military Rolls ('Rullor'). This manuscript collection contains the actual rolls of names submitted by the company

scribes to the Swedish paymasters. It is arranged chronologically, geographical regions being grouped for each month, and there are usually between thirty and forty volumes per year. Sometimes the actual town concerned was noted and nearly all the rolls bear the date of writing.

The regimental staff was listed separately and included most of the personnel noted below, though the numbers of some of them varied and the names given to these ranks might be in English, Swedish, French, German or Latin. This staff normally numbered at least twenty men. Three posts were strictly military (colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major), eight or more concerned the enforcement of discipline (four perforces, two stocknights, a court-martial clerk and a hangman), while a further nine or more performed administrative functions or provided services (regimental clerk, one or two ministers, auditor, provision-master, drum major, and four surgeons). The rest of the regiment was listed in companies. The company officers usually numbered eleven or twelve (captain, lieutenant, ensign, two sergeants, furrier, 'förrare', captain-of-arms, scribe, two drummers and sometimes a piper). The captain was usually accompanied by two pages, and his lieutenant and ensign by one each (the young men being referred to as 'muster boys'). The rest of the men were then arranged in sixes with the first of each group being ranked corporal or rotmaster. Six corporals were the normal allocation, and the other 'rot' leaders were called rotmasters.⁽³⁾

Below the company officers was listed the number of passevolants. This figure appears to have been a permitted addition of non-existent men to the roll for the purpose of extra pay. Roberts has described it as a form of cost-of-living allowance and states that it was paid to the colonel.

(3) A complete muster roll is listed in Appendix E.

The fact however that the passevolant number was written several times a month by each scribe on his muster roll may indicate that this additional payment was made to the captain. The number of passevolants varied from time to time, but in the period 1629-30 the normal allocation to each Scottish company was fourteen.

Muster rolls seldom carry more information than the above details. It was not customary for notes to be added unless to indicate those who had fallen sick. Occasionally a few brief comments have been inserted by a Swedish or German hand to explain the location of particular individuals, e.g. 'på Stockholm', 'till Skotlandh medh Of.Lt. Letzle'. In rare cases special details were recorded. At the end of Captain James Stewart's roll in 1638 seven new recruits were listed as reporting on 10 September and in each instance there has been added a brief note in German of their personal appearance, e.g. John Sutherland 'a young Scottish fellow', Nicholas Hartell 'a little man with one eye', and William Thomson 'a tall Scottish man with blond hair'. Though the muster rolls provide little positive proof of the return of large numbers of Scots to their native land in 1639 in response to the appeal from the Committee of Estates, two muster rolls mention the destinations of twenty four Scottish officers and under-officers discharged from the Swedish army at that time.⁽⁴⁾

The limitations of this series for the Scottish historian are these: - (a) reasons for the disappearance of soldiers from the lists are not normally given, (b) the actual locations of units are often missing, (c) when the scribe adopts German spelling and script, or when he is in fact a German himself, it soon becomes impossible to recognise Scottish surnames, (d) the Rolls are far from complete - being specially fragmentary

(4) Further detail is recorded below in Chapter 10.

for the later part of 1631 and for 1632. In general, records are more likely to be extant if the Scottish regiment concerned served mainly in a garrison town like Stettin or Elbing. Units with the field armies have seldom left useful records.

The second manuscript series in Krigsarkivet is that of the Military Accounts ('Militieräkningar'). This vast collection certainly contains information about Scots if the research-worker already knows the geographical location and date relevant for the Scottish unit, but there are no detailed indices to provide assistance. A sample of the Prussian records for August 1629 uncovered twenty seven small monthly receipts signed by Scots on behalf of their companies, but these documents appeared of very limited value. Similar receipts signed by Scots must certainly exist for many other months in this area and in all the Swedish-controlled parts of Germany. More interesting proved to be the record of money paid to mercenary troops in 1630-1, 'Räkenskaper over betald sold till värv. trupper 1630-1'. These manuscript volumes listed the men of the twenty two foreign mercenary regiments during these two years. The register was marked for every month, and at the end of 1630 the total pay of each company was calculated at the back. This is the material which has been photographed and sent by the Swedish Military Attaché to the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. The volume for 1631 is however disappointing. It contains no financial information, and most units are not recorded beyond the first few months of 1631. No records of this type are extant for the rest of 1631 or for 1632 and later years. It is unlikely that they are merely missing, because the unfinished nature of the 1631 volume strongly suggests abandonment of the system.

The Viggo Keys Collection in Krigsarkivet is a disjointed group of sources bought at the Hammerska auction in Stockholm. It includes muster

rolls spread throughout the period 1601-53, military accounts, and a few letters, but in general appears to be a collection of oddments which really belong in the 'Rullor' and 'Militieråkninger'. The only common bond in this collection is that almost all the items refer to Scottish companies.

Regimental history tends to be a confusing study, particularly when units are frequently being amalgamated and senior officers being transferred between regiments. A valuable guide to these changes in seventeenth-century Sweden is the typed index held in Krigsarkivet for foreign mercenary regiments of infantry, 'Utlandska Varvåde Infanteriregimenten'. In the first section each colonel is listed alphabetically and his regiments and their locations added. In the second part the regiments are listed with their colonels and locations, and it is thus possible to follow the course of the complex amalgamations and the movements of at least the colonels. Once again there is no evidence that any other sources were used for this compilation than the 'Rullor'. The standard printed reference work in Sweden for the location of regiments and their sizes is that of Julius Mankell, Uppgifter rör. Sv. Krigsmagtens Styrka, Sammansättning och Fordelning. He collected every possible list, and thus his information about Scottish units is more comprehensive than the 'Rullor' alone can provide, but even Mankell found it impossible to distinguish between individual Scottish regiments in 1633 and later years.

For Swedish military history between 1611 and 1632 the eight volumes of Sveriges Krig published by the Swedish General Staff are incomparable. The detail in the first six volumes dealing with military affairs is intricate and rewarding, while the supplementary volumes on shipping, arms and armaments provide a profuse collection of background material

for the Scottish mercenary scene. The geographical range of archives which these Swedish military historians used for manuscript material is extremely impressive, Stockholm, Uppsala, Gothenburg, Copenhagen and Helsinki in Scandinavia; London, Paris, Brussels and the Hague in western Europe; Friedland, Zurich, Prague, Vienna, Augsburg, Dresden, Magdeburg, Marburg, Munich, Schwerin, Weimar, Stralsund, Stettin, Nuremberg, Berlin, Göttingen and Wolfenbüttel in central Europe; and Riga, Dorpat, Braunsberg, Elbing, Königsberg, Pillau, Danzig, Cracow, Lemberg and Posen in the east. Military life with the field armies has been further revealed by the researches of officers in the Military History section of the Royal Military High School in Stockholm. In particular their publication of Aktuellt och Historiskt for 1969 contained a useful appraisal of the work of company officers in the time of Charles X written by Lars Tersmeden.

In addition certain regimental histories of Swedish units indicate the progress of Scots who rose to high ranks, not with Scottish troops, but in Swedish regiments. Some of these Swedish units appear to have been particularly attractive to Scots, e.g. the Kalmar regiment. Folke Rudelius in his Kalmar Regementes Historia has outdated the material on this unit previously recorded in the Personhist. Tidskrift of 1907, and lists no fewer than thirty nine Scots between 1623 and 1648 in command posts for this regiment. Scottish surnames are also prominent in Arvid Noreen's work Anteckn. om Kunql. Hallands Regiment (Västgötadal) 1625-1910. The Värmland regiment appears to have been popular with Scots, to judge from the twenty seven Scottish surnames noted by C. O. Nordensvan in Värmland Regementes Historia. The same is true of Gunnar Hylten-Cavallius's book Kunql. Kronobergs Regiments Officerskår 1623-1896 and Otto Bergstrom's Bidrag till Kunql. Uplands Regiments Historia. The Västerbotten unit's history has been compiled by both Bergenstrahle, Kunql.

Västerbottens Krigshistoria, and Birger Steckzén, Västerbottens Regiments Officerare till År 1841. The latter's book is the more useful for biographical material, and Steckzén has listed ten Scottish names among the captains of this regiment during the Thirty Years War period. References in Swedish regimental histories do not normally contain plentiful detail on these Scottish individuals, and in most cases the information is very fragmentary.

The Danish references in Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen have been thoroughly investigated for this study. No Muster Rolls could be found there and relatively few letters, but as in Stockholm there was much information in the letters issued by the Chancellor and also in the Military Accounts. Christian IV's Chancellery operated as two distinct sections, Danish (dealing primarily with internal matters) and German (for foreign affairs). Scottish material lies in both, because letters from Scotland are usually filed in the latter section, while details of Scottish units in Denmark itself are normally found in the former section. Care of documents was not a distinguishing feature of Christian's government, and the quantity of surviving records is relatively small in comparison with those of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna in Sweden.

In the Danish Chancellery collection the main source is the series of printed volumes called Kancelliets Brevbøger, especially for this subject the volume for 1627-9 edited by E. Marquard. It contains letters from the king and the Chancellor, and mentions twenty three Scottish commanders besides English colleagues who fought alongside them. Some of these Scots however turn out on closer investigation to be officers in Danish units and not in fact directly connected with British troops at all. Nevertheless there are sufficient references to confirm Monro's statements in the first part of his Expedition and to complement the

financial accounts in the military records. The major disappointment in Rigsarkivet, apart from the absence of Muster Rolls of the Scots, was the virtually complete lack of any Scottish letters in Danske Kanc. Indlaeg til Regist. 1481-1650. These two volumes of typed indices indicate letters similar to those in the Swedish Oxenstierna collection which were sent to the Chancellor, but the contrast in quantity in this respect between Stockholm and Copenhagen is striking. The Danish records showed only three letters from Scots during the early seventeenth century (none of any value for the study of the mercenaries) and three others with slight references to the Scots. There were no communications in this collection from Spynie, Nithsdale, Mackay, Monro or other Scots during 1626-9.

The part of the German Chancellery (Inland Division), i.e. TKIA, which yielded valuable Scottish material was Section A (up to 1670). Incoming letters from recruiters were gathered in TKIA A.93 (XII-XIII Indk. Breve 1625-30). Here lay nine useful letters, (one from Adam Dickson, three from the earl of Nithsdale, and five from Lord Spynie). Dickson's is undated, Nithsdale's were all sent from Edinburgh between May and October 1627, while Spynie dated only one of his, 'Westminster 12 June 1629'. The others would appear to have been written in 1628 or 1629.

The section of TKIA which turned out to be unexpectedly valuable bore the unpromising title 'Order af Frands Rantsau m. fl. om Udfaerdigelse af Restedler, Obligationer o.l. 1628-32'. Yet here in the absence of Muster Rolls could be pieced together at least part of the regimental rolls of the Nithsdale, Spynie, Sinclair and Mackay units. The volume consists of pay settlements with individual company officers and under-officers, and frequently mention is made of their duration of service and even location. Most useful of all are the two dozen detailed

reckonings which in some cases list by name ten or more of the men on the company staff. The volume also includes sixteen discharge passes signed by Spynie and dated 'Copenhagen 28 September 1628', and four similar letters of recommendation of the same approximate date signed by Lord Reay.

Many other references to Scots existed in other sections of TKIA, but their value was usually minor. In 'Regnskabssager 1623-46' there is only one Scottish item, a receipt signed by Thomas Home. The title of 'Mønstringruller, Fortegnelser Over Officerer og Manskab, Lister Over indkvarterede m.m. 1612-29' suggests a false promise of Scottish muster rolls. It did in fact yield one list of Mackay's officers who took their discharge in 1629, but nothing more. Material in 'Optegnelser og Bestemmelser om Sold, Afregninger, Obligationer og Restsedler 1625-58' includes one letter from the earl of Nithsdale and three receipts for money received by Scots in Glückstadt, along with one for the English company of Francis Hamond. 'Militære Bestallinger og Reverser 1610-45' contains commissions granted to colonels and certain captains, and includes two for Mackay, and one each for Sinclair, Spynie, Nithsdale, Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton, and Captains John Lindsay and Robert Monro.

In addition to TKIA there is a subdivision of the Danish records known as TKUA, i.e. Tysk. Kanc. Udland. Afdeling, in which is to be found a 'Special Part' which has among other information details of recruiting plans for Scotland. There are five manuscript letters there, all the work of Lord Spynie and all undated, but their subject matter indicates that the approximate period is 1626 or early 1627 when negotiations were taking place for the levying of Scottish regiments for Danish service.

The second main manuscript source in Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen for

this topic is the series of Military Accounts ('Militaere Regnskaber'). Though the system of indexing in Riksarkivet, Stockholm is far from helpful at times, it is vastly more satisfactory than that encountered in Copenhagen. The index for the Military Accounts in Rigsarkivet is a slim printed volume without title, author or date. Considerable material however was uncovered in this collection which contains information similar to that held in Krigsarkivet of Stockholm. Two sources in particular were rich in documents which related to the Scots. The first consists of the financial records kept by the Danish War Commissaries. Those of Axel Arenfeld, 'Generalkrigscommissar A. Arenfeldts Krigs. Regnsk. 1 January 1626 - 31 December 1627' contain notes concerning the payment of Mackay's regiment during this period and minor references to other individual Scots. The same type of material in much greater detail appears in the accounts of Nils Krag, 'Generalkrigscommiss. N. Krag's Krigs Regnsk. 31 December 1627 - 31 December 1629' for here are statements of the wages paid not only to Mackay's regiment, but also to those of Spynie and Sinclair. Their main deficiency is the absence of the numbers of men in the individual companies, but these manuscript volumes also lack indices of any kind. The second valuable source in the Military Accounts of Rigsarkivet is the huge 1,800 page manuscript record of the Glückstadt provisions-accounts, 'Glückstadts Proviant og Penge Regnskab 1625-9' giving details of supplies issued to the Scottish and English troops in Glückstadt and Stade. Again no indication of the numbers of men involved is normally given, but there is a short index of officers' names.

By contrast disappointingly little of value emerged from the Stralsund Accounts kept by Heinrich Holck, 'Stralsunds Belagerungs Rechnung'. Scottish units certainly served there in 1628, but Holck seldom mentioned them and used Scottish names on only seven occasions. A few

minor items, receipts for money received at Hamburg, were found in 'Krigscommiss. Anthoni Detlef og Daniel v. Buchwald Proviant Regnsk. o. Beviser 1627-9'. The petitions for payment of wages however, which are grouped in 'Ansøgninger fra Militære Betiente 1628' include fourteen from Scots, and several of these are detailed requests which give information about their writers' military service. Among those who submitted these requests were Mackay (one) and Spynie (two).

It is thus apparent that a considerable quantity of manuscript material concerning the Scots is housed in Rigsarkivet, but very little printed information could be discovered there. The series of small books dealing with Danish noble families, 'Danmark Adels Aarbog', cannot stand comparison with Elgenstierna's work for Swedish families. The Danish series included only four Scottish names (Mowat, Sinclair, Dunbar and Cunningham), and the information given on them all was very thin.

In the field of foreign articles B. Hoenig's contribution to Beiträge zur neueren Philologie J. Schipper dargebracht in 1902 was noted in Chapter 1. Gunnar Nordström endeavoured to trace the origins of the colour-names for certain Swedish regiments in 'Régiments Jaune, Bleu, Vert, Rouge et Blanc de l'ancienne Armée Suédoise', Revue internationale d'Histoire militaire, 8 (Paris 1950). W. Borowy studied the importance of British troops in Polish service in 'Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy w Wojsku Polskim za Zygmunta III', Studia z dziejow Kultury Polskiej (Warsaw 1949), but he concentrated on the period before 1624 and made little comment on the remaining years of Sigismund's reign. Though dealing mainly with the later part of the Thirty Years War P. Gouhier has written a detailed valuable article 'Mercenaires Irlandais au Service de la France 1635-1664', Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, xv (1968).

CHAPTER THREE

The extent of projected recruiting for mercenaries in Scotland for foreign powers between 1620 and 1642 looks impressive on paper. Warrants were issued for 19,560 men for Sweden, 13,700 for Denmark (including those originally intended for service with Mansfeld but who were transferred to the pay of Christian IV), 10,320 for France, 2,800 for the United Provinces, 800 for Spain, and 200 for Russia. In addition 1,500 men under Sir Andrew Gray in 1620 were earmarked for the Bohemian struggle,⁽¹⁾ and 2,000 Scots were required for the earl of Morton's expedition to Rhé in 1628.⁽²⁾ If the unlikely figure of 8,000 for Poland discussed in 1623 is included the maximum total is 58,880. This figure makes it clear that during these twenty years Scotland was considered an important source of manpower for armies intended for the continent. Though accurate population figures for the early seventeenth century are lacking and hence it is difficult to arrive at a definite figure for the population of Scotland at the time, Pryde, using Webster's eighteenth-century census, has suggested that a total between 800,000 and 900,000 would be an acceptable approximation.⁽⁴⁾ This would suggest at first glance that the percentage of the Scottish population sought for the European wars was in the region of 1/14. It has also been estimated that no less than 1/20 of the Scottish male population in the year 1627 was required for service abroad.⁽⁵⁾

On the other hand permission to recruit did not guarantee that the full number was actually levied. The frequent references made in official records to desertions would seem to point to difficulties in

(1) RPC 1st Series, xii, 273 footnote

(2) APC Sep. 1627-June 1628, 67

(3) RPC 1st Series, xiii, 364

(4) G. S. Pryde, Scotland 1603 to present day (Edinburgh 1962), 78

(5) RPC 2nd Series, i, p.lxxxiii

attaining the full numbers of units, yet there are few extant cases of Scottish regiments falling short in their totals. This problem is considered in more detail later, but there is no doubt that Sir James Sinclair failed to levy his required total. Though Robert Stewart was reported in 1623 to be attempting to raise 8,000 men for Sigismund of Poland, there is no evidence of many enlisting. Investigation of the totals shown in Swedish Muster Rolls revealed that several units exceeded their required figures, e.g. Alexander Hamilton more than met his obligation in full in 1629,⁽⁶⁾ and James Spens, who bound himself to provide 1,200 men for Gustavus in 1624, sent over 1,270.⁽⁷⁾ Sir John Meldrum's force however which should have totalled 1,200 reached its highest figure of 1,051 a month after the arrival of his first companies abroad.⁽⁸⁾

It would also be mistaken to consider that a 'Scottish' regiment consisted solely of Scots. In fact to judge from the names of the men recorded in the Swedish Muster Rolls English regiments contained Scots and vice versa. For instance, Spens' regiment of 1624 eventually became known as Ramsay's Scottish regiment in 1629, but even in 1625 three of the eight original companies were drawn mainly from England.⁽⁹⁾ Though the marquis of Hamilton's warrant permitted the levying of 6,000 men in 1630-1, this referred to the whole of Britain and at least 4,000 of these men were raised south of the Scottish Border.⁽¹⁰⁾ Both Scottish and English units also included on occasion Irish companies. Robert Stewart certainly gathered some of his soldiers in Ireland for Colonel John Meldrum's regiment in 1629 and later recruited there for his own command in 1637 when no less than five of his companies were mainly Irish.⁽¹¹⁾ Captain Hannay's company in Ramsay's regiment in 1628 included Irishmen,⁽¹²⁾ and

(6) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/14/180-215

(7) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1625/3/87-141

(8) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/16/150-72

(9) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 91-92

(10) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/55

(11) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1638/3/182

(12) S. Francis, Hannays of Sorbie (London 1961), 74

Sir George Hamilton and Sir Frederick Hamilton were levying troops in Ireland for the earl of Nithsdale's regiment in 1627.⁽¹³⁾ The Seaton/Cunningham unit in 1629-30 contained at least one company which originated in Ireland, that of Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Hamilton,⁽¹⁴⁾ and in the Scottish section of the marquis of Hamilton's army there remained in 1632 a company under Captain Andrew Hamilton which was very largely Irish.⁽¹⁵⁾

A further problem, and one which defies solution, concerns the extent of re-enlistment by the same men. Reports of desertion both before embarkation and after arrival abroad occupy a substantial space in the records of the Privy Councils of both Scotland and England. Duration of service naturally varied with the individual, but even units themselves possessed a short existence. In the Swedish army regiments based on native provinces retained a more permanent identity, but mercenary regiments seldom lasted as long as three years without massive new recruiting or amalgamations with other units. As the opportunity of renewing one's contract or of taking one's pass arose every year, length of service in the same regiment tended to be short. In many cases however re-enlistment involved change of regiment within the service of the same country. No proof has emerged of any Scottish soldier being as ubiquitous in loyalty as the fictitious Dugald Dalgetty, who claimed to have served Sweden, the Empire, Spain, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

It is nevertheless evident from English records that officers did not always remain in the employment of the same country for their entire military career. This could hardly be expected when no regular armies existed. Thomas Melville had served for five years as a lieutenant for the Spanish king in the Netherlands and then sought the permission of Charles I to take up employment in the English king's army.⁽¹⁶⁾ If the date of October 1625

(13) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 97-100, 105

(14) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/23/327

(15) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1632/30/494

(16) CSP Domestic 1625-6, 139

is accurate this would imply interest in the troops bound for Mansfeld. Spens recommended Thomas Hamilton because he was an experienced officer who had seen service in Holland and now wanted to enter Swedish ranks.⁽¹⁷⁾ Captain Humes had served in many foreign countries as captain and also in the king of Sweden's wars.⁽¹⁸⁾ Edward May and Simon Hayman who had been recalled from the Low Countries to drill the trained bands in England, later served as lieutenants in the expedition to La Rochelle, and in 1631 were proposed by Lord Poulett as lieutenants for the troops bound for Sweden.⁽¹⁹⁾ Sir John Caswell had been active under Count Mansfeld and had also participated in the Cadiz, Rhé and Rochelle operations. He next commanded an English regiment in Germany for the king of Sweden, and by 1633 was seeking a further licence to levy for Sweden.⁽²⁰⁾ When the Privy Council of England decided in July to reduce the size of the infantry companies in Ireland from 150 men to 50 men each, permission was granted for the redundant troops to join the king of Sweden, 'if they are willing to continue a militarie course of lyfe.' The Councillors had taken a similar attitude when they were informed in 1627 that 'divers souldiers in and about the citty of London ... have heretofore served in these wars and are desirous to goe thither againe.'⁽²¹⁾

Scottish troops were also involved in re-enlistment. Lord Ogilvy indicated to Nithsdale on 21 June 1627 that Strachan's men had already served in the Low Countries and were at the date of writing ready in Edinburgh for transportation into Danish service.⁽²²⁾ Almost two months later Ogilvy commended to the same earl Lieutenant George Ogilvy who

(17) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 95

(18) CSP Domestic 1629-31, 431

(19) CSP Domestic 1629-31, 507

(20) CSP Domestic 1629-31, 354

(21) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 82

(22) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 91

'has bein ane soldier in Holand tua yeiris.'⁽²³⁾ Robert Monro and many of Mackay's regiment served first with the Danish army and then with the Swedish forces, and Monro recruited another regiment for Queen Christina in 1637. John Hepburn and Sir John Hamilton enlisted with Richelieu's French army after leaving Swedish pay. Reorganisation of units often gave rise to this type of movement, especially from one regiment to another. Uchtreid MacDowall, ensign in Captain Alexander Hannay's company of Ramsay's regiment in June 1628,⁽²⁴⁾ was almost certainly the same person as the Captain Uchtreid MacDowall who appeared with his own company in Sir John Meldrum's unit in August 1629.⁽²⁵⁾ In July 1629 one of Hannay's sergeants was named Alexander MacDowall and one of his rotmasters Patrick Houston.⁽²⁶⁾ They were not listed with Hannay's company in following months, but in August 1629 and thereafter MacDowall's lieutenant is called Alexander MacDowall and one of his sergeants is Patrick Houston. It is very likely that these are the men from Hannay's company. Many similar instances must abound, but their discovery is difficult due to the absence of informative annotation in the original records. Any assessment of the statistical extent of re-enlistment would involve random guesswork, but it is obvious that the totals of men shown on the original warrants, while providing useful guides to the intentions of statesmen and soldiers, cannot be regarded as sound statistics for the numbers of recruits actually levied in Scotland.

The original initiative for the levying of a mercenary force in Britain lay in the foreign commitments of Continental countries. Mercenaries became desirable when ambitious military plans could not be effected by

(23) APC May 1629-May 1630, 79

(24) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 182

(25) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/51

(26) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/10/353

existing sources of native recruits, or when a deliberate policy was pursued of utilising foreign soldiers for invasion purposes and campaigning in the enemy's territory, while retaining native troops for defence of their homeland. Willingness to pay such mercenaries and ability to honour financial contracts should also have been an essential prerequisite, but in fact regular pay was never certain and even the levy money was sometimes provided by the recruiting officer out of his own pocket with little likelihood of being reimbursed. Success in the field tended to encourage further levying, while failure led to dwindling numbers and fewer recruiting attempts. Gustavus Adolphus was left in no doubt of this when after his long unbroken run of successful engagements from 1630 to 1632 he was at last checked at Alte Feste in the summer of 1632.

Though foreign governments normally initiated the recruiting procedure, many gentlemen of fortune in Britain were quick to volunteer their services because they coveted the title of colonel and the pay which accompanied it. In the event some found the prize far from rewarding. Indeed the catalogue of misfortunes which Mackay listed in his pay claim to Christian IV on 10 May 1627 would appear a considerable deterrent. His affairs at home were embarrassed, his captains blamed him, and his soldiers demanded food and pay while for want of powder and shot and due to bad tactics posts were being surrendered.⁽²⁷⁾ Nevertheless nobles and knights frequently earned their wages by their recruiting efforts without ever actually appearing with their units in the field. Thus regiments were in many cases militarily commanded by lieutenant-colonels or even majors, e.g. William Baillie for Sir Alexander Hamilton in East Prussia 1629-30, Robert Monro for Sir Donald Mackay in Danish and Swedish service 1628-32, Hugh Hamilton for James Seaton and George Cunningham.

(27) SRD, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/160

in East Prussia 1629-30. It also seems that financial bargains may occasionally have decided certain senior command posts if the views stated in 1632 in the Forbes memorandum of conversations held in Stralsund and London are to be believed. Forbes was convinced that Spens had sold the position of supreme commander over British troops in Swedish service to Reay for £20,000 Scots. But Forbes was of the opinion that Reay's money would be wasted, since the marquis of Hamilton was more likely to be given the post. This may have been mere rumour, but Forbes contended that he had seen Spens' own letters about the bargaining with Reay.⁽²⁸⁾

A key figure between the hiring government and the potential colonels in Britain was often the agent at court, e.g. Captain David Learmonth for Mansfeld, Sir James Spens for Sweden, and Sir Robert Anstruther for Denmark. Spens and his son were responsible for three full regiments during the period 1624-9. Spens had been sent by the king of Sweden to encourage Charles I to support him in the Thirty Years War and to superintend new levies in England.⁽²⁹⁾ The procedure is seen in more detail in the preliminary arrangements made for the marquis of Hamilton's army in 1629-30. The Swedish king wrote to the marquis on 12 December 1629 embracing 'with a sincere heartiness the generous declarations he had made, first to the Swedish ambassador at London, and again to his cousin, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, whom he had sent to Sweden with assurances of his resolution of coming in person with a gallant body of forces, Scots and English.'⁽³⁰⁾ Alexander Leslie and Alexander Hamilton left Sweden and returned to London to assist with the recruiting, but eventually official pressure from the Privy Council had to be applied to compel soldiers to join the marquis. Lord Reay also found himself in the position of an agent for Sweden in 1631. Gustavus found time to write to him from Werben

(28) SRO, Lord Forbes Collection, GD 52/94

(29) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 91

(30) HMC, Eleventh Report Appendix vi, Hamilton (London 1887), 69

on 14 July approving highly the agreement Mackay had concluded with John Monro for four companies and with Sir Pierce Crosby of Ireland for three regiments.⁽³¹⁾

The next stage was normally for the two parties, the agent and the prospective colonel, to draw up a Letter (or Heads) of Agreement. This contract, frequently signed in the presence of witnesses in London, dealt with various matters, (pay of the colonel, the extent of his freedom to choose officers, date of embarkation and place of rendezvous, shipping) and in some cases included a series of financial clauses involving penalties for shortcoming in the numbers agreed and extra payments in the event of the total being surpassed. Two of these manuscripts are extant. In the first, Captain David Learmonth acted on behalf of Count Ernest Mansfeld by virtue of a commission granted to him at Lauenburg on 24 January 1626,⁽³²⁾ while Donald Mackay was represented by James, Lord Ochiltree. It was witnessed in London on 4 March 1626 by Patrick, Bishop of Ross and Sir John Stewart of Traquair.⁽³³⁾ In the second contract General Sir James Spens granted Alexander Hamilton a commission for 1,200 men on 20 April 1629.⁽³⁴⁾ In two other written agreements it is apparent that a colonel occasionally delegated some of his powers to others, but safeguarded himself against the possibility of their failure by a written, sealed document. On 25 August 1631 Donald, Lord Reay and Sir Thomas Conway concluded a contract concerning the raising in England of a regiment of foot for service in Sweden.⁽³⁵⁾ In the other document Alexander, Master of Forbes and colonel of two regiments by virtue of a commission from Gustavus Adolphus

(31) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/184. Companies normally ranged in size between 120 and 200 men, while regiments varied between 1,000 and 2,000 men.

(32) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/148

(33) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/149

(34) Fraser, Haddington, ii, 92-93

(35) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/186

reached various agreements with Sir Arthur Forbes his lieutenant-colonel and Captain John Baillie, among which Sir Arthur undertook to provide 500 men. The contract was subscribed and sealed at St. Martin's Lane in London on 29 July 1631 before witnesses William Fowler and P. Lumsden.⁽³⁶⁾

At this stage permission was sought from the Privy Council of England or Scotland to carry out the necessary recruiting. It might have been expected that such a licence would be dated later than the agreements but this was not standard practice. The warrant to Mackay is 1626 was issued two weeks later than the written agreement, and his commission from Mansfeld arrived some time afterwards, being dated 'Zerbst 9 April 1626'.⁽³⁷⁾ But in Alexander Hamilton's case his warrant was dated five days earlier than the written contract.⁽³⁸⁾ Reay's warrant from the Privy Council on 2 June 1631 was issued almost three months before the agreement with Conway,⁽³⁹⁾ whereas the Forbes document noted above was finalised four weeks before the Council licence was issued.⁽⁴⁰⁾ It would appear therefore that no definite order of procedure was formalised at the time, though both written agreement and Council permission would appear to have been necessary at some stage. Privy Council permission was seldom refused. Only once during the period 1620-42 was recruiting prohibited, when following an injunction from Charles I a proclamation was issued against the levying of soldiers on 18 June 1635,⁽⁴¹⁾ but its effect must have been limited, since four further warrants were granted later in the same year and Captain Gordon managed to get an exception made for the raising of his company. Even in 1642, a year when the unsettled state of affairs in England, Ireland and Scotland would have been expected to deter Charles I and the Scottish Estates from countenancing the embarkation of troops

(36) SRO, Lord Forbes Collection, GD 52/93

(37) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/151

(38) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 136

(39) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 219

(40) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 318-19

(41) RPC 2nd Series, vi, 28

for foreign service, a licence was awarded to James, earl of Irvine to recruit 4,500 men for France.⁽⁴²⁾ This indicates the strength of French influence at the English Court. Already in the troubled years of 1637, 1638 and 1639 Richelieu's agents had prevailed to the extent of gaining warrants for 1,000 men each time. It also appears that the French government had earlier mooted the raising in Britain of 2,000 men in 1629-30 but this had been officially discouraged in London.⁽⁴³⁾

Since a mercenary regiment by definition fights for money, the initial recruiting money, offered in hard cash, by captains and their officers at the market-crosses must have constituted a prime attraction for the potential volunteer. The promise of good wages might be honoured, but experience alone would indicate to the recruit in later months the true intentions of the hiring government. The rate of recruiting money paid by the Swedish Crown to colonels between 1620 and 1630 was eight rix dollars per man. (The following year it fell to six rix dollars, and later still to four.)⁽⁴⁴⁾ The exact value of a rix dollar is a complex problem discussed later, but it was equivalent to an amount which varied between 4/- and 5/- sterling. Hence the enrolling money to which the colonel was entitled for each recruit totalled at best 40/- sterling. How much the individual recruit received of this enlistment money is not known for certain. Since the colonel had to victual and transport his men to a foreign rendezvous, and possibly sought to make a profit for himself, there would not be a great deal left to pay the recruit in cash when enlisted. A detailed investigation of the charges incurred in victualling and in shipping men is undertaken later, but at this stage it may be noted that the total sums allocated for levying, victualling and transporting men

(42) RPC 2nd Series, vii, 247

(43) Francisque-Michel, Les Écossais en France (London 1862), ii, 280-1

(44) Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, ii, 217

varied widely between 1626 and 1631. Mansfeld allowed Mackay 20/- sterling per man from Scotland to Glückstadt, less than the Swedes offered in 1629. Possibly Gustavus' figure of eight rix dollars allowed for the longer sea journey to Sweden than that to the north west German port. In 1628 the laird of Dun, operating on behalf of the king of Denmark in Scotland, undertook to deliver to Blair of Balgillo 900 rix dollars and a captain's commission in return for the recruitment of 100 men.⁽⁴⁵⁾ This is approximately the same as eight rix dollars per man if allowance is made for higher rates being offered to the company officers. By 1631 however Sir Thomas Conway was expected to meet all the costs of between 776 men and 800 men to be delivered to Pomerania or Mecklenburg for only £700⁽⁴⁶⁾ (approximately four or five rix dollars for each man). He was however supposed to be paid an additional sum making the total up to eight rix dollars each, one month after arrival abroad. In the same year Sir Arthur Forbes obliged himself to bring his 500 men from Ireland to Scotland for a sum of 1,500 rix dollars.⁽⁴⁷⁾ This smaller rate of three rix dollars per man was due to the shorter journey involved. The Master of Forbes would still have to face the charges of transporting the 500 troops to Germany.

Pressure to produce the required number of soldiers was applied by the penalty clause. In the Spens-Hamilton agreement the new colonel was bound to pay sixteen rix dollars for each man short, a sum which amounted to double the actual recruiting allowance. As he had already been forwarded eight rix dollars per man for recruiting purposes, this meant that a colonel would forfeit that sum and have to pay over a further eight dollars of his own money. The Forbes contract threatened pain of 30/- sterling for every

(45) V. Jacob, *Lairds of Dun* (London 1931), 167-8

(46) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/185

(47) SRO, Lord Forbes Collection, GD 52/93

man lacking (approximately twice the levy money of three rix dollars). A penalty of twice the sum concerned appears to have been normal for the time, because in the bond of Sir Thomas Conway, in which he acknowledged receipt of £700 sterling, he and Edward Read of Culbrell in the county of Worcester bound themselves under penalty of £1,400.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Hamilton however balanced the risk in his case by having a further clause inserted, by which he would receive eight rix dollars for every man over the agreed number. It is further revealing to find that in this document, though the regiment should have totalled 1,200, it was agreed that the colonel need bring only 'a company of nyne hundred and threescore able men.' The reasons given for this special arrangement were firstly, that the time appointed for the 'landing in Spruse or thereabouts was at latest Midsomer next', and secondly, that 'because of the scantnes of men in Scotland it wilbe difficill to leavy and transport the whole number against that time.' Both parties could benefit from a special arrangement of this type. Hamilton protected himself against the danger of a heavy penalty by reducing the required number, while at the same time ensuring himself the full levy money if the figure of 1,200 was attained. Spens for his part had refrained from paying out more recruiting money than was required for a regiment of 960 men, a wise precaution since it was always difficult, if not impossible, to recoup funds once outlaid to colonels. If Hamilton succeeded in raising the additional 240 soldiers, he would have to do so initially at his own expense. Hamilton would hope to be reimbursed by the Swedish Crown, but this would leave the repayment initiative with Gustavus. The draft form of contract in the Hamilton Correspondence contained a similar concession, since the regiment would nominally number 1,800, but in practice would be acceptable if it totalled 1,620.⁽⁴⁹⁾

(48) SRD, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/185

(49) Fraser, Haddington, ii, 92-93, 95

Normally a colonel wanted a free choice concerning all officers.

(In practice this meant lieutenant-colonel, major, captains and regimental staff. Whether it normally included lieutenants and ensigns is not certain. In some cases colonels appointed particular lieutenants or ensigns, but it was probably more likely that a colonel thought it sound policy to allow each captain to make his own appointments within the company.)

This was considered so important that it was inserted in the original contracts. Mackay in 1626 was to 'have the free choice and disposition of the whole officers, superior and inferior', but those who lost their places through 'death or any other accident' would be replaced according to Mansfeld's decision.⁽⁵⁰⁾

An interesting encounter arose in Swedish service between Lieutenant-Colonel Monro and Gustavus Adolphus regarding the appointment of officers. The king desired to promote Captain Bullion of Monro's regiment to quartermaster with the royal army and ordered that Captain Dumaine fill Bullion's place as company commander. Monro objected 'loath His Majesty should diminish my priviledge, having the freedome by His Majesty's capitulation to place the Officers of the Regiment, as they were vacant, and not His Majesty having once disposed of that priviledge.' He sought the backing of Sir John Hepburn, and then made his protest personally before Gustavus. Monro decided to base his argument also upon the fact that the proposed captain could not speak German, which the Scot considered essential since the company was composed of Germans. The Swedish monarch commented tersely that Captain Dumaine would soon learn as much German as was necessary for the post. Gustavus went on to inquire whom Monro had been thinking of promoting. He answered Lieutenant David Monro. Upon which (according

(50) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/149

to Monro's own account, and he must be complimented on his honesty) the king turned to General Baner and said to him scornfully, 'What shall I thinke? Hee would place his own Cozen, and not obey my Orders.'⁽⁵¹⁾ It is clear that the royal command was obeyed.

Other colonels were just as insistent on their rights concerning the choice of officers. The draft contract in the Hamilton Correspondence allowed broad scope to a colonel, '... capitaines ... seront nommez par le dit colonell, lequel pourra aussi donner les charges vacantes à celui qu'il jugera l'avoir mérité, sans qu'aucuns puisse prétendre le dites charges leur estre deues par succession.'⁽⁵²⁾ Sir Pierce Crosby requested from the marquis of Hamilton on 21 January 1630 the 'priuiledg I formerlie had from the Duke of Buckingham to nominat my officers.'⁽⁵³⁾ In other cases the colonel delegated his power to select officers. In the Reay-Conway agreement in 1631 it is stated that 'the sayd Sir Thomas Conway shall have the makeinge and nominateinge of all the capitaines and officers of the regiment intended to be rased save his Lieutenant-Colonel and him the Lord Raye hath allready (by Sir Thomas Conway's consent) appoynted.'⁽⁵⁴⁾ The arrangement was more closely detailed in the Forbes contract of 29 July 1631, '... 500 men wherof the said Sir Arthur shall have the choose and disposing of the officers of 300 of them, Captain Baillie of 150 and the other 50 to be disposed as the said Master of Forbes shall think.'⁽⁵⁵⁾ In the agreement reached between Lord Reay and Crosby in London on 20 April 1631 Crosby was accorded full freedom of choice of all officers.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Complete freedom of choice of officers was the ideal aimed at by a new colonel, but in practice he was often hedged about with restrictions.

(51) Monro, Expedition, ii, 12

(52) Fraser, Haddington, ii, 95

(53) Lennoxlove, Hamilton Archives, T 72/14 C1/191

(54) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/186

(55) SR0, Lord Forbes Collection, GD 52/93

(56) RA Stockholm, Skrivelser till konungen Gustav II Adolfs tid, Reay 5.

He might well, like Mackay in the instance noted above, have full permission to select the original officers, but have little or no say in replacements when they became necessary. Not only did Mansfeld claim the right of future appointments for himself, but Charles I himself nominated from Whitehall James Sinclair as Mackay's lieutenant-colonel.⁽⁵⁷⁾ (In fact this nomination was not put into effect at this time, presumably because Sinclair knew he was to be awarded a full colonel's commission by Christian IV.) On 9 July 1627 the Danish king insisted that Mackay substitute James Wilson and John Rudderhus for two Forbes captains whose services he no longer required.⁽⁵⁸⁾

It is unlikely that there was any strict procedure which determined whether the colonel contacted prospective captains or the captains the colonel. No doubt both methods were used. In the case of Sir Pierce Crosby and the marquis of Hamilton it appears that Crosby had made a first general tender of his interest in service with the marquis. To this Hamilton had replied requiring Crosby 'to be more particular touching the condicions.' Crosby in his second letter then listed the allowances and privileges he sought.⁽⁵⁹⁾

There can be little doubt that recommendations from influential people frequently resulted in the granting of commissions to officers. Sir Charles Vavasour held a letter from the queen of Bohemia which he and John Lord Poulett quoted when they contacted Secretary of State Dorchester regarding posts as officers with the troops bound for Swedish service.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Elizabeth of Bohemia also wrote recommending Sir Jacob Astley to the marquis of Hamilton on 21 January 1630,⁽⁶¹⁾ and she even gave her support

(57) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/152

(58) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/165

(59) Lennoxlove, Hamilton Archives, T 72/14 C1/191

(60) CSP Domestic 1629-31, 507

(61) Lennoxlove, Hamilton Archives, T 72/14 C1/140

to the petition of Mr. Langley for service with the same marquis, though she admitted she did not know Langley herself and was relying on the opinion given by one of Langley's own kinsmen.⁽⁶²⁾ The duke of Buckingham's influence was also effective. It was reported to Venice on 26 February 1627 that 'the duke (of Buckingham) ... lately appointed his confidant the Earl of Nithsdale, not only Colonel of a Scottish regiment but superintendent of all the Scots in the Danish service'.⁽⁶³⁾ Villiers had also written earlier through Secretary Conway to Sir William Beecher seeking 'to gratify Mr. Murray of the Prince's Bedchamber by the appointment of his nephew David Murray as a Captain in Sir Andrew Gray's regiment. A son of Sir Arthur Gorges is also recommended.'⁽⁶⁴⁾ Ambassador Spens added his support for the promotions of Thomas Hamilton, an experienced officer, and Ensign John Campbell, 'the most experienced in drilling recruits among all Colonel Rutherford's officers.'⁽⁶⁵⁾ John Hull revealed in 1629 that his captain had died, but that through the help of Sir Thomas Roe he had got the company.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Alexander Stewart in his letter to Frances, duchess dowager of Lennox and Richmond, attempted to ingratiate himself with her by attributing his commission to the late duke, 'It hath pleased my Lord of Nithisdalle to giue me a companie in his regiment ... only out of the respect he hath of my lord your Graces husbandes memorie.'⁽⁶⁷⁾

One of the best documented aspects of recruiting procedure is the vital role played by personal contacts and ties of family, clan or friendship. Colonels frequently bore a title or rank which gave a degree of prestige to their unit and therefore carried some intrinsic appeal for recruits. Perhaps more important however was the fact that only persons of some social standing could exert the necessary influence or win the

(62) Lennoxlove, Hamilton Archives, T 72/14 C1/142

(63) CSP Venetian 1626-8, 130-1

(64) CSP Domestic 1619-23, 380

(65) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 94-95

(66) CSP Domestic 1629-31, 57

(67) Fraser, Sutherland, ii, 144

the co-operation of those whose assistance was invaluable, e.g. marquis of Hamilton, Lord Spynie, Lord Gordon, earl of Irvine, earl of Nithsdale, the Master of Forbes. It was no doubt the rank of the marquis of Hamilton which led many to seek commissions in his army for Sweden. In his letters to Gustavus from London early in October 1630 he reported that he was inundated with offers of service, 'cavaliers tant d'escose que d'Angleterre m'importunent tous les jours en offrant leur personnes et biens ...' (68) Lieutenant-Colonel George Douglas appears to have been a kinsman of both Sir Thomas Roe the English envoy, and Colonel Robert Cunningham who became Swedish governor of Demmin. (69) Few colonels lacked at least the rank of knighthood, Sir Alexander Hamilton, Sir James Sinclair, Sir Donald Mackay, Sir James Lumsden, Sir John Meldrum. When Captain Monro informed Chancellor Oxenstierna of his progress in raising Scottish troops for Swedish service in 1637, he stated that the duke of Argyll and the marquis of Huntly had both promised assistance. (70) More positive aid appears to have been forthcoming for Captain Adam Gordon from the earl and countess of Sutherland. Gordon's letter from Gothenburg on 11 November 1635 indicates the extent of Sutherland's help. 'For haid not the earle wrytin to the Chanceler off Scotland, and to the Earle of Winton, and to the Earle of Traquhair, and to the Clerk Registrer, and to all the rest of his lordships friends that are in the counsell, I would not be suffered to taik any men from Scotland this yeir be reasone off the proclamacione that was last against levying off men. His lordship has prevailed so with them that I gat a permissione subscreyvitt with fyve counseleris hands for myself, wyfe, children and familie to pass where we pleased, and a warrand for any skipper to transport us without incurring

(68) RA Stockholm, Skrivelser till konungen Gustav II Adolfs tid, Hamilton 4-5

(69) Svensk Biografisk Lexikon, xi, 369-71

(70) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 121 footnote

any danger thereby.⁽⁷¹⁾ Of course this type of influence was not restricted to domestic recruiting. Sutherland's letters had also aided Gordon in Germany with Sir David Drummond and Colonels Gordon and Graham. In 1631 Sir Francis Ruthven of Carse in a letter from Memel told Lord Ogilvy that in answer to his lordship's request he had obtained for his cousin, George, 'ane cumppany under our Regiment.'⁽⁷²⁾

James, earl of Irvine also made use of family connections when he visited Aberdeenshire with his recruiting captains in 1642. They called upon the marquis of Huntly, Campbell's brother-in-law, and sought his assistance. Forty soldiers were the measure of their success.⁽⁷³⁾

Campbell's Captain Hepburn travelled through Inverugie, greeting the Earl Marischal there, before dining at Ellon and proceeding to Peterhead.

Meanwhile another captain of the regiment, Fullarton, had passed through Strathbogie, Huntly's own area, and had enlisted eight 'idle men' there.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Robert Keith, brother of the Earl Marischal, was another of the captains in the county at this time busy recruiting men in the county for France and shipping them at Aberdeen.⁽⁷⁵⁾

In the recruiting of the Ogilvy company in 1627 the captain's cousin, Lord James Ogilvy, played a prominent part. He was in constant communication with the regimental commanding officer, the earl of Nithsdale, and his letters to the latter leave no doubt of the importance of friends in this enlisting. When seeking a division of the shires, he stressed to Nithsdale that more than his own reputation was at risk, 'seeing this maitter concernes both your awin creddeit and the creddeit of your freindis, quha ar both willing to assist your Lordship, and ar also oblised ...

(71) Fraser, Sutherland, ii, 159-60

(72) SRO, Airlie Family Papers, GD 16/2/34/12e

(73) Spalding, History of the Troubles, ii, 47

(74) Brief Narration of Gilbert Blakhall 1631-49 (Aberdeen 1844), 136, 168, 181

(75) Spalding, History of the Troubles, ii, 33

and cautions for lifting of the companies off your capitaines.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Sir George Hamilton in like manner emphasised the essential contribution made by his acquaintances, when he protested his earnest intention of furnishing the required total of men 'if my freends will doe their endeavour.'⁽⁷⁷⁾ Lord Ogilvy further counselled his friend Nithsdale to seek aid from the earl of Melrose, the Lord Advocate and the Clerk of the Council. His letters indicate that Lord Gordon promised to forward men to boost the total for the company. But Ogilvy's next source was a south western personage, 'I will entreat your Lordship most earnestlie to send ane gentillman to young Lochinvar with this letter, together with some lynes wrettin be your Lordship, requystring him to giue my cousing for your Lordship's service such men as ar inrolled ... in his boundis and jurisdictione, with such volonteris as may be had ... I will requyst your Lordship to be earnest with him, ffor I heir that auld Lochinvar is in England, but I haue not perfyt assurance that he is thair; yit I haue wrettin to his sone, for his father gaue him directione in my presence to be cairfull to send me ane resonable good number off men.'⁽⁷⁸⁾

Other recruiters sought support from friends in the Highlands. Lord Tullibardine wrote to his nephew, Sir John Grant of Freuchie, on 27 April 1629 from the English Court, saying that Ewen Macgregor 'is nowe mad a capten and is goinge for Suedland and altho to my knowledge he has merited well at your hands, yet I cane not chuisse but recommend him to your speciall cair that you will helpe him with all the men that you cane, and the rather than I haue past worde that he will get uppe his nomber...' Macgregor's full total was apparently only 100 men.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The marquis of

(76) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 80-81

(77) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 98

(78) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 85, 94-95

(79) SRO, Seafeld Muniments, GD 248/46

Hamilton also expected recruits from the Highlands. He informed the earl of Sutherland on 13 May 1631 of his intention of helping Gustavus in the German wars, and asked the earl to assist by sending 'so many as convenientlie ye may' to Leith by 1 July.⁽⁸⁰⁾ His recruiters however had little success in Scotland, though the anonymous writer of the Forbes-Reay memorandum in 1632 was sympathetically inclined. 'Ther was manie wharoff I was on' (Forbes) 'that wold think no sham to follow the marquess that wold scorn to follow him' (Reay) 'or my lord Spence ether.'⁽⁸¹⁾

Nothing as impressive in respect of clan ties was discovered in foreign records to rival the arrangement of the marquis of Argyll's regiment in service in Ireland in 1642. He had chosen five Campbells among his regimental staff of twelve men, and his company leaders included no less than eight Campbells (Colonel Archibald himself, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Duncan, Major William, and Captains Duncan, Duncan of Inverliever, John, Colin and Matthew).⁽⁸²⁾ Even when allowance is made for the exceptional frequency of the surname Campbell in Argyll, the selection of so many officers with the same surname is particularly striking and suggests a powerful clan solidarity. In other seventeenth-century Scottish regiments on the Continent it was common for several companies to be led by captains bearing the same surname as the colonel, though frequency of surname was more obvious within companies than within entire regiments. Colonel Alexander Hamilton in 1629 was accompanied by Sir John, Sir James and James of Parklie, all Hamiltons. In his second regiment in 1632 his lieutenant-colonel was John Hamilton, and another captain was named Andrew Hamilton. In 1634 Colonel Robert Cunningham had enlisted the services of Captains William and Alexander Cunningham. The regiment of Colonel John Ruthven in 1632 included two captains named Ruthven, Jakob and Peter. Both Monro

(80) R. J. Adam, Catalogue of Dunrobin Muniments (Due for publication later in 1972), 466

(81) SRO, Lord Forbes Collection, GD 52/94

(82) PRO, SP 16/492/58

regiments in the same year showed a similar pattern. Family ties between father and sons, among brothers, and perhaps most of all among cousins appear to have been stronger than in the mid-twentieth century. It is certainly common to find one particular surname predominating in frequency in the rolls of any particular regiment, firstly among the colonel and his captains, and secondly among the men in the ranks. In the latter case the patterns tend to vary from company to company, as will be noted later. Surnames alone, however, cannot reveal the whole truth, for in-law relationships are hidden in muster lists. Though Lord Spynie communicated with Alexander Innes the Elder of Cotts, informing him that his son had been made an ensign, their surnames would not indicate that Spynie (Lindsay) and Innes were in fact cousins.⁽⁸³⁾

A colonel was obviously bound to be influenced in his choice of officers by the fact that he had to select individuals who appeared able to provide the required number of men. Sir Thomas Conway undertook 'not to give any power or commission to any captayn for the raysinge of any of these six companies untill they shall give good suertie for the performance of what they are to undertake as well for the levyinge as transportinge of ther men in such maner and tyme and to such place as they shalbe appoynted.'⁽⁸⁴⁾ Robert Monro's account of his experiences in Germany adds the following detail for this stage in the recruiting procedure. He had wished to levy reinforcements for Mackay's regiment in 1632 in Scotland and then assume command of the unit himself. The Swedish king though granting him a commission as colonel assigned him a muster-place in Swabia in southern Germany where he would receive money to strengthen his

(83) D. Forbes, Family of Innes (ed. C. Innes, Aberdeen 1864), 213

(84) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/186

regiment. Monroe later recounted that he stayed there at his muster-place at 'Webling Cloister ... giving out patents to my Officers, and money to recrue and strengthen their companies.'⁽⁸⁵⁾ Thus each captain appears to have been handed a patent letter by his colonel and in most cases recruiting money also. In return the captain had to give a solemn undertaking to provide the required number of men, and in some instances it is clear that the colonel protected himself against their possible failure by insisting on a legal bond of caution being signed. Captains for their part bound their lieutenants and ensigns in like manner if they thought it necessary. Lord Ogilvy requested the substitution of James Balfour, his kinsman, for Thomas Menzies as ensign in Captain Ogilvy's company in 1627. He based his appeal not only upon family ties, but also upon the fact that Menzies had produced only fifteen soldiers whereas he had undertaken to raise forty in return for the position of ensign, 'Seing he has not performed condition, I think he sould not haue the place be vertew of that paction.'⁽⁸⁶⁾ In some cases officers earned their ranks by raising men at their own cost. In August 1632 William Boyle promised to gather 100 soldiers and to transport them to Elbing in Prussia for service under himself as captain in Sir George Cunningham's regiment, all at his own expense.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Ensign John Semple sent fifty five recruits from Scotland to Glückstadt 'auff meynem egen wekostningk'.⁽⁸⁸⁾ James David Montgomery is known to have raised a company of dragoons for Gustavus in 1629 and to have met the charges out of his own finances.⁽⁸⁹⁾

(85) Monroe, Expedition, ii, 173

(86) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 92

(87) Scots Peerage, (ed. J. B. Paul, Edinburgh 1907), iv, 193

(88) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/23

(89) B.G. de Montgomery, Origin and History of the Montgomerys (Edinburgh 1948),

This initial phase of the recruiting procedure tended to present relatively few problems. It did not prove difficult to find colonels willing to organise the levying arrangements, nor does there appear to have been any shortage of officers prepared to serve in the new regiments. It was however much less certain who would constitute the ranks of musketeers and pikemen under these officers. The most crucial difficulties of the entire recruiting system all revolved round this problem, especially when large numbers of unwilling soldiers were required.

CHAPTER FOUR

When colonels had signed the contract and had decided the identity of the officers for a new regiment, recruiting began in earnest with the more onerous task of finding men to serve in the ranks. These would be either volunteers or pressed men.

For obvious reasons recruiting officers preferred volunteers and resorted to impressment only when this became necessary to make up their required totals. This point was expressly stated in Captain Adam Gordon's letter to Sir Robert Gordon in 1635, '... if I pleased to accept thereof his lordship' (Earl of Sutherland) 'offered me sum prest men, bit (I thank God) men was so willinge to go with me that I neided not preass any.'⁽¹⁾ The warrant, granting permission to Captains Muschamp and Douglas to raise 300 men for Sweden in September 1629, restricted them to voluntary soldiers, summoned 'by the sounde of the drumme' and 'not otherwise'.⁽²⁾ The procedure for levies bound for the United Provinces normally followed this pattern closely. When colonels and captains of the English regiments in the service of the States were allowed to levy new forces in February 1625 they were explicitly ordered 'to beate their drummes . . . and take upp such voluntarie souldiers as shalbe willing to take entertainment under them'.⁽³⁾ As will be noted later captains called upon their friends to help them by providing recruits, but appeals were also made to the general populace at the mercat cross. Spalding recorded on Wednesday 15 June 1642 that a

(1) Fraser, Sutherland, ii, 161

(2) APC May 1629 - May 1630, 140

(3) APC June 1623 - Mar. 1625, 482

proclamation printed in the king's name was read 'at the cross of New Aberdene for the levying of four thousand and fyve hundreth soldiours,' since at this stage it was hoped they would be volunteers.⁽⁴⁾ Fuller detail was provided by the instance in Edinburgh on 25 September 1627. In response to a royal letter dated the previous month the Edinburgh 'Proveist, ballies and counsall ordanis proclaiamtoun to be maid through this burgh be sound of drum makand mentioun to all persounes of whatsumevir rank or degrie that pleisis to pas in the said service in name of the guid Toun they cum to the Magistrattis and inroll thair names.'⁽⁵⁾

Assessment of the motives which attracted volunteers to enlist for foreign service in the 1620's and 1630's is an extremely complex problem. When thousands of men are involved, obviously the motives will vary considerably. The vast majority of men who enrolled for these mercenary regiments and especially those who served in the ranks have left no record of the reasons for their enlistment. Even when the volunteer has written his motive down, there is the difficulty of determining the degree of objectivity displayed, for self-deception and rationalisation are extremely common in personal assessments of motive. The main motives for joining the army of the twentieth century as a volunteer provide a useful guide-line. Ideals are important for some, patriotism, devotion to a cause, hatred of the enemy and his philosophy. Others are influenced by personal considerations of self-development and satisfaction, heroic ambition, desire for comradeship, appeal of service under a famous commander, longing for travel and adventure. Pay and the possibility of training in specific skills lure some recruits, while others are swayed by family tradition or by the example and

(4) J. Spalding, History of the Troubles in Scotland (Aberdeen 1792), ii, 33.

(5) Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41 (ed. M. Wood, Edinburgh 1936), 34

enthusiasm of their contemporaries. Finally, there are those who are not volunteers in the strict sense, in that they feel themselves driven to enlist by force of circumstances. Some of these individuals find it difficult to fit into their contemporary social pattern and face domestic problems of various types, e.g. women, family, housing, debt or unemployment. The motives noted above almost all have relevance to the seventeenth century also. It is likely however that religious belief was a more potent influence three centuries ago. On the other hand there was no skilled technical training, useful for civilian life, taught in the seventeenth century which could compare with that of the twentieth century. This is not to deny the extent of military art in the 1630s or the value of learning from a renowned leader like Gustavus the finer points of planning sconces and redoubts, and the best use to make of musketeers, pikemen, dragoons, cavalry, or artillery.

Historians have endeavoured to unravel the truth about the motives of recruits, but their conclusions have differed widely. Haldane, describing his ancestor from Gleneagles, imputed gain, glory and a desire to escape from monotony as the factors which led an earlier Haldane into the ranks of the Scots Brigade in Holland.⁽⁶⁾ Barclay and Wilson-Fox, inquiring into the motive of Barclay's ancestor, a captain commissioned by Gustavus in 1630, concluded that the important influences were 'adventure, employment, embarrassed finances and religion.'⁽⁷⁾ Gordon considered that Captain Adam Gordon in 1631 assembled a company 'resolved to pass into Germany from a desire partly to see that country and partly to obtain distinction under the Swedish monarch.'⁽⁸⁾ The same writer ascribed Donald Mackay's involvement in levying in 1626 as being

(6) J. A. L. Haldane, Haldanes of Gleneagles (Edinburgh 1929), 73

(7) H. F. Barclay & A. Wilson-Fox, History of the Barclay Family (London 1933-4), iii, 2

(8) A. G. M. Macgregor, History of Clan Gregor (Edinburgh 1901), ii, 17

due to 'finding himself crossed at home and matters not succeeding to his expectations either in his own particular estate or against his neighbours'.⁽⁹⁾ More attention however must be paid to the views of Fischer who was thoroughly steeped in seventeenth-century sources affecting Scots, especially in Scandinavia and northern Europe. He was much better informed than other family historians on details of foreign service. In his opinion the position of the Scottish soldier differed from that of the common mercenary because of the Scot's 'feeling of loyalty towards the King of Bohemia and his wife' (the Scottish princess Elizabeth). Fischer also stressed religious and political motives as being important for officers, but emphasised most of all the spirit of the time which he believed involved military training under an illustrious king, pay, and hope of booty.⁽¹⁰⁾

Individuals are seldom influenced in the important decisions of life by a single motive, but rather by a complicated interplay of various motives. The same was probably true of seventeenth-century recruits. At best, their motives were lofty and idealistic. Among these factors figured honour and patriotism. Sir Donald Mackay confided to Ramsay that he was no true soldier of fortune, but that he served abroad because of his loyalty and affection for Charles I and his love of honour.⁽¹¹⁾ (This points the contrast between the historians' view that Mackay sought service abroad largely for practical reasons and Mackay's personal explanation.) Robert Monro also set great store by honour and reputation, -

(9) R. Gordon, Earldom of Sutherland (original 1656, published Edinburgh 1813), 401

(10) T. Fischer, Scots in Germany (Edinburgh 1902), 73-76

(11) R. Mackay, House and Clan of Mackay (Edinburgh 1829), 272

'I have seene other Nations call for Guilt' (geld, i.e. money) 'being going before their enemies to fight, a thing very disallowable in either Officer, or Souldier, to preferre a little money to a world of credit.'⁽¹²⁾

On another occasion he wrote, 'let me have health, and glad povertie with credit, for riches I desire not, if that I may have more of credit than others.'⁽¹³⁾

Allied to this factor was the patriotism that some Scots expressed in assisting Elizabeth of the Palatinate. Obviously a mercenary could not be credited with patriotism in normal circumstances, but Scots serving Denmark or Sweden did argue that these nations were aiding Frederick and Elizabeth in their struggle against the Imperial forces in Germany, and therefore enlistment with these powers was the most effective way of helping the Scottish princess. Monro spoke of 'fighting in a good cause, against the enemies of the Daughter of our King, the Queen of Bohemia.' He ascribed a similar motive to Mackay, 'For her sake I perswade my selfe, our noble Colonell did ingage his estate and adventured his person, to have don her sacred Majesty good service.'⁽¹⁴⁾

It seems unlikely however that these lofty motives were of any more than secondary importance with the vast majority of volunteers. The fact that mercenaries were called 'soldiers of fortune' is revealing, since it implies that pay and booty were factors of major importance as motives. Though various other factors like religion and the fame of respective commanders might be influential in determining whom mercenaries chose to serve, the initial decision to take service must often have been financially motivated. Morgan's letter to Carleton on 24 July 1627 made clear what the troops in the ranks considered

(12) Monro, Expedition, i, 7

(13) Monro, Expedition, ii, 96

(14) Monro, Expedition, i, 21

important, '... most of them did grumble saying they came not hither to be fedd with bread and cheese or this kings provant, but they must have their pay.'⁽¹⁵⁾

Assessment of religion as a motive involves the problem of deciding the weight to be given to the sectarian points of view so frequently voiced in the early seventeenth century. In the letters of Gustavus Adolphus, like those of Cromwell, religion and politics are so closely interwoven as to defy separation. With the thought and speech patterns of the time so effectively, perhaps at times artificially, moulded by religious phraseology, it is particularly difficult to estimate accurately the influence of religious factors. The pattern of service by individual soldiers is scarcely more helpful. Most of the Scottish mercenaries fought on the Protestant side, for the United Provinces, Denmark or Sweden. Monro commented, 'How few of our Nation are induced to serve those Catholique Potentates'⁽¹⁶⁾ (the king of Spain and the Emperor). Six of the seven Lindsay cousins joined the Protestant armies, whereas only one espoused the Catholic cause. The former group included Lord Spynie, the three Lindsay brothers from Balinshoe (John, Alexander and Henry), and George earl of Crawford along with his brother Alexander. The exception to the family tradition was Ludovick Lindsay, brother of George and Alexander mentioned above, but even he first served Sweden before changing his allegiance to the Spanish crown.⁽¹⁷⁾ Sweden was the leading bidder in the market for mercenaries, since major power status involved armies which the Vasas could not raise from their own

(15) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/226

(16) Monro, Expedition, ii, 75

(17) A. W. C. Lindsay (25th Earl of Crawford), Lives of the Lindsays (London 1956 ii, 53-55

important, '... most of them did grumble saying they came not hither to be fedd with bread and cheese or this kings provant, but they must have their pay.' (15)

Assessment of religion as a motive involves the problem of deciding the weight to be given to the sectarian points of view so frequently voiced in the early seventeenth century. In the letters of Gustavus Adolphus, like those of Cromwell, religion and politics are so closely interwoven as to defy separation. With the thought and speech patterns of the time so effectively, perhaps at times artificially, moulded by religious phraseology, it is particularly difficult to estimate accurately the influence of religious factors. The pattern of service by individual soldiers is scarcely more helpful. Most of the Scottish mercenaries fought on the Protestant side, for the United Provinces, Denmark or Sweden. Monro commented, 'How few of our Nation are induced to serve those Catholique Potentates' (16) (the king of Spain and the Emperor). Six of the seven Lindsay cousins joined the Protestant armies, whereas only one espoused the Catholic cause. The former group included Lord Spynie, the three Lindsay brothers from Balinshoe (John, Alexander and Henry), and George earl of Crawford along with his brother Alexander. The exception to the family tradition was Ludovick Lindsay, brother of George and Alexander mentioned above, but even he first served Sweden before changing his allegiance to the Spanish crown. (17) Sweden was the leading bidder in the market for mercenaries, since major power status involved armies which the Vasas could not raise from their own

(15) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/226

(16) Monro, Expedition, ii, 75

(17) A. W. C. Lindsay (25th Earl of Crawford), Lives of the Lindsays (London 1951), ii, 53-55

territories. By comparison the Austrian and Spanish rulers were not so dependent on foreign troops, Spain drawing men from northern Italy and the Imperial generals from the wide expanse of the Empire. Scots were not as unwilling to serve Catholic monarchs as might have been thought. Whole regiments enlisted for Cardinal Richelieu's France in the 1630s and 1640s when France was an ally of the Protestant powers. Scots also figured as commanders for the kings of Spain and Poland, the Venetian Republic and the Emperor himself during the same period. This is not to deny that the majority of Scots did range themselves on the Protestant side. Contemporary religious propaganda, in particular that of Sweden often printed by Dutch presses, exercised a powerful influence. Indeed Monro displayed much more religious bias when he served in the Swedish army than he ever revealed in his previous years with the Danish forces. Though a Scottish Catholic like the earl of Argyll, Archibald Campbell, joined the Spanish side in 1623, others of the same religious persuasion, e.g. the earl of Nithsdale and George Ogilvy, aided Denmark, and Ogilvy after the Peace of Lübeck and the retreat of the Danish forces then moved into the Swedish army where Catholics John Hepburn and William Gunn reached positions of high command. Monro listed religion as the second of many reasons for his own enlistment. 'I was most willing and wished long to have seene a day, wherein I might hazard my life in this quarrell . . . for many reasons, but especially for the libertie of our dread Soveraigne, the distressed Queen of Bohemia, and her Princely Issue; next, for the libertie of our distressed brethern in Christ (Kept long under the yoke and tyranny of the house of Austria and the Catholic League their mortal enemies); and thirdly for my better instruction in the profession of Armes, which is my Calling; for having before seene many occurrences that did belong to our Calling, I longed to have seen a Battaille fought

in the Fields in such a quarrell, being led by such a magnanimous King, of Heroick Spirit, that had much more on hazard that day than I had, who had onely to hazard but my life and credit, while as he a King was to hazard his Life, his Crowne, his reputation, and all for strangers'.⁽¹⁸⁾ Elsewhere he displayed his religious sympathies in a different context. Speaking of the destruction carried out by his troops in Bavaria he stated that the Swedish army merely 'repaied burning with burning, using the Papists at home, as they used Protestants abroad'.⁽¹⁹⁾ Religion also mattered to Sir Donald Mackay, for among his varied motives he listed his concern for the Protestant religion of which he had become more appreciative in Denmark, 'where he had a better opportunity to discover the perfidy and cruelty of the papists'.⁽²⁰⁾ This however did not deter him from threatening on 12 June 1627 during his Danish service that if Christian IV 'opens not his purse, I will seek another master; the King of Spain is an true man and a good payer'.⁽²¹⁾

One of the reasons given above by Monro for taking service was a calling to the profession of arms. James Turner, too, when eighteen years of age, sought service abroad because of a yearning for military renown, ' . . . a restless desire entered my mind, to be, if not an actor, at least a spectator of these wars . . .'.⁽²²⁾ Part of the appeal of service with the Scandinavian monarchs stemmed from the martial inclinations and talents of the two kings concerned, coupled with their personal involvement with their soldiers. Both contrasted strikingly in these respects with Charles I of England.

(18) Monro, Expedition, ii, 62-63

(19) Monro, Expedition, ii, 127

(20) Mackay, House and Clan of Mackay, 272

(21) I. Grimble, Chief of Mackay (London 1965), 109

(22) J. Turner, Memoirs of his own Life and Times (Edinburgh 1829), 3

Christian IV frequently occupied headquarters near the front line and was present in person when his Articles of War were read out to the Scots at Rendsburg in 1627. After the severe defeat at Oldenburg the Danish king displayed genuine concern for the wounded. Later he dined with Colonel Mackay, and during the same winter he was the guest of Monro and the burgomaster of Maribo.⁽²³⁾ Scottish mercenary troops therefore though not subjects of Christian IV could yet feel a sense of comradeship with him, when the king shared much of their own hardships in the field. Gustavus Adolphus established an even closer bond with his armies. He was frequently quartered along with the soldiers. He shared Monro's billet at Bernau, and the Scot was treated very cordially by him at Halle in 1631.⁽²⁴⁾ Gustavus' immediate entourage normally consisted of senior officers like the marquis of Hamilton, General Ruthven, the leading Swedish generals and the most important German princes, but he nevertheless found it easy to make direct contact with the troops through personal example. His own grasp of all aspects of military science was so precise that personal illustration appealed to him at times as the most effective means of communication. 'Il fit faire l'exercice à divers de ses Régimens hors de la ville. On y admira et sa dextérité es (sic) ordres qu'il donnoit, et plus la patience qu'il prenoit de descendre luy mesme de cheval, se mettre en teste de ses troupes, prendre un mousquet sur les espaulles, leur monstrier comme il failloit tirer de compagnie, ou le genouil, ou le ventre a terre et se mettre promptement en toutes sortes de postures militaires.'⁽²⁵⁾ Soldiers serve such commanders beyond the strict line of duty.

(23) Monro, Expedition, i, 4, 42

(24) Monro, Expedition, ii, 42, 75

(25) Le Soldat Suedois (ed. F. S. Spanheim, Rouen 1634), 293, quoted in Sveriges Krig, viii, 99-100

Travel and agreeable company were also advantages to be enjoyed by enlistment with a mercenary unit. Monro in his description of the march into Franconia late in 1631 remarked that 'this march, though in winter, was not so troublesome unto us, as their travelling is to them, who journey in forraine countries, for to see strange faces, where they must needs lay out monies for their entertainment, some of us on this march were well entertained, and did get mony besides to spend at Francford. Likewise when it behoved travellers to hire guides, and sometimes to hire convoies for their safeties, we had Gustavus a King under God, our Leader, and a powerfull Army to convoy us, and at night, the sweete, and sociable society of our countrimen and strangers, the one to season the other.' (26)

All recruits would profit personally from the broadening experience of travel and contact with foreigners, but many sought improvement in a more practical sense. George Ogilvy, writing to Lord Ogilvy from Memel on 6 July 1631, had no doubts about the value of enlisting. 'My brother I could wish to be besyde me for I knowe no grytt fortoune honourable he can mak ther . . . Let him cum in good faschioun heir quher he may by the authoretie of my Colonell . . . be promoted to such honouris as in Scotland he can never attein to . . . To turne waiting man upone the laird, tak the pleuche be the stiltis or marie himselff baislie is all he can expect ther.' (27) Personal advancement was also the inducement offered in Edinburgh in September 1627. The regiment concerned was not in fact a mercenary one, but the earl of Morton's unit intended for action at La Rochelle. The Burgh Council, faced with a reluctance on the part of the townspeople to come forward, offered those who volunteered within a week in addition to their pay the guarantee of being 'maid burgesis

(26) Monro, Expedition, ii, 88

(27) SR0, Airlie Family Papers, GD 16/2/34/11

and friemen of this burgh.' The incentive did not tempt many, only eleven from Edinburgh and one from Dalkeith. The promise was kept, for almost eighteen months later on 18 February 1629 the Edinburgh Dean of Guild was authorised 'to admitt and ressaive theme' (six of the above twelve).⁽²⁸⁾

In Ireland in 1629 the Lord Justices and Council of Ireland reported to Lord Falkland, 'We have reason to think that when Colonel Dowda was ordered with a regiment to join the King of Sweden he formed the plan of taking the spoil of Londonderry, and then carrying off his regiment to join the King of Spain.'⁽²⁹⁾ Though Mackay exalted his own motives for service, he did not hesitate to question those of the marquis of Hamilton. He implied that the British Crown itself might be in danger from Hamilton's nefarious designs. He kept the wording vague, but sinister, 'the marques had no intention to go to the King of Swedens service bot theas leavis war intendit for sum other purpos qhilk wold break out in its auin tym, . . . qhat the marques meant be bringing hom so manie arms to Scotland and qhat meant his making so manie canons and muskets in Scotland.'⁽³⁰⁾

Some recruits, though technically volunteers, found themselves driven to enlist by the magnitude of the problems of their private life. The most obvious of these factors was the need for pay, especially vital for those whose circumstances were straitened by debt. Details regarding rates of pay will be considered later, but legal protection of recruiters and their men from their creditors figured regularly in contemporary records. Privy Council protection from the pursuit of creditors was granted to James Melville, quartermaster in the earl of Morton's regiment in January 1629,

(28) Extracts from Records of Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41, 34, 53

(29) CSP Ireland 1625-32, 501

(30) SR0, Lord Forbes Collection, GD 52/94

Richard Carmichael, commissary of Sir George Hay's unit in March, John Davie, general clerk to Colonel Hamilton in June of the same year,⁽³¹⁾ Captain Collins in July 1633, and Thomas Lindsay of Lieutenant-Colonel Hepburn's regiment for French service in December 1634.⁽³²⁾

Nor was such legal assistance sought by the lower or middle classes alone, for examples occur of requests made by important members of the upper middle class (local gentry) and even the nobility. Sir Alexander Hamilton, while recruiting for Denmark, required protection in June 1628,⁽³³⁾ and Sir David Home of Wedderburn was granted a similar request in March 1629.⁽³⁴⁾ The latter however must have been a severe trial to his creditors for during the next two years he was successful in obtaining no less than seven further extensions of this original protection. Even the earl of Nithsdale in March 1627⁽³⁵⁾ and his brother Captain James Maxwell in December 1634⁽³⁶⁾ needed to be shielded from liability to arrest or legal pursuit for debt, and indeed the earl was granted £4,000 for the raising of his regiment as against the allocations of £2,000 each to Spynie and Sinclair on the same day. This may be explained by his more pressing financial liabilities. The large sum appears to have been inadequate, because in the letter from Charles I to the Scottish Privy Council on 27 November 1628 it was stated that Nithsdale was to be discharged from any legal penalties for financial failure. The reason given was that 'the forces levyed and transported by him stood said Earle to a good deale of more charges then the said 4000 lib.'⁽³⁷⁾ It seems that many of the troops faced the complication of some form of detention, for on 30 June 1629 a Council order directed that soldiers enlisted for Sweden might not be

-
- (31) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 17-18, 124-5, 167
 (32) RPC 2nd Series, v, 126, 443-4
 (33) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 335-6
 (34) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 124-5
 (35) RPC 2nd Series, i, 550-3
 (36) RPC 2nd Series, v, 443-4
 (37) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 12

arrested except on ground of horning.⁽³⁸⁾

Discordant personal relationships provided the motives for some men to volunteer. In the case of Ewen MacLean of Treshnish in Mull he had a serious disagreement with his chief, as a result of which he went into French service for ten years before returning to his native island in 1642.⁽³⁹⁾ John Gordon of Birsemoir could not live harmoniously with his brother. In Spalding's account for June 1643 the elder of the Gordon brothers 'throw evill counsall pitifullie hurt and sore woundit Johne Gordoun, his awin and onlie brother german, in his hand and diverse pairtis of his bodie, upone slicht occasioun, at the bischopis bak yet, and his brother thairefter wold not intertynne him, so that he leivit heir in gryte miserie and in end was forsit to leave the kingdom and go in service with Captain Hepburne to France.'⁽⁴⁰⁾ Robert Monro of Foulis was entangled in a bigamy case. Mackay was expressly requested not to allow Foulis to enlist in his regiment in 1626 because he was being prosecuted for deserting his English wife, Mary Haynes, and marrying another woman.⁽⁴¹⁾ Foulis however did embark with the regiment despite the Council directive, though he never settled in Scotland again. His cousin, Robert Monro the writer, judged the reason for Foulis' enlistment differently. 'The Baron of Fowles, being in his travels in France a little prodigall in his spending, redacted his estate to a weake point, being advised by his friends timely to look to the wounds of his house and family, and to foresee the best cure to keep burthen off his estate, having engaged his Revenues for teene yeares, to pay his Creditors, he went beyond sea a voluntier.' Robert Monro commended Foulis also because he chose to 'live nobly abroade' instead of deciding 'to encroach

(38) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 197

(39) A. McL. Sinclair, Clan Gillean (Charlottetown 1899), 332

(40) C. O. Skelton & J. M. Bulloch, Gordons under Arms, (Aberdeen 1912), 445

(41) RPC 2nd Series, i, 303-4

(as many do) on their friends at home, as we say in Scotland, leaping at the halfe loafer'.⁽⁴²⁾

In general it is likely that all officers experienced a very difficult task in filling up the number of recruits in the ranks with volunteers. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton in March 1622, admittedly about the less popular service with Spain, that though the earl of Argyll 'could get regiments of captains, he finds few private soldiers.'⁽⁴³⁾ Yet relatively few instances are recorded of captains failing to levy their full totals. Whether this is due to documents being lost or such problems lapsing into obscurity without being brought to the stage of official complaint is hard to determine. The fact that financial penalties were written into the military contracts for regiments and companies shows that the danger of shortcoming in numbers was clearly realised and perhaps common.

The best documented of these failures was that of Sir James Sinclair of Murkle, who was unable to gather the full number of 3,000 for the King of Denmark. This was finally admitted on 15 April 1629,⁽⁴⁴⁾ but he had in fact been experiencing difficulty for some time. On 3 March 1627 he received royal permission from Charles I to recruit 1,000 of his figure in England,⁽⁴⁵⁾ but on 5 April and 6 April reports indicated lack of success. The Justices of the Peace in Northumberland informed the Privy Council that they had had no success in levies for Sinclair. A similar communication was sent by the mayor and other councillors of Newcastle.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Sir James was still struggling with the problem a year later when on 25 July 1628 the Privy Council of Scotland sent a letter to the marquis of Huntly 'for the

(42) Monro, Expedition, i, 3, 35-36

(43) CSP Domestic 1619-23, 365

(44) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 147

(45) CSP Domestic 1627-8, 77

(46) CSP Domestic 1627-8, 126, 128

apprehension of John Gordon of Ardlogie who has failed in his duty of raising 200 men' for the king of Denmark under Colonel Sinclair. Three months later the same Council requested Sir William Alexander to report as favourably as possible to Christian IV concerning the recruiting service done by Colonel Sinclair. This letter indicated that he was 900 men short, but that this was due to the failures of Captains Hay, Chirnside and Donaldson, who should each have provided 300.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Other colonels faced similar problems. Sir George Hamilton's letters to Lord Ogilvy in 1627 contained many excuses for his inability to raise the full number of recruits expected from him.⁽⁴⁸⁾ On 14 November 1638 it was the turn of Colonel Robert Monro to lay official legal complaint against Captain George Currer of Fenzies for failing to raise his full ⁽⁴⁹⁾ total. The marquis of Hamilton was so unsuccessful in Scotland in June 1630, levying only 400 men of the 6,000 he required, that when he was greeted with the same disappointing response in England he resorted to Privy Council pressure. The demands for recruits were however so numerous that the Councillors were struggling with the problem of number deficiencies in England too. Typical of many of their 1627 letters was that sent to the earl of Nottingham and Viscount Wimbledon, lord lieutenants of the county of Surrey, complaining that 'of the 200 there are come to the place appoynted for their imbarqueing onely the number of 48.'⁽⁵⁰⁾

The more recruiting officers found themselves unable to levy sufficient volunteers for their companies, the more they sought other more forceful means of gathering the required number of men. These abuses became so widespread that the Privy Council of Scotland had to issue a proclamation

(47) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 406, 472

(48) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 97-100

(49) RPC 2nd Series, vii, 84-85

(50) APC Jan. - Aug. 1627, 239

on 16 May 1627 'to stop the outrages on the liberty of subjects by those seizing lieges for recruits.'⁽⁵¹⁾ But even in this document the necessity of facing the problem of finding the required number of troops was admitted, for it was announced that a survey was to be taken of all idle and masterless men by Justices of the Peace and parish ministers. Recruiters were quick to exploit this survey. A more detailed study of this survey is undertaken later, but it may be noted here that many disputes arose over the assessment of who exactly were 'masterless'. A glaring instance concerned Captain Edward Maxwell who was alleged to have forced the minister of Buittle to sign a list of people in his parish in order that he could arrest them as 'masterless men'.⁽⁵²⁾

Genuine apprentices were lured from their masters by the attractions of the recruiting captains' entertainment. This is revealed by the petition of Thomas Whatman, Robert Drinkwater and others of London on 25 May 1632. They contended that their apprentices had fled to the captains at St. Katherine's near the Tower. These captains, bound for Swedish service, refused to release the apprentices or to allow the warrants of the Justices of the Peace to be served on them. The law of the land does not appear to have been very effective against such an abuse. The apprentices' case was referred to Sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower. He reported that Captain Morgan who harboured Barnaby Conway (Drinkwater's apprentice, who had also stolen £30 from his master) had promised to deliver him up, but^{had} failed to do so. Though a warrant had been issued against Captain Brouncker for holding John Lockier, Whatman's apprentice, he could not be found.⁽⁵³⁾

Every possible recruiting source was explored. Even academic colleges

(51) RPC 2nd Series, i, 603-4
 (52) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 422
 (53) CSP Domestic 1631-2, 336

were not secure against recruiting captains. These officers may have found it easier to tempt away or carry off physically those who were outwith the close safe protection of family and friends. At any rate the Scottish Privy Council had to issue an ordinance in July 1627 forbidding military officers from enlisting university students for foreign service without the knowledge of parents or guardians. This abuse had become so serious in the College of Edinburgh that it had been necessary to remove students to the apparently less vulnerable centres of learning in Glasgow, Aberdeen and St. Andrews.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Trickery was alleged to have been used by Captain Borthwick in an attempt to enlist William Lamb in 1627. Lamb stated in his complaint to the Privy Council of Scotland dated 29 November 1627 that he had been arrested by Borthwick while in Edinburgh en route to Dalkeith. Borthwick contended that Lamb was a genuinely enlisted man, but Lamb, a domestic servant, denied this. Lamb explained that Borthwick, at dinner in the house of a burghess in Edinburgh, asked Lamb 'to inquire the reconnyng'. When Borthwick paid over the sum of 18/- to Lamb for the dinner he made out that when Lamb took up the money he had accepted enlistment pay.⁽⁵⁵⁾

It is not surprising to find that on occasion recruiters resorted to violence. A clear instance is provided by the letter written by Alexander Gordon of Dunkinty near Elgin on 18 September 1626 to Alexander Innes the elder. Gordon complained that Innes' son, Robert, a captain in Mackay's regiment, had gone to the harvest fields of 'Caldcotte' and struck some of Dunkinty's tenants because they would not permit their sons or servants to enlist with him.⁽⁵⁶⁾ But violence could go further and lead to a situation more reminiscent of the Barbary coast or Zanzibar, that of slave-trading. Margaret Steele sought a summons on 9 November 1627

(54) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 7-8

(55) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 439

(56) Forbes has recorded the year as 1636, but this must be an error for 1626. Mackay was recruiting in the latter and not in the former one. D. Forbes, Family of Innes (original 1698, ed. C. Innes, Aberdeen 1864), 226

against Nichol Rose of Afflossen and others for assault and the carrying off of her husband Gilbert Brown, their son Robert, and their servant James Forbes. All three men had then been sold for £40 each to Captain George Ogilvy for service in Denmark.⁽⁵⁷⁾ (The sum mentioned is presumable in Scots currency and thus equals £3. 6. 8d sterling each. It also suggests that the penalty for shortcoming in numbers which could affect Captain Ogilvy was not less than the sum paid for each of these men. This agrees well with the figure of £4 sterling per man for default in the Spens-Hamilton contract of 1629.¹)

The experience of Andrew Adamson of St. Andrews indicates how a law-abiding civilian could become enmeshed in the recruiter's net. Adamson had to go to Torryburn near Dunfermline on family business, and in order to avoid the recruiters known to be active along the coast of Fife he went by the 'over gait'. But he was unfortunate, for he was captured and put on board ship. A mutiny however occurred there (possibly the mutiny mentioned in Ogilvy's letter of 29 June),⁽⁵⁸⁾ and Adamson escaped. But luck still evaded him, because he was recaptured and at the time of his complaint to the Privy Council (27 June 1627) he was detained in the tolbooth of Kirkcaldy as a deserter.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Recruiters were supposed to be given 'best direccion, assistance and furtherance' by local government officers, Lord Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace in England and their counterparts in Scotland. Hence it was to be expected that those Scots who claimed that they had been unlawfully 'impressed' coupled in their complaint recruiter and bailie. Captain Robert Towers and Andrew Kerr, bailie of Roxburgh, were alleged to have seized and imprisoned in the Canongate Matthew Wilson

(57) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 431

(58) Fraser, Carleaverock, ii, 84

(59) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 400-1

and others for French service in 1642. A similar charge was brought in the same year against Robert Stirling, ensign for Lord Saltoun, and the bailies of the Canongate by Thomas Johnston, servant of a cutler in Edinburgh.⁽⁶⁰⁾ In 1627 the Scottish Privy Council commended the diligence of Francis Wilkinson, bailie of Lauder, for his attempts to arrest masterless men of his own burgh and nearby Newbigging, though he had succeeded in apprehending only one of the seven men sought.⁽⁶¹⁾ The fears expressed in 1627 by five men arrested by a bailie in Kelso that they might be 'shipped away' by a recruiting captain 'under cloud and silence of night', though they claimed to be 'all honnest menis bairnes and serwandis within the toun', was probably a widespread reaction when recruiters were active in a particular area.⁽⁶²⁾

Thus it is clear that recruits were forced into the ranks not only by military officers but also by representatives of governmental authority, both central and local. Service in a company bound for foreign wars appealed to the guardians of law and order in the early seventeenth century as a convenient and effective way of ridding the country of actual and potential criminals. That this procedure was established as a definite policy, in the reign of Charles I at least, is evident from the decisions of the Privy Councils of Scotland and England. Criminals are known to have formed part of the companies raised for foreign service between 1620 and 1642. On 25 April 1627 Charles I, to help captains with their levies, offered a pardon to all criminals who volunteered before 15 June, and he also recommended that 'Highland chiefs and Border landlords move such of their families and kinsmen into service as might be spared or have got into trouble'.⁽⁶³⁾ In November 1629 he directed

(60) RPC 2nd Series, vii, 576, 586

(61) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 419-20

(62) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 636

(63) RPC 2nd Series, i, 578-87

that English pirates should be pressed into service with the regiment of the earl of Crawford in Sweden.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where the most important Scottish prisoners were confined, provided recruits for the colonels throughout the period. Andrew Gray in 1620 took criminals from that prison for his regiment intended to succour the queen of Bohemia.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Five Tolbooth inmates including the notorious Robert Abroch Macgregor were delivered to Sir Donald Mackay for his unit in August 1626, and explicit instructions were added that their exile was permanent under pain of death.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The same jail gave up James MacCallum and Alistair MacInnes for Sir James Livingstone's regiment in Holland in April 1631.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Six years later Lieutenant James Lawder petitioned that 'certain persons confined in the Tolbooth and Correction House of Edinburgh may be drafted for foreign service'.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Two prisoners held there in ward were sought by Lord Saltoun for his troops bound for the French wars in December 1642, and in December 1642 John Wilson confined in the Tolbooth of the Canongate, pleaded that if his incarcerator would not grant him an allowance then at least that he might be allowed to serve the French in Lord Saltoun's regiment.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The Calendar of State Papers reveals in even more detail that the same type of procedure was being followed at this time in England. Instructions were sent to the Justices of Assize in Cumberland in July 1629 that offenders recently pardoned should be delivered to captains recruiting for Sweden.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Even as important a person as Sir James Spens himself wrote to Secretary of State Dorchester requesting reprieve if three men arrested for highway robbery were condemned, and permission for them to be enlisted

(64) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 356-7

(65) B. G. Seton, House of Seton (Edinburgh 1939-41), i, 365

(66) RPC 2nd Series, i, 385

(67) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 200

(68) RPC 2nd Series, vi, 520

(69) RPC 2nd Series, vii, 573, 582-3

(70) CSP Domestic 1629-31, 5

for Sweden. His appeal was clearly effective for on 5 June 1629 the warrant to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex authorised them to deliver to him for Swedish service no less than forty seven prisoners (one of whom was a woman, Elisabeth Leech) condemned of felonies and held in Newgate and Bridewell gaols.⁽⁷¹⁾ In May of the same year Spens wrote in a similar fashion on behalf of Captain John Caswell, who was also levying for Sweden, seeking the discharge of such condemned persons as were capable of the benefit of the king's general pardon.⁽⁷²⁾ Nine other prisoners in Newgate were delivered to Captain Francis Hamond's officer for Danish service in 1626 on a 'warrant of reprivall, ... standing convicted for man slaughter and stealing of horses onely'.⁽⁷³⁾ On some occasions the initiative was taken by the prisoners. On 2 December 1630 five convicted thieves in Newgate appealed to the king. They had been respited because of the birth of the new prince, but being so poor they were unable to seek pardons. Their request to be transported for the service of Venice under Captain Hamilton was granted four months later.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Privy Councillors in the early seventeenth century however intended to use these mercenary regiments to drain off from Britain not only convicted criminals but also future likely malefactors. This preventive course of action involved especially the 'idle and masterless'. Colonel Alexander Hamilton and Sir James Hamilton sought to impress for military service with their units idle and masterless men in June 1629.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Masterless men were in demand by Colonels Alexander Cunningham and Robert Stewart in September 1637,⁽⁷⁶⁾ and were also to be arrested by sheriffs for service with the earl of Irvine's regiment in France in 1642.⁽⁷⁷⁾ But

(71) CSP Domestic 1628-9, 395, 568

(72) CSP Domestic 1628-9, 546

(73) APC June-Dec. 1626, 166

(74) CSP Domestic 1629-31, 397, 490, 543

(75) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 152

(76) RPC 2nd Series, vi, 527-8, 533

(77) RPC 2nd Series, vii, 330

the most thorough investigation into this source of recruits took place in Scotland in the summer of 1627. The Privy Council decided on 16 May that returns had to be made by the Justices of the Peace and ministers of all parishes giving the number, and listing the names, of all the idle and masterless men within their boundaries. Unfortunately few of these lists have survived, but it is known that there were ten men listed in Tarves (Aberdeenshire), sixteen in Urquhart (Moray), fifteen in Jedburgh, eleven in Logierait (Perthshire), fifteen in Hawick, and one in Auchindoir (Aberdeenshire).⁽⁷⁸⁾ These lists gave rise to considerable discontent, the most outspoken objectors being of course those who had been named.

Lord Ogilvy adjudged these lists of 'enrolled men' to be vital for the successful recruitment of the full numbers for the 1627 regiments. Therefore he pressed Nithsdale most urgently to seek through the Privy Council a division of the shires by drawing lots among the three Colonels (Spynie, Nithsdale and Sinclair). Excluded from this lottery however should be the areas of particular family influence which Sir Alexander Strachan had listed in a special memorandum. Ogilvy was disturbed that Spynie was already being assisted by warrants from the Chancellor which directed the burghs and landward parishes of north east Scotland to hand over their enrolled men to Spynie's officers. Ogilvy objected to these writs being applied to traditionally Ogilvy parishes of Angus and Strachan areas of the Mearns. On 9 July he pressed for Nithsdale to obtain warrants for enrolled men in the Ogilvy lands from the earl of Melrose and the Lord Advocate. He believed other recruiters were being granted such authority. He went even further and counselled 'iff ye can procur the said warrand, subscryved with ane blank, with rume to insert some vther paroches, quhair my freindis landes lyeth, ye will do exceeding weill.'⁽⁷⁹⁾

(78) RPC 2nd Series, i, 604-5, 689-93

(79) Fraser, Carlawerock, ii, 80-81, 85

Two days later Ogilvy requested a detailed list of the names of the idle and masterless men and their parishes so that he might forestall those who sought to deprive him of recruits in his own area by presenting Council warrants. This information, he thought, could be obtained by the earl from the Clerk of the Council. Ogilvy himself had tried locally, but 'the gritest pairt of the ministeris does keip and conseill thair inrolled men so secretly, that I can not lerne of them thair naines'.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Nithsdale's influence at Court may have been decisive in causing Charles I to direct in his letter of 15 July to the Council that, while the three Colonels should each be permitted to strengthen their companies by their own means, in respect of 'enrolled men' these recruits were to be 'equallie distributed.'⁽⁸¹⁾ News of this division of shires by the Council reached Ogilvy on 7 August, and he was truly delighted with Nithsdale's choice of Angus. Nevertheless he felt aggrieved that other captains had previously managed to take enrolled men from Angus, and questioned whether these officers could not be forced to return them for the Ogilvy company. To make doubly sure that no similar development occurred again, Lord Ogilvy in his own highly efficient manner had proclamations read at the crosses of Forfar, Dundee, Coupar, Arbroath, Montrose and Kirriemuir, and petitioned Nithsdale to issue warning letters via messengers-at-arms to all the Justices of the Peace, ministers and chief heritors of parishes in Angus.⁽⁸²⁾

The procedure followed in a particular case of idle and masterless men serves as an illuminating clarification of the course such investigations could take. On 1 November 1627 Bailie Robert Scott of Hawick brought before the Privy Council fifteen men reported to be idle and masterless and therefore suitable for the German wars. The Lords 'narrowly remarked'

(80) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 86-87

(81) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 10

(82) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 93-94

the fifteen men, and decided that seven were not suitable and dismissed them. Their reasons were not given, but it must be presumed that the fortunate seven convinced their Lordships that they were gainfully employed or that they were unsuitable for reasons of age or health. Two of the remaining eight had to find caution for 300 and 200 marks each against their reappearance before the Council if required, and thus their dismissals were no more than conditional in nature. The six Borderers left were not so lucky and were allocated to the earl of Nithsdale for transportation to Germany. They appear to have been far from content with this decision, for they appealed five days later against their confinement in the Edinburgh Tolbooth claiming that they were not masterless. Not surprisingly the original Privy Council decision was confirmed and their petition was refused. An unusual feature of this case was that Nithsdale himself occupied one of the seats in the Privy Council on the days when these matters were discussed and gave personal assurances regarding the employment of these men in Germany. He promised to deliver them to Captain Sir James Douglas of Mouswald and not to any other commander, because the six were men and servants of William Douglas of Drumlanrig, the brother of Sir James Douglas.⁽⁸³⁾ Why these men should have been adjudged to be 'idle and masterless' when they were acknowledged to be servants of William Douglas is unknown.

The three colonels recruiting in Scotland for Danish service in 1627 were also granted permission to press for their regiments sturdy beggars, vagabonds and gypsies. A further ruling in April 1627 repeated the directive that gypsies should be enlisted and ordered in particular that measures be taken to prevent their attempts to evade such impressment by escaping to Ireland.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Even there no sure retreat could be found, because the impressment procedure was also in operation in Ireland, but not

(83) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 105-6

(84) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 540-7, 565-8

always with the same effectiveness as in Scotland. A recruiter's success was much hindered if his intention to impress men became common knowledge. This was one of the main excuses made by Sir George Hamilton for his shortcoming in numbers of recruits. 'I have warrant to presse as I desire, but the rumour thereof is soe divulged that the greatest parte of all that may be pressed are gone vpon their keeping.' Of the forty men he had managed to gather, all but one or two were volunteers, but he still hoped to make use of his impressment warrant. 'When they expect the last are gone that will goe hence, and that your Lordship is away, these that were in deserts will come home to the doores, and I shall ... be able to deale with them.' Only sickness had prevented him from pursuing them 'with spies and other diligence'.⁽⁸⁵⁾

There is no shortage of evidence to prove that concern for social law and order occupied the attention of the authorities in Ireland and England as much as in Scotland. Lord Esmond commented to Lord Dorchester that Sir Pierce Crosby's intention of raising 3,500 men for Sweden 'is an excellent idea; it will give some of the idle young men here something to do. We could spare twice as many'.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Not all agreed with this view. Four years earlier Sir George Hamilton informed the Lord Deputy that the Catholics in Northern Ireland 'objected to their idle swordsmen leaving the country or entering the King of Denmark's service'.⁽⁸⁷⁾ No doubt Catholics in the North looked on their 'idle and masterless men' not as a social danger but rather as a protection for themselves if trouble should break out with the Protestants of the North so recently planted there by James I. In the City of London in 1628 Captain Francis Trafford was authorised to take up eighty idle vagrants for service with the king of

(85) Fraser, Carlaveroock, ii, 97-99

(86) CSP Ireland 1625-32, 615

(87) CSP Ireland 1625-32, 227

Denmark.⁽⁸⁸⁾ In June 1631 the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Robert Ducie, received instructions from the king to the effect that he was to render assistance to the marquis of Hamilton in his levying by seeking among the vagrants and masterless men who pestered the city suburbs for the 'strong-bodied' ones and the 'loose' men, and then having put them in custody^{he was} to deliver them to the marquis' officers. The views of King Charles I himself were expressly stated in his letter to lord lieutenants of counties on 19 June 1631. It was his will that 'the Kingdom ... disburden itself of unnecessary men that want employment.'⁽⁸⁹⁾

Recruiting officers experienced many forms of obstruction. Not least among these obstacles were those caused by rival recruiting officers of other regiments, because complications were bound to arise when different recruiting officers claimed the same men. Clearly the need for recourse to some form of arbitration to settle such disputes was greatest when captains recruited in the same area. Levying took place annually in England when officers in Dutch service came over to supplement the numbers of their companies, and Scottish captains followed the same practice when in Danish or Swedish pay. These demands for men, in addition to those for newly commissioned regiments (many of which were created in the years 1629-31), led, perhaps inevitably, to conflict between captains and attempts to steal recruits from each other. In March 1627 when a rendezvous for English companies had been set at St. Katherine's, the Privy Council strictly forbade recruiters from Holland to 'enveagle' men below the rank of ensign from the king's forces intended for the assistance of Christian of Denmark.⁽⁹⁰⁾

(The fact that those of the rank of ensign or above might be spared shows that the shortages occurred in rank-and-file troops.) In 1631 Alexander Master of Forbes and Sir Frederick Hamilton found it difficult to agree

(88) APC Jul. 1628-Apr. 1629, 10

(89) CSP Domestic 1631-2, 83, 95

(90) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 182

about their respective powers, and in particular about certain men at Dundee.⁽⁹¹⁾ Captain Beaton in 1627 requested that twenty men be returned to his company, whom he had authorised George Ogilvy of Arns to collect, but who had been delivered to another captain.⁽⁹²⁾ John Sinclair had recruited William Steele for Colonel Alexander Hamilton in 1631, but a burgess of Edinburgh and men of Captain Cochrane's company had attempted to force him to join Cochrane.⁽⁹³⁾ The most interesting case was that of Patrick Bryson. He had been enlisted by Lieutenant Kinkaid on behalf of Captain Bannatyne for Swedish service, but Ensign Haitly representing Sir Thomas Kelly had seized him in the High Street of Edinburgh and attempted to press him into service for Denmark. Even though Bryson had been a volunteer for the Swedish forces and Kinkaid would appear to have had a prior claim to Bryson, the lords of the Privy Council decided the dispute in favour of Ensign Haitly though he had to reimburse Kinkaid the recruitment money paid to Bryson. The unfortunate soldier's troubles were not at an end because on 5 June 1628 he complained to the Council that he had spent the past six weeks in great misery in the tolbooth of Edinburgh.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Rival military recruiting captains were not the only people to obstruct the work of those endeavouring to enlist soldiers for the companies of the mercenary regiments. This is proved by the frequent petitions made by recruiters to the Privy Council of Scotland for the issue of letters of horning. Blair and Beaton in particular either encountered unusually effective obstacles or else were aggressive recruiters determined to seek legal remedy at every turn. On 20 October 1627 William Earl Marischal, on 1 November 1627 John Turing of Foveran, and on 18 December 1627 George Gordon of Dilspersie all sought suspension of the letters of horning laid against them by these two captains of Spynie's regiment.⁽⁹⁵⁾

(91) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 349-50
 (92) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 377
 (93) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 255
 (94) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 319, 327
 (95) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 423-4, 450

Apparently there was disagreement as to the inclusion or exclusion of certain individuals in the category of 'masterless men'. Pressure was also applied to burgh officials. On 10 October 1627 the bailies of Leith likewise petitioned that the horning sentence against themselves be rescinded. Magistrates on occasion exercised their right of warding the the tolbooth to the detriment of the recruiting captain. Beaton sought Privy Council assistance against the officials of Dundee for delivery of one of his enlisted men, George Duncan, in November 1627.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Similar instances occurred at Jedburgh in 1629. In June John Young of the Myres, already enrolled for the Dutch wars, was still imprisoned in the Tolbooth much to the disgust of Sir William Kerr who had recruited him. Three months later Lieutenant Gilbert Kerr, on behalf of Colonel George Cunningham, demanded the release of Thomas Coxson alias Hint held in Jedburgh Tolbooth but according to the lieutenant's statement already enrolled for Gustavus of Sweden.⁽⁹⁷⁾

In many other cases the obstruction of recruitment resulted from the work of private individuals. On 4 September 1629 Francis Sinclair laid a complaint against a tailor, Michael Gibson, for illegal warding at a time when Sinclair was due to report for service with Sweden.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Ramsay of Ardowny was summoned on 20 December 1627 because he had withheld three recruits from Captain Beaton after they had already received their enlistment pay from the Danish king. Arthur Lord Forbes was guilty of similar obstruction when he prevented Lieutenant Troup and Captain Adam Gordon from taking away one of their soldiers, Patrick Carle of Pittochie.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Sir James Hamilton brought legal action against Sir John Home of North Berwick concerning the detention of a recruit, Robert Forbes, and succeeded in having

(96) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 420, 430
 (97) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 169, 282
 (98) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 284
 (99) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 390, 452-3

Home put to the horn.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The situation was somewhat more specific when Captain Alexander Bruce lodged a complaint against Thomas Kinkaid and David Bunkill in September 1629. These two Edinburgh burgesses had prevented their sons from joining Captain Bruce, though both young men had enlisted with him. Bunkill managed to prove the discharge of his son by a letter from John Livingston to Colonel Sir George Cunningham.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ This defies explanation at present since Bruce had been recruiting for Colonel Alexander Hamilton's regiment and George Cunningham's unit was entirely different.

Obstruction of recruiting assumed a more physical aspect when local people banded together to thwart a captain's levying attempts. This took place in Angus in the early summer of 1627 when Alexander Guthrie younger of Kincaldrum and his associates rescued his namesake, a servant of Maxwell of Teiling, and prevented him from fulfilling his obligation to follow Captain John Lindsay of Balinshoe with whom he had enlisted for service with Christian IV of Denmark.⁽¹⁰²⁾ More violent intervention occurred in 1626 in the North of Scotland when Angus Gunn attempted to embark with the regiment of Sir Donald Mackay. This departure was not approved by Sutherland of Duffus, who was probably Gunn's feudal superior. The outcome was a serious 'tumultuous and armed riot' in the vicinity of Dunrobin in eastern Sutherland which resulted in John Sutherland of Clyne being imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Whether the Sutherlands succeeded in preventing Gunn's departure is unknown.

The central government was well aware of the desertion problem and issued a stream of instructions to local officials to assist the recruiting officers to recapture their deserters, e.g. the letter from the Privy Council

(100) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 163
 (101) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 288-9
 (102) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 379
 (103) RPC 2nd Series, i, 443-5

of England to lord lieutenants of the counties of England and Wales on 25th February 1625.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ The wording of such orders often depicts the situation in highly descriptive phraseology, 'wee understand many of them ... lye lurking in the most private and obscure places'.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Or again, deserters 'doe lurke upp and downe in corners in rietous and disorderlie manner'.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ General proclamations against deserters were issued annually during the years 1626-30, and the fugitives from one regiment were sought by the next colonel who was struggling to make up his required total. In June 1626 Sir Donald Mackay was experiencing difficulty with his levying due to desertions.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ On the 29 March 1627 the resetting of deserters from the regiments of Spynie, Nithsdale and Sinclair was forbidden and a similar prohibition followed a week later concerning Spens' unit. In June certain Highlanders and other deserters from the regiments for Denmark were ordered to return to their captains 'under pain of death'.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ As noted above, this was also the month in which Captain Blair charged thirty deserters and twenty two resetters. These warnings do not appear to have been very effective for warrants to apprehend further deserters were issued in November of the same year.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Nor was the situation improved in 1628, for commissions to take depositions from those who had resetted deserters were sent to the earl of Seaforth, Lord Gordon and Lord Lovat in the Highlands and to the sheriffs of Aberdeen, Ayr and Galloway.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ On 31 March 1629 Sir George Hay was granted permission to seize deserters from the earl of Morton's regiment

(104) APC Mar. 1625-May 1626, 43-44

(105) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 252

(106) APC May 1629-May 1630, 34

(107) RPC 2nd Series, i, 295, 310-11

(108) RPC 2nd Series, i, 561-4, 568, 628

(109) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 429

(110) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 295-7, 303-4, 325-6

recruited two years earlier. It seems that some had deserted before being in action abroad and others after their return from La Rochelle.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Captain Campbell charged resisters in Argyll and Lorne in November 1630,⁽¹¹²⁾ and in 1635 magistrates were enjoined to deal with those who had deserted Lieutenant-Colonel Hepburn's levies for France.⁽¹¹³⁾ It appears that sometimes the deserters fled from the colours when abroad and then attempted to return to Scotland. The Privy Council of Scotland on 9 August 1627 ordered ship captains not to bring home deserters from the Continent unless the soldiers possessed a lawful pass.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ In other cases crossing the Border to England offered a possible avenue of escape from detection, 'diverse of the Scottish men that are to be imployed therein' (Danish service) 'are fledd out of that kingdome and have withdrawne themselves into the countyes of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland ..., discover where these Scottishmen are (which within theise twoe monethes last past came into those parts to withdrawe themselves from the presse and are yett lurking thereabouts)',⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Other fugitives, like the gypsies noted previously, endeavoured to seek safety in Ireland. Three 'idle and masterless men' in the north east of Scotland, when they heard they had been enrolled, 'fled quietly out of the place', one going to West Flanders and the other two 'betaking themselves to the Hilands, where no knowledge of them can be got.'⁽¹¹⁶⁾

The facts about particular deserters are seldom recorded, but

-
- (111) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 120-1
 (112) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 55-56
 (113) RPC 2nd Series, v, 493
 (114) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 40
 (115) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 325
 (116) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 229

details of three cases have survived. Samuel Sayer was originally enlisted in Ireland by David Hannay who acted as an administrative agent there in the recruiting conducted for his brother Captain Alexander Hannay. Sayer deserted and appeared next in Durham where he was imprisoned for debt. The resourceful Sayer however eluded the grasp of his captors and would surely have remained free but for the fact that he unwisely returned to Wigtown, possibly seeking a return passage to Ireland. He was recognised in the town by another Hannay, Patrick of Kirkdale, and was once again arrested. (117)

The second instance concerned Alexander Coupland of Didoch. According to Lord Ogilvy Coupland was an experienced deserter, having the previous year enlisted with Captain Annan of Mackay's regiment and accepted his entertainment 'evin wnto the last randewoues'. Coupland had enlisted with Captain Ogilvy for Nithsdale's regiment in 1627, had been well looked after in Aberdeen, and on arrival at Burntisland had received at least £40 Scots from his captain. At this point however he had decided that the time was right for his disappearance. When he deserted he took with him for good measure his son and also his son-in-law, both of whom were also listed on the provisional muster-roll. Apparently he had concealed his intention till Captain Ogilvy had crossed the ferry northwards to Fife. Lord Ogilvy believed that Coupland and his colleagues would travel south and try the same deception with some of the earl of Morton's captains. Nithsdale was requested to direct six or seven of his servants 'to try quhair thais men ar, and be sure of them.' Meanwhile the captain had 'to keip him selff quyit' till they were found, and then arrest them immediately and put them on board ship. (118)

(117) S. Francis, Hannays of Sorbie (London 1961), 74-75

(118) Fraser, Carlaverock, 11, 95-97

The third case concerned Andrew Davidson of Moffat. He had been put to the horn for failing to appear before the Privy Council to explain why he had not taken service with Spynie. He had since been reset by various individuals from villages and farms in Annandale. A person (not named in the Privy Council record) who attempted to assist the clergyman of Moffat in arresting Davidson was seriously injured by Davidson's friends. They broke two of his ribs by 'throwing great stones at him' and might have gone further if they had not been prevented by others present. 'They pulled his whingear out of his scheith' and had apparently intended to stab him through the body.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

With desertion so common the Swedish government and Scottish recruiting colonels were prepared to turn to any source which appeared able to provide recruits to fill the places left by fugitives. Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstierna therefore favoured the levying of troops in Ireland. David Hannay was recruiting in Ireland in 1627-8 for his brother Captain Alexander Hannay.⁽¹²⁰⁾ As noted previously Sir George Hamilton reported to the earl of Nithsdale in June 1627 that he also was raising troops in Ireland, and Captain Robert Stewart drew a considerable part of his company in 1629 from the same source. Colonel Edward Dowda was given permission to levy 2,000 in Ireland for Gustavus in the summer of the same year, and the following May Captain Bryan Fitzpatrick was granted permission to transport men over to Sweden.⁽¹²¹⁾ Gustavus himself seems to have commended the levying of Irish troops, for he wrote to Mackay from his camp at Werben in Brandenburg in July 1631 that he approved of the agreement with the Irish knight Sir Pierce Crosby for three regiments.⁽¹²²⁾ Yet a discordant note was sounded

(119) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 599

(120) Francis, Hannays of Sorbie, 55, 74

(121) APC May 1629-May 1630, 32, 402

(122) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/184

by Lord Esmond in a letter to Dorchester three months later when he expressed his disappointment that Crosby's plans had come to nothing, and also that 'people are offended at hearing the King of that country' (Sweden) 'will not trust the Irish.'⁽¹²³⁾ Perhaps this was mere hearsay. Sir Ralph Bingley viewed Irish loyalties somewhat differently, 'If it be alleged that the Irish will be dangerous to be carried against the Spaniard I answer there will be no cause of fear for bring them where they shall gain and they will fight against their fathers.' He emphasised his opinion by recalling that 1,000 Irishmen under his brother had already behaved with great credit under Swedish colours and 'were held of the King of Sweden in extraordinary account'.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Certainly by 1637 further recruiting on the Swedish behalf was being carried out in Dublin by Colonel Stewart, Captain White (son of Sir Nicholas), and some German officers.⁽¹²⁵⁾

Whether recruiters concentrated on enlisting farm labourers and servants from rural areas rather than skilled tradesmen and apprentices from towns is not certain. Burgh records make little mention of recruiting, but there are no comparable rural records. From Aberdeenshire in 1627 it is known that two smiths, two servants (one of whom worked in an alehouse), a seaman, a cooper, and a gardener had been recruited.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Among the twelve Midlothian volunteers in 1627 there were four tailors, a mason, a cordiner, a 'staibler' and a 'post'.⁽¹²⁷⁾ From Fife and Angus, in the same year came a piper, a wright, a cordiner, and a servant to a gardener.⁽¹²⁸⁾

(123) CSP Ireland 1625-32, 629

(124) CSP Ireland 1647-60 and Addenda 1625-60, 86

(125) CSP Ireland 1633-47, 165

(126) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 423-5

(127) Extracts from Records of Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41, 35

(128) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 389, 430

Leith provided two workmen, a tailor, a 'tasker', and a servant to a cutler,⁽¹²⁹⁾ while the 'masterless' men of Hawick in 1627 included two pipers, a miller, a maltman, and an officer.⁽¹³⁰⁾ Lord Ogilvy made special mention of the musical abilities of several of his recruits, a piper, a drummer, a 'clachocher', and a virginal player.⁽¹³¹⁾ Thus it is clear that some at least of the recruits drawn into these regiments were skilled men, even craftsmen, and that they served alongside the unskilled servants and farm labourers.

In fact the mercenary regiments included many different types of people. There was certainly a large proportion of malefactors drawn from prisons and also many shiftless individuals ('idle and masterless'). It might be argued that reliable, hard-working, valuable members of the community had less motive to volunteer and were less likely to be pressed into military service by governmental authorities or local lairds. It was unquestionably sound policy to send abroad those who presented problems at home, the unemployed, the landless relations of agricultural tenants, beggars and vagrants, and hardened criminals. The future at home was so unpromising that some of these social misfits willingly opted for foreign service when the opportunity was presented, but the scale of desertion shows that most of them preferred known problems at home to unknown hazards abroad.

The other side of the coin should not be forgotten. Not all the Scottish mercenaries were criminals and vagabonds. Some of ^{the} those in/ranks were simply driven by the economic pressure of unemployment to seek their fortunes elsewhere. By the social system of the time the younger brothers of a laird received bed and board from the eldest brother, but no such arrangement existed for younger sons of tenants. Yet many of them may well have been men of character ~~and~~

(129) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 420, and vii, 586 footnote

(130) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 105-6

(131) Fraser, Carlawerock, ii, 91

and ability who found themselves deprived of a place in society by force of circumstances. Even so, Scottish mercenaries were not all younger sons, for at least thirty are known to have been eldest sons. It is true that these stemmed mainly from the middle and upper classes, but it must also be recalled that the family origins of soldiers from the lower classes are not known. Nor can it be stated that all mercenaries found themselves in the army because they lacked intelligence. Many of the officers and scribes could write well and at least nine commanders had experience of university education. Lairds and knights joined these regiments, and the upper end of the social ladder was represented by nineteen Scottish nobles.⁽¹³²⁾ While a few of the latter performed merely administrative functions in the original formation of regiments most of them actually served in the field, and three of them (Douglas, Foulis and George, earl of Crawford) were killed abroad.

It is likely that the mercenary regiments constituted a broad cross-section of Scottish society representing all types and classes of people, though not necessarily in the same proportions as made up the Scottish domestic population. One of the highest ranking nobles of Scotland, the marquis of Hamilton (cousin of the king himself) served in the same army as the broken men of Scotland, including some of the notorious Macgregors, of whom at least seven are recorded by name in the armies of Denmark and Sweden.

(132) Marquis of Hamilton; earls of Nithsdale, Lothian, Buccleuch, Argyll, Irvine and Crawford (2); baron of Foulis; Lords Spynie, Gray, Livingstone, St. Colme, Saltoun, Douglas, Reay, Forbes and Gordon (2)

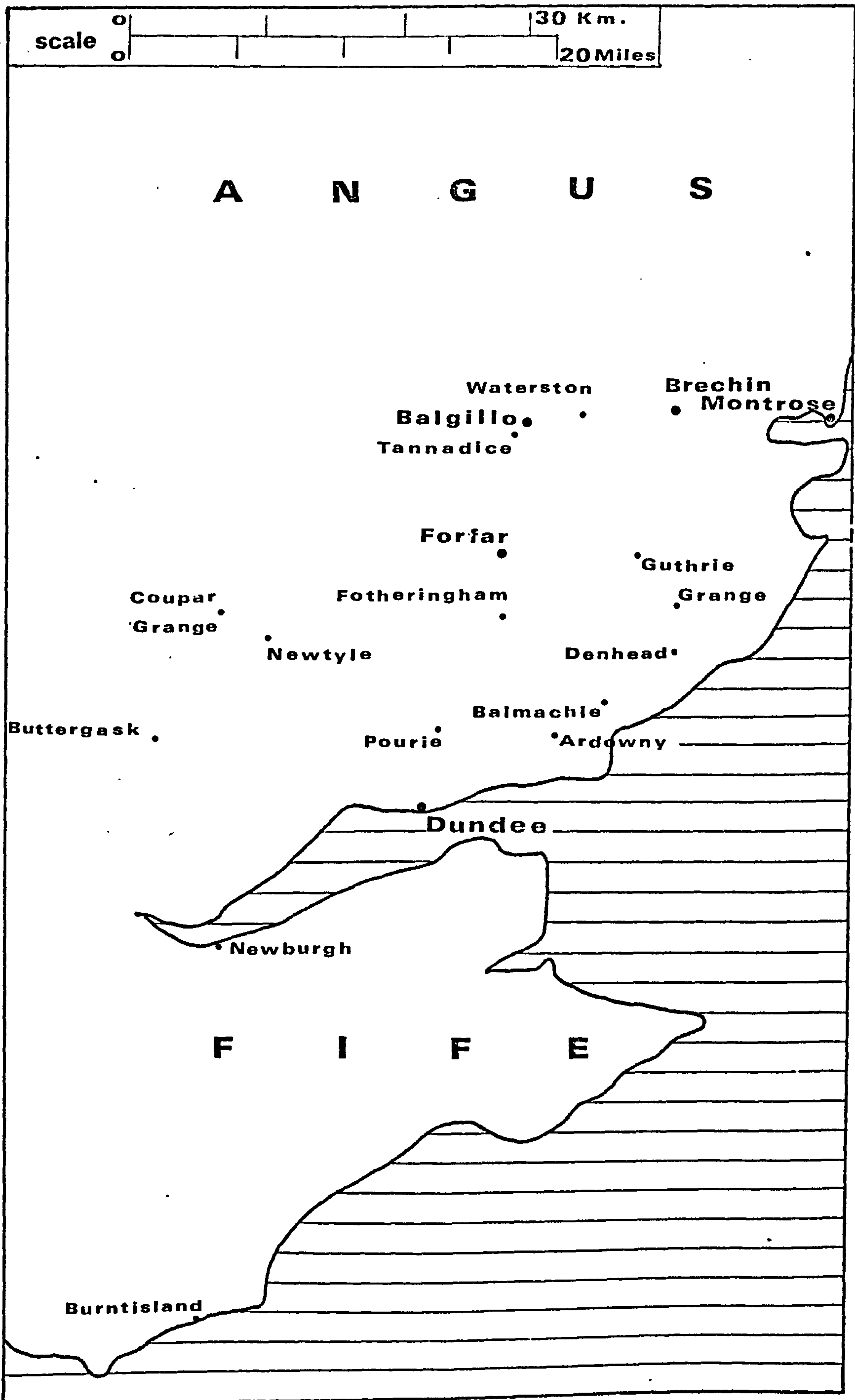
CHAPTER FIVE

In the absence of other evidence two factors provide valuable clues to the areas used for the recruitment of companies of Scottish mercenaries. The first of these is the captain's native area, and often those of his lieutenant and ensign also. The second is a list of the surnames of the men comprising the company.

It cannot be proved that all the men in a company came from one narrow geographical area, but the majority is likely to have been drawn from the same general region. The English counties allocated to some captains in the marquis of Hamilton's regiment in 1631 displayed a wide range of areas in England, probably caused by ties of family or friendship which would facilitate recruiting in these regions, but in most cases the counties allotted lay in one general region of England. For example Sir William Valentine was accorded four shires in south Wales (Cardigan, Brecknock, Pembroke and Radnor), while Captain Roger Powell was expected to levy in Wales and the west of England (Gloucester, Hereford, Salop, Montgomery, Carmarthen, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth and Glamorgan). Captain Vavasour's counties in the west (Warwick, Stafford, Salop and Cheshire) contrasted with those of Captain Sterne in the east (Cambridge, Huntingdon, Suffolk and Essex), Captain Paulet in the south (Southampton, Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset), and Captain Clifford in the north (Carlisle, Cumberland, Westmoreland, York, Nottingham and Lincoln).⁽¹⁾

The clearest cases of regional specialisation in recruiting in

(1) APC June 1630-June 1631, 376-8



Map i

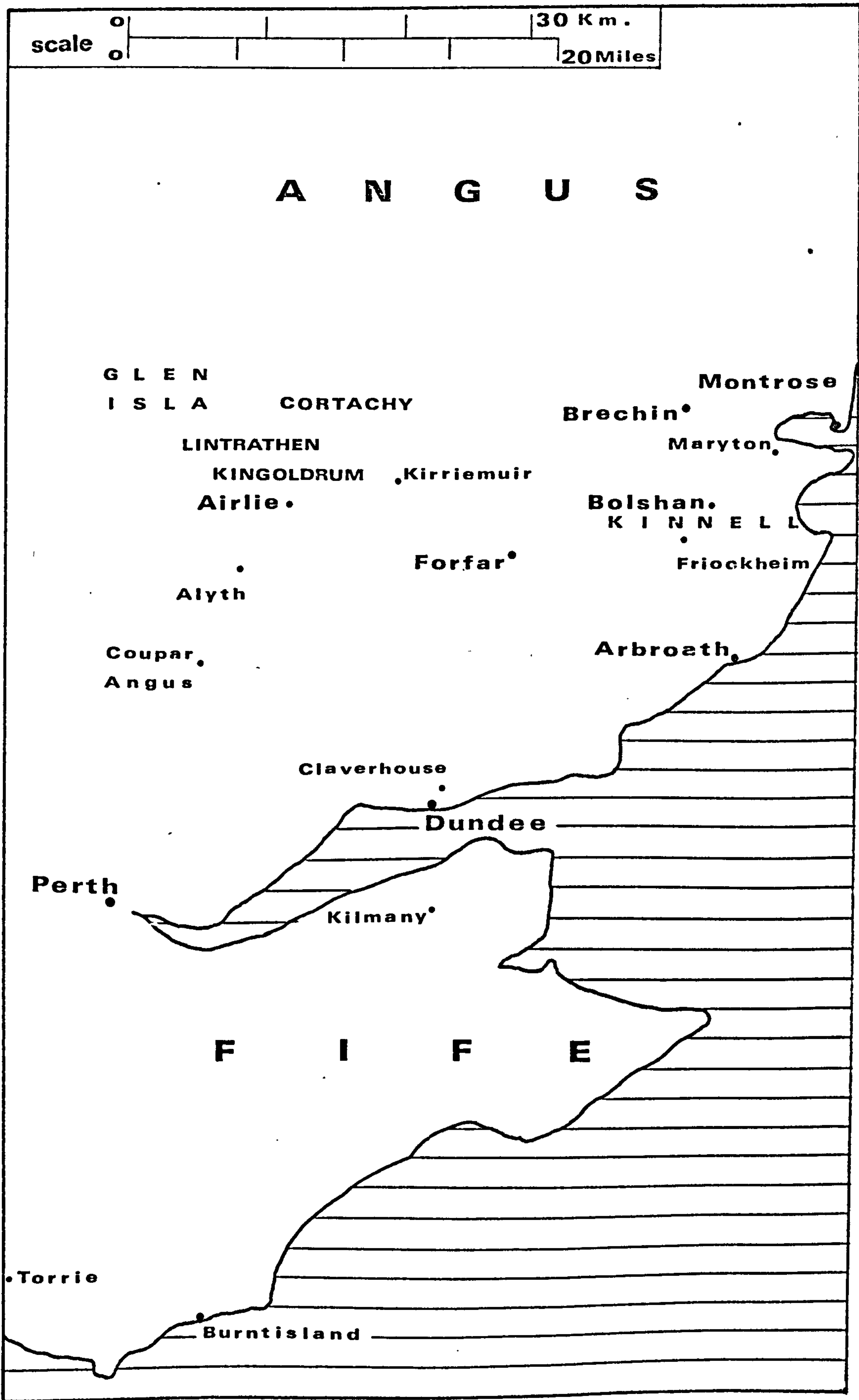
Scotland concerned two captains of different regiments interested in the same area in the summer of 1627.

Intensive recruiting rivalry arose between Captain Blair of Spynie's regiment and Captain Ogilvy of Nithsdale's unit, because both men had strong family connections with the shire of Angus. Blair stemmed from the Blairs of Tannadice near Forfar, and he had been drawn into recruiting by Erskine of Dun near Brechin.⁽²⁾ The Ogilvy centre of activity focused around Bolshan near Friockheim. Lord Ogilvy considered Angus as his particular preserve since his own lands lay in this county. On 14 June Blair appealed to the Privy Council for letters against thirty deserters who had failed to honour their enlistments in his company.⁽³⁾ Of these nine were from Dundee, five from Brechin, three from Montrose, and one each from Guthrie, Ardowny and Grange. All these places are located in Angus, but several of the other deserters came from more varied eastern areas, one each from Holyrood House, Burntisland in south Fife, Newburgh in north Fife, and Buttergask in east Perthshire. He also pressed charges against those who had aided deserters, and listed a further twenty two people (it is not clear whether they were the resettlers or the deserters). Four came from Dundee, and one each from Forfar, Denhead, Newtyle, Coupergrange, Ardowny, Pourie-Fotheringham, Balgillo, and Waterston (all in Angus). Others were situated nearby in neighbouring counties, Craighall and Kinloch in east Perthshire, Balmakie and Glassel in Kincardine, and Braemar in Aberdeenshire. Many of the surnames pointed to Angus, Haliburton, Low, Wedderburn, Ogilvy, Guthrie, Pherne, Durwart and Thom.

The situation became more serious in the eyes of Lord Ogilvy during

(2) V. Jacob, Lairds of Dun (London 1931), 167-8

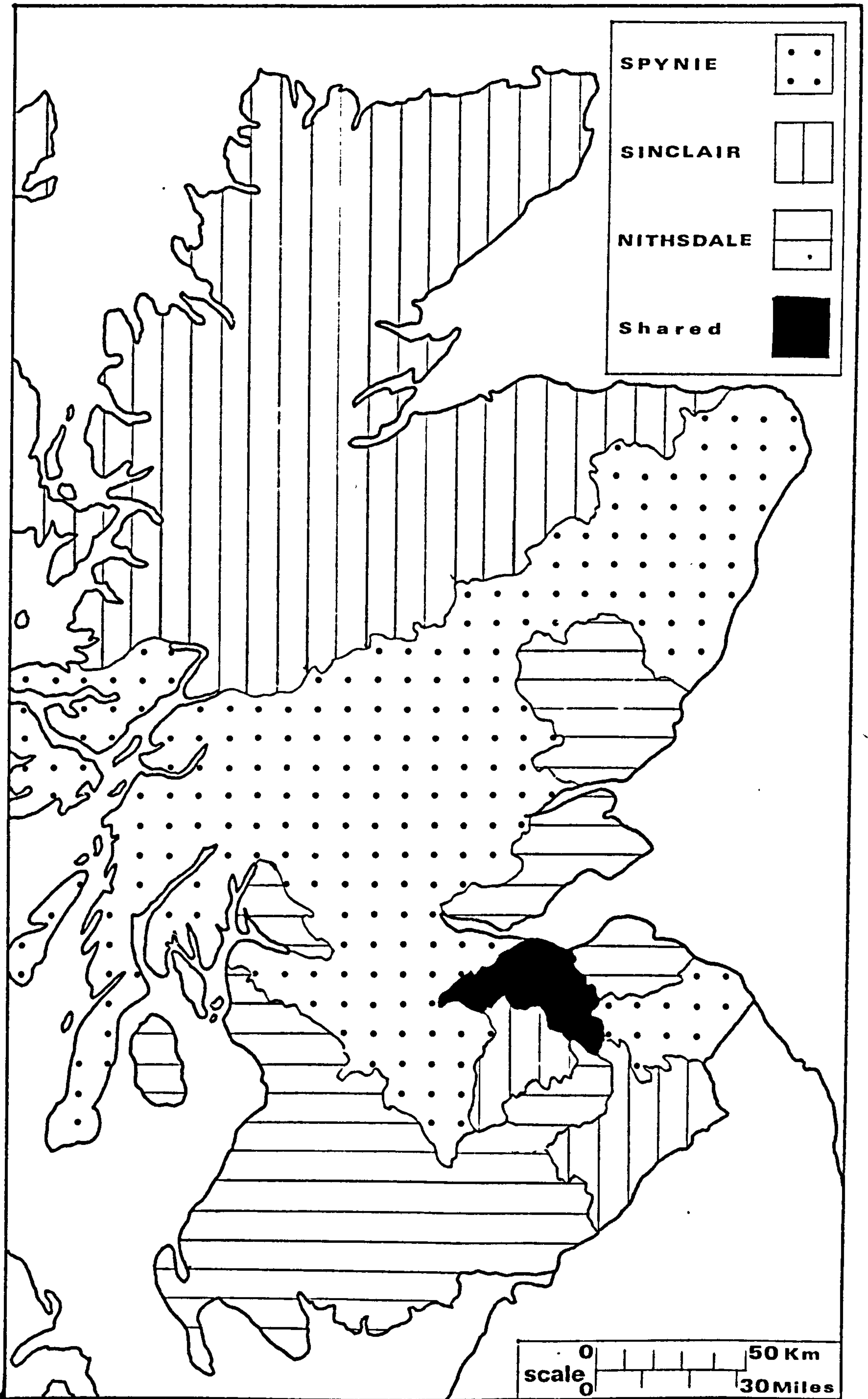
(3) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 389



Map ii

the following week on 21 June when it was apparent that Blair had obtained letters from the Chancellor enabling his officers to levy 'all the men enrolled in the haill borrowes, and the best most pairt of the enrolled men in the landwart', not least in the areas of Ogilvy influence in Angus. The soldiers involved were not volunteers, but the 'idle and masterless men' listed on the rolls demanded by the Council from all parishes in June. This 'intrusion' by Blair into Ogilvy territory, bad enough when volunteers were concerned, was intolerable when pressed men were being uplifted. Thus Ogilvy urged Nithsdale to 'moue the Lordis off Counsell to distribut all the shyris of this kingdome equalie betuix the colonellis, with the reseruaciones and prouisiones contined in the peper penned be Thorntoun.' He was not averse to the allocation of counties being decided 'be casting of lottes', as long as special regions were preserved according to Strachan's proposals, but Ogilvy himself wanted Angus.⁽⁴⁾ The situation had deteriorated for Ogilvy by 9 July, because 'the wolenteris ar alreddie all waged, and no man can be apprehended but ane warrand.' These Privy Council licences however were being issued to other captains, and Blair had authority to gather enrolled men in various parts of Angus. Till there was an area allocation by the Council Ogilvy desired the same assistance. If Angus could not be reserved for him he requested that he be allocated Fife, Strathearn, Mar, Buchan or Aberdeen so that he might have 'ane commodious shyr neir to my duelling.' But he concentrated his attention on Angus, for he sought a warrant for enrolled men in Arbroath and Coupar Angus (where he was heritable bailie), and also

(4) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 80-82



Map iii

for men on his own lands in the parishes of Kinnell, Kingoldrum, Cortachy, Lintrathen, Airlie, Alyth, Glenisla and Kirriemuir. As a postscript he added that Captain Ogilvy needed letters from Nithsdale to Dundee, Perth, Aberdeen, Montrose, Brechin, Arbroath, Forfar and Kirriemuir.⁽⁵⁾

The outcome was the division of the shires of Scotland by the Privy Council among the three colonels on 3 August. In general the country was divided into three broad areas, north and west to Sinclair, central Scotland to Spynie, and the south to Nithsdale. This particular pattern of allocation might have been expected, since Sinclair was from Caithness, Nithsdale from Dumfriesshire, and Spynie from Aberdeenshire (which was included in his central region). More interesting however are the deviations from this pattern which indicate the areas which must have been specially sought by particular colonels for individual captains. Ogilvy's persistence had been worthwhile, since Nithsdale gained Angus, and Fife as well. The Lords of the Council however decided on a three-way division of Midlothian as a compromise solution for that area. The full details of the shire division are as follows: - Sinclair - Inverness, Elgin, Forres, Caithness, Sutherland, Roxburgh, Peebles, Banff, Nairn, Cromarty, Orkney and Shetland; Spynie - Aberdeen, Lanark, Perth, Berwick, Kincardine, Stirling, Linlithgow, Argyll, Tarnet, Renfrew, Kinross, and the stewartries of Strathearn and Menteith; Nithsdale - Dumfries, Ayr, Fife, Forfar, Dunbarton, Bute, Haddington, Wigtown, Selkirk, Clackmannan, and the stewartries of Kirkcudbright and Annandale.⁽⁶⁾

Ogilvy was still not satisfied, for he feared the machinations of other recruiters to circumvent the decision and make the Council's distribution

(5) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 83-86

(6) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 33-35

'ale unprofitable as may be ... be thair pouverfull recommendationes and letteris off requyst.' He wanted Nithsdale to 'provyd lawful maines to impetch any vther colonell to incrotch upon the shyris destinat to your Lordship.' Angus appears to have been much in demand as a recruiting area; as Ogilvy commented 'iff the other colonellis thocht it not verie mutch worth they would not requyst for itt.'⁽⁷⁾

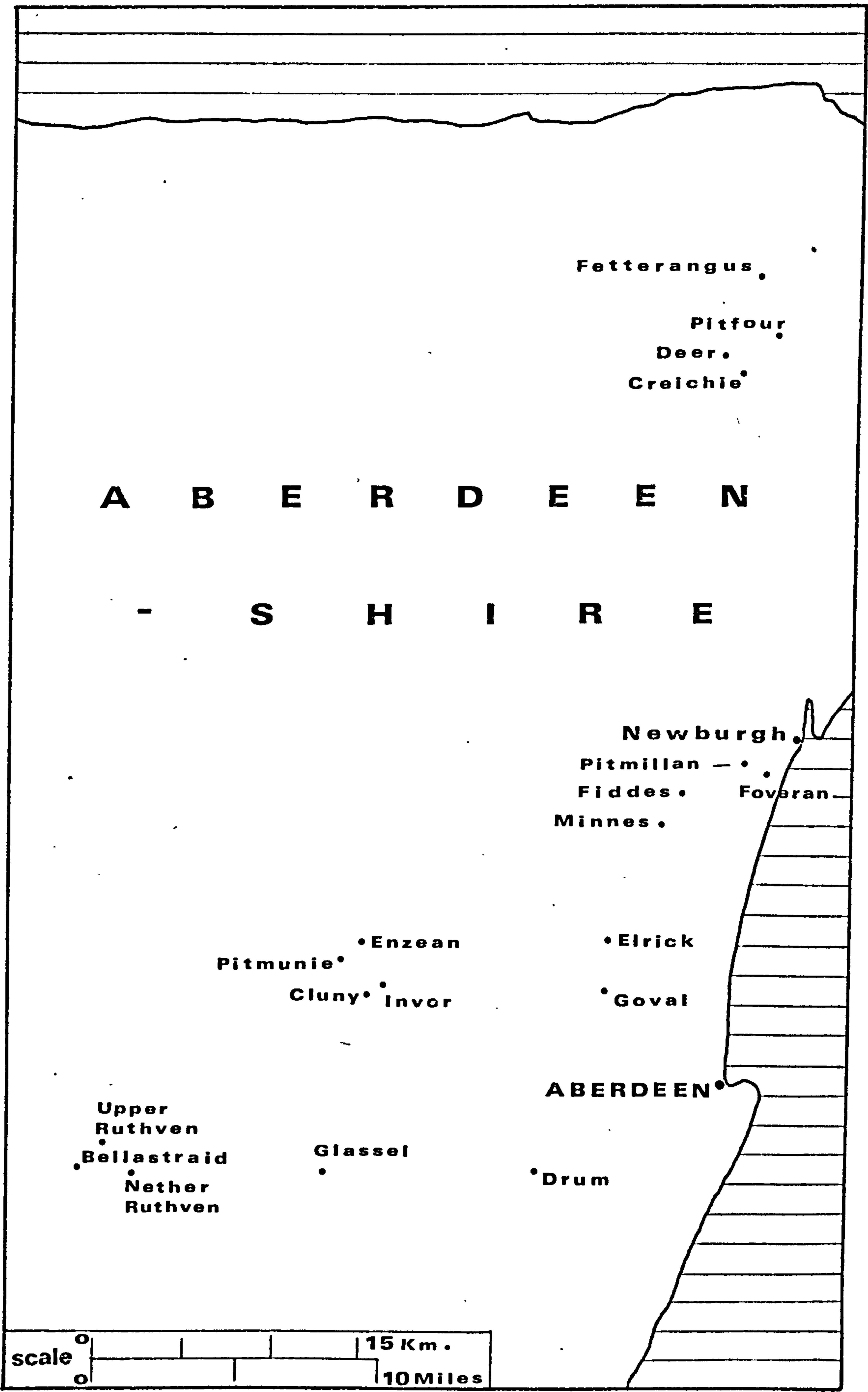
It was this Council decision regarding areas which caused Captain Ogilvy to withdraw from Aberdeenshire to Angus and Fife. There is no doubt that he had been working in Aberdeenshire, because he was reported on 22 June to have 'some fiftie men presentlie coming from the north' and on 29 June to have 'keiped them this long tyme alltogether in Abberdain.' Lord Gordon was credited with having contributed some men, probably from Aberdeenshire, and Captain Ogilvy sent twenty nine men south from there on 17 July.⁽⁸⁾ Even as late as 7 August Lord Ogilvy was referring to soldiers his cousin was 'sending heir from the north.' But by the next week Captain Ogilvy had withdrawn from Aberdeenshire and had arrived in Angus, en route to Kilmany and Burntisland in Fife, bringing with him a virginal-player with a distinctive Aberdeenshire name, Garioch, and also Mowat and the two Couplands, who are known to have been entertained at Aberdeen for several weeks, but who would later desert. Few other names of the men in his company are known, but those that are extant are consistent with the recruiting area of Angus and surrounding shires, Wass from Kirriemuir, Balfour from Torrie in Fife, Carnegie, Ramsay and Gordon.⁽⁹⁾ Pressure was being applied to the Provost of Dundee and his bailies to produce enrolled men for Captain Ogilvy on 17 September.⁽¹⁰⁾ On 1 October it was the turn of

(7) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 90

(8) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 82, 84, 102

(9) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 90-93

(10) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 71



Map iv

Sir William Graham of Claverhouse who had to promise to hand over the idle and masterless men of the parish of Maryton near Montrose to the same captain.⁽¹¹⁾ There is no proof that young Lochinvar actually provided men for this company as his father had promised.⁽¹²⁾

Captain Blair found himself affected by the Council division of shires in a manner quite the reverse of that involving Captain Ogilvy, for Blair was excluded from Angus and therefore had to concentrate on the Spynie counties of Aberdeen and Kincardine. Early in August 1627 Blair was seeking enrolled men in Bellastraid and Ruthven in the parish of Logie-Coldstone from Irvine of Drum.⁽¹³⁾ In October Sir William Forbes was instructed to deliver to Blair men from Enzean, Pitmunie, Monymusk, Cluny and Inver in the area of Monymusk/Kintore/Kemnay,⁽¹⁴⁾ and Blair had laid letters of horning against the Earl Marischal for eleven enrolled men (three from Kinnadie, two from Elrick, and one each from Aberdeen, Deer, Creichie and Pitfour).⁽¹⁵⁾ Surnames like Bannerman, Pendreich, Hetherweik and Docker confirm the area as north eastern. On 1 November Blair's next target for legal action was another Aberdeenshire laird, John Turing of Foveran, who was required to produce masterless men from Pitmillan, Newburgh, Kinknockie, Fiddes, Hill of Fiddes, and Minnes.⁽¹⁶⁾ Here again the surnames of Ironside, Jaffray and Craighead emphasise the county concerned. Blair completed his activity in Aberdeenshire by pressing Gordon of Dilspersie for further enrolled men, named Coutts, Murieson and Paterson, all common names in the north east.⁽¹⁷⁾

It has been noted in several instances above that distinctive surnames often confirmed the area in which recruiting took place.

-
- (11) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 84
 (12) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 94-95
 (13) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 408
 (14) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 97
 (15) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 423-4
 (16) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 424-5
 (17) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 450

The following examples show that the names of the levying officers, local officials and soldiers concerned would alone have provided helpful pointers to the broad regions of Scotland in which the recruitment actually occurred. Captain John Lindsay of Balinshoe requested the redelivery of Alexander Guthrie, servant^{at}/Teiling, who had been freed by Alexander Guthrie younger of Kincaldrum. The Guthries of Finnarak were assaulted by soldiers of Lindsay's company who threatened to imprison them in the tolbooth of Forfar.⁽¹⁸⁾ All these placenames are in Angus, and thus confirm the suggestion of area given by the distinctive surname of Guthrie. Captain Edward Maxwell, operating on behalf of the earl of Nithsdale, had enlisted John Maxwell of Monreith, but in September 1628 the latter had been imprisoned by Robert Douglas.⁽¹⁹⁾ In October of the previous year the same captain had requested the arrest of masterless men in Buittle.⁽²⁰⁾ Names like Maxwell and Douglas suggest the south, and Monreith is near Whithorn, while Buittle is located in Kirkcudbrightshire. Lieutenant Kerr and Sir William Kerr were both involved in levying in Jedburgh in June and September 1629.⁽²¹⁾ Ensign Houston brought a complaint against Robert Cunningham, late bailie of Kilmaurs, the small village near Kilmarnock in north Ayrshire.⁽²²⁾ Ensign Alexander Lindsay for Lord Spynie (also a Lindsay) sought redelivery of a piper who had been rescued from the custody of the bailie of Kilconquhar in Fife, east of Largo and no more than a few miles from the Lindsay lands in that country.⁽²³⁾ Captain William Campbell complained in 1630 about the resetting of twenty deserters of his company from Argyll and Lorne.⁽²⁴⁾ Bailie Andrew Kerr of Roxburgh and

-
- (18) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 379, 392
 (19) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 462-3
 (20) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 420
 (21) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 169, 282
 (22) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 380
 (23) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 378
 (24) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 55-56

Captain Towers were alleged to have imprisoned men in Edinburgh for service in the French wars in 1642.⁽²⁵⁾ In all these instances the connections between surnames and appropriate broad regions of Scotland are striking.

In fact surnames, when sampled in substantial numbers, provide a reliable guide to specific geographical regions of Scotland. Despite the extent of population movement which has taken place in the last 350 years and which might have been expected to decrease significantly the usefulness of surnames as guides to area, there appears to be an impressive degree to which surnames persist in certain areas over the centuries, perhaps most strikingly in rural areas. Study of modern name-lists like telephone directories, street directories, or school registers shows the extent to which this is true today. Cunningham is still one of the most frequent names to be found in school registers in Kilmarnock, and surnames bearing the patronymic 'Mac' are much more common among telephone subscribers in the west of Scotland than in the east. The figure for the Inverness, Glasgow, and Scotland West areas combined is over 57,000, whereas that for the Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen areas combined totals barely 17,000.⁽²⁶⁾

To ascertain statistically whether surnames really give a guide to general areas of Scotland in modern times a close survey of the names in telephone directories was undertaken. This revealed that the ten most common surnames in Scotland in order of frequency were Smith, Robertson, Brown, Thomson, Wilson, MacDonald, Campbell, Stewart, Anderson, and Miller. In the directories of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and West areas, all ten names figured in the dozen most frequent names in

(25) RPC 2nd Series, vii, 576

(26) PO Telephone Directory, Section 140, 1969, Aberdeen Area, Group A (Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Nairn & Shetland), called in this survey 'Aberdeen'.
PO Telephone Directory, Section 140, 1969, Aberdeen Area, Group B (Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness and Orkney), called in this survey 'Inverness'.
PO Telephone Directory, Section 275, 1970, Glasgow Area.
PO Telephone Directory, Section 280, 1971, Scotland West Area
PO Telephone Directory, Section 142, 1969, Edinburgh Area.
PO Telephone Directory, Section 141, 1969, Dundee Area

names in each of the areas, though the order varied slightly. In Dundee area nine of the twelve most frequent names came from the above list of ten, but Aberdeen and Inverness areas showed more variation. Aberdeen, like the other areas, with the exception of Inverness, showed Smith at the top of the frequency table, but only five names from the above ten appeared in the first twelve for Aberdeen area. Those which retained their position were Smith, Robertson, Anderson, Stewart and Thomson, but the others were displaced by Milne, Duncan, Reid, Taylor, Davidson, Fraser, and Gordon. In Inverness area the most common name was MacDonald and along with Robertson and Campbell formed the mere trio of names from the above ten which were prominent in the far north. The others were MacKenzie, MacLeod, Fraser, Mackay, Ross, MacRae, Morrison, Sutherland and Monro. It was also clear from this investigation that Brown, Scott, Wilson, Miller and Young were very common surnames in lowland areas of central and southern Scotland.

Two separate features are soon discerned in the statistical compilation of surnames, frequency and distinctiveness. The real significance of the former emerges only in comparison with the frequency of the same surname in other areas. On the other hand distinctive names are seldom large numerically, but show relatively high totals in one particular area. They are usually most reliable when the surname is derived directly from a placename, e.g. Dunlop, Chirnside, Udney, or when a family has special connection with a definite house, e.g. Turing of Foveran, Hannay of Sorbie.

A check was also made in the directories on the pattern of distinctive surnames. A group of eight Aberdeenshire names was investigated in all the area directories, and then distinctive surnames from other areas were subjected to the same procedure and the results tabulated. The Aberdeenshire names chosen were Ironside, Craigmyle, Cheyne, Esslemont,

Jaffray, Kelman, Leask and Shand, while the others were Auchterlonie (Angus), Pennycook (Midlothian), and Moffat (Lanarkshire).

The results were as follows:-

	Aberdeen	Dundee	Edinburgh	Glasgow	West	Inverness
Ironside	48	7	14	11	8	3
Craigmyle	27	0	0	1	2	0
Cheyne	73	4	30	27	10	4
Esslemont	32	1	4	3	6	1
Jaffray	33	3	5	8	10	1
Kelman	40	6	5	13	7	4
Leask	67	4	34	18	13	7
Shand	96	19	34	46	14	4
Auchterlonie	0	13	8	1	3	1
Pennycook	2	10	30	12	8	0
Moffat	10	27	150	247	221	8

The conclusions are obvious and impressive. Despite the modern density of population in the south of Scotland, distinctive Aberdeenshire names still show much larger totals in their own area. The extent to which other names tend to remain in their native areas is confirmed by the lower half of the table.

As a final comparison the Post Office Street Directories for Edinburgh and Dundee were contrasted.⁽²⁷⁾ Three Angus names were selected, Ogilvy, Carnegie, and Auchterlonie, and the totals of entries checked for each in both directories. The figures which emerged were,

	Dundee	Edinburgh
Ogilvy	62	38
Carnegie	16	2
Auchterlonie	11	1

When the process was reversed and two south-eastern names chosen, Hepburn

(27) Post Office Directory, Edinburgh and Leith, 1969-70
Post Office Directory, Dundee, 1971

and Home, the pattern was reversed.

	Dundee	Edinburgh
Hepburn	8	27
Home	13	52

There is no doubt therefore that even today surnames taken in bulk provide a broad general guide to areas of Scotland, and it is virtually certain that in the past a pattern of surnames was even more reliable as a geographical guide.

The accumulation of evidence about surnames and areas in past centuries is more complicated. Information was collated relating to a broad period of time, from 1300 (when surnames were becoming more standardised) to 1800. The range of time was extensive because the references were valueless without a substantial number being available for each name. Three main sources were utilised. Firstly, Black's Surnames of Scotland was searched for comments and references before 1800 regarding each relevant surname to ascertain whether any area predominated. Secondly, the Moncreiffe and Pottinger 'Scotland of Old' map was checked to note the main areas shown for particular surnames. Thirdly, an independent survey of Scott's Fasti was carried out in which the names of ministers were tabulated for the various counties of Scotland between 1550 and 1800. Ministers may have been more prone to leave their local area than agricultural tenants, yet even so a clear pattern emerged for most counties. It was not the origin of the minister which was noted but the areas in which he worked. If he laboured in several counties his name was credited to each in the tables shown below. The limitations of the Fasti survey are apparent. The numbers involved are not really large. Many families never sent sons to the ministry, and others must have been Episcopalian or Catholic in faith. But the purpose of this Fasti survey was to provide significant

guidelines, both in frequency and distinctiveness which could be used in addition to the sources noted above. In many cases the three sources complemented each other in a very convincing manner.

Several reservations must be made at the outset. In the first place, though a particular surname may be specially associated with an area, e.g. Gordon with Aberdeenshire, it is also possible for it to be widely spread. No area claims may be made from most trade-names like Baxter, Watson and Wright, and the same is true of most surnames bearing the suffix '-son'. Thirdly it is difficult to draw sharply defined lines to indicate surname-areas, and nothing as hard and fast as county boundaries can be decided regarding areas for surnames. Finally there are always misfit names, which belonged originally to other areas. Which names these are is not apparent in the early stages of a survey, but they are uncovered as the shape of the pattern crystallises and indicates the predominant area for particular names. Notwithstanding all these complications each county was found to display a unique amalgam of names resulting from those surnames native to the particular county being combined with those from the immediately surrounding counties.

The results of the Fasti survey were as follows: -

(Due allowance should be made for the fact that more populous counties naturally provided larger raw frequency figures)

SUTHERLAND & CAITHNESS

Monro	20	Ross	9	Rose	6
Mackay	10	Anderson	7	Reid	5
Gray	9	Brodie	6	Robertson	5
				Sutherland	5

ROSS & CROMARTY

Mackenzie	41	Fraser	16	Reid	7
Monro	34	MacRae	8	Robertson	7
Ross	31	MacLennan	7	Hay	5
				Urquhart	5

INVERNESS

Grant	27	Clark	6	Gordon	5
Fraser	22	Mackenzie	6	MacPhail	5
				Watson	5

ARGYLL

Campbell	65	Stewart	9	Fraser	6
MacLa(u)chlan	13	Cameron	8	Lindsay	6
MacLean	11	MacCallum	8	MacCalman	5
				MacDonald	5

There were 36 other surnames with the patronymic 'Mac.'

MORAY & NAIRN

Gordon	28	Hay	10	Rose	7
Dunbar	23	Stewart	10	Urquhart	7
Grant	16	Cumming	9	Brown	6
Leslie	15	Spens	9	Campbell	6
Chalmers	13	Anderson	8	Forbes	6
Innes	13	Fraser	7	Guthrie	6
Douglas	10	Keith	7	Paterson	6

ABERDEEN & BANFF

Gordon	37	Irvine	18	Anderson	14
Forbes	35	Chalmers	16	Ogilvy	14
Strachan	26	Hay	16	Brown	13
Leslie	22	Mitchell	16	Garden	12
Reid	20	Ross	16	Keith	12
Burnet	19	Thomson	16	Seaton	12
Robertson	19	Mill/Milne	15		

The distinctive names were - Cheyne 11, Garioch 8, Duff 8, Shand 7, Leask 5, Jaffray 5, Turing 5, Scroggie 3, Cushnie 3, Udney 2.

KINCARDINE & ANGUS

Lindsay	21	Lyon	13	Auchterlony	7
Ramsay	17	Robertson	10	Bruce	7
Ogilvy	15	Guthrie	9	Carnegie	7
Strachan	15	Campbell	8	Gray	7
Thomson	15	Traill	8	Melville	7
Rait	14	Anderson	7	Mill/Milne	7
				Mitchell	7

The distinctive names were - Fullarton 6, Arbuthnot 5, Haliburton 5, Norie 5, Patillo 4, Auchinleck 4, Scrymgeour 4, Tyrie 3, Maule 3.

PERTH

Stewart	25	Ramsay	12	Strachan	9
Drummond	22	Graham	11	Balnavis	7
Murray	22	Young	11	Blair	7
Campbell	17	Menzies	10	Ferguson	7
Robertson	16	Scott	10	Glass	7
Smith	14	Stirling	10	Malcolm	7
Anderson	13	Wemyss	10	Ross	7
Moncreiffe	13	Lindsay	9	Row	7

The distinctive names were - Dunning 2, MacIntosh, Playfair 2, Rollok 3, Butter, Comrie 3, Ireland 4, Hering, Balvaird, Oliphant 2, and Menteith. Indicative of the surrounding counties were surnames Inverarity (Angus) and Badenoch (Inverness).

FIFE & KINROSS

Thomson	16	Wilkie	10	Auchinleck	7
Bruce	14	Scott	9	Carmichael	7
Anderson	13	Simson	9	Leslie	7
Balfour	11	Spens	9	Martin	7
Wood	11	Wilson	9	Moncreiffe	7
Brown	10	Nairn	8	Murray	7
Melville	10	Pitcairn	8	Ramsay	7
				Walker	7

Distinctive names were: Stark 6, Wemyss 6, Durie 5, Tullidelph 5.

STIRLING & CLACKMANNAN

Stirling	10	Anderson	6	Cunningham	5
Forrester	9	Simson	6	Livingston	5
Wright	7	Edmonston	6	Bennett	5

Distinctive names were: Buchanan 4, Bruce 2, Erskine 3, Elphinston 2, Graham 3, Galbraith 2, Kinkaid, Shaw 2.

DUNBARTON

Anderson	7	Stewart	7	Campbell	6
----------	---	---------	---	----------	---

Distinctive names were: Colquhoun, Erskine, Graham, MacFarlane 2, MacAulay 2.

RENFREW

Hamilton	11	Brown	6	Crawford	5
Maxwell	7	Fleming	6	Hay	5
Cunningham	6	Stirling	6	Miller	5

Distinctive names were: Semple 4, Shaw 3, Houston 3, Knox 2, Grinock, Paisley.

LANARK

Hamilton	50	Somerville	8	Maxwell	6
Lindsay	20	Thomson	8	Forrester	5
Scott	11	Douglas	7	Inglis	5
Brown	10	Wilson	7	Jack	5
Livingston	9	Bell	6	Muirhead	5
Anderson	8	Boyd	6	Sharp	5
Baillie	8	Gray	6	Young	5

Distinctive names were: Carstairs, Cleghorn, Cleland 3, Clydesdale, Fleming 4, Dennistoun, Lockhart 4, Main 3, Symington 2, Weir 4.

BUTE

Stewart	13	MacLean	5
---------	----	---------	---

AYR

Cunningham	18	Crawford	8	Lindsay	7
Hamilton	16	Kennedy	8	Reid	7
Campbell	13	Montgomery	8	Hunter	6
Wallace	11	Walker	8	Maxwell	6
Boyd	9	Ferguson	7	Young	6
Miller	9	Fullarton	7		

Distinctive names were: Dalrymple 3, Cathcart, Muir 3, Dunlop, Semple, Blair 5, Fergushill 2, Eglinton.

WIGTOWN

Boyd	5
------	---

Distinctive names were: Adair 2, MacCulloch, MacKie 2, Vaus 2.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT

Brown	12	Thomson	6	Hamilton	5
MacClellan	6	Gordon	5	MacKie	5
				Murray	5

Distinctive names were - Heron 2, MacCulloch 2, Welsh 3, MacNaught 2.

DUMFRIES

Johnstone	18	Scott	7	Williamson	6
Brown	16	Hunter	6	Young	6
Henderson	12	Maxwell	6	Douglas	5
Lawrie	9	Murray	6	Home	5
Hamilton	8	Thomson	6	Little	5
				Ramsay	5

Distinctive names were: Jardine 2, Kirkpatrick 2, Gladstones 4, Carlyle 3, Grierson 2, Armstrong 3, Glendinning, Carruthers.

WEST LOTHIAN

Hamilton	6	Other totals were not significant.			
----------	---	------------------------------------	--	--	--

MIDLOTHIAN

Hamilton	15	Knox	6	Murray	5
Brown	9	Paterson	6	Smith	5
Robertson	8	Anderson	5	Spottiswood	5
Walker	7	Gibson	5	Thomson	5
Dickson	6	Hunter	5	Watson	5
Forrester	6	Lindsay	5	Wishart	5
Johnstone	6	Lumsden	5		

EAST LOTHIAN

Hamilton	10	Lauder	5	Simson	5
Hepburn	10	MacGhie	5	Sinclair	5
Home	9	Reid	5		

PEEBLES

Hay	9	Dickson	8	Douglas	8
-----	---	---------	---	---------	---

There was a broad scatter of other southern names, but the totals for each were small.

SELKIRK

Scott	7	All other names had insignificant totals.			
-------	---	---	--	--	--

ROXBURGH

Douglas	17	Knox	7	Home	6
Scott	16	Rutherford	7	Simson	6
Brown	9	Ainslie	6	Somerville	6
Turnbull	8	Dickson	6	Wilkie	6
Johnstone	7	Elliot	6	Kerr	5

BERWICK

Home	39	Bell	7	Hepburn	6
Douglas	9	Ramsay	7	Scott	5
Johnstone	8	Smith	7	Swinton	5

Distinctive names were: Cranston 3, Haig, Kerr, Lauder 4, Lumsden 3, Pringle, Redpath 4, Rutherford, Spottiswood 2, Trotter 2, Turnbull, Tweedie.

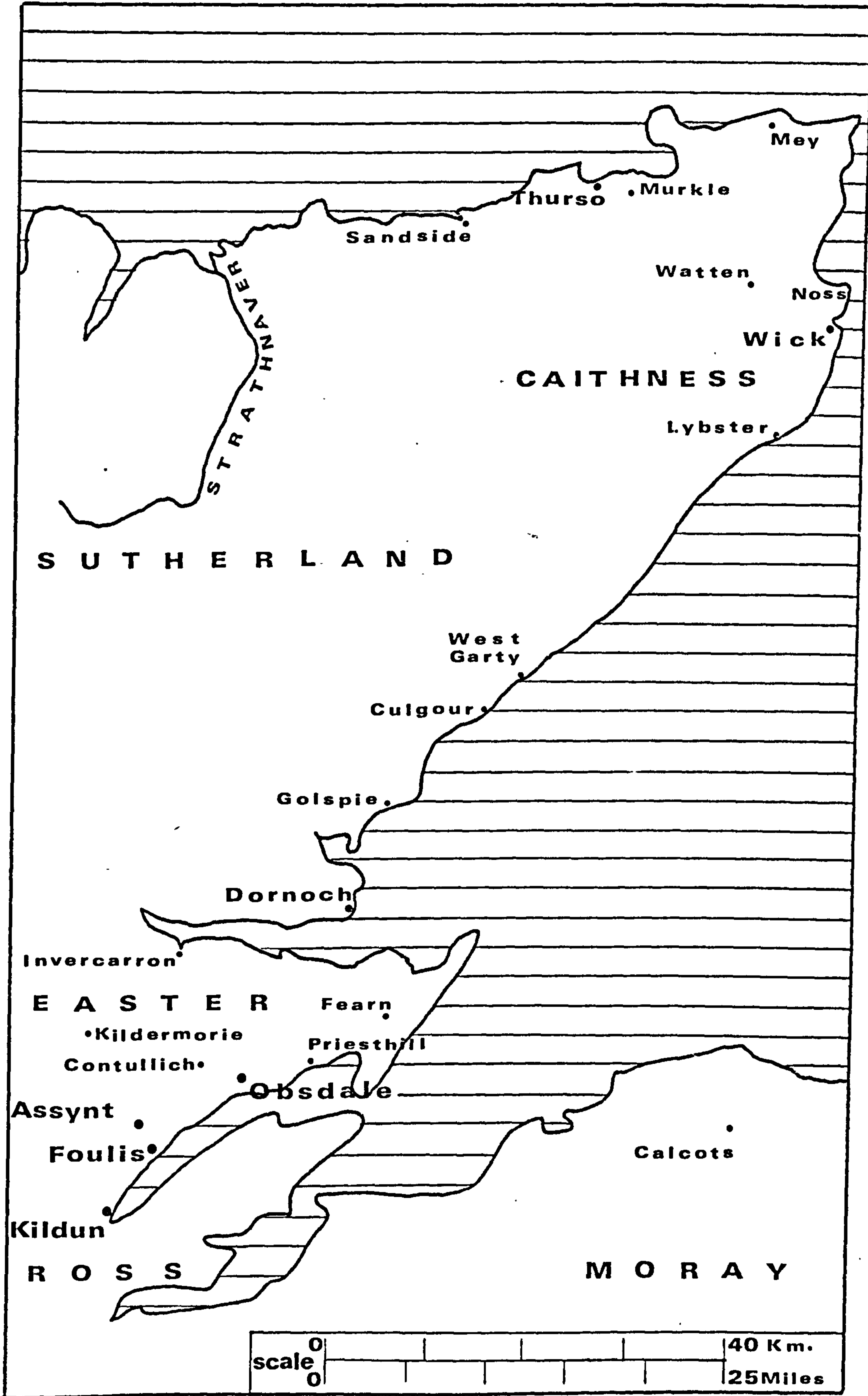
These figures provide substantial support for the areas suggested by Black and those illustrated in the Lyon map. The pattern is more confused if the area is heavily populated. This is evident in the names for Edinburgh in the Fasti and in the telephone directories for modern Glasgow and Edinburgh. By contrast the pattern is most clearly outlined in rural counties and especially in the Highland areas. It can be contended that the evidence noted in the survey above establishes the validity of surnames as pointers to general areas of Scotland. The larger the numbers the more reliable the pointers will be. But it is not possible for such evidence to give more than a general guide to the area. Given these reservations in the interpretation of the surname pattern of any company, the names of soldiers can throw light on their previously unknown or uncertain areas of origin.

CHAPTER SIX

The previous chapter illustrated the value of two key factors in determining the area of origin for companies of mercenary troops from Scotland. The first of these was the captain's own native area. If however the captain's origin is unknown, constructive clues to the area of the company may be provided by the surnames of his soldiers. Both types of information are useful for the clarification of recruiting areas in Scotland used for Danish and Swedish service because Scottish sources are surprisingly silent on many aspects of recruiting, and relatively few references are made there to the exact areas used. Nor are Scottish family histories generous in the space given to mention of mercenary commanders. Unfortunately the lack of muster rolls in Copenhagen makes the task of deciding the original areas for Scottish companies which served the Danish king rather like the construction of a giant jigsaw of which many vital pieces are lost. The situation regarding Swedish service is slightly better. Though references in Scottish sources to mercenary captains serving Sweden is even less extensive than for those under Christian IV, the existence of muster rolls in Stockholm enables the areas for many companies to be suggested.

The first Scottish regiment to serve Denmark in the Thirty Years War was that of Donald Mackay. It is known to have departed in 1626 from three ports, Cromarty, Aberdeen, and Leith. Hence it seems probable that the unit consisted of three parts levied in the north, north east, and south of Scotland respectively. The Privy Council records for the spring of 1628 show that Mackay was still interested in deserters from his regiment from Inverness, Sutherland, Caithness, and Aberdeen, ⁽¹⁾ and also that his captain Sir Patrick MacKie had to submit a list of deserters

(1) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 295-7



in the south west to the sheriffs of Ayr, Galloway and Nithsdale.⁽²⁾

Colonel Mackay's own influence would have been strongest among the Mackays of his native Strathnaver in Sutherland. At least four of the six known names of men in his company imply northern origins, Gunn of Wester Garty, two Mackenzies and Sinclair, son of the earl of Caithness. Also drawn from northern counties of Scotland would appear to have been the soldiers of Captain John Monro of Assynt near Evanton, viz. two Monros (one from Lumlair), Ross of Priesthill, Denune, Johnson, Mill, Roe, Manson, Hay, Duff, MacLeod, and Fraser. This is a not unlikely array of surnames for the area north of Dingwall. Captain Thomas Mackenzie was a son of Lord Seaforth and hailed from Kildun, and his lieutenant, the chronicler Robert Monro, came from Obsdale in Easter Ross. The names of his men leave little doubt of the general area concerned, viz. five Monros, Mackay, Bean, Mackenzie, Gray, Brown, Sutherland, Bromfield, Caddell, Dunbar, MacLeod, Ross, and Tough (from Lochaber). Most of these men would stem from Ross and Cromarty or other neighbouring northern shires. The evidence is not so valuable in the case of Captain John Monro of Obsdale. The extant names of his soldiers date from 1628 and not 1626, so it is possible that company amalgamations are responsible for the less conclusive grouping of three Monros, Kerr, Innes, Philip, Reid, Hay, Kennedy, Carnegie, Garden, and Coull. Nevertheless there does not seem sufficient proof to suggest that he departed from the normal procedure ⁱⁿ of recruiting/his own area, i.e. Easter Ross. Robert Monro of Foulis is likely to have levied in the same region of Ross and Cromarty, and when he levied another company in 1628 his new conscripts were certainly northern, viz. Mackay of Scourie in Sutherland, MacWeattiche, MacWorche,

(2) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 303-4

Monro, and Rhode (likely to be an Anglicized version of the Gaelic Ruadh, more normally translated as Reid).⁽³⁾ The considerable extent of the family relationships among the many Monros in the regiment has been illustrated by Alexander Mackenzie in his history of the clan. In addition, Captain Hector Monro married Colonel Mackay's sister,⁽⁴⁾ and Captain Mackenzie's sister was Colonel Mackay's wife.⁽⁵⁾ Both among the officers and among the men in the ranks clan ties seem to have been strong.

The five companies noted above were different from those which shipped out of Aberdeen after disturbing the peace of that burgh in 1626.⁽⁶⁾ At this north eastern port it seems probable that the following companies were embarked, those of John Forbes of Tulloch, another John Forbes, Duncan Forbes, Sir Arthur Forbes, Robert Innes and Alexander Annan. There are various places in Scotland called Tulloch, including one in the Monro area of Easter Ross, but the surname of Forbes suggests the Aberdeenshire location. In the same Aberdeenshire region the other Forbes captains are likely to have recruited, and it is certain that Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Arthur Forbes was descended from the Corse and Craigievar branch of the family in that shire.⁽⁷⁾ Captain Innes has already been noted attempting to seize men in the fields of Calcots in Morayshire,⁽⁸⁾ and Captain Annan had enlisted the soldier named Coupland, who later deserted after his entertainment at Aberdeen.⁽⁹⁾

(3) R. Mackay, House and Clan of Mackay (Edinburgh 1829), 220-1; and various scattered references in Monro, Expedition, i; and RA Copenhagen, TKIA.

(4) A. Mackenzie, Munros of Fowlis (Inverness 1898), 83-84

(5) R. Mackay, House and Clan of Mackay, 324

(6) Extracts from Council Register of Burgh of Aberdeen 1625-42 (Edinburgh 1871), 8-9

(7) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 126-8

(8) D. Forbes, Family of Innes (ed. C. Innes, Aberdeen 1864), 226

(9) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 96

Annan was assisted by under-officers, two of whom were named Arbuthnot and another called Hay, again very indicative of the north east.⁽¹⁰⁾ Further confirmation of this area is revealed by the Council commission to the sheriff of Aberdeen, the sheriff of Kincardine, Sir Alexander Gordon of Cluny, and Sir Robert Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot to put on trial reseters of deserters named by Captain Annan.⁽¹¹⁾ Little is known about the other lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, Alexander Seaton. He was granted permission in July 1626 to raise 500 men 'whair he may most convenientlie haif thame',⁽¹²⁾ and since his personal descent may have been from the Cariston branch of the family in Angus he may have levied his men in that region.⁽¹³⁾

The third section of Mackay's regiment would appear to have been recruited in Fife and the southern counties, the companies of Major Dunbar and Captains Boswell, Learmonth and MacKie. Little is known about any of these officers or their men. Dunbar had an under-officer called Lumsden, and the two names together may suggest the south east.⁽¹⁴⁾ Boswell is a surname common in Fife and the southern counties of Scotland. Learmonth is most frequently found in Fife, and this particular captain was a brother of Lord Balcomie there; thus Fife seems the most appropriate area for him to raise men. Sir Patrick MacKie derived his ancestry from the family at Larg in mid-Galloway,⁽¹⁵⁾ and the varied spellings of his name in different sources as 'Mackay', 'MacGie' and 'MacKie' accord well with Black's comments on the name MacGhie.⁽¹⁶⁾ His men included Home, Allan, Robertson, Wilkin, Scott, Mar, Dunbar,

-
- (10) Monro, Expedition, i, 65;
RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151
(11) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 325-6
(12) RPC 2nd Series, i, 315-6
(13) B. G. Seton, House of Seton (Edinburgh 1939), i, 262
(14) Monro, Expedition, i, 38
(15) R. Mackay, House and Clan of Mackay, 220-1
(16) Black, Surnames, 496

Jardine, Mure, and Glendinning. The last three are common southern and south western surnames and suggest that this particular officer named Dunbar may have been connected with the Dunbars of Wigtownshire. These four companies are those most likely to have sailed from Leith.

It is therefore apparent that the majority of companies in Mackay's original regiment were not Highlanders from the counties north of Inverness. The totals of men for most of the companies are known from Danish records, but those of Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton, Major Dunbar and Captain Innes were not listed at the original muster. The five northern companies of Mackay, Mackenzie, Assynt, Obsdale and Foulis totalled 622 soldiers, whereas the five companies of the four Forbes captains and Annan amounted to 839 and the three companies of Learmonth, Boswell and MacKie to 490.⁽¹⁷⁾ (No allowance has been made for the unknown number brought by Captains Innes and Sinclair who both lost their positions due to their company totals being inadequate. The men of Innes' company would probably have been from the north east, and those of Sinclair from the north, but in neither case can they have exceeded 100 otherwise the captains would not have lost their positions.) The northern Highlanders thus accounted for only one third of the regiment.

The relative prominence of northern Highlanders in the history of Mackay's regiment to the exclusion of the other troops in the unit has been due to several fortuitous circumstances. Firstly the Sutherland and Cromarty men have been well served by official records and regimental and family historians. The compilation of names drawn from these sources, showing men whose companies are not known, makes this clear, nine Monros (these included men from Newmore, Fearn, Culcraggie, Kiltearn,

(17) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/II

Ardtullie, Fyrish, Contullich, Kildermorie and Coul), two called Ross (from Invercarron), two named Gordon (one from Garty and one from Culgour), two Stewarts, two Murrays, two Forbes, two Gunns (one from Golspie and one from Strathy), Hempseed, Cock, Gray, Crichton, Bruntfield, Barbour, Innes, Tulloch, Sinclair (son of Sinclair of Murkle in Caithness), and Murdo Polson.⁽¹⁸⁾ This series of names (with the exceptions of Crichton and Bruntfield) would seem to imply that the vast majority of Mackay's men were in fact Highlanders from the northern counties. George Matheson came from Shiness in Sutherland, and Murdoch Mackenzie the regimental chaplain from Gairloch on the west coast of Ross and Cromarty.⁽¹⁹⁾ Robert Monro the chronicler, writing in 1636, also naturally concentrated on the events which affected men in the Highland companies he knew so well, and his work was expanded in biographical detail of these Highlanders by Mackay in the nineteenth century. As luck would have it this slant to the history of Mackay's regiment was intensified by the events of the war during the period 1626-8. Neither of the companies disbanded in the early months of foreign service was from the far north; nor was the next company to be 'reduced', which was Boswell's⁽²⁰⁾ (it had numbered only 100).⁽²¹⁾ This captain was killed early in 1627.⁽²²⁾ Thus already three of the companies from the north east and the south had been absorbed into the others and thus lost their separate identity.

Worse was to follow, because when the regiment was divided into two squadrons in 1627 on the orders of Christian IV the smaller section of

(18) R. Mackay, House and Clan of Mackay, 220-1

(19) A. Mackenzie and A. Macbain, History of the Mathesons (Stirling 1900), 28. 141

(20) Monro, Expedition, i, 1

(21) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/II

(22) Monro, Expedition, i, 4

four companies led by Major Dunbar was virtually eliminated after fighting at Boizenburg and Breitenburg. The major and Captains Learmonth and Duncan Forbes were killed, Sir Arthur Forbes had died soon after arrival in Germany,⁽²³⁾ and John Forbes may have been another of the captains who suffered along with Dunbar. At all events there was clearly little that could be written in Danish records thereafter about north-eastern and southern companies to season Monro's narrative. The larger squadron survived in 1627 despite heavy fighting at Oldenburg, and by the end of the year it consisted of eight companies of which five comprised Highlanders from the far north. In 1628 the same process continued. Captains MacKie and Annan failed to return from their winter visit to Scotland, and therefore their companies were cashiered.⁽²⁴⁾ Even Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton sought his discharge after the Stralsund struggle.⁽²⁵⁾ Yet at the same time Monro of Foulis was recruiting another company of Highlanders from Cromarty.⁽²⁶⁾ Whether the reason for this increasing predominance of Sutherland and Cromarty Highlanders in the regiment was due to personal preference being shown to the Highland officers or to mere chance is unknown. It was however surely deliberate policy on Mackay's part that when he was faced with the fateful instruction to detach a squadron of four companies in 1627, he did not select any of his northern Highland companies, but preferred to retain them together as the solid core of his own squadron.

Details of the recruiting areas used by officers of Spynie's regiment are even more scanty, but in general the most important regions for his captains appear to have been the north east, central and south east.

(23) Monro, Expedition, i, 1, 38

(24) Monro, Expedition, i, 82

(25) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/23

(26) Monro, Expedition, i, 82

Scotland. The concentration of Captains James Blair and Thomas Beaton on Angus at first and thereafter on Aberdeenshire in particular has already been noted, and the majority of the surnames of men in Blair's company which have survived in Danish records are connected with this area, Blair (2), Douglas, Leslie, Meldrum, Smith, Durham, Robertson, Gourlay and Fullarton.⁽²⁷⁾ The Allardices of Allardice and Clashendrum near Inverbervie were also constrained to produce four men for possible service with Spynie in 1627.⁽²⁸⁾ Alexander Erskine of Dun may have been active in recruiting on his own behalf in Angus apart from the commission he arranged for Blair,⁽²⁹⁾ and Captain John Lindsay coming from Balinshoe in the same county probably recruited there until the Council division of shires would have compelled him to seek enrolled men in neighbouring counties, either Perthshire or the north east. The eleven known names of men in his company are together reminiscent of Angus, Lindsay (4), Campbell, Coullie, Fraser, Ramsay, Westgate, Petrie and Dun.⁽³⁰⁾ Major Troup's recruiting area is not stated in any sources, but it is extremely likely that it lay in the Troup lands of the north east. The claims of Spynie and Troup may have accounted for the allocation of Aberdeenshire and Kincardine to this regiment.

Southern counties were also important for Spynie captains. James Douglas' company in Danish service in 1628 is recorded as having the following under-officers, Douglas (4), Johnstone (2), Brownhill, Watson, Meldrum, Hathorn and Young,⁽³¹⁾ clearly a southern pattern. This captain is likely to have been the James Douglas mentioned by Nithsdale

(27) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151

(28) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 82-83

(29) V. Jacob, Lairds of Dun (London 1931), 167-8

(30) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151

(31) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151

as coming from Mouswald in Dumfriesshire and as being related to Douglas of Drumlanrig in the north west of the same county.⁽³²⁾ The Council division of shires in 1627 must have tended to drive Captain Douglas away from the counties of Dumfries and Roxburgh, since neither was awarded to Spynie, and thus it is quite possible that Douglas worked thereafter in the nearest appropriate Spynie county which was Lanarkshire. John Home's company displays no clear pattern of names, Home⁽²⁾, Cunningham, Hannah, Hamilton, Helliwell, Fraser, Ross, Clark, Fleck and Sanderson,⁽³³⁾ but they are mainly southern names and Helliwell and the Homes distinctively Berwickshire. The captain himself was Sir John Home of Ayton in that county. Hence his voice would have been one of those which influenced Spynie to seek Berwickshire in the allocation of shires. The same county may have been of value to Thomas Home of Ayton and Sir Patrick Cockburn. Both these men were in Danish service in 1626 well before Spynie's levying began.⁽³⁴⁾ There is no proof that either commanded a Scottish company in 1627 or 1628, but if they did they would very probably have sought most of their men in the south east especially in Berwickshire. Sir Patrick Cockburn is listed in the records of the Cockburns of Cockburn in that county as a younger son who reached high rank in Danish service.⁽³⁵⁾ Cockburn was the Spynie captain mentioned in the Privy Council direction concerning five Lauder men and two from Newbigging, obviously Berwickshire inhabitants.⁽³⁶⁾ The names of some of Cockburn's under-officers discovered in Copenhagen records indicate a pattern strikingly suitable for this

(32) RPC, 2nd Series, ii, 105-6

(33) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A. 151

(34) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/I

(35) T. H. Cockburn-Hood, House of Cockburn (Edinburgh 1888), 318

(36) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 419-20

county, Cockburn, Rodger, Home (3), Barclay, Lothian, Lauder, Young, Sproule, Rutherford, Nisbet and Scott. Beyond this, information on Spynie's regiment is extremely scattered. The names listed for his Regimental Staff are very mixed, but his Life Company contained some Border surnames for which Captain-Lieutenant Pringle may have been responsible, Otterburn, Pigott, Grier, Johnstone and Home, besides the others noted in the accounts, Dickson, Biggart, Green and Pirie. The exact region for Captain George Oliphant's recruiting is not known for certain, but his ten names suggest the Perthshire area, Oliphant, Baldowie, Fraser, Edward, Home, Shaw, Murray, Willcox, Gordon, Hay and Mackintosh.⁽³⁷⁾ This is rendered convincing support by Oliphant's complaint against men in Pitkeathly (near Bridge of Earn) and Cultmalundie (two miles outside Methven) for withholding one of his recruits from service with him.⁽³⁸⁾ On 31 August Sir William Baillie of Lamington was defending himself against the threat of letters of horning instigated by Spynie regarding masterless men in this parish in the centre of Lanarkshire.⁽³⁹⁾ Though Captain William Campbell's complaint about the resetting of deserters is dated 4 November 1630, his men from the areas of Argyll and Lorne in Argyllshire were recruited for the regiment of Spynie in Danish service at least two, or possibly three, years earlier. The names of the deserters are very distinctive and differ considerably from the usual array in other companies, MacDougall (2), MacIan (2), MacNiven, MacMichael, Campbell (brother of the laird of Purbreck), Macgregor (2), MacCook, and Cameron.⁽⁴⁰⁾

(37) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151

(38) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 36

(39) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 411

(40) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 55-56

If Spynie's officers raised any men from the remaining counties left from his allocation of shires, i.e. Stirlingshire, West Lothian and Renfrewshire, no evidence of their work is extant at present, but it is just possible that the surnames Captain John Sempill and his Sergeant Stewart indicate Renfrewshire. No men were levied in England, but Spynie was permitted by the authorities in Denmark to levy 250 Danes in May 1628 to complete his regiment,⁽⁴¹⁾ after Cockburn had received a similar licence for 160 Danes in April.⁽⁴²⁾

Details of Sinclair's unit are diverse and largely disjointed. No evidence has been discovered to prove that any of Sinclair's captains recruited companies in the far north, though the colonel himself belonged to Murkle in Caithness and he was allotted all the counties from Banffshire west and north to the Orkneys and Shetlands. There was however some enlistment done in the north east. Captain Innes of Crombie in Banffshire claimed to have had his company of 240 men ready for shipment out of Aberdeen, but he waited in vain and eventually disbanded the company.⁽⁴³⁾ Sinclair's legal action against Gordon of Ardlogie shows that levying was at least being attempted in Aberdeenshire, though again without much success.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Other officers endeavoured to raise companies for him in the south east. Major Borthwick may be connected with Captain William Borthwick who was recruiting for Sweden late in 1627 and later rose to be a major under Gustavus. This Captain Borthwick belonged to Johnstoneburn near the junction point of the counties of Midlothian, East Lothian and Berwick,⁽⁴⁵⁾ and his recruiting was taking place in Edinburgh in November 1627.⁽⁴⁶⁾ This region of Scotland was the natural area for a Borthwick to use, and may indicate the likely

(41) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9 (ed. E. Marquard, Copenhagen 1929), 406

(42) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 401

(43) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 147-8

(44) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 406

(45) Scots Peerage, ii, 100

(46) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 439

district for the levying of Major Borthwick for Danish service. On the Danish roll Borthwick has one name which supports the Midlothian possibility, Mowbray. Captain Alexander Chirnside might have been expected to work in the south east. There is some evidence of this in the names of his men, Chirnside (2), Dickson, Troup, Home, Nisbet, Forbes and Humphrey.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Though the Chirnsides, Home and Nisbet suggest Berwickshire, this county was eventually awarded to Spynie. This would force Chirnside to Roxburgh, Peeblesshire or Midlothian (the shared county) if he was not already working in one of these areas. It may be significant that Chirnside's cautioner in September 1628 was the laird of Lugton (almost certainly the village near Dalkeith rather than the north Ayrshire one.)⁽⁴⁸⁾ The problem remains however concerning the identity of the officers who recruited for Sinclair in Peebleshire and Roxburgh. Sinclair would not have been awarded these counties if none of his captains desired them. Borthwick might well have used Peebles which is very close to the Borthwick lands of Midlothian, and Chirnside may have concentrated on Roxburgh. Sir James Kerr of Crailing in Roxburgh questioned in August 1627 whether certain men sought by Lieutenant Robert Douglas for Sinclair's regiment were really masterless.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Unfortunately the captain's name is not given. It may have been the Roxburgh descent of two of the five prisoners in the Tolbooth of the Canongate (sons of men in Kelso and Jedburgh) which decided the Privy Councillors to award them all to Sinclair for his unit.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Less information is available for the other captains of Sinclair's regiment. The area associated with Captain William Hay is hard to determine. The eight extant names from the company, Hay (4), Chalmers, Butter, Margie

(47) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151

(48) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 472

(49) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 413-14

(50) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 332

though Hay is a very widespread name in Scotland. Hay's cautioner in September 1628 was Lord Yester, a south eastern noble, and Hay is shown as the outstanding name for Peeblesshire by both the Moncreiffe map and the Fasti survey. It is therefore feasible that Captain Hay operated in this county. It would explain its allocation to Sinclair's regiment, for it is unlikely the claims of any officer in the other units could compete with those of a Hay for this particular shire. Nothing is known about the area of origin of Richard Brome's company. Captain Donaldson also tried to levy men for Sinclair without complete success. All that is known about him is that his guarantor in September 1628 was the Town Clerk of Edinburgh.⁽⁵²⁾ Some of the companies of Englishmen who did not belong to the English regiments in Danish service may have been credited to Sinclair. He was accorded assistance in England for part of his levying,⁽⁵³⁾ and though the officials of Newcastle and Northumberland reported failure to find volunteers for Sinclair this does not obviate the possibility of success in other parts of England.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Two further companies appeared for service with the Danes in 1628 as part of Sinclair's regiment, those of Captain George Stewart with Lieutenant Home and Ensign Sanders, (whose men were on board ship at Leith on 26 June 1628),⁽⁵⁵⁾ and Captain Francis Trafford with a Welsh company.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Despite the wealth of material about the Ogilvy company and its recruitment in Angus noted earlier, details are scarce and confused about the origins of the rest of Nithsdale's regiment. Particularly complicated is the evidence about the possibility of another Nithsdale

-
- (51) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151
 - (52) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 472
 - (53) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 130
 - (54) CSP Domestic 1627-8, 126, 128
 - (55) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 608
 - (56) Monro, Expedition, i, 82

recruiter working in the north east. When Ogilvy was seeking Angus as his recruiting county he remarked that if Nithsdale was awarded the Mearns, he (Ogilvy) would not object if Thornton got it. He also referred to Thornton's lieutenant, Troup, being at Montrose and to the need for Thornton to be as well informed about the enrolled men in the Mearns as he himself wanted to be about those in Angus. On 1 August when he explained to Nithsdale the shipping arrangements for the troops of Ogilvy and Hamilton, Lord Ogilvy stated that 'Thorntounes men war put also in that ship.'⁽⁵⁷⁾ Another instance concerned the position of David Ramsay. In September 1627 the son of William Troup of Pendreich and John Strachan of Fettercairn guaranteed that David Ramsay would send back from Germany a recruit levied from Balhagartie.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The matter was pursued further four years later when on 5 October 1631 it was revealed that Ramsay was a sergeant for Strachan of Thornton and had been sent from Copenhagen to Glückstadt to arrange the return of the Balhagartie recruit before Christmas 1627, but the soldier was already dead.⁽⁵⁹⁾ (The only Sergeant David Ramsay to be found in Danish records was listed in Captain John Lindsay's company of Spynie's regiment in 1628/9, but it is at present impossible to connect the two Ramsays since Lindsay's company was in Scania during Christmas 1627.) All these references suggest that Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton was one of Nithsdale's officers and that soldiers were definitely levied in his name. Indeed the observation by Borthwick in his letter from Hamburg about commissioned officers in the regiment, 'yowr honour may rest without fear till I sie either yowr honour or Sir Alexander Straichan',⁽⁶⁰⁾ seems to suggest that, Nithsdale being colonel, Strachan may have been

(57) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 81, 87-88

(58) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 80-81

(59) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 343

(60) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 101

lieutenant-colonel. There is no Strachan company mentioned in Danish records. It is also strange, ~~that~~ if Strachan was an important personage in Nithsdale's unit, that the shire of Kincardine was awarded to Spynie. Strachan of Thornton would have had an almost undeniable claim to that county compared with those of any of Spynie's officers. Of the latter, Major Troup seems the most likely to have sought Kincardine. The reason for Nithsdale's failure to obtain Kincardine may have been one of the following: - (a) Strachan was taking less interest in recruiting for he was not mentioned in the Ogilvy correspondence after the division of the shires; (b) the claim of a Spynie officer was more powerful, though this seems unlikely; (c) Spynie and Nithsdale reached a compromise about disputed shires like Angus and Kincardine, with Captains Blair and Lindsay yielding their interest in Angus in return for Strachan giving up Kincardine; or (d) the drawing of lots decided the disputed shires. Lieutenant Troup, acting for Captain Adam Gordon, requested Council letters on 15 June 1627 charging Lord Forbes to produce a deserter from Pittochie who was being withheld from his enlistment for Danish service;⁽⁶¹⁾ but there is no sign in the Copenhagen records of Captain Gordon, and the only Lieutenant Troup mentioned there was by 1628 in Captain Chirnside's company.

Nithsdale's agents appear to have followed up their allocation of East Lothian by seeking men in Dunbar. The captain's name is not stated, but both Nithsdale and Sir Thomas Kelly were ordered on 1 September 1627 to appear before the Privy Council when the case of the seven Dunbar men was being considered.⁽⁶²⁾ The most likely captain for this company is Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick close to Dunbar, and this would be a convincing reason for the allocation of

(61) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 390

(62) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 66

East Lothian to Nithsdale. ~~The~~ Ensign Houston who attempted to arrest an 'idle' man in Kilmaurs in Ayrshire during the month of June represented a Captain Hamilton, quite possibly Sir Alexander.⁽⁶³⁾ Hamilton was shipping men out of the Forth for Nithsdale at the end of July;⁽⁶⁴⁾ but he was also seeking men in Ireland and experiencing great difficulty in bringing them to Scotland.⁽⁶⁵⁾ He may have made use of family connections with Sir George Hamilton or Sir Frederick Hamilton, both of whom reported to Nithsdale about their recruiting problems in Ireland.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Sir George Hamilton was a landowner in County Donegal,⁽⁶⁷⁾ while Sir Frederick Hamilton's area was to be found in County Leitrim.⁽⁶⁸⁾ These Irish Hamilton companies may of course be quite separate, for the records in Copenhagen mention a Captain William Burke in Nithsdale's regiment at Glückstadt in 1628,⁽⁶⁹⁾ himself Irish and likely to have been commander of an Irish company. The same sources provide the meagre crumbs of information that Captain Andrew Campbell's troops were Scots⁽⁷⁰⁾ and Captain Darcy Swift's English.⁽⁷¹⁾ ('English' in Danish records sometimes indicates Irish, and may well have that meaning here.) No information has come to light relating to the origin of Major Thomas Kelly's soldiers.

It is impossible without further clues to decide in which regiments served the companies of Major John Douglas and Captains George Leslie,

-
- (63) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 380
 - (64) Fraser, Carlawerock, ii, 88
 - (65) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 241, 335
 - (66) Fraser, Carlawerock, ii, 97-100, 105
 - (67) CSP Ireland 1625-32, 254
 - (68) CSP Ireland 1625-32, 253
 - (69) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit, regnsk. IIb/16/II/257
 - (70) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/825
 - (71) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/620

William Haliday, Ludovick Leslie, Herbert 'Preusz', Francis Coningsby, Alexander Douglas, John Ruthven and Robert Murray. Haliday may be a secretarial mistake for Hay through the transitional stage of 'Hayedaye',⁽⁷²⁾ for both Hay and Haliday are mentioned for Sinclair's regiment. It is also possible that Alexander Douglas at Glückstadt in December 1627 had some connection with the company of Sir Archibald Douglas of Mains who claimed to command a Scottish company on 24 December;⁽⁷³⁾ his men were however mentioned at Stade in June 1627. The Glückstadt provisions-accounts state that the men of Ruthven and Alexander Douglas were Scots,⁽⁷⁴⁾ and the names of Major Douglas' under-officers, Hay, Lindsay and Douglas, point to Scotland without being more definitive.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The same Glückstadt volume indicates that the troops of Leslie, Price and Coningsby were English.⁽⁷⁶⁾ This is unexpected in the case of Leslie, who by the summer of 1629 had been made major in Hamilton's regiment in Swedish pay and certainly commanded a Scottish company there.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The English Privy Council however issued instructions to the Navy Commissioners regarding the shipping of Leslie's men in 1627, so it must be presumed that the soldiers were English.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The only reference to Captain William Campbell, presumably the same man as the officer in Spynie's regiment, in the Copenhagen archives lists him as being one of several officers with Scottish names who were granted commissions over Landsfolk (Danes or Germans) in 1628 and 1629. It seems possible that Campbell sought further employment by the Danish government in this capacity after the disintegration of Spynie's regiment at the end of September 1628. Campbell's commission for Landsfolk is dated 24 October 1628. If this is true of Campbell the situation may have been similar for some of the other officers granted

(72) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/II

(73) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/28

(74) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/849-56

(75) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151

(76) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/643, 663-5

(77) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/70

(78) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 514

similar posts, e.g. 15 February 1628 David Russell; 8 March George Lauder, George Mathieson, John Stewart and Alexander Nairn; 8 April Thomas Meldrum; 23 April Alexander Crawford; 23 January 1629 Henry Monypenny,⁽⁷⁹⁾ most of whom were dismissed in the summer of 1629.⁽⁸⁰⁾

The areas used for recruitment for the regiments which served Sweden cannot be so precisely defined as those used for the units intended for Danish service. References in Scottish sources like the Register of the Privy Council concerning recruitment for Sweden are relatively few, but this lack is to some extent balanced by the presence of Swedish muster rolls from which in some cases the main area for the recruiting of particular companies may be suggested. Four regiments, those of Colonels Alexander Hamilton, John Meldrum, James Ramsay, and Donald Mackay, were studied in detail and the lists of surnames used to clarify the recruiting areas.

Colonel Alexander Hamilton was descended from the Priestfield family in Edinburgh, but his company was very large (245 strong) and the men's names revealed little pattern.⁽⁸¹⁾ The company was not northern or western, but all other regions of Scotland, especially the south, are well represented. The most unusual feature is the presence of eleven Irish names (O'Dolla, O'Doran, O'Doull, O'Gartie, O'Lennon, O'Morgan, O'Mulreav, O'Mulvany, O'Neill and Spallan). Several of the other captains in this regiment also mustered a few Irishmen, Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie one (O'Mulvany), Captain Bruce four (all O'Neills), Sir James Hamilton two (both McGallaghers), and Hamilton of Parklie four (Coglan, Connor, Flanagan, and Sullivan). The Irish connections of the Hamilton family would perhaps account for the Irish names in Hamilton

(79) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 377, 391, 406, 624

(80) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9/II

(81) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/14/180-4

companies, but hardly for those in Baillie's and Bruce's.

The company of Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie appears to have originated mainly in the central Lowlands of Scotland, and particularly in Lanarkshire. Baillie came from Lamington in the heart of Lanarkshire,⁽⁸²⁾ and his lieutenant was named Moffat. The most frequent names in his company, Hamilton (7), Baillie (5), Brownlees, Douglas and Young (all 3 each) are southern names, with Baillie and Brownlees being specially common in Lanarkshire. Among the distinctive surnames in the company the same county is indicated by Crooks, Somerville, Burrell and Carmichael. Neighbouring southern counties in the Lothians, Borders and south west are also well represented, but there are only half a dozen Stirlingshire/Perthshire names and a few north eastern ones.⁽⁸³⁾

The 172 names in Major Ludovick Leslie's company present more of a problem, and do not fit easily into a regional pigeon-hole. Major Leslie's home was located in Fife,⁽⁸⁴⁾ and the surnames of his lieutenant and ensign (Galbraith and Cockburn) are usually connected with central and south eastern areas. Nor are the names in this company as convincing Fife surnames as those of Colonel Spens' men in 1624. The most frequent names in Leslie's list were Leslie (10), Ogilvy, Sinclair and Williamson (4 each). The Coupars (2) might be classed with the Corstons (2), and perhaps with the Beatons (2)/Woods (3) as possible for Fife, but beyond these there is a shortage of distinctive Fife names. On the other hand there is a substantial group of north eastern surnames including some clearly Aberdeenshire in origin, Craigmyle, Smolt, Garioch, Kelman, Coutts, Chalmers, Jaffray, Forbes and Wilgus. This company seems therefore to have been recruited in the east coast counties, with the distinct

(82) M. E. C. Bruce, Bruces and Cumyngs (Edinburgh 1870), 382-3

(83) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/68-69

(84) Scots Peerage, v, 384

possibility that Leslie family connections in both Aberdeenshire and Fife proved important.⁽⁸⁵⁾

Captain Robert Preston's company has no obvious region of origin, though it was definitely not western. His own exact identity is doubtful. Though there was a Sir Robert Preston in Edinburgh in the 1630s,⁽⁸⁶⁾ he may not have been the same man as this captain. There is little evidence that this company was levied mainly in the Lothians, nor do the names of the lieutenant and ensign (Lindsay and Stewart) imply Midlothian in particular. On the other hand if Preston left the main work of recruiting to them in their own native parts of Scotland, then he might still be identical with the Edinburgh knight. The most frequent names in the company, Smith (5), Murray and Gray (4 each) are not helpful. There is a lack of likely Lothian and south eastern names, perhaps only Preston (2), Rudman, Sand, Ancrum, Pringle and Dundas, whereas the north east is more strikingly indicated by Forbes (3), Mearns, Eassie, Chalmers, Innes, Strangnitch, Falconer, Watt, Cruikshank, Duguid and Duff. It is not however as uniquely north eastern as the companies of Captains Forbes and William Meldrum to be considered later. Perhaps Lieutenant Lindsay was a native of Fife or Angus who gathered part of the company in the north eastern counties without the aid of strong family ties. This would account for the wide spread of the names and the lack of a large total for any specific name.⁽⁸⁷⁾

In the case of Sir John Hamilton's soldiers the region is not in doubt. The captain himself had his home at Redhouse in Haddington,⁽⁸⁸⁾ and his lieutenant and ensign were named Cockburn and Pringle respectively. Almost all the surnames of his men fall within the south eastern area of Scotland bounded by Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire. At the top of the

(85) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/70-71

(86) Black, Surnames, 672

(87) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/72-73

(88) Fraser, Haddington, 1, 25

frequency table are Johnstone (7), Hamilton (5), Brown, Kerr and Pringle (all 4). Apart from these the south east is suggested by Fleming (4), Pettigrew, Nasmyth, Somerville, Cleghorn, Cleland and Lockhart for Lanarkshire: Irving, Dinwoodie, Armstrong, Moffat, Bell (2) and Eccles for Dumfriesshire; and Sydserf, Blaikie, Cuthbertson, Napier, Small, Porteous, Cockburn (2), and Livingstone (3) for various parts of the Lothians and Borders.⁽⁸⁹⁾

The next captain on Alexander Hamilton's regimental roll was Alexander Bruce, whose company differed in area considerably from the foregoing examples. Bruce belonged to Airth in south east Stirlingshire.⁽⁹⁰⁾ His two junior officers were named Forrester and Pringle, though they were later replaced by men with Lanarkshire surnames, Baillie and Fleck. The most frequent names in his company provide no indication of area being an extremely varied quartet with little in common, Forbes (5), O'Neill, McIver and Carmichael (4 each). There are however two striking features about the names in general. Firstly, no less than thirty three of them (20% of the entire company) bear the patronymic 'Mac', which is relatively infrequent in most of the other companies. The majority of these names suggest Perthshire or Argyll, e.g. MacElhallam (2), MacKilpatrick (2), MacCorquodale (3), MacNeil (3), MacNachtan (2), MacWilkie (2), MacAllister and MacDonald. These are supported by south Perthshire names like Drummond, Condie, Malcolm, Menteith and Patillo, and Stirlingshire names, Daroch, Sword, Galbraith, Forrester and Bruce. The second characteristic of the company is a small block of south eastern names, most of which are very distinctive of that area, Jolly, Barron, Duddingston, Brownhill, Tock, Napier, Teviotdale, Pringle, Home and Scoular. It will also be recalled that Bruce brought legal charges

(89) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/14/204-11

(90) W. B. Armstrong, Bruces of Airth (Edinburgh 1892), 22-23

against two Edinburgh burgesses for withholding their sons from service with him.⁽⁹¹⁾ These factors provide evidence to suggest that some levying took place in the south east, perhaps carried out by the lieutenant or ensign, whereas the main core of Bruce's men appear to have been recruited in east Stirlingshire, Strathearn, Menteith, and possibly even on the borders of Argyll.⁽⁹²⁾ (The absence of any Campbells in the company makes it unlikely that Argyll itself was used.)

Sir James Hamilton's company might have been expected to contain men from southern Scotland. This does not appear to have been the case. The exact identity of Hamilton himself has not been ascertained, but unlike all the other Hamilton captains he was the only person called Hamilton in his own company. He may have lacked powerful family connections. At all events the names of the soldiers in the company would be best explained if Lieutenant Monorgan and Ensign Rattray were responsible for the recruiting. Both these names are most commonly found in the Tay Valley area of east Perthshire, as are Ireland (2), Gibbon (2), and Din (2), with Liffe, Low, Watt, Rannie, Guthrie and Thane nearby. The frequent names in the company provide little decisive evidence, Gordon (4), Gray, Petrie and Forbes (3 each), but the suggestion they contain of the north east is borne out by the distinctive Aberdeenshire names of Cheyne, Slaroth, Jaffray, Pendreich, Coullie and Coutts. Christie (2) and Wemyss might have originated in Fife, but there are hardly half a dozen names which imply activity in the south east.⁽⁹³⁾

The junior captain of Alexander Hamilton's unit was James Hamilton of Parklie in West Lothian. His ensign was named Forrester (a name commonly found in Midlothian and east Stirlingshire), while his original lieutenant, Campbell, was later replaced by a Galbraith (usually a

(91) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 288-9

(92) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/14/215-19

(93) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/14/212-14

Stirlingshire name). The most frequent names in the company again give no indication of the area concerned, Johnstone, Stewart and Smith, (all 4 each). This company resembles that of Alexander Bruce in several respects. It possesses seventeen surnames with the 'Mac' patronymic, which may indicate Perthshire or western areas of Scotland, e.g. MacAllister (2), MacCormick (3), MacNugitor, MacVorie, MacEndris, MacDougall, MacLean and MacNeil. It seems possible that if Lieutenant Campbell hailed from Argyll or Perthshire he might well have brought in most of these particular men and the other two Campbells in the company. South Perthshire and especially Stirlingshire names are to be expected in a West Lothian captain's company, and these counties look possible origins for Galbraith (3), MacIlhose, Menzies, Kerse, Keir, Malcolm, Norvell, Calender, Meiklem and Bruce. Lanarkshire and the Lothians ringing West Lothian on the other side could be responsible for Weir (3), Hamilton (3), Arneill, Fleck, Fenton and Stenepe, while Baderston is a specifically West Lothian surname.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Colonel Alexander Hamilton's regiment therefore appears to have been drawn from a wide range of Scottish regions, with one captain from each of the following shires, East Lothian, Midlothian, West Lothian, Lanark, Stirling and Fife, and the other two captains seeming to have directed their officers to various parts of Fife, east Perthshire and the north east. There is no indication of many highlanders from the far north, though a few clansmen from Argyll and Perthshire seem possible. Relatively few recruits came from the south west and only a small number from Ireland. In sum, Hamilton's regiment consisted mainly of Lowlanders.

Sir John Meldrum's regiment was levied at the same time as Hamilton's, but its general composition is even more variegated. His own company

(94) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/14/192-203

is complex and lacking in pattern. It does not appear to be northern, western or south western, but like Colonel Hamilton's company portrays a considerable number of names which suggest other regions of Scotland in addition to five Irish names. It is not likely that this colonel did much recruiting personally (there are only two Meldrums in his list), and this would bring into greater prominence the role of Lieutenant Kinninmonth and Ensign Hay. Together their names suggest Fife. The most frequent names found in the company, Johnston (4), Hay and Smith (3 each) are rather nondescript. The claims of Fife however are backed by Kinninmonth (2), Melville (2), Neish, Lafreish, Balfour, Bains, and perhaps Beaton and Torrie. Others appear to owe their origins to the areas north and south of the Fife peninsula. Numerically the south east is the more impressive of these two areas, but the north east, especially Angus, provides the more distinctive names, e.g. Lyon, Auchterlony, Low, and Toddie. Though the name of Meldrum initially suggests this might have been an Aberdeenshire company, it seems certain that the main recruiting areas used lay further south, though still mainly eastern.⁽⁹⁵⁾

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Hamilton's company presents few problems regarding area. He himself was another member of the Hamilton family resident at Priestfield in Edinburgh,⁽⁹⁶⁾ and his lieutenant and ensign were called Lindsay and Pringle respectively. This information implies a south eastern company, and the most frequent names bear this out immediately, Thomson (7), Pringle and Wilson (5 each), and Hamilton (4). Out of the 179 names in this company only ten appear northern or north eastern, and barely another dozen belong to other regions beyond the south east. There is a huge array of Lanarkshire, Lothian and Border

(95) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/48-50

(96) G. Hamilton, House of Hamilton (Edinburgh 1933), 421

names of which the following is merely a representative selection, Turnbull (3), Kerr (2), Ormiston (2), Bell (2), Muirhead, Carstairs, Carmichael, Cockburn, Brotherstones, Porteous, Elliot, Redpath, Lauder, Home, Todrig, Sluman, Bruntfield, Gullane and Whippo. Clearly this company was raised mainly, if not entirely, in Lanarkshire and the south east. (97)

Study of Major William Ramsay's company directs attention to an entirely different quarter, to England. The names of the three company officers, Major Ramsay, Lieutenant Ramsay, and Ensign Maxwell, give no hint of what is revealed by the surnames of the rest of the men. The Christian names are quite different from those of a Scottish company which usually contains many Alexanders, Roberts, Williams, Davids, Andrews and Donalds. Here however the pattern is English, Richard (8), Edward (4), Henry and Simon (3 each), Ralph (2), as well as Rowland, Morgan, Jeffrey, Raes, Francis, Anthony, Nicholas and Lewis.

A few examples of the English surnames involved will suffice to confirm the southern origin, Delahay, Delaward, Frisby, Powell, Bucknell, Evans, Hazlewood, Osborne, Gosling, Tristram, Bellingham and Poindexter. It is worthy of comment that there are two instances of the Welsh patronymic 'Ap' (Ap Thomas and Ap Hugh) and a further two recruits whose names are strongly suggestive of Welsh origin, Morgan Williams and Rees Bowen. (98)

Captain William Meldrum, unlike Colonel Meldrum, appears to have levied most of his men in the north east. His lieutenant was a Drummond and his ensign another Meldrum. The most frequent names are Meldrum (8), Leslie, Brown and Reid (5 each). Despite a score of names suggesting southern and central Scotland, the north east is the predominant region. There

(97) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/37-38

(98) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/39-40

is a strong body of Angus surnames present, in addition to others like Falconer, Cullen and Innes common in counties near Aberdeenshire, but the assortment of Aberdeenshire names, even without the Meldrums and Leslie is most impressive, Forbes (3), Kelman, Ironside, Riach, Coull, Scroggie, Leask, Still, Blackhall, Fiddes, Faskan, Ord, Broddie and Puttie.⁽⁹⁹⁾

The next company of Meldrum's regiment, that of Uchtreid MacDowall leads to a complete switch of emphasis from the north east to the south west. His main county was Wigtownshire though he may have dispatched his officers into the surrounding counties. His lieutenant was another MacDowall, and his ensign was called Maxwell. The contrast between this company and the preceding one is shown by the frequent names in MacDowall's company, MacDowall (8), Agnew (5), Maxwell, Campbell and Pyle (4 each). Five recruits bore the Irish patronymic of 'O' or 'A', and twenty that of 'Mac'. Evidence of this type suggesting the west is supported by the almost complete absence of north eastern names. There is a substantial group of south eastern names, for which Ensign Maxwell might have been responsible. But the south western origin of the majority of MacDowell's troops is hardly in question. From shires round Wigtown could come Crawford (3), Houston (2), Edgar (2), Glencore (2), Muir (2), Paton (2), Cowan, Kyle, Lockhart, Burns, Cunningham, Carson, Grier and Kirkpatrick. Kintyre and south Argyll may have provided MacCairter, MacClachlan, MacNicol, MacSwyne and MacMillan. Wigtownshire itself is clearly indicated by the juxtaposition of the MacDowalls and Agnews with MacCulloch, MacConnell (2), Adair (2), MacKie, MacClellan and Hannay.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Some confirmation that the name pattern of MacDowall's

(99) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/41-47

(100) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/51-54

company really points to the shire of Wigtown is provided by the list of parishioners in the presbyteries of Wigtown and Stranraer in 1684.

G. M. Stewart tabulated the 9,413 names and discovered the most frequent were MacKie 252, Hannay 241, MacDowall 214, Stewart 182, MacCulloch 153, Gordon 132, Agnew 84 and Maxwell 66.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ All these names are included in Captain MacDowall's company roll, and his relatively high totals for MacDowall, Agnew and Maxwell correlate well with Stewart's statistics.

In the case of Captain Robert Stewart the most distinctive recruiting region appears to be Ireland. Some of the facts about his personal background are disputed, but he was certainly granted lands in Leitrim, Cavan and Fermanagh in 1617⁽¹⁰²⁾ and he was recruiting in Dublin in 1637.⁽¹⁰³⁾ His lieutenant and ensign were called Hamilton and Falconer respectively. Though there are many Scottish surnames in his company, no clear pattern emerges from them, and the unique feature is the Irish element. Christian names with a frequency of Patrick (8), Brian (5), Edmond (3), Richard (3), Owen (3), Denis (2), Philip (2), Farrell, Kari, Tobias, Nicholas, Oliver, Ochy, Cormack and Dorby leave no real doubt as to the country of origin of the individuals concerned. The most frequent surnames in the company are O'Kane (4), Wilson Falconer and Panton (3 each). The 'O' and 'A' patronymics are again evident (23 instances in all), in addition to the likely Irish names of Savage and Plunket. Whether this company was part Scottish and part Irish, or whether the Scottish names are those of people of Scottish descent resident in Ireland is not evident.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

It has not been possible to determine the exact identity of Captain John Forbes, though he may have been the same person as Captain John Forbes of Tulloch in Mackay's regiment 1626-9. His recruiting areas

(101) Galloway Records (ed. G. M. Stewart, Dumfries 1914), i, p. ix

(102) DNB, lii, 343

(103) CSP Ireland 1633-47, 165

(104) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/55-58

however is virtually certain and would appear to confirm the connection with Tulloch in Aberdeenshire. The names of his company officers are valuable in this respect, for both the lieutenant and ensign were called Forbes, and both the sergeants Strachan. The names in his company with the highest frequencies were Forbes (8), Davidson (6), Strachan, Leslie and Duncan (all 4) which strongly suggest the north east, especially Aberdeenshire and Kincardine. The vast majority of distinctive names supports this conclusion, Middleton, Fiddes, Stronach, Inchmethan, Still, Chalmers, Machrie, Troup, Falconer, Rannie, Lendrum, Mar, Tosh, Cheyne, Essilmont, Godsman, Rires, and Roggie.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Captain John Hamilton's company is a fairly typical Hamilton company in its surnames, displaying a substantial preponderance of southern names and an almost complete absence of northern and north eastern names. The captain's own home is not known, but he would appear to have been influential with Hamilton tenants, for the list of most frequent names indicates a commanding lead for his own surname, Hamilton (12), Johnstone (5), Murray, Robertson and Wilson (4 each). His lieutenant was called Laing and his ensign Ferguson. All parts of the south of Scotland are represented in the names, but south eastern names (particularly from the Border counties) seem a little less frequent than those of other southern areas. The most prominent areas seem to be West Lothian, Lanarkshire, Dumfriesshire and Ayrshire, with perhaps the centre of this activity being based in Lanarkshire. This would help to account for Lockhart (2), Douglas (2), Torrance (2), Linlithgow, Lawson, Blunt, Moffat, Carmichael, Nasmyth, Fleming, Gilkerson, Pinkerton, Cuninghame, Dunlop, Neilson, Herries, Boyd, Glencors and Maxwell. Ensign

(105) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/59-62

Ferguson may have been the main agent in Ayrshire while the captain and lieutenant concentrated on Lanarkshire.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Sir John Meldrum's regiment thus displays a varied pattern of areas. Two companies were almost certainly levied in the north east (Forbes and William Meldrum), one from the east coast possibly Fife (colonel), three from the south (lieutenant-colonel in Lothians and south east, Hamilton in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, and MacDowall in the extreme south west), in addition to the Irish troops of Captain Stewart and the Englishmen of Major Ramsay. As with Hamilton's unit there were few Highlanders from the north. Hence Meldrum's regiment must be classed as yet another primarily Lowland body of soldiers.

Throughout the period 1624-9 Scottish companies had been serving in Sweden. Spens had received a licence for a whole regiment in 1624. Spens' family connections stemmed from Wormiston, near the point of Fife Ness, north of Crail.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ On his regimental staff in 1624 were listed several officers with east of Scotland names, Major Beaton, Scribe Borthwick, Sergeant Major Wemyss, and Provost Beattie. The colonel's company probably owed much of its origin to Lieutenant Wemyss and Ensign Forbes, since the colonel, being busily engaged with his diplomatic commitments to Britain and Sweden, would tend to have delegated to others the main recruiting of his troops. The most frequent names to appear in this company roll are Brown, Robertson, Spens and Traill (all 4 each) and the latter two names would seem to signify Fife. Other names on the roll indicate the east coast. The north east is represented (rather Angus than Aberdeenshire), while the south east names are impressive in number. The strongest area among the distinctive names

(106) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/63-66

(107) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 94

is definitely Fife, Beanston (2), Christie, Fluker, Kinnear, Primrose, Pryde (2), Pitcairn, Tarvet, Tullis, Wemyss, and perhaps Butter, Cook and Bains, besides the Spens and Traill groups mentioned above.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

In the course of the following year additions to the company reveal the same name pattern, Wemyss (2), Neish, Monypenny, Buist, Traill and Beveridge for Fife among the others for Angus, Perthshire and the south east.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Captain James Lumsden's troops were also recruited in 1624, and appear at first to be similar in name pattern to those of Colonel Spens' company. Angus names are present, and quite a few from Fife, Couper, Crombie, Dishington, Tullis, and possibly Wood (3) and Erskine. But this time the south east is the most outstanding area, from which Lieutenant Douglas and Ensign Carmichael may have come. The most frequent names hardly suggest Fife, Johnstone (6), Robertson (5), Bennett, Home and Kerr (all 4). The main region for the recruitment of Lumsden's troops certainly appears to have been the south east bounded by Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire, e.g. Carmichael, Cranston, Armstrong, Crichton, Colinton, Bell, Douglas, Dewar, Hamilton (2), Lauder, Nisbet, Moffat (2), Ormiston (2), Newton, Pringle, Rutherford (2), Porteous, Trotter, Tweedie, Stobo and Richardson (3).⁽¹¹⁰⁾

The Swedish muster rolls for 1624 do not record any other full companies for Spens' regiment at this time, but listed under the same colonel in 1624 are two companies intended for Seaton's unit. The name patterns of these companies are strikingly in contrast. George Cunningham's men almost all bore southern names, especially from Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, as might have been expected when the lieutenant

(108) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1624/8/689-90

(109) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1625/3/96-105

(110) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1624/8/695-6

was called Weir and the sergeants Cathcart and Hamilton, e.g. Cleland, Cunningham, Carmichael, Cochrane, Baillie, Clyde, Crawford (2), Hamilton (3), Lyll (2), Kennedy (2), Mure, MacGie, Sandilands, Somerville, and Wallace (2).⁽¹¹¹⁾ On the other hand William Gordon's troops were almost certainly levied in the north east. There were eight Gordons and four Leslie's, in addition to the following north eastern surnames, Arbuthnot, Cuming, Burnett (3), Cheyne (2), Cruikshank, Bannerman, Chalmers, Blackhall, Craighead, Buchan, Carnegie, Duff, Forbes (2), Fiddes, Farquharson, Guthrie, Ironside, Kemp, Lendrum, Low, Ogilvy, Meldrum, Murison, Strachan and Spark.⁽¹¹²⁾

In the course of 1625 the rest of Spens's regiment arrived in Swedish service. Three of these new companies (those of Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay and Captains William Spens and Henry Muschamp) consisted mainly of English soldiers,⁽¹¹³⁾ but the other three were composed of Scots. The large body of troops noted for Captain George Douglas (211) displays a wide variety of names, but southern ones form the majority. No less than fifteen are Douglasses, to which may be added for the south at least Elliott (3), Duddingston, Glendinning, Herries, Hamilton (2), Gladstones, Home, Kerr (2), Jardine (2), Johnstone (3), Lauder, Pringle, Turnbull (4), Storie, Tweedie and Welsh (4).⁽¹¹⁴⁾ As George Douglas belonged to Mordington in the north east of Berwickshire these names are appropriate for his company.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ In Captain Scott's case the area appears to have been Fife and the south east. Once again the captain's own surname predominates, this time with eleven instances. The fact that the lieutenant was also called Scott and the ensign Wemyss suggests Fife, and some of the men's names support this, Christie (3), Corston (2), Cook (3), and Rankeillour, while east central names like Dun, Drummond (2), Gibson, Ireland, Kerse, Kinkaid and Stirling would

(111) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1624/8/691-2

(112) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1624/8/693-4

(113) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1625/3/92-5, 106-11, 136-40

(114) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1625/3/119-27

(115) Svensk Biografisk Lexikon, xi, 369

probably be found in the same peninsula. There is however a large enough block of south eastern names to leave the matter in some doubt, though the strength of this south eastern strain is much weaker than in other more definitely Lothian or Border companies. The exact area for the eleven Scotts (Fife or the south east are the main probabilities) is a vital factor, but their origin is not known, except for one soldier, John Scott, whom the scribe distinguished by noting that he came from Aberdeen!⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The names of the men in Captain Ogilvy's company fail to provide a clear pattern for the area of origin, but east central Scotland emerged finally as the strongest region. Angus was probably the base county for Ogilvy (4), Lyon, Low, Pourie, and perhaps Ramsay (2) and Wood, ringed by north eastern and Perthshire names, Buchan, Drummond, Monorgan, Rattray, Rollok, Strachan, while from Fife may have come Christie, Fyfe (2), Philp (2) and Spens (2).⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Spens' regiment therefore portrays a considerable degree of common recruiting ground in Fife and less variety than other regiments investigated so far. Two of the Scottish companies (colonel's and Captain Scott's) look as though they were closely connected with Fife, while two others (Ogilvy in Angus and Lumsden in the south east) may have overlapped into Fife at times. Only the company of Douglas and the three English ones seem to be dissociated from that county.

When Sir James Spens undertook in 1627 to levy another regiment (known later as Ramsay's regiment) the pattern of names which resulted was very similar to that of 1624-5. Four of the eleven companies raised in 1627-8 were English, but the rest appear to have been Scottish and mainly recruited from the eastern parts of the country. The company of

(116) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1625/3/128-35

(117) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1625/3/141-6

Lieutenant-Colonel Lawson (perhaps gathered by his lieutenant called Kinninmonth) and that of Captain Robert Leslie contain many Fife surnames.

In the former occur Christie, Fluker (2), Kinninmonth, Melville, Primrose, Pryde, and Spens (2), in addition to those from the neighbouring shires to the north and west, Bruce, Edward, Galbraith, Hering, Guthrie, Menzies and Low, and those from the south east, Cockburn, Crichton (3), Dalling, Hamilton, Lawson (2), Pringle, Penicuik and Porteous.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Robert Leslie's array of names is different, and yet also points to Fife, Christie (3), Balfour (3), Balsillie, Durie, Kinninmonth, Learmonth, Scotland, and perhaps Colville, Inch, Rollok and Wardlaw.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

The five Leslies could be north eastern, but in this company north eastern influence is relatively weak and therefore their origin is more likely to be Fife. This is confirmed by the fact that Pitcairn of Pitcairn in 1627 guaranteed that Captain Leslie would not transport the son of the laird of Balbirnie out of Scotland.⁽¹²⁰⁾ (Both placenames are in south Fife.)

The south east of Scotland provides most of the names for the companies of Captains William Douglas, Francis Cockburn, John Bothwell and James Bannatyne. Douglas' assortment of Bruntfield, Cranston (4), Cockburn, Borthwick, Cairncross, Brownlee, Douglas (3), Darling, Foulis, Heriott, Home, Johnstone (3), Kerr (2), Lauder, Rutherford (2), Richardson (2), Sydserf, Turnbull (5), and Tweedie is convincing.⁽¹²¹⁾ William Douglas was the son of Patrick Douglas of Standingstone in East Lothian.⁽¹²²⁾ The same kind of division is evident in John Bothwell's men, Bothwell (3), Cranston (2), Carmichael, Cockburn (2), Cavers, Borthwick, Elliott, Home (7), Hamilton (3), Hepburn, Kerr, Johnstone, Nisbet (2), Mowbray, Maxwell, Newton, Turnbull (4), Storie, Scougal, Scott (2), Swinton and Welsh.⁽¹²³⁾ John Bothwell appears to have belonged originally to

(118) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1628/7/201-5

(119) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1628/6/159-62

(120) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 20

(121) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1628/6/157-8

(122) Svensk Biografisk Lexikon, xi, 368

(123) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1628/6/166-72

Stewarton,⁽¹²⁴⁾ but the pattern of names for his company does not suggest that he recruited near the Ayrshire town or the Wigtownshire village bearing the name of Stewarton. The names are not exactly identical with Douglas' company, but the general area involved is virtually the same. The cases of Captains Cockburn and Bannatyne are similar to these, but the patterns are not so definite. Cockburn's lieutenant was called by the Midlothian name of Dalmahoy and his ensign by the Fife one of Beveridge. Numerically Cockburn's totals are less substantial for the south east than those of the two preceding companies but still considerable, Cranston, Bell, Ainslie, Forrest, Home, Logan, Kerr, Morton (2), Nasmyth, Maxwell (2), Redpath, Ruthven, Sydserf (2), Shiels, Somerville, Storie and Weir.⁽¹²⁵⁾ The figures for the Border names in particular are smaller, and thus it seems likely that this company of Cockburn's was more distinctly Lothian in composition. This is rendered some support by the fact that on 7 June 1627 Captain Cockburn sought the delivery of men who had enlisted from Haliburton, Grinlaw Dean, Edmiston, and Carkethill, while a fifth deserter was the son of an agent in Edinburgh.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Captain Bannatyne's name pattern is much more complex, since at least a quarter of his troops bore English surnames. The Scottish names are very varied, but the strongest areas would seem to be the Lothians with Borthwick (2), Foster (2), Gullane, and Lawson; Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire with Baillie, Glendinning, Moffat and Somerville (2); the Borders with Horsburgh, Kerr (2), Lauder, and Tinto; Stirlingshire with Buchanan (2), and Kinkaid (5); and Fife with Gibson, Kilgour, Spens and Tarvet.⁽¹²⁷⁾ The Lothians would provide the most likely centre for these different areas. The fact that Patrick Bryson of Bannatyne's company was

(124) Scots Peerage, iv, 431

(125) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1628/6/163-5

(126) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 379-80

(127) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1628/6/153-6

accosted by Ensign Haitlie in Edinburgh shows at least that Bannatyne's men were gathering in the capital and perhaps that Bryson had been originally enlisted there.⁽¹²⁸⁾

The only Scottish company of this Spens/Ramsay regiment of 1627/8 to differ radically from this eastern and south eastern pattern was that of Alexander Hannay. He is known to have been actively recruiting in the extreme south west, and his brother was endeavouring to send men over from Ireland for his company. The names on his muster roll prove that the company was Irish in part, but that Scots were in the majority. The exact size of the Irish contingent cannot be determined from the names alone, but at least fourteen, (i.e. about 12% of the company total) appear Irish, Beaumont, A'Reilly, Bethell, Best, Butler, Burke, A'Connor, A'Daly, Farrell, Geary, Gilfoyle, MacMachan, Sainsbury, and perhaps Power. Quite possibly others are hidden in the names, because the surnames of Northern Ireland and Galloway are at times similar. Among the Scottish soldiers it is interesting to see the Christian names of Ninian (3) and Mungo appearing, both of which are very rare in other companies. Many of Hannay's Scots possessed southern surnames. In the counties round Wigtownshire would be expected Boyd (3), Bell, Herries, Ferguson (2), Houston, Kennedy, Orr, Montgomery and Wallace; whereas Wigtownshire itself appears most appropriate for Agnew, Hannay (12), Kirkpatrick, MacDowall (2), MacKie, MacIlhench and MacMurray (2). This company thus compares with Captain MacDowall's in Meldrum's regiment as an example of a Galloway company.⁽¹²⁹⁾

Study of the surnames in Mackay's regiment in one sense appears less valuable than for the regiments noted above. None of his companies came directly from Scotland in 1629, and therefore no definite pattern of areas in Scotland can be expected. On the other hand several of his

(128) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 319

(129) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1628/7/208-11

companies are recorded in the muster rolls with details of nationality and birthplace.⁽¹³⁰⁾

The muster roll of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Monro's company in the spring of 1630 showed forty seven Scots, five Englishmen, seven Germans, and six Danes. The most common names among the Scots were Monro (11), Ross (5), and Sutherland (3). The German language and script and the phonetic spelling present obstacles to discovery of the Scottish areas involved, but Easter Ross was important, as might have been expected since it was Robert Monro's own native area. There was a Monro from each of the following, Contullich, Kincaig, Foulis, Catvall, and Arlogie. In addition there were two Rosses from Gannis and another from Carron, a MacDonald from Kincaig, and a Smith from Beaully. Other areas too had contributed recruits, because Forret came from Letterfourie in Banffshire, Simpson from Strathbogie, one Learmonth from Buchan and another from Aberdeen, Moncur from Angus, MacKenna from Perth, Anderson from St. Andrews, and Robertson from Blackness Castle in West Lothian. Three of the Englishmen hailed from London.⁽¹³¹⁾

In the company of Robert Monro of Foulis approximately half of the men were Germans and Scandinavians while the other half were Scottish. The distribution in areas appears to have been similar to that of the lieutenant-colonel noted above. The most frequent names were Monro (4) and Heatly (4). The north of Scotland was important, with one Monro from Foulis and another from Ross, Manson and Hassach from Cromarty, Rindell from Shetland, and Mackintosh from Badenoch in Invernessshire. To the north east belonged Duncan of Buchan, Robb of Deer, and Forbes of Mar, while central Scotland could claim Murray of Strathearn, Keard

(130) In John Learmonth's company even the father's name was recorded.

(131) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/26/262-3

of Kettle in Fife, and Mitchell of St. Andrews, and the south east Baxter from Chirnside and Heatly from the Marse.⁽¹³²⁾

Major John Monro of Assynt's company is not recorded with useful annotations like those in the companies noted above, but the names of his men in July 1630 indicate that about two-thirds of his troops, i.e. approximately seventy men, were Scots. Northern names are again prominent, Ross (5), Monro (3), Forbes (3), Anderson (2), MacGillichrist, MacDonald, Mackenzie, Macgregor, MacBain, MacKandie, Gunn, Chisholm, and Manson, whereas only Cochrane, Preston, and Bell suggest the south of Scotland.⁽¹³³⁾

Three further companies joined Mackay's unit in the autumn of 1629, those of Major Sinnot and Captains John Learmonth and Daniel Bullion. Sinnot's men appear to have been mainly Germans, only thirteen of the sixty seven soldiers bearing British surnames. Eight of the latter were Irish, e.g. Brian Nugent, Maurice Murphy, John Kelly, Dorby MacGilbey, Murphy MacCarry, and two Sinnots. Only three were Scots, Gibson Cranston, and Scott. The scribe also listed two soldiers from England, seven from Norway, two from Denmark, and five from Holland.⁽¹³⁴⁾

Captain Learmonth's company contained a majority of British recruits, four being Irish (three from Dublin), four English (three from York and one from Carlisle), and at least thirty five from Scotland. From Aberdeen had enlisted Young, Anderson, Cheyne, Garioch (2), Dollas, Forsyth and Gibson, while from Strathbogie had come Strachan, and from Brux in Aberdeenshire Forbes. Robert Angus belonged to Drumlithie in Kincardineshire, Andrew Aitchison to Arbroath, and William Miller to Dundee. Central Scotland also contributed some of Learmonth's troops, Clark, Alexander,

(132) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/26/266-7

(133) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/28/166-7

(134) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/26/264-5

and Anderson, all from Perth, Kirkwood from Stirling, Corbit from Clackmannan, and Byres from Edinburgh, while from Fife had come Learmonth of Dairsie, Sands of Culross, and Stewart of Falkland. A few had their origins in more distant parts of Scotland, MacRae from Dingwall, MacEwen and MacGillicallum both from Glenmoriston in Invernesshire, Dorach from Kintyre, Boswell from Auchinleck in Ayrshire, and Carlyle from Mouswald in Dumfriesshire. (135)

Captain Bullion's troops were almost all Germans, but study of the home-towns noted for them illustrates the wide geographical background connected with one particular mercenary company. Three men came from Sweden (Gottland, 'Swedish Halle', and Ronneby), and four from Norway (three from Bergen and one from Nep). Denmark had provided twenty two located as follows, Schleswig two (one from Ekernförde), Holstein three (one from Lübeck), Jutland fourteen (including Aarhus two, Viborg, Kolding, Nyköping, Aalborg, Skive, Saeby, and Mariagger), and Zealand three (two from Roskilde and one from Copenhagen). From western Europe were named ten Frenchmen and two Scots (Robert Gibson and Peter Purdie), but no placenames were added for any of them. From east and south east Europe came only four, viz. two from East Prussia (Danzig and Braunsberg) and one each from Silesia (Breslau) and Bohemia (Prague). Nor did many stem from southern Germany, only one from the Palatinate (Worms) and two from the northern border of Bavaria (Öttingen and Nuremberg). The names become more numerous further north in Germany. To the west and north west two belonged to Hessen (Fulda and Ebersburg), two to Westphalia (both from Kalenberg) and eight from Brunswick/Lower Saxony (Hamburg two, Bremen, Buxtehude, Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel, Königslutter, and Helmstedt). The German Baltic coast and immediate

hinterland contributed Mecklenburg eight, (Stralsund three, Rostock two, Güstrow two, and Barth) and Western Pomerania one (Wolgast). The final block of names is focused in the north central area of Germany based on the territories of George William of Brandenburg and John George of Saxony, both sympathisers in word, if not yet (1629) in deed, with the anti-Imperialist powers. From the Harz region there were merely two soldiers (Goslar and Nordhausen), but Brandenburg and its borders were responsible for eight (Trebbin two, Strasburg two, Salzwedel, Fehrbellin, Calbe, and Berlin), and Saxony for another eight (Halle, Leipzig, Dresden, Grimma, Reichenbach, Waltersdorf, Leisnig, and Wittenberg).⁽¹³⁶⁾ These are the definite origins of eighty^{seven}~~six~~ of the 128 men in the company, and they give some indication of the pattern of areas in Scandinavia and northern Germany in which the Protestant armies were recruited. It is not difficult to see why Gustavus could be fairly confident of considerable support in northern Germany.

The second squadron of Mackay's regiment comprised a further six companies which were based in Sweden in the first half of 1630. Colonel Mackay's own company consisted almost entirely of Scots whose names display strong evidence of the northern Highlands. The most frequent surnames were Mackay (11), Gunn (8), Monro (6), Ross (5), and MacLeod (5). When to these are added Sutherland (3), Dow (3), MacQuillan (2), MacConochy (2), MacCulloch (2), MacGillanders (2), Roy (2), MacPhail (2), MacNeil, MacDonald, MacEwen, MacConnell, MacMillan, MacAllister, MacMurchie, MacIntyre, Mackintosh, MacTaggart, and MacKeagan, there is no doubt of the Highland origin of much of the company, and the names suggest that Sutherland and Ross and Cromarty in particular contributed many of Mackay's soldiers.⁽¹³⁷⁾

(136) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/26/274-9

(137) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/38/1-4

The muster roll for Lieutenant-Colonel John Lindsay's company reveals another mainly Scottish company, but they were drawn from different areas from those used for Colonel Mackay's soldiers. The most frequent names are Lindsay (5), Pringle (4), Home (4), Bruntfield (2), Monorgan (2), and Nisbet (2). These taken in conjunction with Auchterlony, Cockburn, Kerr, Carnegie, Hamilton, Learmonth, and Wood point to a largely eastern company based on Angus, Fife, and the south east. (138)

No conclusion can be reached about the exact area of origin for Captain John Sinclair and his men. The majority seem to have been Scottish. Many were Highland, e.g. Monro (3), Sutherland (3), Manson, Mackenzie, MacPhail, MacMillan, Cattach, MacBean, MacEwan, MacDougall, MacDonald, and Mathieson. On the other hand there were also southern names like Johnstone (4), Maxwell (2), Glendinning, Logan, Lithgow, and Cunningham. (139)

Nor is there a definite pattern for John Moncreiff's recruits, most of whom were Scots. A distinctive feature is the lieutenant's name, Gideon Keith, which when linked with soldiers called Gordon, Jaffray, and Essilmont may indicate Aberdeenshire origin. Captain Moncreiff himself may have been connected with south Perthshire and thus have been responsible for the enlistment of soldiers named Graham and MacNugitor. (140)

The two most striking aspects of Captain John Innes' muster roll are the numbers of west Highland and Irish names recorded. There are four Monros, two Duffs, and twenty two with the patronymic 'Mac', but no Campbells. Names like MacLeod, MacPherson, and MacTaggart emphasise the strain of Highland names. On the other hand there is no shortage of Irish names, viz. Docherty, MacMahon and nine with the patronymic 'O', e.g.

(138) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/38/5-7

(139) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/38/13-15

(140) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/38/19-20

O'Hagan (3), O'Donnelly, and O'Brogan.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ By comparison Captain John Beaton's soldiers almost all bore German names, with the exceptions of Beaton (2), Barrie, MacLeod, Murray, Buchanan, and Inglis.⁽¹⁴²⁾

It may be recorded in passing that one other predominantly Scottish company in an entirely different regiment was also annotated in detail to show the home-areas of the soldiers. This was the company of Major Francis Sinclair in Seaton's regiment in May 1630. Sinclair himself came from Wick and for this reason Caithness influence was very powerful in his company. At least sixty five of the ninety places which can be identified in the German language and script came from Caithness, including Watten (14), Wick (12), Thurso (9), Noss (2), and one each for Lybster and Mey. Sutherland could claim four, including one from Dornoch, and Ross a further three. From the north east of Scotland had come two men from Aberdeen, five from Buchan, and one from Peterhead. Somewhat unexpectedly the lieutenant of this company was listed as a Maxwell from Dumfries. Six Irishmen were recorded as coming from Munster in Ireland, and four Prussians from Königsberg.⁽¹⁴³⁾

The overwhelming impression left by this survey of areas is that no part of Scotland escaped the recruiting net. Evidence of enlistment from the northern Highlands has emerged convincingly from the surnames. The north east and east coast certainly appear to have contributed hundreds of men for the military ranks of the mercenary units, and the southern counties were well represented in the regiments of Hamilton and Meldrum. The areas which appear to have yielded least soldiers were Argyll and counties of the south west, like Renfrewshire and Ayrshire. Indeed not one company can be credited with any certainty to the latter two shires, and though there were some individual Campbells in the Scottish regiments in foreign pay there is no proof of service in these units by any other Argyllshire

(141) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/38/21-22

(142) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/38/16-18

(143) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/26/306-8

company than that of Captain William Campbell of Spynie's regiment.

It might have been expected that Clan Diarmid, ever quick to defend the Protestant cause in Scotland, would have responded more enthusiastically to the calls for troops to champion the Protestant cause on the Continent between 1626 and 1632.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Once soldiers had enlisted, the recruiting officer was faced with the responsibility of 'keeping' his new charges in both the material and physical senses of the word. He concerned himself with their clothing, food and drink, and billeting, while he endeavoured to move them towards the agreed embarkation port for transport across the North Sea. When the men were volunteers there was little fear of desertion, but when the soldiers had been pressed into service against their wills guards had to be posted day and night to prevent desertion. Even when the port was reached problems still arose due to lack of shipping. It is thus apparent that a recruiter's difficulties were by no means over when he succeeded in enlisting men for his company.

On some occasions, though it is not clear whether this was an invariable obligation, he was expected to provide clothing. The twelve Edinburgh volunteers who in September 1627 opted to join the earl of Morton's regiment were fitted out by the burgh with 'ane sute of apperell',⁽¹⁾ because the city councillors considered it necessary to offer inducements to prospective recruits. This particular levy^{was} for a regiment in British pay to be sent against France, and it was believed that the prestige of the burgh would suffer if no recruits were produced. In 1635 the same burgh paid £300 to Major Moffat 'for cloathing of certain sojournes' bound for Swedish service with him,⁽²⁾ but there is no obvious explanation of the councillors' motive for financing the clothing on this occasion. When Sir George Hay was trying to raise men in March 1629

(1) Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41
(ed. M. Wood, Edinburgh 1936), 35

(2) Extracts from Records of Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41, 166

he reckoned it a serious disadvantage that he could not assure clothing to his new levies.⁽³⁾

Lord Ogilvy made frequent references to clothing in his letters to Robert Maxwell in the summer of 1627. He requested the forwarding to Burntisland of 'fortie or fiftie sute of apperrell, or mor, if they be reddie, for they ar verie pretie men, bot iwill apparrelled.' The next day he repeated his plea for clothing, contending that 'they will not imbark with good will except they get thair clothes.' A week later Ogilvy stressed the value for recruiting purposes of having men smartly dressed, 'it does mutch good, and incurages many, quhen they sie the soldierie weill vused, and speciall quhen they sie them passe throch the cuntrey weill apperrelled.' Ten further suits were mentioned on 15 August as being 'restand be William Dikis wyff', but other articles were in short supply, 'showes ar scant in Germanie ... it war not amise to give them some ... they want hattis, and some of them wantis shirttis, quhilk could not be had heir vpon suddentie.' His complaint about several deserters in September indicated that one had been issued with a red suit, and that another had been accepted as a page for Captain Ogilvy and equipped with a suit 'in the Capiteine's awin lifrey.'⁽⁴⁾

'Entertainment' in the form of food, drink and shelter was provided by the recruiter in the places (towns, villages, or large country houses) which he used as staging-posts for men moving towards the appointed rendezvous port. Colonel Sinclair described the entertainment he had provided 'in the touns and raids' as consisting of 'drinking beir, butter, cheise and bread.'⁽⁵⁾ Entire companies numbering between 100 and 200 men were not to be found marching to the coasts. Companies took shape

(3) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 120

(4) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 81-82, 92, 96

(5) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 608

gradually as various smaller groups of men arrived, perhaps a dozen in one group, a score in another. Captain Ogilvy's men assembled in this fashion along the south coast of Fife at Burntisland and Kirkcaldy in the summer and early autumn of 1627, twenty seven men at first, then another twenty two. Lieutenant Ogilvy added sixty seven and Thomas Menzies fifteen. Some had been entertained at Aberdeen, and others held at Bolshan and Kinnell in Angus before being marched down to the Fife coast. While it might be preferable to assemble a company in its final complete form while still in Scotland, in practice this seldom happened because shipping had to be utilised when available. Lord Ogilvy showed his appreciation of the problems caused by embarking men of different companies in the same ship as soon as they arrived at the rendezvous port. (Apparently soldiers of Thornton, Ogilvy and Hamilton were all aboard the same ship in the summer of 1627.) Ogilvy recommended that Nithsdale make sure all Captain Ogilvy's men were assembled immediately on disembarkation, but he believed that the real solution lay in the Scottish port, 'I wold wish that so many off his men sould be put togither in ane ship as possibill can be; for I think it not good that they should go away so scatteringlie in sundrie shipes.'⁽⁶⁾

The problem of billeting must have become more acute near the embarkation ports as men converged from different areas upon the rendezvous point in Scotland. Council instructions issued to local authorities in Scotland seldom mentioned billeting for mercenary units, though arrangements in England were made in detail for some home regiments in the south of England intended for action at La Rochelle and the Ile de Rhé. Orders were forwarded to the Master of St. Katherine's, the

(6) Fraser, Carlaverock, 86, 88, 92-93, 96

Lieutenant of the Tower, and the mayors of Harwich and Hull to organise billeting and lodging for these troops in places convenient for the port of embarkation.⁽⁷⁾ It must be assumed that in Scotland the clause in a recruiting colonel's warrant from Charles I which called upon local authorities to give all necessary assistance inferred billeting as one of the main fields in which help would be required.

Three specific instances of billeting difficulties in Scotland have come to light due to the agitation caused by the burghs concerned. In April 1627 the poor people in Edinburgh, the Canongate and Leith, upon whom some of Colonel Mackay's companies had been billeted during the previous year, had still not been reimbursed despite frequent appeals on their behalf by the colonel. There is no evidence in the Privy Council Register to indicate whether the shortcoming was due to negligence by the burgh or by the Privy Council. In this case at least it appears that the onus for payment of the billeting finally fell on the central government's finances rather than upon the colonel raising the men, for the Privy Council voted the petitioners £2,000 Scots.⁽⁸⁾ The second burgh to register discontent was Musselburgh. Captain John Maxwell, raising troops for the marquis of Hamilton, requested a warrant granting him permission to quarter fifty soldiers in the town.⁽⁹⁾ Such a warrant lay outwith the normal recruiting pattern and appears to have been occasioned by the reluctance of the burgh officials to co-operate with the captain. It is not unlikely that past experience of such billeting of troops awaiting shipping had hardened the resolve of the local officials against any repetition. In a third instance the inhabitants of Burntisland complained of being 'oft tymes threatened and persevit of their lyffes', and consequently a Privy Council warrant was issued on 20 September 1627

(7) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 147

(8) RPC 2nd Series, i, 583

(9) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 248

to the magistrates of the Fife town to take effective measures to prevent further disorders being caused by the troops awaiting transport there.⁽¹⁰⁾

The second problem confronting the recruiter was that of taking precautions against the escape of any of his enlisted men. Obviously no difficulties existed in this respect with volunteers, but pressed men were an entirely different proposition. No instances have been discovered of martial law being invoked against their men by recruiting officers in Scotland, but harsh sanctions were in force in England. In a Council letter to the lord lieutenant of Middlesex in 1627 he was directed to proceed against four deserters according to martial law and 'to bring them to the gallows, to cast dice for their lives, and thereupon one of them to suffer, and the rest to be freed.'⁽¹¹⁾ Whether such a procedure was typical is not certain because the English recruiting in 1627 for the king of Denmark was regarded by Charles I as a personal levy for Christian IV. In a sense these troops were considered fully enlisted even while still in Britain, whereas it may well have been more likely that the full rigours of discipline under martial law normally applied to mercenary regiments only after the formal reading of the Articles of War at the first muster on foreign soil. This was certainly the impression given by Monro when Mackay's unit landed in Germany.⁽¹²⁾ Yet in 1637 when the magistrates of Aberdeen informed Queen Christina and the Senate of Lübeck of the shipwreck of Major Kerr's troops, they stated that in danger of death the men 'thought themselves released from their oath',⁽¹³⁾ which suggests that some form of oath, binding under disciplinary penalty, had been administered when enlistment had taken place.

(10) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 79

(11) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 257

(12) Monro, Expedition, i, 4

(13) Propinquity Books of Aberdeen, quoted by Fischer, Scots in Germany, 90

In Scotland strict surveillance was exercised by the Ogilvy cousins to prevent desertion. James Lord Ogilvy stressed the difficulties to the earl of Nithsdale, 'how feschuous and hazardous it is to keip ane number of men ane long tyme togither, for they must haue good attendance in the day tyme, and lykwys they must haue ane strong watch of fresh men in the night; for my hous of Bollaschone, quhair they ar now keiped, is not ane tour having the commoditions of ane gatt, bot it is bulded round about, quhilk is not so commodious for strenth for keeping theis men. So that ane ship is the surest way to keip them weill.'⁽¹⁴⁾ Captain Ogilvy had clearly been faced with similar difficulties, for he wrote from Aberdeen, 'I have bot feu keiperis avating on thame, thairfor I will earnestlie requeist your Lordship to caus schip thame in all heast leist thay run away.' In his next letter, a few weeks later he had been experiencing further trouble from his next group of recruits, 'thay ... ar werie strong, and hes bred me werie gryt fascherie in keeping thame.'⁽¹⁵⁾ The general inadequacy of such security measures is indicated by the numerous deserters from all Scottish regiments before the men had embarked at the rendezvous ports.

Those soldiers who did not desert often proved a scourge to the areas in which they were billeted. Though many Scottish burghs must have been confronted with such disorders consequent upon the presence of mercenary troops awaiting further orders, only in the case of the burgh of Aberdeen has a record of precautionary action by a local authority been preserved. Disturbed by the 'many dissordouris, tumultes and commotiounes' caused by the levies bound for German service with

(14) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 84

(15) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 102-3

Colonel Mackay, the town magistrates appointed 'the hail inhabitants of this burght fensibill persones, to wear their swordis about thame at all occasiounes whan they walk on the streattes so lon as the saides souldiours remaines within the tounne.' Even merchants and craftsmen should be adequately prepared to deal with 'such insolencies' by keeping nearby in their booths 'long wapins.' To ensure observance of these laws a fine of five merks was to be exacted for every contravention.⁽¹⁶⁾

On board ship even greater vigilance was necessary as recruits made their last efforts to escape before leaving Scotland. Some of Nithsdale's troops had rebelled after embarkation, but nothing is known of the details of the incident beyond Ogilvy's statement, '... the last ship quhairin your soldieris maid the mutinie,'⁽¹⁷⁾ and the case of Andrew Adamson noted earlier. The Scottish Privy Council was however so well aware of the disorderly elements in these mercenary regiments that it took the unusual step in 1627 of establishing procedures to be followed by individual Councillors and local law officers if trouble should break out during the Council's summer recess.⁽¹⁸⁾

Nor was the Privy Council of England uninformed about the disorderly conduct of recruits south of the Scottish border in 1627. In April a letter to the lord lieutenant of Essex ordered him to raise as many of 'the trained forces of that county' as necessary to put down the 'greate disorders growne amongst the souldiers at Harwich', and to 'keep in safe custodie the principall causers thereof.' The situation was little more satisfactory concerning troops from Norfolk nearly three weeks later, 'Not any of the said souldiers as yet are arrived at the place of theire ymbarqueing, but through the mutinie of some of them have soe disposed

(16) Extracts from the Council Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1625-42
(Edinburgh 1871), 8

(17) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 84

(18) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 27-28

themselves that it is not easie to recollect the number.'⁽¹⁹⁾ The same type of problem was still bedevilling the English authorities in May 1629. Both on board ship and on land near St. Katherine's, Wapping and Ratcliff, outbreaks of trouble occurred. The Constables were encouraged to deal firmly with the 'mutinous and disorderly persons' among the recruits who were responsible for 'ill carriage, misdemeanour, quarrels and mutinies.'⁽²⁰⁾ When the Scottish regiment which had been on active service in the French campaign in 1628 landed in England, it was required, after long delays and discussions about shipping, to return to Scotland by land. The Council decided to offer a lump sum payment of £1,200 to the colonel, in addition to the normal eightpence per man per day conduct money, in return for a promise from Sir John Meldrum on behalf of all the commanders that there would be 'no occasion of complaint ... any outrage or misdemeanour in their passage.'⁽²¹⁾

In these circumstances it was in the interests of the military officers and the local government officials to embark mercenary troops from the rendezvous ports as soon as possible. The former would avoid further losses from desertion, while the latter would be rid of the constant danger of disorders caused by the soldiers. Shipping however did not always prove easy to procure. Hamilton of Innerwick blamed the late arrival of his soldiers upon shipping problems, 'difficulty of the transport between this kingdom and Ireland has been a very great impediment.'⁽²²⁾ The dispute between Colonel Sinclair and Captain Innes in December 1627 really revolved around shipping. Sinclair should have sent a ship to collect Innes' men at Aberdeen at the beginning of October, but it did not leave Leith till 12 November. By this time

(19) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 209, 250

(20) APC May 1629-May 1630, 33

(21) APC July 1628-Apr. 1629, 254

(22) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 335

'after long and wearisome attendance at the hous of Crombie and uther plaices thair about expecting the comming of the shippe to Aberdein, and being out of hope of her comming, thay wer forced to disband', and it would be difficult to reassemble them.⁽²³⁾

In England there appears to have existed a more highly organised system of authority and control over shipping, at least in the Thames, but it is also clear that 'ad hoc' arrangements were made to suit the embarkation port. In March 1627 the Privy Council ordered the Marshal of the Admiralty, all water bailiffs and other royal officers to provide shipping for Sir Archibald Douglas' troops at St. Katherine's near the Tower of London. In August 1627 Captain Ludovick Leslie required transport for his 160 men for Danish service, and this time the Council laid the responsibility on the Commissioners of the Navy.⁽²⁴⁾ The Master of Trinity House was the recipient of the Privy Council instructions in May 1629 regarding shipping for recruits for Sir James Spens' English regiment, at that time totalling 800 men in five companies, though 2,000 was the number the Master was told to expect eventually.⁽²⁵⁾ Other authorities on the east coast were naturally at times involved in the provision of shipping for troops across the North Sea to Scandinavia or northern Germany. In February 1627 the mayor of Hull was called upon to have in readiness ships for 1,350 men bound for Danish service. In June of the same year the mayor and his aldermen were again required to provide vessels, this time four or five ships to transport 1,400 men to Denmark. At the same time a similar letter was sent to Newcastle where one ship was to take aboard 250 men and then to 'fall downe to Flamborowe Head' and await the other ships which were to come from Hull.⁽²⁶⁾

(23) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 147-8

(24) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 149, 514

(25) APC May 1629-May 1630, 16-18

(26) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 104, 357, 389

The procedure was similar in Ireland. In May 1628 the king wrote to the Lord Deputy there ordering him to instruct the officers of the Irish ports to allow Captain Stewart and 200 men intended for Denmark to pass freely out of Ireland.⁽²⁷⁾ Yet there are few official records of shipping orders despite the fact that there must have been an extensive business carried on transporting so many thousands of men across the North Sea. The probable explanation is that recruiting colonels normally made their own private arrangements concerning shipping, and only when they experienced extreme difficulty did they seek the assistance of the Privy Council. There was too the fact that the levying for Denmark in 1627 and 1628 was given, in this respect^{of}/shipping, as in others, a degree of preferential treatment which would account for the Council letters.

The situation in Scotland illustrates the personal contracts made between colonel and ship captain, but there is less evidence of official control over shipping in Scottish ports. Few Council letters in Scotland refer to any shipping authority, but when the inspection of a ship was required to determine its sea-worthiness the Privy Council Lords on 6 November 1627 gave the task to the king's admiral who was personally present at their meeting. He was to appoint two skilled men 'to goe upoun Fryday nixt to Bruntilland and to visite the ship whair of Johne Angus is maister and whairin some of the Erle of Nithisdail his regiment are to be transportit, and to try if the shippe be tight and^{meete}/to transport the said Erle his sojourns.'⁽²⁸⁾ Normally Council instructions in Scotland regarding shipping were simply general orders to all local authorities. Whereas in England use was made of the services of Captain James Duppa on several occasions, in Scotland

(27) CSP Ireland 1625-32, 345

(28) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 109

no captain is mentioned twice in the Council records in connection with the transportation of recruits. The captain of the ship for Nithsdale's troops in November 1627 at Burntisland was John Angus. On 22 April 1620 Alexander Downie, a Leith skipper, was directed to prepare for the shipping of Scottish troops to Hamburg.⁽²⁹⁾ In August 1626 Captain Wallace was ready to carry some of Mackay's troops abroad.⁽³⁰⁾ Meanwhile Mackay had been drawing up a charter between himself and Captain William Robertson for the use of the vessel, 'Archangell' of Leith.⁽³¹⁾ When captains were required to transport men for the Master of Forbes' regiment in November 1631 the Lords of the Council selected John Henry (later written as James Henderson) of Prestonpans and Frederick Cock of Pittenweem for the purpose.⁽³²⁾

It appears that captains and crews were less than co-operative with the recruiters on occasion. On 28 April 1620 the Council had to issue instructions to the effect that ships were to be arrested in the Forth in order that Sir Andrew Gray's forces might be conveyed to Hamburg.⁽³³⁾ When Mackay's regiment was nearing completion, the Council on 9 August 1626 directed that all ships be arrested and detained till enough had been gathered to enable his troops to cross to Germany for Danish service. Yet by 22 August the number must still have been inadequate, because some Dutch ships had also been hired for his use.⁽³⁴⁾ Warships were directed to help with the transportation of further levies from Scotland in March 1627⁽³⁵⁾ and from England in June.⁽³⁶⁾ But certain of these captains and crews were truculent and refused to work unless their wage

-
- (29) RPC 1st Series, xii, 255
 (30) RPC 2nd Series, i, 389
 (31) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/154
 (32) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 349-50
 (33) RPC 1st Series, xii, 257
 (34) RPC 2nd Series, i, 381-2, 389
 (35) RPC 2nd Series, i, 556
 (36) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 357

arrears were paid and their ships properly victualled. Sir James Baillie had to step in to tide the situation over for a period of two months.⁽³⁷⁾ In 1629 a similar problem recurred. George, earl of Crawford, had to petition the Council for a direct order regarding the shipping of 300 men for Sweden because skippers of ships had been obstructive.⁽³⁸⁾ It is likely that pressing of ships for temporary service was fairly common. Sir George Hamilton informed Nithsdale from Ireland that he had 'obtain'd warrant for pressing boates from my Lord Deputy.'⁽³⁹⁾ Pressing of ships was a frequent practice of Christian IV and Gustavus Adolphus in the Baltic. Alternatively, use was made of foreign ships, Dutch ships were mentioned above, and the Master of Forbes stated that the 1,800 men sent to Stralsund arrived mainly in foreign vessels.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The case of skipper John Briggs illustrates that ship captains could be seriously affected by the impressment of their ship not only in the interruption of their normal trading activities but also in the complete loss of vessels. His ship, the 'St. Peter' of Gothenburg, was arrested at Waterford, and troops were embarked for the Ile de Rhé expedition, but the French seized the ship at La Flotte and burned it.⁽⁴¹⁾

The ports of departure and arrival indicate the voyages involved in shipping recruits to the Continent. From London in 1627 men departed for Denmark under Sir Archibald Douglas,⁽⁴²⁾ and from the same port in 1632 for Sweden under Colonel Aston's command. Aston's levies were originally intended to arrive at Greifswald in Pomerania, but some of them were eventually landed on the German coast at the mouth of the

(37) RPC 2nd Series, i, 583

(38) RPC 2nd Series, iii, 313

(39) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 98

(40) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 360-1

(41) CSP Domestic 1627-8, 528

(42) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 213

Weser.⁽⁴³⁾ The troops from Hull and Newcastle in June 1627 were intended for Denmark, but those from Kingston upon Hull were more precisely detailed for Stade in Germany.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The marquis of Hamilton's fleet sailed out of Yarmouth and docked at Elsinore in Denmark before moving on to the Oder mouth and disembarking the troops there between Wollin and Usedom.⁽⁴⁵⁾ On the other hand Dover was the embarkation port for Alexander Hamilton's 250 soldiers who were to reinforce Count Mansfeld in 1624,⁽⁴⁶⁾ and the Southampton area was the centre of activity for the La Rochelle expedition.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Obviously the port selected for departure tended to be the one nearest the area proposed for disembarkation of the troops.

In Scotland embarkation of mercenaries was conducted in general from three main areas. Leith was mentioned in the original agreement between Mackay and David Learmonth in March 1626 as one of the two ports where ships and victuals would be provided in readiness for the recruits.⁽⁴⁸⁾ It was also the port agreed as the rendezvous between the Master of Forbes and Sir Arthur Forbes for the Irish levies of the latter.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In 1637 Captains Skene, Kerr, Finlayson and Lumsden raised companies and set out from Leith en route to Wolgast.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The Ogilvy company for Nithsdale's regiment set sail from the Firth of Forth. Arrangements were being made on 21 June 1627 for men to embark on the 'reddiest ship that lyes in the raid of Bruntiland.' Ogilvy's officers were still receiving men 'in ship boord in Bruntiland and Leith' in July and August, and in order to catch a ship lying ready at Leith Captain Ogilvy, 'heiring ... that thay quha cumis first will be first served ... maid all the expeditions' he could, and sent twenty nine soldiers from Aberdeen to

(43) PRO, State Papers Sweden, SP 95/3/224

(44) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 389, 403

(45) J. Berg and B. Lagercrantz, Scots in Sweden (Stockholm 1962), 34-36

(46) Fraser, Haddington, ii, 91

(47) APC Sep. 1627-June 1628, 130, 443-4

(48) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/149

(49) SRO, Lord Forbes Collection, GD 82/93

(50) Fischer, Scots in Germany, 90-91

Leith by sea.⁽⁵¹⁾ When Lieutenant Dickson embarked with the vanguard of Nithsdale's men however he sailed from Kirkcaldy.⁽⁵²⁾

The second port of importance was Aberdeen, apparently frequently used as a final haven for vessels coming from the north of Scotland or even from Leith before setting out across the North Sea. One part of Mackay's regiment in 1626 was to leave from Aberdeen, but only after the ship had sailed north from Leith.⁽⁵³⁾ Captain Alexander Gordon's men, bound for Colonel Alexander Cunningham's regiment in Swedish service, sailed from Aberdeen and landed first in the Sound before moving into the Baltic proper.⁽⁵⁴⁾ As noted previously, the earl of Irvine's recruits in 1642 left Aberdeen (Footdee) to voyage to Dieppe.⁽⁵⁵⁾

The third embarkation port of importance was Ferry of Unes in Cromarty. This surprising fact may be accounted for by the considerable numbers of recruits who were levied in the north, but also by the poor state of preservation of the port records of Aberdeen, Leith and the other east coast ports, from which many thousands of troops must have sailed, yet of whom there is no proof extant. Unes has certainly been more fortunate in the fidelity with which contemporaries and historians have noted its association with the embarkation of mercenaries. Part of Mackay's regiment sailed from there in 1626.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In 1631 Colonel John Monro, who had returned to Scotland to recruit in the north, embarked at Cromarty various companies during June, July and October which landed at Hamburg.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Further levying in Sutherland in 1635 led to Captain Adam Gordon Kilcomkill shipping out of Unes to Gothenburg.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Other soldiers sailed from Unes to join Captain Alexander Gordon at Aberdeen in 1637 and then to progress

(51) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 81, 102

(52) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 86

(53) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/154

(54) R. Gordon, Earldom of Sutherland (Edinburgh 1813), 485-6

(55) C. D. Skelton and J.M. Bulloch, Gordons Under Arms (Aberdeen 1912), 468

(56) Monro, Expedition, i, Itinerary appendix

(57) A.G.M. Macgregor, History of Clan Gregor (Edinburgh 1901), ii, 17

(58) Fraser, Sutherland, ii, 160-2

to Germany for Colonel Cunningham's regiment.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Seldom is any other port of exit mentioned. It does appear however from the charges brought in 1612 that Colonel Ramsay had departed from Dundee and Captains Hay and Sinclair from Caithness, but when they were ordered to disband, their men were to be landed at Leith and Burntisland.⁽⁶⁰⁾ It seems fairly certain that both sides of the Forth, Aberdeen and Unes were the main ports for departing mercenaries. If Dundee had been equally suitable Ogilvy would surely have used it for his Angus recruits in 1627 and 1628. One particular Scottish unit set out for the Continent via the land route to England. This was the reinforcement for the 'gens d'armes' of the French king which Lord Enzie assembled in February 1633, 'he has them landways to London, and from thence transportit thame be sea over to France.'⁽⁶¹⁾

The port of disembarkation, of course, varied with the field of military operations involved and with the country on whose payroll the troops would figure. Soldiers intended for the mainland of Sweden were usually landed at Gothenburg to avoid the discomforts and hardships of further travel by sea, and to obviate the necessity of passing through the Sound between Danish Zealand and Scania. There was no war between Denmark and Sweden in the 1630s but relations between the countries were always uncertain. Gustavus considered it worth mentioning to Chancellor Oxenstierna on 13 June 1629 that some Scottish troops had passed without difficulty through the Sound.⁽⁶²⁾ On 17 January 1631 the Chancellor sought the Swedish king's advice whether reinforcements from Scotland should risk sailing through the Sound or take the safer course of disembarking at Gothenburg.⁽⁶³⁾ Examples of this are provided by Captain William

(59) Gordon, Earldom of Sutherland, 485-6

(60) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 76, 82

(61) C.O. Skelton and J.M. Bulloch, Gordons Under Arms, 429-30

(62) AOSB 2nd Series, i, 499

(63) AOSB 1st Series, vi, 59

Gordon's men in 1624⁽⁶⁴⁾ and Captain Adam Gordon's Sutherland company in 1635.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The more common practice followed was to land the new companies near to the scene of action, usually in northern Germany. Thus Mackay's regiment is found making its landfall at Glückstadt in 1626,⁽⁶⁶⁾ the English units under Sir Archibald Douglas (possibly including soldiers of Nithsdale, Spynie and Sinclair) being directed to Stade in 1627,⁽⁶⁷⁾ and the Scots under John Monro of Obsdale in 1631⁽⁶⁸⁾ and Uchtreid MacDowall in 1632 arriving at Hamburg.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Alternatively, the rendezvous port was arranged 'in Pomerland or Mickleburghe' (Pomerania or Mecklenburg), and since this voyage into the Baltic proper was considerably longer the opportunity was normally taken of touching at Elsinore. This was the course taken by the marquis of Hamilton en route to Wolgast in 1631,⁽⁷⁰⁾ and almost certainly by the Master of Forbes' soldiers bound for Stralsund in the same year.⁽⁷¹⁾ As noticed already, Captain Alexander Gordon definitely passed through the Sound into the Baltic.⁽⁷²⁾ But in most cases British records seldom provide more definite clarification of the destination other than 'Germany'.

Few details are given from which the duration of such voyages can be computed, but the number of days occupied appears to have fluctuated very considerably. The Monro company which departed from Cromarty arrived at Glückstadt on the Elbe only five days later.⁽⁷³⁾ Conditions must have been relatively favourable though the month was October. Monro listed the distance as 300 German miles. As in all his estimates of distance this is no more than a broad approximation. Even so the figure

(64) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1624/8/693-4

(65) Fraser, Sutherland, ii, 160-2

(66) Monro, Expedition, i, 1

(67) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 403

(68) A.G.M. Macgregor, History of Clan Gregor, ii, 17

(69) AOSB 1st Series, vii, 346

(70) CSP Domestic 1631-2, 139

(71) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 360-1

(72) Gordon, Earldom of Sutherland, 485-6

(73) Monro, Expedition, i, Itinerary appendix

would equal 1,500 miles, which seems much exaggerated since the direct route scarcely exceeds 600 miles. It may be that the course followed was not direct but coastal, seldom far from the shores of Scotland, England and Holland, and in this case his total, though still high, would not look so inaccurate. At the very least Mackay's men seem to have travelled by sea a distance of about 100 miles on average each day, which would strongly suggest progress favoured by the winds. By comparison the marquis of Hamilton's fleet required eleven days to sail from Yarmouth to Elsinore, a somewhat longer journey than Mackay's, almost 750 miles by direct reckoning. Thus his speed was clearly less than Mackay's. Among various factors which could account for this were the facts that the marquis' force of 6,000 troops was almost three times the size of Mackay's, and also that Hamilton's voyage took place in July when winds would be more liable to be light and variable. Major Borthwick's voyage to Hamburg took only four days 'after a very prosperous journey'.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Sea travel in the seventeenth century could at times be more extended in duration, more arduous in nature, and more hazardous to life than the examples noted above. Alexander Leslie stated that five companies of Cunningham's regiment arrived in Stralsund in 1637 after a voyage of nine weeks.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Drowning as a result of shipwreck constituted a permanent risk. In 1624 barely a third of the British force which set sail to join the army of Count Mansfeld on the Continent reached safety.⁽⁷⁶⁾ In 1631 Colonel Thomas Conway and Lieutenant-Colonel George Stewart and three whole companies were lost at sea off the coast of Denmark.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Even Monro himself was fortunate to escape when the 'Lilly Nichol',

(74) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 101

(75) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 107

(76) J. Rushworth, Historical Collections (London 1680), i, part 2, 153-4

(77) Monro, Expedition, ii, 13

after being driven ashore on Bornholm and then refloated, struck a leak so serious that even with 'forty eight souldiers to pompe continually by turns' it soon ran aground and was completely wrecked near Rügenwalde on the Pomeranian coast.⁽⁷⁸⁾ But probably the most tragic incident of all concerned the shipwreck in early October 1637 at Aberdeen. Captains Skene, Finlayson and Lumsden along with Major Kerr had brought men up from Leith to Aberdeen by sea, and their four ships were anchored in the harbour. Unfortunately 'through a great speat of the water of Dee, occasioned by the extraordinary rain, thir haill four ships brake loose.' The powerful current swept them out to sea, and then the south-east wind forced them on to the North Shore sands. Spalding asserted that after the disaster ninety two recruits were missing but he did not distinguish between the proportion of these that drowned and those that escaped.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The situation was slightly differently reported by Lothian to Ancram. He wrote that four hundred men were embarked and more than fifty were drowned, but he also stated that the desertion rate had been so high that companies that had been complete had not twenty men each.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Clearly this would suggest a much higher number of deserters than Spalding's total.

Responsibility for the arrangements for the transporting of recruits appears to have been a matter for negotiation. When Mackay signed his original agreement with David Learmonth on 4 March 1626 the latter in Clause Four bound his master, Count Mansfeld, to provide ships and victuals for the troops on their passage up to the date of 16 April.⁽⁸¹⁾ But the regiment did not embark till the autumn. So the clause lapsed, and Mansfeld himself was killed in any case. Mackay thus

(78) Monro, Expedition, ii, 3-4

(79) Spalding, History of the Troubles, i, 59-60

(80) Correspondence of the Earl of Ancram and the Earl of Lothian, (ed. D. Laing, Edinburgh 1875), i, 98

(81) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/149

had to make his own arrangements; hence he is found signing a charter with Skipper William Robertson on 24 August, two days after he had concluded an agreement with Skipper John Wallace.⁽⁸²⁾ In 1631 a contract similar to that between Mackay and Learmonth was finalised between the Master of Forbes and Sir Arthur Forbes. The former undertook that he would arrange and pay for sufficient ships 'ready victualled ... on three tydes warning after wind and wether serve.'⁽⁸³⁾ It is however unknown why certificates of embarkation were issued in November 1631. Mackay, now Lord Reay, had arranged for levies to be made in England by Thomas Conway and in Scotland by John Monro, both recruiting in his name on behalf of Sweden. A certificate to verify Conway's embarkation on 27 October was issued by Secretary of State Viscount Dorchester on 7 December in French, and the following day a similar document in English substantiating the departure of Monro's captains during the previous five months was signed by Secretary of State Viscount Stirling.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Accountability for behaviour during the voyage was no doubt a shared charge between the ship's captain and the military officers. It might have been expected that military captains would have accompanied the men on board each ship, but in fact at times they seem to have sent junior officers or even senior non-commissioned officers with the main bodies of troops while they themselves remained in Britain, presumably to hustle up the stragglers and endeavour to make up the full company total. In an embarkation order for 1627 bearing his signature Sir Archibald Douglas named the officers to command on board ships with recruits from London to Denmark. Of these one was a lieutenant, two were ensigns, and five sergeants.⁽⁸⁵⁾ But the master of the ship was also answerable on occasion.

(82) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/154

(83) SRO, Lord Forbes Collection, GD 52/93

(84) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/188-9

(85) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/125

In June 1627 the earl of Nithsdale and Lord Spynie sought a summons against a ship's captain for allowing approximately thirty recruits on board his vessel to escape.⁽⁸⁶⁾ On the other hand, skippers were occasionally accorded special protection. As noted in several previous matters, the English levies for Denmark were given extraordinary priorities. In this instance it is apparent from the Privy Council letters of March and June 1627 noted previously that warships were appointed to convoy the troop-carrying merchantmen. Further precautions were taken because even merchant ships were armed by the Master of the Ordnance to prevent disruption of the convoy.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Gabriel Oxenstierna reported to the Swedish Chancellor on 28 May 1627 that some ships with Scots had arrived at Gothenburg, having been convoyed there by three English warships on the instructions of Charles I.⁽⁸⁸⁾ In 1631 the report of Captain John Pennington of the warship 'Bonaventure' to the lords of the Admiralty showed that he had escorted the marquis of Hamilton's fleet across the North Sea. He also remarked that when he was at Yarmouth before sailing Scots ships arrived with more troops from the North.⁽⁸⁹⁾ This would emphasise that efforts were being made to safeguard the men by transporting them in one large convoy. Nevertheless there is no evidence that such measures were common practice for the shipping of all mercenary regiments from England and Scotland.

The rates charged by different skippers for carrying the soldiers were fairly consistent. The calculation appears to have been made not on the basis of a lump sum for the hire of the ship but by a counting of 'the men by the poll.' The Dutch ships which were arranged in August 1626 for Mackay were to cost five marks Scots for each soldier,⁽⁹⁰⁾

(86) RPC 2nd Series, viii, 398

(87) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 141

(88) AOSB 2nd Series, iii, 116

(89) CSP Domestic 1631-2, 139

(90) RPC 2nd Series, i, 389

i.e. about 5/7 sterling, a relatively low charge it seems. British captains appear to have been more demanding in their rates. Mackay and Skipper Robertson in the same week as the above agreement signed a contract for shipping at a cost of £4 Scots per man, i.e. 6/8 sterling.⁽⁹¹⁾ This would appear to have been the standard rate, for the Privy Council instructed the mayor of Hull in February 1627 to bargain with ship masters for transporting troops 'which wee conceive cannot in reason exceed the proportion of a noble a man,' i.e. 6/8 sterling. An interesting comment on seventeenth-century procedure is provided by the further Council order that 'if you cannot agree for any reasonable price you are then to presse so many shippes as shalbe needful.'⁽⁹²⁾ As with the military contracts concerning commissions there was occasionally a penalty clause inserted. If delays occurred at Aberdeen or Glückstadt which inconvenienced the captain, Mackay would pay Skipper Robertson £40 daily (presumably Scots currency).

Conditions on board these ships were crowded and uncomfortable. When Mackay and Robertson agreed terms for transporting 300 men no mention was made of any ship other than 'Archangell', therefore it must be presumed that all 300 travelled on the one vessel. If so, this approximated to the normal number carried in such 'troop-ships'. In June 1627 an English ship from Newcastle was instructed to uplift 250 men, and from Hull 1,400 soldiers were to be accommodated aboard four or five merchant ships with two warships taking some men if necessary. Hence at least 200 and possibly nearer 250 on average would be aboard each ship. Quarter-Master Galbraith reported to Nithsdale on 6 August 1627 the arrival of John 'Draybruch's' ship with 216 recruits on board.⁽⁹³⁾ On the other hand when Captain James Duppa certified the dispatch from

(91) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/154

(92) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 104

(93) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 103

London of seven ships to the Weser for Colonel Aston, each was listed with 150 men. Incidentally only two of these ships seem to have been English, the 'John' and 'Sara', both of London. The other five, 'Yong Tobias', 'Ould Tobias', 'Fortune', 'Rose' and 'Pide Oxe', are all listed from 'Housen'.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The most likely port for this name is Enkhuizen on the Zuider Zee, and this would again emphasise the part played by Dutch ships in the transportation of British mercenaries.

Information from Swedish sources tends to confirm the approximate number of troops carried aboard ships. Monro mentioned that when six companies were to be shipped from Pillau to Wolgast in Western Pomerania, three companies (about 300 men) were taken on board the 'Lilly-Nichol' and the other three were carried by the 'Hound'.⁽⁹⁵⁾ From the contemporary lists of Swedish royal shipping for 1630 these vessels were the 'Lilla Nyckeln' and the 'Svarta Hunden III', otherwise called 'Kleiner Slutzer'.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Unfortunately conversion of the tonnage of these vessels into British measures is not easy. Swedish tonnage of the period is listed in 'läster', but the 'last', like 'ton' in English varied in its meaning. The famous 'Wasa' of 1628 however occurs in these lists as 400 'läster', and in fact displaced 1300 tons.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Clearly this would mean a last approximated to more than three tons. By this reckoning the 'Lilla Nyckeln' displaced 200 tons and the 'Svarta Hunden III' about 240 tons. On board the former the size of crew ranged between fifty seven and seventy two seamen with an additional 100 soldiers and an ordnance of twenty two guns. By comparison the 'Svarta Hunden III', though larger, normally carried only forty six crew, sixty soldiers and eighteen guns. Even if the places of
on board
the normal military personnel/were taken by the soldiers being shipped

(94) PRO, State Papers Sweden, SP 95/3/224

(95) Monro, Expedition, ii, 3

(96) Sveriges Krig, vii, 239, 245

(97) Wasa Exhibition Stockholm

(which is not definite and would in any case leave the vessel seriously below fighting strength on the return journey), it is obvious that a human cargo of three companies of men guaranteed extremely cramped living conditions. Yet these tonnages are reasonably typical of the Swedish ships of the time catalogued in the Skeppalista 1611-32, and gives a clue to the probable tonnage of the Scottish vessel 'Archangell' and the other ships bringing mercenaries from Britain.

Comfort on board such ships carrying 150-300 recruits must have been impossible. All the evidence points to the fact that during the sea-crossing recruits were accommodated in the hold. Perhaps some slept in the open on the main deck, but from the skipper's point of view any such deck obstruction would be undesirable. In 1627 Sir Archibald Douglas in his appeal to the Privy Council on several matters concerning shipping requested that planks might be provided to lay above the ballast since it concerned the health of the soldiers while they lay aboard.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Ballast was stored in the hold, and it is clear that the troops were sleeping literally on top of it. It is stated more explicitly by Spalding in his description of the 1637 disaster that the soldiers 'sleeping in the bottom of the ship upon heather were all a-swim through the water that came in at the holes and leaks' caused by the shipwreck on the coast.⁽⁹⁹⁾ At least the Scots appear to have endeavoured to make their sleeping conditions more tolerable by using their native heather rather than by stretching out on hard planks or on rough stones of the ballast. But even such amenities can have been little compensation for the stench there due to lack of sanitation and to those who succumbed to seasickness. With ventilation in the hold almost non-existent,

(98) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 174

(99) Spalding, History of the Troubles, i, 59

conditions of life in the hold must have been primitive indeed. It is therefore readily understandable that the first muster rolls taken of Scottish troops newly disembarked in Prussia in 1629 frequently mention soldiers as being absent, 'sick in the ship.'

Though the diet of the seventeenth-century soldier was severely limited in comparison with sophisticated twentieth-century tastes, it is difficult to express much enthusiasm for the victuals provided for mercenary troops on board ship. The 'Wasa' carried barrels for salt fish, salt meat, flour, and fresh water,⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ but none of these provisions is noted in the victuals prescribed by the Council in February 1627 for the English companies bound for Denmark. As noted frequently above, these troops tended to be given priority treatment and therefore the following rate of provisions must surely have been a maximum which other Scottish regiments sailing abroad may have failed to equal. Each man per day was to be allocated 'a pottle of bere, 3 cakes of biscuit weighing $\frac{3}{4}$ lb., 4 ounces of butter and 6 ounces of cheese.'⁽¹⁰¹⁾ It has been remarked that North Sea voyages could last ten days, even several weeks. For a ten day journey the weight and volume of provisions for 300 men plus normal crew must have posed problems for the skipper, especially if the 300 troops were already earmarked for the hold. To gain an appreciation of the stores involved it can be calculated that for a voyage of ten days duration with 300 soldiers and a crew complement of 100 there would be needed $\frac{2}{3}$ ton of cheese, $\frac{1}{2}$ ton of butter, 4,000 bottles of beer, and at least $1\frac{1}{3}$ tons of biscuit (4 tons if the biscuit cake ration was actually three pieces of $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. each). It is no wonder ~~that~~ when provisions reached such bulk that abuses were

(100) Wasa Exhibition Stockholm

(101) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 104

common during loading. Douglas displayed his practical foresight when he petitioned the Council on this matter, 'in regard those places ... wher the victualls are laid, being darke, much deceit may be used in the weighing out of the said victualls, that therefore for prevencion thereof some provision of candles mought be allowed.'⁽¹⁰²⁾ Nithsdale's agents appear to have been less careful. Galbraith reported that 'the mariners and sojournes complaines that they war so bad prouidet, that if the wind had anie wayes contraried they had been jn great daunger of famishinge. So that what I cane learne your Lordship is altogether deceaved be the prouiders of your shipes.'⁽¹⁰³⁾ The rations for soldiers mentioned above compared unfavourably with those apportioned to Swedish sailors in 1630. Their daily share amounted to one pound of bread, four ounces of meat, two ounces of bacon, three ounces of dried fish, eight ounces of salted fish, one pint of peas or barley grain, $\frac{1}{2}$ pt. of flour, one ounce of butter, one ounce of salt, one ounce of cheese and six bottles of beer.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ The range of foodstuffs, though still narrow, was much broader than that loaded for the troops, who appear by contrast to have been expected to live on emergency subsistence rations. The larger amounts of butter and cheese for a soldier hardly compensated for the absence of meat and fish, pulse and cereal. The wide difference in beer allocation (one bottle for a Briton, six for a Swede) may reflect either the traditionally bibulous nature of the Scandinavians or merely the sheer impossibility of carrying on board such generous quantities for a number of men far in excess of that for which the vessel was intended. It is now possible to look more closely at the details of the financial balancing of income and expenditure with which a

(102) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 174

(103) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 103-4

(104) Wasa Exhibition Stockholm

recruiting colonel was confronted. His income, it will be recalled, never exceeded eight rix dollars per man. This rix dollar was not the Swedish dollar, but the 'Reichsthaler' or Imperial dollar, the coin of the Empire which was one of the main European currencies of the seventeenth century and valued so highly that Christian IV insisted that the Swedes pay the indemnity agreed in the Peace of Knäred in that coinage.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Captain Hull, writing from Elbing on 12 September 1629 to Endymion Porter, informed him that the 'Swedish dollar is not worth more than 18d. instead of 3/- as represented by the Ambassador in England.'⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ $1\frac{5}{8}$ Swedish dollars equalled one rix dollar, and hence by inference Ambassador Spens would appear to have assessed the value of a rix dollar at approximately $4\frac{1}{10}$ d. Hull's report showed that real values might differ radically from face values, but it is unlikely that he was implying that the rix dollar was also worth only half its theoretical value. The Swedish dollar of which he was speaking was a much less stable and acceptable currency than the rix dollar which by comparison tended to retain a relatively constant value.

The exact value of a rix dollar was stated by Mackay in 1885 to be 5/-d.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ This conclusion was based on the contract in the Reay Papers in which 18,304 rix dollars are mentioned as equalling £4,576 sterling.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Even as late as 1707 when the coinage was called in, the rix dollar was valued at £2.16/-Scots,⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ i.e. $4\frac{1}{10}$ d sterling. On other occasions the rix dollar was recorded a lower value. A statement of the Danish pay scales Morgan's troops experienced in 1627 contains a note that £1 equalled $4\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, i.e. approximately $4\frac{1}{8}$ d.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

(105) Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, i, 125

(106) CSP Domestic 1629-31, 57

(107) Mackay, Old Scots Brigade, 243

(108) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/173

(109) Scottish Pageant 1625-1707 (ed. A.M. Mackenzie, Edinburgh 1949), 65

(110) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/60

In the agreement between Lord Reay and Sir Thomas Conway in August 1631 the rate was stated to be 4/6d per dollar.⁽¹¹¹⁾ In the Hamilton Correspondence in 1629 Spens and Alexander Hamilton agreed upon a sum of £1,696 equal to 7,680 rix dollars, i.e. approximately 4/4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d per rix dollar.⁽¹¹²⁾ Therefore the rix dollar's value lay between 4/-d and 5/-d sterling, possibly a little nearer the latter than the former. A figure of 5/-d (though a slightly exaggerated value) is useful for quick approximate computation of the correlation between sterling and rix dollars. A colonel's income for recruiting a regiment may therefore be calculated on the basis of a maximum of 40/-d sterling per man. If the colonel was shrewd he insisted on payment in advance, for promises of future payment were frequently worthless; but at least in the period 1627-9 the Swedes made their recruiting advances promptly. It was reported to the Venetian Republic on 26 February 1627 that '2,000 Scottish infantry raised for the King of Sweden will be ready to cross the sea in a few weeks, a great part of the money for the levy having been already remitted, a proceeding which facilitates the good result of all matters. On the other hand the want of similar supply delays the troops destined for Denmark.'⁽¹¹³⁾

Against this income the colonel had to reckon his expenditure. It would be costly to fall short of the levy number previously agreed, hence the constant concern expressed by recruiters about desertions. Not only did these absconding soldiers indicate a dwindling figure on the muster roll (and thus the danger of the penalty clause coming into effect), but the officers would already have paid them enlistment money and spent considerable sums on their upkeep. All such outlays represented

(111) SR0, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/186

(112) Fraser, Haddington, ii, 92-93

(113) CSP Venetian 1626-8, 130-1

complete loss for the officers concerned, if the soldier deserted.

Colonel Sinclair described his financial predicament in June 1628 when he was unable to feed his troops, 'I most suffer thame go louse to my utter overthrow.'⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The transport cost across the North Sea has been noted previously as amounting approximately to 6/8d per man to the Elbe estuary. Presumably the charge to Sweden or the German Baltic would have been higher.

The cost of providing a recruit with food and drink would depend upon the length of time that he was the captain's responsibility. Unless the recruit was enlisted in the embarkation port it is likely, when allowance is made for the movement of soldiers to the port and for delays in the availability of shipping, that the duration of the entertainment provided by the officers would be at least fourteen days. Alexander Coupland was accorded a month's upkeep by his captain in Aberdeen.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ The expenses involved in keeping men soon accumulated, and they eventually caused Robert Elliot of 'Reidheuch, Flaskhome' to write to Nithsdale seeking 'moneyis to defray thair chargis of the oustler wyfeis.'⁽¹¹⁶⁾ An idea of the approximate figures may be estimated from allowances made in England. Eightpence per man per day was frequently quoted with reference to levies for domestic service. It was the rate stated in the instructions sent to various authorities arranging billeting in 1627.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ In December 1624 the lord lieutenant of Nottingham reported that he had delivered 150 men to Lieutenant Robert Douglas of Sir Andrew Gray's regiment at Newark along with £70 for their fourteen days journey (i.e. eightpence per man per day).⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Eightpence per day was a barely adequate sum on which to subsist if full board and lodging costs were to be met. On the other hand officers

(114) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 608

(115) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 96

(116) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 100-1

(117) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 183

(118) CSP Domestic 1623-5, 413

made use of large country houses (e.g. Bolshan, Crombie) belonging to relations and friends whenever possible, and this would be cheaper than living in inns. A fortnight's entertainment for one recruit would appear to have cost a figure in the region of 9/4d (14 x 8d.). Gentlemen were more expensive to keep. Ogilvy marked the difference on several occasions, 'becaus sundries off thir soldieris ar gentillmen ... I will thairfor requyst your Lordship that they get good enterteinment.'⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Captain Ogilvy had treated the Couplands well 'be resone that they are gentillmen, and has bein all this yair constantlie enterteined at his table.'⁽¹²⁰⁾ Hence 9/4d appears a minimum assessment. Addition of the shipping cost and these entertainment charges gives a total of about 16/-d.

The colonel or his captains would have to face as well the wages of 'conductors' or 'keepers' who helped to supervise the new soldiers. These financial outlays would leave little for the recruit/^{as} enlistment money. Yet the sum had to be big enough to be attractive without being so large that the colonel or captain was out of pocket. Imprest money for domestic levies in England in 1624 averaged 2/-d per man. Recruiters for foreign powers must have offered more than this when they sought volunteers. Patrick Bryson was paid four dollars as his enlistment money in Captain Bannatyne's company for Sweden in 1627.⁽¹²¹⁾ It is not definite that this was a typical figure. If all his men had received as large a sum as this the captain's finances would have been severely strained. Some support is lent to this figure however by Lord Ogilvy's statement that £40 Scots (approximately £3.6.8d) had been paid to Coupland. Even if his two relatives were included with him,

(119) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 92

(120) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 96

(121) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 319

the amount is still very substantial for enlistment money. The cases of Bryson and Coupland seem exceptional, because officers could hardly have afforded 20/- per man unless special circumstances prevailed. Bryson may have been an Edinburgh man for whom the levying officer considered the entertainment period would be shorter when nearby Leith was an embarkation port. Ogilvy admitted that Coupland and his two fellow-deserters were not typical, 'the said thrie men ... hes beine mor costlie to him nor any off his soldieris ... it wilbe cleired befor your Lordship that they ar his waged soldieris at ane deir rait.'⁽¹²²⁾

The situation is further complicated by the fact that officers sometimes received less than eight dollars per man. Colonel Sinclair was to receive £300 when he had shipped his 300 men,⁽¹²³⁾ and his Captain Innes was granted £240 for the recruitment and shipping of 240 men.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Clearly this indicated an income to the captain of approximately 20/- to cover freight and entertainment costs already reckoned at little less than 16/-. Thus it appears that an enlisted man normally received one dollar for signing on. This sum would accord literally with the Gaelic proverb that 'he who is down in luck can still get a dollar from Mackay'.⁽¹²⁵⁾

-
- (122) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 96-97
 (123) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 608
 (124) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 147-8
 (125) Fischer, Scots in Germany, 74

CHAPTER EIGHT

The conflict which broke out in Bohemia in 1618 did not at first appear likely to cause a European war lasting thirty years. There were certainly basic issues which had not been resolved in Germany and between Catholics and Protestants, /between the Emperor and the German princes, and there had been two recent instances of thorny problems, at Donauwörth in 1608 and the Cleves-Mark Succession in 1614, which indicated the divisions in Germany. Nevertheless these problems had been solved for the present. More troubling for the future was the formation of rival religious groups in Germany, the Calvinist Union and the Catholic League, armed camps which might exploit situations which arose anywhere in the Empire. Diplomatic circles in Europe also expected that the renewal of the Spanish-Dutch struggle, due in 1621 after the Twelve Years Truce, would intensify pro-Hapsburg and anti-Hapsburg sympathies in the rest of Europe, but events in Bohemia brought the problem of participation or non-involvement to the fore earlier than expected.

The Bohemian Estates were concerned that the Emperor's Letter of Majesty, giving a broad measure of toleration to Protestants, should be maintained, but the emperor-elect, Ferdinand, was known to be a strong Catholic likely to rescind the Letter. Nevertheless he had been accepted as King of Bohemia in 1617. Opposition however became violent in 1618 when two Imperialist deputies were defenestrated in Prague. Events moved swiftly thereafter. Emperor Matthias died in 1619, and he was succeeded by Ferdinand. But the Bohemian insurgents

revealed their determination by deposing Ferdinand from the Bohemian throne and choosing as their new ruler a German prince, Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate. This choice had two important consequences. Firstly, since Frederick was the leader of the Calvinist Union, an escalation of the Bohemian problem into one involving many German princes became likely. Secondly, Frederick's wife/^{was}Elizabeth, a Scottish princess and daughter of James I, and this gave Scots a personal interest in the Bohemian crisis and its later ramifications in German history. In fact Frederick's enjoyment of his royal dignity was shortlived, for in November 1620 the Catholic League army led by Tilly crushed the Bohemians outside Prague. Within the next two years even Frederick's own capital in the Palatinate, Heidelberg, fell to the assaults of the Spanish Hapsburgs and the Bavarians. The former were concerned to seize the opportunity to secure their land supply-route from northern Italy to the Netherlands, while the latter were involved because Maximilian of Bavaria sought the territory of the Palatinate and the title of Elector for himself.

For the next two years, 1623 and 1624, the only serious hostilities in western Europe were those between the Spanish and the Dutch, but a great deal of anti-Hapsburg diplomatic activity took place. Plans were mooted for action against the Hapsburg powers, Spain and Austria, by a league including James I, Christian IV, Gustavus Adolphus, Maurice of the United Provinces, Richelieu on behalf of France, and the German Protestant princes. In fact this did not prove possible because many of these powers discovered more pressing commitments elsewhere. Polish affairs were the prime consideration of the Swedish government. Gustavus did offer to share in the coalition against the Hapsburgs, but his terms for participation were unreasonable. Not only did he insist on sole

military control for himself, but he demanded two German ports, a fleet of seventeen ships, four months pay in advance and an army of 50,000 men to which the Swedes would contribute only 16,000. Naturally the other powers repudiated such proposals, and the Swedes determined to continue their war against Poland. The appearance of Richelieu as minister in France in 1624 had not led to any change from the anti-Spanish direction towards which French policy had been veering, but the Huguenot rising and the successes of the Protestant leader Soubise fully occupied the attention of the French government in 1625. Nor did the German Protestant princes feel free to participate. As in 1621, they hesitated to take a concerted stand against the Emperor, and allowed their attitude to be determined by the customary caution and neutral viewpoint adopted by John George, Elector of Saxony. Only two German rulers, Christian of Brunswick and Ernest of Saxe-Weimar, were prepared to take the field against the Hapsburg armies. Thus when the Treaty of the Hague was finalised on 9 December 1625 the only signatories were representatives of the United Provinces, Denmark and England.

The Dutch were in no position to assist armed intervention in Germany, because the Spanish were taking the offensive in the Netherlands. James I had hesitated to cause an open breach with the Spanish by sending help to the beleaguered Dutch garrison in Breda. Therefore while he permitted in 1624 the recruiting of 12,000 troops for the mercenary leader Mansfeld he stipulated that they might not be used to raise the siege of Breda. The early months of 1625 were eventful. Both James I of England and Maurice of the United Provinces died, and the Spanish under Spinola finally captured Breda on 25 May. In these circumstances it was clear that the Dutch had serious problems of their own, and that the anti-Hapsburg league would depend upon the activities of Charles I

and Christian IV, with the latter as the more established ruler more likely to take the lead.

Christian IV's interest in Germany centred upon the north German bishoprics. His son had been elected bishop of Verden in 1623, and Christian cast covetous eyes on the other bishoprics in the Lower Saxon circle, Osnabrück, Paderborn, and especially Bremen which controlled the mouths of the Weser and Elbe. The League army of Tilly however was intent on recovering these bishoprics for the Catholic religion. Christian also hoped to acquire the bishoprics of Halberstadt and Magdeburg in north central Germany, but his ambitions there were opposed by the Emperor who sought these for his own son and sent a powerful army north under Wallenstein to make his claims effective. Thus in 1626 the war in Germany was concentrated in two areas. In Lower Saxony Christian IV faced Tilly, while in north central Germany Christian of Brunswick and Count Mansfeld had to contend with the efficient Wallenstein.⁽¹⁾

Though England was not yet embroiled in other foreign wars help was slow to materialise. One payment of £46,000 was dispatched by the new monarch Charles I, but parliamentary obstruction prevented further supplies being forwarded. Recruitment of troops in England did not get under way with any degree of determination even in 1626, and unfortunately for Christian IV this was the vital year when such mercenaries might perhaps have saved him from two decisive defeats. On 24 January 1626 Count Mansfeld issued from Lauenburg a commission to Captain David Learmonth to treat with those prepared to bring Scottish troops for the

(1) Cambridge Modern History, iv, 320
 M. Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, i, 182-200, 220-45, and ii, 305-15
Sveriges Krig, iii, 1-31
 C.V. Wedgwood, Thirty Years War, 11-181

service of the king and queen of Bohemia.⁽²⁾ In practice this meant fighting for Christian of Denmark, at that time the main defender of the Protestant cause and the exiled Bohemian royal couple. The agreement for the levying of Mackay's regiment was signed between Captain Learmonth and Mackay in London on 4 March 1626.⁽³⁾ Twelve days later Mackay obtained from Edinburgh a Privy Council licence to levy 2,000 men for Mansfeld.⁽⁴⁾ Danish financial records show his captains as serving from 15 March 1626, presumably the date of their own commissions from Mackay.⁽⁵⁾ On 9 April 1626 Mackay's official commission to be colonel of 3,000 Scots in fifteen companies was signed by Mansfeld, then in Zerbst.⁽⁶⁾ During the same month Charles I nominated James Sinclair to be lieutenant-colonel in Mackay's regiment, though as will be noted later this recommendation was not put into effect.⁽⁷⁾

Unfortunately while these arrangements were being made, the military situation in Germany changed dramatically. On 25 April 1626 Mansfeld stormed the Dessau bridge over the Elbe, but his troops were repulsed decisively by Wallenstein. After a retreat to Brandenburg Mansfeld switched his line of attack to Hungary and effected a junction with Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania, but Wallenstein's prompt pursuit led to peace overtures and a truce in October. The following month Mansfeld was dead near Sarajevo and thus he personally had derived no benefit from the original contract with Mackay.⁽⁸⁾

During these summer months of 1626 Mackay and his recruiting

(2) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/148

(3) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/149

(4) RPC 2nd Series, i, 244-8

(5) RA Copenhagen, Tyske Kancellis Indenlandske Afdeling (TKIA), A 153/I

(6) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/151

(7) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/152

(8) Camb. Mod. Hist., iv, 324

captains were busy, but delays caused by desertions led to Privy Council legislation on 2 June and 22 June.⁽⁹⁾ On 30 June King Charles was pressing the Council for speedy dispatch of Mackay's levies, and a week later the reply sent back by the Privy Council of Scotland to Theobalds was that £500 sterling had been advanced to Mackay to prevent further desertions.⁽¹⁰⁾ The monarch approved this course of action on 18 July and authorised the disbursement to Colonel Mackay of a further £2,000 sterling. The Council was also to provide him with shipping for his levies.⁽¹¹⁾ Yet despite these measures progress was still slow. The contract with skipper Wallace for transporting some of the soldiers is dated 22 August, though it appears that over 3,000 men had been ready to embark as early as 15 May. Captain Wallace however undertook to sail by 'Wednesday next' which would have been 30 August.⁽¹²⁾ Another shipping agreement was drawn up with skipper Robertson on 24 August.⁽¹³⁾ Once again however, while administrative wheels turned slowly in Britain, rapid deterioration in the military situation in Germany took place. British troops had again failed to arrive for the critical juncture. On 27 August 1626 Tilly overtook Christian IV's army at Lutter and delivered a crushing defeat to the Danish army. Many of the vanquished troops retired to Stade at the mouth of the Elbe.⁽¹⁴⁾ This was the discouraging prospect which faced the Scots on arrival in Germany. With Mansfeld (Christian's virtual second-in-command) at that moment inactive in Hungary, Mackay's regiment was naturally transferred to service for the Danish king in person.

(9) RPC 2nd Series, i, 295, 310-11
 (10) RPC 2nd Series, i, 313, 329-30
 (11) RPC 2nd Series, i, 381-2
 (12) RPC 2nd Series, i, 389
 (13) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/154
 (14) Camb. Mod. Hist., iv, 324

The actual date of arrival for Mackay's Scots in Germany is not known for certain. The shipping contracts with Wallace and Robertson noted above suggest that the Scots would have sailed during the last week of August and might have been expected to arrive in the Elbe estuary in the first or second week of September 1626. On the other hand the receipt for payment of the freight of the troops was signed by skipper Robertson on 31 October. The situation is further complicated by the fact that though Monro spoke of the regiment being levied in August 1626 he indicated in the first item of his detailed itinerary that his company at least left Cromarty on Tuesday 10 October 1626 and arrived at Glückstadt on the Elbe five days later.⁽¹⁵⁾ Thus there is a degree of doubt whether the main part of the regiment arrived in September or October. The matter is clarified to some extent by the military accounts of Commissary Axel Arenfeld who was responsible for the Danish army in Lower Saxony and Holstein. These records contain a settlement made with Colonel Mackay on 30 September 1627 in which the reckoning is calculated from 12 September 1626.⁽¹⁶⁾ The latter is a significant date, since it is almost certainly that of the original muster. Chronicler Robert Monro was lieutenant for Mackenzie's company, and Mackenzie's men are not noted in the muster list. It is thus very likely that when Robert Monro brought over Mackenzie's men in October, they were late arrivals for Mackay's regiment which had already assembled at Glückstadt.

The size of companies in Mackay's regiment at this original muster is clearly listed in Arenfeld's accounts: - Alexander Annan 100, John Monro 196, Patrick MacKie 194, Arthur Forbes 185, David Learmonth 196,

(15) Monro, Expedition, i, Itinerary Appendix

(16) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Militieregnskaber IIb/6/II

John Forbes 190, Duncan Forbes 177, John Monro 204, John Forbes 187, Robert Monro of Foulis 192, David Boswell 100, in all a total of 1,921. It is later recorded that in 1627 thirty men came with the colonel and Captain Mackenzie from Holland and that the total for the regiment then reached 2,041. The discrepancy of ninety between the figures 1,951 and 2,041 was not explained. Problems of identification are immediately apparent. Two captains are named John Monro. In fact one was Robert Monro's brother from Obsdale and the other Robert's cousin from Assynt. Robert usually distinguished them by calling the former by the full title of 'John Monro of Obsdale' or simply 'Obsdale', while he referred to the latter merely as 'John Monro' or as 'Assynt'. Assynt could refer to the area in Wester Ross, but as it is also the name of a house in Easter Ross in Monro country, the latter appears the more likely area. But in cases like the list of figures above it is obviously impossible to decide which man is intended. The same type of difficulty arises concerning the two captains called John Forbes. One is sometimes described as 'of Tulloch' and even occasionally as 'Captain Tulloch'. In the Danish record above one of them is listed as 'the Elder', but this hardly helps to clarify the matter. David Learmonth was very probably the same person as the captain who had been Mansfeld's agent in London when the contract with Donald Mackay was first drawn up.

When this unit sailed into Glückstadt in September or October 1626 it did not land in an entirely alien port in so far as some Scots were already in the Danish army and a few English troops were stationed in Glückstadt. Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Cockburn and Ritmaster Thomas Home of Ayton both figure on the cavalry rolls of the Danish army as early as January and March 1626 respectively, but they do not seem to have commanded Scottish or English soldiers at that time. On the other hand during the summer and early autumn months of 1626 while Mackay

had been wrestling with his recruiting problems in Scotland, two other captains had proved more efficient at getting their men levied and transported to Germany in good time. Captain Francis Hamond of England on 5 July 1626 received a pass from the Privy Council to transport 500 men to Danish service,⁽¹⁷⁾ and within two weeks his levying was supported by a further Council letter defining his recruiting area to be the counties of Kent, Middlesex, Berkshire and Oxfordshire.⁽¹⁸⁾ On 5 August one of Hamond's officers, Thomas Freeman, was granted a warrant to take nine convicted Newgate prisoners for this company.⁽¹⁹⁾ This unit first appears in Danish records kept by the Commissary on 24 August 1626 at Buxtehude near Hamburg.⁽²⁰⁾ The Stadholder notes that within their first three days of service they were issued with 349 muskets, 220 sidearms, and five barrels of beer. The provisions and financial accounts for Glückstadt list Hamond's men as being English and stationed in Stade from 5 October 1626 and there for the rest of the year.⁽²¹⁾

Almost exactly contemporary with Francis Hamond's company was the second 'free company', that commanded by Captain Alexander Seaton. His commission to raise 500 men for the king of Denmark was issued by the Privy Council of Scotland on 4 July 1626,⁽²²⁾ and on 10 July the Council in England granted a pass for Ensign Wilkins to transport 160 soldiers for Danish service in Seaton's company.⁽²³⁾ Wilkins appears to have embarked with the vanguard of Seaton's men, for the Danish War Commissary received a quittance note from Ensign George Wilkins at Glückstadt on 24 August 1626.⁽²⁴⁾ Captain Alexander Seaton himself arrived shortly

(17) APC June-Dec. 1626, 58

(18) APC June-Dec. 1626, 102

(19) APC June-Dec. 1626, 166

(20) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/I

(21) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/567

(22) RPC 2nd Series, i, 315-16

(23) APC June-Dec. 1626, 68

(24) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/I

afterwards, for his own first receipt is dated 8 September. Along with him on this day are mentioned a lieutenant, six under-officers, and thirty-six men making a total of forty-four to add to the unknown figure already present under Wilkins. As with Hamond's company, Wilkin's troops were equipped between 24 and 27 August with muskets and sidearms, 103 of the former and 90 of the latter. On 9 October seven further soldiers are mentioned, i.e. three halberdiers, three drummers and a sergeant. Elsewhere in Arenfeld's accounts reference is made to 115 men newly come from Scotland and taken under Seaton's company on 30 September 1626.⁽²⁵⁾ The company is nevertheless included as an English unit in the list of troops at Stade from 5 October 1626 for the remainder of the year, and Seaton is accorded the rank of lieutenant-colonel.⁽²⁶⁾

Monro's information regarding Seaton is confusing. He recounted that in the absence of Colonel Mackay, who did not cross to Germany till the spring of 1627, Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Forbes was in command, but that the latter fell sick shortly after reaching Germany and died there. Captain Alexander Seaton who had joined the regiment with a 'strong company of well exercised Souldiers', was then promoted lieutenant-colonel against the wills of the regiment's officers.⁽²⁷⁾ When exactly this took place is uncertain. With the above comments being made by Monro in the early pages of his book before taking the story into 1627, it seems likely that this preferment for Seaton occurred late in 1626. Yet after the battle of Oldenburg in the autumn of 1627 Monro mentioned Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes dying within two days of being wounded.⁽²⁸⁾ This surely must be a retrospective reference to an

(25) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/II

(26) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/559

(27) Monro, Expedition, i, I

(28) Monro, Expedition, i, 31

event of 1626, for as early as 29 May 1627 Seaton is stated to be Mackay's lieutenant-colonel in a letter from the War Commissary.⁽²⁹⁾ But it is strange that Monro spoke of Forbes being wounded, for according to his own regimental history no hostile action was experienced till after March 1627.

The situation then at the end of 1626 was that Mackay's regiment of approximately 2,200 men in eleven companies (including Seaton's) was stationed near Glückstadt in the 'fat and fertile soyle of Holstein', while Hamond's English troops were at Stade awaiting reinforcement by the main English contingents of 1627. Even as early as 1626 amalgamation of Scottish companies had already taken place. The companies of Sinclair, Innes and Boswell were reduced to strengthen the others which were mustered, clothed and paid their muster money of five rix dollars per head.⁽³⁰⁾ No action had been seen yet, but many Scottish graves would be dug before the end of 1627.

To judge from the volume of administrative measures taken by the Privy Councils in England and Scotland the Protestant cause on the mainland of Europe should have been revitalised in 1627 by British levies, but the year proved to be another disastrous one for the anti-Hapsburg powers. This did not seem so likely early in the year when urgent orders were circulating in both Scotland and England for the long-awaited military assistance Charles I had promised to his uncle, Christian of Denmark. In England on 28 February 1627 the Council insisted that 3,000 men should be levied. 1,350 of these should be embarked at Kingston-upon-Hull by 30 March,⁽³¹⁾ while the rest were to sail from Harwich and London under the command of Sir Archibald Douglas. But as usual there appears to have been more bustle than efficiency, for the first company

(29) SRD, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/162

(30) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/II

(31) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 104

from England which is definitely recorded as reaching Germany in 1627 was that of Captain Francis Coningsby on 1 May.⁽³²⁾ Sir Archibald Douglas' troops are noted in the provisions-records of Glückstadt on 16 June,⁽³³⁾ but several other companies had not embarked from England yet. Nevertheless those men who had arrived probably received a warm welcome from Captain Hamond's company, which reappears in the Stade lists on 30 April 1627 after a gap from 17 December 1626.⁽³⁴⁾

Actually the English contribution to the Danish army was more substantial than the above information would imply. There were four English regiments in Dutch service during the summer of 1626, but their contract was due to expire in November. The Privy Council decided that these troops should be diverted to Danish service rather than renew the Dutch contract.⁽³⁵⁾ On 8 November 1626 a total of 5,013 English soldiers intended for Danish service had been assembled.⁽³⁶⁾ The number fell slightly in December, but even in January 1627 the figure was estimated at 4,693. The full truth however emerged when a detailed count took place of the men mustered at Enkhuizen on the shore of the Zuider Zee in readiness for shipping to transport them to the north west German coast. The rolls showed only 2,472. Though there were deficiencies in the quantities of arms the most outstanding item was a shortage of swords, 3,000 of them (!), for which the explanation offered was 'that the souldiers that ranne away carried theire swords with them but none other Armes.' No doubt their Lordships of the Privy Council agreed with the writer's view that such 'greate difficiency deserves a

(32) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/665

(33) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/545

(34) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/567-96

(35) E.A. Beller, 'Military Expedition of Sir Charles Morgan to Germany 1627-9', English Historical Review, xliii (1928), 528-9

(36) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/10/181

pertinent examination and a smart exemplary punishment upon some.⁽³⁷⁾

On 2 March 1627 English troops were still on the pay lists of the United Provinces, but on 23 March they were officially transferred to the attractively high rates offered by Christian of Denmark.⁽³⁸⁾ The four regiments finally established were placed under the command of General Charles Morgan and Colonels James Livingstone, John Swinton and John Burlacy.⁽³⁹⁾ The total of men was still below 2,500 when a muster was held near the Weser, but two recruiting sessions (it is not clear where) boosted the number to 4,913 on 6 June 1627.⁽⁴⁰⁾ These regiments contained mainly English troops. Certainly of the forty-eight captains involved only four names suggest a possible Scottish connection, Sir John Seaton, Sir James Livingstone, and Captains Ogilvy and Ramsay. Livingstone was definitely Scottish and came from Brighthouse. He was later created earl of Callendar, but despite his brief spell with the Danish army his military talents were utilised mainly in the service of the United Provinces till 1640.⁽⁴¹⁾

While these activities were taking place in England and Holland, the recruiting drums were also being beaten in Scotland. New recruiting officers appeared, as nobles and gentry sought the commissions offered by Christian IV and encouraged by Charles I. Rivals for the post of supreme commander over Scots appear to have been Robert Maxwell, earl of Nithsdale, and Alexander Lindsay, Lord Spynie. The latter had been in communication with the Danish monarch in 1626, and counselled that no

(37) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/72

(38) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/414

(39) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/468

(40) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/10/181

(41) E.B. Livingston, Livingstons of Callendar (Edinburgh 1920), 144-75

one person should have command over the Scottish forces lest the customary rivalry among the nobles should result. He argued that a better commander would emerge in time from the experienced soldiers. In his next letter he put forward Alexander Stewart as an ideal agent who would know the best people to contact and who would be capable of arranging shipping and food supplies for the recruits. But the overall command of the Scottish troops was awarded to Nithsdale, and this development caused the irate Spynie to write to Christian IV deprecating the king's choice. Spynie missed no possible avenue of attack. He considered Nithsdale a man of no reputation or worth, 'addicted to the Catholic religion ... not long returned from Italy ... utterly ignorant of the military arts.' He went on to suggest that Maxwell had resorted to bribery to gain this position so that he might learn Christian's plans and then betray them to the enemy.⁽⁴²⁾ In these circumstances he urgently pressed for a thorough investigation, but he does not appear to have been given any satisfaction in the matter. Though Spynie's scathing criticisms were caused by his injured pride and were exaggerated in nature, Spynie had reason to feel aggrieved both then and later. His men came almost entirely from Scotland compared with Nithsdale's from Scotland, Ireland and England; and there is no doubt that Spynie joined the Danes earlier and served them longer than Nithsdale. The actual importance of the post of supreme commander assumed an exaggerated value in Spynie's eyes, possibly for reasons of status or of pay for the rank, but it is significant that Monro never mentioned Nithsdale in this capacity of senior colonel.

Nithsdale's licence from the Privy Council on 27 February 1627 empowered him to raise 3,000 men for Danish service,⁽⁴³⁾ and nine days later similar letters were granted to Lord Spynie and Sir James Sinclair

(42) RA Copenhagen, Tyske Kancellis Udenlandske Afdeling, Special Part A.II/4 1572-1640 (Scotland)

(43) RPC 2nd Series, i, 531-2

(the same man who had failed to take up the post of lieutenant-colonel in Mackay's regiment), each of them also to levy 3,000.⁽⁴⁴⁾ There is nothing in Scottish records to suggest that many Scottish recruits embarked for these regiments in the first six months of 1627. On the other hand General Morgan's letter to the Secretary of State from Wasserbaden on 19 June 1627 contains a postscript to the effect that word had just come in from Stade of the arrival of 2,000 Scots there instead of the three full regiments expected.⁽⁴⁵⁾ When he referred to the Scots again on 26 July 1627 he mentioned that their total was then 2,200 men.⁽⁴⁶⁾ It was little wonder that Mackay was highly esteemed by Christian IV. At least he had produced results in the form of 2,000 men actually in the field for one regiment, compared with a similar total by Spynie^{Sinclair} and Nithsdale for three regiments. Colonel Mackay himself arrived in Germany late in March, having started out from Leith in January. He had travelled at a leisurely pace, 'sightseeing' in Holland, and visiting Brill, Sluys, the Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Delft, Utrecht, Arnhem, Nimegen and Haarlem. He had dined with Sir John Swinton, one of the colonels of the four English regiments destined for Danish service, before eventually shipping out of Amsterdam and arriving in Germany to join Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton and the rest of the regiment, bringing with him at least thirty men including Captain Thomas Mackenzie and Lieutenant John Barbour.⁽⁴⁷⁾ It may have been these arrivals who cost merchant Robert Ferguson of Aberdeen the outlays which were repaid to him by Axel Arenfeld on 17 May 1627 for shipping men for this

(44) RPC 2nd series, i, 539-47

(45) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/177

(46) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/228

(47) J. Mackay, Old Scots Brigade (Edinburgh 1885), 245-8

regiment from Britain.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Mackay's unit then marched from Steinburg to Itzehoe to meet the Danish sovereign and to swear the Oath of Allegiance. Immediately afterwards Mackay received his orders dated 27 March 1627 to dispatch to Stade his major with two companies.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This is confirmed by Monro who related that while Colonel Mackay and Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton crossed the Elbe and headed south west, a garrison of two companies was put into Stade on the south bank of the estuary. The provisions-records for Stade show that these two companies were those of Major Dunbar and John Forbes of Tulloch.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Meanwhile Mackay and Seaton with the rest of the regiment joined the English forces of General Morgan on the Weser.

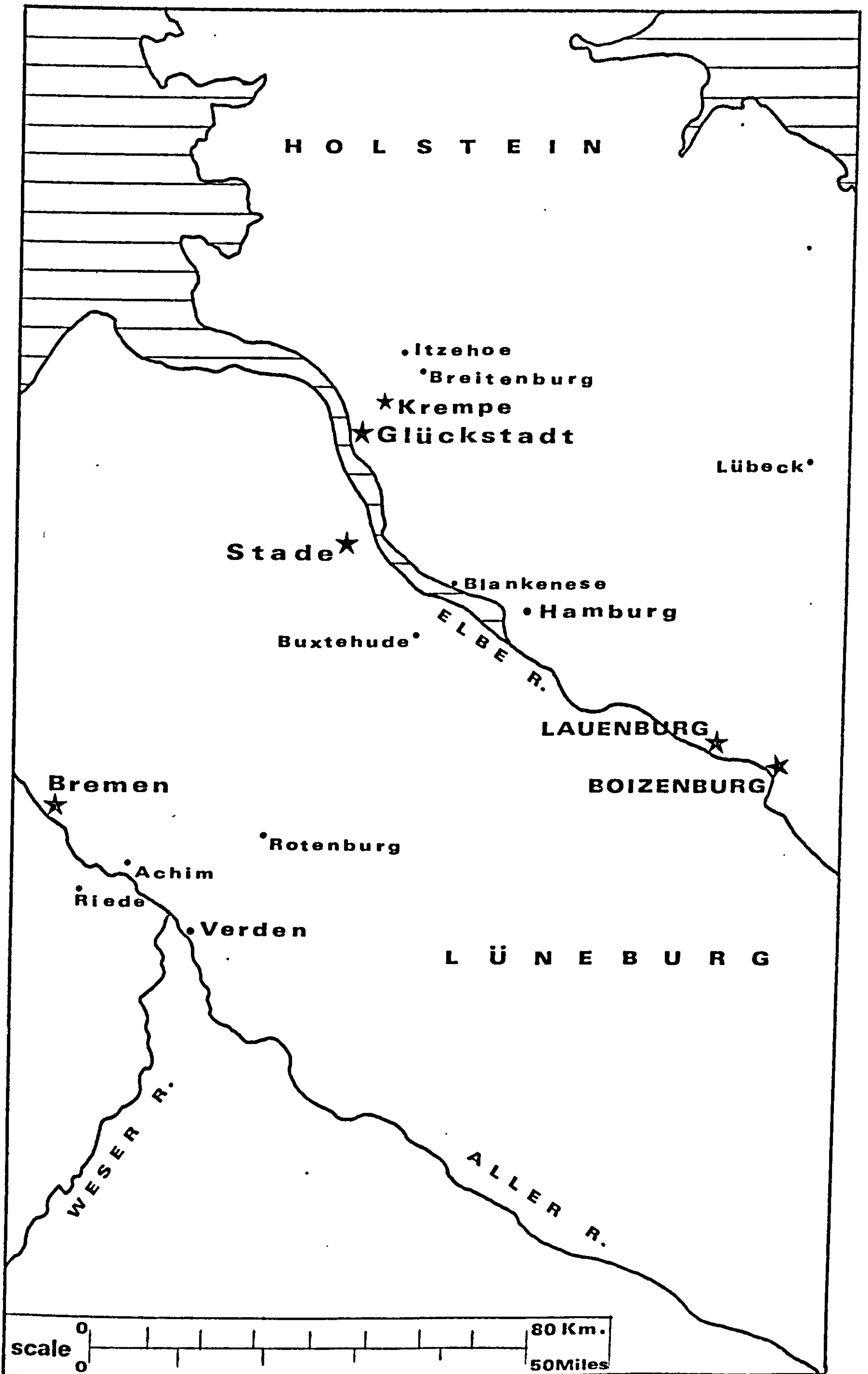
Christian IV's defensive strategy was dictated by the threat of the forces of Tilly and Wallenstein, and amounted to little more complex than holding the line of the vital rivers of north west Germany, the Weser and the Elbe. If both should be lost the final defences of the entire Jutland peninsula would be breached. Thus the Danish ruler made use of British forces to strengthen his position on the Weser and concentrated most of his own troops on the Elbe. To assist in holding this riverline Mackay was directed to detach Major Dunbar with four companies to occupy the bridge town of Lauenburg on the Elbe.⁽⁵¹⁾ Meanwhile the rest of the regiment was to operate along the Weser. Captain Boswell, whose company had earlier been amalgamated with others in Mackay's regiment, was killed by peasants when he was unwise enough to lose touch with the rearguard of the unit in the Weser area,

(48) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/II

(49) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/155

(50) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/709-20, 746-51

(51) Monro, Expedition, i, 4



Map vi

possibly near Riede where his men had been issued with new shoes and stockings.⁽⁵²⁾ Colonel Mackay left the Weser region to seek ready money from Christian IV for his men, and Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton appears to have been absent too.⁽⁵³⁾ For ten weeks in the summer the main bulk of the regiment remained round Bremen under the command of acting-Major Robert Monro in close conjunction with General Morgan and the English troops. Towards the end of April Morgan and Mackay were based at Achim, about ten miles south east of Bremen.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Mackay dated two letters from 'Visurgim' (Weser) on 10 May and 28 May.⁽⁵⁵⁾ In June Morgan moved his camp nearer Verden and established himself at the junction of the Weser and Aller.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The Scots may have accompanied him, but their stay there would have been brief because by 9 July Mackay's unit was ensconced on the Elbe.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The havoc of war had not yet swept through the Scottish ranks and if cash payments had been issued regularly the troops would have considered them relatively easily earned. The only alarm the Scottish sentries experienced was a mock night-attack by General Morgan to test their watchfulness.⁽⁵⁸⁾

The second half of 1627 saw the main forces of Spynie, Nithsdale and Sinclair make their appearance in the European arena, where their services were sorely needed by the Danes during the months from August onwards. Spynie's captains were engaged in recruiting in Scotland

(52) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/II

(53) Monro, Expedition, i, 7

(54) Beller, 'Military Expedition of Morgan', EHR, xliii (1928), 531

(55) SRD, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/160-1

(56) PRD, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/148

(57) SRD, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/166

(58) Monro, Expedition, i, 6

during the late spring and summer of 1627, and provisions were issued for Spynie's soldiers at Stade from 27 July 1627 till the end of the year.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Thus his men there endured the beginning of the siege of the town in November and December, but there is little evidence in Danish records to indicate which of the companies in Stade belonged to Spynie's unit or the number of soldiers concerned. However a company of Scots under Captain John Semple is listed at Glückstadt from 17 October 1627, and he is elsewhere stated to have been a captain of Spynie's. Captain James Beaton and his officers appear to have served for fifteen months (summer 1627 - October 1628) in Stade in Spynie's regiment.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Spynie's unit operated in two distinct parts, one in north west Germany garrisoning Stade and Glückstadt, and the other in Scania and later at Stralsund. On 30 November he was instructed to take under his command those of Colonel Sinclair's men who had already arrived in Scania, pending Sinclair's own appearance.⁽⁶¹⁾ One of these captains is known to have been Alexander Chirnside, whose pay was reckoned from 13 December 1627. Spynie himself eventually joined the part of his regiment in Scania and seems to have had little or no contact with his troops in Stade and Glückstadt. The names of his captains in Scania during the winter 1627/8 have emerged from financial reckonings. His Life Company under Captain-Lieutenant Pringle was assessed from 23 December 1627, and the companies of Captains John Lindsay, James Douglas and Sir John Home from 25 December.⁽⁶²⁾

Meanwhile Nithsdale and Sinclair had sought permission to extend their recruiting campaigns from Scotland into England. This suggests

(59) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/685

(60) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A, 151

(61) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, (ed. E. Marquard, Copenhagen 1929), 256

(62) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

that they were experiencing difficulty in reaching their full quota of men from Scotland alone. Both were granted the required licences to levy in England from 27 July 1627.⁽⁶³⁾ It seems likely therefore that their regiments included both Scottish and English troops. This appears to be borne out by the companies listed in Stade and Glückstadt in the later months of 1627 as being English. These units follow after the name of Colonel Burlacy, one of the four English commanders noted previously, but it is certain from the Danish State Papers in London that these companies did not form part of his regiment.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The most probable explanation is that they were in fact English companies sent out as part of the troops of Nithsdale and Sinclair before the arrival of either of these colonels in person. Nithsdale himself had intended to send over the main part of his 2,000 men before the end of May and he expected to accompany the remainder by 15 July.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The usual delays occurred, and on 20 September he had recourse to his colleagues on the Privy Council for a directive that all his officers and soldiers should attend him in Edinburgh before 10 October.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton bore out Nithsdale's statement regarding dispatch of his men earlier in the year by writing from Boizenburg that some of Nithsdale's Scots had landed in Denmark before 11 June.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The earl had been in communication with Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, asking her to recommend a major from Holland. She answered on

(63) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 448

(64) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/468, 75/9/140-1

(65) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.93 XII-XIII Indk. Breve 1627-30

(66) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 77-78

(67) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 79

22 May 1627, putting forward William Cunningham, formerly a lieutenant-colonel with Mansfeld and now one of her own staff.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Yet despite this royal recommendation and apparently ideal military experience Nithsdale does not appear to have taken up the suggestion. Indeed no lieutenant-colonel is ever recorded for his regiment. The senior officer named was Major Thomas Kelly.

Axel Arenfeld noted payments to Captains Andrew Campbell and Darcy Swift starting on 3 August and to Lieutenant Wauchope on 8 August 1627, all three of them in Nithsdale's unit, and to Captain William 'Hayedaye' of Sinclair's regiment on 10 August 1627.⁽⁶⁹⁾ These companies were utilised for the tedious task of garrison duty, the troops of Campbell and 'Hayedaye' in Stade, those of Swift in Glückstadt, and those of Wauchope in Glückstadt during August and September (392 strong) and then in Stade.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Also posted in Glückstadt during the last three months of 1627 were companies of Nithsdale's regiment led by Major Kelly, Captain-Lieutenant Adam Dickson (colonel's company) and Captain George Ogilvy, and Sinclair's men under Major Borthwick and Captain Mowbray. Captain Alexander Douglas of Nithsdale's regiment, listed in Glückstadt from 3 December 1627,⁽⁷¹⁾ may be connected with Sir Archibald Douglas who claimed to command a company of Scots on 15 November which was also stationed in Glückstadt.⁽⁷²⁾ Nithsdale had another company in Stade under Captain Alexander Hamilton from 22 October 1627, but the

ii,

(68) Fraser, Carlaverock, 8-9

(69) Whether 'Hayedaye' is identical with Captain William Hay of the same regiment is unknown. There is a mention on one occasion in Danish records of Captain William 'Haliday'. RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/28

(70) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/II

(71) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/849-56

(72) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/28

regiment for Major John Douglas in Stade from 19 November is not known, George Leslie is first recorded in the Glückstadt accounts on 7 January 1628, but Nithsdale's letter dated 29 October 1627 indicates that Leslie had worked hard during the summer of 1627 and had already sent over 250 men to Germany.⁽⁷³⁾

The regiment for Captain Ludovick Leslie, who appears in the Glückstadt records on 26 October 1627, is in doubt. His men seem to have been English, and this would eliminate the possibility of belonging to Spynie's regiment. It appears more likely that he served in Nithsdale's unit than in Sinclair's, because there was another Captain Leslie (George) in Nithsdale's unit. In addition Hamilton influence in this regiment was considerable (note the recruiting work of Alexander, George, and Frederick already mentioned, and the fact that the marquis of Hamilton supported Nithsdale's claims to supreme command over the Scots in Danish pay). Ludovick Leslie was later to be made major of the 1629 regiment in Swedish service under Colonel Alexander Hamilton. Hence Leslie appears to fit well as a Nithsdale captain. No definite regiments can yet be allocated to Captain Herbert 'Preusz' who commanded a company of Englishmen on 13 August, or to Captain John Ruthven who controlled a company of Scots on 16 September 1627.

Mackay too had some soldiers in Glückstadt. Captain David Learmonth's men were there from 6 September, and came under the nominal command of chronicler Robert Monro from 2 October 1627.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Monro in fact never joined these troops of his in Glückstadt. More confusing is the appearance of Captain Alexander Lindsay of Crawford from 2 September 1627 with a company variously described as 'English',⁽⁷⁵⁾ 'Scottish and English',⁽⁷⁶⁾ and 'Scottish'.⁽⁷⁷⁾ In all these separate instances he is clearly stated

(73) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.93

(74) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.46

(75) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/849

(76) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151

(77) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/28

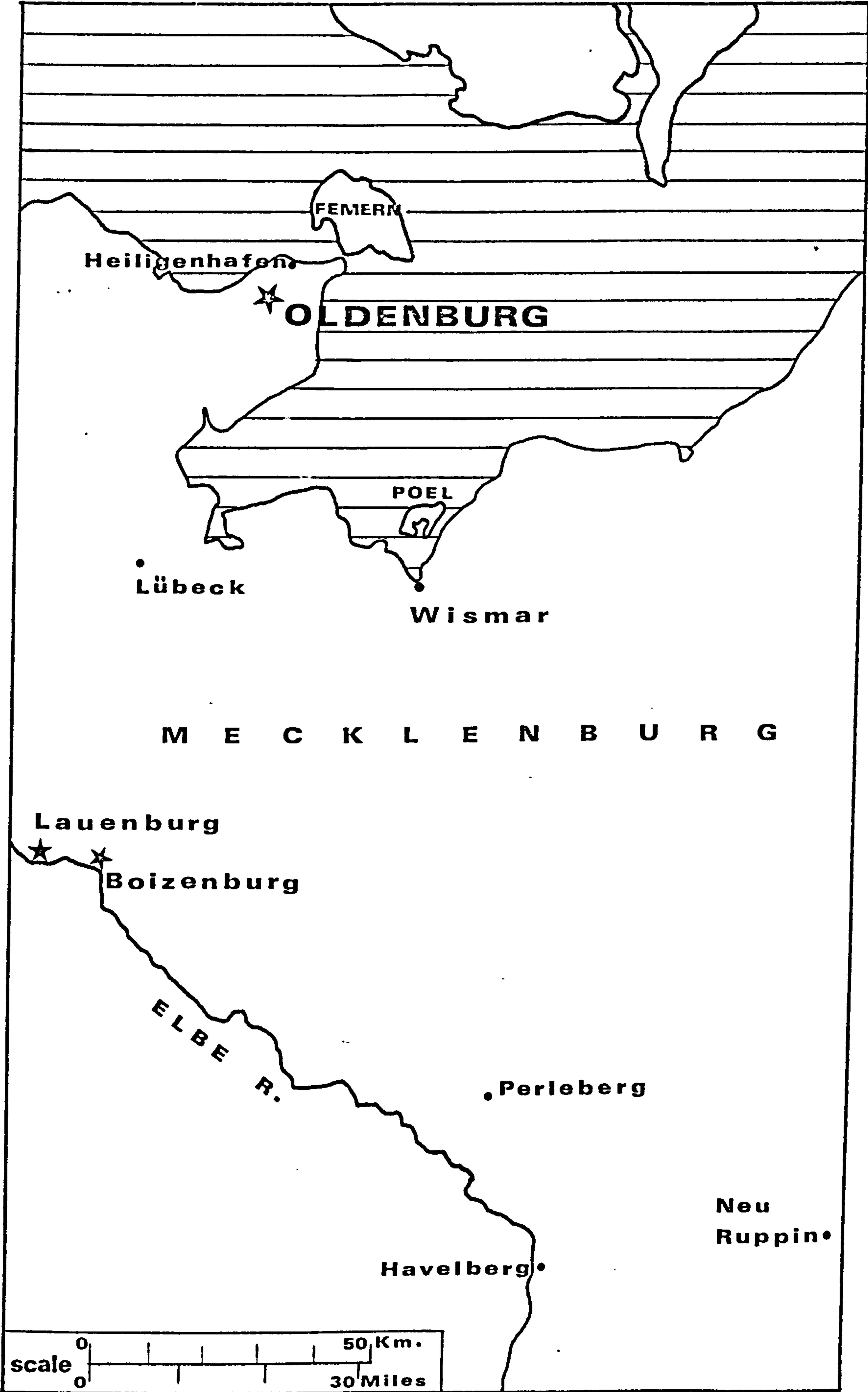
to be in Mackay's regiment, yet Monro never mentioned him. His company is unlikely to have been a new one. Mackay certainly negotiated a new 'Capitulation' with Christian for 1,000 fresh men, but it was dated 19 October 1627.⁽⁷⁸⁾ It is much more likely that Lindsay took over one of the companies originally held by a captain in Dunbar's squadron. He might even be identical with Quartermaster Alexander Crawford listed in Glückstadt as early as 15 September 1627.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The situation regarding Scottish troops in Glückstadt and Stade at the end of 1627 is still rather confused, but may be summarised as follows: - for Nithsdale - Major Kelly, Captains Andrew Campbell, Darcy Swift, Alexander Hamilton, George Ogilvy, Alexander Douglas and George Leslie, and perhaps Ludovick Leslie, Sir Archibald Douglas and Major John Douglas; for Sinclair - Major Borthwick and Captains Hay (and/or Haliday) and Mowbray; for Spynie - Captains John Semple and James Beaton; for Mackay - Captains David Learmonth, Alexander Lindsay, and at least temporarily Major Dunbar and the rest of his squadron before they were posted to Breitenburg. All these soldiers were supported in the area of the Elbe estuary by the four English regiments, estimated at 4,707 strong at the end of July and at 3,766 on 1 October, the majority in Stade and the rest in Glückstadt.⁽⁸⁰⁾

By comparison with the units lying in Stade and Glückstadt which did not experience much action till November and December, Mackay's regiment underwent six months of really active service in the second half of 1627. In the first place, his troops in the Bremen area were withdrawn to the lower Elbe to join their colleagues at Boizenburg, just

(78) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.46

(79) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/882

(80) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/10/181



Map vii

up river from the king himself positioned at Lauenburg. Monroe has left a clear picture of the route followed by this squadron from Bremen via Rotenburg to Buxtehude.⁽⁸¹⁾ He rode up to Stade for further orders which directed him to ferry his men across the Elbe at Blankenese below Hamburg and then to march along the north bank of the river past Hamburg and Lauenburg. The reason for this redeployment lay in the concentration of Imperialist forces on the south bank in the Lüneburg heath region. At this time by command from Christian IV Mackay demoted Captains Duncan Forbes and John Forbes and replaced them with James Wilson and John Rudderhus. The regiment's reunion did not last long, for on 9 July Colonel Mackay was instructed to take seven companies to Havelberg and leave the other four under Major Dunbar at Boizenburg as a garrison.⁽⁸²⁾ The two squadrons never met again.

The main body of Mackay's regiment was moved to Neu Ruppin in Brandenburg to assist the forces of Slammersdorf and Von Turlau to hold the enemy at Havelberg, and if the opportunity offered to make a counter-thrust into Silesia. However when the Imperialist armies established a bridgehead over the Elbe at Lauenburg the Danish defensive position was split in two, and Mackay had to adopt an unexpected retreat route, because his men were cut off from return on foot to Holstein. His captains were directed to march to Perleberg and then north to Wismar. They awaited shipping at the nearby island of Poel, and after five weeks of delay were transported into the harbour of the fishing town of Heiligenhafen on the Holstein mainland opposite the island of Femern. From here it was a short march to Oldenburg where Mackay's regiment

(81) Monroe, Expedition, i, Itinerary Appendix

(82) Monroe, Expedition, i, 8, 10

was first tested in the crucible of battle. Many proved themselves by displays of exemplary courage and valour, but inevitably a heavy toll in dead and wounded also resulted. Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton, Robert Monro and Captains Sir Patrick MacKie and John Forbes of Tulloch were all injured, and the colonel himself was scorched in the face by exploding gunpowder. Despite the bravery of the Scots the pass had to be abandoned on 23 September 1627, and a headlong retreat followed. They boarded the ships again and arrived at Flensburg, capital town of Schleswig, but by this time the entire Jutland Peninsula was rapidly being overrun by the enemy so the Scots were directed to the port of Assens on the west side of the island of Fyen. There the cost of war was counted, and this squadron of Mackay's regiment was discovered to number only 900, having lost 400 men killed in the battle or captured during the withdrawal.⁽⁸³⁾

Not surprisingly at this juncture Colonel Mackay took advantage of Christian IV's dire situation to make on 19 October a new 'capitulation' with the king for a further 1,000 Scottish recruits.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The Privy Council warrant for these troops is dated very late, 31 March 1628.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Mackay himself and Captains Sir Patrick MacKie, Annan, Monro of Obsdale, Monro of Assynt, and Forbes of Tulloch returned to Scotland, while Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton went on leave to Holland. Thus in November Robert Monro was left in command of the unit. He posted three companies on Fyen island and then ferried the other four across the Belts, first to Langeland and then to Laaland island. Monro established his winter quarters with the burgomaster in Maribo and billeted there the companies of Colonel Mackay and Sir Patrick MacKie. Captain Mackenzie's men were quartered at Rødby on the south west side of the island, while Monro of Assynt's troops were

(83) Monro, Expedition, i, 7, 12, 15, 17-23, 27-28, 33

(84) Monro, Expedition, i, 34;
RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.46

(85) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 295-7

settled on the west coast of Falster Island at Nyköping.⁽⁸⁶⁾ There they saw out the winter of 1627/8 hoping to be able to resist the impending Imperialist onslaught against the islands. Femern had already fallen, and with no fortified towns on Laaland Monro's prospects for the coming year of 1628 looked far from promising.

Whatever troubles might await Robert Monro he was at least able to contemplate the future which was more than could be said about most of the unfortunate squadron which had been left under Major Dunbar at Boizenburg. Captain David Learmonth had been wounded there and died later of these injuries at Hamburg. This is probably the incident reported by Quartermaster Galbraith to Nithsdale on 6 August, 1627. Apparently Captain Learmonth had been shot in the thigh and the bone broken, and his chances of escape at that date had seemed slender.⁽⁸⁷⁾ General Morgan writing from Wasserbaden on 7 August 1627 had also received word of the sterling service rendered by Dunbar's squadron at Boizenburg, and he commented, 'I heare they did very well.'⁽⁸⁸⁾ The fort at Boizenburg was eventually abandoned by Dunbar who shipped two companies of his men down the Elbe to Glückstadt, but he left the other two companies under Major Wilson to garrison Lauenburg Castle. Wilson however surrendered it to Tilly on terms, and through carelessness in the wording of the agreement lost his colours also. For this oversight, rather than the capitulation of the castle, he was demoted on his arrival at Glückstadt and Captain Duncan Forbes was reinstated. Major Dunbar was then ordered to move his four companies out of Glückstadt and to defend the Stadholder's fortress of Breitenburg a few miles south

(86) Monro, Expedition, i, 34, 41-42

(87) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 104

(88) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/252

east of Itzehoe. When the castle there fell to the enemy both Major Dunbar and Captain Duncan Forbes were killed. It must be presumed that the survivors retreated to Glückstadt because Monro mentioned the late Captain Learmonth's company being situated there,⁽⁸⁹⁾ and the Glückstadt records show this company there till the middle of 1628.⁽⁹⁰⁾ There is no extant evidence of the fate of the other troops in Dunbar's squadron, but Monro's second-hand account of the six-day struggle at Breitenburg suggests a bitter contest from which survivors of the vanquished may have been few.

At the end of 1627 the locations of Scottish mercenaries in Danish service had altered considerably from the beginning of the year. Mackay's regiment, much depleted, lay on the islands of Fyen, Laaland and Falster. A conglomeration of Scots from the regiments of Nithsdale, Spynie and Sinclair, along with the remnants of Dunbar's squadron occupied the key ports of Stade and Glückstadt in addition to the large English force in these garrisons. The second part of Spynie's unit had recently landed in Denmark and was based in the Danish province of Scania across the Sound. 1627 had been a continuous series of setbacks for the Danes and their mercenary troops. Despite the reinforcements from Britain and those expected in the course of 1628 it seemed unlikely that the war could be continued much longer as the tide of occupying Imperialist forces swept through Jutland and also surrounded Stade.

(89) Monro, Expedition, i, 33, 38

(90) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/I/752-75

CHAPTER NINE

The commencement of the following year, 1628, did not at first bring any appreciable change in the fortunes of Christian IV, but the war altered somewhat in character as the Danes endeavoured to operate from various island bases. Only in Holstein was the pattern unchanged. Here the Danish garrisons at Stade and Glückstadt, assisted by their paid troops from Britain, continued to fight holding actions. The former town was subjected to intense pressure, and perhaps this accounts for the absence of provisions-records for the Scottish companies which almost certainly remained in service there during the remainder of the siege. Eventually the siege culminated in the Imperialist occupation of the town of 27 April 1628.

The English and Scottish companies retired to Holland, perhaps inclined to agree with the anonymous writer of the letter to General Morgan in May that to serve Denmark 'marching this way seems strange.'⁽¹⁾ Official request was made to the United Provinces for garrison and billeting facilities, and when this was granted the surrendering troops marched from Stade to Holland, while 1,000 sick and wounded were shipped across to Glückstadt. On arrival at the rendezvous at Zwolle on 11 May Morgan's English troops totalled 2,374.⁽²⁾ The actual strength of these regiments taken a few days later showed, Sir Charles Morgan 520, Sir John Burlacy 497, Sir James Livingstone 481, and Sir John Swinton 428. When it is recalled that twelve companies constituted each of these

(1) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/136

(2) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/10/181

regiments, it can be seen how seriously under strength these units had become. Several captains had only twenty five men including company officers under their command and Captain Kirby had merely twenty one, viz. an ensign, a sergeant, nine pikemen and ten musketeers.⁽³⁾ By May 1628 the total of English troops had dwindled to 1,882, but also present were ninety men each for Colonels Mowbray and Hamilton, and 150 for Spynie.⁽⁴⁾ The ranks given to Mowbray and Hamilton in this list are not accurate because both were only captains, but the former probably commanded the remnants of Sinclair's men from Stade, and Hamilton those of Nithsdale. These English and Scottish soldiers cannot have looked back over their period of approximately twelve months service with Denmark with any degree of satisfaction. They had spent the entire time in Stade, and in the end had failed to retain the town. By midsummer 1628 the four English regiments had been amalgamated into one, and before the end of the year most of the Scottish captains were also unemployed.⁽⁵⁾

Robert Anstruther's letter to Morgan on 20 June 1628 explained what had happened to Captain Burke of Nithsdale's regiment. Burke had been imprisoned by the Imperialists on suspicion of private plotting with Morgan against the terms of the agreed conditions for the surrender of Stade. Apparently when Tilly left Stade orders were given for Burke's head to be cut off, but 'he happily gott out of prison, swamme the Fosse, and saved himselfe ...' by escaping to Hamburg. There he offered his service, in leavying a free Company of foure or five hundred men within one Moneth; which was accepted of, he having already halfe of his Company.⁽⁶⁾

(3) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/140-1

(4) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/148

(5) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/101

(6) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/168

The defence of Glückstadt proved successful in the first half of 1628, largely because it was never besieged by the Imperialists in any determined fashion. The extant records there are thus more complete, and are continuous up to July 1628. Some of Spynie's men are listed there for a ten day period after the surrender of Stade,⁽⁷⁾ apparently in transit before withdrawal to Holland. Spynie later claimed that he had provided six companies for the garrisoning of Stade and Glückstadt,⁽⁸⁾ but the following are the only captains known to have served in his name in these two towns, Thomas Beaton, John Semple, James Beaton, and from 5 August 1628 John Learmonth. Nithsdale's men under Major Kelly and Captain George Ogilvy continued at Glückstadt, and were assisted by Captains Andrew Campbell till 21 January, Alexander Douglas till 31 March, and George Leslie till 10 May.⁽⁹⁾ Mackay's companies in Glückstadt including those of Alexander Lindsay and Robert 'Mora' appear to have been reformed on 3 May 1628.⁽¹⁰⁾ It must however be admitted that identification of captains and pinpointing of their locations during this period in Holstein is fraught with difficulties and uncertainties compared with the relative clarity of the picture regarding the Scots on the Danish islands or in Scania. No doubt has been cast on the claims of Spynie and Nithsdale that they recruited their full regimental totals of 3,000 men each, so it must be presumed that they performed this task reasonably adequately. James Sinclair of Murkle however failed to reach the figure named in his undertaking, but the margin of his failure is not known. Blame for this was laid on Captains Hay, Chirnside and Donaldson who had each been expected to provide 300 men.⁽¹¹⁾ Hay and Chirnside did in fact serve

(7) RA Copenhagen, Tyske Kancellis Indenlandske Afdeling (TKIA)
Militieregnskaber I Ib/16/I/685-94

(8) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. I Ib/23

(9) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. I Ib/16/I/694, 721, 776, 825-49

(10) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A. 153/I

(11) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 472

Denmark for a while in 1628 but no record has been found of Donaldson.

The first half of 1628 brought many varied experiences to those of Mackay's men billeted on the Danish islands. In late March, April and early May Monro's four companies from Laaland and Falster (reckoned as 800 men on 8 January 1628) learned the tactics of sudden sharp raids against the enemy-held Holstein coast, not unlike the technique of modern marine commandos. The Scots established their rendezvous at Rødby, but their first attempt to seize the island of Femern was a dismal failure.⁽¹²⁾ However on 8 April they occupied it and from this base sent 2,000 men against Ekernförde. Monro stated that English, German, French and Scots provided approximately equal proportions of this force. There is no doubt that Mackay's regiment supplied the Scots and Count Montgomery the French, but there is uncertainty about the origin of the English who were led by Captain John Chamberlain.⁽¹³⁾ He had been a commander under General Morgan at Stade, but his company was listed without him ('absent in Denmark') at the muster at Zwolle in May 1628.⁽¹⁴⁾ Chamberlain was probably the officer in charge of the 800 men left to serve the king of Denmark while the rest of the British troops in Stade retreated to Holland.⁽¹⁵⁾ On 3 December 1627 he wrote from Copenhagen on behalf of his men complaining of grossly inadequate provisions.⁽¹⁶⁾ An interesting sidelight on the method of resolving national rivalries for the honour of leading the vanguard of attack is illustrated by Monro's statement that he won the privilege by throwing sixes on the dice.⁽¹⁷⁾ The next sea-borne raid took place against Kiel, but it was more in the nature of a demonstration than a determined assault, and had no positive results.

(12) Monro, Expedition, i, 45-46

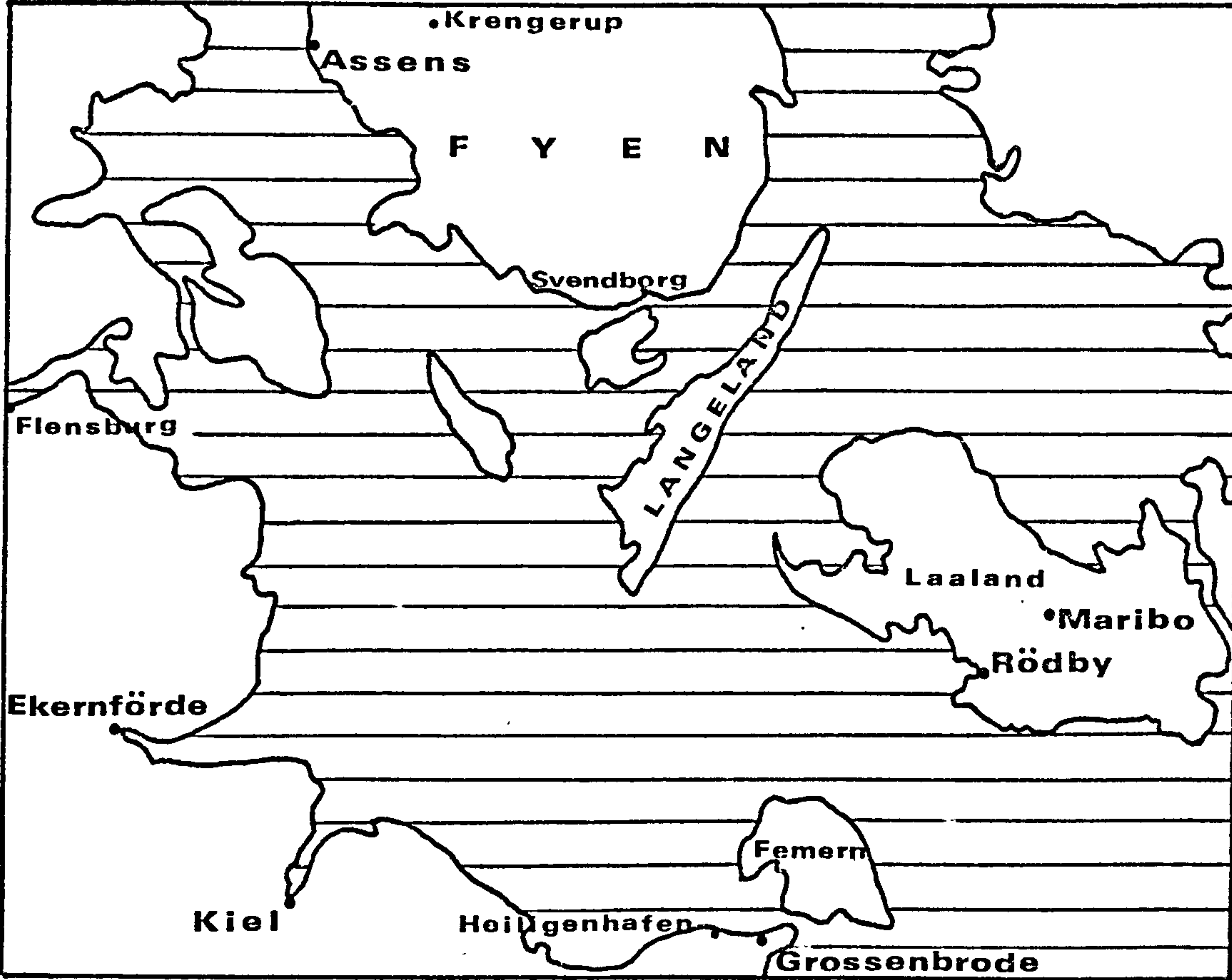
(13) Monro, Expedition, i, 51

(14) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/140

(15) E.A. Beller, 'Military Expedition of Sir Charles Morgan to Germany 1627-9', English Historical Review, xliii (1928), 535

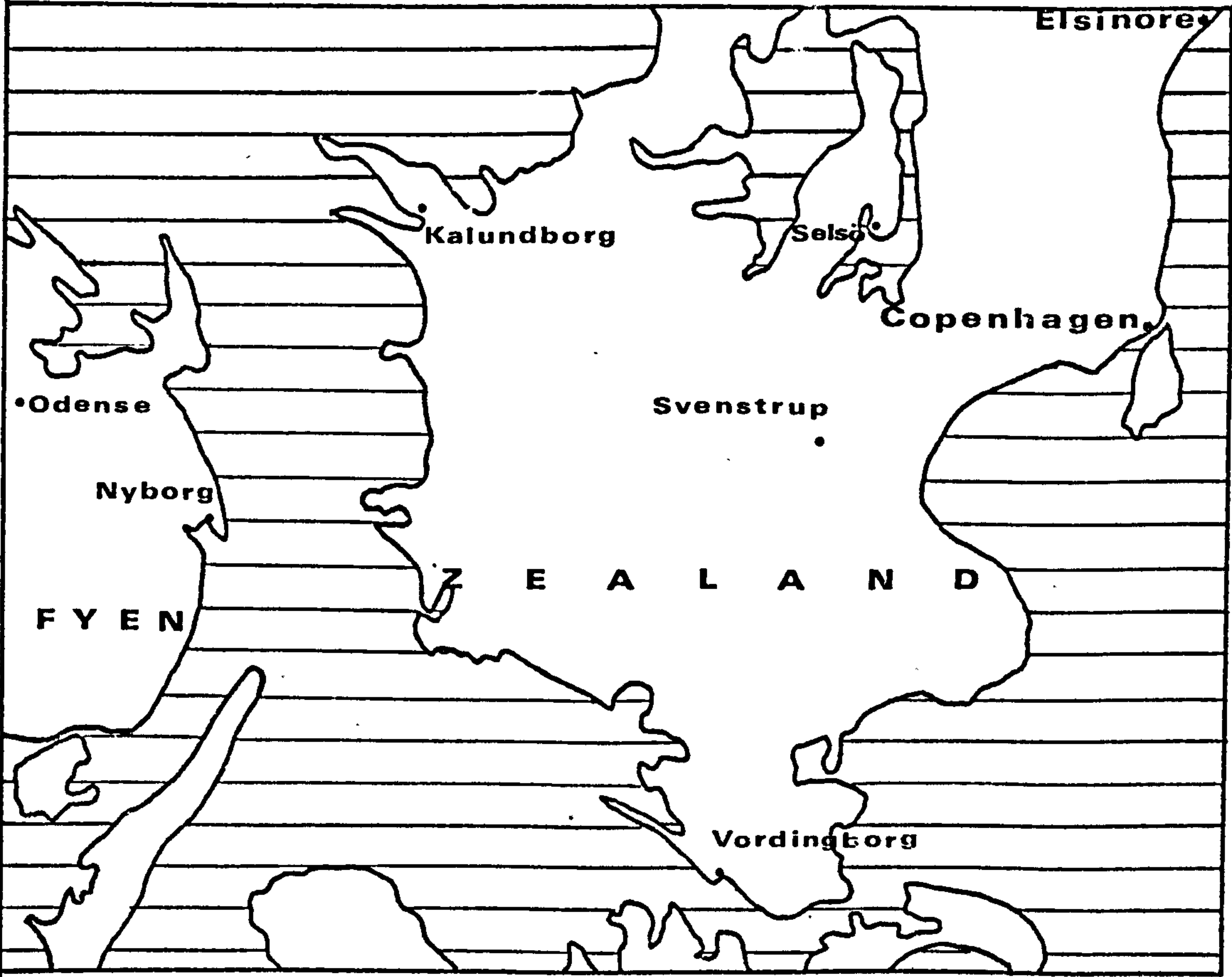
(16) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/412

(17) Monro, Expedition, i, 51



Map viii

scale 0 50 Km.
0 30 Miles



Map ix

Nor could it be said that any real gain emerged from the landing at Grossenbrode on the peninsula near Heiligenhafen, for it was soon abandoned and withdrawal made to Femern. Many injuries were incurred at Femern and Ekernförde from exploding powder.

On 8 May 1628 Robert Monro received instructions to marshal all the companies of Mackay's regiment at Elsinore for a new venture.⁽¹⁸⁾ Shipping was arranged for those on Fyen to leave Nyborg on 21 May.⁽¹⁹⁾ Orders were also sent to royal officials at Svenstrup, Selsø, Kalundborg and Vordingborg (all in Zealand), and to Krengerup in Fyen to provide shipping for the Scots. Those on Laaland and Falster were to be similarly transported to Copenhagen before 30 May.⁽²⁰⁾ Actual movement began on 12 May, but the troops may have been landed at Copenhagen and required to march from there to Elsinore because Mackenzie's company experienced some difficulty with local inhabitants during the march in Zealand. Alternatively some of the Scottish companies may have been shipped merely across the water channels between islands and left to journey on foot across the actual islands. Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton returned at long last from Holland and was dispatched to the new theatre of action with three companies, while Monro followed later with the remaining four companies.⁽²¹⁾ Captain Alexander Annan had decided to remain in Scotland, and thus his Lieutenant Alexander Hay was preferred to be captain of the company. The destination for Mackay's troops was Stralsund.

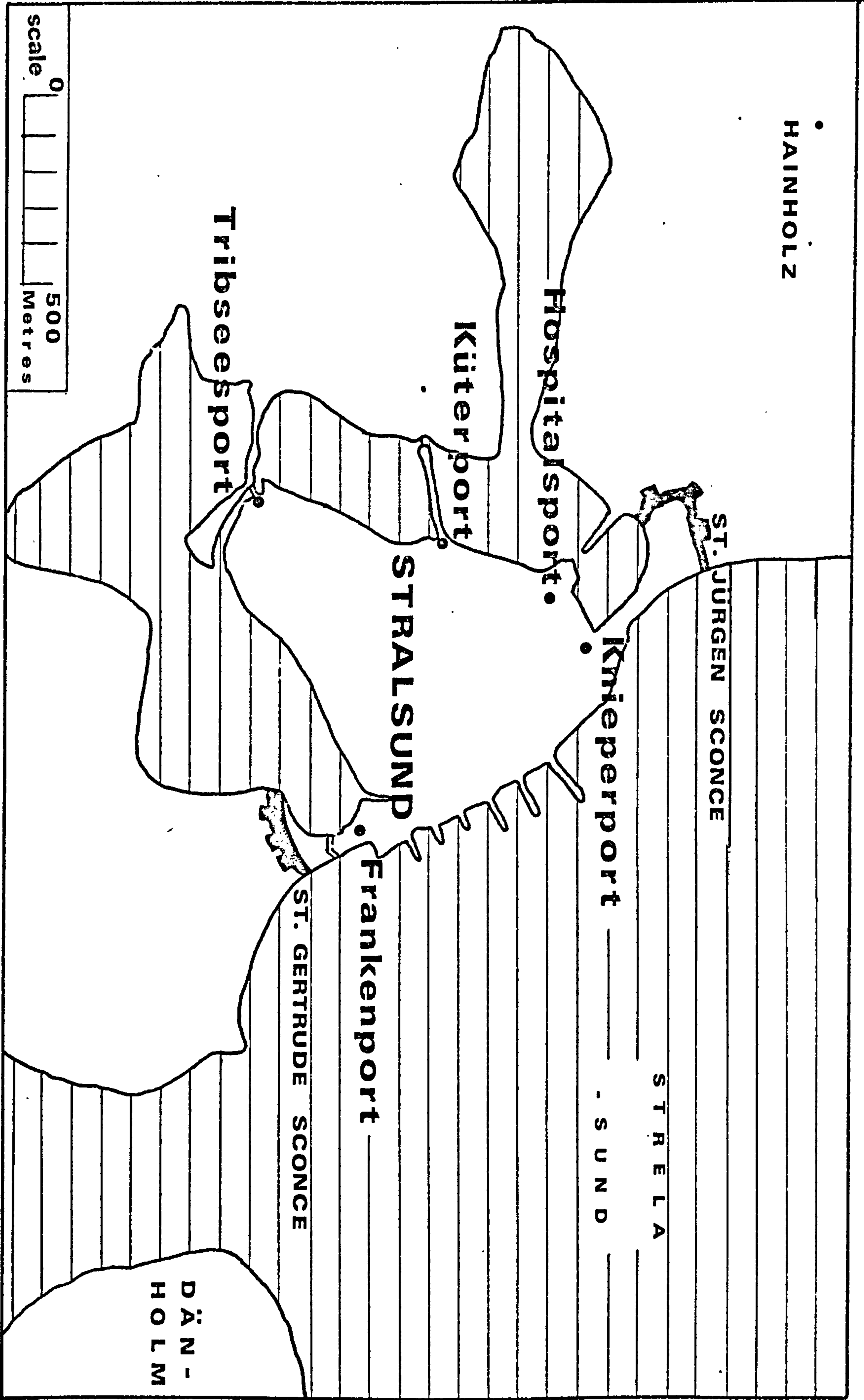
The north German port of Stralsund to which the Scots were directed occupied a strong defensive position. It was roughly triangular in shape

(18) Monro, Expedition, i, 61

(19) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9 (ed. E. Marquard, Copenhagen 1929), 411

(20) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 412-3

(21) Monro, Expedition, i, 61-62

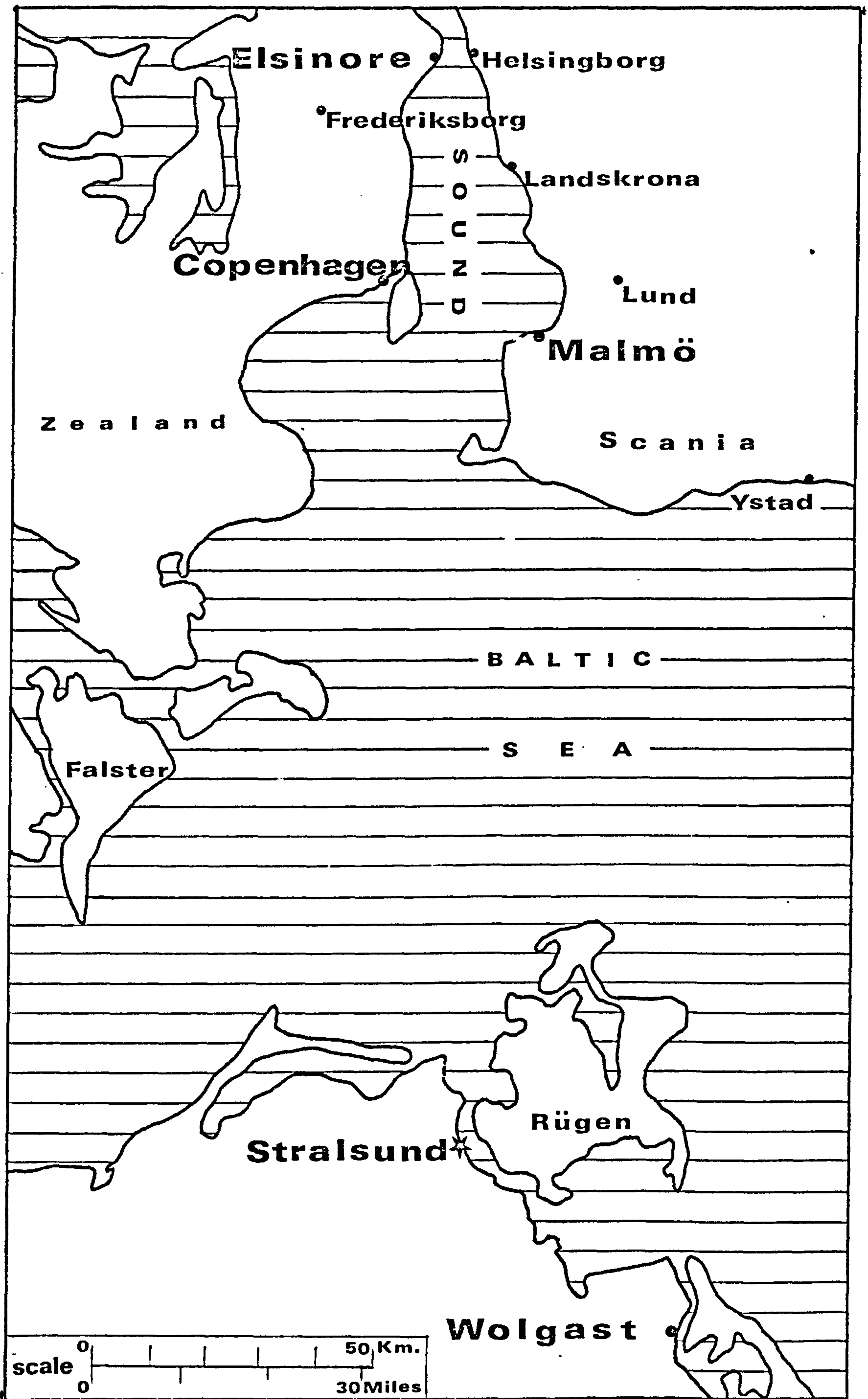


with four lakes on the landward side of the town and the relatively shallow Strelasund on the seaward side. Entrance to the town was effected by five gates, Frankenport in the south east, Tribseesport in the south west, Küterport in the west, and Hospitalsport and Knieperport both in the north west. The defence of the town depended upon the old town wall and sconces built to protect the gates, more particularly the St. Gertrude scone at the Frankenport and the St. Jurgen scone at the Knieperport. The population of the town in 1628 was approximately 18,000 - 20,000. For military purposes each of the four quarters of the town (St. Maria, St. Nikolaus, St. Jakob and St. Jurgen) was expected to contribute two companies of 350 men as a militia force. Further levies in the town however had raised the total defence force to approximately 4,800. Despite the natural strength of Stralsund's position however this manpower was unlikely to be adequate to counter the emergency which arose during the spring of 1628.

Stralsund, a member of the Hanseatic League, had held aloof from the treaty agreed between Bogislav XIV, duke of Mecklenburg, and the Emperor which gave the Imperialists freedom to march into Western Pomerania. But late in 1627 and early in 1628 it seemed inevitable that Hapsburg armies would soon attempt to seize Stralsund. In fact the Imperial commander, Arnim, arrived outside Stralsund with 8,000 troops to commence the siege on 16 May. Having foreseen such a development the Stralsunders had previously sent to Denmark for aid, and Christian IV had issued orders for a relief expedition to be organised on 8 May. The first part of this force, led by Colonel Holck, landed on 25 May and comprised a German company and three companies of Mackay's regiment under the control of Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton. The second group, commanded by Monro, disembarked on 28 May and consisted of the four remaining companies

of Mackay's regiment from Zealand. One company of Scots was detailed to garrison the island of Dänholm, while the other six Scottish companies along with the German one were ordered to the Frankenport. During the first ten days of the siege Arnim, operating from his camp at Hainholz, north west of the town, had concentrated his attacks particularly against the Knieperport where the Stralsunder militia were on duty; but on 26 May, the day after Seaton's arrival, Arnim switched his offensive to the Frankenport where the Scots had just taken up their positions. His night attack failed, and he then decided to weaken the town's resistance by a bombardment which lasted for the rest of May and most of June.

Meanwhile reinforcements were shipped to Stralsund to support the defending garrison. 200 Danes appeared early in June and were posted to the Tribseesport. On 23 June hopes of Swedish assistance were realised when 600 Swedes led by Rosladin and Duwall came ashore. They were drafted to the Knieperport to bolster the resistance of the militia there. These forces had arrived opportunely, for Wallenstein brought up his own army to intensify the siege on 27 June. The total Imperial force outside Stralsund now numbered 20,000. Wallenstein threw the main weight of his attack against the Frankenport where the Scots of Seaton and Monro were extremely hard pressed during the bitter fighting which took place there between 27 June and 29 June. Scottish losses were as high as thirty per cent. Casualties among the Swedes at the Knieperport too were considerable, for Colonel Rosladin and Major Semple were killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Duwall was captured and imprisoned for the next six months. But the defenders held firm, and Wallenstein reverted to bombardment in early July. His best opportunity to storm the town had passed, because further Danish and Swedish reinforcements were to



Map xi

were to arrive in Stralsund during the month.⁽²²⁾

Unaffected by the fury of the Stralsund campaign Spynie and 1,100 of his men spent the first six months of 1628 billeted in Scania, playing little positive part in the European hostilities and unaware of their future role at Stralsund. An amalgamation of companies in this regiment had been ordered on 19 February 1628 when all companies below half strength were to be divided among the others.⁽²³⁾ The exact location of two companies, those of John Lindsay and James Douglas, is known. Both were at Ystad on the south coast of Scania on 7 March.⁽²⁴⁾ Though this unit had seen no action, it must have been below strength because Lord Spynie was given permission by the Danish monarch to recruit 250 Danes for his regiment on 1 May.⁽²⁵⁾ It will be recalled that Sir Patrick Cockburn had been an officer over Danes early in 1626 before the Scottish regiments had come into the service of Christian IV, but in 1628 he is listed as lieutenant-colonel for Spynie's regiment. Spynie and his close retinue may have been bored with life in Scania because Karen Hansen, the widow in whose house they were billeted, lodged official complaint about the behaviour of his men and the damage they had caused.⁽²⁶⁾ A royal letter to the Scanian Commissary dated 26 May 1628 was the result. This directed that Spynie should make full recompense and in Spynie's reckoning with Commissary Nils Krag at the end of the financial year there is noted a deduction of twenty six dollars for repairs to the house of Karen Christen Hansen in Malmö.⁽²⁷⁾ Captain James Blair, about whose recruiting in Scotland many details have been noted previously, appears to have landed in Scania rather later than the other captains, for orders

-
- (22) Sveriges Krig, iii, 51-98;
M. Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus (London 1958), ii, 357-70.
(23) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 335
(24) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9
(25) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 406
(26) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 435
(27) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

concerning the billeting of his company are dated 27 May 1628.⁽²⁸⁾

Spynie's regiment was not to enjoy the leisurely life of Scania very much longer. A royal missive issued on 23 June 1628 ordered arrangements to be made for embarkation at Malmö of 900 Scots on 7 July. Ships were to be seized for this operation, and bread and butter provisions for a month and beer for fourteen days were to be made ready for them.⁽²⁹⁾ These Scots must have been Spynie's troops en route for Stralsund.

At Stralsund in the summer of 1628 the Scots of Mackay's regiment met those of Spynie's in the warm comradeship so often engendered by common hardship and mortal danger. Heinrich Holck arrived along with Spynie's regiment on 9 July, a combined total of 1,100 men, and proceeded to take charge of the Stralsund defences.⁽³⁰⁾ Their arrival was timely. Indeed Lieutenant-Colonel Seton, who was acting governor of the town till Holck's arrival, had already been driven to arrange a truce with the besiegers, but the welcome relief brought by Spynie's appearance enabled the defenders to resume the struggle.⁽³¹⁾ Wallenstein withdrew on 15 July, and left Arnim to continue the struggle. The next day Alexander Leslie and Nils Brahe brought in another 800 Swedish troops whose arrival confirmed that the siege was to all intents and purposes at an end. Leslie however appears to have been rather over-ambitious and perhaps underestimated the enemy. He attempted an 'outfall' from the town with the regiments of Mackay and Spynie. They experienced some initial success before being forced to retire, badly mauled. Spynie's unit in particular suffered severely. Nevertheless Arnim raised the

(28) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

(29) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 453

(30) Sveriges Krig, iii, 95

(31) Monro, Expedition, i, 73

siege on 24 July. Unfortunately for the weary Scots Christian IV determined to make one final attempt to recover his position. He sent an expedition to seize Wolgast and attempt the occupation of Mecklenburg. The Scots in Stralsund (led by Captain Mackenzie, since both Seaton and Monro were injured) were ordered to join the Danish forces at Wolgast, but Wallenstein gained revenge for his failure at Stralsund by crushing Christian's army on 2 September.⁽³²⁾ The remnants of the vanquished units retreated by sea to the islands of Denmark and to Scania.

The Stralsund financial accounts kept by Heinrich Holck from May till December 1628 make disappointingly few references to Scots. No dates are marked alongside items, which is of course a serious limitation. Nevertheless Holck does record a payment of 200 rix dollars to Lieutenant-Colonel 'Zyton' (Seaton) and fifty rix dollars to Colonel Spynie's advance-guard Captains 'Shyngisoi' (Chirnside) and 'Pringen' (Pringle).⁽³³⁾ It will be recalled that Alexander Chirnside was originally one of Colonel Sinclair's commanders and certainly the first of Sinclair's captains to arrive in Scania, and that his company had been added to Spynie's regiment during the winter 1627/8. John Pringle appears to have been the captain-lieutenant of Spynie's Life Company, and he was injured at Stralsund.⁽³⁴⁾ In addition Holck entered sums of twenty rix dollars paid to other Scots in the vanguard, 37½ rix dollars to Scots who were sent to Denmark wounded and sick, and four rix dollars to a Scottish sergeant previously a prisoner of the enemy but now come from Wolgast. He later mentions provisions for six companies of Spynie's regiment and five of Mackay's, and follows this with reference to two companies of Spynie's, 'last on the ships', and to men of Captain Hay.

(32) Sveriges Krig, iii, 96; Monro, Expedition, i, 75; Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, ii, 364-5

(33) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/22

(34) Monro, Expedition, i, 78; RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151

Finally Holck recorded a payment of thirty two rix dollars to three Scottish companies which had been without quarters,⁽³⁵⁾ presumably a sequel to the incident mentioned by Robert Monro when Assynt's men mutinied and threatened the burgomaster after they had spent four nights sleeping in the streets.⁽³⁶⁾ Financial reckonings made later in the year by Franz Rantzau confirm that the companies of Lord Spynie, Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn, and Captains John Lindsay, James Douglas, John Home and Alexander Chirnside served at Stralsund and then at Wolgast before returning to Scania. The two companies of Scots which arrived at Stralsund after the main bulk of Spynie's unit may have been those of George Stewart, Francis Trafford or James Blair. The latter's transfer to the Baltic port is noted by Nils Krag as falling between 3 July and 11 July.⁽³⁷⁾

Though Stralsund was not the last-remaining outpost held by anti-Imperial forces in Germany, the repulsion of the Hapsburg armies outside Stralsund had far-reaching effects on the course of the Thirty Years War in Germany. Two immediate results were directly contrary to the aims of Wallenstein. Denmark and Sweden had found it possible to act together, and Gustavus acquired a secure base in Pomerania from which to intervene in Germany in the future. In practice the harmony between Denmark and Sweden did not last. Early in 1629 Christian IV sought peace, and Wallenstein was quick to offer lenient terms in order to detach him from his connection with Gustavus. But the Swedish king presented a more awkward problem for the Imperialist commander, because Gustavus had shrewdly insisted on a treaty of alliance between Stralsund and Sweden before Swedish troops actually disembarked in 1628. This had helped the Swedes to

(35) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. Regnsk. IIb/22

(36) Monro, Expedition, i, 64

(37) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. Regnsk. IIb/9

oust the Danes from Stralsund, and Swedish protection soon led to virtual annexation of the port. When Gustavus decided to land in Germany with an invasion fleet in 1630, he did so at Peenemünde with his western flank protected by Stralsund. The real importance of the Stralsund siege however was that it blunted the edge of the Imperial attack against the entire Baltic seaboard and thus boosted the morale of the Protestant powers in the Thirty Years War at a time when Hapsburg expansion seemed irresistible. There are moments in history when the balance between opposing forces is tipped decisively in a psychological sense by a successful defence, which far outweighs the numbers of men involved or the strategical value of the action. Stralsund in 1628 might be compared in this respect with Gloucester in 1643 during the English Civil War.

The Scottish contribution to the success at Stralsund was substantial. Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton played a prominent part in the defence of the town between 25 May and 9 July and when Holck was absent seeking further reinforcements Seaton was commander of the Danish troops. Scottish soldiers formed approximately a fifth of the total garrison of 6,100 at the end of May, a sixth of the 6,900 when Wallenstein stormed the gates late in June, and a quarter of the 8,000 on 9 July. Monro's men had borne the brunt of much of the severest fighting and had weathered the cannon barrage and hail of musket bullets at the St. Gertrude sconce and the Frankenport.⁽³⁸⁾ Despite the heavy losses incurred by Spynie's regiment the most significant contribution made by Spynie's unit was its timely arrival at the crucial juncture when Seaton was at the point of seeking peace terms. Part of the credit for the Stralsund victory must of course be given to the Swedish companies and the Stralsund

(38) Monro, Expedition, i, 62-64

militia which together resisted valiantly at the Knieperport, but there is little doubt that without the assistance of the Scots under Seaton, Monro, Mackenzie and Spynie, Stralsund could not have survived the Imperialist onslaught. For this reason it can be contended that despite the exciting exploits of Scots in Swedish service at Breitenfeld in 1631, throughout the Rhineland, in Swabia and Bavaria, at Lützen in 1632, and in the less momentous but essentially valuable role of garrisons throughout Germany and along the Baltic coast, nothing of all this service for Sweden compares in importance for European history with the service rendered by the Scots at Stralsund in the name of Christian IV.

The Scottish contribution to the action at Stralsund was further increased by the fact that Scots were included in the troops brought by Alexander Leslie on Swedish behalf to ensure for the future the position of Stralsund as an anti-Imperialist stronghold in the Baltic. The exact composition of these troops is uncertain, because no Swedish muster rolls exist for Stralsund in 1628, but the rolls for 1629 are likely to be fairly accurate, especially when the commanders are the same. Wijn has contended that Leslie's unit was a Scottish regiment. The muster rolls give only partial support to this view. At first glance only five companies appear to have been Scottish, those of Captains Alexander Forbes, Henry Ramsay, John Ruthven, Alexander Cunningham, and Adam Cunningham. Even here however the surnames of the troops show that only the companies of Ramsay (140 men) and Ruthven (93 men) were almost entirely Scottish. Alexander Cunningham's company contains quite a few Irish names (no less than five Burkes, as well as two Tobins, Casey, Byrne, Lynch, Dillon and Clenaghan) in addition to the Scottish surnames. Adam Cunningham's men appear to have been mainly German, and only approximately a third of Alexander Forbes' soldiers had Scottish names.⁽³⁹⁾

(39) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/22/1-13

Thus it would appear that merely 400 or so Scots formed part of the 3,000 men garrisoning Stralsund for Sweden at the end of 1628, but this constitutes an impressive contribution when joined to the part played by the Scots in Danish service in the defence of the same Baltic port.

Such epic sieges which force historical turning points however often involve great personal cost to the troops concerned. The Scottish regiments at Stralsund were crippled. It seems that but for the intervention of Thomas Home, the experienced cavalry commander, with a diversionary raid none of Spynie's troops might have survived.⁽⁴⁰⁾ As it was, drastic amalgamations were decreed by the Danish king when the Scots landed in Denmark. These changes resulted in the virtual disappearance of Spynie's regiment. The extent of his losses in personnel can be judged from the fact that on 3 September the companies of the colonel himself and Captains James Douglas, the late Sir John Home, and James Blair were all amalgamated under Captain John Lindsay and formed into a free company.⁽⁴¹⁾ Major William Troup made the final payments to Spynie's companies between 30 August and 3 September.⁽⁴²⁾ Sir John Home had died in captivity of his injuries, and John Lindsay had been fortunate to survive three dangerous wounds in the battle.⁽⁴³⁾ The other remnants of Spynie's regiment from Stralsund were used to strengthen Mackay's unit, as will be noted below. Thus at the end of 1628 only the company of Captain John Lindsay retained the distinct identity of Spynie's original unit, and the term 'Spynie's regiment'

(40) Monro, Expedition, i, 80

(41) Monro, Expedition, i, 83; RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9; Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 481

(42) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

(43) Monro, Expedition, i, 78; RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit regnsk. IIb/23

can no longer be used. Confirmation of these drastic developments for Spynie's men is to be found in the financial settlements made with the company officers in September and in the many passes signed by Spynie himself in Copenhagen on 28 September 1628. The recipients included Ensigns Robert Hay, Alexander Lindsay, Andrew Blair, George Home, William Johnstone, Mark Home, and Henry Barclay; Lieutenants Alexander Chambers, John Douglas, James Hamilton, John Glass, William Home, William Gordon, William Campbell, and Robert Douglas; and also Captain-Lieutenant Adam Dickson and Quartermaster Alexander Penicuik. These were officers from companies which had ceased to exist, and the above names indicate that the captains involved were William Hay, James Blair, James Beaton, John Home, James Douglas, George Oliphant, Alexander Chirnside, Alexander Lindsay, Major Douglas and Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn. (44)

A similar fate seemed imminent for Mackay's regiment in the aftermath of the Stralsund siege and the Wolgast failure. Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton resigned. Captain Monro (the chronicler) had been constrained to withdraw to Copenhagen for a surgical operation to remove a bullet from his knee. Though Captain Mackenzie was fit enough to direct the movement of the troops from Stralsund to Wolgast, he also was injured. Mackay's unit could hardly be described any longer as a regiment, for its strength was not even that of a squadron. In six weeks over 500 men excluding officers had been lost. (45) Although 400 of the original soldiers remained, scarcely a quarter of these were unscathed. Wallenstein had indeed hammered Monro's Scots on the anvil of Stralsund, breaking some

(44) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A. 151

(45) Monro, Expedition, i, 79-80. Squadrons varied in size, but normally comprised four companies, i.e. approximately 500-600 men.

of them physically in the process, but forging of the survivors 'well-beaten blades of soldiers'.

Colonel Mackay had however spent the summer recruiting in Scotland. His timely reinforcements arrived in September and these enabled him to keep a full regiment in the field, the only one of the Scottish colonels in Danish service to do so. Mackay's own company was strengthened, and marched off under Captain-Lieutenant John Sinclair to Langeland island.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Robert Monro, baron of Foulis, had been granted a commission for
(47)
a new company as early as 15 October 1627 and with his new troops he was directed to hold the vital island of Femern during the winter 1628/9 along with the reinforced companies of Assynt and Obsdale. There must have been no shortage of relatives to visit in the long winter months while three Monro companies were stationed on the same island. Obsdale himself however returned once more to Britain with Colonel Mackay. Robert Monro stated that on this journey the colonel and Obsdale were accompanied by Captain 'Mackay',⁽⁴⁸⁾ by which he would appear to have meant Mackenzie. No captain was called 'Mackay' late in 1628, and though Eye Mackay had just been promoted to lieutenant for Captain Mackenzie the evidence in Danish records points to the new lieutenant staying with the company throughout the winter till the final dismissal in the summer of 1629.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Captain Mackenzie after his valiant service in 1628 is not mentioned again either in the Danish records or by Monro. The companies of both Sir Patrick MacKie and Captain Annan were cashiered. Both had failed to return from Scotland, and although Captain Hay had exercised command over the latter's men he was forced to seek other

(46) Monro, Expedition, i, 82

(47) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.153/I

(48) Monro, Expedition, i, 82

(49) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

employment, which he eventually found with Ruthven in Swedish service.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Danish authorities also intended to terminate the existence of Seaton's company when the lieutenant-colonel resigned, because on 7 November his eighty Scots were ordered to be amalgamated with the other Scottish companies and settled in Landskrona in Scania.⁽⁵¹⁾ But the lieutenant of this company, Andrew Stewart, appealed against this decision and supported his plea by positive action, for on 20 November a royal letter recorded that the king had taken notice of Stewart's work in completing the company to 150 men and that as a consequence Stewart should command them as captain.⁽⁵²⁾ In his own account of the matter written in German Stewart explained that he had come from Scotland and served for eighteen months as lieutenant for Seaton, and that he had been promoted to acting-captain at Stralsund with a company of eighty men which he had increased in numerical strength to 130. However to conform to the orders of Colonel Holck he had left at Stralsund his lieutenant with fifty of his best men, and this was the cause of his company appearing to be only eighty strong.⁽⁵³⁾ He spent the winter at Lund in Scania. The company of John Forbes of Tulloch was brought back to its former strength by the lieutenant and ensign of the company, but the captain is seldom mentioned again by name in Danish service.⁽⁵⁴⁾ It seems likely that Lieutenant John Beaton assumed effective command. These men along with those of Captain Mackenzie under Lieutenant Eye Mackay were billeted at Malmö with Robert Monro, who had now been deservedly promoted to

(50) Monro, Expedition, i, 82

(51) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 547, 562

(52) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 562

(53) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/23

(54) Monro, Expedition, i, 82

lieutenant-colonel to fill the vacancy left by Seaton.

Sir James Sinclair had meanwhile been continuing his attempts to recruit his full complement of men. Two new companies arrived on his behalf during 1628, those of Captains George Stewart and Francis Trafford. The former's commission was dated 1 April 1628,⁽⁵⁵⁾ and Trafford's may well have been similar. A petition from Stewart indicates that he had brought 214 men in July and that he had been forwarded to Stralsund where he lost 100 of these fresh recruits.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Colonel Sinclair stated that he had 185 men on board ship at Leith for Stewart on 26 June 1628.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Like the previous troops of Sinclair's they were given into the charge of another Scottish colonel, in this instance Mackay. The companies of George Stewart and Trafford were also strengthened by additions from the remaining weakened units of Spynie's regiment. The company of George Stewart was settled at Helsingborg on the west Scanian coast across the Sound from Elsinore,⁽⁵⁸⁾ and they gained on 3 September the men of Alexander Chirnside, former Sinclair Captain taken into the regiment of Spynie and now paid off on 8 September. In this financial account reference is made to 134 soldiers of this company who had been quartered near Landskrona. Trafford and his soldiers were moved to Lund, north east of Malmö,⁽⁵⁹⁾ and he was reinforced by the remnants of Captain George Oliphant's company which had probably been in action at Stralsund. Oliphant was listed as a Spynie commander when he mustered his men in Scania in March 1628. The rank and file troops from the companies of Chirnside and Oliphant found themselves transferred into yet another

(55) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.153/I

(56) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/23

(57) RPC 2nd Series, ii, 608

(58) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit regnsk. IIb/9

(59) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 481; RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

regiment when they were moved under the command of Mackay's senior staff officers late in 1628. The distribution of Mackay's companies during the winter 1628/9 was therefore three on Femern island (Monro of Foulis, Assynt, and Obsdale), one on Langeland (Sinclair), and five in Scania (George Stewart, Andrew Stewart, Eys Mackay, Trafford and Beaton). Concern was expressed by the Danish authorities late in December about the composition of the Scottish companies in Scania. A general tightening of discipline was demanded, and strict enquiry was to be made to ensure that all English, Irish and Scottish troops were in the Scottish companies while all Danes and Germans were to be put under the command of Falk Lykke.⁽⁶⁰⁾

The situation in north west Germany had not changed appreciably during the second half of 1628. The four English regiments were reduced to one unit in August, and the dismissed officers returned to England to seek compensation for their pay claims. They can have achieved little success, for petitions supporting their case were submitted as late as March 1629.⁽⁶¹⁾ Sir Charles Morgan still commanded 1,400 men in October 1628 who were intended as a reinforcement of the garrison at Glückstadt. There were even vague rumours of possible reinforcement from the troops returning from the abortive La Rochelle expedition.⁽⁶²⁾ Secretary Conway wrote on 28 October as though Morgan's movement to Glückstadt was imminent,⁽⁶³⁾ but his arrival at the German port at this time is not confirmed by the Glückstadt provisions-accounts. He did in fact arrive in the Elbe on 31 October, but his troops were not disembarked in Glückstadt till early December.⁽⁶⁴⁾ English troops were present there

(60) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 600

(61) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/10/95, 127

(62) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/101

(63) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/256

(64) Beller, 'Military Expedition of Morgan', EHR, xliii (1928), 536-7

on 11 December when Wentworth sent a report of the mutiny of soldiers who objected to an issue of provisions without an accompanying supply of coin.⁽⁶⁵⁾

The previous day seven English officers had signed a letter stressing the problems of inadequate pay and inefficient distribution of provisions.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Few men from the regiments originally recruited by the Scottish colonels appear to have remained in Glückstadt, at least as far as the evidence of these accounts is concerned. Captain William Burke (formerly of Nithsdale's regiment) is recorded there with a company of 211 men on 11 August 1628, but he had only sixteen men left in Glückstadt on 16 August and no subsequent mention is made of him there. Captain John Semple's name remains in the records till 30 November when his seventy remaining soldiers were issued with supplies for sixteen days.⁽⁶⁷⁾⁽⁶⁸⁾

Captain Thomas Beaton's company of 112 men was probably disbanded in September in accordance with the arrangements concerning the rest of Spynie's regiment, for the last entry for the whole company is dated 19 September. The officers appear to have stayed a little longer, since further small issues were made to them till 12 December.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Only two commanders with possibly Scottish connections are known to have endured there through 1628 and into 1629. Captain John Learmonth was in charge of 199 men at the end of December.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Also still serving at Glückstadt were troops under Major Thomas Kelly of Nithsdale's regiment.

(65) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/337

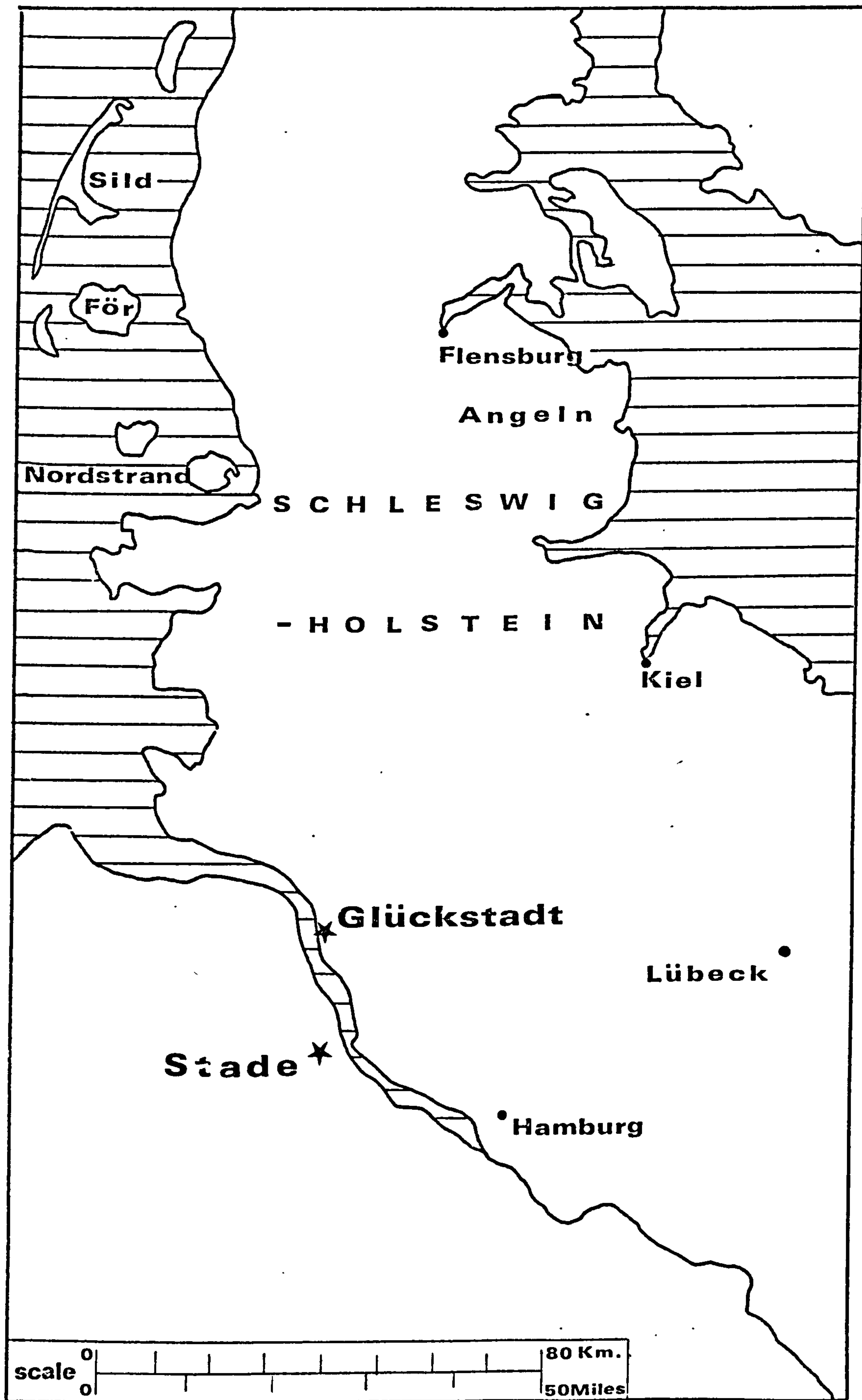
(66) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/335

(67) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/II/257

(68) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/II/245-6

(69) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/II/254-6

(70) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/II/237-44



His roll showed 216 men in August 1628, but this had dwindled to 141 by the turn of the year.⁽⁷¹⁾

If peace was not exactly assured in the last days of 1628, it was at least clear that the Danes would be able to offer little more than token resistance in the future. Equally obviously the really valuable period of service by Scots and English for Christian IV of Denmark was terminated. It remained to be seen merely how the Danish monarch would manage the awkward problem of disbanding his mercenaries and endeavouring to pay them after an unsuccessful war which had clearly not provided funds for this moment of financial reckoning.

Little of importance happened to the mercenary troops in Danish service during 1629 until 7 June ~~1629~~ when the Peace of Lübeck between the Emperor and the Danish king was made public. A last attempt however to achieve a minor military success had been proposed by Christian IV in March 1629. He hoped to seize the islands of Föör and Sild off the west coast of Schleswig and from there to launch an assault on the mainland. For this purpose Morgan sailed from Glückstadt on 10 April with two companies of Scots and three ^{of} Germans. Their intention was to rendezvous with the English and German companies, which had spent the winter in Denmark, and with Mackay's Scottish regiment. They managed to occupy the island of Nordstrand before the Peace of Lübeck, but the absence of any mention of this in Monro's account suggests that no meeting between the sea-borne force from Glückstadt and the Scots in Angeln took place.⁽⁷²⁾

On 7 June instructions were issued to pay off many of the remaining Scots.⁽⁷³⁾ According to Monro most of Mackay's regiment had been shipped to 'Angle Island' on 22 April, a total of over 1,400 men.⁽⁷⁴⁾

(71) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/II/229-36

(72) Beller, 'Military Expedition of Morgan', EHR, xliii (1928), 538-9

(73) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 713-4

(74) Monro, Expedition, i, 85

The companies of Forbes of Tulloch (led by Beaton) and Captain Andrew Stewart were embarked on warships and posted to lie offshore outside Wismar during the peace negotiations.⁽⁷⁵⁾ These facts from Monro's record are substantiated by the Danish Chancellery letters. On 3 March 1629 the Scanian Commissaries were ordered to assemble the three (at the end of December 1628 there had been five) Scottish companies stationed at Malmö, and hold them ready for service.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Of the companies known to have been at Malmö during the winter, two (those of Forbes of Tulloch and Andrew Stewart) served on the warships at Wismar in 1629.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The third company put on board the fleet appears to have been John Lindsay's, but no details of the location of his men during the winter are known beyond the general area of Scania. The above letter to the Commissaries on 3 March 1629 however suggests that John Lindsay had also been stationed at Malmö with Beaton and Andrew Stewart. The next communication from the Chancellery which concerned the Scots was dated 21 April and ordered that they be gathered at Malmö in readiness for departure on 4 May.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Monro stated that he left on 22 April.⁽⁷⁹⁾ A further directive on 3 May laid down that the remaining Scots (no clue is given to the identity of these) should leave Malmö in fourteen days time and be dispatched to Svendborg on the south coast of Fyen island.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Monro however stated that all Mackay's men were either at Angeln (1,100 men) or on board the warships.⁽⁸¹⁾ Thus either the Scots mentioned at Malmö in mid-May were not from Mackay's regiment (unlikely since Mackay's was the only known Scottish unit there) or the transfer to Svendborg formed part of the movement of troops from Scania to the Jutland peninsula.

-
- (75) Monro, Expedition, i, 85;
Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 714
(76) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 650
(77) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9
(78) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 684
(79) Monro, Expedition, i, Itinerary Appendix
(80) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 693
(81) Monro, Expedition, i, 85

Monro's itinerary appendix indicates that Mackay's regiment sailed to 'Isle of Angle', and Christian IV's letters in June 1629 are dated 'Øe vdi Angeln', which would appear to mean 'island in Angeln'. Angeln however is the mainland area of the Jutland peninsula east and south of Flensburg. The explanation is that Christian IV had situated his headquarters in a manorhouse named 'Øe' sited in Angeln. Monro's statement is thus rather misleading.

The month of June 1629 was important not only for Europe as indicating the Peace of Lubeck but also for Scottish mercenaries in Danish service. On 11 June Robert Monro apparently only major in substantive rank to judge from the wording of the Danish reckoning, settled his account with Commissaries Jorgen Skeel and Nils Krag on behalf of five of Mackay's captains, Foulis, Assynt, Obsdale, George Stewart and Lieutenant (acting-captain) Eye Mackay, as well as the regimental staff.⁽⁸²⁾ He did not draw any payment for the absent colonel, nor for the men on the warships. Indeed Captain Beaton who commanded the latter soldiers wrote to the Chancellor specifically to prevent Major Monro making any settlement for the account of these men with the fleet.⁽⁸³⁾ Monro and the five dismissed Scottish companies were to be shipped to Copenhagen and provided with free quarters at Elsinore till Scots ships trading with Danzig and other Baltic ports could transport them from Denmark. Monro retired in grand style from his Danish service after almost three years with the colours by dining with the King at Frederiksborg before returning to Elsinore.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Naturally enough in these circumstances far-reaching amalgamations of the Scottish troops were decreed in mid-June 1629. The companies

(82) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

(83) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 727

(84) Monro, Expedition, i, 85-86

of John Lindsay, William Burke, Francis Trafford and John Sinclair were ordered to amalgamate, a mixed assortment representing remnants of Spynie's, Nithsdale's, Sinclair's, and Mackay's original regiments.⁽⁸⁵⁾ It will be recalled that Burke's company had disappeared from the Glückstadt records in August 1628 and was not mentioned in Danish records again till June 1629. Concerning the companies on board the fleet the following details have come to light. The company of Andrew Stewart lost their captain when he died at Copenhagen from a fever in the third week of May.⁽⁸⁶⁾ His company was not with him at the time (presumably the soldiers were based off Wismar), and his funeral was arranged in the capital by the Stadholder himself. The details of the planning of the ceremony were arranged by Albrett Jorgensen, a Copenhagen burger, and David Mohr, churchverger of the German Church there. The former was recompensed with fifty rix dollars for his expenses and the latter with twenty rix dollars from the money due to the deceased captain for past unpaid wages. A further twenty rix dollars were allocated to Stewart's widow, Anna, for her upkeep and that of their child. The company was then taken over by Lieutenant Patrick Seaton, but the overall control appears to have remained in the hands of Captain John Lindsay.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The company of Forbes of Tulloch had been reinforced late in 1628 largely thanks to the efforts of Lieutenant Beaton and Ensign Johnson. Captain Forbes does not appear in the reckoning after 10 March 1629. In any case when Robert Monro was dismissed, John Beaton became major over the four Scottish companies still in service.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Presumably this implied that Beaton took over the four companies of Lindsay, Burke, Sinclair and

(85) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 713-4

(86) Monro, Expedition, i, 86; RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

(87) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

(88) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 713-4

and Trafford in addition to his own, though this is not explicitly stated.

On 26 June a further combination was ordered when Beaton was instructed to take under his command the other four Scottish companies which had arrived from Glückstadt.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Two of these would appear to be those of Captain John Learmonth and Lieutenant Robert Crichton (commanding for Major Thomas Kelly of Nithsdale's regiment). Conjecture must surround the identity of the other two. One may well have been the English company of Captain Francis Hamond which disappears from the Glückstadt records on the same day, 16 March 1629, as those of Major Kelly and Captain Learmonth.⁽⁹⁰⁾ (It was not uncommon for the Danes by this time to refer to strictly English companies as 'Scottish'). The other unknown company may have been that of Captain John Semple who still had seventy men at Glückstadt on 30 November 1628.

Major Beaton's force of British troops late in June 1629 numbered 1,300 in all, but Christian IV was apparently satisfied that the Imperialists had decided to honour the terms of the Lübeck treaty, because he issued instructions to Nils Krag to pay off the Scots and also two French companies still in service.⁽⁹¹⁾ This was accomplished by 12 July. Also struck off the records between 11 June and 11 July 1629 were captains with Scottish names who had been given commands over Danish native companies, Thomas Meldrum, William Campbell, James Hamilton, George Mathieson, David Russell, Henry Monypenny, and George Lauder.⁽⁹²⁾ The threat of unemployment as mercenaries thus directly faced many Scots in Denmark during June and July 1629, but those who did not take the opportunity to return home to Scotland, conveniently found another

(89) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 725

(90) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/16/II/247-53

(91) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 727

(92) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

paymaster proffering the ever-alluring rix dollar for their services, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Danish records give no indication of how many Scots actually returned home at this time, but there appears to have been a substantial movement from Danish into Swedish service. This will be seen later in the case of Mackay's regiment, but the same was true of other captains also. Patrick Ruthven's second regiment in Swedish service in the latter half of 1629 contained at least two captains who had served in Denmark, Alexander Hay and David Russell.⁽⁹³⁾ Colonel Alexander Leslie had John Ruthven and George Leslie on his roll as captains by 1630,⁽⁹⁴⁾ and Captain John Forbes of Alexander Hamilton's unit under Gustavus may well have been one of the John Forbes who had been in Mackay's regiment under Christian. But though there was a considerable movement of captains, and probably of their men as well, from Danish to Swedish service, this should not conceal the extent of wastage in personnel which took place even among captains. Of the sixteen original captains in Mackay's regiment in 1626, only five moved into Swedish service in 1629. Five had taken their passes in the course of these three years, five were dead, and one had been demoted.

Christian IV's intervention in the Thirty Years War had been almost entirely devoid of success. Most of the major actions (Dessau, Lutter, Oldenburg and Wolgast) had been lost, the Elbe and Weser defence lines had crumbled, the garrisons of Stade and Krempe had fallen, and the entire Jutland peninsula had been overrun. The only exceptions to this dismal sequence had been the glorious resistance at Stralsund and the retention of Glückstadt and the main Danish islands. Christian's

(93) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/14/138-40

(94) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/35/9, 80

negotiators also managed to obtain lenient terms from Wallenstein, no territory being ceded nor any indemnity being exacted, but this was due mainly to the policy of the Imperialists who were keen to detach the Danes from the anti-Hapsburg camp. Glückstadt and the Danish islands owed their survival not to sterling Danish or Scottish opposition but to the fact that Hapsburg strategy did not demand outright attempts to seize these places. Glückstadt was never besieged in the manner Stralsund experienced. Nor could Wallenstein hope to take the Danish islands without a strong fleet. Failure of the Imperialist plans to utilise the Spanish fleet for this purpose was the main reason for the fact that the islands remained secure from invasion by Wallenstein and Tilly.

In these circumstances the importance of the Scottish contribution to the Danish phase of the Thirty Years War can be seen in its true perspective. Apart from Stralsund, the Scots did not share in stirring victories. Indeed their merits were displayed in relatively negative situations, e.g. valour in defeat at Oldenburg or Wolgast, endurance at Stade or Glückstadt. The actual numerical size of the Scottish forces sent to Denmark during the period 1626-9 is not certain, but the figure is unlikely to have exceeded 10,000. English troops for the same period do not appear to have totalled more than 7,000. The degree of importance to be attached to these figures can be gauged from the size of armies on the Danish side. Mansfeld commanded 7,000 men at Dessau Bridge, while Christian IV had 20,000 at Lutter. In the spring of 1627 the Danish king could muster 30,000 soldiers, and the Danish strength at Oldenburg on 23 September was 8,000. It is clear that numerically the Scottish contribution to the Danish army was considerable. But the weakness of the Danish army is apparent from

negotiators also managed to obtain lenient terms from Wallenstein, no territory being ceded nor any indemnity being exacted, but this was due mainly to the policy of the Imperialists who were keen to detach the Danes from the anti-Hapsburg camp. Glückstadt and the Danish islands owed their survival not to sterling Danish or Scottish opposition but to the fact that Hapsburg strategy did not demand outright attempts to seize these places. Glückstadt was never besieged in the manner Stralsund experienced. Nor could Wallenstein hope to take the Danish islands without a strong fleet. Failure of the Imperialist plans to utilise the Spanish fleet for this purpose was the main reason for the fact that the islands remained secure from invasion by Wallenstein and Tilly.

In these circumstances the importance of the Scottish contribution to the Danish phase of the Thirty Years War can be seen in its true perspective. Apart from Stralsund, the Scots did not share in stirring victories. Indeed their merits were displayed in relatively negative situations, e.g. valour in defeat at Oldenburg or Wolgast, endurance at Stade or Glückstadt. The actual numerical size of the Scottish forces sent to Denmark during the period 1626-9 is not certain, but the figure is unlikely to have exceeded 10,000. English troops for the same period do not appear to have totalled more than 7,000. The degree of importance to be attached to these figures can be gauged from the size of armies on the Danish side. Mansfeld commanded 7,000 men at Dessau Bridge, while Christian IV had 20,000 at Lutter. In the spring of 1627 the Danish king could muster 30,000 soldiers, and the Danish strength at Oldenburg on 23 September was 8,000. It is clear that numerically the Scottish contribution to the Danish army was considerable. But the weakness of the Danish army is apparent from

its lack of achievement. There can be no doubt that despite the value of the Scottish troops in rearguard actions and as reserve units in the islands and Scania the most positive role for European history played by the Scots while in Danish service was confined to the Stralsund action of 1628.

CHAPTER TEN

The story of Scottish mercenary service for Sweden in the Thirty Years War is much more complex than that of the service performed for Denmark. Scottish regiments contributed to Swedish successes throughout the period 1620-40 and many different units were involved. Numerous Scottish officers commanding foreign troops also participated, and hence confusion between Scottish units and foreign units led by Scots easily arises. Frequent amalgamations, formation of new regiments and alteration of senior officers all tend to confuse the picture. Nor can the narrative be pursued with the same certainty beyond November 1632 when Gustavus was killed. The main printed sources, Sveriges Krig and Roberts' Gustavus Adolphus, do not extend beyond this period, and Monro also terminated his Expedition shortly after the death of the Swedish king. In 1633 and subsequent years Swedish manuscript sources tend increasingly to refer merely to 'Scots' and not to indicate the regiments concerned. For these reasons it is impossible to follow in close detail the history of any Scottish regiment with the field armies after 1632.

The method adopted was first to make a brief general survey of Swedish military history as it affected the Scottish regiments between 1624 and 1634, and then to trace separately and in considerable detail the history of five Scottish regiments to provide a representative cross-section of the service performed by the others. Finally some details were added from Swedish records concerning the service of Scots during 1637-9 and the return of some of them to Scotland between 1638 and 1640, before the final broad assessment was made of the value of Scottish service to Sweden during the Thirty Years War.

In 1624 Gustavus Adolphus was still mainly preoccupied with the

war against Poland which he was waging in Livonia. He had been disturbed by the Polish attempt in 1623 to recruit 8,000 men in Britain through Robert Stewart, and the Swedish monarch was prompt to counter this effectively by commissioning the raising of a regiment in Britain by ambassador Spens in 1624. When Gustavus carried the war against Sigismund into East Prussia in 1626 further demands were made upon his military resources, and early in 1627 he authorised Spens to levy another British (mainly Scottish) regiment. This became known as Ramsay's regiment, since he was appointed colonel, and along with Spens' earlier unit helped the Swedes to campaign successfully against the Poles until the latter were prepared to sign the Truce of Altmark late in 1629. In some instances the help rendered by the Scots was indirect yet valuable, e.g. garrisoning Livonian towns like Riga which enabled other forces to join the field army in East Prussia.

Gustavus Adolphus was willing to accept the 1629 truce with Poland because events in Germany increasingly occupied his attention. The Stralsund episode in 1628 had demonstrated the need for, and the effectiveness of, Swedish intervention, and the collapse of Danish military resistance in 1629, marked finally by the Peace of Lübeck, convinced Gustavus that he would have to assume the mantle of Protestant champion. He determined to invade Germany in the summer of 1630. This accounts for the third recruiting mission of Spens to Britain which resulted in the levying of Alexander Hamilton's and Meldrum's regiments in Britain, and also explains the contract made with Monro for Mackay's Scottish regiment just discharged from Danish service. Though at first the majority of these Scottish companies performed merely garrison duties in the Swedish-held towns of the eastern Baltic, Gustavus' arrival in northern Germany in 1630 and his ambitious plans in 1631 led to many of

the Scots being transferred to central Germany and joining the king on his triumphant advance to the Rhine and into southern Germany in 1631 and 1632. After his death in 1632 however they experienced few spectacular successes. Hardly any of the Scottish companies at the battle of Nördlingen in 1634 appear to have survived, and the remaining Scots tended to find themselves reverting to the familiar role of garrison troops.

(a) Spens' regiment

Before 1600 there was not a strong tradition of enlistment by Scottish troops for service with Sweden but this developed extensively in the early seventeenth century. Scots like Patrick Ruthven, Alexander Leslie, David Drummond, and especially Samuel Cockburn had played parts in the Swedish campaigns against Russia in the period 1614-16 around Novgorod, Gdov, Narva and Pskov on the Estonian border. There is however little evidence of entirely Scottish regiments as such being involved, though Cockburn's predominantly English unit contained a substantial Scottish minority.⁽¹⁾ The following captains appear to have been Scottish, John Balfour, Alexander Crawford, John Cunningham, Robert Douglas, John Hay, Patrick Learmonth, James Ramsay, Daniel Hepburn, Patrick Rutherford, Robert Rutherford, Andrew Sinclair, Andrew Stewart, John Stewart, William Stewart, John Sutherland, Gilbert Wauchope, John Wauchope, and Robert Wallace.⁽²⁾ Colonel James Seaton appeared in the Swedish army lists with four companies totalling over 1,000 men on 15 September 1618,⁽³⁾ and at least 750 of these participated in the siege of Riga in 1621 when the Swedes resumed hostilities against the Poles in Livonia.⁽⁴⁾ The unit was still stationed there in June 1624.⁽⁵⁾

Of more importance for the future was the fact that rumours in 1623 of Robert Stewart raising 8,000 Scots for Polish service brought a vigorous response from Gustavus who wrote to James I urgently requesting him to prevent this levying.⁽⁶⁾ No such assurance was given at first, but Gustavus had also authorised Sir James Spens to raise 1,200 men in Scotland for Swedish service, and this was not hindered by the

(1) Sveriges Krig, i, 586

(2) Sveriges Krig, i, 617-31

(3) Uppgifter rörande svenska krigsmaktens styrka (ed. J. Mankell, Stockholm 1865), 35

(4) Sveriges Krig, ii, 566-7

(5) Uppgifter, 55

(6) RPC 1st Series, xiii, 364

government in Britain. The Scottish Privy Council issued Spens with a licence to recruit on 30 March 1624,⁽⁷⁾ and its English counterpart gave permission to James Ramsay and William Spens on 16 April 1624 to levy men in England for the same regiment.⁽⁸⁾ Little time was wasted, for the strength returns for the Stockholm area on 21 June list five companies of Spens' regiment, a total of 912 men.⁽⁹⁾ Three of these companies are known from the muster rolls. Colonel Spens himself is credited with 174 soldiers, all apparently Scottish in name, and the same is true of the 174 listed for Captain James Lumsden. Lieutenant-Colonel James Ramsay had at this time only five men, obviously the early arrivals for his company.⁽¹⁰⁾ Recorded alongside these companies, though not apparently part of the same regiment, are two other companies which seem to have been reinforcements from Scotland for James Seaton's unit, ninety nine Scots for Lieutenant-Colonel George Cunningham, and 165 Scots led by Captain William Gordon who were mustered at Gothenburg on 4 May 1624.⁽¹¹⁾ During the next twelve months transportation of Scottish troops was taking place not only across the North Sea but also across the Baltic from Stockholm to Riga. Seaton's companies led by Alexander Leslie and Thomas Kerr were moved to Livonia on 11 May 1624⁽¹²⁾ and were followed by Spens' troops before the spring of 1625.

Gustavus Adolphus' aim in the campaign of 1625 and the first months of 1626 in Livonia was to secure his grip on Riga and the Düna valley. This involved pressing eastwards upstream and also seizing the key towns to the south east within striking distance of Riga. Spens' men were instruments in this policy. Three further companies to complete his

(7) RPC 1st Series, xiii, 478

(8) APC June 1623-Mar. 1625, 204

(9) Sveriges Krig, ii, 570-1

(10) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1624/8/689, 695, 697

(11) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1624/8/691-3

(12) Sveriges Krig, ii, 585 footnote 2



Map xiii

regiment were billeted near Stockholm in June 1625 while several of the officers are recorded as 'absent in Stockholm'. Captain Robert Scott's troops (Scots) were at Uppsala on 1 June, Henry Muschamp's men (English) at Enköping on 31 May, and Patrick Ogilvy's company (Scots) at Sigtuna on 3 June, three places lying within fifty miles of the Swedish capital.⁽¹³⁾ These units however must have been transferred to the Livonian front shortly afterwards, for in the fighting in July Spens' regiment comprised eight companies, a total of 1,336 men of whom at least two thirds appear to have been Scots.⁽¹⁴⁾ The whole regiment marched east on 5 July along the northern bank of the Düna from Muhlgraben, and one week later had seized the bridge at Keggum.⁽¹⁵⁾ Captain Ogilvy was put in charge of the 150 musketeers who on 12 July formed part of the garrison to defend the vital town of Kokenhusen just captured from the Poles.⁽¹⁵⁾ Half of the regiment was detached to Radziwiliszki on 27 August,⁽¹⁷⁾ and four companies were in Birze in September, one of which is known to have been that of James Lumsden.⁽¹⁸⁾ Control of Ogilvy's men was taken over in this month by the major of the regiment, Andrew Beaton.⁽¹⁹⁾ Spens' regiment also shared in the important march early in 1626 which ended in the decisive victory on 7 January at Wallhof, but no extravagant claims can be made for the role of the Scots since they appear to have been left en route at Kokenhusen while the king made his quick thrust to the south west.⁽²⁰⁾ This proved to be a minor turning point for European history because the king, apparently content with his successes in Livonia, discontinued the hostilities in this area and returned to Stockholm to plan his next

(13) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1625/3/128, 136, 141

(14) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1625/3/92-141

(15) Sveriges Krig, ii, 183

(16) Sveriges Krig, ii, 186

(17) Sveriges Krig, ii, 200

(18) Sveriges Krig, ii, 203; KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1625/5/633

(19) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1625/5/645

(20) Sveriges Krig, ii, 224

imaginative stroke, the switch of the war to East Prussia. The total of men in Spens' regiment fit for duty at Riga on 29 March 1626 was listed as 929.⁽²¹⁾ Four companies of the unit at least were still in the same area in August 1626, and some of the troops were permitted leave to visit Kokenhusen and Mitau while others were stationed at Wenden.⁽²²⁾

During the next few years the actual location of Spens' regiment varied little, but there were considerable changes in the command personnel of the unit. Sir James Ramsay and other captains like James Lumsden were called upon to assume greater responsibilities in newly recruited regiments. No muster rolls exist for Spens' regiment for 1627, but Mankell credited Spens with eight companies in Livonia numbering 758 men in January.⁽²³⁾ By September 1628 the force had dwindled to 612,⁽²⁴⁾ still at Riga and with some of the former captains holding their posts, while in other companies promotions had taken place to captain from lieutenant or ensign. The company officers were Lieutenant-Colonel James Lumsden, Major William Spens, and Captains William Douglas, Henry Muschamp, Patrick Traill and Andrew Beaton. Four new captains with fresh companies had appeared, James Dickson, Andrew Bruce, William Borthwick and William Monypenny.⁽²⁵⁾ On 1 January 1629 Spens' unit was quartered as follows, six companies at Wenden, two at Ronneburg, and three at Burtneck, all to the north east of Riga.⁽²⁶⁾ Most of the regiment was still in the Livonian region during the next year, because eight companies numbering 745 men were noted for June 1630.⁽²⁷⁾

The truce with the Poles in 1629 made Spens' Scots available for service elsewhere if required. It was perhaps for this reason that

-
- (21) Uppgifter, 63
 - (22) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1626/3/150-74
 - (23) Uppgifter, 68
 - (24) Uppgifter, 88
 - (25) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1628/22/81-112
 - (26) Uppgifter, 91
 - (27) Sveriges Krig, iii, 569

Henry Muschamp and William Douglas had been allowed back to England to recruit. They were granted licences to levy 150 soldiers each by the Privy Council of England on 24 September 1629.⁽²⁸⁾ These must surely have been the companies mentioned as being at Gävle (Hudiksvall) on the Swedish mainland in the spring of 1630. Mankell recorded their combined strength as 200.⁽²⁹⁾ When Spens' companies were included with the king's expeditionary force bound for Germany, the estimates in May 1630 of the strengths of these two companies combined range between 158 and 172,⁽³⁰⁾ suggesting that the levying of Muschamp and Douglas had not been too successful in England. These troops were recorded as being en route from Sweden on 10 July, and were at Stettin alongside Mackay's regiment at the beginning of September.⁽³¹⁾ No exact statement has been discovered to confirm the precise date of the return of the bulk of Spens' regiment from Riga, but it is certain that when Lieutenant-Colonel James Lumsden, in virtual command of the unit, brought it into Pomerania it was no earlier than the end of October 1630.⁽³²⁾

Identification of Spens' regiment in 1630 and subsequent years is complicated by the fact that Spens also gave his name to a new, predominantly English, regiment in the later part of 1629, and thus the written records of the following years contained two regiments attributed to Spens. They were normally distinguished by being called the 'Scottish' and 'English' regiments respectively, but these were merely names of convenience. The latter was certainly composed almost entirely of Englishmen, but was for a time commanded by the earl of Crawford; the former however also contained a considerable proportion of English troops.

(28) APC May 1629-May 1630, 140

(29) Uppgifter, 96

(30) Sveriges Krig, iii, 576

(31) Sveriges Krig, iii, 580, 582-3

(32) Sveriges Krig, iii, 386

Spens' 'Scottish' regiment after its long spell of duty around Riga 1625-30 broadened its experience by spending the next few years in various parts of Germany. For the rest of 1630, all of 1631, and a large part of 1632 the regiment belonged to the main Swedish field army led by the king himself, and thus it shared in the epic march of Gustavus through Germany. The unit mustered 684 men at Damm in Pomerania in December 1630,⁽³³⁾ and was listed with nine companies numbering 830 men at Pasewalk on 7 March 1631.⁽³⁴⁾ These soldiers were combined with other units to form the Scottish brigade at Schwedt,⁽³⁵⁾ and took a prominent role under their regimental commander Lumsden and the brigade leader Hepburn in the storming of Frankfort-on-Oder in April, Muschamp leading a group of vital musketeers. The strength of the regiment was recorded at approximately 600.⁽³⁶⁾ On 1 May they were stationed at Köpenick,⁽³⁷⁾ and their number of effective troops was given at Potsdam on 10 May 1631 as 587.⁽³⁸⁾ This figure had risen slightly to 608 when in July these men took up their posts in Gustavus' fortified camp at Werben.⁽³⁹⁾ There they remained until the march into Saxony and the consequent battle at Breitenfeld on 7 September. Colonel Lumsden, Lieutenant-Colonel Muschamp and Major William Monypenny were all present, and Lumsden and Muschamp were in the course of the struggle wounded. On 23 September the regiment had reached Erfurt,⁽⁴¹⁾ and by the close of the year had been in action at Würzburg and also at the crossing of the Rhine at Oppenheim along with fellow-Scots of the Ramsay and Mackay regiments.⁽⁴²⁾ As part of this Rhineland Army on 31 December 1631 Spens'

(33) Sveriges Krig, iii, 499

(34) Sveriges Krig, iv, 540-2

(35) Monro, Expedition, ii, 25

(36) Uppgifter, 118

(37) Sveriges Krig, iv, 223

(38) Uppgifter, 119

(39) Sveriges Krig, iv, 388

(40) Monro, Expedition, ii, 66-67

(41) Uppgifter, 122

(42) Monro, Expedition, ii, 93

force was assessed as 584 strong.⁽⁴³⁾

The exact date when Lumsden severed his connection with Spens' regiment is not known. Lumsden's name continues to be shown in Swedish records alongside this unit until as late as the battle of Alte Feste in August 1632,⁽⁴⁴⁾ but this is probably because his name was one of the methods used to indicate which of the two Spens regiments was meant. According to Monro a new regiment had been recruited in Scotland for Lumsden and crossed to the Continent in the autumn of 1631.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The only recruiting licence for Lumsden recorded in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland is dated 26 April 1632.⁽⁴⁶⁾ It seems certain that the year at least is incorrect and should read 1631, unless Monro himself was mistaken about the date of the arrival of this unit. The location of this new unit early in 1632 has not been recorded, but this was the regiment which James Turner from Dalkeith joined as a young recruit and of which Robert Stewart, former captain in Meldrum's regiment, became lieutenant-colonel.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Lumsden's troops acted as garrison forces in the period October–November 1632 in the north west German towns of Horneburg, Verden, Bremen, Rotenburg and Stade in Lower Saxony.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In 1633 his companies were stationed further south in strongholds near Hamelin on the Weser, Rinteln, Pyrmont, Bevergen and Oldendorf, and took part in the siege of Hamelin.⁽⁴⁹⁾ On 17 July 1633 Lumsden himself was even further south at Kassel. From there he wrote to Oxenstierna complaining of his financial losses which had left him almost unable to support his wife and children. He reckoned he was owed 5,000 rix dollars by the Swedish authorities.⁽⁵⁰⁾ In 1634 the regiments of the

(43) Uppgifter, 124

(44) Sveriges Krig, vi, 199

(45) Monro, Expedition, ii, 102

(46) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 483

(47) Monro, Expedition, ii, 102

(48) Sveriges Krig, vi, 480

(49) Uppgifter, 187, 189

(50) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1633)

English colonel Aston and Lumsden were reduced to two companies which arrived at Nördlingen too late to take part in the battle there in September.⁽⁵¹⁾ By 1635 however he had been appointed governor of Osnabrück, and he was noted in a letter from Johan Baner as leaving Swedish service as late as 5 May 1639.⁽⁵²⁾ Lumsden had in a letter to Oxenstierna in February sought his release from the Swedish army, but he was still in Osnabrück in June.⁽⁵³⁾

It seems likely that it was not later than the spring of 1632 that command of Spens' regiment devolved upon Henry Muschamp, and that it was under his leadership that the troops of this unit accompanied the Swedish monarch on his sweep into south Germany from Aschaffenburg to Donauwörth.⁽⁵⁴⁾ By June they had penetrated to Fürth,⁽⁵⁵⁾ and Muschamp's men slept alongside Mackay's in the great court of the palace at Munich to guard Gustavus after the expulsion of Maximilian from his own capital.⁽⁵⁶⁾ At Alte Feste in August the regimental roll had shrunk to 500.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Only one muster roll exists for the unit in 1632. It contains no location or month, but it is placed in the Krigsarkivet volume for June 1632. The three senior command posts in the regiment are there attributed to James Spens, Henry Muschamp and William Monypenny, and the captains appear to be drawn mainly from the company officers of 1628, David Ramsay, Patrick Traill, James Dickson, Andrew Lumsden and Henry Primrose. Captain Traill is known to have been shot through the throat during the Alte Feste struggle.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Like many of the Scottish units Spens' regiment after this battle was detached from the main field army intended eventually for Saxony, and was detailed

-
- (51) Fischer, Scots in Germany, 113
 - (52) RA Stockholm, Biographica, Lumsdaine
 - (53) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1639)
 - (54) Sveriges Krig, v, 498
 - (55) Sveriges Krig, vi, 138
 - (56) Monro, Expedition, ii, 126
 - (57) Sveriges Krig, vi, 199
 - (58) Monro, Expedition, ii, 150

to become part of Palsgrave Christian's army in Swabia along with Patrick Ruthven and Robert Monro. All of these Scottish forces at this time were reported as 'weak'.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Spens' troops thus lost the opportunity to fight at Lützen in November. Some of the officers were promoted due to Ruthven's favour despite the dispute between Muschamp and Ruthven about precedence for the attack on Landsberg late in the year. Only 416 of the regiment remained on 8 September 1632 and by December the total was only 350.⁽⁶⁰⁾ James Spens died late in 1632 and Major William Spens had been raised to Lieutenant-Colonel with Robert Leslie's regiment.⁽⁶¹⁾ Thus the connection between Spens and this unit was broken at the very period when the regiment was losing its claim to be an effective regiment (since it was impossible to muster three full companies). Nevertheless six companies were listed under Muschamp's command in the Rhineland on 1 December 1633, and these companies, reckoned as 600 men, were operating in Swabia in 1634.⁽⁶²⁾ John Durie reported to Sir Thomas Roe from Frankfort on 8 September 1634 that Colonel Muschamp and his brother had both been killed in the battle at Nördlingen. It is likely that many of Spens' regiment suffered the same fate there, for barely 200 men were left of the entire Scottish Brigade.⁽⁶³⁾

(59) Monro, Expedition, ii, 159

(60) Uppgifter, 152, 168

(61) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1631/22/15

(62) Uppgifter, 185, 195

(63) CSP Domestic 1634-5, 204

(b) Ramsay's regiment

Almost contemporaneous with Spens' Scottish regiment was that of James Ramsay. The Swedish king's decision in 1626 to intensify his pressure on Sigismund III by a descent upon Prussia had repercussions on the recruiting of mercenaries in Britain. Despite the demands already being made in Scotland and England by captains in Danish pay, Spens was called upon once again to exert his influence to raise another regiment. Once more he did not disappoint Gustavus. The licence was issued on Spens' behalf in Scotland on 13 February 1627 for 1,200 troops,⁽⁶⁴⁾ but the commander in fact was to be James Ramsay. The first transports from Scotland were expected to arrive in Sweden at the end of May carrying 500 men but it was reported that 100 or more of them were under-age.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Christian IV had been faced with the same kind of problem. Quartermaster Galbraith informed Nithsdale in 1627 that 'the Kings will haue none to passe mustir that ar to younge ...'.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The troops were marched from Gothenburg through Jönköping to Kalmar. There they were mustered by the Palsgrave on 9 July, issued with weapons made in Östergötland and Småland, and shipped off to Prussia where they arrived on 23 July at Elbing. Two further companies from Britain had arrived in Sweden by 18 July, and other ships were said to be ready to sail from Scotland. Unfortunately no muster rolls for the regiment have survived for 1627, but a colonel's commission was drawn up for James Ramsay at Elbing on 16 October 1627.⁽⁶⁷⁾ In this area of the eastern Baltic his men were to remain for the next two and a half years.

The regiment seems to have been completed too late to fight at Dirschau in August, for it is first listed as a full unit (937 fit, 86 sick) in September.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Ramsay's soldiers spent the winter 1627/8 in

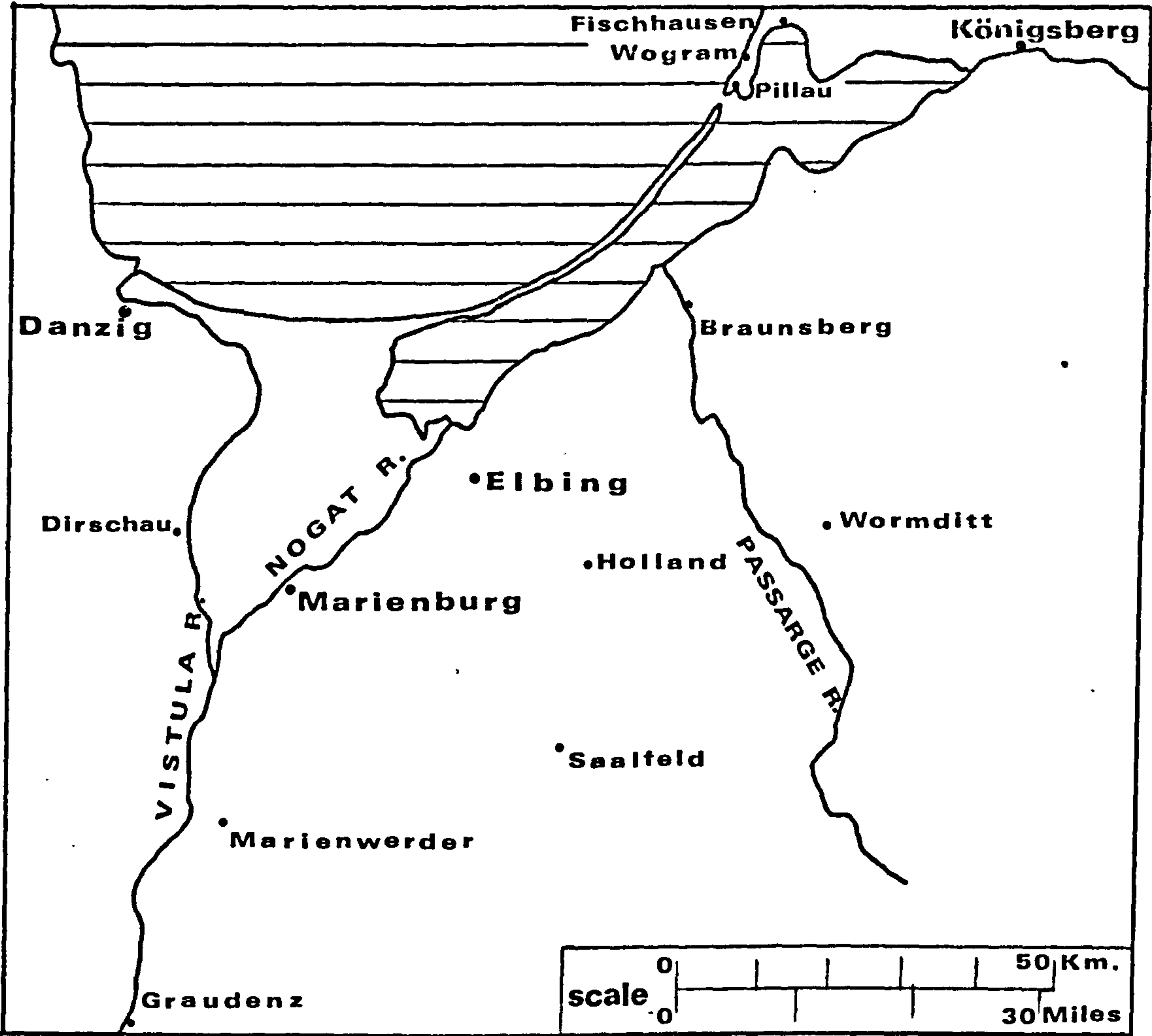
(64) RPC 2nd Series, i, 523-4

(65) AOSB 2nd Series, iii, 117

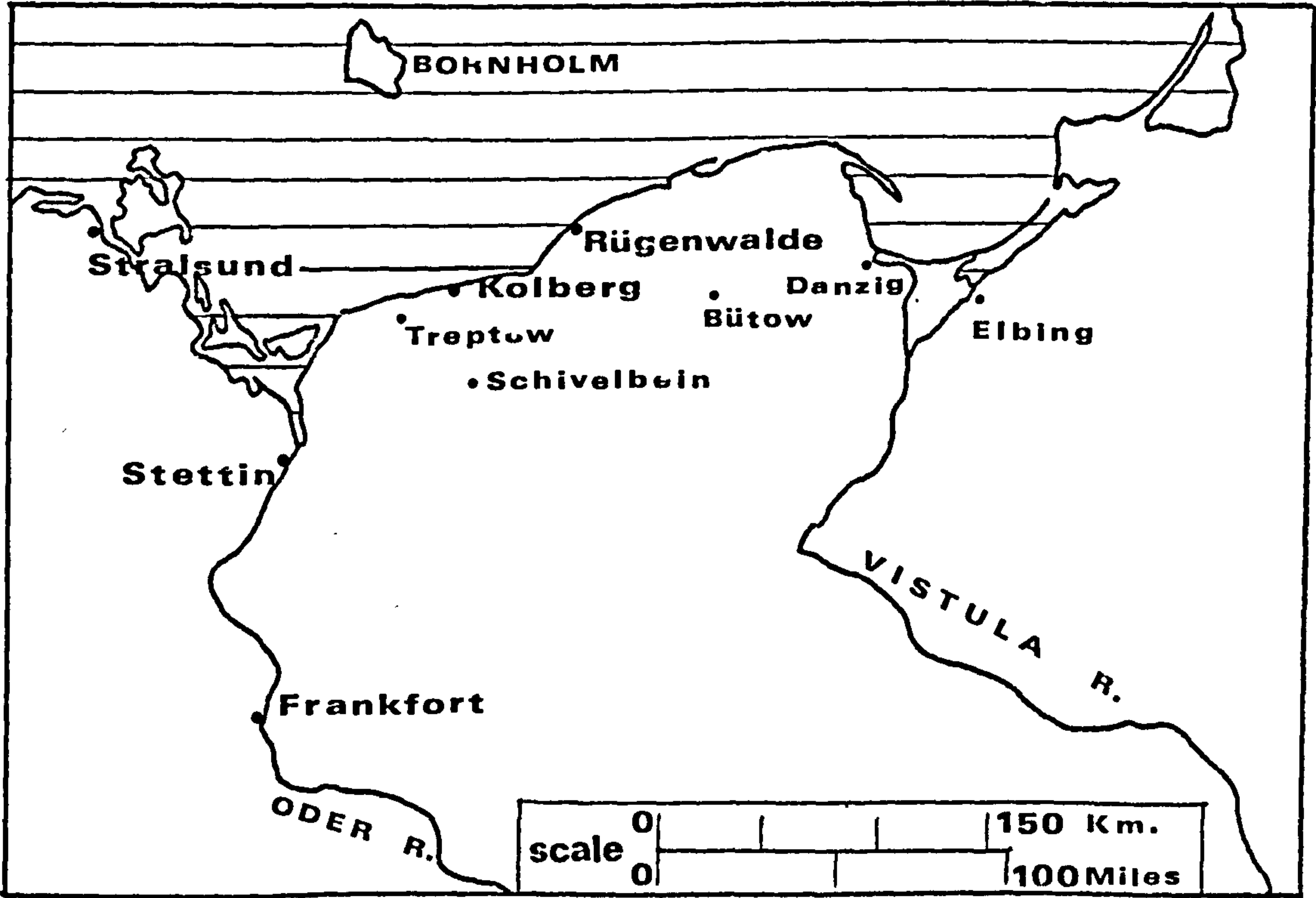
(66) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 104

(67) Sveriges Krig, ii, 327-8

(68) Uppgifter, 75



Map xiv



Map xv

Elbing,⁽⁶⁹⁾ but on 30 June 1628 were at Dirschau over 1,100 strong, having left 150 men sick in Elbing.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The additional troops were probably brought by Sir William Lawson. Colonel Ramsay, Lieutenant-Colonel George Douglas, and Captain Robert Douglas commanded English companies, whereas those of Captains Robert Leslie, John Bothwell, William Douglas, James Ballantyne, Francis Cockburn, Sir William Lawson of Boghall, and Alexander Hannay were almost entirely Scottish. The proportions of Scottish and English names among Captain William Falconer's men balance fairly evenly.⁽⁷¹⁾ Over the whole regiment the approximate number of Scots appears to have been in the region of 900 and of English 350. Hence it is clear why the regiment was often referred to as Ramsay's 'Scottish Regiment' to distinguish it from the later English unit of Sir James Ramsay 'the Fair.' In August 1628 Ramsay was ordered south to Graudenz to guard the Mockrau road.⁽⁷²⁾ Lawson apparently returned to Scotland and a reorganisation of the companies took place. All Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas' men were absorbed into the colonel's and Captain Cockburn's companies (which gave the latter's roll an Anglo-Scottish composition), and the lieutenant-colonel became responsible for Lawson's company. Captain Falconer disappeared from the lists, and was replaced by Major John Leslie, who had been listed previously in the rolls of the regimental staff but never before with a company of his own.⁽⁷³⁾ By December 1628 when the regiment had once more returned to winter quarters in Elbing Major Leslie had handed over Falconer's men to Captain John Henderson. Over 1,250 troops were still listed as present, but of these 231 were sick.⁽⁷⁴⁾

While Mackay and the Scots in Danish service were relatively inactive early in 1629, Ramsay's regiment was privileged to share in the Swedish

(69) Sveriges Krig, ii, 371

(70) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1628/10/252-84

(71) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/5/289-308

(72) Sveriges Krig, ii, 416

(73) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1628/11/283

(74) Sveriges Krig, ii, 578-9

victory at Gorzno in February.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Though not such a decisive triumph as Dirschau in 1627 this success for Gustavus effectively hastened the Polish readiness for genuine peace negotiations. Ramsay's soldiers could now talk of Gorzno when they met Mackay's veterans later in the year in exchange for stories of Monro valour at Stralsund in 1628. In late April and early May 1629 Ramsay was credited with only 860 men who were scattered in various towns in East Prussia, 165 in Saalfeld, almost 100 in Holland, over fifty in Königsberg, though most of the rest still appear to have been stationed in Elbing.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The following month they were concentrated in the area of Marienwerder.⁽⁷⁷⁾ In July at least sixty were posted at 'Montau' (probably Montauer Spitz at the division of the Vistula into Vistula and Nogat rivers), while he could muster 544 fit soldiers at Marienburg besides the 146 sick.⁽⁷⁸⁾

The conclusion of the Truce of Altmark on 16 September 1629 led to less active service for Ramsay's regiment in East Prussia and to the role of a mere garrisoning force. The unit remained in the eastern Baltic region in 1630 and the substantial influx of troops from Britain in 1629 enabled the Swedes to move some companies of Ramsay's force up to Memel where Major John Bothwell's and the colonel's companies at least were based. Others remained at Fischhausen and Pillau. Colonel Ramsay was instructed to strengthen his regiment, but his report from Memel on 3 April 1630 reveals the difficulties he experienced. He had reached agreement with a captain for 100 'well clothed sogers' but they were so badly treated by the Swedish paymasters that 'be this kynd of dealling sum runaway and informed ther commerads that the Scotts hath a gryt deall worser quarters then the Dutches which doeth me mutch hinder.'⁽⁷⁹⁾

(75) Sveriges Krig, ii, 448

(76) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/9/271-87

(77) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/10/339-55

(78) Uffgifter, 93

(79) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1630)

Though Ramsay's company remained at Memel for the rest of the year, the colonel himself was at Stralsund on 2 October 1630.⁽⁸⁰⁾

In 1630 some of the original company commanders of the regiment remained, Lieutenant-Colonel George Douglas, Major John Bothwell, and Captains Alexander Hennay, William Douglas and Robert Douglas. Francis Cockburn no longer appeared in the lists and had been replaced by another Robert Douglas. Nor was John Henderson still mentioned with this regiment, though he may have been the Colonel Henderson of 1632. Captain Ballantyne's company was still recorded, but was hardly worthy of mention being only 25 strong. This captain and several of the men were recorded in the muster roll as 'absent in Scotland', but whatever their purpose in Scotland no new man appeared in the old companies in 1630.⁽⁸¹⁾ The total complement of the regiment on the last day of the year 1630 was 649.⁽⁸²⁾ By this time Captain William Douglas did not figure in the rolls and his lieutenant Patrick Sydserf had been promoted to the captaincy. Also missing was the Captain Robert Douglas who had brought a company from England. The muster roll records no further detail than that he was dead. From September 1629 Robert Leslie was credited with the rank of colonel of a small squadron of his own to which force Major John Leslie had added his company.⁽⁸³⁾

The year 1631 was to provide Ramsay's men with much more varied service than 1630, but this was not immediately apparent. In the first half of the year the regimental location remained much as before, a few soldiers at Königsberg, one company at Fischhausen on the Frisches Haff, and the colonel's company still at Memel.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Ramsay's men spent these early months of 1631 till May in East Prussia, securing the

(80) RA Stockholm, Bielke Samling, Gustav Horns Papper

(81) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/23/228-42

(82) Uppgifter, 110

(83) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/16/145-7

(84) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1631/12/110-23, 1631/15/210-24

eastern flank of Gustavus' strategic position and thus outwith the main campaign area of Germany. But changes were imminent. Chancellor Oxenstierna reported to the king on 17 January 1631 that he had in the autumn of the previous year arranged with Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas to return to Scotland and Douglas had promised to forward at his own expense 500 men. The Chancellor in return had issued him with 2,000 rix dollars and had promised to pay muster-money when the new recruits appeared in the spring.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Oxenstierna had also decided that the king's demand for a good captain with 500 or 600 men at Kolberg on the Pomeranian coast be met by Ramsay and his regiment, and he intended to instruct the officials at the Sound to direct to the same port the new recruits expected to arrive at any moment with Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas.⁽⁸⁶⁾ On 16 April 1631 the Chancellor wrote that he had sent off Ramsay with his regiment to Kolberg.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Ramsay had already left 200 of his men in Kolberg and had marched to Stettin with 300 musketeers on 22 May 1631 where he was directed to join Horn's army.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The new arrivals which appeared from Britain were three companies, Scots under Captain William Scrymgeour and John Kinninmonth, and English led by Nicholas Mine. This is confirmed by Douglas' letter from London on 20 March 1631 stating that Captain Nicholas Mine was setting out for Prussia and that Douglas himself would follow shortly with levies from Scotland.⁽⁸⁹⁾ On 22 May 1631 Ramsay informed Horn from Stettin that he had that day received word from Douglas of his intention of leaving Scotland with his recruits for Kolberg during the month of May.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Douglas had been almost as good as his promise, for the strength of this force was 450.⁽⁹¹⁾ Garrisoning of Kolberg was part of the general

(85) AOSB 1st Series, vi, 58

(86) AOSB 1st Series, vi, 192

(87) AOSB 1st Series, vi, 246.

(88) RA Stockholm, Bielke Samling, Gustaf Horns Papper

(89) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1631)

(90) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1631)

(91) Sveriges Krig, iv, 460

policy Gustavus had urged upon Oxenstierna, replacing with new levies the gaps in Prussia and Pomerania left by the demands made by the field armies for manpower. The movement of these companies to Kolberg was a minor aspect of the broad reorganisation of garrisoning troops undertaken during 1631.

The main section of Ramsay's regiment however was transferred again, further west to the centre of martial activity which almost invariably followed the location of the dynamic presence of Gustavus, and this was focused in the late summer and autumn of 1631 on the middle Elbe. The regiment had been earmarked for this field army as early as 12 April 1630.⁽⁹²⁾ Ramsay's men formed part of the 6,500 troops which marched out of Schaumburg camp near Küstrin on the Oder on 25 July to move via Cottbus to rendezvous with the king on the Elbe.⁽⁹³⁾ In this army they accompanied Gustavus to Düben and then to the battleground of Breitenfeld on 7 September 1631. Here Ramsay's musketeers in particular distinguished themselves in support of the cavalry squadrons on the left wing of the Swedish army. Monro described Ramsay as the eldest colonel who therefore commanded the vanguard there.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Thus at last Ramsay's regiment gained a major battle-honour. The strength of the eight companies at Düben totalled 566, but at Breitenfeld it was only 470.⁽⁹⁵⁾

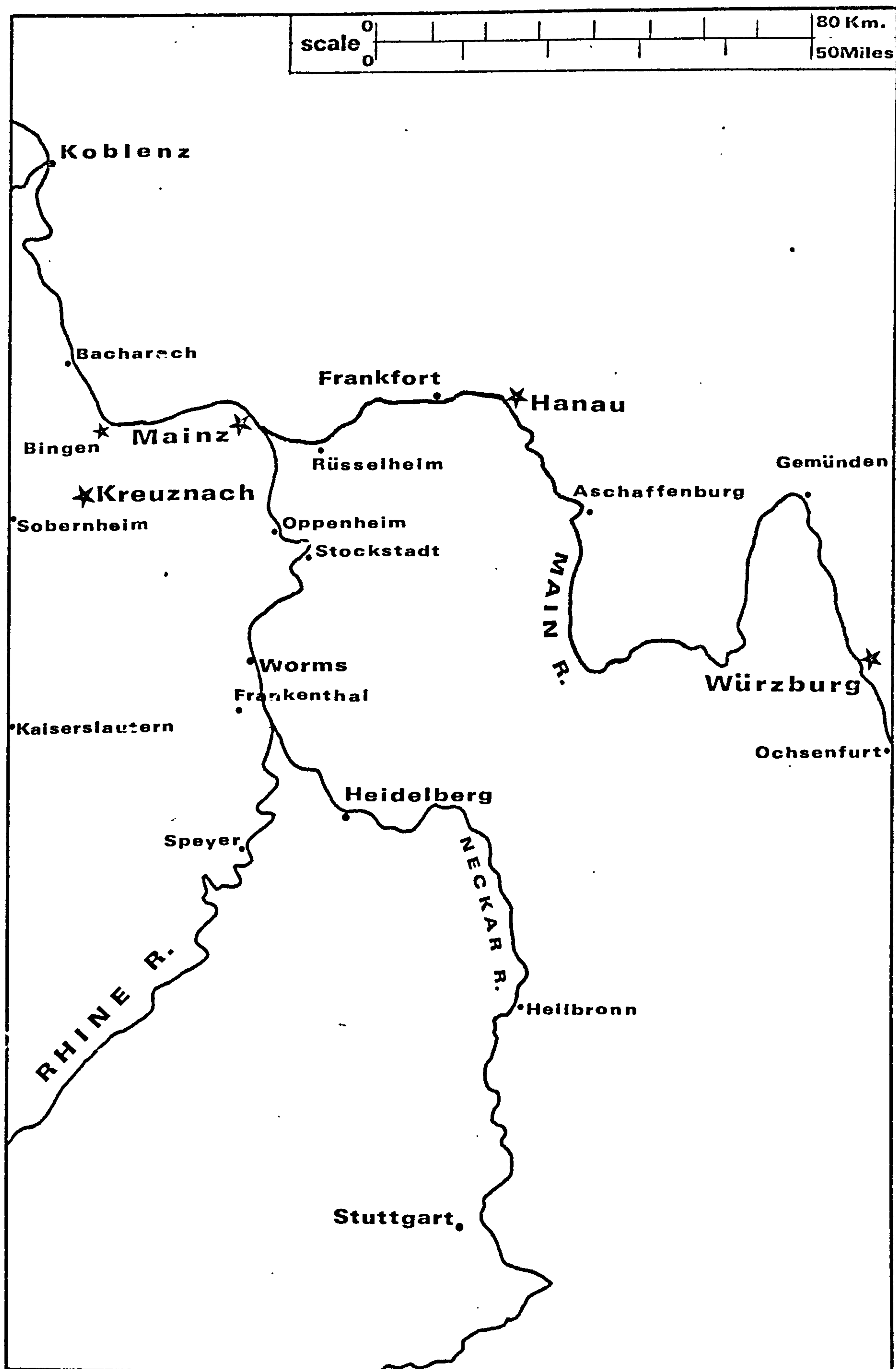
On 8 October 1631 Ramsay's troops gave ample evidence of their valour by their share in the capture of the episcopal castle of Marienberg opposite Würzburg across the Main. The Imperialists had destroyed the central arch of the six which supported the bridge and left only a single plank across the gap almost fifty feet above the water. Some of the Scots accepted the challenge and managed to struggle across the bridge

(92) Uppgifter, 98

(93) Sveriges Krig, iv, 390

(94) Monro, Expedition, ii, 64

(95) Sveriges Krig, iv, 453, 483



Map xvi

while others took to boats and crossed the river under fire. Not surprisingly under these conditions losses were incurred. Colonel Ramsay himself was shot in the left arm, and his Major John Bothwell (96) along with his twin brother, possibly his Lieutenant Adam Bothwell, were both killed and later buried in Würzburg Church. But despite this valiant service the honour of taking the castle by storm was finally awarded to the Swedes and Germans, much to the disgust of the Scottish commanders. (97)

During the march down the Main Ramsay's Scots were again prominent. 300 of his musketeers led by Alexander Hannay were ordered to escort the royal artillery train down-river. (98) In December at the crossing of the Rhine at Stockstadt just south of Oppenheim Ramsay's troops resisted the attack of Spanish cavalry and were the first to storm the walls of Oppenheim. Two contemporary writers in the vicinity have given somewhat conflicting views of the calibre of the opposition confronting Ramsay's veterans there. Monro extolled the heroic storming of the castle by the Scots, (99) whereas Grubbe gave the impression that the garrison of Italians offered little resistance, some fleeing and others entering Swedish Service. (100) On 31 December 1631 the strength of Ramsay's unit as part of the Rhine army was listed as 370. (101)

The details concerning Ramsay's regiment are much less clear in 1632 and later years. In January 1632 his men occupied Bingen on the Rhine, (102) and played a valuable part in the capture of Kreuznach on the Nahe river in the northern area of the Lower Palatinate. Kreuznach was besieged on 18 February, the walls breached two days later, and the town taken by storm the following day. One source states that George Douglas commanded here during Ramsay's illness, (103) but this does not

(96) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1631)

(97) Monro, Expedition, ii, 79-82

(98) Monro, Expedition, ii, 88

(99) Monro, Expedition, ii, 93

(100) Sveriges Krig, v, 103

(101) Uppgifter, 124

(102) Monro, Expedition, ii, 97

(103) Svensk Biografisk Lexicon, xi, 369-71; Sveriges Krig v, 282

appear to be borne out by the letters mentioned below. Alexander Ramsay, apparently a cousin of Sir James Ramsay,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ acted as Governor of Kreuznach between 2 March and 5 July 1632, for those of the twenty five letters he dated during this time bore the location of Kreuznach.

Though some of these letters contain requests for grenades, lead and match, the purpose of most of these communications was the transfer of information to Oxenstierna concerning the movements of the enemy. Ramsay frequently mentioned his scouts and spies who reported the day-to-day progress of the Spanish particularly where they crossed the Moselle. He drew the Chancellor's attention to enemy activity at Trier, Sobernheim, Trarbach, Kaiserslautern, Frankenthal, Speyer, and especially Kirchberg which was only a few miles from Kreuznach. On 5 July however Alexander Ramsay said that he expected to be relieved soon through the arrival of Colonel Ramsay. It must be presumed that this took place shortly afterwards, because though Alexander Ramsay had written frequently to the Chancellor during these few months at Kreuznach no further letters were forthcoming from him after 5 July 1632. On the other hand it will be noted below that James Ramsay complained of having held no command after his injury at Würzburg, which leaves the question of the identity of the commander in Kreuznach for the second half of 1632 still unsolved.

Sir James Ramsay himself appears to have remained in Franconia during the first half of the year, prevented from joining his regiment by the wound he had received at Würzburg. He wrote letters from Würzburg on 30 April and 1 June, but Alexander Ramsay's letter of 5 July, noted above, suggests that James Ramsay left Würzburg in July 1632.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Ramsay's Scots also gave evidence of their courage and daring in January 1632 by their attack on the walls of 'Shaule' which they scaled with ladders. No town of this name can be identified in the middle Rhine

(104) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1632)

(105) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1632)

area, but the location might possibly be Zell on the Moselle.

Prisoners were taken by Alexander Hannay who had been promoted to major after the death of Major Bothwell, but Hannay did not survive long and soon fell victim to a fatal 'consumption'.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

During the rest of 1632 Ramsay's troops continued to protect this western flank of the Swedish strategic position from the threat posed by the Spanish. Four Ramsay companies are recorded throughout the rest of 1632 at Bingen and four others at Kreuznach, both groups approximately 250 strong. In June they helped to garrison Speyer for a short time.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Six companies (400 men) are also mentioned as marching with Horn from Mainz, the Rhineland headquarters, in August 1632,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ but it is not evident whether these troops called 'Ramsay's' are entirely different from those in Kreuznach and Bingen. On 15 August a contingent of Ramsay's men was included in the army of over 4,000 in Horn's camp at Mannheim.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

This confused situation of six Ramsay companies numbering over 400 at Mainz and at the same time eight companies totalling almost 500 men in Kreuznach and Bingen still existed in October. No explanation has been found to clarify the source of the increased numbers in the regiment (below 400 in December 1631, over 900 in October 1632). Two new companies were recruited in October and November 1632,⁽¹¹⁰⁾ but these would hardly account for over 500 men. The strength of Ramsay's troops at the siege of Benfeld, south west of Strasburg in Alsace on 3 November 1632, is recorded as 288 fit and 68 sick. Horn's forces there nominally amounted to 6,500, but almost one quarter of this total was missing, killed, wounded, sick, deserted, or 'put to death by peasants.'⁽¹¹¹⁾

(106) Monro, Expedition, ii, 99

(107) Uppgifter, 137, 143

(108) Uppgifter, 144

(109) Sveriges Krig, vi, 258

(110) Uppgifter, 158, 162

(111) Sveriges Krig, vi, 265

Meanwhile towards the end of July 1632 and for the rest of the year three other Ramsay companies are listed as garrison troops at Stettin on the Pomeranian coast.⁽¹¹²⁾ One source states that Alexander Ramsay's regiment was based in Pomerania and that German troops from this unit constituted the force at Stettin, Damm, Stargard and Gartz on the lower Oder.⁽¹¹³⁾ It will be recalled however that three British companies of Ramsay's regiment had been sent direct from the Sound to Kolberg in Eastern Pomerania in 1631. These troops are not mentioned there in 1632, and thus it seems possible that these are the Ramsay soldiers stationed at Stettin in 1632. In the Muster Rolls for 1632 Major John Kinninmonth is listed with the three Ramsay companies,⁽¹¹⁴⁾ but the rolls do not carry any location. George Douglas wrote from Stettin on 14 November 1631 to inform Oxenstierna that the new companies at Kolberg were short of pay and that their officers were threatening Douglas himself.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

In the course of 1632 however Douglas quarrelled with Gustavus and was imprisoned for a short time. He was then offered a commission at Frankfort which he refused. After a further dispute with the king at Nuremberg he was discharged. In December 1632 he was writing from London about unpaid wages of 5,000 rix dollars. He was later appointed English agent in the Palatinate at Mainz, before going to Danzig in January 1635 and then to Stuhmsdorf. George Douglas left Danzig in March 1636 and went to Demmin to visit his relative Colonel Robert Cunningham, Swedish governor of the town. Douglas died there, the centre of mysterious circumstances. The evening he arrived in Demmin the bells of the Congregational Church of St. Bartholomew's rang from 8 p.m. till 9.45 p.m., though the night was calm and the church locked.

(112) Uppgifter, 146

(113) Sveriges Krig, vi, 477, 484 footnote 1

(114) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1632/32

(115) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1631)

A search of the church and belfry by torchlight revealed no one, and the phenomenon was ascribed to Divine Providence. The purpose of this spiritual activity was thought to be revealed when the next morning Douglas fell seriously ill and died the following day.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

Information regarding the Ramsay regiment in 1633 is very scanty. No Ramsay units are shown in the Muster Rolls after 1632, but these records are far from complete. Even Mankell's detailed researches for sources provide unsatisfactory results for years after 1632. The strength lists for 1633 and later are seldom dated or located exactly. It also becomes increasingly common for these sources to refer to companies of 'Scots' without any closer description of which Scots are involved. In the Rhineland garrison towns Ramsay troops still appear in 1633. They seem to have been concentrated around Kreuznach at first, but later distributed as follows, Kreuznach 120, Bingen 40, Hanau 200.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ In 1634 at least two companies of Ramsay's 230 men were stationed at Hanau.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Ramsay's letters indicate that Sir James himself was at Bingen in January 1633. He wrote from 'Mentz' on 16 June 1634 seeking a field command,⁽¹¹⁹⁾ and this confirms the later statement by his widow that he had spent eighteen months after his injury at Würzburg without any position.⁽¹²⁰⁾ His letter however to Oxenstierna in 1634 bore fruit because he was appointed Governor of Hanau, and it was in this town that in 1634 he received the visit of Sir George Douglas, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel of this regiment, then Ambassador from Charles I to Poland.⁽¹²¹⁾ The Imperialists besieged Hanau in 1635, but were forced to abandon the siege temporarily in June 1636. Shortly afterwards the investment of the town was resumed and Ramsay was constrained to surrender.

(116) Svensk Biografisk Lexicon, xi, 369-71

(117) Uppgifter, 176

(118) Uppgifter, 203

(119) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1634)

(120) RA Stockholm, Biographica, Ramsay (undated)

(121) DNB, xlvii, 243-4

He was not content with the terms however and contrived to take over control of the town again, but he was imprisoned in February 1638. He sent a letter from Dillenburg castle to Oxenstierna on 7 March 1638 in which he said he was hoping that he would be ransomed by the Swedish authorities.⁽¹²²⁾ Four days later he was dead.⁽¹²³⁾ Ramsay bore the rank of major-general in the Swedish army and had proved himself worthy of his position. Before their deaths in 1632 Gustavus and James Spens would have been well satisfied with the service rendered by Ramsay's unit. Spens had been responsible for Ramsay's arrival as his own lieutenant-colonel in 1624, and then for Ramsay's commission as colonel for the new regiment in 1627. The close ties between Ramsay and Spens are explained by the signature below the letter written by Ramsay's widow in her maiden name to Chancellor Oxenstierna in 1643, 'Isobel Spens.'⁽¹²⁴⁾

James Ramsay had been granted two estates in Mecklenburg, Teutenwinkel and Weseldorf, by Gustavus on 1 November 1630. Ramsay sought a reassurance from the Swedish Chancellor on 18 March 1632 of his rights to these lands, and a confirmation was issued by Oxenstierna on 5 May 1636. Ramsay's widow requested payment of wages outstanding to her dead husband and also confirmation of her rights to the two Mecklenburg estates. She was still seeking financial redress in a petition from 'Andreapoli' on 21 March 1643. She must have disposed of these lands thereafter because her son, David, on 20 May 1647 supported by John Leslie of Newton and John Cunningham of Barns repudiated the earlier action taken by his mother and William Spens and indicated his intention of resuming his rights to Teutenwinkel and Weseldorf.⁽¹²⁵⁾

Part of Ramsay's regiment may have continued to follow the Swedish king in 1632. After the capture of Donauwörth Monro commended the support

(122) RA, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1638)

(123) Fischer, Scots in Germany, 102

(124) RA Stockholm, Biographica, Ramsay

(125) RA Stockholm, Biographica, Ramsay

rendered by Ramsay's men led by their new major, Patrick Sydserf (former lieutenant of Captain William Douglas' company).⁽¹²⁶⁾ Captain William Douglas had been killed at Kreuznach in February 1632,⁽¹²⁷⁾ but Monro later stated that at the rendezvous at Ulm with Baner in February 1633 Horn brought from Alsace a strong force including Major Sydserf and all Ramsay's musketeers. The latter distinguished themselves against hostile dragoons at the Pass of Kempten almost literally in the shadow of the Alps,⁽¹²⁸⁾ and probably shared in the rest of this campaign in Swabia and the Upper Danube reaches in the spring of 1633. The details of the final disintegration of this regiment are unknown, but John Durie's report about the disaster at Nördlingen contained the news that Colonel Ramsay's regiment was 'quite cut off, a captain and two under-officers are only left of it'.

(126) Monro, Expedition, ii, 116

(127) Svensk Biografisk Lexikon, xi, 368

(128) Monro, Expedition, ii, 173, 175

(c) Alexander Hamilton's and Meldrum's regiments

Spens' third recruiting visit to Britain resulted in the arrival in East Prussia in 1629 of three further regiments, one mainly English (later led by George, earl of Crawford, and also by George Fleetwood), and two primarily Scottish (commanded by Colonels Alexander Hamilton and Sir John Meldrum). From the beginning Hamilton appears to have been more successful in his recruiting than Meldrum. The former's number the at/first complete muster in August was 1,227 (thus being a surplus over the required figure of 1,200), whereas the latter had collected only 992. The companies of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Hamilton and Major William Ramsay, both of Meldrum's regiment, were first to gather on 1 July and 2 July respectively. Between 11 July and 14 July Captains John Hamilton, William Meldrum and John Forbes arrived with their companies for the same regiment, and three companies appeared for Colonel Hamilton's, those of Lieutenant-Colonel William Baillie, Major Ludovick Leslie and Sir John Hamilton. Between 11 August and 14 August the remaining companies for both regiments landed, for Meldrum, the colonel's own company, and those of Captains Uchtreid MacDowall and Robert Stewart; and for Hamilton, the colonel's own company, and those of Captains Robert Preston, Alexander Bruce, Sir James Hamilton, and James Hamilton of Parklie.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Hamilton's regiment appears to have remained in the Elbing area for most of its service in East Prussia, though occasionally men visited Danzig, Königsberg, or Braunsberg. Meldrum's forces were also stationed initially at Elbing, but Captain John Hamilton's men are known to have been posted to 'Maribrig' (Marienburg, south-west of Elbing) in at least August and September 1629.⁽¹³⁰⁾ On 8 July 1629 Gustavus had intended the Scots to be used to relieve the

(129) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/37-72, 1629/14/192-215

(130) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/14/204, 1629/18/210

German garrison at Braunsberg. The following day he made his instructions to Oxenstierna more explicit by detailing Meldrum's regiment for the posting to Braunsberg and by stating his intention of using a squadron of this unit, when its numbers were complete, to replace the troops holding Wormditt also.⁽¹³¹⁾ Swedish records do not confirm whether these transfers actually took place. Following the recent arrival of these companies from Scotland it must have been disconcerting in the extreme for Gustavus to have to write from Uppsala on 24 October 1629 expressing his concern at hearing 'our regiments, particularly the Scots, are much diminished' and seriously in need of large reinforcements. In addition he wanted the Chancellor to establish an entirely foreign army in Elbing by sending back to Sweden all the Swedish soldiers there. The king however stressed that the British officers should not be dismissed, especially those of Hamilton whose service in both Scotland and England he acknowledged. Oxenstierna was to work through Colonel Aston or to recruit Scots previously in Polish service, so that the Scottish companies might be made up and the officers kept in employment.⁽¹³²⁾

In 1630 there is specific information regarding the exact location of some of the companies of Meldrum's regiment. They were situated as garrisons in the towns on the peninsula north of the entrance to the Frisches Haff. The sick men from the companies of the colonel and Captain Forbes lay in Pillau in February, and the soldiers of Captain John Hamilton patrolled there in March. Those in the Lieutenant-Colonel's company who were ill were under attention in Wogram, and the troops of Captains MacDowall and William Meldrum were billeted in Fischhausen in April. Many of the leading officers were not in Prussia at all. At the beginning of 1630 the two colonels,

(131) AOSB 2nd Series, i, 508, 510

(132) AOSB 2nd Series, i, 531

(Sir John Meldrum and Alexander Hamilton), and also Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Hamilton and Captain Sir James Hamilton were absent in Sweden.⁽¹³³⁾ This accounts for the fact that when Meldrum's regiment clashed with Von Essen's 'rumormeister' early in 1630 complaint was made by the major.⁽¹³⁴⁾ (His identity is not clear, because the former Major William Ramsay is listed as dead in January 1630.⁽¹³⁵⁾ Possibly this incident happened before Ramsay's death, for the records never give the rank of major to any other officer during the existence of Meldrum's regiment.) Colonel Hamilton is known to have been engaged during the year in supervising the making of cannon either at Örebro or Arboga.⁽¹³⁶⁾ (He was later employed in a similar capacity by Bernard of Saxe-Weimar at Suhla in Thuringia between 1634 and 1635,⁽¹³⁷⁾ before becoming General of Artillery in the Covenanting Army in Scotland.) In June 1630 Ludovick Leslie and Captain James Hamilton of Parklie also visited Sweden.

Neither Hamilton's nor Meldrum's regiment was engaged in hostilities against the Poles in Prussia after 16 September 1629 due to the Truce of Altmark, but by June 1630 for whatever reason Hamilton's regiment numbered only 725 and Meldrum's a mere 277.⁽¹³⁸⁾ The only explanation given for these figures being so low was the difficulty of obtaining reinforcements from Britain,⁽¹³⁹⁾ but the need for so many replacements suggests that desertion must have been widespread. At any rate an amalgamation of the two regiments was clearly a practical proposition, and suited the Swedish king's new arrangements.

Gustavus informed Oxenstierna from Stockholm on 29 May 1630 of

(133) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/22/226-68

(134) AOSB 1st Series, v, 308

(135) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/22/257

(136) Sveriges Krig, iii, 253 footnote 3

(137) Fischer, Scots in Germany, 110

(138) Sveriges Krig, iii, 569

(139) Sveriges Krig, iii, 242

his recent agreement with Colonel Alexander Hamilton whom he intended to employ 'elsewhere in another matter' (possibly the cannon manufacture, though Hamilton may also have assisted in the arrangements for the marquis of Hamilton's recruiting). The king required the Chancellor to amalgamate the regiments of Alexander Hamilton and Meldrum, and to give the command of the new unit to John Hamilton, brother of James Hamilton of Priestfield who had been lieutenant-colonel of Meldrum's regiment. The rest of the officers were to be appointed according to the wishes of Sir James Spens. Both James Hamilton of Priestfield and his namesake of 'Reda' were to be granted their outstanding wages as far as possible, and thus it appears they had terminated their service.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ With the three senior officers of Meldrum's regiment no longer present (the Colonel, as will be seen below, was acting as a diplomatic envoy, the lieutenant-colonel had intimated his retirement, and the major was dead), no contenders for the superior command posts of the new regiment remained. But in Hamilton's regiment a senior officer was still in employment and he must have expected to be granted the colonelcy, or at the very least to retain his present rank, Lieutenant-Colonel William Baillie.

Unfortunately for Baillie, Spens' plans did not include him at all. The new colonel was to be Sir John Hamilton, previously only a captain in Hamilton's regiment and inferior to Baillie. The lieutenant-colonel's position was designated for Ludovick Leslie, former major of Hamilton's regiment, and the new major was another former captain of Hamilton's regiment, Richard Preston. Controversial though this arrangement appeared, the whole amalgamation caused a more violent outcry when Spens removed experienced captains, lieutenants and ensigns, and replaced them

(140) AOSB 2nd Series, i, 608

with men 'who had never seen action'. Spokesman for this discontent was of course Baillie who considered himself insulted by both Spens and Alexander Hamilton. The Chancellor appears to have sympathised with his misfortune, and suggested to the King that some alternative solution might be found. Indeed Oxenstierna questioned the entire settlement Spens had made, and sought permission from the king to moderate its terms.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Gustavus' reply from the field army headquarters at Stettin on 11 August 1630 was uncompromising as regards the amalgamation. He wanted to satisfy young Sir John Hamilton 'for special reasons', and the Chancellor was to observe Spens' decisions about the other posts.⁽¹⁴²⁾ In the matter of Baillie's position the King was more considerate. Oxenstierna had followed his first letter by a second one on 22 July 1630 in which he praised Baillie as 'a cavalier, whom I myself trust and who would in time render excellent service to Your Royal Majesty', and he also made useful suggestions about a possible solution of Baillie's problem. He proposed that Baillie raise a new German regiment, since he could speak German (adequate for the bare essentials at least) and he had served for a long time in Holland. As an initial basis for this unit the Chancellor recommended that the Red and Green Regiments, which both had twelve companies, should each contribute two companies.⁽¹⁴³⁾ This was approved by the king in Stettin on 14 August 1630.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Hence Baillie was mollified by a colonel's commission for a largely German regiment, though he also took with him some of his own original company of Scots. With George Cunningham his troops formed more than half of the garrison of Elbing early in 1632, and he wrote from there in June 1632 complaining that the Captain of the Prussian Mark had been obstructing his levying.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ After service on the Silesian front

(141) AOSB 1st Series, v, 454

(142) AOSB 2nd Series, i, 632

(143) AOSB 1st Series, v, 468

(144) AOSB 2nd Series, i, 633

(145) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.D. 1632).

Baillie returned to Scotland to become Lieutenant-General of the infantry in the Covenanting Army, but the date of his return is not known.

The amalgamated Hamilton/Meldrum regiment in October 1630 comprised eight companies, five of the captains being officers of the Hamilton regiment, Colonel Sir John Hamilton, Lieutenant-Colonel Ludovick Leslie, Major Richard Preston, and Captains Alexander Bruce and James Hamilton of Parklie. From Meldrum's regiment there remained Captains Uchtræid MacDowall, Robert Stewart and John Hamilton. Their task for the rest of 1630 and well into 1631 was still to hold East Prussia for Sweden. Some of the men are known to have been in Pillau and Königsberg as late as 11 May 1631.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Meanwhile Sir John Meldrum was acting as envoy between the marquis of Hamilton (who was endeavouring to raise an army of 6,000 in Britain) and Gustavus. Meldrum visited the Vasa monarch during the siege of Landsberg and returned to Hamburg at the end of April 1631.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ During the winter 1630/1 Lieutenant-Colonel Leslie had gone back to Scotland with Captains John Hamilton and James Hamilton of Parklie to seek fresh recruits for the regiment. Oxenstierna reported to Gustavus on 8 January 1631 that he had arranged for Leslie to strengthen Hamilton's regiment. Eleven days later he gave more information about this agreement. Leslie had returned to Scotland to levy at his own expense 400 or 500 men, but he had been given 500 rix dollars in his hand and the rest of his outlay was to be reimbursed when he returned with the newly-levied troops. The Chancellor referred to the Swedish ruler the decision whether these recruits should sail via the Sound or land at Gothenburg.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

(146) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1631/15/308-23

(147) Sveriges Krig, iv, 363

(148) AOSB 1st Series, vi, 42, 58-59

Those of Sir John Hamilton's regiment who had enlisted for adventure must have greeted with considerable anticipation the news that the regiment was to be transferred to Pomerania in 1631. The decision to move Hamilton's regiment out of Prussia had been taken at least as early as 4 January 1631,⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ but on 17 January the regimental strength was only just over 600 and the Chancellor had delayed its departure to await Leslie's recruits. He was well aware that Gustavus wanted both Ramsay's and Hamilton's units complete for the summer campaign. On 16 April Oxenstierna was again delaying Hamilton's troops ~~leaving~~ till 1 May, but on 4 May the Scots were still at Elbing and the Chancellor was then wrestling with the problem of sending them by sea or land.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Nor had they left by 23 May though their departure seemed imminent, for Oxenstierna had received word from Scotland that Leslie had carried out a successful levy. The Swedish Chancellor sent word to the Sound that the Scots should be diverted to Stettin to join their regiment more quickly. Hamilton's regiment marched out of Elbing on 30 May, when Oxenstierna had finally decided to send them by land. He had balanced the cost of sea-provisions and the difficulty of arresting ships against the risk of offending the Polish government by violating Polish territory during the truce, and concluded that the former was the more convincing argument. Thus he had dispatched the Scots via Bütow and Neumark to Küstrin, a journey he reckoned should take ten or twelve days. He considered the unit very weak in numbers, but composed of 'good men'. To his relief he was later able to inform the king on 12 July 1631 that since Hamilton's regiment had left for Prussia there had been no disturbance.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ His gamble of sending the Scots through Polish territory had been successful.

(149) AOSB 1st Series, vi, 19

(150) AOSB 1st Series, vi, 246, 296

(151) AOSB 1st Series, vi, 350, 353, 385

Hamilton's unit formed part of the army of 6,000 men who marched out of Schaumburg camp near Küstrin on the Oder and advanced with Horn to join the king on the Elbe. Hamilton's strength at Düben in September was 536, but at Breitenfeld 386 (mainly musketeers) remained, and these were directed to the vanguard where they fought on the left wing in the battle.⁽¹⁵²⁾ From there they marched with the royal army on the triumphal progress south west to Würzburg on the Main, where Sir John Hamilton and his regiment performed heroically; but the privilege of final assault was awarded by Gustavus to the Swedes, and Hamilton in disgust sought his discharge.⁽¹⁵³⁾ This led to a reshuffle in the personnel involved in the command posts of the unit. Ludovick Leslie took over as acting-colonel, and Uchtreid MacDowall was promoted to major. This indicates that Richard Preston, previously major, had either left the service, been transferred, or become a casualty. At this time Captain Robert Stewart was elevated to lieutenant-colonel with Lumsden's new regiment. Preston's lieutenant Ludovick Lindsay also departed, and reappeared in the early months of 1632 as captain for a troop of ninety five German dragoons in Elbing.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ Thus this Preston company fell to the control of the former ensign, Alexander Stewart. John Lyll was advanced from lieutenant to take charge of Robert Stewart's company, and James Drummond was transferred from lieutenant of Ludovick Leslie's company to captain of Sir John Hamilton's former company. After these changes the regiment probably remained in the general vicinity of Mainz till the end of 1631 because Major MacDowall and 200 men occupied Rüsselheim east of Mainz late in November.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

A licence from the Privy Council of Scotland for Lieutenant-Colonel

(152) Sveriges Krig, iv, 390, 453, 483

(153) Monro, Expedition, ii, 82

(154) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1632/10/12

(155) Monro, Expedition, ii, 89

Ludovick Leslie to recruit 200 men is dated 5 October 1631.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾
 This was probably a preparatory step for the recruiting mission of Major Uchtreid MacDowall whose activities are mentioned in a letter from Oxenstierna at Frankfort-on-Main on 29 March 1632 to Johan Adler Salvius.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ In a later letter from Mainz on 19 May 1632 this Swedish agent was instructed to expect MacDowall's arrival at Hamburg with over 100 men.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ MacDowall had apparently been accompanied to Scotland on this recruiting campaign by Captains James Hamilton, John Hamilton and Alexander Stewart, and all of them were at this time described as officers in the regiment of Bernard of Weimar.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ The fact that the duration of their absence is recorded as half a year makes it virtually certain that the warrant dated October 1631 was connected with this recruiting mission. A further complication however is that another licence (for 200 men) granted by the Privy Council of Scotland is dated 29 June 1632,⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ and this was issued to Lieutenant-Colonel MacDougall, possibly MacDowall who by this time would have been officially promoted to lieutenant-colonel when Ludovick Leslie had been advanced to colonel. No evidence has emerged to explain who carried out this later recruiting or to indicate the degree of success experienced.

Leslie's regiment operated mainly in the Lower Palatinate in the first half of 1632, and in this respect his unit's history differs from those of Muschamp or Monro who both followed the king south out of the Rhineland. The one extant muster roll for 1632 provides some details of the itinerary of Leslie's men by listing where the sick (presumably including the wounded) had been left and where detachments

(156) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 342
 (157) AOSB 1st Series, vii, 108
 (158) AOSB 1st Series, vii, 346
 (159) AOSB 1st Series, vii, 805
 (160) RPC 2nd Series, iv, 525

had been posted. Three soldiers were in Koblenz and a further two had been shot there (whether fatally or not is not stated). Five lay at Bingen and nine at Mainz. One had remained at Alzey and three at Worms. Along the course of the Main river, Aschaffenburg housed two and Würzburg twenty seven. No exact location is given for the regiment at this time, but Captain Drummond commanded a detachment of at least twenty six men at Kitzingen and Captain Bruce one of seventeen at Windsheim. Excluding all the above troops the average size of company was only forty five, and the total for the unit 370 (463 if all detached forces and sick or wounded are added).

Nothing more is recorded of Leslie's forces till they rejoined the royal army at Fürth near Nuremberg after Gustavus had suffered his first serious setback at the hands of Wallenstein.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Monro mentioned the presence of Leslie's Scots at Donauwörth. The position of this sentence in Monro's pages⁽¹⁶²⁾ suggests that he meant they took part in the first occupation of Donauwörth, i.e. in March 1632. But the only time Leslie's men could have been there was on the occasion of the king's third visit, i.e. at the end of September 1632. Though Leslie's soldiers had missed participation in the victorious sweep through southern Germany into the heart of Bavaria during the summer, his men linked up with the king for what was to be his final campaign, shortly after Gustavus had departed from his other Scottish units of long-standing, those of Ramsay and Monro, leaving them in Swabia. However disgruntled Leslie's veterans may have felt hearing of the triumphs of their colleagues in the south in the previous months of the spring and summer with the royal army, they were now privileged to be the only Scottish unit in the Lützen campaign. Leslie's forces were

(161) Sveriges Krig, vi, 471 footnote 5

(162) Monro, Expedition, ii, 113

present at the rendezvous at Erfurt on 28 October and at Naumburg the following day. Leslie had been reinforced by the remnants of Ballantyne's and Alexander Hamilton's regiments which had formed part of the marquis of Hamilton's army,⁽¹⁶³⁾ but the drastic losses suffered by these units are shown by the fact that Leslie's roll for this combined force at Naumburg had risen by no more than approximately 100 to a total of 576. At Lützen field on 6 November 1632 Leslie's regiment consisted mainly of musketeers (360), along with only twenty four pikemen and 192 officers. Their position was on the left wing as part of the Green Brigade (one of the eight brigades on the Swedish side) commanded by Bernard of Saxe-Weimar and Wildenstein.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Monro's high opinion of their worth as a regiment is reflected in his description of them as 'old expert officers and old beaten blades of souldiers.'⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

Nothing more is recorded of Ludovick Leslie's regiment the remnants of which after Lützen lost their distinctive identity by being absorbed into Bernard of Weimar's army. Though various units are listed in the period 1633-7 as being commanded by Leslie it is impossible to determine which of the different colonels with this surname is intended. Leslie is mentioned as a colonel of 800 men in a letter of recommendation from Bernard on 1 December 1633 at Straubing,⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ but few of these troops are likely to have been Scots. He may have fought at Nördlingen, but his Continental movements after 1632 are virtually unknown. He appeared in Elsinore on 24 August 1638 writing to Stockholm complaining of the difficulty of getting payment of arrears of wages.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ before eventually returning to play an important part in the Covenanting Army in Scotland as Quartermaster-General of the entire force.

(163) Sveriges Krig, vi, 471

(164) Sveriges Krig, vi, 423, 427

(165) Monro, Expedition, ii, 164

(166) AOSB 2nd Series, vii, 128

(167) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1638)

(d) Mackay's regiment

The commissioning of Mackay's regiment for Swedish service resulted from the initiative of Robert Monro in sending his auditor to Sweden, for he returned with a commission for service with Gustavus. Immediately three companies were dispatched to East Prussia, those of Captains Robert Monro of Foulis, John Monro of Assynt, and Lieutenant David Monro for the lieutenant-colonel's company.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ The first disembarkations took place in July. The vanguard of John Monro's company set foot in Prussia as early as 2 July,⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ and large parts of the companies of Robert Monro of Foulis and the lieutenant-colonel are known to have shipped out of Elsinore on 20 July.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ Arrivals for these three companies continued till 18 August. The strength of the regiment in East Prussia was at this stage almost 300. Though a few men lay 'sick with the Pest' at Elbing, the squadron was located at Braunsberg, the key town on the River Passarge. According to Monro three further companies were forwarded to Prussia later. This is confirmed by the Muster Rolls which show the arrival during the period mid-August to mid-October of the companies of Major Sinnot and Captains Learmonth and Bullion which joined the others at Braunsberg.⁽¹⁷¹⁾

Monro maintained the definite identity of these six companies till the later part of 1630 when they had left East Prussia, but official Swedish strength returns for the region in June 1630 surprisingly indicate only five companies with a combined total of 383 men. These troops along with those of the regiments of Hamilton, Meldrum, Ramsay and Robert Leslie numbered almost 1,900, approximately one quarter of the entire Swedish forces stationed in East Prussia at midsummer 1630.⁽¹⁷²⁾

(168) Monro, Expedition, ii, 1

(169) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/11/74

(170) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/14/231-4

(171) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/16/181-3, 1629/18/263;
Monro, Expedition, ii, 1

(172) Sveriges Krig, iii, 569

A further disagreement between the regimental records and Monroe's account concerns the other squadron of Mackay's regiment. Monroe mentioned six other companies sent between November 1629 and January 1630 from Holland to Sweden, the colonel's (led by Lieutenant Gunn), Lieutenant-Colonel John Lindsay's (led by Lieutenant Pringle) and those of Captains Innes, Beaton, Sinclair and Moncreiff.⁽¹⁷³⁾ Apparently they landed at Gothenburg, and after a brief stay in Västergötland moved to Närke, Västmanland and Uppland.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ Official Swedish records list seven companies of this regiment in Sweden in June 1630, two at Örebro sent by water from quarters in Uppland and Norrland to Stockholm at the end of May, two at Uppsala (Sigtuna and Norrtälje), two at Enköping, and one at Västerås, totalling in all 707 men.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ Monroe made no mention of a seventh company, and there is no obvious explanation of the discrepancy between the two sources on this point.

The opportunity to participate in the epic Swedish invasion of Germany in 1630 fell to the lot of the Mackay squadron in Sweden. While the other half of the regiment was stationed in the relative backwater of East Prussia, the Mackay companies in Sweden were called upon to form part of the expedition force to invade Germany with the king at the end of June, the beginning of full-scale intervention by Sweden in the German theatre of the Thirty Years War. They sailed with the second naval squadron of Gustavus' fleet on board three freight ships, and landed in western Pomerania at the end of June.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ Detailed history of their progress is lacking since Monroe himself was with the other half of the regiment in East Prussia, but Mackay companies from Sweden were at Caseburg in Pomerania on 10 July and at Stettin

(173) Monroe, Expedition, ii, 1

(174) Sveriges Krig, iii, 247

(175) Sveriges Krig, iii, 566

(176) Sveriges Krig, vii, 262

at the end of August where they were joined by three of the Mackay companies from the Prussian squadron, making the combined regiment in Pomerania up to a total strength of about 1,000 men.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

Meanwhile Monro and his captains had not been inactive. Late in July instructions had been issued for the removal of these six companies from Prussia in order to join the main field army in Western Pomerania.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ Three companies (those of Sinnot, Learmonth, and John Monro) shipped aboard the 'Svarta Hunden' with victuals for a week and arrived safely joining the rest of Mackay's regiment at Stettin. Monro himself with his own company and those of Bullion and Hector Monro (the latter now a captain in place of Robert Monro of Foulis who had gained a commission as Colonel) boarded the 'Lilla Nyckeln'. After three days at sea they were driven north and ran aground on the island of Bornholm. Their repairs there were clearly none too satisfactory, because pumping was necessary when they set sail again. Conditions must have been highly unfavourable for they decided to try to head back towards Danzig, but in fact were shipwrecked on the Eastern Pomeranian coast at Rügenwalde. Ingenuity and resource however led to the capture of the town and the castle and also to the seizure of supplies at Stolp. Though the Imperialists had garrisoned Kolberg, further west on the same coast, they were obviously not present in any great strength as far east as Rügenwalde, for Monro managed to hold out there for nine weeks till relieved by his fellow-countryman Sir John Hepburn.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ The strength of these three Mackay companies was recorded late in August 1630 as 225 men,⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ but Monro had the assistance at Rügenwalde of 300 troops of Von Rosen's regiment who came ashore due to shortage of provisions.

(177) Sveriges Krig, iii, 580, 582-3

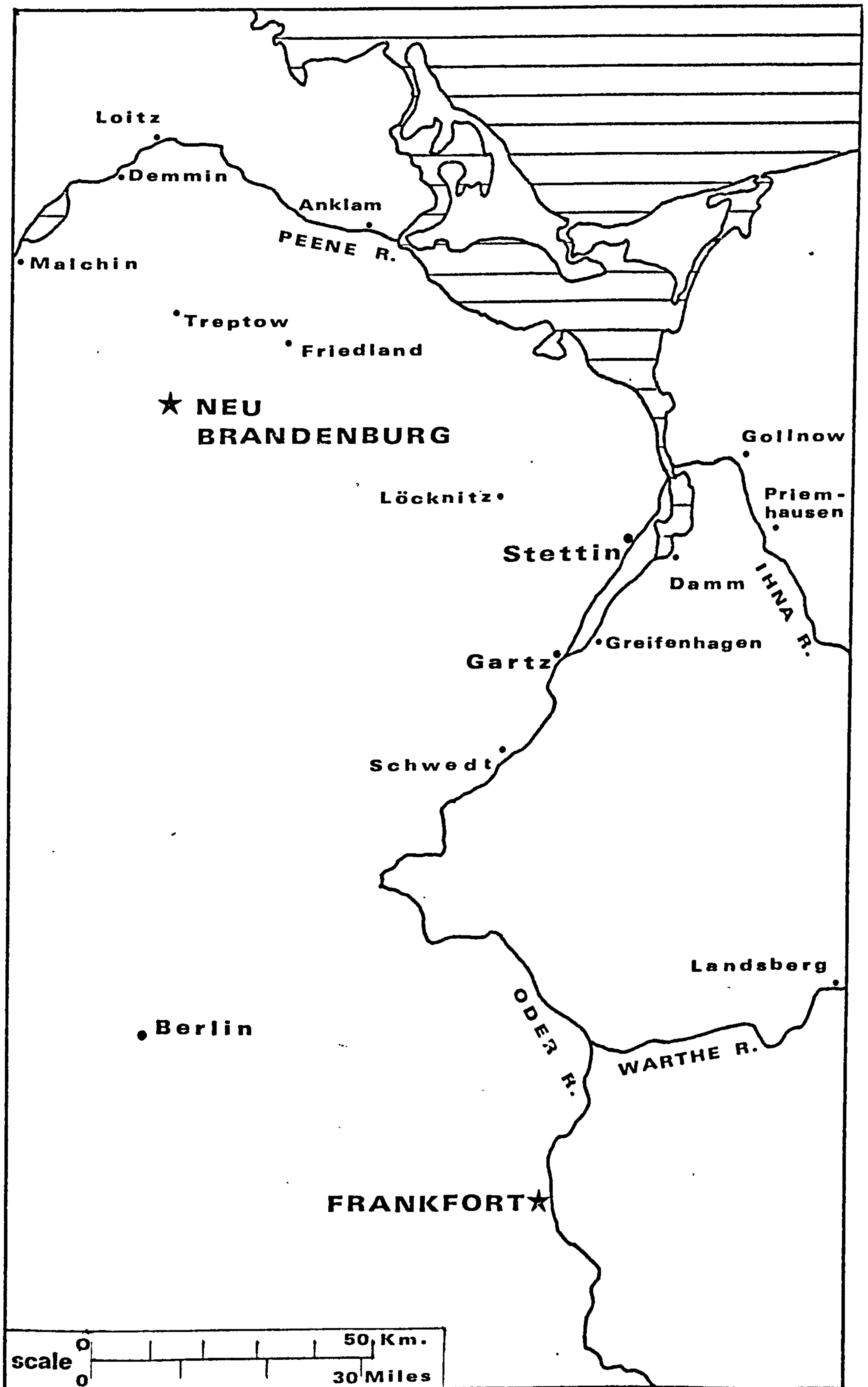
(178) AOSB 1st Series, v, 485

(179) Monro, Expedition, ii, 3-5; RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1630)

(180) Sveriges Krig, iii, 582-3

Monro was next directed inland to Schivelbein to interrupt Imperialist communications with Kolberg. His 200 men were unable to hold the town against Colloredo's 8,000 but the Scots burned down some of the houses and withdrew relatively unscathed to join Horn's corps of 4,000 at Greifenberg in November 1630.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ Monro left his three companies at Priemhausen near the Ihna river (in fact only a few miles east of the rest of Mackay's regiment at Stettin across the Oder estuary), and went downstream to visit Gustavus at Gollnow. There he learned that Mackay was once more returning to Scotland for further recruiting, and thus Monro would be acting-colonel once more. No doubt the whole regiment was reunited shortly afterwards. Winter usually provided an opportunity for reorganisation, and that of 1630/1631 was no exception. On his return to Scotland Colonel Mackay was accompanied by Major John Monro of Assynt. Mackay soon arranged for John Monro of Obsdale to recruit a new regiment and Assynt was appointed his lieutenant-colonel. The vacancies they left were filled by the lieutenants of Colonel Mackay's and Assynt's companies, William Gunn and William Stewart who both became captains. Captain John Sinclair was selected as major. Sinnot had died in Stettin, and when Lieutenant George Sinnot refused the chance of promotion in the company Ensign Semple became the new captain. Captain Bullion was transferred by the king's order to be Quartermaster-General of the Cavalry, and Captain Dumaine from another unit was introduced for Bullion's company. Finally Lieutenant Pringle of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lindsay's company had also died at Stettin, and this provided the opportunity for the lieutenant-colonel

(181) Monro, Expedition, ii, 9



Map xvii

to promote his own brother Henry Lindsay to lieutenant. Thus the Mackay/Monro regiment at the beginning of 1631 was constructed as follows, Acting-Colonel Robert Monro, Lieutenant-Colonel John Lindsay, Major John Sinclair, Captains Hector Monro, William Stewart, John Innes, John Beaton, John Moncreiff, William Gunn, Semple, Learmonth and Dumaine.⁽¹⁸²⁾

Monro's regiment, for it will be called by his name from this point, remained at Stettin for the first weeks of 1631 and did not share in the successes of Gustavus' field army further up the Oder against Gartz and Greifenhagen. But the Scots joined Gustavus at Damm and took a prominent part in the king's policy of securing Mecklenburg. They were at Loitz and Demmin on the upper reaches of the Peene river when these vital river crossings were seized in mid-February. In March 1631 the regiment was once more divided into two squadrons. The first of these comprised the companies of Robert Monro, Hector Monro, Dumaine and Stewart (which held Malchin and Friedland) and two others under Major Sinclair and Captain Semple (which occupied Treptow). The second squadron consisted of the other six companies led by Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay who was directed to defend the outpost position at Neu Brandenburg.⁽¹⁸³⁾ There his squadron, not unlike Major Dunbar's in 1627, was virtually eliminated as a fighting unit.

Twenty-eight-year-old Lindsay had been reinforced in Neu Brandenburg by some of Knyphausen's troops to make a total garrison of 750 men, but a fierce Imperialist assault led to the fall of the town. The defenders had originally been ordered to fight 'to the last man', and unfortunately for Lindsay the king's letter rescinding this order and

(182) Monro, Expedition, ii, 11-12

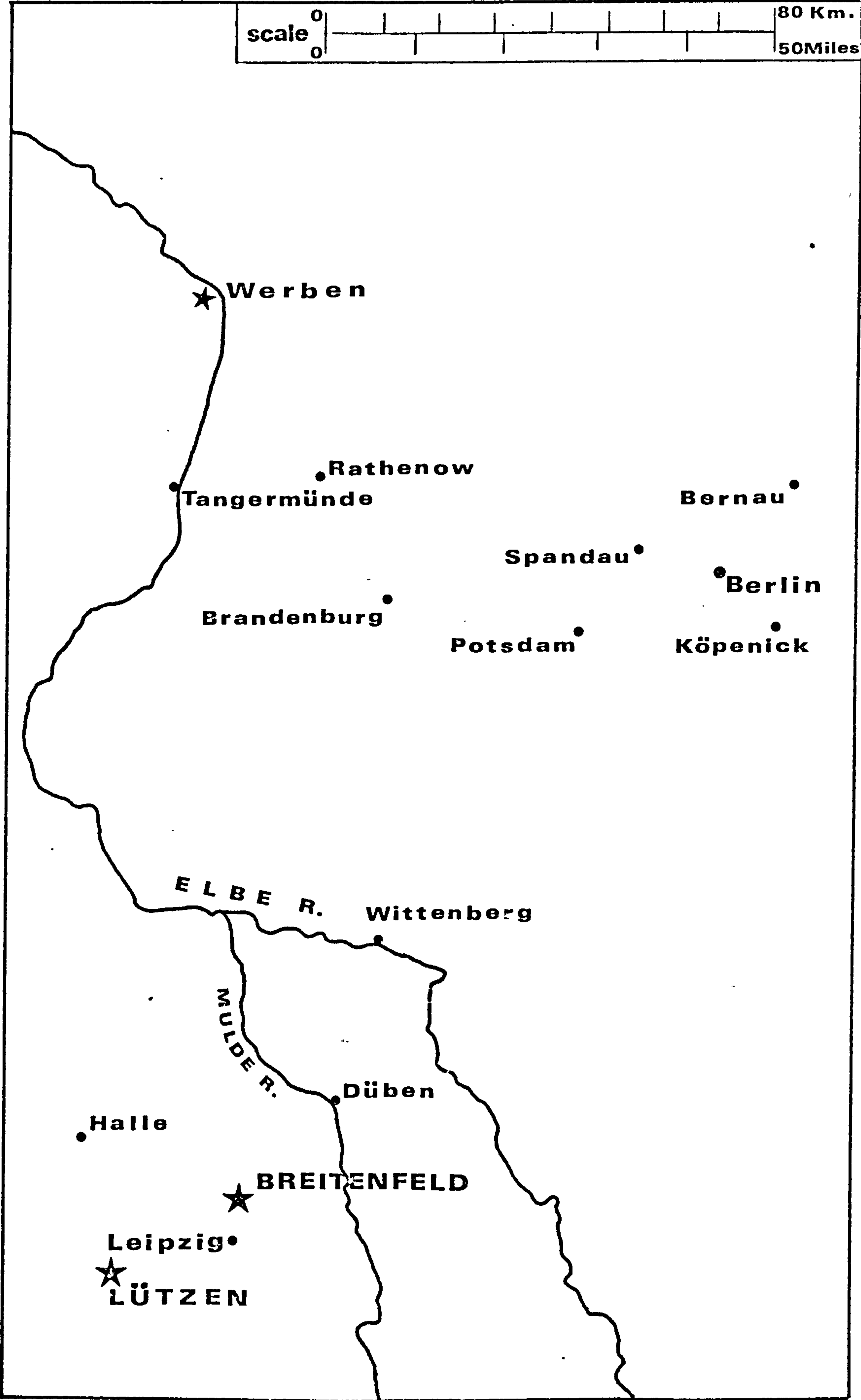
(183) Monro, Expedition, ii, 17, 19, 22;
Sveriges Krig, iv, 74, 540-2

permitting the town to be surrendered if necessary never reached the defenders.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Two of the Scottish commanders were killed, John Lindsay himself and Captain Moncreiff; three of them were captured, Beaton, Learmonth and Gunn; and the sixth captain, Innes, escaped only by jumping down into a 'graffe' and wading through a marsh. The extent of the 'fury' there is difficult to determine. Monro was not present, but wrote very critically of the behaviour of the Imperialist troops in giving no quarter.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ This may not have been strictly true, but it was the version spread in the Swedish army. The three imprisoned captains managed to ransom themselves. Beaton became major and later lieutenant-colonel with Skytte's regiment which was largely officered by Scots; Learmonth was appointed captain of a company of dragoons; and Gunn was, through the influences of General Ruthven, made lieutenant-colonel of a German regiment in Swabia. Captain Innes was first promoted to major in John Monro of Obsdale's unit and then to lieutenant-colonel for the Master of Forbes' troops. Lieutenant Henry Lindsay, brother of the dead lieutenant-colonel, was found a captaincy in the Royal Life Regiment, and later rose to be lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Alexander Leslie the Younger. Obviously if a Scottish officer in Monro's regiment survived the hazards of battle the chances of promotion to senior ranks were good. Monro himself withdrew to the Oder via Löcknitz, and settled at Stettin to recover from the hot action his men had experienced at Treptow. They then marched off to Schwedt where the brigades were established for the spring and summer campaigns.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ Monro's Scots found themselves associated in the same brigade with Spens' Scots led by Lumsden.

(184) Sveriges Krig, iv, 80

(185) Monro, Expedition, ii, 23

(186) Monro, Expedition, ii, 24-25



Map xviii

For the next year Monro's squadron formed part of the royal army. His men shared in the march up the Oder and the storming of Frankfort-on-Oder on Palm Sunday 1631, when Major Sinclair and his musketeers were prominent, first in the scaling of the walls using ladders and then fighting back to back against cavalry in the streets especially at the Gubenporten.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ They were then switched east along the Warthe river to take Landsberg on 5 April. There Captain Dumaine caught a fever and died. Thus at long last Lieutenant David Monro, Robert's cousin, gained his promotion to captain.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ Gustavus did not however continue with his thrust south up the Oder valley, but turned west to the Middle Mark territory of Brandenburg. To participate in this movement Monro was recalled from Landsberg to Frankfort on 18 April. At Bernau, north east of Berlin, Monro entertained the king in his quarters at the end of June,⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ and then moved via Köpenick, Berlin, Spandau, Potsdam, and Brandenburg to Rathenow.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ The Scots appear to have suffered losses at Brandenburg (more than thirty men in one week), but these must have been due to either desertion or illness for there is no record of hostile action there. The strength of the unit was listed in May as 502.⁽¹⁹¹⁾ Monro's soldiers helped to construct the famous leaguer at Werben at the end of July 1631, and then moved along the river to Wittenberg and to Düben on the Mulde. Monro himself commanded the right wing of the musketeers in the glorious victory at Breitenfeld on 7 September, a major battle honour for his troops, and his men further distinguished themselves under the inspired leadership of Captain William Stewart in the struggle for Halle. The size of the

(187) Sveriges Krig, iv, 131-6; Monro, Expedition, ii, 34

(188) Monro, Expedition, ii, 40

(189) Monro, Expedition, ii, 42

(190) Monro, Expedition, i, Itinerary appendix

(191) Uppgifter, 119

Monro regiment in these two engagements (800) is explained by the fact that temporary reinforcements were provided by the troops brought by Monro of Assynt for Obsdale's unit, though Monro of Obsdale himself had not yet returned from Scotland.⁽¹⁹²⁾

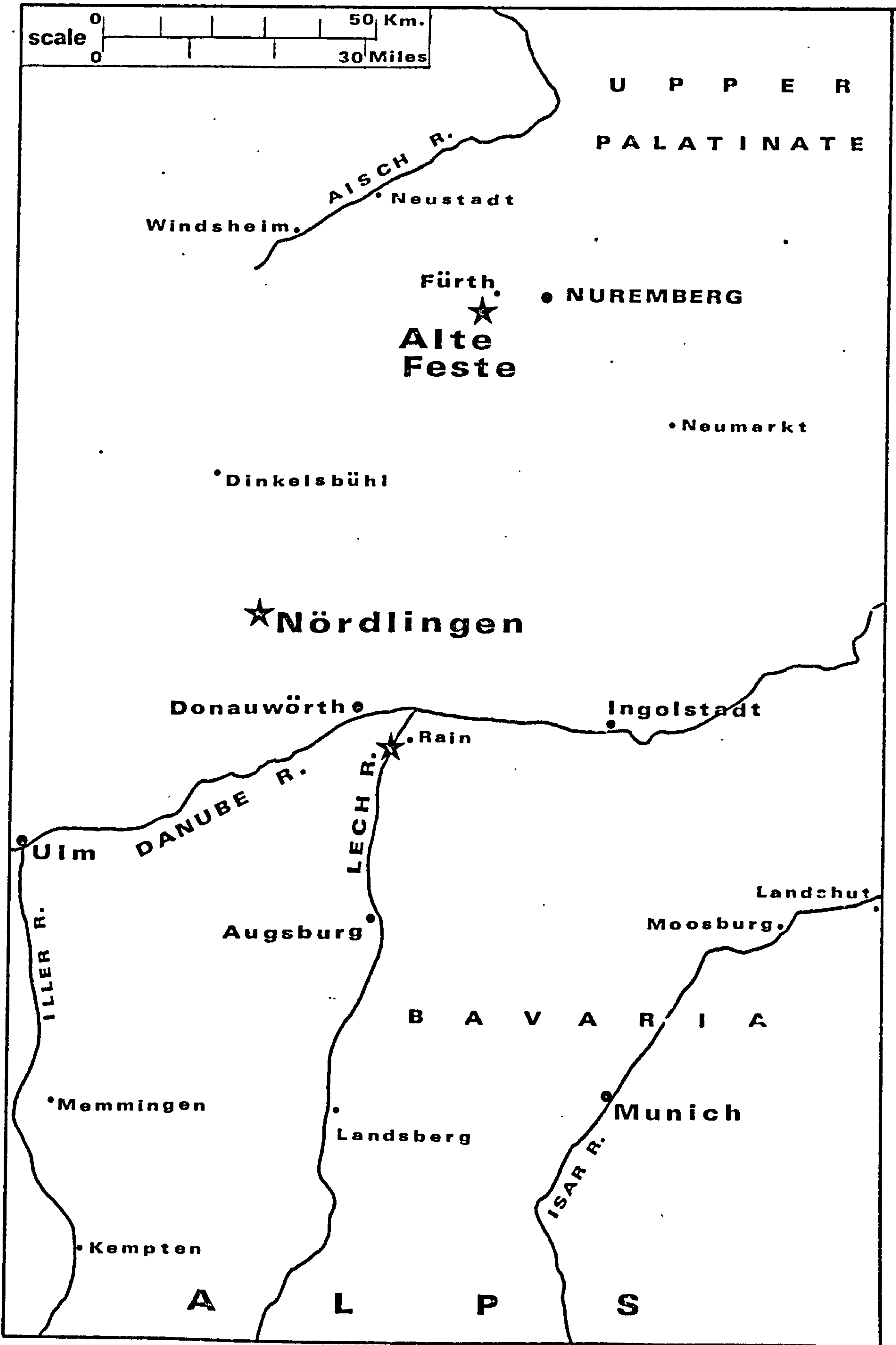
From Halle the royal army continued south west to Erfurt. Never before had Monro and his seasoned veterans been so far inland since they had first enlisted with Christian of Denmark in 1626. Gustavus further emphasised the contrast between the two Scandinavian sovereigns by his decision to penetrate even deeper into Germany, south across the Thüringer Wald into Franconia. Gustavus split his army into two separate columns for the dangerous passage through Thuringia and the rendezvous for reunion at Würzburg on the Main. Monro's companies arrived there intact having followed the route via Schmalkalden and Neustadt. At Würzburg the king assigned the daring tasks to the regiments of Ramsay and Hamilton and not to Monro's, but the latter with Hepburn had to march through the night to seize Ochsenfurt, upstream from Würzburg. Thereafter they joined the field army in its progress down the left bank of the Main to Steinheim opposite Hanau and to Rüsselheim. They participated in the Rhine crossing at Stockstadt and the consequent fall of Oppenheim on the left bank of the Rhine. At Mainz they spent Christmas 1631 and the early weeks of 1632, but on one expedition down-river Monro occupied Bacharach and even reached the outskirts of Koblenz before he was recalled to Mainz.⁽¹⁹³⁾

Robert Monro was present at the muster in the fields of Aschaffenburg on the Main in March 1632⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ which marked the beginning of the year's startling marches into Catholic southern Germany. His Scots accompanied

(192) Monro, Expedition, ii, 59, 61, 66, 73

(193) Monro, Expedition, ii, 76, 78, 83-84, 88-89, 91, 95, 97

(194) Monro, Expedition, ii, 110



Map xix

the king till the autumn of the year. Thus they reached the Danube at Donauwörth at the end of March, 518 strong.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ There they were joined by Robert Monro of Foulis' own infantry regiment and a squadron of his cavalry, all apparently German.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ (In the military records for 1632 confusion easily arises among the units of Robert Monro i.e. the former Mackay regiment, Robert Monro of Foulis, and John Monro of Obsdale, all of which are mentioned as 'Monro' regiments. Fortunately for the accuracy of historians Obsdale's unit operated in 1632 in a different area, Lower Saxony under Tott and later under Baudissin.)⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ Robert Monro's companies assisted Hepburn to seize Donauwörth, and were also present at the famous crossing of the Lech, though no important role was played there by his Scots. The key factor was the artillery barrage of Torstensson. They did however aid in the capture of Augsburg on 10 April, but were repulsed under the walls of Ingolstadt. It is also quite probable that when Hepburn pressed east as far as Moosburg and Landshut on the Isar (the most threatening thrust against Hapsburg Austria achieved in all Gustavus' campaigns) he included among his regiments that of Monro. The presence of the Scots at the triumphal entry into Munich is undoubted, for they occupied the palace courtyard of Maximilian, leader of the Catholic League.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ As success had followed success it must have seemed to Monro, Sinclair and Stewart that a further victorious advance to Vienna must be the inevitable crowning glory of this expedition.

Yet when the march out of Munich took place on 1 June 1632⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ the direction taken was north, not east. This military decision seems controversial to twentieth-century historians but for Gustavus the

(195) Sveriges Krig, v, 548

(196) Monro, Expedition, ii, 111

(197) Sveriges Krig, vi, 467

(198) Monro, Expedition, ii, 117-21, 125

(199) Monro, Expedition, ii, 128

problem was that Wallenstein had reappeared from Bohemia and was posing a lethal threat in central Germany to the Swedish lines of communication with the Baltic. This explains why Monro and the field army (524 strong on 8 June) tramped north to Fürth and Nuremberg and once more built a giant fortified camp like that at Werben the previous year.⁽²⁰⁰⁾ There they remained for over two months till issue was joined with Wallenstein at Alte Feste on 24 August. A week previously John Sinclair and William Stewart had been promoted to lieutenant-colonel and major respectively when Monro received his own commission as full colonel. Because Monro was injured in this battle he was relieved by Sinclair who protected the rear of the army with his musketeers during the withdrawal.⁽²⁰¹⁾ The movements of the royal army including Monro's unit during the next few weeks were very complex. First they moved north west to Neustadt on the Aisch, and then by a long looping route to the west and south via Windsheim, Rothenburg and Dinkelsbühl back to Donauwörth again and the recapture of Rain on the Lech.⁽²⁰²⁾ By mid-October Gustavus had finally decided to head north to clash once more with Wallenstein, this time in Saxony, and by 6 November 1632 the Swedish king lay dead on the battlefield of Lützen. At some stage in the royal progress between Dinkelsbühl and the return north from the Danube in October, most probably when the troops were at Rain, Monro's Scots and other forces under General Ruthven and Lieutenant-Colonel Muschamp were detached to secure Swabia. Because the regiments were weak Monro was directed to recruit in Swabia in order to bring in badly needed manpower. He himself had asked for another regiment or for the opportunity to recruit in Scotland, but these requests were refused and he had to be content with the commission of colonel and an issue of recruiting funds for his levying. Thus while the king moved

(200) Sveriges Krig, vi, 138, 199

(201) Monro, Expedition, ii, 149

(202) Monro, Expedition, i, Itinerary appendix

north to the fatal field of Lützen Monroe's soldiers along with Spens' Scots struck south up the Lech and took Landsberg.⁽²⁰³⁾ They eventually settled into quarters around Augsburg for two months during the winter 1632/3.⁽²⁰⁴⁾

Meanwhile Robert Monroe seems to have been endeavouring to attract new enlistments to his regiment at a muster-centre, probably Waiblingen on the Rims river near Stuttgart. After Baner and Horn had effected a union of their forces at Ulm in 1633 Monroe's regiment was ordered to march south along the Iller river. They seized Memmingen and reached the pass at Kempten controlling one of the exits from the Alps of the northern Tyrol.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ Their final months of service under the leadership of Monroe were spent along the upper reaches of the Danube and Neckar from Ulm up to Esslingen.⁽²⁰⁶⁾

During these months of 1633 the other Monroe regiments were afflicted with misfortunes. Robert Monroe of Foulis was shot in the right foot during a rearguard action in defence of a Danube crossing in Würtemberg and died at Ulm of the fever which resulted. John Monroe of Obsdale had been killed in a fracas with German troops of another regiment at Bacharach on the Rhine. When his Lieutenant-Colonel John Monroe of Assynt then sought his discharge from the Chancellor, Robert Monroe petitioned Oxenstierna at Heilbronn for the two companies left when Obsdale's regiment was 'reduced' at Heidelberg. Thus it came about that Captains Adam Gordon and Nicholas Ross joined his unit in July 1633 at Donauwörth.⁽²⁰⁷⁾

John Monroe dispatched an undated request to Oxenstierna in which he asked for at least a half-pay, whether in cash or in letters of credit, and he sought permission to depart for those officers who had not been found new positions. He stated that the regiment had been 'reduced' last May,

(203) Monroe, Expedition, ii, 147, 159, 171

(204) Monroe, Expedition, i, Itinerary appendix

(205) Monroe, Expedition, ii, 173, 175-6

(206) Monroe, Expedition, i, Itinerary appendix

(207) Monroe, Expedition, ii, 177-8

presumably 1633, since he claimed four years' service with the Swedish army. This was not however the end of John Monro's labours for the Swedish authorities as will be noted later.⁽²⁰⁸⁾ At Donauwörth Robert Monro left the regiment for good to return to Scotland (though he too would reappear recruiting for Sweden later) and appointed John Sinclair as its new commander. The latter was killed shortly afterwards at Neumarkt, a small town north east of Nuremberg in the Upper Palatinate, and thus for the final year of its service this Scottish regiment was led by William Stewart.⁽²⁰⁹⁾ The ultimate disintegration of the unit took place at the battle of Nördlingen in September 1634. Monro stated that the regiment was thereafter reduced to merely one company at Worms in the Palatinate.⁽²¹⁰⁾

(208) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1637)

(209) Monro, Expedition, ii, 178

(210) Monro, Expedition, i, Title page

(e) Swedish service 1637-40

The final phase of recruiting Scottish mercenaries for the Swedish army took place between 1636 and 1638. Alexander Cunningham offered his services to Oxenstierna in a letter from Hampton Court on 17 June 1636, and by 2 November had received a commission and recruiting money which he found inadequate to meet all his expenses.⁽²¹¹⁾ The exact date of the arrival of his companies is not recorded in the muster rolls, but five predominantly Scottish companies reported to the Swedish authorities for service with his regiment in the course of 1637.⁽²¹²⁾ Alexander Leslie informed the Swedish Chancellor that during their nine weeks' voyage they had suffered cruelly and their clothing was so threadbare that they were almost naked.⁽²¹³⁾ On 28 January 1638 Cunningham's regiment numbered 504 men, but by the summer this total had fallen to 300 men who served at Stettin and Marwitz.⁽²¹⁴⁾

Robert Stewart was also busy recruiting in 1637, because he and some of his captains were reported to be levying in Ireland on 26 July.⁽²¹⁵⁾ He forwarded his first three companies to Germany during 1637. His troops included Irish, English and Scots, but the Irish predominated. In the course of 1638 his regiment comprised six companies but the total for the unit never exceeded 150 men.⁽²¹⁶⁾

Robert Monro was the third Scottish colonel concerned in the recruiting for Sweden in 1637. He had written to the Chancellor from London on 10 June 1636 seeking money to finalise his levying arrangements. Apparently he already had a commission for twelve companies, but the response in Scotland must have been disappointing because no companies had arrived when the drowning disaster outside Aberdeen harbour which

(211) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (A.O. 1636)

(212) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1638/3/176-180

(213) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 107

(214) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1638/24/61-67

(215) CSP Ireland 1633-47, 165

(216) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1638/3/182-4, 1638/23/59-62

occurred early in October 1637 further delayed the arrival of his men in Germany. Monro wrote to Oxenstierna from Elsinore on 29 October saying that he was returning to Scotland and hoped to complete his regiment by March 1638.⁽²¹⁷⁾ Monro's first companies, those of Major John Kerr and Captain Lawtie, arrived at Stettin on 20 June 1638 and were joined during the summer and autumn by those of the colonel (led by Lieutenant William Monro), Lieutenant-Colonel George Monro and Captain Alexander Sutherland to make a total of 451 men. Many of the soldiers were Highlanders and the captains' surnames were strongly represented. Colonel Monro's company had eight Monros, the lieutenant-colonel's five Monros and three Dingwalls, Major Kerr listed seven Kerrs, and Captain Sutherland no less than sixteen Sutherlands. All of these companies were relatively small, since none contained more than ninety six men.⁽²¹⁸⁾

It is not clear whether John Monro's interest in recruiting at this time was connected with Robert Monro's regiment or with a unit of his own. The number of Highlanders from the far north of Scotland in Robert Monro's regiment might suggest that John Monro from the same area would have joined this regiment, but his name does not appear on the muster rolls. In the most informative of his four letters sent to Oxenstierna in the spring of 1637 he reported on 26 April that the marquis of Huntly and the earl of Argyll had promised their help in levying. John Monro went on to recommend the usual channel for the transfer of recruiting money at this time, i.e. Joseph Avery the British representative in Hamburg, and to request that letters be sent to Scotland via his agent, William Dick in Edinburgh.⁽²¹⁹⁾

During 1639 extensive changes took place among these three regiments in the area of Stettin. Between April and May 1639 the regiments of both Robert Stewart and Robert Monro were disbanded and those still

(217) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1636, 1637)

(218) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1638/25/101-5, 1638/27/192-7

(219) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1637)

prepared to serve were absorbed into Alexander Cunningham's unit. Thus in May 1639 Cunningham's regimental lists show seven companies only two of which had belonged to his original regiment, i.e. those of the colonel himself and Captain Dunbar. Cunningham had gained the companies of Lieutenant-Colonel White and Captain Lumsden from Stewart, and those of Major Kerr and Captain William Monro from Monro, in addition to that of Captain Foster from Fleetwood's regiment (composed mainly of English troops). In all, Cunningham, as a consequence commanded 684 men on the lower reaches of the Oder in May 1639. (220)

The muster rolls do not explain why these amalgamations were effected. Over sixty of Stewart's men had died by the beginning of 1639, and at least half of the soldiers of Stewart, Monro and Cunningham appear to have been sick early in the year. Even in June 1639 Cunningham had 256 men ill out of a total of less than 700. Disease therefore may well have been one of the factors which led to the amalgamations.

Another major cause of these changes may have been the letter issued by the Committee of Estates in Edinburgh in January 1639. It stressed that every shire should have a regiment in which the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, lieutenant, and two sergeants were skilled soldiers and that the best means to this end lay in recalling veterans from Germany and Holland. (221) It has been noted above that it was in February 1639 that Colonel Lumsden wrote to the Swedish Chancellor explaining that he had been called back to Scotland. (222) On the other hand it appears that this movement of officers to return home was already under way in Holland in the later months of 1638. The Venetian ambassador at the Hague informed his government on 25 October 1638 that 'a good number of the officers here, both English and Scottish, are asking permission to return to their native country'. (223)

(220) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1639/16/62-73

(221) CSP Domestic 1638-9, 409

(222) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna Samling (to A.O. 1639)

(223) CSP Venetian 1636-9, 464-5

Two muster rolls however reveal the names of a few of the officers who returned from Swedish service. A short list records the destinations of some of the cashiered officers and under-officers of Monro's regiment. (224) Captain Adam Lawtie was bound for Stargard, Sergeant Martin Ross for Poland, and Sergeants Robert Warner and Thomas Griffin for England. Coming back to Scotland were Lieutenants Hector Monro and William Geddes, and under-officers Donald Gunn, Thomas Glen, William Finlayson, Alexander Sutherland and Hector Monro. The list is undated, but is likely to have been written in May 1639. The second muster roll concerns officers of four discharged companies from Cunningham's regiment. (225) Captain William Cunningham had decided to go to Stralsund and Captain Robert Cunningham was joining the colonel, but the latter's location was not noted. Most of the others appear to have determined on returning to Scotland, e.g. Captain John Livingston, Lieutenants George Bothwell and James Leslie, Ensigns William Foulis, Francis Taborth, Bernard Smellin, James Frenn, and under-officers Gilbert Gordon, Robert Baillie, Alexander Smith, John Douglas and William Ross.

Fischer's list shows that Colonel Lindsay also returned in 1639, and that the following sailed back to Scotland in 1640, Lieutenant-Colonel King, Major Guthrie, Colonel R. Clerck, Francis Tindale, Hugh Peter, David Leslie, George Monro, and Captains David Stewart, James Turner, W. Mure and Grier. (226) Sir Thomas Roe informed Secretary Windebank on 26 September 1640 that twenty six leading colonels and officers were preparing to sail in three ships from Gothenburg to Scotland. (227)

The Swedish muster rolls for the rest of 1639 and for 1640 do not indicate whether Scots were still seeking to return home from the towns on the lower Oder, but the wastage of Cunningham's regiment continued at a rapid pace. Between 1 March and 10 August his total for the entire regiment at Greifenhagen had shrunk to a figure which fluctuated between

(224) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1639/16/78

(225) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1639/18/49

(226) Fischer, Scots in Sweden, 114

(227) G. A. Sinclair, 'Scotsmen serving the Swede', SHR, ix (No. 33 Oct. 1911)

277 and 255.⁽²²⁸⁾ Thereafter the regiment is not listed in the Swedish muster rolls and must be presumed to have been disbanded. Nor does it appear that any other Scottish regiment remained in the Swedish army, though certain Scottish officers retained their positions.

The value of Scottish mercenaries to the Swedish government in the two decades between 1620 and 1640 should not be overestimated. Scots never constituted a majority or even a substantial minority of the soldiers in the Swedish army, and though there was a large influx of recruits from Scotland particularly during the period 1629-32 the main market for mercenaries was still Germany. The Scottish regiments which took part in Gustavus' successful campaigns first in Livonia and later in East Prussia, then in Mecklenburg, Saxony, the Rhineland and Bavaria constituted relatively small proportions of the Swedish armies involved. Even in their most glorious moments this was true of the Scots. For example at Breitenfeld in 1631 the total Swedish force was over 23,000 men towards which the Scots contributed barely 2,000. At Alte Feste in 1632 their numerical proportion was smaller. The Swedish army numbered over 43,000 men, but the Scots totalled less than 2,000. Though Ludovick Leslie's regiment fought at Lützen when Gustavus fell, his 576 Scots formed a relatively small fraction of an army of over 20,000.⁽²²⁹⁾ Since Scots seldom served as cavalry however, it is clear that if infantry alone is considered the Scottish proportion of the Swedish forces would appear relatively larger. It is also true that numerical size is not the only criterion

(228) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1640/14/161-84, 1640/17/322-41

(229) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1632/32

by which to determine the value of the Scots, and that their valour on many crucial occasions far exceeded in importance the actual size of the Scottish contingent, e.g. at the storming of Frankfort-on-Oder in the spring of 1631, or at the capture of Würzburg later in the same year.

In the last analysis however two other features of their service were probably more vital than the numerical size of the Scottish forces or their performance in battle. The first was that the Swedes made use of many Scots to garrison vital strongholds, at first in the towns round the coasts of the eastern Baltic and later in northern Germany. The Scots were also useful reinforcements in Lower Saxony where Pappenheim constituted a constant threat till his death in 1632. By performing these relatively less spectacular tasks Scots enabled Gustavus and later his other generals to campaign freely in central and southern Germany without worrying unduly about events in northern areas. Even the apparently featureless service of the British regiments around the Oder mouth between 1637 and 1640 helped to secure this vital area which came into Swedish possession at the Treaty of Westphalia when the war ended.

The second main contribution of Scottish mercenaries to the Swedish army was an almost inexhaustible supply of officers. The extent to which they were employed by the Swedes, not only as leaders of Scottish units, but also of German, Finnish and Swedish ones, proves the high regard in which they were held. The fame of Patrick Ruthven, Alexander Leslie, John Hepburn and James King is well recorded, but there were many other colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors and captains who played important roles in the Swedish army. A glance at a year chosen at random, e.g. 1635, reveals the extent to which Scots occupied the officer-ranks of the Swedish army. James Scott and William Ley were leading commanders of two different Finnish regiments. William Philp, William Nisbet, Thomas

Thomson, Samuel Thomson, David Drummond, John Cockburn, Thomas Scott and Norman Soutar all held at least the rank of captain in Swedish regiments. In East Prussia Robert Cunningham's unit was staffed by Francis Sinclair, Francis Story, Francis Clarke, John Creighton, Henry Barclay, Alexander Cunningham and Gilbert Kerr. In the same area lay Francis Ruthven's regiment with Alexander Hay, Robert Sanderson, Alexander Ruthven and Patrick Hay. Johan Skytte's new regiment was officered by John Beaton, Lachlan Ross, Thomas Moffat, James Dunbar and Arthur Forbes, while the commanders of Alexander Gordon's dragoons included Archibald Colvill, David Barclay and James Affleck. In Pomerania the pattern was similar, e.g. William Kinninmonth, Patrick Kinninmonth, Alexander Sydserf, David Sibbald, Alexander Baillie, David Drummond, James Drummond, Robert Hay, James Lyon, William Stewart, William Monro, George Scott, John Gunn and James Lauder. It can hardly be doubted that for number of Scottish officers in a foreign army no earlier or later decade in the whole of Scottish history can compare with the years between 1628 and 1638 in the service of Sweden.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The last three chapters have illustrated the military history of various Scottish units on the Continent, but the facts of regimental history alone cannot convey the detail of day-to-day life experienced by individual soldiers. To capture this reality it is necessary to probe into the organisation of the early seventeenth-century army. Army life is a blend of specifically military duties and 'civilian' activities, in the sense that while all soldiers must be prepared to fight in an emergency and some are in action or training, many military personnel in fact spend much of their career in occupations which could be termed 'civilian', e.g. cooks, clerks, storekeepers. The martial aspects of military life will be considered first, and the next chapter will demonstrate how arrangements were made for the basic necessities of life without which military expertise cannot be sustained for long.

One of the first steps taken with new recruits in modern armies is to issue them with uniforms. The Thirty Years War however in respect of military clothing was a period of transition from armour to uniform, most pikemen still favouring the former while musketeers tended to adopt the buff coat. Though Gustavus, and even more Christian IV, made some attempt to impose a system of uniforms upon their native armies with different colour combinations to distinguish the varied provincial regiments, there is no evidence to suggest that mercenary units possessed definite uniforms. It has already been noted that some of Nithsdale's men were dressed in red. The letter from Quartermaster Galbraith at Glückstadt on 6 August 1627 indicated that Scots in this same regiment were also attired in another colour, 'the bleue clothes did grace this last compagnie verie much.'⁽¹⁾

(1) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 104

It would appear that colour of clothing did not matter, because Lord Ogilvy confided to Nithsdale about a new recruit that 'iff your Lordship will giue him ane sut of clothes, off any coullour, he wilbe verie weill humoured.'⁽²⁾

If armour was not worn, the normal attire for a mercenary soldier consisted of shirt, jacket, breeches, stockings, shoes and a hat. The last named item, the alternative headgear to a 'stormhatt' or pot helmet, was the most distinctive item of clothing during this period. Hats were usually fashioned out of grey felt with crowns of medium height and very broad brims, frequently decorated with plumes.⁽³⁾ Christian IV informed the duke of Mecklenburg that his troops in 1626 would wear white feathers, though he possibly meant the commanders only.⁽⁴⁾ Swedish troops in the early part of the Thirty Years War did not display any uniform colour of hatband or plume. At Breitenfeld in 1631 green tokens were worn by the Swedish army, despite the fact that the Bavarian musketeers often thrust green feathers into their hats.⁽⁵⁾ Red plumes and hatbands had long been the traditional symbol of the Imperialists. Wallenstein re-emphasised this in May 1632, when he ordered that no other colour than red might be displayed.⁽⁶⁾ The portraits in the gallery of Skokloster castle near Stockholm depicting famous soldiers in the Swedish army of the early seventeenth century show varied colours for hatbands and plumes. The senior British officers in the paintings there also wear sashes but the colours are not all the same, Colonel Patrick Ruthven (yellow), Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond (blue), Lieutenant-Colonel Muschamp (blue), while a German captain is shown with a pink one. In the portrait of Gustavus,

(2) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 91

(3) Sveriges Krig, viii, 392

(4) Sveriges Krig, viii, 395

(5) Swedish Intelligencer (ed. W. Watts, London 1632), i, 222

(6) A. Mell, 'Die Rote Feldbinde der Kaiserlichen', Zeitschrift für Heereskunde 37-39 (Berlin 1932), 331 quoted in Sveriges Krig, viii, 401

painted in 1636 four years after his death at Lützen the king's hat bears the blue band with yellow edging which became customary for Swedes in the later phases of the Thirty Years War. It is not certain whether Gustavus himself wore the blue and yellow ribbon. These sashes may have been merely ornamental, being worn for ceremonial occasions, but it is also likely that they depicted high rank. They would not have been worn in battle, since their wearers would present unduly conspicuous targets for enemy sharpshooters intent on killing officers.

Whoever bore the main responsibility for the provision of clothing for recruits before embarkation for the Continent it appears to have been the responsibility of the hiring government to provide clothing for troops while in service abroad. The Hamilton Archives however contain a commission to Robert Bremer, a merchant, signed by James Ramsay on 1 November 1631 at Brandenburg for clothing some of the army of the marquis of Hamilton. He was required to furnish 500 suits of clothes, 500 pairs of shoes, 390 pairs of stockings, and 260 large capes.⁽⁷⁾ It is not clear from the letter who would foot the bill eventually, and it is likely that the same doubt troubled merchants who provided goods for troops. In most cases the governmental authorities made the necessary arrangements for the provision of the clothing. On 16 November 1627 the Danish Stadholder received instructions to provide Captain Chamberlain's English troops and certain French soldiers in Danish service with clothes, stockings and shoes.⁽⁸⁾ Captain Chamberlain at Copenhagen in 1627 also stated that he had received 800 pairs of stockings and 2,100 rix dollars which 'will doe very littell more but buy the solldiers shoes and shirts; of which they stand in great needs.'⁽⁹⁾ The Swedish agent, Didriksson, wrote to Chancellor Oxenstierna

(7) Lennoxlove, Hamilton Archives, T 72/14 C1/234

(8) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 248

(9) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/412

in December 1625 to inform him that he had clad 'Spens' whole regiment with woollen shirts, stockings and shoes as well as jackets and breeches.⁽¹⁰⁾ The hiring government however made sure that it was reimbursed for the cost of clothing by stopping the sums required from the wages of the troops. Though Captain Boswell's men in Mackay's regiment were certainly issued with shoes and stockings at Riede near the Weser on 4 April 1627 by the Danish authorities, the cost was deducted from the wages due to his company.⁽¹¹⁾

The first stage in the basic training of recruits is drill. Just as modern squads of recruits are taught to respond to words of command on the barrack-square, fresh companies of men in 1630 were browbeaten into well-disciplined units by non-commissioned officers with similar ranks to their twentieth-century counterparts. The real work of drilling was done by rotmasters (comparable with modern lance-corporals), assisted on occasion by corporals and supervised by sergeants. A rot consisted of six men including the rotmaster and this was the basic unit for all tactical movements. When necessary the six-man rot could split into two half-rots with three men in each, and this facilitated the drill movements favoured by Gustavus Adolphus and Christian IV. These monarchs appear to have based their military exercises closely upon Maurice of Nassau's reforms, and these manoeuvres involved doubling and halving ranks and columns, countermarching, and altering formation from column to rank and vice versa. There were six corporals, each responsible for a corporalship which consisted of either eighteen pikemen or twenty four musketeers; while the two sergeants had under their charge either the full complement of pikemen (fifty four men), or the musketeers (numbering seventy two).⁽¹²⁾

(10) AOSB 1st Series, iii, 272

(11) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/I

(12) L. Tersmeden, 'Med pik och musköt', Aktuellt och historiskt 1969 (Kristianstad 1969), 17-32;
Sveriges Krig, v, 308-9;
 Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, ii, 239

Efficient training in marching simplified the movement of troops from place to place to suit the requirements of the hiring government. The regiments of Mackay, Ramsay, Hamilton and Meldrum could claim to be far-travelled, and much of this journeying was done on foot. In Danish service Monro estimated the distance covered by Mackay's regiment in its three years with the Danish monarch at 898 German miles, approximately 4,500 English miles. The fact however that so much of the fighting by the Danes occurred round the coasts and islands of the Baltic entailed much travelling by sea. About 3,900 English miles of the above total mileage was traversed on board ship or barge in the North and Baltic Seas. The situation was quite the reverse in Swedish service, though the initial voyages from Stockholm to Prussia and then the return to Pomerania gave little indication of the land character of the future travelling fated for the Scottish regiments. Monro's statistics refer to a period of four years (mid 1629 to mid 1633) and his figures amounted to 779 German miles (approximately 3,900 English miles).⁽¹³⁾ The actual distance covered in Swedish service was therefore considerably less, although the time concerned was 30% longer. This did not mean it was less demanding for the troops, since the marching during these four years with the Swedish colours totalled 3,000 English miles. The average distance marched per day varied between fifteen and twenty-five English miles, but Monro complained of the fast night trek led by Hepburn from Würzburg to Ochsenfurt (twenty English miles) which was covered in seven hours without halt.⁽¹⁴⁾ No evidence has been found to substantiate the observation that the Scots 'in case of necessity ... are able to walk 20 German miles a day',⁽¹⁵⁾ This would be the equivalent of 100 English miles!

(13) Monro, Expedition, i, Itinerary Appendix

(14) Monro, Expedition, ii, 83

(15) Woodcut in British Museum

Despite the extent and frequency of such movements, considerable spells of stationary service were also experienced by the Scots, most commonly during the winter. The following details indicate the locations where Mackay's regiment was posted for three weeks or longer during its seven years service, and thus indicate the places with which the Scots would have developed a real sense of familiarity, in Danish pay, Holstein, six months in the winter 1626/7; Weser, ten weeks in spring 1627; Poel (island off Wismar), five weeks in summer 1627; Fyen and Laaland islands, eight months in winter 1627/8; Grossenbrode (Holstein coast), three weeks early in 1628; Laaland island, six weeks in spring 1628; Stralsund, seven weeks in summer 1628; Scania, eight months during the winter 1628/9. The situation in Swedish pay offers some striking contrasts, Braunsberg (Prussia) one year from mid 1629 to mid 1630; Rügenwalde (Pomerania) nine weeks in autumn 1630; Priamhausen (near Stettin), three weeks late in 1630; Stettin, two months in winter 1630/1; Frankfort-on-Oder, five weeks in spring 1631; Werben (on the Elbe), five weeks during summer 1631; Würzburg (on the Main), three weeks late in 1631; Mainz, ten weeks in winter 1631/2; Munich, three weeks in summer 1632; Hersbruck near Nuremberg, three weeks in late summer 1632; Nuremberg, three months in autumn 1632; and Augsburg, three months in winter 1632/3. From these figures emerges confirmation of the fact that Gustavus Adolphus pursued a much less conservative military policy than Christian IV. The contrast is obvious between the long periods of hibernation favoured by units in Danish service (often six to eight months) and the normal Swedish winter sojourn of two or three months.

In common with soldiers of earlier and later ages, men in mercenary units in the armies of Denmark and Sweden in the first half of the seventeenth century soon learned to appreciate the value of earthworks and fortifications

which could give protection against the projectiles of the enemy and hinder his advance. The Danes appear to have made more use of peasant labour than the Swedes, though probably this was because much of the war during 1626-9 was fought in Danish territory, whereas the Swedish forces spent most of their time between 1630 and 1633 in alien German provinces. Certainly workmen were employed by Christian IV to build fortifications at Boizenburg in 1627 in the vain attempt to hold the Elbe river-line, for Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton was instructed to arrange their pay on 10 July and 13 October.⁽¹⁶⁾ Peasants were also conscripted to construct a secure camp at Grossenbrode in 1628.⁽¹⁷⁾

The situation was different in the Swedish army. The fact that Monro complained so often of the digging demanded from the troops shows that they had been less accustomed to such labour with the Danes and that Gustavus set a very high priority on earthworks. At Schwedt, Frankfort-on-Oder, Landsberg, Brandenburg, Werben, Tangermünde, Wittenberg, Würzburg and Nuremberg his regiments became expert in the use of spade and shovel. Such work was not popular, but the king intended not only to secure his tactical positions but also to keep his soldiers busy. Monro believed more such labour was performed in one year by the Scots for Sweden than they would ever have performed in the service of the States General of Holland in three years, even if a bonus payment had been offered as incentive, but he admitted that 'our country Souldiers cannot endure to work like the Dutch' (Germans).⁽¹⁸⁾ This labour involved not only digging, but also the destruction of houses and walls and the cutting down of trees and hedges which might provide the enemy with cover. They also had more positive tasks, e.g. the construction of redoubts and sconces and

(16) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/I

(17) Monro, Expedition, i, 58

(18) Monro, Expedition, ii, 39-41

the building of scaffolding to assist musketeers. All these labours may well have been detested, but their value was proved by the consequences. The Swedes and Scots were never defeated in defensive fighting in any one of their fortified leaguers. When however the initiative was taken and an assault launched on an equally strong enemy camp, e.g. Wallenstein's defences at Alta Feste in 1632, then the troops of Gustavus learnt the bitterness of repulse.

A further essential step in making a group of men into a military unit is to issue them with arms. In 1630 a soldier was distinguished from a civilian mainly by his weapons though on occasion he wore some form of uniform, or even armour if his colonel still believed in the protective value of metal. The Hamilton contract indicates that in this agreement at least responsibility to provide these items rested squarely with the recruiting colonel, 'Sera tenu le dit colonell d'armer le dit regiment de musquette de calibre ordinaire, bandoliers, fourchettes, piques, corselets, tassets, moitie piques moitie musquets, il armera aussi les officiers chacun selon sa qualite.'⁽¹⁹⁾ This does not however appear to have been the normal practice, for no evidence of such buying has emerged from records in Britain.

On the other hand several instances were discovered in foreign records which showed that the hiring authorities provided the arms. Reay and the marquis of Hamilton exchanged letters in the later part of 1630⁽²⁰⁾ and wrote independently to Gustavus during the first half of 1631 about the reluctance of the Swedish agent to provide the agreed armaments.⁽²¹⁾ It is clear from a draft memorandum in the marquis of Hamilton's correspondence dated 8 October 1630 that the king of Sweden had promised to provide powder, bullets, muskets, bandoliers, corslets, and pikes.⁽²²⁾

(19) Fraser, Haddington, ii, 96

(20) Lennoxlove, Hamilton Archives, T 72/14 C1/193

(21) RA Stockholm, Skrivelser till Konungen Gustav II Adolfs. tid, Reay 6, Hamilton 5, 8, 15.

(22) RA Stockholm, Skrivelser till Konungen Gustav II Adolfs tid, Hamilton 6

Chancellor Oxenstierna wrote on 29 March 1632 from Frankfort-on-Main to Johan Adler Salvius~ instructing him to provide Major Uchtreid MacDowall with side-arms, muskets and pikes for his newly-levied men when they arrived from Scotland.⁽²³⁾ Ramsay's regiment was equipped with weapons in Sweden before they were shipped to Prussia.⁽²⁴⁾

In Danish service in 1626 the free squadrons of Captains Francis Hamond and Alexander Seaton were issued with muskets, swords and accoutrements for their respective companies.⁽²⁵⁾ Whether this was normal or exceptional procedure is neither explicitly stated nor apparent from the records. On the other hand the English army sent to help Christian IV was armed by the English authorities. The Privy Council instructed the Masters of the Ordinance and of the Armoury to furnish these recruits with 3,000 swords, girdles and hangers or belts.⁽²⁶⁾ It was to the same English Council that the request was addressed to remedy the deficiency in weapons found when an inventory was taken of the troops' equipment at Enkhuizen, '201 corsletts, 8 bandaleirs, 527 headpieces, 206 rests, 422 pikes, 452 gorgetts'.⁽²⁷⁾ But as noted before on several occasions these English forces were treated in the same fashion as militia levies would have been in England. Professor Roberts believes that the mercenary colonel undertook to provide arms and equipment and made adequate financial allowances for these costs when he negotiated terms of contract with a hiring government.⁽²⁸⁾ Several of the instances quoted above however reveal that it was not invariable practice for the colonel to stand the expense of arming his men.

In the first half of the seventeenth century armour was fast going

(23) AOSB 1st Series, vii, 108

(24) Sveriges Krig, ii, 327

(25) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/I

(26) APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, 163

(27) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/72

(28) Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, ii, 203

out of favour, particularly in the infantry ranks. Some musketeers retained merely the helmet or morion, and by the time of the English Civil War even this had been largely discarded. Swedish pikemen however in 1630 still wore helmets, gorgets for the neck and shoulders, 'back-and-breasts' for the torso, and 'besagues' and 'tasses' for the upper parts of the limbs. Officers in charge of pikemen frequently donned helmet and breastplate, and appear on occasion to have used shields approximately two feet in diameter and as much as twenty pounds in weight.

Personal weapons were basically either blade or firearm. All soldiers wore swords slung from a shoulder or waist harness. By 1630 there were many varieties of swords in use, but most were two-edged rapiers of considerable length. The hand was normally protected by some form of bar or ring guard round the hilt. The blade was edged and pointed, and thus was unlike the later rapiers which were fashioned without cutting edges and which depended for their effectiveness solely upon the point. The era of the small-sword had not yet dawned, and the soldiers of the 1630s were thus encumbered with swords which due to their length were unwieldy at close quarters. One German rapier dated approximately 1630 had an overall length of $55\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with the blade alone measuring $46\frac{3}{4}$ inches. (29)

In the early years of Gustavus' reign pikemen were issued with pikes eighteen feet in length, but reduction in the length of this weapon seems to have taken place in most European countries in the 1620s and 1630s, making the pike fifteen feet or even only thirteen feet long. Pikes had relatively small metal heads attached to the shaft by long side-arms ('langets'). The latter stretched well down the shaft to prevent the head being snapped off or cut off by a powerful sword-cut. The butt of the pike was usually protected by an iron base. Sergeants were issued

(29) F. Wilkinson, Edged Weapons (London 1970), 43

with halberds which they used to straighten lines of men during marching drill, and officers including company under-officers frequently bore partisans.

More important for the future development of military tactics than pikemen were musketeers. Like the pikes however the muskets of the 1630s were awkward weapons. They measured well over five feet, including stock, and carried under the barrel a long scouring rod. The musketeer also bore a rest or 'fork' three and a half feet high which was used to support the weapon when firing. From belts hung from shoulder or waist he carried an assortment of other equipment needed for his musket. His bullets were put in a pouch or pocket, and were quite light. Twelve bullets were cast from one pound of lead, each approximately one inch in diameter. Lead was chosen as the material, because its low melting point facilitated the casting process. He also required two different types of powder. His coarse gunpowder, for use in the barrel, was already measured out into wooden containers resembling cartridges in outward appearance, each containing exactly the correct amount of powder for a charge. These cartridge-type containers hung separately from the bandolier-belt worn over the musketeer's shoulder. The finer powder for priming the pan was kept in a powder flask hung from his belt. Since the muskets of 1630 were still mainly matchlocks, he also needed a supply of match, i.e. cord soaked in a saltpetre solution which burned slowly, besides flint and kindling to provide a light for his match. Wheel-lock and flint-lock muskets were however becoming increasingly popular, since they relieved the musketeer from worry about keeping his match alight in wet or windy weather.⁽³⁰⁾

But when Lord Reay wrote to the marquis of Hamilton from Stralsund on 24 December 1630 it is clear that the marquis' troops were being equipped with match-locks because Reay mentions the difficulties of

(30) F. Wilkinson, Antique Firearms (London 1969), 11-13

obtaining arms, bullets and match.⁽³¹⁾

Responsibility for weapons and ammunition was allotted in each company to an armourer or 'captain-of-arms' who issued these items to corporals and rotmasters. The company's reserve of arms, powder and bullets was transported under his care in the company's wagon and in case of necessity he sought permission from his captain to draw a further supply from the army reserves carried by the artillery train. He was expected to keep an up-to-date list of weapons and their possessors in the company, and to arrange whenever possible for the return to the artillery store of the weapons of dead soldiers.⁽³²⁾ The types of weapons involved in the equipping of an entire regiment can be seen from the following bill showing a reasonably typical account of the charges involved.⁽³³⁾

576 Muskets @ 2 r.d.	=	1,152 r.d.
576 Bandoliers @ 18 öre	=	108 r.d.
576 Forks @ 8 öre	=	48 r.d.
432 Sets of Armour @ 4½ r.d.	=	1,944 r.d.
432 Pikes @ 16 öre	=	72 r.d.
1,008 Swords @ 1 r.d.	=	1,008 r.d.
1,008 Helmets @ 1 r.d.	=	1,008 r.d.
48 Partisans @ 2 r.d.	=	96 r.d.
		<hr/>
Total	=	5,436 r.d.
		<hr/>

It is clear from the above list that armour for pikemen could constitute more than one third of the total cost for a regiment, hence the economic factor urged governments towards equipping pikemen with buff coats rather than armour.

Once soldiers have been equipped with arms it is obviously necessary to train the men in their use. Pikes were relatively simple weapons to

(31) Lennoxlove, Hamilton Archives, T 72/14 C1/193

(32) L. Tersmeden, 'Med pik och musköt', Aktuellt och historiskt 1969, 13

(33) E. W. Dahlgren, Louis de Geer 1587-1652 (Uppsala: 1923),
i, 136 quoted in Sveriges Krig, viii, 127

use, but strict training was needed to prevent serious confusion arising when each man was wielding a pike over thirteen feet long in the confined situation of the ranks of a formal setpiece battle. The firing of muskets was a much more complex procedure and required an intricate drill. Markham's contemporary book, The Souldiers Exercise published in 1639, mentioned forty musket 'postures',⁽³⁴⁾ while in Bavaria there were actually 143 commands possible for musketeers.⁽³⁵⁾ When going into action a musketeer lit both ends of his match so that he might relight the working end from the other in case of accidental extinction. He poured the correct amount of powder down the barrel of his musket and then placed a bullet in the muzzle. Next he rammed the bullet down tight upon the powder with his scouring-rod, because any gap between bullet and powder could cause the entire weapon to explode. He then primed the pan with fine powder and clipped the working end of his match into a mechanism called the serpentine which would bring the burning match in contact with the pan when the soldier fired. Having made all these preparations the musketeer rested his musket on the fork and endeavoured to aim at the target before firing.⁽³⁶⁾ Despite this steadying aid accuracy must have been hard to attain. The maximum range was 250 yards, but tests with the old muskets have shown only 30% accuracy at 150 metres, and 50% accuracy at 75 metres distance.⁽³⁷⁾ The speed of fire by musketeers is a highly controversial point well discussed by Professor Roberts.⁽³⁸⁾ Whether attacking or defending it is unlikely that musketeers had the

(34) G. Markham, Souldiers Exercise (London 1639), 23

(35) Sveriges Krig, viii, 106 footnote 3

(36) F. Wilkinson, Antique Firearms, 14

(37) Sveriges Krig, viii, 109

(38) Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, ii, 177 footnote 7

opportunity to fire more than a few rounds during a battle before hand-to-hand combat ensued. As musketry was clearly a very specialised art and as musketeers played a crucial role in battles in the seventeenth century, it is likely that the captain and lieutenant of a company took more interest in this aspect of training than in marching and pike drill, though the main work of instruction would still have resided in the sergeants, corporals, and rotmasters. Basic training for recruits was reckoned to be completed within two weeks.

The muster rolls of regiments illustrate that each unit of infantry in the Swedish army included more musketeers than pikemen. The ratio of musketeers to pikemen approximated to 4:3. Firepower was becoming more important, but till the invention of the bayonet musketeers required protection from attack. This security was provided by the pikemen, who thus played a primarily defensive role in the battles of the Thirty Years War. On the battlefield squares of pikemen were placed between groups of musketeers so that in the front rank blocks of musketeers alternated with blocks of pikemen, with field pieces of artillery placed at intervals along the line. Almost all of the memorable assaults mentioned by Monro involved musketeers. What appears to have been most important in the success of musketeers was not their accuracy which was far from impressive, nor their speed of fire, but rather their appreciation of their assault potential. Since pikemen tended in infantry fighting to prevent defeat and in this sense to play a mainly negative role, a corresponding attitude of mind was engendered in these troops, at once secure, reliable, stolid and dogged in the face of the cavalry caracole and pistol attack. By contrast the musketeers of the 1630s embodied among infantry the spirit of aggression, initiative and resource, the élan of the future compared with the conservatism of the past.

Command of a regiment in the field resided nominally in the colonel, but he was frequently an absentee. Several of the Scottish colonels like Mackay, Spens, and the earl of Nithsdale seldom appeared alongside their units for action in the field, and even when they did so the duration of their stay was short. Other colonels like Alexander Hamilton and John Meldrum who served for slightly longer periods abroad were also frequently absent from their units, as the muster rolls and annual registers show. Their military rank and social position together caused them to gravitate towards the nearest large town where the king or his generals set up headquarters. In winter, when campaigning virtually ceased, colonels visited the capitals of Stockholm or Copenhagen or took the opportunity to return home to Britain on leave. This left the lieutenant-colonel in charge of a unit. In fact he too sometimes behaved in a similar fashion to the colonel, especially if his social status seemed to demand it. For example Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Hamilton of Meldrum's regiment, brother of Colonel Alexander Hamilton, belonged to this élite. If the lieutenant-colonel's presence was irregular the main burden of administration and command for a regiment devolved upon the major. Majors seldom belonged to the select group which surrounded the king, and thus it may be said that the major of a regiment was often the highest ranking soldier of a truly professional nature in the regiment. He spent almost all his time with troops in the field, e.g. Major Dunbar or Major Monro in Mackay's regiment, Major Borthwick in Sinclair's regiment, and Major Kelly in Nithsdale's regiment. The effective hierarchy of command in a unit was therefore major, captain, lieutenant. The ensign's position lay rather outwith this pattern, and was concerned partly with the company's colours and partly with care of the sick.

Lacking modern means of communication on the battlefield, commanders in the first half of the seventeenth century were greatly dependent on

flags, usually called 'colours', and drums. Colours were possessed by every company, and were the special concern of the ensign and 'förare'. The former bore the colours into battle, whereas the latter cared for them at all other times. Flags served as gathering-points for troops and as symbols for men to follow on the march. Ignominy attached to the loss of a company's colours, whereas glory resulted from capturing enemy standards and such success helped to build self-confidence in companies and regiments.

The importance of the value attached to colours can be judged from Monro's narrative. He related that Lieutenant David Monro returned to hold his company's colours at Oldenburg after being shot through the chest.⁽³⁹⁾ As noted previously Major Wilson was demoted because, through failure to insert a clause regarding colours in the accord he made with Tilly concerning the surrender of Lauenburg Castle in 1627, he was obliged to yield his standards.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The company and the regiment were symbolised by the standards. To indicate the reliability of his men Monro boasted that 'no extremity ... could ever make one of them runne away from their Colours.'⁽⁴¹⁾ He emphasised the contrast at Frankfort-on-Oder in 1631 when the 'most part of our souldiers and officers disbanded to make bootie, leaving me and a few number of honest Souldiers to guard my Colours.'⁽⁴²⁾ The point is likewise stressed by his cashiering of a sergeant for brawling inside the regiment 'when the Colours were flying.'⁽⁴³⁾ In fact Monro's yardstick for success and failure in battles and minor skirmishes often involved colours. Pappenheim's victories cost many units the loss of their standards, John Monro of Obsdale's regiment being forced to yield three.⁽⁴⁴⁾ On the other hand when Thomas Home of Carolside, the distinguished cavalry

(39) Monro, Expedition, i, 21
 (40) Monro, Expedition, i, 12
 (41) Monro, Expedition, ii, 12
 (42) Monro, Expedition, ii, 33
 (43) Monro, Expedition, ii, 47
 (44) Monro, Expedition, ii, 137

captain, fought heroically in the presence of Oxenstierna and the whole Swedish army in the Rhineland the measure of the success of his three troops of horse was the capture of nine standards from the Spanish cavalry.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Sir James Lumsden's unit, was credited with no less than eighteen enemy colours.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Fragile and insubstantial such colours seem now over 300 years old, but they clearly occupied an important place in the art of war in the seventeenth century. They were often the only tangible evidence of success in the field.

In size, colours approximated to six square feet, while in shape those for infantry were normally square or oblong, whereas cavalry and dragoons preferred swallow-tail or single-point designs. No uniform design of standard was imposed on all the regiments fighting for a particular country, but some indication of allegiance was normally given by the tinctures used or the general pattern. Thus in Danish service Scots found themselves expected to bear the 'Dannebrog', the Danish cross of white on a red field. Mackay's officers objected, and even when summoned to the presence of Christian IV still refused to co-operate. They felt so strongly about the issue that they sent one of their captains back to England to seek the support of Charles I. Not surprisingly the British king took the view that 'they should obey their will, under whose pay they were, in a matter so indifferent'.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The earl of Nithsdale referred to this dispute in his letter to the Danish monarch from Edinburgh on 31 May 1627, 'there is concern about the flags, but I shall bear that Danish cross not only where your Serenity commands it but also in my heart.'⁽⁴⁸⁾ This subject also appears to have been a bone of contention between Christian IV and certain English troops. In the

(45) Monro, Expedition, ii, 104

(46) Fischer, Scots in Germany, 112-13

(47) Monro, Expedition, i, 2

(48) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.93

course of his informative letter from Copenhagen on 3 December 1627 Captain John Chamberlain requested a clear decision from Sir Jacob Astley regarding the same problem. Apparently earlier in the year Christian had offered them Danish colours when they were stationed at Krempe, but this offer had been declined, 'the king was very angry with us and tould us he would make us English Colers', but still the English troops refused unless a direct ruling in favour of this was given by General Morgan. Pressure was again being applied in December, and Chamberlain feared 'it is lyk that towards the spring they will urge it hard upon us iff we have not other order from our generall.'⁽⁴⁹⁾

Most of the standards ranged against the Danes displayed religious scenes, particularly from the New Testament. The double-headed black eagle, adopted by the Holy Roman Empire in the early fifteenth century, was also prominent and flew alongside the silver fess on a red field of the Austrian arms. The standards of Tilly's veterans frequently showed the Virgin Mary against a background of the blue and silver lozenges of Bavaria. Those Scots who served Sweden often bore flags of light blue on which was imposed the Swedish cross constructed from a yellow horizontal and a white vertical. Against them the Russians exhibited their double-headed golden eagle, symbol of the Russian assumption of Byzantine claims after 1495, and the Poles and Lithuanians ranged their red flags charged with a white eagle or horseman. Both the Swedish and Polish monarchs, descendants of different branches of the same family, displayed the yellow garb or sheaf of the Vasa dynasty.⁽⁵⁰⁾

No rigid uniformity however regarding colours was enforced. It was agreed in the contract between Reay and Crosby on 20 April 1631

(49) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/412

(50) Royal Army Museum Stockholm, Typed Catalogue of Foreign Colours and Standards.

that Crosby should be free to choose his flags, both as regards colour and shape.⁽⁵¹⁾ In fact if battle seemed imminent commanders adopted a sash, coloured cockade or sprig of local vegetation as the situation demanded. There is no proof that the colour-names associated with five Swedish regiments, Yellow, Blue, Green, Red and White indicate that these units always fought under flags of the appropriate colour. Gunner Nordström however, utilising the seventeenth-century writings of Bogislav von Chemnitz, has contended that 'the White Regiment fought under a white flag. He further quoted the evidence of Reginbaldus Möhner that in the episcopal archives of Augsburg a seventeenth-century volume contained illustrations of a blue standard for the Blue Regiment and three standards each of the appropriate colours for the Green and the White Regiments.⁽⁵²⁾

The Green Regiment was connected with the Scots because this regiment formed part of the Green Brigade in which Scots distinguished themselves. Though there was this link between Scots and the Green Regiment, and though John Hepburn commanded this regiment in 1630, in fact the Green Regiment was almost entirely composed of Germans. This unit stemmed strangely enough from Brandenburg troops sent to reinforce the Polish army in Prussia on the Catholic side in the Thirty Years War, but in July 1627 they switched their allegiance and entered Swedish service. Almost all the names shown on the muster rolls for the Green Regiment in 1630 are German.⁽⁵³⁾ But when Gustavus decided in 1631 to incorporate the regiments of Mackay, Ramsay and Hamilton into one brigade he joined them to the Green Regiment and put this new Green Brigade under the control of John Hepburn. Thus both Germans and Scots served together in the Green

(51) RA Stockholm, Skrivelser till Konungen Gustav II Adolfs tid, Reay 5.

(52) G. Nordström, 'Régiments Jaune, Bleu, Vert, Rouge et Blanc de l'Ancienne Armée Suédoise', Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire (Paris 1950), viii, 345-6

(53) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1630/22/156

Brigade. In fact however the Green Brigade retained a distinct identity for a very short period, really for the months between September and November 1631 during which Breitenfeld was won and Hepburn retained his command. Though the component parts of the brigade remained in 1632 and even till 1634 the term 'Green Brigade' was not used.

Communication within an infantry regiment was achieved mainly through drums. Bugles and trumpets were reserved for the use of the cavalry, and since almost all Scottish soldiers in foreign service were infantry they answered to the beat of the drum. Many of these troops had in fact originally joined foreign service in response to the recruiting drum beaten at the local town or village cross. At the time of the Civil War in England drummers appear to have sounded six main beats, Reveille in the morning, Tattoo at night, Call to the Colours, March, Battle and Retreat.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The 'Scots March' was beaten to recall troops lost in the smoke of battle at Breitenfeld. It was also sounded on Oxenstierna's orders at Donauwörth in 1632 in a vain attempt to frighten the enemy.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Every Scottish company in Swedish service mustered two drummers and usually a piper as well, in addition to a drum major who appeared on the roll of the regimental staff. Drums were also instrumental in imparting a sense of solemnity. At the initial muster of a regiment before 'publishing the Articles of War' which bound every soldier on entrance into foreign service, drummers beat out the message that this was a moment of great occasion. They were also sounded before executions and other disciplinary penalties.

With a well-established programme of training and a planned system of command and communication in the field it might appear that from the

(54) H. C. B. Rogers, Battles and Generals of the Civil Wars 1642-51 (London 1968), 29

(55) Monro, Expedition, ii, 66, 113

military point of view the army of the early seventeenth century was a compact established unit, over 1,000 men forming a unified whole. But one of the most frustrating aspects of military life for those engaged in recruiting or training must have been the wastage of trained men. All organisations face the problem of changes in personnel, but the intensity of this problem varies with the organisation. For several reasons the turnover in personnel in mercenary regiments was extremely rapid. Desertion, death, injury, capture, promotion or resignation, all helped to create a situation in which the composition of units was constantly shifting.

Foreign records very seldom give details of desertion, and hence it is not possible to calculate exact figures to indicate the extent of the problem, but there can be little doubt that it was a chronic problem of huge dimensions. The frequency of desertion, even before embarkation from Britain, has already been noted. The same problem was rife in Germany, but the causes varied. When Morgan found many of his men had absconded in March 1627, he blamed the treatment they had received from their officers. The latter often originated from 'Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, or Middle Temple, where they have learned to play the mauvais garçon so that they can hardly be made fit to know what belongs to command, but in time I hope to bring them to better experience, or else I'll show them the way to break their necks.' He particularly castigated the missing captains, sergeants and drummers, whose names should be 'nailed on the gallows, being themselves officers and partly the cause of the running away of the rest.' 1,400 new recruits later in the year soon lost their colours and went off in bands of one or two hundred. Some of these, 'seduced by more experienced rogues', sought any master who would pay them three or four dollars each.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Morgan singled out the Scots for

(56) Beller, 'Military Expedition of Morgan 1627-9', EHR xliii (1928), 530

special criticism. In his letter from Stade on 1 November 1627 he complained that 'eight Companies of Scotts and redd-shankes' were disorderly and rude. 'The kinge gives them no paye but only bread and they shoue the waye for our men to fall into anie tumult or mischief.'⁽⁵⁷⁾ He was little more enamoured of the Scots when he reported from the same garrison on 25 January 1628, 'I am much troubled here with ye new Scotch regiment, especially with their officers, who are more debauched then ye rest, as of late they gave me good prooffe ... I required them to muster, which to ye great disadvantage of our occasions they refused with much stubborness.'⁽⁵⁸⁾

Nevertheless desertion had to be expected when men received neither money nor clothes. Even Morgan himself had not been paid for a whole year. He believed in October 1628 that if he could offer only clothes, his soldiers would return to the colours. Grubbe's report to Gustavus Adolphus in September 1632 revealed the extent of the confusion caused by desertions and fraudulent re-enlistments. He stated that 'a great abuse has taken root among soldiers, to run away from one army to the other, indeed sometimes from one company to another', and since mercenaries were in short supply 'not many new men are recruited, but the same ones, who desert from other regiments, so that many do no other service than to help new recruiters to fill up their numbers and exhaust the countryside at the muster-places.'⁽⁵⁹⁾ Injury and death in action are occupational hazards of military life, but it might be expected that these losses would be incurred by contact with the enemy. When the poor quality of many of the recruits is recalled, however, it is not surprising that feuds within units and between regiments on the same side were common in the early seventeenth century. Monro reached only the second page of his

(57) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/378

(58) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/28

(59) Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, ii, 218 footnote 4

narrative before he mentioned one of Mackay's soldiers being mutilated (loss of a finger) by a German captain. Infantry and cavalry clashed over disputes regarding shipping for embarkation at Poel in 1627, and a similar conflict arose between the Scots and the Rhinegrave's horsemen at Assens shortly afterwards.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Early in 1630 a confrontation between the troops of Meldrum's regiment and the 'rumormeister' of Governor Von Essen took place which illustrates conditions in East Prussia. Von Essen's officer, investigating a complaint by the local inhabitants, rode into Meldrum's camp and caused a soldier to be hanged in his quarters without trial. Meldrum's major sought redress from the Chancellor, but meanwhile the 'rumormeister' had gone by ship to Elbing and sent back some of his cavalry. These were ambushed near Pillau by Meldrum's men who shot at them, seized two of the horsemen and hanged them. The outcome was a court-martial at Elbing, the verdict of which is not recorded. Chancellor Oxenstierna had considered Von Essen's actions serious enough on 28 February 1630, but the whole case had become unprecedented by 2 May.⁽⁶¹⁾

Though such mutual disregard between men on foot and men on horseback caused difficult situations, it appears that national rivalries were also powerful as motivating forces for conflict. It is true of course that national consciousness was still somewhat undefined in the early seventeenth century and also that each of the disputes which broke out had a separate specific cause. Yet no matter how vague a particular soldier's idea of Britain, Germany or Denmark as a national geographic unit may have been, he appears to have been well aware of the difference between Scot, German and Dane. (As always such distinctions were intensified in times of dispute or hardship.) Likewise when many instances of

(60) Monro, Expedition, i, 2, 27, 34

(61) AOSB, 1st Series, v, 308

Scottish-German rivalry made their appearance, it is quite probable that some degree of xenophobia was an influential factor, not constantly in evidence but ever just below the surface.

Relations with Danish troops were far from cordial at times. When based on the island of Femern in 1628, the English and Scottish troops became involved in fighting with Danish soldiers, allegedly because the Danes had been issued with more generous rations.⁽⁶²⁾ Feelings ran high between the English General Morgan and Governor Rantzau of Glückstadt in December 1628. The Governor had other problems on his mind, since plague was raging in the town, but Morgan laid the blame on Rantzau, 'the houses are so nasty and il kepte and the place so vile, that the Governour seemeth more fitt to keepe hoggs then to have the commande of soe manie brave soldiers.' Indeed Rantzau had at first refused to allow the English forces to disembark, ordering them out of the harbour and training his cannon on the English ships. Morgan commented angrily, 'Veryly had I bin in the towne, I would have throwne him headlong into the Haven.'⁽⁶³⁾

Incidents in Swedish service could be equally turbulent, Monro was deliberately locked out of Bacharach in the Rhineland in 1632 by a German captain of the Red Regiment, supposedly an ally in the same army, and the Scots had to gain entry by a ruse, as though against a hostile garrison.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Colonel John Monro of Obsdale lost his life due to the 'insolency' of a German regiment in Swedish pay in 1633.⁽⁶⁵⁾ An intriguing incident reported by Chancellor Oxenstierna to Gustavus on 7 July 1631 indicates the complex nature of the web of factors involved in these rivalries. He informed the King that a serious tumult had arisen in Braunsberg between the infantry

(62) Monro, Expedition, i, 61

(63) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/308, 75/9/324

(64) Monro, Expedition, ii, 97

(65) Monro, Expedition, ii, 178

there and two companies of cavalry under Streuff's squadron. The town major and a captain had been shot, neither fatally, but eight or nine men had been slain. The immediate cause appears to have been a game (unfortunately the Chancellor provided no more exact detail) between the Germans and the Scots. The horsemen tried to help the Germans, their compatriots, and the tussle escalated to the extent that Oxenstierna was concerned about the entire town being put in danger.⁽⁶⁶⁾ There was no lack either of Anglo-Scottish rivalry and jealousy, to judge from the Chancellor's letters. The earl of Crawford seems to have been unable to work harmoniously with the English officers of Spens' 'English' regiment.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Nor was the day of the duel past. Lieutenant-Colonel James Montgomery was killed in combat on horseback by Quartermaster Bullion,⁽⁶⁸⁾ and Lieutenant Andrew Monro was mortally wounded in a trial of strength with a German named Ranso.⁽⁶⁹⁾ All these instances reveal that lethal hostility did not necessarily emanate from the enemy camp alone. Violence and death were seldom distant even when there was a common paymaster and supposedly a common cause for which to fight.

When troops behaved so irresponsibly among themselves it is obvious that public law and order in the countryside was bound to be seriously upset by the presence of large numbers of troops. To combat this situation rigorous discipline under a strict system of martial law was operated. Martial law depended upon the king's Articles of War which were enforced by a Council of War. This body was presided over by the senior officer present assisted by an auditor and a jury of thirteen men drawn from all those holding promoted posts, i.e. from captain down to corporal. Half of the regimental staff of a unit held ranks associated

(66) AOSB 1st Series, vi, 376-7

(67) AOSB 1st Series, vi, 474; vi, 42, 58

(68) Monro, Expedition, ii, 99

(69) Monro, Expedition, i, 82-83

with the enforcement of discipline. The units of Hamilton and Meldrum in 1629 each had four provosts, four stock-knights (men-at-arms), one clerk to the Court of War (also known as the 'blood-scriver'), and one executioner (hangman).⁽⁷⁰⁾ The regimental provost acted as prosecutor in the trial, while clemency could be sought on behalf of the accused by the ensign of the company concerned.

The penalty was not always capital in nature, but generally severe. Whipping was common. In the 'gatlop' or 'loupgarthe' the prisoner was stripped to the waist and beaten by 200 of his colleagues while he ran the gauntlet a furlong in length between their files. Just as in naval discipline where the responsibility for the cat-o'-nine tails rested with the master-at-arms, in the Scandinavian armies the rods used for whipping were all cut according to the instructions of the provost.⁽⁷¹⁾ Whipping was laid down as the penalty for ill-treating peasants. For other contraventions of the law the victim was put in irons with his hands bound above his head. For minor offences the culprit was awarded extra sentry-duty, which could last as long as nine hours beyond the normal span, or the humiliation of being mocked publicly while seated on a wooden horse. It can well be imagined that many soldiers under correction felt, like Monro, 'weary of life'.⁽⁷²⁾

On other occasions the ultimate penalty of death itself was exacted. In Danish service a Scot from the ranks, MacMyer, was accused of raping the daughter of a peasant with whom he was quartered, and the capital sentence was decreed by a Council of War. Even when the evidence was inconclusive, as Monro claimed was the case concerning three of Mackenzie's men on a similar charge, the full severity of the law was meted out.

(70) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1629/18/22

(71) Provosts were also responsible for fire security in camp.
Monro, Expedition, ii, 113

(72) Monro, Expedition, i, 44-45

They were sent to Copenhagen in irons and despite the lack of adequate evidence they were later executed.⁽⁷³⁾ Nor did Andrew Monro's outstanding valour at Stralsund in 1628 save him from the execution post at Stettin in the summer of 1631 when he was convicted of beating a German burger in his own house.⁽⁷⁴⁾ This explains why an executioner was considered an essential member of the regimental staff and why it was laid down that if he was absent a civilian had to be hired to carry out the sentences. It was considered dishonourable for a soldier to suffer death by hanging at the hands of an executioner. In special cases the victim was allowed the lesser indignity of being shot by his fellow comrades or of being beheaded. At least five men of Mackay's regiment died at the execution post from the bullets of firing-squads.

A limited degree of clemency was apparent in the treatment of the men of John Monro of Assynt's company in 1628. They had been forced to spend four consecutive nights without quarters in the streets of Stralsund, and they had mutinied to the extent of rousing the burgomaster and shouting that they would take up residence with him. A Council of War resulted. It decided that the company should draw apart into its three corporalships and that each should draw lots till the gallows was drawn in each group. The outcome was the selection of two Scots and a Dane, but then other regimental officers interceded and a further concession was granted. Only one should die. Further lots were drawn among the three, and finally the Dane was hanged.⁽⁷⁵⁾

The nature of a mercenary's occupation caused death to shadow the career of every Scottish soldier in Danish or Swedish pay, but the form this death might take varied. Death in battle normally resulted from

(73) Monro, Expedition, i, 41-42, 62

(74) Monro, Expedition, ii, 47

(75) Monro, Expedition, i, 64-65

from being shot, either by a cannon-ball or more frequently by a musket bullet. Monro listed twenty eight persons killed in this manner and seventeen others, including himself thrice, as being thus wounded. According to his account fourteen men had their heads blasted away by one cannon-ball! It is possibly significant to note that in his entire book only one man is actually stated to have been killed by a pike-thrust, and he was a Scot on the enemy side.⁽⁷⁶⁾ On the other hand he implied that in the sack of towns or slaughter of garrisons the unfortunate victims were literally 'cut down' by sword or pike. In a communication from Nordstrand on 12 May 1629 to Secretary Dorchester General Morgan charged the duke of Serboni and his regiment in Jutland with barbarous treatment of Scottish troops. 'Certaine Scotts hertofore being driven in amongst them by tempest he caused them to be taken out of their shippes promising all Courtesie, then he took all the best they had from their backs and afterwarde caused them all to be most viely sacked and murdered by Dragons' (dragoons).⁽⁷⁷⁾

Other forms of violent death however caused depletion of the Scottish ranks. Life might be lost by shipwreck, e.g. the three entire companies of Conway's regiment in 1631, or the Aberdeen disaster of 1637. Monro did not actually instance any cases of death from explosions, but he pointed out the serious danger to life which resulted from exploding powder. Many were 'spoiled' in two such cases in Danish service. Foraging was hazardous too, especially when the enemy 'Crabbats' or auxiliary units were in the vicinity. Monro lost three of his own servants in this fashion.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Almost as lethal were the local inhabitants who tended to detest both sides in the war and to strike down any men who became detached from their companies. Three ~~of the~~ Scottish captains are known

(76) Monro, Expedition, i, 11, 66

(77) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/10/163

(78) Monro, Expedition, ii, 144

to have suffered this fate, Boswell at the Weser in 1627 in Danish service, and James Lyel in Westphalia and Dunbar at Ulm in Swedish service.

On other occasions the peasants were the victims in such skirmishes, e.g. when a dispute in May 1628 between Captain Mackenzie and some Danish boors about quartering of his men resulted in a fracas in which four peasants lost their lives.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Turner's statement that he 'had learnd so much cunning and become so vigilant to lay hold on opportunities ... and wanted for nothing, horses, clothes, meate or money'⁽⁸⁰⁾ suggests that the native inhabitants were frequently the victims of such exploitation. The type of abuse to which peasants could be subjected was illustrated in Ruthven's letter of 23 August 1628. He complained to Gustavus that the German cavalry at Wittenburg and Haffenburg 'give annoyance to the people, and that they are not to be satisfied with any quantity of grass for their horses, but are also consuming the people's corn.'⁽⁸¹⁾ It is against this background of pillage, rape and plunder that the ferocity of the peasants becomes readily understandable. Normally powerless in the face of large units of troops, the local populace retaliated furiously whenever circumstances provided a favourable opportunity. On one occasion Danish peasants struck down in vengeance unarmed Imperialist soldiers who had surrendered under truce conditions.⁽⁸²⁾ A similar expression of local resentment is illustrated by Monro's comment that in Bavaria 'Boors ...! cruelly used our Souldiers (that went aside to plunder) in cutting off their noses and ears, hands and feete, pulling out their eyes.'⁽⁸³⁾ Richard Guilman reported from Falkenberg on 2 January 1632 that Captain Needham had been 'fowly murdered by an druncken man, pistolld dead by a Russian.'

A recruit could not expect to make a profession of the military arts without running the risk of injury. Few Scots escaped unscathed. Lieutenant Ross, Lieutenant David Monro, Colonel Hepburn and

(79) Monro, Expedition, i, 61

(80) Turner, Memoirs, 7

(81) SRO, Pringle of Whytbank and Yair Papers, GD 246/28/15

(82) Monro, Expedition, i, 46

(83) Monro, Expedition, ii, 122

(84) Lennoxlove, Hamilton Archives, T72/14 CI/265

Captain Mackenzie were all struck in the leg, and David Ross had one of his lower limbs completely shot away. Others were hit in the feet, e.g. Colonel Robert Monro of Foulis and Hector Monro. The latter was wounded in both feet and had to be carried from the battlefield. The body proved vulnerable for Ensign David Monro (hit in the chest) and Ensign Lindsay (struck in the shoulder). Captain Douglas and Sir James Ramsay incurred injuries in the arm. Even wounds in the head did not always prove fatal. Hugh Murray survived a bullet in the eye, but Captain Innes and Hector Monro (both shot in the head) and Captain Trail (shot through the throat) must all be presumed to have succumbed to these serious injuries.

Robert Monro the chronicler earned his promotions through being in the thick of the action and being wounded several times. Fortune favoured him too in that thrice his equipment deflected bullets which could have caused him fatal injuries. He was hurt at Oldenburg in 1627 by the point of his own partisan which had been shot off by a cannon-ball. Early in 1628 at Ekernförde he was saved from serious damage by his sword-hilt which deflected a bullet. Shortly afterwards he was burned by a powder explosion in the church there. At Stralsund in the summer of 1628 a bullet lodged in his knee, and he required to seek expert treatment in Copenhagen. He then survived till the confrontation with the enemy at Alte Feste in 1632 when he was shot 'above the left hanch-bone,' but the main impact of the bullet had been taken by his scabbard. The wound was neglected at Nuremberg and fever set in, but Monro was fortunate enough to survive to be fully cured at Dinkelsbühl. Finally in 1633 at Augsburg his horse fell, pinning his leg underneath. Six weeks of treatment elapsed before the Scottish colonel was capable of commanding on foot.⁽⁸⁵⁾

(85) Monro, Expedition, i, 18, 51, 75; ii, 149, 173

To deal with injured men every colonel included in his regimental staff two surgeons (also called 'barbers'), along with their two assistants. However primitive their methods in the amputation of limbs without anaesthetic for patients and the cauterization of wounds by red-hot irons these surgeons did achieve a considerable number of successful operations. They were in their own way quite expert at the fitting of wooden legs or 'treens'. More difficult for these barbers were the problems posed by illnesses. Once gangrene set in from a septic wound there was little they could do, e.g. the deaths of Sir John Home of Ayton 1628 and Robert Monro of Foulis 1633. Nor could they cope with diseases. Monro noted by name sixteen men who died from illnesses which he described variously as 'plague', 'pest', 'fever', 'ague' and 'consumption'. He also said that 200 men per week died of plague in the marquis of Hamilton's army in 1631. The marquis reported from Küstrin on 13 October 1631 that he had 1,400 or 1,500 sick men. At Schivalbein in 1630 Monro admitted that they 'knew not the clean from the foule.'⁽⁸⁶⁾ Turner suffered for no less than seventeen weeks of tertian ague in 1638.⁽⁸⁷⁾

When casualties were particularly high, special arrangements were made. After the Femern expedition King Christian IV wrote on 7 April 1628 to Commissary Christopher Urne commending the injured and burned to the care of the surgeons, but also ordering that if the places in which the troops were quartered lacked surgeons the Commissary should procure the services of such medical men elsewhere.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Those however who could afford to move to Copenhagen to have their wounds tended did so, e.g. Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton, and Captains Mackie and Forbes. After the fierce fighting at Alte Feste four years later many soldiers were left

(86) Monro, Expedition, ii, 10, 53;
RA Stockholm, Skrivelser till Konungen Gustav II Adolfs tid,
Hamilton 22

(87) Turner, Memoirs, 11

(88) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 376

under medical care at Nuremberg. In fact all along the routes followed by the Swedish army under Gustavus Adolphus men were falling out of the ranks and being left in hospitals. The marquis of Hamilton's letter from Küstrin on 14 September 1631 indicated that 'plusieurs sont demeures malades par le chemin, lesquels j'ay loges dans les villages',⁽⁸⁹⁾ but the muster roll for Captain John Hamilton in 1632 makes definite mention of an actual hospital at Würzburg. Of the original Hamilton and Meldrum regiments of 1629, the single set of muster rolls for 1632 shows the sick distributed as follows: - thirteen in the leaguer, five at Bingen, three at Worms, twenty at Würzburg, eight at Mainz, four at Koblenz, five at Windsheim, and two at Aschaffenburg. Two other soldiers appear to have tried to keep up with the unit in the Rhineland despite their wounds. They had both been injured at Koblenz, but they were eventually put into the care of hospitals further along the line of march, at Würzburg, and at Windsheim.⁽⁹⁰⁾

The effective strength of every regiment was normally reduced by at least 10% by sickness. Seldom does a muster roll show less than ten men sick in a company, and the figures for garrison towns in winter frequently rose much higher. The history of the three Scottish regiments in Swedish service in 1637, those of Robert Monro, Alexander Cunningham and Robert Stewart, provides a clear illustration of this fact. Stewart's regiment in 1638 never exceeded 350 in strength, but in course of the year he lost forty five dead and at least eighty three were sick in September. Cunningham's totals were similar, thirty three dead and ninety one sick in the same month. Only two companies of Monro's regiment had arrived in June, but within three months they had lost seventy two dead.⁽⁹¹⁾ It is therefore not surprising that these regiments were

(89) RA Stockholm, Skrivelser till Konungen Gustav II Adolfs tid, Hamilton 19

(90) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1632/31/87-102

(91) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1638/26/173-7

amalgamated in 1639. The Oder valley may have been especially unhealthy, for these three regiments were quartered in Stettin, Damm, Marwitz, Greifenhagen and Gollnow, all on or around the lower Oder river, the same area which had exacted such a heavy toll of deaths from sickness in the marquis of Hamilton's army in 1631. By May 1639 the units of Stewart and Monro had been joined and added into Cunningham's regiment which showed a combined strength of 684, but by August 1640 it had withered away to 255.⁽⁹²⁾ The unit is not listed at all in 1641 and later years. Some of this rapid decline in the size of the Scottish regiments may be accounted for by troops returning to Scotland as requested by the Covenanters, but it is also likely that disease was continuing to be a crucial factor. (See discussion of this in Chapter Ten.)

It was recognised in the seventeenth century that the greatest losses in military personnel resulted from sickness and desertions. It was hoped to avert, or at least minimise, these evils by treating soldiers in such a way that 'they lost not their affection for the company.' To this end care of the sick was a shared responsibility, each rotmaster looking after his rot, each corporal being concerned for the men of his corporalship, and ultimately each captain for his entire company. But two company officers in particular bore the burden of supervising arrangements for the sick. Both these officers already shared responsibility for the colours of the company. The ensign, as noted earlier, carried the company flag in battle, but on all other occasions appears to have represented the 'human' or sympathetic side of the military hierarchy. De la Chapelle extolled the qualities sought in an ensign above those required for any other officer, since such a

(92) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1640/17/322-41

person reflected the honour of the company in his behaviour and integrity. He interceded for the accused in a court-martial and was expected to take a genuine interest in the health of his men. His assistant in this task was the 'förare'. The 'förare' bore the colours behind the ensign when the company was on the march, but when in camp his main task was to visit the sick and liaise between the corporals and the ensign and captain regarding men who had fallen ill. He had to make arrangements for those who were unfit to march to travel in the company's wagon. (93)

Other losses in personnel were occasioned when by the fortunes of war, and in particular the surrender of besieged garrisons, troops were captured by the enemy. Monro criticised both sides for at times being guilty of wholesale killing of the soldiers of a capitulating garrison after the defence had been notably stubborn, e.g. Neu Brandenburg taken by the Imperialists, and Frankfort-on-Oder by the Swedes. Monro also mentioned that early in 1631 Ensign Graham was sent into Neu Brandenburg with a troop of dragoons to seek out Tilly's sick and wounded soldiers and to plunder and kill them. (94) The Scottish chronicler contended that the Imperial 'Crabbats' behaved in a similar fashion. Normally however prisoners were taken, mainly because it was customary for defeated men to take service with the successful side. Transfer of allegiance to the victors occurred because the ordinary soldier while in captivity could not expect pay from his original paymaster, and also because the mercenary's sense of loyalty was still tenuous. Even a commander like Gustavus, who inspired loyalty, owed much of the continued size of his army to his unbroken sequence of successes during 1631 and the first half of 1632. When the serious setback of Alte Feste befell

(93) Tersmeden, 'Med pik och musköt', Aktuellt och historiskt 1969, 14-15

(94) Monro, Expedition, ii, 23-24

his troops however, many hundreds deserted his ranks. This preparedness of mercenaries to change their loyalties caused many such units to be suspect in their reliability, but this charge was seldom levelled against British troops. Indeed Chancellor Oxenstierna on several occasions paid tribute to the Scots as being 'good men'.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Monro castigated vehemently 4,000 German and Danish cavalry who took service with the Imperialists in 1627 'without loosing of one Pistoll'.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Most of Colonel Holck's regiment in Mecklenburg in 1630 did not hesitate to join Gustavus when they were in grave danger of being blasted out of their position by a 'mine'. At Halle late in 1631 3,000 prisoners gladly enlisted with the Swedish forces, as did the defeated garrison at Duderstadt in 1632. Such acquisitions could be doubtful assets. For instance the garrison of Italians at Oppenheim switched their allegiance to the Vasa monarch in the winter of 1631, but promptly deserted in the following summer when the king had penetrated into southern Germany.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Later in the century it may have been possible, as Wijn contends, for the ordinary soldier to pay for his release from captivity with a month's wages,⁽⁹⁸⁾ but in the Thirty Years War period all men in the ranks lacked ready money. Wijn's statement suggests that the ransom price would have been in the region of five or six rix dollars for a soldier in the ranks. An indication that the figure must have been at least three rix dollars for an ensign is provided by the financial reckoning of Danish Commissary Nils Krag with Captain John Lindsay. An item for 12 May 1629 reads 'Ensign Henry Lindsay - to help his ransoming, 3 rix dollars.'⁽⁹⁹⁾

As prisoners, officers were treated rather differently from soldiers

(95) AOSB 1st Series, v, 109; vi, 353

(96) Monro, Expedition, i, 27

(97) Monro, Expedition, ii, 92

(98) Cambridge Modern History, iv, 225

(99) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

in the ranks, and appear to have been ransomed in many instances. Each of Mackay's officers was said to wear a gold chain round his neck, so that in the event of his capture a speedy ransom bargain might be facilitated.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ As might be expected Monro gave the impression that treatment of captured officers by the Swedes was courteous and exemplary, whereas officers seized by the Imperialists frequently fared relatively badly. Lieutenant-Colonel Duwall, taken by Wallenstein's troops at Stralsund in 1628, remained in captivity for six months.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Colonels Hugh Hamilton and John Forbes, caught unawares in their beds while on a recruiting mission on the borders of Switzerland, were kept in enemy custody for no less than three years before they managed to ransom themselves. When three companies of John Monro of Obsdale's regiment surrendered in 1632 Captain Francis Sinclair soon regained his liberty, but two of the lieutenants and an ensign were not so fortunate and had to endure eighteen months in hostile hands. On the other hand Captains Learmonth, Beaton and Gunn, all captured by the Imperialists at Neu Brandenburg, were quickly freed, presumably on payment of the ransom price. Nor was Major General King unduly long confined after being taken at Wolfenbüttel. When the Swedes were the captors they were not always quick to release their prisoners. Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon and Major Leslie, commanders on the Imperial side, were assured that they would be freed within three days of their being caught at Nuremberg. In fact they were detained for five weeks, though Monro indicated that this period was one of Scottish reunion shown in real warmth and comradeship rather than harsh imprisonment.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Probably the worst case of infamous treatment in captivity involved Sir James Ramsay, who after a valiant

(100) R. Mackay, House and Clan of Mackay, (Edinburgh 1829), 272 footnote

(101) Monro, Expedition, i, 69

(102) Monro Expedition, ii, 24, 130, 137, 145

defence of Hanau was forced to capitulate. His enemies locked him in a dungeon in Dillenburg castle in the foulest conditions, and there he died in 1638.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Nevertheless few Scots appear to have languished for long periods in enemy prisons. The reason for this was economic. Prisoners were of most value to their captors either as sources of ransom or as reinforcements to swell the number of names on the muster rolls, thus ensuring the full numerical strength of companies and the consequent continuance of maximum wages to the commanders of these units.

In some respects life in an early seventeenth century army was obviously unlike that of military life in modern times. Prisoner-of-war camps were virtually unknown, uniforms were not standardised, and medical care for the sick and injured was rudimentary. The former role of drums as vital means of communication has now been taken over by telephone and wireless, displacing drums to merely ceremonial occasions. Clearly too advances have been made in the types of infantry weapons used. On the other hand much of the military organisation experienced by the mercenary recruit in the early seventeenth century has changed little. The fundamental elements of drill, digging fortifications, training in the use of arms and elementary tactics have altered only in detail, not in essence. The modern command structure in a regiment closely resembles that of the seventeenth century. Naturally the same basic hazards of the profession of arms remain, injury and possible disfigurement for life, death and oblivion in a foreign grave.

(103) Fischer, Scots in Germany, 93-102;
Dictionary of National Biography (London 1909), xvi, 686-7

CHAPTER TWELVE

Many aspects of military life involve the provision of services unconnected with the martial arts as such, but because these services are either essential or highly conducive to contentment in the ranks, army authorities have little option but to make arrangements for them. In some cases military personnel are responsible, in others civilians provide the service. These necessities of life include shelter, food and drink, cooking and laundry facilities, and high on the list of priorities for all soldiers, and especially for mercenaries, pay. All armies also need transportation for the movement of supplies, and administrative personnel are required for the organisation of all these services. Indeed several of these activities are considered so important in the army of the twentieth century that separate corps have been established to deal with these specific problems more efficiently. In the early seventeenth century however these arrangements still depended upon regimental and company officers and also to some extent upon camp followers.

One of the first responsibilities faced by military authorities in catering for the well-being of their troops is the provision of shelter. This normally presents less of a problem in a garrison town where fixed arrangements may be made, but accommodation for a field army constantly on the move calls for improvisation. The obvious answer is that of portable shelters in the form of tents. Monro only mentioned tents once, when he drew attention to the destruction caused by fire at Tettelbach in 1632.⁽¹⁾ On several occasions he stated that his men slept in the open

(1) Monro, Expedition, ii, 110

fields or under hedges. For example the Scots slept in a ploughed field in Saxony the night before the battle of Breitenfeld. They suffered the rigours of winter on the banks of the Rhine in 1631 when some bushes were their only protection from the elements, and they experienced similar bitter weather living out in open fields near Augsburg in 1632.⁽²⁾ Nevertheless there is no doubt that tents were frequently erected.

Contemporary engravings showing military actions in the Thirty Years War reveal tents. The illustration of the siege of Donauwörth in 1632 in Theatrum Europaeum depicts the Swedish army encamped in a 'lager' with wagons drawn up at the rear and several large tents pitched in the centre, presumably for the senior officers.⁽³⁾ In another engraving in Historis oft Waerachtich Verhael illustrating the siege of Wolgast in 1630 by Swedish troops each regiment is clearly shown to be established in orderly rows of close-pitched tents.⁽⁴⁾ During the advance on Graudenz by the Swedish army in 1628 particular mention was made of the organisation of bivouacs.⁽⁵⁾

Living conditions varied according to the location of units and also at times according to the rank of the soldier. Whenever possible officers and men were billeted in villages close to the line of march, and whenever a regiment was posted to a town for an extended period, e.g. during the winter, men were allotted fixed quarters in the houses of citizens where they dined and slept. It was specially common in Danish service for soldiers to be allocated free quarters in peasants' houses when the troops could not be paid, but the recruits frequently objected to this arrangement. Complaints were also forthcoming from local inhabitants who believed themselves victimised. A householder in

(2) Monro, Expedition, ii, 62, 91, 173

(3) Sveriges Krig, v, 505

(4) C. Danckaertz, Historis oft Waerachtich Verhael (Amsterdam 1624), 166 illustrated in Sveriges Krig, iii, 432

(5) Sveriges Krig, ii, 415

Borstfeld in north west Germany complained early in 1627 that thirty men were billeted there when three or four would have sufficed, there being no hostile action likely, and he claimed compensation for damage done by these men to his hedges.⁽⁶⁾ Two associated issues which disturbed the Danish authorities were that soldiers voiced their discontent with the customary two or three courses which peasants provided and also that soldiers invited visitors to come for a meal at the peasant's expense.

In addition to these instances Von Rantzow addressed two letters to Colonel Mackay from Steinburg dealing with complaints about the Scottish troops. In the first, on 28 March 1627, the Danish official asserted that the Scots, when on leave, were inclined to stay too long in the public-houses and became rather unruly. He insisted that they should return to their quarters instead of carousing for five or six days, as well as failing to settle the reckoning. It would be helpful too, he thought, if not more than ten men out of a company of 200 were allowed out of camp at any one time. The Danish Commissary also objected to the fact that Captain Patrick MacKie had submitted a claim for forty four rix dollars as travelling expenses incurred during his leave. In Von Rantzow's second letter it appears that a Danish villager had complained that two Scottish soldiers billeted upon him would not dine at the same table with him but demanded money from him instead. Mackay was instructed to inform his men that they must not attempt to extort money in this fashion, but under threat of punishment should take their food with the villager and sit at his table.⁽⁷⁾ Whether the Scots were more unruly guests than other billeted troops it is impossible to say, but the Swedish commander Wrangel, not an impartial observer perhaps,

(6) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 600

(7) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/156-7

echoed the complaints of the Danish Commissaries when he asserted that householders in Elbing in 1632 preferred Swedes to either Scots or English when billeting was necessary.⁽⁸⁾

Billeting arrangements were included in the various responsibilities of the regimental quartermaster, but in fact he normally delegated this duty to the company 'furriers' (Swedish 'furer') by assigning them villages, to which they were sent ahead of their companies to make the necessary enquiries and allocate the available quarters before the units actually arrived. The furriers first decided the billets suitable for the officers, and then divided the rest among the corporalships of their companies. Monro lived with the burgomaster in Maribo in 1627, no doubt sharing a relatively high standard of living. The baron of Foulis 'was allowed a free table to entertain an Earle, being ordinarily above 16 persons at table.'⁽⁹⁾ Of course the ordinary soldiers in the ranks were not accorded such preferential treatment.

The second vital responsibility which military authorities must face in order to keep their men fit is the provision of supplies of food and drink. This task, like the previous one of billeting, was the responsibility of the regimental quartermaster and the company furriers. The latter, sometimes called 'sutlers', collected bread and beer from nearby towns. It was on his return from one of these expeditions to Lauenburg that sutler Mathieson of Mackay's regiment on settling down for the night became aware of the presence of bees in his sleeping rug. His comrades had during his absence used the rug to catch the bees and steal their honey, but they had omitted to inform Mathieson.⁽¹⁰⁾ The issue of provisions was implemented via a descending chain of command,

(8) T. Fischer, Scots in Sweden (Edinburgh 1907), 107

(9) Monro, Expedition, i, 1, 42

(10) Monro, Expedition, i, 10

regimental quartermaster to company furrier, to corporal, to rotmaster. Each of these soldiers was charged with the equitable distribution of rations to the men under his command. It appears to have been important that the furrier in particular should be a forceful character who could assert aggressively his company's right to a just share of the quarters and provisions in face of the furriers of other companies equally prepared to be overbearing and to deprive others of their due allocation.⁽¹¹⁾

The main sources for provisions were the war commissariat and the local populace, but no matter which source was utilised transport was essential for the movement of these provisions. Ruthven's letter of 18 August 1628 shows that both sources of supply were frequently necessary. Six thousand commissariat loaves had just arrived for his men, but he also observed that bread was coming in that same day and the following one from peasants who had each been ordered to produce six loaves.⁽¹²⁾ Though the armies of the early seventeenth century were not large by modern standards the transportation of supplies posed a considerable difficulty for regimental officers. The muster rolls for the Scottish army in Ireland in 1642 indicate that each company possessed two wagon horses.⁽¹³⁾ Wagons are not listed on the Swedish muster rolls, but they were certainly used, for they are visible in the engravings of the 'lagers' in Germany in the 1630s. When Patrick Ruthven transferred eight companies to Lieutenant-Colonel Muschamp in April 1624 their full complement of equipment included horses and wagons.⁽¹⁴⁾ In Danish service in 1627 Morgan's English troops were allowed three wagons and horses for each company.⁽¹⁵⁾ The quantity of

(11) Tersmeden, 'Med pik och musköt', Aktuellt och Historiskt, 1969, 13-14

(12) SR0, Pringle of Whytbank and Yair Papers, GD 246/28/14

(13) PRO, SP 16/492/147-83, SP 28/120

(14) SR0, Pringle of Whytbank and Yair Papers, GD 246/28/8

(15) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/466

of provisions to be moved by these wagons could be substantial. Ruthven informed Oxenstierna on 4 September 1628 that he had forwarded 31,677 loaves and twenty tons of salt from Marienwerder.⁽¹⁶⁾ Not only men but also horses required to be fed. Even in an infantry regiment captains possessed horses, and thus oats for officers' mounts and wagon horses figure in the lists of provisions issued to infantry units.

The situation on the Continent regarding plentifulness or scarcity of provisions differed from place to place and year to year. In Holstein in 1626 Mackay's men lived comfortably off the fertile countryside, but when they moved to the Weser valley they complained that whereas they received only the official issue of bread, beer and bacon, the English were granted 'weekly meanes', presumably cash payments enabling men to buy quality and variety. When they reached Wismar in 1627 the Scots experienced a glut of meat and drink, so great that a whole carcase was sold for a can of beer and men were 'weary of mutton, eating onely heads and feet, being boyld with wheat off the fields.' On the other hand shortages existed there of bread and salt, and the ration of bread amounted to merely one pound for ten days. Further complaints about lack of equity in the allocation of provisions were made by the Scots early in 1628 when Danish peasants conscripted for service were issued with forty days supply of dry beef and bacon, whereas the British troops under Monro and Chamberlain collected only 'hard Bisket and Beere.' Such injustice led to stealing from the Danes' knapsacks and to violence.⁽¹⁷⁾

Many further instances occurred of difficulties and disputes concerning provisions. Captain John Chamberlain reported from Copenhagen on

(16) SRO, Pringle of Whytbank and Yair Papers, GD 246/28/17

(17) Monro, 'Expedition', i, 5, 15, 61

3 December 1627 that before his men were settled for the winter they were moved from place to place for three weeks and 'had not a bite of bread but what we could get to buy ... at very deare rates.' At the end of this letter he bemoaned the fact that his 390 men were quartered in Fyen, an island so completely despoiled of provisions previously that 'we can hardly get meate for to keepe our solldiers alive.'⁽¹⁸⁾

Though Chamberlain sought the recall of his troops to join Morgan's forces in Holstein, no doubt thinking conditions must be better there, in fact in both Stade and Glückstadt angry recriminations about inadequate provisions were forthcoming from the English regiments stationed there. When Morgan withdrew his men to Stade late in 1627, he found the Scottish and English troops of the garrison there already very short of food and clothing. On 25 January 1628 despite its spiritedly defiant wording Morgan's letter to Secretary Carleton revealed the hopelessness of his situation, 'I will not yet abandonne my self, nor this place, as long with catt and dogg (our present dyet) wee shall be able to feed an arme to that strength it may lift a sword.'⁽¹⁹⁾

Exactly three months later the surrender of Stade was negotiated. Even so conditions at Stade were no worse than those experienced later by the beleaguered garrison in Hanau in 1636 when horses and dogs were being eaten, cats were esteemed venison, and there may even have been cannibalism.⁽²⁰⁾

Conditions were far from satisfactory in 1628 in Glückstadt where seven captains signed a protest which among other grievances listed 'the unsettled order taken for our provision.'⁽²¹⁾ The Commissary General with the English forces was well aware of at least one aspect

(18) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/412

(19) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/27.

(20) Fischer, Scots in Germany, 96

(21) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/335

of the problem when he included among his demands 'that a rate be sett upon the victualls, to the end the souldyear maye knowe what he is to receave which will be a meanes to avoide all controversies betweene them and the Commissary.'⁽²²⁾ On 11 December 1628 a mutiny occurred in Glückstadt because English troops there at first complained about inequality in the distribution of supplies among the soldiers of different nationalities. This charge however was proved unfounded in a Council of War which confirmed that all the troops received the same daily rations, $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of cheese, two herrings, and a can of beer. Despite the proof of the fairness of the allocation of provisions 200 of the English troops gathered in the market-place and demanded cash payments as well. Wentworth, the writer of the letter describing the incident, stressed the necessity of dispatching to Glückstadt an experienced 'Proviand Master', since he himself was experiencing great difficulty with provisions. He had however managed to alleviate the situation by getting the Danish authorities to detail bakers to make bread and brewers to ferment the malt which had arrived from England. But protracted delays at the docks had prevented the malt from being unloaded promptly.⁽²³⁾

More detailed information regarding the basic elements in the diet of the Scottish infantry in Danish service can be gleaned from the records in Copenhagen. From the Chancellor's letters it is certain that instructions were issued on 23 June 1628 to give the 900 Scots bread, butter and beer, and six weeks earlier a force of English and Scots had been provided with stocks of the same three items and also bacon.⁽²⁴⁾ From the provisions-records at Glückstadt may be gathered more detail of the Scots' diet, as far as official issues of food and

(22) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/381

(23) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/337

(24) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 413, 453

drink were concerned. The exact number of troops there is not known, but if the bread ration is estimated at the normal issue of one pound or one and a half pounds per man per day it can be calculated that the Scots numbered between 1,200 and 2,000, with the peak figure occurring probably during the winter months 1627/8. The main item of food was bread (626,000 lbs.), and almost all of this was baked in the form of 4 lb. loaves similar in texture to the brown or black German bread of the twentieth century. A small quantity of white bread (1,600 lbs.) was produced in $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. loaves, but this looks as though it must have been a relative luxury. The next food of importance, to judge from quantity, was cheese - 40,000 lbs. of the white, mature variety and 27,000 lbs. of the green immature type. The Scots in Glückstadt received thirty six barrels of butter. As regards meat the greatest quantity appears to have been bacon (18,000 lbs.) but there were also eight barrels of mutton and seven of beef. Fifteen yoke of oxen are mentioned, but it is not explicitly stated that they were intended for meat rather than for draught purposes. Fish too must have been part of the normal diet, for eight barrels of herrings were given out, some of them smoked. A large amount of salt, much of it from Lüneburg (37 barrels), presumably for preserving items rather than mere seasoning, was drawn from the government agent. Vast quantities of cereals are included in these lists, 1,091 barrels of rye, 511 of oats, and 256 of malt. The rye was almost certainly used for bread baking (this would account for the magnitude of the figure), the oats for feeding horses, and malt obviously for brewing. Smaller amounts of meal (25 barrels), groats (7 barrels), and wheat (2 barrels) were also noted. Vegetables were not provided in substantial amounts except for beans (14 barrels) and peas (6 barrels).⁽²⁵⁾

(25) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/I/893

The provisions issued to Major Kelly and his Scottish troops during the winter 1628/9 reflected the pattern noted above for Glückstadt, but a few additional items were included. Their normal fish was described as stockfish, the dried fish of the Baltic. Their bread allowance ranged from one pound to one and a half pounds per man each day, and they occasionally received ham, salmon, and red herrings. (The major, lieutenant and ensign were sometimes issued with a less common item, firewood.)⁽²⁶⁾ In Monro's account of his Swedish service the above variety of foodstuffs was rarely exceeded, but at Leipzig he praised the choice of 'Kine, Sheep, Calves, Geese and Hens.'⁽²⁷⁾

These provisions may be contrasted with those in other armies. Wallenstein's order of 5 January 1632 decreed that each infantryman in the Imperial army should receive two pounds of bread and one pound of meat per day, which appear to have been generous rations.⁽²⁸⁾ In the English Civil War both sides subsisted mainly on biscuits and Cheshire cheese. Each soldier carried on his back his week's supply which consisted of seven pounds of biscuit and three and a half pounds of cheese, obviously an allowance of one pound of biscuit and half a pound of cheese per day. It was however the practice in England to buy meat and other comestibles as required from towns or from an early form of 'mobile canteen'.⁽²⁹⁾

The limited commissariats of the early seventeenth century could not cope with the problems of moving and storing foods which rotted quickly. Thus the provision-records of Glückstadt do not list fruit, eggs, or green vegetables. Deficiency in vitamin C must have been widespread and a contributory cause of ill-health. Turner remarked on

(26) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit, regnsk. IIb/6/II/229-36

(27) Monro, Expedition, ii, 71

(28) Sveriges Krig, v, 532-3

(29) H.C.B. Rogers, Battles and Generals of the Civil Wars 1642-51 (London 1968), 35

the plentifulness of fruit in Germany, 'I saw that countrey abound more than my oun^e'⁽³⁰⁾ and it is likely that soldiers bought items like fruit and eggs from peasants at the roadside or from the camp-followers who made their living by providing various services for the troops. It was probably from one of these two sources that soldiers purchased tobacco. It was not issued by the commissariat but there is no doubt of its popularity. Smoking a pipe round the camp-fire in the evening was one of the pleasures enjoyed by soldiers of the 1630s.

There can be little doubt that another source of enjoyment for Scottish mercenaries was the opportunity provided by their marches on the Continent of tasting the beer and wine of Germany. It has already been noted that the ration of drink for each man in Glückstadt in December 1628 was one can. By contrast Wallenstein's order of 1632 permitted each infantryman three litres of beer or $1\frac{1}{2}$ litres of wine, which were certainly more than one can. In Danish service the main drink of the Scots was beer, of which four varieties are known. The normal issue consisted of barrels of Commis beer, the usual regimental brew, probably the work of brewers attached to the army, and presumably of little strength of flavour since Monro did not allude to it even once. Yet there is no doubt that this was the common drink, for of the 1,674 barrels of beer allocated to the Scots at Glückstadt during 1627-8 no less than 1,416 were of the Commis type. Two hundred and eighteen other barrels contained 'Doubled' beer, which to judge from its name may have been an altogether stronger brew than the regimental issue. Yet probably more desirable than either of these were the beers which bore the prestige-name of towns renowned for brewing. The Scots in Glückstadt obtained merely thirty nine barrels of Hamburg beer and only three casks from Magdeburg.⁽³¹⁾ The Danish beers which Monro commended were

(30) Turner, Memoirs, 4

(31) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/I/893

those of Hamburg, which he sampled when soldiering in Holstein, and of Rostock, tasted when he was billeted on the Danish islands. Service with Sweden, and the extensive marches in Germany which resulted, widened the scope of the Scots in the tasting of beer and wine. Monro expressed his personal predilection for the beer at Bernau (north east of Berlin) and Zerbst (south east of Magdeburg), and he was equally appreciative of the liquors of Franconia, Swabia, Alsace and the Palatinate. At Kreuznach and Mainz he would have been content to 'drink good Rhenish for his lifetime.'⁽³²⁾ All these drinks were issued usually/out to the individual soldiers in their drinking cans, but when the action had been hot such delicate formalities were bypassed. During a lull in the battle at Oldenburg a barrel of beer was brought from the camp and the men were helping themselves from it using their hats and helmets when an enemy gunner scored a direct hit with a cannon-ball on the barrel. The consternation caused, not least at the loss of so much beer, is readily imaginable, but surprisingly the barrel and its contents appear to have been the only casualties.⁽³³⁾ In common with modern travellers to the Continent the Scots soldiers of the 1630s at times suffered upsets in their internal physical systems, and like people of the twentieth century these troops blamed foreign food and drink. James Turner had managed to obtain fruit and so over-indulged himself with it that he considered it a likely cause of his serious illness which necessitated six weeks of recuperation at Bremen.⁽³⁴⁾ In the case of the marquis of Hamilton's men excess of honey and unfamiliarity with the heavy dark German bread were held responsible for sickness,

(32) Monro, Expedition, ii, 48

(33) Monro, Expedition, i, 19

(34) Turner, Memoirs, 4

and even the German beer was said to disagree with the physical constitutions of some.⁽³⁵⁾

The provision of luxury items to vary the routine rations issued by the commissariat was only one of the services provided by camp-followers. Details of the activities of these people are not copious, but women and boys appear to have accompanied the field armies in great numbers. Married men sometimes brought their wives to the wars with them. General Baner's wife was often in the vicinity of the Swedish commander's army,⁽³⁶⁾ and Monro went to visit his wife and family at Stettin.⁽³⁷⁾ Among the sick with Colonel Alexander Hamilton's section of the marquis of Hamilton's army in 1632 were Captain Thomas Meldrum's wife, 'the seargent's wife and his wife sister, the dockter's wife' and 'three poore wanshes'.⁽³⁸⁾ The services provided for the troops must have been similar to those performed by housewives today, e.g. cooking meals, washing clothes and repairing torn garments. Female companionship was also sought by the troops in order to satisfy sexual needs. Van Wallhausen estimated that prostitutes as numerous as the German soldiers themselves followed 3,000 men in 1617.⁽³⁹⁾ The fact that special officers, the 'Hurenweibel' and 'Rumormeister', had to be appointed to control these camp-followers indicates the size of the problem. These women must have put military authorities in a perplexing dilemma. These 'leaguer-lasses', as Dugald Dalgetty termed them, constituted a tiresome encumbrance on the movement of armies while on the march and can hardly have contributed to formal discipline inside a camp. Yet these women were providing various services for which the military authorities of the time could not cater and which

(35) Fischer, Scots in Germany, 108 footnote

(36) B. Steckzen, Johan Boner (Stockholm 1939), 93, quoted in Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, ii, 242

(37) Monro, Expedition, ii, 25

(38) KA Stockholm, Rullor, 1632/30/498-500

(39) Van Wallhausen, Krijgskonst te Voet, quoted in Cambridge Modern History, iv, 207

were probably conducive to a more contented soldiery. From time to time purges to drive off camp-followers were carried out. For example the Scanian Commissaries in December 1628 were ordered to direct all captains under severest penalty to disperse all loose folk.⁽⁴⁰⁾ It is doubtful whether such regulations would have been enforced for long. Officially no loose women were permitted to be associated with the Swedish armies and therefore no 'Hurenweibel' was chosen, but it may be questioned whether this made much difference to the promiscuity of the troops.

Religion was an important aspect of life in the early seventeenth century, and military authorities accordingly made arrangements for religious ministrations to the troops. The effect of these, of whatever sect, was probably minimal, because swearing, blasphemy, drunkenness and licentious behaviour appear to have been common. Nevertheless religious services were arranged regularly and ministers were in constant attendance. Swedish armies had prayer services twice a day and a sermon once a week. Though each company of a Swedish native regiment had a separate chaplain drawn from the same Swedish province as the soldiers, this was not the case with the Scottish mercenary regiments in Swedish pay. The Scots appointed only one churchman per regiment who was given the rank of a regimental officer and the title of Magister or Master. It is perhaps a revealing comment on the quality of some of these preachers that the Swedish Articles of War included penalties for churchmen who turned up drunk for the prayer service! In the Danish armies too, official stress was placed on the value of regular religious practice. In a letter to the Scanian

(40) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 600

Commissaries in 1629 concerning the shipping of Scottish companies from Malmö Christian IV instructed the officers to appoint one person on each ship to sing a hymn and read the Lord's Prayer every morning and evening. Failure to comply with this regulation would indicate disdain of God and was to be punished by loss of a whole day's food and drink, besides any additional punishment the captain might consider appropriate.⁽⁴¹⁾ Technically Articles of War often imposed religious rulings in conformity with a particular sect. For example the Swedish Articles of 1632 demanded compulsory attendance at Lutheran services, but it is hardly likely that such restrictions were enforced too rigorously against Calvinist Scots or the few Scottish Catholics also in the Swedish armies. The religious needs of Catholics in Gustavus' forces were satisfied only when the route of the troops happened to lie through Catholic districts of Germany, notably parts of the Rhineland near Mainz and in Bavaria around Munich.⁽⁴²⁾ Surprisingly only one Presbyterian minister has been definitely identified in Scott's Fasti as having returned to a parish in Scotland after service with the armies in Germany in the Thirty Years War. He was Murdoch Mackenzie who was preacher with Mackay's regiment at Rügenwalde in 1630 and later became minister of Suddie parish in Ross-shire and an active member of the General Assembly 1643-9.⁽⁴³⁾

Ministers were not the only soldiers in a regiment who had received some education. The rudiments of education, even basic skills like writing, were by no means universal in the early seventeenth century, as is soon apparent from the marks used as signatures by soldiers when giving receipts to the Danish Commissaries for pay. Yet written communications constitute a vital aspect of the efficient

(41) Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9, 650

(42) J. B. Baur, Die Kapuziner und die Schwedische Generalität im dreissigjährigen Kriege (Brizen 1887), 9 quoted in Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, ii, 242

(43) Scott, Fasti, vii, 17

functioning of organisations. In the Scandinavian armies the important secretarial work in a regiment was performed by a scribe, or 'scriver', who ranked as a regimental staff officer and who wrote letters for regimental officers, notably the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and quartermaster. These officers seldom wrote their own military letters but usually contented themselves with signing personally letters written by the scribe at their dictation. When pressing matters arose however like failure to receive their own wages senior officers often put pen to paper themselves and wrote their own pleas for prompt settlement. Normally it was more convenient to employ scribes because there was a considerable amount of labour involved in writing all letters by hand especially when the conventional courtesies of the time demanded verbose phraseology rather than precision. Indeed many of the long letters written by Scots in the 1630s contain very little actual statement beyond the formalities of prolix introductory and concluding sentences. Many officers were however well able to write their own letters, and some of them had experience of higher education. The frequency of Monro's classical allusions bears testimony to the extent to which he was thoroughly familiar with Greek and Roman literature, but it is in doubt whether Monro and John Hepburn attended St. Andrew's^{together}. Other Scottish commanders are known to have studied in the academic atmosphere of university, George Gordon at St. Andrew's, Andrew Rutherford at Edinburgh, David Barclay at King's College, Aberdeen, James Turner and James Haldane at Glasgow, and George Douglas at Oxford.

When Scottish officers decided to send letters abroad the language chosen was often determined by the nationality of the addressee, but the 'international' language of the time was still Latin. In this respect the facility with which Dugald Dalgetty interspersed his

conversation with Latin phrases reflects accurately the linguistic skills of some at least of the Scottish officers. Spynie, Mackay, Nithsdale, and Hamilton all used Latin. When Spynie signed discharge passes for many of his officers in Copenhagen at the end of September 1628 he wrote many of them in Latin with his own hand, but those in German were written by another hand and merely signed by Spynie.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Letters to the Danish authorities in 1628 from Captains John Lindsay and George Stewart and Lieutenant William Home were also set in Latin,⁽⁴⁵⁾ as were communications to Chancellor Oxenstierna from Colonel Alexander Hamilton in 1630 and from Robert Monro in 1638.⁽⁴⁶⁾

French however was also commonly used. It has already been noted in the Hamilton recruiting contract, and was preferred by the marquis of Hamilton in his letters abroad.⁽⁴⁷⁾ It was the language used by Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton in his pay request to the Danes in 1628,⁽⁴⁸⁾ in Colonel Baillie's letter to Oxenstierna from Elbing in 1632, in Ludovick Leslie's petition to the Swedish Court in 1638, and in four of Monro's extant letters. It is significant that of the two reports sent to the Swedish chancellor from Rügenwalde in 1630 about the shipwreck of Monro's Scots the one written in the Scottish chronicler's own hand is the French, and not the German, account.⁽⁴⁹⁾ French was also the language favoured in Captain David Learmonth's commission from Count Mansfeld in 1626, and by Frederick Elector Palatine in his communication with Mackay sent from the Hague in July 1627.⁽⁵⁰⁾ English was of course the natural choice between British correspondents, e.g. marquis of Hamilton and Lord Reay, or between the marquis and Elizabeth, Scots-born queen of Bohemia.⁽⁵¹⁾

(44) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, A.151

(45) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/23

(46) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna af Södermöre, Ser. B. E619, E661

(47) RA Stockholm, Skrivelser till Konungen Gustav II Adolfs tid, Hamilton 1-24.

(48) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/23

(49) RA Stockholm, Oxenstierna af Södermöre, Ser. B. E559, E648, E661

(50) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/148, 84/2/167

(51) Lennoxlove, Hamilton Archives, T72/14 C1/140, 142, 193

Notwithstanding the common use of Latin and French the main language found in written communications in the Thirty Years War was German. It was of course natural that most of the letters of Scottish officers should be couched in German when so much of the participation of the Scots in the war took place in Germany. In Danish service official commissions were often worded in Latin and the letters of Christian's Chancellor were written in Danish, but many of the Danish records of the war were written in German, e.g. the records of the War Commissaries for German areas like Glückstadt in Holstein. The same practice was evidently followed by the Swedes. Gustavus' commissions and official letters were usually penned in Latin, while his contact with Chancellor Oxenstierna were in Swedish. Gustavus' secretary who drafted Mackay's commission in 1629 at Marienburg in East Prussia used German.⁽⁵²⁾ It is most unexpected however to find that when both Gustavus and Oxenstierna were campaigning in Germany in 1632 they changed permanently to German as the language of their letters, even between themselves! After Gustavus' death the Chancellor continued to issue instructions to the Swedish army in Germany in German. The petitions of Captain Andrew Stewart, Lieutenant James Hamilton, and Ensign John Semple to the Danish government in 1628 were all worded in German.⁽⁵³⁾ Similar instances are numerous, the Danish War Commissaries and Christian IV himself to Mackay in 1627,⁽⁵⁴⁾ Ludovick Leslie's second letter to Stockholm in 1638, Monro to the Swedish Chancellor from Rügenwalde in 1630 and from Frankfort-on-Main in 1632.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The language used in Patrick Ruthven's letters varied according to his location. When he was based in Sweden his letters ~~to~~

(52) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/175

(53) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/23

(54) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/155-9, 162, 166

(55) RA Copenhagen, Oxenstierna af Södermöre, Ser.B E/648, E661

to Oxenstierna were written in Swedish, but when he was posted to East Prussia his scribe wrote in German.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Though regimental scribes were professional secretaries rather than real soldiers their grammar and spelling were far from standardised. It could hardly be expected that Scottish scribes should be proficient in German. Most consistency was displayed in Latin, though the constructions used varied from strict classical usage. Spelling in Latin was usually fairly reliable. The situation in French, Swedish and Danish reveals that none of these languages was yet standardised in spelling, but that each was fairly well established in grammatical construction. The most confusing language for these Scottish secretaries undoubtedly appears to have been German. The diversities of spelling and construction, in conjunction with the fact that scribes soon started to adopt the closed style of German script in which vowels are barely identifiable from each other, together form substantial obstacles for the modern reader. Nevertheless German was the 'common' spoken language used in the multi-national polyglot armies on the Imperialist and Scandinavian sides in the Thirty Years War. It may have been at times little more than a type of 'pidgin-German', but it appears to have sufficed very well. No evidence of confusion due to language difficulties has come to light, and it will be recalled that Gustavus did not hesitate to promote to the rank of captain over one of Mackay's predominantly German companies an officer who at that moment was unable to speak German. Colonel John Monro of Obsdale seems to have taken a rather different view of the desirability of a foreign language. When he wrote to Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun from Duderstadt on 3 August 1632 he mentioned that Gordon's nephew could not learn any

(56) SR0, Pringle of Whytbank and Yair Papers, GD 246/28/8, 20

language. Monro recommended that young Gordon go to France to learn French, since without language there was no preferment.⁽⁵⁷⁾

Company scribes may have written letters for the officers of their own company, but their main task was the regular compilation of muster rolls, which have been discussed earlier, and these rolls were directly connected with pay. Consideration of the rates of pay offered to Scottish mercenaries is very largely an academic exercise, because payments were infrequent and seldom measured up to the official rates. Nevertheless such a study is necessary to provide the background against which to consider pay as a motive and to judge those payments which were issued in practice. Seventeenth-century paymasters calculated pay rates by the month consisting of a fixed number of days. (Denmark and the States General of Holland used a unit of thirty two days, Sweden more commonly thirty or thirty one days.) Captains were required to deliver muster rolls of their men written by the company scribe three times per month, on the first, eleventh and twenty first days of the month.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The normal Danish rates appear to have been generous, but the English regiments which joined the Danes were paid on a lower scale for many promoted posts. On the next page is a comparison. (Colonels, lieutenant-colonels and majors were awarded pay as captains in addition to the wages for their command rank.) Rates are shown in rix dollars.

(57) Fraser, Sutherland, ii, 155-6

(58) Swedish Discipline (ed. W. Watts, London 1632), 79

<u>RANK</u>	<u>DANISH RATE</u> ⁽⁵⁹⁾	<u>DANISH RATE TO ENGLISH</u> ⁽⁶⁰⁾ <u>REGIMENTS</u>
Colonel	400	300
Lieutenant-Colonel	300	200
Major	80	80
Captain	150	100
Quarter-Master	40	40
Lieutenant	50	40
Provisions-Master	35	30
Ensign	35	30
Regimental Surgeon	30	30
Provost	25	20
Preacher	20	20
Captain of Arms	17	12
Regimental Clerk	16	11
Company Surgeon	14	10
Company Clerk	12	10
Sergeant	12	12
Corporal	8	7
Stockmaster	7	6
Common Soldiers	5 or 6	5 or 6

(No indication is given as to the criterion which decided when soldiers received 6 rix dollars rather than 5.)

The Scottish regiments of Mackay, Nithsdale, Spynie and Sinclair all appear to have been offered the full Danish rates of pay. Why the English armies should have been classified differently is not certain, but it seems likely to have resulted from an undertaking by Charles I's government to bear part of the cost.

The above wages referred to actual service with the Danish colours, but other expenses had to be met beforehand by recruiting officers. Every newly enlisted man received one rix dollar as imprest money. (A cavalry trooper got twelve rix dollars, but Scots were almost always infantry.)⁽⁶¹⁾ For muskets and armour the Danish government allowed a sum of $3\frac{1}{2}$ rix dollars per man, which seems a very low estimate compared with the costs for similar articles faced by the Swedish authorities. Colours were provided for each company at a price of

(59) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/7/283

(60) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/60

(61) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/459

fifteen rix dollars each, and two drums for each company were also required at three rix dollars each. When recruits mustered on foreign soil they swore allegiance to their new master, listened to his Articles of War, and were paid their muster money, a full month's wages. Soldiers would be very lucky if they received such cash payments frequently, for governments expected them to accept this initial down-payment and to fight for the future on a system of credit advances. The percentage of due wages actually accorded to troops in these 'lendings' is not known exactly for Danish service, but the figures in Swedish records probably provide a reliable guide. This percentage varied from one rank to the next, but in general it amounted to between one third and one half of a full month's pay. 'Lendings' were calculated on a weekly basis, and in theory should have been paid every week, but in practice often tended to be paid on an accumulated number of weeks when circumstances favoured the paying government or when the troops were proving so restless that it was believed a payment was imperative to keep them temporarily contented.

The records of the Danish Commissaries in conjunction with Monro's book illustrate the financial payments made to the Scottish mercenaries, and to Mackay's regiment in particular. Muster money of one month's pay was issued as usual at the beginning of foreign service. Though the bulk of Mackay's Scots arrived in September and October 1626, the colonel did not appear till late March 1627. Thus this Scottish regiment may well have been permitted free quarters during the winter 1626/7 (as was to be the case for instance with the regiment during the winter 1628/9 in Scania), with the muster money being delayed till the occasion of the reading of the King's Articles of War. On the other hand in the settlement with Mackay the colonel's pay was reckoned from 12 September 1626.

Little more in the form of coin was forthcoming during the spring and early months of 1627. Lieutenant Barbour of Captain Dunbar's company and Captain John Forbes the Elder both managed to extract a payment of half a month's pay for themselves and their officers in April, and the former even got one 'lending' for his whole company in June. But the Scots in the ranks grew restive during these months on the Weser banks, since the English troops there received 'weekly meanes' (probably 'lendings'), while the Scots were given no coinage but only issues of provisions. Colonel Mackay departed 'to solicit payments', and weeks later 'returned with a monethes meanes to the Regiment.'⁽⁶²⁾ Axel Arenfeld's accounts confirm a payment of 1,294 rix dollars per company (a month's pay) on 30 June 1627.⁽⁶³⁾ No further money was handed over till 10 October 1627, the day after the battle at Oldenburg which had been so costly for the regiment. It was sound financial practice to delay payment until after a battle, since many of the casualties would be unable to make any demands. (400 men were killed or captured at Oldenburg). In just over a year's service all those in the ranks of Mackay's unit who had survived had thus received three months pay. Officers had fared somewhat better, most getting four and a half months pay. Responsibility for a further sum of 6,675 rix dollars was transferred from the account of the King of Denmark to that of Charles I of Britain, but it is difficult to see how this benefited Mackay and his men, for money was as hard to get from the British authorities as from the Danish ones. Arenfeld's accounts for 1627 record little about the regiments of Nithsdale and Sinclair and nothing at all about Spynie's. Muster money is not mentioned for the companies of Nithsdale and Sinclair, but they were accorded half a month's pay for all officers and men in August 1627. Major Borthwick however in his letter of 15 July 1627 informed the earl of Nithsdale

(62) Monro, Expedition, i, 10

(63) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/6/II

that 'we are tomorrow to muster and resause a month's pay, and after to march.' (64)

The financial records of the Danish government for 1628 are fragmentary for the Scottish units. Heinrich Holck's accounts for the Stralsund siege seldom distinguish between Scottish units and others, and therefore provide no useful information. However Nils Krag's ledgers give the financial accounts for units quartered in Scania. (65) The information relative to Mackay's regiment concerns merely the last few months of 1628. Once again Christian IV passed over to the English treasury the bulk of the cost for Mackay's regiment till the reckoning date at the end of September 1628. In a letter from Copenhagen on 4 October 1628 the Danish monarch transferred the responsibility for 18,304½ rix dollars owed to Mackay (calculated as £4,576 sterling) over to the government of England, but there is no evidence to suggest that Mackay ever received any part of this sum from Charles I, even though he was led to believe he would be reimbursed from the revenue of 1630. (66) Most of the Mackay regiment arrived in Scania on 26 October 1628, and at first regular weekly 'lendings' were granted, varying according to the size of the companies and ranging in amount from 143 to 152 rix dollars, at a rate of one or one and a half rix dollars for each soldier in the ranks and more for promoted posts. (It will be recalled that the exact number in each of these companies is not known and therefore it is impossible to determine the division of the company's lump sum among the various soldiers.) On 19 November 1628 the governmental finances of Denmark probably became straitened, for the full 'lendings' were stopped, and it was decided to allow free quarters for the rest of the year. Small 'lendings' were still issued, usually between ten and twenty five rix dollars

(64) Fraser, Carlaverock, ii, 102

(65) RA Copenhagen, TKIA, Milit. regnsk. IIb/9

(66) CSP Domestic 1628-9, 555

per company, but such sums must have been intended for the officers only, Monro did not mention pay throughout 1628, hence it is reasonable to assume that conditions were fairly satisfactory.

Information concerning the finances of Spynie's regiment in 1628 is a little fuller than that for Mackay's, because many of Spynie's companies were based in Scania during the first half of this year. The colonel's own company and those of Sir John Home and George Oliphant were paid muster money on 6 March 1628, and those of John Lindsay and James Douglas the next day. Alexander Chirnside's men had been mustered there and paid ten days earlier. In fact many of these companies had been in Scania since December 1627 under the common winter arrangement of free quarters and very small 'lendings'. From March 1628 however the full 'lending' system appears to have been observed faithfully until the companies were moved out to Stralsund in the course of July. Most of them had received between fifteen and seventeen 'lendings' during this period of three and a half months. When the remnants of Spynie's regiment returned from Wolgast and were formed in September into a free squadron under John Lindsay they were paid like Mackay's men regular 'lendings' till 20 November and then the free quarters and small 'lendings' practice came into effect again.

Nils Krag's volume also records the financial payments made to Scottish mercenary units during their final months of service with Denmark in 1629. Robert Monro made settlement with the Commissaries Jorgen Scheel and Nils Krag on his own behalf and that of the regimental staff and also of five other captains, the Monros of Foulis, Obsdale, and Assynt, as well as George Stewart and Thomas Mackenzie. The finances of these different companies are not noted separately, but it appears that regular weekly 'lendings' were given only to the officers, though George Stewart's and Mackenzie's companies were fortunate to receive two full 'lendings' for

their companies in May. The final settlement makes little mention of the troops in the ranks beyond stating that they were 'contented' by being taken under other companies. It must be wondered how satisfied they were with this arrangement unless they were granted a fresh issue of muster money in their new company. The company officers and under-officers all received only two months pay in this terminal reckoning, but it is not likely that any of this lump sum was shared with the soldiers in the ranks. It is interesting to see in advance Christian IV's view of the future settlement with Monro reflected in the royal missive from Kaerstrup to the Commissaries on 7 June. They were instructed to make reckoning with Monro, but the king believed it could not be much because since the last settlement of accounts they had received either free quarters or weekly pay. A few lines later in the same letter reference is again made to the fact that the outstanding debt must be small.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Negotiations with the commissaries subsequent to this letter must have been difficult for Monro. The Commissaries were however ordered to provide free provisions and quarters in Elsinore till the Scots were paid off, and the Stadholder had to make arrangements for shipping for them or alternatively allow Scottish ships from Danzig and elsewhere to uplift them. Captain Beaton and Lieutenant John Moncreiff both contacted the Danish authorities to ensure that Monro was not permitted to accept money for their companies.⁽⁶⁸⁾ They preferred to wait and make their own reckoning with the Commissaries, and perhaps they were less trusting in Monro regarding their personal finances. Of the five captains for whom Monro made settlement three were Monros, and Mackenzie was a Highlander from northern Scotland whose family ties with

(67) Kancelliets Brevebøger 1627-9, 713-14

(68) Kancelliets Brevebøger 1627-9, 727

Colonel Mackay would be conducive to placing faith in his representative, Major Monro.

The financial details regarding the other captains of Mackay's regiment and the other Scottish regiments are not dissimilar from the general pattern of those mentioned above. Andrew Stewart's company had been given weekly 'lendings' for the whole company only for two weeks in March, but the captain, lieutenant and ensign received their weekly allowances throughout the entire period. Captain Stewart died in May, and Lieutenant Patrick Seaton made settlement for the men of the company in July. Captain John Sinclair had not received free quarters during the winter and thus received the equivalent of twenty weeks 'lendings' in March for the whole company. Thereafter till the final reckoning on 7 July Sinclair continued to be granted full 'lendings' for all his troops. Francis Trafford, like Sinclair, was not granted free quarters in the winter and therefore drew full 'lendings' till March, but after that only the senior company officers received 'lendings' till the dismissal on 7 July. By 12 July all the officers including John Learmonth, John Beaton and John Moncreiff had come to financial terms with the Danes, and took their passes.

John Lindsay for Spynie's regiment had the same kind of experience, 'lendings' only for his company officers from January to July except for two weeks in March when all his troops profited, and a final reckoning made on 6 July 1629. The settlement for Nithsdale's regiment lists only seven men led by Lieutenant Crichton on 12 July. The entire financial system must have been detested by the troops, since the musketeer and pikeman had no money reserves to draw on, and officers soon exhausted theirs and were forced into debt by borrowing on behalf of their men. English

officers in Stade had to seek credit from citizens there, and other officers in Glückstadt were driven to establish loan deficits in Hamburg.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Patrick Ruthven wrote to Oxenstierna in August 1630 requesting pay for his troops. He and his captains had frequently pawned their store of clothes and other possessions in order to content the men, but he asserted that the well was now exhausted and no other means of solving the problem presented itself.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The records of the Danish and Swedish governments are full of politely expressed pleas for payment of outstanding dues, and such was the complication of the Danish/English connection that the Privy Council also received petitions from Scots for wages due from Danish service, e.g. Captains Alexander Annan and Alexander Lindsay and Lieutenant Harry Wemyss (all of Mackay's regiment) in March 1629.⁽⁷¹⁾

Fortunately for those Scots who wished to remain in military employment the retreat of the Danes from the Thirty Years War did not leave them idle, for Gustavus Adolphus offered service with Sweden. His terms were slightly less generous than those of Christian IV, but it must be recalled that the best financial moment for soldiers in the ranks was the initial mustering when the first month's pay was issued. The alternative in June 1629 was unemployment. Munro's auditor contacted the Swedish authorities, and brought back from Stockholm a commission and recruiting money, probably at the usual Swedish rate of eight rix dollars per man to cover the cost of transport, provisions and quarters during the journey to the muster-place. On arrival there, in this case Elbing in East Prussia, they were to be issued with one month's pay at the following rates, offered by Gustavus to Mackay in a communication from Marienburg dated 17 June 1629.⁽⁷²⁾ This letter however refers to the pay rates in 'Swedish rix dollars', which could mean

(69) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/335

(70) G. A. Sinclair, 'Scotsmen serving the Swede', SHR, ix (No. 33 Oct. 1911) 43

(71) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/10/127

(72) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/174

either 'rix dollars' or 'Swedish dollars'. The likelihood is that the former was intended. For this reason the first figure noted opposite each rank shows rix dollars as stated in Gustavus' letter, while the figure in brackets is a conversion from Swedish dollars to rix dollars.

Colonel	300	(184)	)	Surgeon	20	(12)
Lt. Colonel	130	(80)	) in addition to	Provost	20	(12)
Major	100	(62)	) pay as captains	Sergeant	16	(10)
Captain	100	(62)		Armourer	12	(7)
Q.M.	50	(31)		Co. Clerk	12	(7)
Lieutenant	50	(31)		Corporal	11	(7)
Ensign	50	(31)		Soldiers	6	(4)
Regt. Clerk	50	(31)				
Preacher	30	(18)				

These monthly payments were calculated for a month of thirty one days. In general these rates of pay are similar to those in Danish service, except for colonel and lieutenant-colonel who received considerably less.

Gustavus' rates however were to become very much lower in the course of the next few years, though the month for reckoning was shortened to thirty days.

In 1631 his commission to Colonel Arthur Aston lists figures generally between 25% and 50% less than those above, e.g. the colonel was to receive merely 184 r.d. and common soldiers only $3\frac{1}{2}$ r.d. each.⁽⁷³⁾ These 1631

rates were confirmed by Fleetwood in his notes about pay for English mercenary regiments in Swedish service in 1636.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Mackay must have experienced a not unfamiliar dismay when he reached the end of a royal commission for a new regiment under John Monro of Obsdale in July 1631 and read that Gustavus had 'also given orders to our Commissary Larsson that he should pay to you 9,600 Imperial dollars for the enlisting of your regiment, and we request of you that if we should be a little tardy in paying, you should nevertheless prosecute the levy by your own means and be persuaded that the

(73) PRO, State Papers Sweden, SP 95/3/105-6

(74) PRO, State Papers Sweden, SP 95/4/144

money advanced by you in this business will be immediately repaid by us.'⁽⁷⁵⁾
By 1631 Mackay was surely experienced enough as a mercenary commander to know how much trust to place in a ruler's promises of payment.

As was the custom with the Danes, the Swedes undertook to pay 'lending' money of between a half and a third of full pay, but whatever the theoretical pay and allowances should have totalled in Swedish service the written figures shown in the Military Accounts for Prussia indicate that the Scots received considerably less. In fact the whole scale of payments is different from that promised to Mackay in the original contract in 1629. For instance the following rates in rix dollars are listed per month for the company of Captain Alexander Bruce during 1630.⁽⁷⁶⁾

<u>Rank</u>	<u>$\frac{1}{2}$ pay</u>	<u>$\frac{1}{2}$ Lending</u>	<u>(1629 pay in contract with Mackay)</u>	
Captain	20	4 r.d. 72 öre	100	(62)
Lieutenant	10	3 r.d. 54 öre	50	(31)
Sergeant	3 r.d. 18 öre	1 r.d. 72 öre	16	(10)
Corporal	2 r.d. 18 öre	1 r.d. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ öre	11	(7)
Soldier	1 r.d. 18 öre	- 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ öre	6	(4)

The same rates are shown for Mackay's regiment, but are more complicated in form since the records are drawn up for the period between 1 January and 10 August 1630 and reckoned at seven and one third months. Though Mackay's Scots thus appear to have been less well paid than they might have hoped, yet if these accounts indicate actual payments then service in East Prussia was more worthwhile financially than service had been in Danish pay. If any Scots were to have a good chance of being paid, the expectation is that it should have been those in Livonia, Courland and Prussia who played a part in the occupation of the ports, income from which in the form of trading tolls and licences very largely provided the cash to pay mercenaries there.

The unsatisfactory nature of the system of payment for mercenaries was

(75) SRO, Reay Papers, GD 84/2/184

(76) KA Stockholm, Militieräkninger, MR 1630/8

reflected by the frequency with which troops left their colours in search of booty, most notably after the storming of Frankfort-on-Oder in the spring of 1631. Nor had payments improved in regularity at the end of the same year when in the vicinity of Würzburg Imperialists took service with the Swedes, 'having but heard of the brute of money, that was given out amongst us.' No doubt this was one method of suborning the enemy's troops, but even in the Swedish army some of this payment only was in the form of coin. The rest consisted of 'hand-written assignations for monies to be paid to them in Nuremberg within six months.'⁽⁷⁷⁾ This almost certainly proved to be yet another method by which paymasters evaded their responsibilities. In a similar instance in 1632 the credit system had been revealed as fraudulent, whether deliberately on the part of the authorities or not. At Nuremberg Monro reported that 'to satisfy our hunger a little, we did get of by-past lendings three paid us in hand, and Bills of Exchange given us for one and twentie lendings more, which should have beene payed at Ausburg, of the München moneys; which we accepted of for payment, but were never paid.'⁽⁷⁸⁾

General Morgan commanding the English troops in the Bremen region in 1627 had experienced the same type of refusal to honour bills of exchange. Pay had been irregular and a credit note for wages in July arrived just in time to avert a threatened mutiny, but neither in Hamburg nor in Bremen would merchants pay over the required sum.⁽⁷⁹⁾ At the end of 1628 Morgan, still plagued by financial problems, managed to obtain a loan of £500 from English merchants in Hamburg which enabled him to buy for his soldiers 'food for thier bellies and tobachoe, ... gounes for the soldiers to stand centries in with mattresses for them to lye uppon which shalbe filled with strawe for heare

(77) Monro, Expedition, ii, 86-87

(78) Monro, Expedition, ii, 131

(79) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/8/197

are noe flockes to be had.'⁽⁸⁰⁾

Scottish commanders of senior rank fared rather better, for they were granted farms in Swedish possession, e.g. the list of estates given to Patrick Ruthven in lieu of arrears of pay. In July 1618 he was invested with certain lands in Småland till his due wages of 6,270 rix dollars were paid. In September 1619, far from settlement being made of these past dues, he was accorded other farms in pledge for a further 3,500 rix dollars. The same policy was evident in later years, further Swedish lands in October 1621, Prussian estates in July 1626, a house in Marienburg in June 1627, and more Swedish lands in Tödre Möre in September 1627.⁽⁸¹⁾ When campaigning in Germany led to widespread Swedish acquisitions Ruthven was awarded the county of Kirchberg near Ulm, 'which could pay yearly besides contribution to the wars 10,000 rix dollars.'⁽⁸²⁾ Such 'cadoucks'⁽⁸³⁾ and casualties' appear to have been frequent for other senior commanders like Lieutenant-Colonel Gunn. This solution of pay problems by grants of Swedish lands or occupied territory, formerly enemy-held, commended itself to the Swedish authorities. But to satisfy the troops in the ranks no more suitable answer was found than success in the field and the allocation of booty. Pay problems inevitably became more serious whenever Swedish arms were not attended by success in the field.

To give all these financial figures real meaning it is necessary to determine the actual buying power of money in the early seventeenth century. Comparison of the relative prices of articles in Britain, Sweden and Germany is not easy, since exchange rates fluctuated from year to year. The variations in the exact sterling value of the rix dollar have already been noted, and in Sweden the copper coinage led to a complicated double silver and copper standard. For these reasons British, Swedish and German prices

(80) PRO, State Papers Denmark, SP 75/9/313

(81) SRO, Pringle of Whytbank and Yair Papers, GD 246/28/3-5, 7, 10, 11

(82) Monro, Expedition, ii, 119-20

(83) Defined as 'windfall or incidental gain'. Scottish National Dictionary (ed. W. Grant, Edinburgh 1941), ii, C, 9

have been kept separate. All the charges listed involve items likely to have been of interest to soldiers between 1610 and 1650.

Britain (Prices in sterling, with Scots pound rated as 1/12 of £ sterling)

1634	Lodgings (Stranraer)	6d per night	(83)
1634-5	Lodgings (Berwick)	8d per night	
1634-5	Dinner and Breakfast (Glasgow)	1/4½d	
1634-5	Dinner (Irvine)	7½d	
1617	Meals in Inns	Between 4d. and 6d.	(84)
1615	Bacon	1b.	2d (85)
1615	Suffolk Butter	1b.	4½d
1623-32	Butter	1b.	5d (86)
1615	Holland Cheese	1b.	2½d
1623-32	Cheese	1b.	3d
1623-32	Eggs	Doz.	4d.
1623-32	Beef	1b.	2½d
1623-32	Chicken	1	5d
1623-32	Rabbit	1	8d
1623-32	Herring	500	37/7d. (i.e. less than 1d. per fish)
1615	Beer	Tun	40/-
1623-32	Claret	Gallon	2/7d
1623-32	Rhenish Wine	Gallon	3/5d
1623-32	Sherry	Gallon	4/3d
1623-32	Best Cloth	Yd.	24/5d
1629	Gold Lace	Oz.	5/6d
1623-32	Gloves	Pair	Between 8d. and 1/9d
1623-32	Hat	1	Between 10/- and 18/6d
1623-32	Cloak	1	Between 40/- and 50/-d
1623-32	Shoes and Stockings Pairs	5/-d	(87)
1647	Ribbon	Ell (45 ins)	8d.
1647	Silver and Gold Buttons	Doz.	1/8d
1627	Drinking Glasses	Doz.	8/-d
1629/38	Leather Drinking Jack	1	3/3d
1631	Saddle	1	40/-d
1620	Spectacles	Pair	9d.
1623-32	Candles	1b.	4½d
1623-32	Firewood	Ton	19/10d
1623-32	Paper	Doz. Quires	5/6d
1635	Carriage of Letter up to 80 miles.	2d.	(88)

(83) Travels of Sir William Brereton (1634-5) quoted in Early Travellers in Scotland (ed. P. Hume Brown, Edinburgh 1891), 134, 152, 155, 158

(84) Fynes Moryson, Itinerary (1617) quoted in How They Lived (ed. M. Harrison and O. M. Royston, Oxford 1963), ii, 267

(85) Britaine's Busses (1615) quoted in How They Lived (ed. M. Harrison and O. M. Royston) ii, 60

(86) J. E. T. Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices (Oxford 1887), v, 380

(87) Extract from Accounts of James Mure of Caldwell (1647) quoted in Scottish Pageant 1625-1707 (ed. A. M. Mackenzie, Edinburgh 1949), 30-31

(88) Royal proclamation for a letter office (1635) quoted in Scottish Pageant 1625-1707 (ed. A. M. Mackenzie), 244

Holland (Prices were listed in Scots currency and have been converted to sterling)

1627	Dinner	Hague	Between 1/- and 1/6d ⁽⁸⁹⁾
1627	Supper	Hague	Between 4d. and 6d.
1627	Beer	Hague	Can 2½d
1627	Aquavita	Hague	Pint 2/6d
1627	Barber	Hague	Between 1/-d and 1/6d
1627	Mending and Washing of Waistcoat	Amsterdam	1/6d
1627	Footmen, Tips, Alms to the Poor.		Between 3d. and 1/-d
1627	Travel by sea Leith-Sluys		43/-d
1627	Sightseeing at Arnhem, Delft, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Haarlem, Amsterdam		Between ½d. and 3d. per occasion.

Sweden

1620-30	Hen	1	6 öre ⁽⁹⁰⁾
1620-30	Eggs	20	5 öre
1620-30	Cow	1	3 Rix Dollars

Germany

1631	Cheese	1b	Augsburg	.027 R. Dollars ⁽⁹¹⁾
1641	Bread	4-5 lbs.	Osnabrück	.01 R.D.
1630-40	Meat	1b	S. Germany	.055 R.D.
1631-2	Herring	1	Würzburg	.023 R.D.
1631	Wine	1 Ohm (136 litres)	Mainz	40 R.D.
1641	Brandy	1 Mas (1.4 litres)	Osnabrück	.76 R.D.

If the rix dollar is evaluated as worth almost 5/- sterling and 6 öre at about 4d. it will be seen that prices in Britain and on the Continent were very similar, e.g. the charges for meat, eggs, cheese, hens, herring and brandy.

Further clarification of financial values is provided by comparison of wage rates. In Britain between 1623 and 1632 the average annual wages for skilled artisans were as follows (amounts have been kept in shillings to facilitate comparison with rix dollars): -

plumber 455/-d. mason 377/-d, slater 347/-d, sawyer 329/-d, carpenter 325/-d, bricklayer 321/-d,⁽⁹²⁾ When converted into rix dollars these wages would range from 119 to 80. A 'hedger and ditcher' earned only 247/- and a mere

(89) J. Mackay, Old Scots Brigade, 245-8

(90) Wasa Exhibition, Stockholm

(91) Letter from Statens Historiska Museum, Kungl. Myntkabinett, Stockholm dated 28 April 1971

(92) J. E. T. Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices, v, 672

labourer 225/- (62 and 56 r.d. respectively). By contrast a crew member on board a Swedish merchant ship in 1630 earned $34\frac{1}{2}$ rix dollars per year in addition to free food, clothing and accommodation on the vessel, and the ship's carpenter hoped to receive as much as 105 r.d.⁽⁹³⁾ On paper the mercenary musketeer or pikeman in the ranks of the Swedish army should have received 72 r.d. per year between 1626 and 1630, but this rate fell to 42 r.d. and even 36 r.d. by the later 1630's. Thus an unpromoted soldier in 1630 could theoretically earn almost as much as some tradesmen, and preferment to higher military rank could bring a man into an income-bracket which equalled or even exceeded those of skilled civilian craftsmen. But the soldier had to undergo privations as regards provisions and accommodation, and risk injury and death to earn his wages. Of course the greatest uncertainty of all was whether any wages would be forthcoming, but when monthly 'means' or 'lendings' were regularly issued life as a mercenary appears to have been quite tolerable. Certainly Monro with a Scot's warm appreciation of a sound bargain wrote enthusiastically of the extraordinary cheapness of charges during his time spent in Scania during 1628/9, 'I have lived nobly entertained with two servants for twelve shillings sterlinge a weeke, being a whole winter in garrison at Malemoe in Skonelane.'⁽⁹⁴⁾ His rank of lieutenant-colonel would have guaranteed him the best conditions available, but his statement implies a low cost of living which would have benefited all the Scottish troops billeted there.

In the eyes of the modern observer the comforts and services offered to soldiers in the twentieth century compare very favourably with those experienced by Scottish mercenaries in the early seventeenth century. But every soldier judges by the standards of his own time. There is no reason to doubt that the soldiers of Christian IV or Gustavus Adolphus seated

(93) Wasa Exhibition, Stockholm

(94) Monro, Expedition, i, 88

in the evening round a camp-fire smoking their pipes and quaffing their beer were any less contented with life in general than their counterparts in the modern officers' mess, with the one exception of pay grievances. It must have been galling in the extreme for men who had enlisted at least partly, if not wholly, for pay to be paid so irregularly and inadequately by the agents of the Scandinavian kings. For this reason many of the Scottish troops might have argued that though their own motives for enlistment were largely mercenary, in fact service abroad scarcely merited the description 'mercenary' when pay was one of the least certain features of military life.

The fact that even in these unsatisfactory financial circumstances so many thousands of Scots continued to take service abroad as mercenaries constitutes a scathing criticism of the social conditions of the early seventeenth century. Life at home must have been singularly deficient in prospects for most of the volunteers, else they would not have undertaken such a hazardous occupation. Nor does the impressment procedure for filling the remaining numbers in these mercenary regiments reflect favourably on the recruiting officers. The desertion figures however show that many soldiers soon considered that army life as a mercenary was hardly preferable to the difficulties of life previously experienced in Scotland. To those that remained loyal however, the appeal of security, a recognised place in an organisation, the possibility of promotion or a share in booty, outweighed the doubtful advantages of returning home. Though mercenaries undoubtedly involved a broad cross-section of Scottish society, those who influenced the course of history under Christian IV and Gustavus Adolphus were those who remained constant. These were the Scots whom both Scandinavian monarchs valued highly. These were the Scots who refuted the usual criticisms of mercenaries by their displays of exemplary valour and fidelity on foreign soil, at Stralsund, Würzburg and Alte Feste.

APPENDIX A

(a) Scots who attained the rank of general in the Swedish army in the early seventeenth century were: - Patrick Ruthven, John Ruthven, Andrew Rutherford, James Ramsay, Robert Lumsden, James Lumsden, John Leslie, William Barclay, John Burdon, Robert Douglas, David Drummond, John Innes, James King, Alexander Leslie, James Kerr and John Renton.

(b) Scots who were entrusted with the post of governor in the following German towns in the Thirty Years War included: - James Burdon (Dutchnieve), Robert Burdon (Rushnieve), Robert Cunningham (Demmin), David Drummond (Stettin), William Legg (Bremen), Alexander Leslie (Frankfort-on-Oder), George Leslie (Vechta in Oldenburg), James Lumsden (Osnabrück), Alexander Ramsay (Kreuznach), James Ramsay (Hanau), Alexander Hamilton (Hanau), John Hepburn (Munich), John Gunn (Ohlau in Silesia), George Ogilvy (Spielburg in Moravia), Thomas Thomson (Hageberg), Patrick Ruthven (Ulm), and Francis Ruthven (Memel).

(c) The following Scots commanded non-Scottish regiments in the Swedish army in the period between 1630 and 1650: - George Lindsay, earl of Crawford (Germans); James Scott (Finns), Francis Sinclair, Patrick Kinninmonth, Thomas Kerr, Francis Johnstone, William Gunn, John Gunn, Thomas Thomson, Alexander Gordon, Alexander Irving, John Ruthven (Germans), Francis Ruthven (Germans), William Barclay, Herbert Gladstone, Thomas Kinninmonth, Edward Johnstone, John Fleming, William Philp, James Drummond, Alexander Ruthven, Patrick Ogilvy, John Burdon, John Urquhart, John Finlayson, Robert Gairdner, James Lauder, James Wedderburn, John Gordon, William Kinninmonth, John Lichton and John Nairn.

APPENDIX B

The following are the Scottish names to be found in the 'Biographica' Collection of manuscript letters in Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

Adam, Adams, Airth, Afflech, Allan, Allen, Ashton, Barclay, Belfrage, Beton, Bordon, Bosswell, Bruce, Buchan, Calander, Campbel, Camron, Carneghi, Colin, Crafoord, Cranstonne, Creighton, Cuming, Cuninghame, Dickson, Douglas, Drummond, Duncan, Dundee, Ellis, Ennes, Erskine, Fenwick, Finlay, Fithie, Follerton, Foratt, Forbes, Forrest, Forster, Fraser, Frisell, Gairdner, Gibbs, Gibson, Gillies, Gladsten, Gordon, Grim, Guthrie, Haij, Hamilton, Hinderson, Home, Irwing, Johnston, Johnstone, Karr, Keith, Kennedy, Ker, Kerr, King, Kinnardt, Kinnemond, Kobron, Kraffert, Lader, Lauson, Legg, Leijel, Leslie, Leven, Lewis, Liberton, Lichton, Lidell, Lindsay, Livenston, Lockartt, Lumsdain, Mackeij, Mackenzie af Macleod, Makeleer, Man, Marschall, Matthiesson, Maule, Moffart, Monnepenne, Monroe, Montgomery, More, Morton, Moris, Mudie, Muhr, Mure, Murray, Muschamp, Myhr, Nairn, Nisbeth, Ogilvie, Orcharton, Ouchterlony, Patilo, Philp, Porteus, Preston, Primrose, Ramsay, Rattrey, Rennij, Rose, Rutherford, Ruthwen, Sanderson, Scott, Sempel, Seton, Sinclaire, Spalding, Spens, Storie, Stuart, Teet, Traill, Turner, Udnie, Urquhard, Wallas, Wardlau, Watson, Wedderburn, Wood.

APPENDIX C

The following are the names of British mercenary commanders, mainly Scottish, listed in Per Sondén's index to the letters of these officers, 'Militära Chæfer I Svenska Armén Och Deras Skrivelser', held in Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

Alexander Andersson, Arthur Aston (English), William Baillie, Wilhelm Ballentin, William Barclay, Wilhelm Bonar, Wilhelm Borthwick, Bullion, Johan Burdon, John Caswell (English), Samuel Cobron, Conway, Georg Crawford, Alexander Cuningham, Georg Cuningham, Robert Cuningham, Johan Donaway, Robert Douglas, David Drummond, Jakob Drummond, (none of the Duwalls were Scots born, though they were of Scottish descent from MacDougall), David Edington, Johan Ennes, Georg Fleetwood (English), (none of the Flemings were Scots born), Alexander Forbes, William Forbes, (Arfvid Forbes and Mattias Forbes were both Swedes), Robert Gairdner, Herbert Gladsten, Alexander Gordon, Johan Gordon, William Grey, Johan Gunn, William Gwin, Alexander Haij, Patrick Haij, Alexander Hamilton, Hugo Hamilton, Jakob Hamilton (marquis), Jakob Hamilton, John Hamilton, Johan Henderson, John Hepburne, Wilhelm Hering, Johan Hume, Jakob Innes, Alexander Irving, Edward Johnston, Jakob Johnston, Frances Johnstown, Alexander Karr, Thomas Kerr, Jakob King, Jakob King (younger), (none of the Kyles were Scottish), Johan Kyninmonth, Patrik Kyninmonth, William Kyninmonth, Jakob Lauder, William Lawson, Alexander Leslie, Alexander Leslie (younger), David Leslie, Georg Leslie, Ludvig Leslie, Robert Leslie, Johan Lichton, Anders Lindsay, David Lindsay, Henrik Lindsay, John Lindsay, William Lindsay, Jakob Lumsdaine, Jakob Lundij, Wilhelm Lys, Donald Mackay, John Meldrom, Hector Monro, Robert Monro, Thomas Monro, Georg Monroe, Patrik More, Thomas Muschamp, William Muschamp, Jakob Mur, Hans Myhr, Johan Nairn, Wellam Nisbeth, Patrik Ogilvie, William Philp, Christoffer Potley (English), Johan Pringell, Alexander Ramsay, James Ramsay, Patrik Ritterfort,

Johan Ross, Patrik Rutherford, Alexander Ruthwen, Frances Ruthwen,
John Ruthwen, Patrik Ruthwen, Robert Sanderson, Jakob Scott, Jakob Scott
(younger), Alexander Seton, James Seton, Jakob Seton, John Seton, William
Seton, Anders Sinclair, David Sinclair, Frances Sinclaire, Jakob Sinclaire,
Jakob Spens, William Spens, Robert Stewart, Alexander Stuart, Anders Stuart,
Robert Stuart, Norman Suter, Johan Teet, Alexander Thomson, Patrik Thomson,
Thomas Thomson, Patrik Traill, Johan Urquard, Wilhelm Vavassour (English),
David Wudd.

APPENDIX D

The following Swedish noble families appear to have been originally connected with Scottish military figures in the service of the crown of Sweden in the first half of the seventeenth century according to the information in the volumes of Gustaf Elgenstierna's Svenska Adelns Ättartavlor (Stockholm 1925-36)

Volume i Andersson, Barclay, Bennet, Bethun, Bordon, Bruce.

Volume ii Clarck, Crafoord, Douglas, Dougliès, Dromund, Forbes af Lund, Fraser.

Volume iii Gairdner, Gladsten, Haij, Hamilton af Deserf (Irish origin).

Volume iv Irving, King, Kinnemond, Lagergreen, Lenck, Lichton, Lilljebrun.

Volume v Liwensten, Montgomery, Muhl, Nisbeth, Ogilvie, Orcharton, Philp.

Volume vi Primeröos.

Volume vii Scott, Spens.

Volume viii Thomson, Urquard, Wardlau, Willemsen.

APPENDIX E

'The List of Captain Johne Hamiltouns Company in Sr. Johne Meldrums
Regement at Maribrig the first of agust 1629'. (KA Stockholm, Rullor
1629/14/171)

Captain	Johne Hamiltoun
Lootennant	Johne Lang
Anshingie	Thomas Fforgisoun
Sergants	Johne Williamesoun
	Symon Johnstoun
Furrier	Abrahame Murray
Ffoorer	Johne Lytiljohne
Cap. armes	Robert Gallauay
Scriver	Artheur Reid
Drummers	Johne Drumont
	Robert Hamiltoun
	David Corbet
	14 Pasvollonts
	4 Padges

Williame Cuninghame	Georg Campbell
Christopher Mill	Georg Black
Johne Hamilton	Williame Young
Walter Carmichall	Michall Eastoun
Williame Mackmath	Symon Smyth
James Greg	Williame Machline

Johne Johnstoun	Robert Hamiltoun
James Sheif	Williame Roberttsoun
Johne Muire	James Allen
Williame Torrens	John Trumbill
James Patten	Johne Melyouk
Donnald Macomdour	Mackom Makfarlen
Neill Stewart	Georg Canisoun
Dougall Miller	James Hamiltoun
Robert Mertin	James Herreis
Archbald Campbell	Andro Wilsoun
James Reid	Williame Gallauay
Andro Allan	James Johnstoun
Andro Brysoun	Thomas Boyd
Robert Robisoun	Andro Ffinan
Georg Loccart	Williame Canadie
Thomas Douglas	James Purdie
Johne Hamiltoun	Duckane Campbell
James Murray	James Arnet
Alexander Glaincors	Thomas Wilsoun
Johne Symsoun	Johne Williamesoun
Andro Lithgow	David Young
Patrick Quhyt	James Patten
Robert Makchortour	Georg Meik
Johne Halyday	Johne Makinlay

James Nasmyth	Johnne Hamiltoun
Georg Robertsonsoun	Andro Flyming
Andro Loccart	Johnne Watsoun
Michall Dyzert	Johnne Moffet
Johnne Louk	Mungo Gibisoun
Johnne Leipper	Robert Douglas
Cuthbert Hamiltoun	Dunckan Robertsonsoun
Gilbert Greir	Johnne Mackonochie
Ninniane Collo	Williame Quhyt
Williame Thomsoun	James Pay
David Dalap	Williame Dick
Williame Lawsoun	Patrick Hamiltoun
Hendrie Stewart	John Polk
David Johnstoun	James Greir
Johnne Pinkartoun	James Hamiltoun
James Lytiljohnne	Thomas Drumond
Johnne Lytill	Arthour Fforrest
Johnne Murray	Amades Johnstoun
Johnne Macknab	Johnne Mackmoren
Robert Craig	David Corbet
James Fforsyth	James Reid
Williame Blunt	James French
Alexr. Jacksoun	Eduard Neilsoun
Johnne Torrens	Eyvie Wilsoun

Johne Purdie	Johne Hall
Robert Brynzen	Robert Broun
Johne Shanks	Andro Mertin
Gawan Hamiltoun	James Bennat
David Murray	Williame Gray
Robert Douglas	Johne Finlay
Williame Hunter	
Christopher Russell	
Williame Blak	
Johne Gilkarsoun	
Andro Lindsay	
Alexr. Maxvell	

-----oOo-----

By August/September 1632 only ten of the above men still belonged to the same company. Thomas Ferguson had been promoted from ensign to lieutenant, Robert Galloway from captain-of-arms to sergeant, and Amades Johnston from ordinary soldier to 'fureir'. The fate of the others is not recorded.

BIBLIOGRAPHYMANUSCRIPT SOURCESForeignRiksarkivet (RA), Stockholm

Biographica Samling

Axel Oxenstierna af Södermöre Samling

Bref till konungen Gustaf II Adolfs tid

Skokloster Samling

Horn/Bielke Samling

P. Sondén, 'Militära Chefer i Svenska Armén och deras
Skrivelser'

Hammerskjöld, FV 51/52, 'Skottar i svensk tjänst'

Krigsarkivet (KA), Stockholm

Rullor

Militieräkningar, MR 1630, 8 'Räkenskaper över betald
sold till värv. trupper'.MR 1631, 17 'Räkenskaper över betald
sold till värv. trupper'.MR 1629, 31 'Räntery Räkning (Preussen)
Aug. 1629'

(Typed)

Namn Reg. över Officerare i Serien Rullor 1620-1723.

Utlandska Värvade Infanteriregimenten.

Rigsarkivet (RA), Copenhagen

Tyske Kancellis Indenlandske Afdeling (TKIA)

- A.46 'Militaere Bestallinger og Reverser'
- A.93 xii-xiii 'Indk. Breve 1625-30'
- A.150 'Opt. og Bestemmelser om Sold, Afregninger, Obligationer og Restsedler 1626-58'
- A.151 'Ordrer af Frands Rantzau m.fl. om Udfaerdigelse af Restsedler, Obligationer o.l. 1628-32'
- A.153 'Mønstringruller, Fortegnelser over Officerer og Manskab, Lister over indkvarterede m.m. 1612-29'
- A.154 'Regnskabssager 1623-46' (a) 'Ordrer om Udlevering af og Kvitteringer for Krigsfor under Commis. Wilh. v.d. Houff 1627'

Tyske Kancellis Udenlandske Afdeling (TKUA)

- Special Del. A ii, 4 1572-1640 'Breve fra Alexander af Spynie ang. Hvervinger i Skotland og Hjaelpetrupper derfra (1626?)'

Milit. Regnskaber

- 11b/6/I 'Generalkrigscommis. A.Arenfeldts Krigs Regnsk. 1 Jan. 1626 - 31 Dec. 1627'
- 11b/9 'Generalkrigscommis. N.Krags Krigs Regnsk. 31 Dec. 1627 - 31 Dec. 1629'
- 11b/16 'Glückstadts Proviant og Penge Regnskab 1625-9'
- 11b/22 'Stralsunds Belagerungs Rechnung'
- 11b/23 'Ansøgninger fra Militaere Betiente 1628'
- 11b/28 'Krigscommis. Anthoni Detlef og Daniel v. Buchwals Proviant-Regnsk. o. Beviser 1627-9'

BritishScottish Record Office (SRO), Edinburgh

GD 16 Airlie Family Papers.

GD 52 Lord Forbes Collection.

GD 57 Garden of Troup Collection.

GD 84 Reay Papers.

GD 246, Boxes 26 and 28 Pringle of Whytbank and Yair Papers.

GD 248, Box 46 Seafield Muniments.

Muster Roll of Sir Thomas Hope's Troop 1640-1, E. 100/1/1.

Muster Roll of the General's Life Troop 1640-1, E. 100/1/2.

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

MS 788 Scottish troops in Sweden in 1630. (These are photostats of the Scottish sections of the material in Krigsarkivet, Stockholm in the Militieräkningar section under MR 1630, 8 and 1631, 17.)

MS 1001 Typed list from the Swedish Military Attaché in London 1932, extracts from the Army List showing Scottish Officers and Men serving in the armies of Gustavus Adolphus in September 1632.
(The original documents lie in Krigsarkivet, Stockholm in the Rullor collection, 1632/31/87-101).

Notes on Scots in Sweden, compiled for Sir G. W. Dasent 1845.

Hamilton Archives, Lennoxlove

Letters to James, marquis of Hamilton between 1626 and 1632.

Dundee City Archives, City Chambers, Dundee

Council Records of the Burgh of Dundee, Council Book iv (1613-53).

Register of Ships 21 March 1612 - 26 August 1681.

Public Record Office (PRO), London

State Papers Denmark, SP.75 Bundles 6-11

State Papers Denmark, SP.78 Volumes 109-11

State Papers Sweden, SP. 95 Bundles 3-5^a

Muster Roll of the Scottish Army in Ireland by Hew Kennedy,
April-November 1642, SP 28/120

Muster Roll of the Scottish Army in Ireland by Thomas
Clayton, September and November 1642, SP 28/120

Muster Roll for Argyll's Regiment in Ireland in 1642,
SP 16/492/58

Muster Roll for the Lifeguard of Foot in Ireland in 1642,
SP 16/539/105

Muster Roll of the Scottish Army in England in 1646,
SP 41/2

PRINTED SOURCESForeign

- Baur, J.B.: Die Kapuziner und die schwedische Generalität im dreissigjährigen Kriege (Brizen 1887)
- Bergenstrahle, C.G.A.: Könl. Västerbottens Regts. Krigshistoria (Stockholm 1917)
- Bergstrom, O.: Bidrag till Könl. Uplands Regts. Historia (Stockholm 1882)
- Borowy, W.: 'Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy w Wojsku Polskim za Zygmunta III', Studia z dziejow Kultury Polskiej (Warsaw 1949)
- (Bricka, C.F. and Fridericia, J.A.): König Christian den fjerdtes egenhaendige Breve 3 Volumes (Copenhagen 1887 -)
- Dahlgren, E.W.: Louis de Geer, 1587-1652. Hans lif och verk (Uppsala 1923)
- Danckaertz, C.: Historis oft Waerachtich Verhael (Amsterdam 1624)
- Danmarks Adels Aarbog 1904, 1915, 1920, 1946
- (Elgenstierna, G.): Svenska Adels Ättartavlor 9 Volumes (Stockholm 1925-36)
- Gouhier, P.: 'Mercenaires Irlandais au Service de la France 1635-1664', Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, xv (Paris 1968)
- Grant, J.: König Gustaf Adolfs Skottska Krigare. Efter 'The Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn', ett bidrag till trettioariqa krigets historia (Stockholm 1853)
- Hoenig, B.: 'Memoiren englischer Officiere im Heere Gustav Adolfs und ihr Fortleben in der Literatur', Beiträge zur neueren Philologie J. Schipper dargebracht (Leipzig 1902)

Printed Sources, Foreign (continued)

- Hylten-Cavallius, G.: Kungl. Kronobergs Regiments Officerskår
1623-1896 (Stockholm 1897)
- (Mankell, J.): Uppgifter rörande svenska krigsmaktens styrka,
sammansättning och fördelning sedan slutet
af femtonhundratalet (Stockholm 1865)
- (Marquard, E): Kancelliets Brevbøger 1627-9 (Copenhagen 1929)
- Mell, A.: 'Die rote Feldbinde der Kaiserlichen', Zeitschrift
für Heereskunde, Nr. 37-39 (Berlin 1932)
- Michel, F.: Les Ecosais en France. Les francais en Ecosse
 (London 1862)
- Nordensvan, C.O.: Värmland Regementes Historia (Stockholm 1903)
- Nordstrom, G.: 'Régiments Jaune, Bleu, Vert, Rouge et Blanc de
 l'ancienne Armée Suédoise', Revue internationale
d'histoire militaire, 8 (Paris 1950)
- Noreen, A.: Anteckn. om Kongl. Hallands Regiment (Västgötadal)
1625-1910 (Stockholm 1911)
- Oxenstierna, A.: Rikskanslaren Axel Oxenstiernas Skrifter
och Brevväxling (AOSB)
 1st Series - letters from Oxenstierna in
 15 volumes.
 2nd Series - letters to Oxenstierna in 12
 volumes. (Stockholm 1888 -)
- Rockstroh, K.C.: Den Nationale Haer i Danmark 1614-70
 (Copenhagen 1909)
- Rudelius, F.: Kalmar Regementes Historia (Norrköping 1952)
- (Spanheim, F.): Le Soldat suédois ou Histoire de ce qui s'est
passé en Allemagne depuis l'entrée du Roy
de Suède en l'année 1630 jusques après sa
mort (Rouen 1634)

Printed Sources, Foreign (continued)

Steckzén, B.: Johan Baner (Stockholm 1939)

Steckzén, B.: Västerbottens Regts. Officerare till År 1841
(Umeå 1955)

Svensk Biografisk Lexicon

Sveriges Krig 1611-1632 6 Volumes and 2 Supplementary

Volumes, published by the Military History section of
the Swedish General Staff (Stockholm 1936-9)

Tersmeden, L.: 'Med pik och musköt', Aktuellt och Historiskt
1969 (Stockholm 1969)

Theatrum Europaeum (Frankfort-on-Main 1646)

Wainshtein, O.L.: Russia and the Thirty Years War 1618-1648
(translation of the Russian title)
(Leningrad 1947)

BRITISH

(Only books of positive value for this subject have been listed below)

Acts of the Privy Council June 1623-Mar. 1625, Mar. 1625-May 1626, June 1626-Dec. 1626, Jan.-Aug. 1627, Sep. 1627-June 1628, July 1628-Apr. 1629, May 1629-May 1630, June 1630-June 1631
(London 1933-64)

Adam and Innes: Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands (Edinburgh 1955)

(Adam, R.J.): Catalogue of the Dunrobin Muniments
(to be published later in 1972)

(Adams, A.M.): The Crawford peerage: with other original genealogical, historical and biographical particulars relating to the illustrious houses of Crawford and Kilbirnie; ...
(Edinburgh 1829)

Armstrong, W.B.: The Bruces of Airth and their cadets
(Edinburgh 1892)

Arnot, J.: The House of Arnot and some of its branches
(Edinburgh 1918)

Baillie, J.W.: Lives of the Baillies (Edinburgh 1872)

Barclay, C.W. and Barclay, H.F.: A History of the Barclay family, 1067-1933 3 volumes (London 1924-34)

Barclay, L.G. de R.: History of the Scottish Barclays
(Folkestone 1915)

(Barron, D.G.): The Court Book of the Barony of Urie in Kincardineshire 1604-1747 (Edinburgh 1892)

Beller, E.A.: 'The Military Expedition of Sir Charles Morgan to Germany 1627-9', English Historical Review, xliii (1928)

British

Berg, J. and Lagercrantz, B.: The Scots in Sweden

(Stockholm 1962)

Black, G.F.: The Surnames of Scotland (New York 1932)

Blackhall, G.: A Breiffe Narration of the Services done to
Three Noble Ladyes by G. Blakhal, prøist of the
Scots mission in France, in the Low Countries
and in Scotland MDCXXXI - MDCXLIX (Aberdeen
1844)

(Brown, P. Hume): Early Travellers in Scotland (Edinburgh 1891)

Bruce, M.E.C.: Family records of the Bruces and the Cumyns
(Edinburgh 1870)

Buchanan, A.W.P.: The Buchanan book: the life of Alex.

Buchanan, Q.C., of Montreal, followed by an
account of the family of Buchanan

(Montreal 1911)

Bulloch, J.M.: The Gay Gordons: some strange adventures of
a famous Scots family (London 1908)

Bulloch, J.M.: The Gordons in Poland, 'Marquises of Huntly'
with a line in Saxony (Peterhead 1932)

Bulloch, J.M.: The House of Gordon 3 Volumes (Aberdeen
1903-12)

Burton, J.H.: The Scot Abroad 2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1864)

Calendar of State Papers (CSP) Domestic 1619-23, 1623-5,
1625-6, 1627-8, 1629-31, 1631-3, 1633-4, 1635,
1636-7, 1638-9 (London 1858-71)

Calendar of State Papers (CSP) Ireland 1625-32, 1633-47,
1647-60 including addenda 1625-60 (London 1900-3)

Calendar of State Papers (CSP) Venetian 1626-8, 1636-9
(London 1914, 1923)

Cambridge Modern History, iv (1970)

British

Cockburn-Hood, T.H.: House of Cockburn (Edinburgh 1888)

Cockburn-Hood, T.H.: Rutherfurds of that ilk and their Cadets
(Edinburgh 1884)

Defoe, D.: Memoirs of a Cavalier (London 1720)

Defoe, D.: The Scots Nation and Union Vindicated; from the
reflections cast on them in an infamous libel
(by Jonathan Swift), entitl'd, the Publick Spirit
of the Whigs, ... (London 1714)

Dictionary of National Biography

Douglas, Sir R.: The Baronage of Scotland; containing an
historical and genealogical account of the
gentry of that kingdom (Edinburgh 1798)

Dow, J.B.A.: Ruthven's Army in Sweden and Esthonia
(Stockholm 1965)

Droighneáin, M.Ó.: An Sloinnteoir Gaeilge agus An
tAinmneoir (Belfast 1966)

Drummond, W., 1st Viscount Strathallan: The Genealogy of the
most noble and ancient house of Drummond
(Edinburgh 1831)

Etzel, E.E.: 'Notes on Swedo-Scottish Families', Scottish
Historical Review, ix (no. 35) April 1912

Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen
1625-42 (Edinburgh 1871)

Ferguson, J.: Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots
Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands
1572-1782 2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1899)

Fischer, T.A.: The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia: a
sequel to the 'Scots in Germany' ... (Edinburgh
1903)

British

- Fischer, T.A.: The Scots in Germany, being a contribution towards the history of the Scot abroad (Edinburgh 1902)
- Fischer, T.A.: The Scots in Sweden, being a contribution towards the history of the Scot abroad (Edinburgh 1907)
- Fleetwood, G.: Letter from George Fleetwood to his father giving an account of the Battle of Lützen and the death of Gustavus Adolphus (ed. P.de M.G. Egerton) (London 1847)
- Forbes, D.: Ane account of the familie of Innes, comp. ... 1698 (ed. C. Innes) (Aberdeen 1864)
- Fortescue, J.: History of the British Army, i (London 1899)
- Francis, S.: The Hannays of Sorbie (London 1961)
- Fraser, Sir W.: Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok 2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1863)
- Fraser, Sir W.: Memorials of the Earls of Haddington 2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1889)
- Fraser, Sir W.: The Annandale family book of the Johnstones 2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1894)
- Fraser, Sir W.: The Book of Carlaverock: memoirs of the Maxwells, Earls of Nithsdale, Lords Maxwell and Herries 2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1873)
- Fraser, Sir W.: The Chiefs of Grant 3 Volumes (Edinburgh 1883)
- Fraser, Sir W.: The Douglas book: memoirs of the house of Douglas and Angus 4 Volumes (Edinburgh 1885)
- Fraser, Sir W.: The Melvilles, Earls of Melville, and the Leslie, Earls of Leven 3 Volumes (Edinburgh 1890)

British

- Fraser, Sir W.: The Scotts of Buccleuch 2 Volumes
(Edinburgh 1878)
- Fraser, Sir W.: The Sutherland book 3 Volumes (Edinburgh 1892)
- (Fyfe, J.G.): Scottish Diaries and Memoirs 1550-1746
(Stirling 1927)
- Gardiner, S.: History of England from the accession of James I
to the outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-42 ...
(London 1883-4)
- Gibson, J.C.: The Wardlaws in Scotland: a history of the
Wardlaws of Wilton and Torrie and their cadets
(Edinburgh 1912)
- Gordon, Sir R.: A genealogical history of the Earldom of
Sutherland from its origin to the year 1630;
published from the original MS. (by H. Weber)
(Edinburgh 1813)
- Graeme, L.G.: Or and sable: a book of the Graemes and Grahams
(Edinburgh 1903)
- Grant, J.: Memoirs and Adventures of Sir John Hepburn
(Edinburgh 1851)
- Grant, J.: The Tartans of the Clans of Scotland. Also an
introductory account of Celtic Scotland, ...
(Edinburgh 1886)
- Grimble, I.: Chief of Mackay (London 1965)
- Grimble, I.: 'The Royal Payment of Mackay's Regiment',
Scottish Gaelic Studies, ix (1961)
- Haldane, J.A.L.: The Haldanes of Gleneagles (Edinburgh 1929)
- Hamilton, G.: A history of the house of Hamilton (Edinburgh 1933)
- Harrison, M. and Royston, O.M.: How They Lived, ii (1485-1700)
(Oxford 1963)

British

- Hay, R.A.: Genealogie of the Hayes of Tweeddale; ed. by
James Maidment (Edinburgh 1835)
- Historical Manuscripts Commission, Eleventh Report, Appendix 6.
The Manuscripts of the Duke of Hamilton (ed. W. Fraser)
(London 1887)
- Historical Manuscripts Commission, Supplementary Report on the
Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton (ed. J. H.
McMaster and M. Wood) (London 1932)
- Inglis, J.A.: The Family of Inglis of Auchindinny and Redhall
(Edinburgh 1914)
- Jacob, V.: The Lairds of Dun (London 1931)
- Kiernan, V.G.: 'Foreign Mercenaries and Absolute Monarchy',
Past and Present xi April 1957
- (Laing, D.): Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, 1st Earl of
Ancram, and his son, William, 3rd Earl of Lothian
2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1875)
- Leith, W. Forbes: The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life Guards in
France, from their formation until their
final dissolution, MCCCCXVIII - MDCCCXXX
2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1882)
- Leslie, C.: Historical records of the family of Leslie,
1067-1869 3 Volumes (Edinburgh 1869)
- Leslie, J.F.: The Irvines of Drum and collateral branches
(Aberdeen 1909)
- Lindsay, A.W.C., 25th Earl of Crawford : Lives of the Lindsays,
or A memoir of the houses of Crawford and
Balcarres 3 Volumes 3rd edition (London 1958)
- Livingston, E.B.: The Livingstons of Callendar, and their
principal cadets (Edinburgh 1920)

British

- Macgregor, A.G.M.: History of the Clan Gregor, from public records and private collections, ii
(Edinburgh 1901)
- Mackay, J.: An Old Scots Brigade, being the history of Mackay's Regiment, now incorporated with the Royal Scots. With an appendix containing copies of many original documents, ... (Edinburgh 1885)
- Mackay, R.: History of the house and clan of Mackay (Edinburgh 1829)
- Mackie, J.D.: 'Dugald Dalgetty: and Scottish Soldiers of Fortune', Scottish Historical Review, xii
(No. 47) April, 1915
- Mackenzie, A.: History of the Chisholms, with genealogies of the principal families of that name
(Inverness 1891)
- Mackenzie, A.: History of the Clan Mackenzie, with genealogies of the principal families of that name
(Inverness 1879)
- Mackenzie, A.: History of the Frasers of Lovat, with genealogies of the principal families of the name, to which is added those of Dunballoch and Phopachy
(Inverness 1896)
- Mackenzie, A. and Macbain, A.: History of the Mathesons
2nd edition, ed. A. Bain (Stirling 1900)
- Mackenzie, A.: History of the Munros of Fowlis, with genealogies of the principal families of the name, to which are added those of Lexington and New England (Inverness 1898)
- (Mackenzie, A. Mure): Scottish Pageant 1625-1707 (Edinburgh 1949)

British

- Maclaren, M.: The Maclarens (Stirling 1960)
- MacLysaght, E.: The Surnames of Ireland (Shannon 1969)
- Markham, G.: The Souldiers Exercise (London 1639)
- Menzies, D.P.: The Red and White book of Menzies: the history of Clan Menzies and its chiefs (Glasgow 1894)
- Monro, R.: Expedition (for full title see conclusion of this bibliography) (London 1637)
- Montgomery, B.G.de: Origin and history of the Montgomerys (Edinburgh 1948)
- Nesbett, R.C.: Nisbet of that ilk (London 1941)
- (Paul, J.B.): Scots Peerage 9 Volumes (Edinburgh 1904-14)
- Pitcairn, C.: The History of the Fife Pitcairns (Edinburgh 1905)
- Pryde, G.S.: A History of Scotland from 1603 to the present day (Edinburgh 1962)
- (Reaney, P.H.): Dictionary of British Surnames (London 1958)
- Register of the Privy Council of Scotland
- | | |
|------------|-------------------------------|
| 1st Series | xii 1619-1622, xiii 1622-1625 |
| 2nd Series | i 1625-1627, ii 1627-1628, |
| | iii 1629-1630, iv 1630-1632, |
| | v 1633-1635, vi 1635-1637, |
| | vii 1638-1643, viii 1544-1660 |
| | (Edinburgh 1895-1908) |
- Roberts, M.: Gustavus Adolphus. A history of Sweden 1611-1632
- 2 Volumes (London 1953-8)
- Robertson, C. Grant,: 'The Real Dugald Dalgetty',
- Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol. CLXIV
- No. DCCCCXCVI October 1898
- Rogers, C.: Memorials of the Scottish families of Strachan and Wise 2nd edition (Edinburgh 1877)

British

- Rogers, H.C.B.: Battles and Generals of the Civil Wars
1642-51 (London 1968)
- Rogers, J.E.T.: A History of Agriculture and Prices in England,
 v (Oxford 1887)
- Rushworth, J.: Historical Collections of Private Passages of
State I, ii (London 1680)
- Russell, J.: The Haigs of Bemersyde: a family history
 (Edinburgh 1881)
- (Scott, H.): Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ 7 volumes, revised
 edition (Edinburgh 1915-28)
- Scott, W.: Legend of Montrose (Edinburgh 1819)
- Seton, B.G.: The House of Seton: a study of lost causes
 2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1939-41)
- Seton, G.: The House of Moncrieff (Edinburgh 1890)
- Seton, G.: A history of the family of Seton during eight
centuries 2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1896)
- Sinclair, A. McL.: The Clan Gillean (Charlottetown, Canada
 1899)
- Sinclair, G.A.: 'Scotsmen Serving the Swede', Scottish
Historical Review, ix (No. 33) October 1911
- Smith, J.S.: The Grange of St. Giles, the Bass and other
baronial homes of the Dick-Lauder family
 (Edinburgh 1898)
- Somerville, J.: The Baronial house of Somerville (Glasgow 1920)
- Spalding, J.: The History of the Troubles and Memorable
Transactions in Scotland from 1624 to 1645
 2 Volumes (Aberdeen 1792)
- Steuart, A.F.: Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland 1576-1793
 (Edinburgh 1915)

British

Steuart, A.F.: Scottish Influences in Russian History
Glasgow 1913)

Steuart, A.F.: 'Scottish Officers in Sweden', Scottish
Historical Review, i (No. 2) January 1904

(Stewart, G.M.): Galloway Records (Dumfries 1914)

St. Clair, R.W.: The Saint Clairs of the Isles: a history
of the Sea Kings of Orkney and their Scottish
Successors of the surname of Sinclair
(Auckland, New Zealand, 1898)

Swedish Discipline, The translated by T. Roe or W. Watts
(London 1632)

Swedish Intelligencer, The edited by W. Watts (London 1632-5)

Swinton, A.C.: The Swintons of that ilk, and their cadets
(Edinburgh 1883)

Tancred, G.: The annals of a border club (the Jedforest)
and biographical notices of the families connected
therewith (Edinburgh 1903)

(Taylor, L.B.): Aberdeen Council Letters 1552-1644
(London 1942-50)

(Terry, C. Sanford): Papers Relating to the Army of the
Solemn League and Covenant 1643-1647
2 Volumes (Edinburgh 1917)

Terry, C. Sanford: The Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie,
First Earl of Leven (London 1899)

Thirsk, J.: 'Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century',
History, liv (1969)

Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural
History and Antiquarian Society 1892-3

British

- Traill, W.: A genealogical account of the Traills of Orkney, with a pedigree table tracing their descent from the Traills of Blebo, in Fifeshire (Kirkwall 1883)
- Turner, J.: Memoirs of his own Life and Times 1632-70
 edited by J. Thomson (Edinburgh 1829)
- (Urban, S.): 'The Real Dugald Dalgetty', Gentleman's Magazine, Jul.-Dec. 1906
- Urquhart, T.: Pantochronoxanon; or a peculiar promptuary of time wherein ... is displayed a ... directory for all ... chronologies ... by deducing the ... pedigree ... of the Urquharts, ... (edited by G. Paton) (London 1652)
- Warrand, D.: Some Fraser Pedigrees (Inverness 1934)
- Wedderburn, A.: The Wedderburn book: a history of the Wedderburns in the counties of Berwick and Forfar 2 Volumes (n.p. 1898)
- Wedgwood, C.V.: The King's War 1641-1645 (London 1958)
- Wedgwood, C.V.: The Thirty Years War (London 1938)
- Wilkinson, F.: Antique Firearms (London 1969)
- Wilkinson, F.: Edged Weapons (London 1970)
- Wilson, W.: The House of Airlie 2 Volumes (London 1924)
- Wimberley, D.: Memorials of the family of Gordon of Lesmoir in the county of Aberdeen (Inverness 1893)
- (Wood, M.): Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1626-41 (Edinburgh 1936)

ADDITIONAL AIDS

Bartholomew's 'Scotland of Old' Clan Map (1960)

(Ferguson, J.P.S.): Scottish Family Histories held in

Scottish Libraries (Edinburgh 1960)

Johnston's Gazetteer of Scotland 2nd edition (Edinburgh 1958)

Ordnance Survey One-Inch Maps (Chessington, Surrey 1964)

Post Office Telephone Directories and Street Directories
for Scottish Areas (1969-71)

-----oOo-----

Monro, R.: Monro his expedition with the worthy Scots
Regiment, called MacKeye's Regiment, levied in
August 1626, by Sir Donald MacKeye Lord Rees
Colonel, for his Majesties service of Denmark, and
reduced after the battle of Nerling, in September
1634, at Wormes, in the Palz; Discharged in
several duties and observations of service, first,
under the magnanimous King of Denmark, during
his wars against the Empire; afterwards under the
invincible King of Sweden, during his Majestie's
life-time; and since under the Director-General,
the Rex-Chancellor Oxensterne, and his Generals;
Collected and gathered together at spare hours, by
Colonel Robert Monro, as First Lieutenant under the
said Regiment, to the noble and worthy Captain
Thomas MacKenzie of Kildon, brother to the nobel
Lord, the Lord Earl of Seaforth, for the use of all
noble Cavaliers favouring the laudable profession of
arms. To which is annexed the Abridgement of
Exercise, and divers Practical Observations for

Monro, R. (continued): the Younger Officer. Ending with
the Soldier's Meditations on going on Service.
(London, printed by William Jones in Red-Crosse
Streets 1637)