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NORDISKA MUSEET SWEDISH INSTITUTE STOCKHOLM

Scots in Sweden

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Ex. A

UTLÅNAS EJ

NORDISKA MUSEET
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UNDERVISNINGSAVDELNING

Scots in Sweden

By Jonas Berg and Bo Lagercrantz

with an introduction by Eric Linklater and

an essay by Frans G. Bengtsson

The Nordiska Museet The Swedish Institute Stockholm

NORDISKA MUSEET • BIBLIOTEKET

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FRANS G. BENGTSSON: ROBERT MONRO

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TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL ROBERTS AND ELSBETH SCHUBERT, NÉE HARLEY

BY FRANS G. BENGTSSON IN ENGLISH:

A WALK TO AN ANT HILL AND OTHER ESSAYS.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES XII, KING OF SWEDEN 1697—1718.

THE LONG SHIPS. A SAGA OF THE VIKING AGE.

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Preface

With none of the small nations of Europe, outside Scandinavia, has Sweden maintained such intimate connections through the years as with Scotland. Only France can compete with Sweden as to the number of enterprising Scots who have immigrated into the country.

The ability to adapt shown by these men, and their skill and character, enabled them to function as leaders, in some cases pioneers, in different sectors of Swedish life. They served as officers in the armies with which Sweden defended its newly won status as a great power in the different theatres of war on the Continent, and they worked as merchants and captains of industry, above all in Gothenburg on the Swedish west coast. They introduced new and more efficient methods of agriculture, and in the 19th century they played a leading role in achieving freedom of religion. Scotland has been the giver and Sweden the receiver, and we have every reason to be deeply grateful to a country that has supplied us with so much skill, enterprise and devoted energy. If this exhibition can quicken the interest of our history it will not have been in vain.

We can recall here that many Scottish families met with great success in their different fields, and amassed considerable fortunes. This in its turn led to numerous donations, the generosity of which bears witness to the ease with which they had settled in their new home. The body responsible for this exhibition, the 90-year old Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, was, for instance, largely financed originally by a man of Scottish extraction and with a Scottish name, Oscar Dickson. This exhibition has been made possible largely by the lively interest shown by Swedish families of Scottish descent.

Stockholm, June 1962

GÖSTA BERG

Scots in Sweden

AUGUSTI-SEPTEMBER 1962, ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM, EDINBURGH

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1962, KRONHUSET, GÖTEBORG

JANUARI-FEBRUARI 1963, NORDISKA MUSEET, STOCKHOLM



EN UTSTÄLLNING OM SKOTSKA INVANDRARE I GÅNGNA TIDER

ORDNAD AV NORDISKA MUSEET OCH SVENSKA INSTITUTET

19. Två skotska blysigill från klädespackar. Tidigt 1600-tal. Funna vid Ny-Lödöseutgrävningarna.
Göteborgs Historiska Museum

20. Huvudbanér över Jacob Duwall (Mac Dougall), friherre och landshövding. Buret vid hans begravning 1684. Fyra av de sexton tillhörande anvapnen: Familjerna Duwall, Ker, Nisbeth och Cranstoun. 200 · 150 cm resp. 100 · 70 cm.
Svinnegarns kyrka

21. Ceremoniellt tvåhandssvärd, s. k. claymore, som tillhört Gustav II Adolf, försett med familjen Morays vapen och initialerna RM. 128 cm.
Kungl. Livrustkammaren

22. Värja med skida. 106 cm.
Wrangelska rustkammaren, Skokloster

23. Värja med ingraverade bröstbilder av Gustav II Adolf och Robert Douglas, 1641. 100 cm.
Greve Wilhelm Douglas, Schloss Langenstein, Baden

24. Silversporrar som hängt på Robert Douglas' begravningsvapen.
Vreta Klosters kyrka

25. Blanka vapen av skotskt ursprung som kan ha tillhört de skottar som blev dödade i Norge under marschen till Sverige 1612.
Nordiska museet

26. Gevär som kommit till Sverige med Sir James Spens of Wormiston. Försett med familjen Spens' vapen och skänkt till Karl XI av en ättling.
Kungl. Livrustkammaren

27. Gevär av skotskt ursprung.
Kungl. Armémuseum

28. Ett par skotska pistoler daterade 1613, skänkta till Rikskanslern Axel Oxenstierna. 76 cm.
Kungl. Livrustkammaren

29. Ett par ryttarpistoler med skotska lås och pipor. 66 cm.
Wrangelska rustkammaren, Skokloster

30. Skotsk pistol av stål inlagt med silver. 46 cm.
Wrangelska rustkammaren, Skokloster

31. Senmedeltida monstrans av silver, delvis med emaljinläggningar. Hemförd från Tyskland av Robert Douglas.
Greve Robert Douglas, Gerstorp

32. Medeltida kalk av förgyllt silver med emaljinläggningar. Cuppan från 1800-talet. Skänkt 1390 till klostret Zeven. Robert Douglas erhöll klostret som förläning 1650 och skänkte då en ny kalk till munkarna. Den gamla donerade han till Vreta Klosters kyrka.
Vreta Klosters kyrka

33. Kalk tillverkad i Augsburg i början av 1600-talet. Hemförd från Tyskland av Maurice Duwall.
Vendels kyrka

34. Ansiktskanna av silver och tillverkad i Augsburg vid 1600-talets början. Hemförd från Tyskland.
Friherre Hugo Hamilton af Hageby, Boo

35. Gevär tillverkat av bysantinsk hantverkare för hertigen av Kurland. Hemförd från Livland av Robert Douglas. 130 cm.
Vreta klosters kyrka

36. Väggur av försilvrad mässing. Hemfört från Tyskland av Robert Douglas.
Greve C. Douglas' sterbhus, Stjärnorp

37. Bordsur av silver i form av Golgata-scen. Hemfört från Tyskland av Robert Douglas.
Greve Robert Douglas, Gerstorp

38. "Melonkanna" av pärlemor monterat på silver. Tillverkad i Hamburg. Hemförd från Tyskland av Robert Douglas.
Greve Robert Douglas, Gerstorp

39. "Granatäpplepokal" av silver. Hemförd från Tyskland av Robert Douglas.

Greve Robert Douglas, Gerstorp

40. Robert Douglas (1611—1662), greve, fältmarskalk, riksråd. Olja på duk av okänd konstnär.

Greve Robert Douglas, Gerstorp

41. Jakob Duwall (MacDougall) (1589—1634), friherre och general. Olja på duk av okänd konstnär. 1626. 115 · 94 cm.

Karlbergs slott

42. Alexander Erskein (1598—1656), friherre och krigspresident. Kopia i olja på duk efter A. van der Hulle. 64 · 54 cm.

Gripsholms slott

43. Hans Clerck (1607—1679), amiral. Olja på duk av okänd konstnär. 98 · 70 cm.

Sjöofficerssällskapet, Stockholm

44. Hans Clerck (1639—1718), friherre, landshövding och riksråd. Olja på duk av David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, 1680. 135 · 113 cm.

Kungl. Sjökrigsskolan

45. Jacob Scott (d. 1635), general. Olja på duk av okänd konstnär, antagligen kort efter Gustav II Adolfs begravning, 1634.

Gripsholms slott

46. Alexander Leslie (1579—1661), fältmarskalk. Olja på duk av okänd konstnär, 1626. 200 · 132 cm.

Friherre Carl Gripenstedt, Bysta

47. Malcolm Hamilton (1635—1699), generalmajor, landshövding. Friherre av Hageby. Olja på duk av okänd konstnär. 135 · 104 cm.

Friherre Hugo Hamilton af Hageby, Boo

48. Lorentz von der Linde och hans regementsstab. Lorentz von der Linde steg till generals rang under de sista åren av 30-åriga kriget. Denna målning ger en uppfattning om hur en regementsstab kunde se ut vid mitten av 1600-talet. Olja på koppar av okänd konstnär.

Nordiska museet

49. Göteborg 1655. Handritad karta. Kopia. 120 · 80 cm.

Göteborgs Historiska Museum

50. Novgorod 1611. Handritad och kolorerad karta med inskription om Jakob De la Gardies belägring och intagande av staden. Samuel Cockburn anförde högra avdelningen.

Kungl. Krigsarkivet

51. Riga 1620. Kolorerat kopparstick av Rigas belägring, bl. a. visande Cobrons skans, uppkallad efter Samuel Cockburn. 46 · 86 cm.

Friherre Carl Gripenstedt, Bysta

52. Reskista daterad 1667 och tillhörande Alexander Waddal, en skotsk köpman i Stockholm.

Örebro museum

53. Ett par ljusstakar i tenn med Robert Douglas och hans hustru Hedvig Mörners initialer. 64 cm.

Vreta Klosters kyrka

54. Vinkanna av silver skänkt 1638 till Danmarks kyrka av amiral Simon Stewardt med flera. Troligen av svensk tillverkning. 26 cm.

Danmarks kyrka

55. Silverpokal av tysk tillverkning med flera inskriptioner av vilka den äldsta lyder: George Spalding A:o 1624.

Täby kyrka

56. Ett par kandelabrar av försilvrad mässing. Skänkta 1620 till Lilla Malma kyrka av Ernst Lode och hans skotska hustru Anna Stuart. 69 cm.

Lilla Malma kyrka

57. Mässingskrona med inskriptionen: TILL GUDZ NAMPNS ÄRA OCH NAKA BRUK — KIÖRKIOS PRÜDNAD ÄR AF DAVID FEIF OCH HANS K^{e}H^{o} ANNA CLEOPHAS FÖRÄRAT A^{o} 1864.

Nacka kyrka

58. Bordstäcke daterat 1651 med Arvid Forbus' och hans hustru Margareta Bojes vapen och initialer.

Friherre Hans Rämel, Övedskloster

59. Bordstäcke, daterat 1650 med Robert Douglas och hans hustru Hedvig Mörners vapen och initialer.
Greve C. Douglas sterbhus, Stjärnorp

60. Gustav II Adolf som bordsdekoration. Gjuten figur stående på en trumma med inskriptionen: ALLER TAMBOVRS VND MVSQVETIRER RIEREN SO DIE TRVMMEL AVF DEM BAVCH.
Nordiska museet

61. Vaxpoussering av Gustav II Adolf. Sällsynt exempel på en under 1600-talet vanlig porträtteknik.
Nordiska museet

62. Hängsmycke i form av likkista i silver, innehållande en helfigurbild av Gustav II Adolf skuren i trä. Har enligt traditionen tillhört Robert Douglas. Möjligen ordensdekoration.
Nordiska museet

63. Pokal krönt av Gustav II Adolfs byst och uppburen av lejonet av Norden. Troligen tillverkad i Frankfurt am Main.
Nordiska museet

64. Hängsmycke av bergkristall monterat i guld och emalj. Innehåller en utskuren Gustav II Adolfs-medalj i guld. 1600-talets mitt.
Nordiska museet

65. Hängsmycke bestående av utskuren guldmedalj av Gustaf II Adolf. Sådana smycken bars ofta av svenska officerare. Jämför porträttet av Jacob Scott, nr 45.
Nordiska museet

66. Gustav II Adolfs-medalj i silver, daterad 1631 och signerad KS. På baksidan lejonet av Norden och DEO ET VICTRIBUS ARMIS. Samtida kedja.
Nordiska museet

67. Guldmedalj av Gustav II Adolf, delvis emaljerad.
Kungl. Myntkabinettet

68. Silvermedalj slagen till minne av Stralsunds lyckosamma försvar (1628). (2 ex.)
Kungl. Myntkabinettet

69. Samma medalj i målat tenn. Kungl. Myntkabinettet

70. Breitenfeld 1631. Två kopparstick av M. Merian.
Nordiska museet

DONALD FEIF, silversmed i Stockholm åren 1682—1709.

71. Ett par ljusstakar, Stockholm 1707.
Danvikens kyrka

72. Kalk, Stockholm 1696. Östervåla kyrka

HENRIK FEIF, silversmed i Stockholm åren 1666—1694.

73. Bägare, tillverkad för Stockholms sadelmakaregesällskap, Stockholm 1698.
Nordiska museet

74. Bägare med lock, Stockholm 1690.
Fru Britta Westerberg, Beatelund

75. Dryckeskärl i form av kåsa.
Direktör Gunnar Philipson, Stockholm

76. Vinkanna. Ekshärad kyrka

SALOMON FEIF, silversmed i Stockholm åren 1691—1724.

77. Oblatask, Stockholm 1698. Arboga kyrka

78. Supkopp, Stockholm 1700.
Hallwylska museet, Stockholm

HANS CLERCK, silversmed i Stockholm åren 1665—1679.

79. Toalettskrin. Nordiska museet

80. Dryckeskanna. Nationalmuseum

81. Dryckeskanna.
Direktör Gunnar Philipson, Stockholm

82. Bokomslag innehållande Karl XI:s förmyndares rapport.
Riksarkivet

JOHAN WILHELM HELLEDAY, silversmed i Stockholm åren 1696—1711.

83. Ett par kandelabrar, Stockholm 1704, 1705. Skänkta till Arboga kyrka av Willem Petrij och hans hustru.
Arboga kyrka

84. Dryckeskanna, Stockholm 1706.
Skokloster

85. Förgylld sked.
Konstnären William Gibson, Glumslöv

86. Bördsbrev för familjen Orcharton, målat på pergament 1600-tal. Ramen senare. 61 · 81 cm.
Linköpings museum

87. Bördsbrev för familjen Ogilvy, målat på pergament. Perth 1646. 92 · 85 cm.
Statens Historiska Museum

88. Adelsbrev för Malcolm Hamilton (1635—1699). Utställt av Karl XI:s förmyndarregering 1664.
Friherre Hugo Hamilton af Hageby, Boo

89. Friherrebrev för samme Malcolm Hamilton, utställt av Karl XI 1689.
Friherre Hugo Hamilton af Hageby, Boo

90. Giftermålskontrakt upprättat 1619 mellan Sir James Spens of Wormiston på dottern Isabellas vägnar och James Ramsay. 30 · 37 cm.
Greve Wilhelm Spens, Djursholm

91. Journal förd av Jacob Seaton under belägringen av Riga 1620. 4:o.
Riksarkivet

92. Svensk mönsterrulla från Gustav II Adolfs tyska krig.
Kungl. Krigsarkivet

93. Styrkerapport över Jacob Spens d.y.:s regemente.
Greve Wilhelm Spens, Djursholm

94. Dokument, signerat av Arvid Forbes, Robert Douglas och andra.
Kungl. Biblioteket

95. Brev signerat och sigillerat av Sir James Spens of Wormiston.
Kungl. Biblioteket

96. Brev signerat och sigillerat av James Spens d.y.
Kungl. Biblioteket

97. The Swedish Intelligencer I, London 1632. 4:o.
Kungl. Biblioteket

98. The Swedish Intelligencer III—IV, London 1632. 4:o.
Kungl. Biblioteket

99. The Swedish Discipline, London 1632. 4:o.
Kungl. Biblioteket

100. The Great and Famous Battle of Lutzen ... tryckt 1633. 4:o.
Kungl. Biblioteket

101. Monro his expedition ... 1637.
Kungl. Biblioteket

102. Fotografier från Riddarhuset.

103. 70 vapenplåtar, representerande ett antal svenska adliga familjer av skotskt ursprung. Kopior av anvapen i Riddarhuset. Ursprungligen tillverkade för en utställning i Glasgow 1912.

104. Fotografi av monumentet över Samuel Cockburn i Åbo domkyrka.

105. Fotografi av porträtt av skotska officerare ur serien av Carl Gustaf Wrangels krigskamrater.
Skokloster

106. Fotografi av en kyrkklocka i Häverö klockstapel, beställd av Duncan Feif för församlingen Carmyllie i Skottland. Gjuten 1641 av Putesen i Stockholm. I kyrkan i Forfar hänger en kyrkklocka, gjuten i Stockholm och beställd av Stockholms-köpmannen William Strang. Denna kallas "Lang Strang".

107. Montage föreställande slaget vid Wittstock 1636.

108. Karl XII. Olja på duk. Kopia efter David von Krafft.

Nordiska museet

109. Malcolm Sinclair (1690—1739). Ryssarnas mord på honom 1739 upprörde den svenska opinionen. Visan om denna händelse behöll sin popularitet i 150 år. Olja på duk av J. H. Scheffel 1728.

Gripsholm

110. Colin Campbell (1686—1757) var en av grundarna av Ostindiska kompaniet. Olja på duk av J. J. Streng, 1756. Porträttet hemfördes till Skottland av Charles Irvine och kom för några år sedan tillbaka till Sverige som en gåva från dennes ättling den 24:e Lairden av Drum. 91 · 77 cm.

Göteborgs Historiska Museum

111. Elisabeth Campbell (1725—1751), gift med köpmannen Henrik Hackson. Olja på duk av J. H. Scheffel 1751.

Major R. Montgomery-Cederhielm, Segersjö

112. Thomas Erskine (1746—1828), Earl of Kellie. Okänd konstnär.

Royal Bachelor's Club, Göteborg

113. Archibald Montgomery (1726—1796), Earl of Eglington, huvudman för familjen Montgomery. Målat av C. F. von Breda under hans sejour i England 1787—1796. Skänkt av earlen till överste Robert Montgomery (1737—1798), huvudman för den svenska grenen, då denne passerade England på hemväg från sin landsförvisning till Guadaloupe.

Major R. Montgomery-Cederhielm, Segersjö

114. Rutger Maclean (1742—1816). Gipsmedaljong av J. T. Sergel.

Svaneholms slott

115. James Dickson, S:r (1784—1855). Köpman i Göteborg. Olja på duk av G. Salomon. 150 · 140 cm.

Kammarherre J. Dickson, Vikaryd

116. Robert Dickson (1782—1858). Köpman i Göteborg. Olja på duk av Per Krafft d.y. 80 · 70 cm.

Göteborgs Historiska Museum

117. Wilhelmina Charlotta Bratt (1781—1845) gift med Robert Dickson. Olja på duk av Per Krafft d.y.

Göteborgs Historiska Museum

118. James Dickson J:r (1815—1885). Köpman i Göteborg. Olja på duk av J. P. Södermark. 190 · 130 cm.

Kammarherre J. Dickson, Vikaryd

119. Oscar Dickson (1823—1897), friherre. Olja på duk 1838 av V. Wohlfarht.

Friherrinnan Inga Dickson, Stockholm

MARIA RÖHL (1801—1875) var sin tids mest berömda porträttecknare. Penntecknингar av åtta Göteborgsskottar:

Kungl. Biblioteket

120. Charles Carnegie, 1839.

121. Caroline Dickson, 1839.

122. Charles Dickson, 1833.

123. Charles Dickson, 1840.

124. James Dickson, 1839.

125. Robert Dickson, 1839.

126. Charles Gibson, 1840.

127. Alexander Keiller, 1839.

128. Oljemålning av de utländska faktorierna i Kanton. 1700-tal. 52 · 68 cm.

Göteborgs Historiska Museum

129. Teckning av ostindienfararen STOCKHOLMS strandning på Shetland 1745. 23 · 33 cm.

Göteborgs Historiska Museum

130. Högländare som talar med dalfolk. Målningen erinrar om 1700-talets föreställning om en likhet mellan skotska och vissa daladialekter. Olja på duk av Pehr Hilleström.

Zorn-museet, Mora

131. Karta över Rutger Macleans egendom Svaneholm i Skåne 1785. Den visar den av honom utförda omfördelningen av jorden.

Svaneholm

132. Turkiskt tält, som tillhört general Axel Spens och anskaffats av denne under Karl XII:s fälttåg mot Ryssland.

Nordiska museet

133. Jaktbägare av silver med familjen Spens' vapen. Har tillhört general Axel Spens.

Nordiska museet

134. "Den stuartska rosen". Smycke av emaljerat guld med rubiner. Själva blomman från 1600-talet, monteringen och etuiet från början av 1700-talet. Har tillhört Elisabeth, dotter till Karl Magnus Stuart och gift Staël von Holstein.

Flottningschef Joakim Staël von Holstein, Umeå

135. Kassakista. 48 · 45 cm.

British Church, Göteborg

136. Sigillstamp. 12 cm.

British Factory, Göteborg

136a. Vattentunna av koppar. Tillverkad för en son till Daniel Young, adlad Lejonancker. Har senare tillhört Sofia Albertinas bohag på Lambohov. Ca. 1700. H. 110 cm.

Generalsekreterare Bengt Åman, Rotebro

VAPENPORSLIN för adliga familjer av skotsk börd. Kinesiskt porslin beställt i Kanton under 1700-talet med polykroma vapen:

137. Tallrik, tillverkad för Colin Campbell.

138. Bål, tillverkad för familjen Hamilton.

139. Kopp och fat, tillverkade för familjen Hamilton.

140. Tallrik, tillverkad för familjen Netherwood.

Göteborgs Historiska Museum

141. Tallrik med Lord Panmures vapen. Lorden var huvudman för ätten Maule, av vilken flera grenar utvandrade till Sverige.

Fru Léonie Maule, Strö

142. Introduktionsbrev för James Maule (f. 1705) utställt 1734 och signerat av Lord Panmure och andra.

Överstinnan Léonie Maule, Strö

143. Brev från frikyrkomannen John Paterson till Mathias Rosenblad, daterat S:t Petersburg 24 juli 1819.

Kungl. Biblioteket

144. A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in Town. London 1717. 4:o.

Kungl. Biblioteket

145. What if the Swedes should Come? With some thought about keeping the Army on Foot. London 1717. 4:o.

Kungl. Biblioteket

146. Three letters viz upon the subject of the full power given baron Gortz... London 1717. 4:o.

Kungl. Biblioteket

147. An account of the Swedish and Jacobite Plot. London 1717. 4:o.

Kungl. Biblioteket

148. Anmerckungen über die auffgefangene Briefe des Grafen von Gyllenburg... tryckta 1717. 4:o.

Kungl. Biblioteket

149. Letters which passed between Count Gyllenborg, the Barons Gortz, Sparre, and others. Dublin 1717. 4:o.
Kungl. Biblioteket

150. Travels in Sweden, during the autumn of 1812, by Thomas Thomson, London 1813. 4:o.
Kungl. Biblioteket

151. Fotografier från Tottieska malmgården, numera på Skansen.

152. Dryckeskanna av silver, delvis emaljerad, tillverkad av L. Larsson och Co., Göteborg 1863 med infällda mynt med bilder av alla svenska monarker från Gustav Vasa till Karl XV. Silverbröllopsgåva från James Dickson till brodern Charles och hans hustru, 1868.
Kammarherre Crispin Löwenhjelm, Stockholm

153. Stiftelseurkund för Bachelor's Club, Göteborg 25 november 1769. Kopia.
Direktör Carol Wallenberg, Göteborg

154. Alexander Keiller (1804—1874). Industriman i Göteborg. Olja på duk av J. P. Södermark, 1858. 125 · 94 cm.
Direktör Harry Keiller, Särö

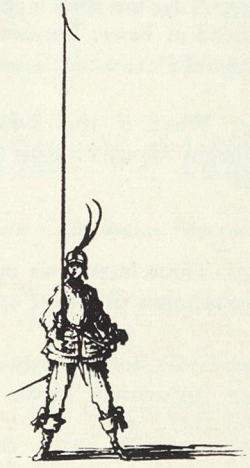
155. DAVID CARNEGIE (1813—90) Kop. H. Lindgren 1882. Olja på duk. 114 · 86 cm.
Fastighets AB D. Carnegie & Co, Gbg

156. WILLIAM GIBSON (1783—1857) Kop. H. Lindgren. Olja på duk. 67 · 55 cm.
Civilingenjör Paul Gibson, Lerum

157. WILLIAM GIBSON (1816—65).
Jonsereds Fabrikers AB

158. WILLIAM THORBURN (1780—1851) Pastell av Carl Fredrik Richter.
Fru Edith Thorburn, Göteborg









Stellan Ståls Boktryckeri

Scots of the Swedish service

BY ERIC LINKLATER

I have before me a small book called *Scottish Literature to 1714*. It was written by Agnes Mure Mackenzie, a woman whose delicate body sustained a passionate and learned mind, and whose learning was illumined by an heroic — or, at the least, romantic — apprehension of history. It was typical of her — and is, I think, typical of her country — that in a history of its literature her first chapter includes a couple of pages about the soldiers whom, for so long, it exported to Europe; and in the notes which, with a scholar's need for justification, she appended to her essay, she has this to say about a tradition which left Danzig with a quarter called Little Scotland and gave Orleans a street called the Street of the Sword of Scotland:

'This tradition did not cease with the Middle Ages: the civil wars of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did much to strengthen it . . . The most famous instance, after the Garde Ecossaise, is the Scots troops of Gustavus Adolphus. He had 34 Scots colonels and 50 lieutenant-colonels in his service, with Scots commands, and like the King of France had a Scots bodyguard, while he was said to have made over 60 Scotsmen governors of castles and towns in the conquered provinces of Germany. At the taking of Frankfurt in 1632, Lumsden's Regiment alone captured nine stands of colours from the enemy, and at the great victory of Leipzig, one of the decisive battles of the world, it was the Scots Brigade who led the advance. The Swedish connection lasted for some time: after the 'Forty-Five, the son of that Lord Cromartie who had led my own clan went into Swedish service and rose to be general — to return after the amnesty and die in 1789 a British Major-general and founder of that distinguished corps the Highland Light Infantry . . . As late as 1857, the Marshal of the Kingdom of Sweden was a Hamilton.'

Many of the soldiers who fought under Gustavus Adolphus came

home when their own country was embroiled in the disastrous mixture of politics and theology — or theomachy — which brought about the execution of Charles I, the elevation of that great but detestable man Oliver Cromwell, and the perpetuation in Scotland of a destructive, internecine, doctrinal strife; and these soldiers' professional aptitude for war, taught them by a master of the cruel art, did a little to dignify a futile squabble between unforgivable intolerances with the discipline learnt in the honesty of mercenary service.

Best known of the veterans of Swedish service are the two Leslies: Alexander who became the Earl of Leven, and David who was raised to the peerage as Lord Newark. Alexander, who had fought for the Swedish king at Lutzen, his last battle, came home with the rank of Marshal and a welcome assortment of cannon and muskets which he had accepted in lieu of back pay. An ardent Covenanter, he was given command of the Scottish army that was being raised for prospective war against England, and presently, having defeated the King's troops on the Tyne, occupied the northern English counties as far down as the Tees. Then came the treaty of Ripon, and Alexander — a little, rather deformed man, and very rich — entertained Charles in Edinburgh with great magnificence; and Charles made him Earl of Leven.

When the Great Rebellion broke England apart, Leven, with some indifference to his late protestations of loyalty to the King, took command of new forces to invade England, and at the battle of Marston Moor — where David Leslie and Cromwell commanded on the left — commanded the centre. Two years later, when Charles took refuge with the Scots, Leven was less than tactful in urging him to accept the Covenant, and after Charles had been betrayed to the English Parliament a new division of forces took place, and the bewildered Scots found themselves cast in the role of King's men. As such they were defeated by Cromwell, and Leven, now old and inform, handed over command to David Leslie. He spent some time as a prisoner in the Tower of London, from which he was released by the intercession of the Queen of Sweden, and retiring to Balgonie in Fife, lived there till he was over eighty.

David Leslie, who came home in 1640 as a Colonel of cavalry, fought



Contemporary Catholic pamphlet against Gustavus Adolphus and "the barbarians" which he brought to Germany.

with great distinction as a Major-general at Marston Moor; and then surprised and defeated a better man than himself, the great Marquis of Montrose, at Philiphaugh near Selkirk. He stained the credit of his victory by permitting the slaughter of Irish prisoners, but got a reward of 50,000 marks and a gold chain in despite of butchery. In 1650, in one of those dislocations of policy and re-alignments of force which make the history of the war so tiresome to read, David was appointed to command an army levied in support of Charles II, and soon pushed Cromwell into grave difficulty — into a position in sight not only of the town of Dunbar, but of imminent defeat — from which Cromwell was rescued by the Scotch Presbyterian ministers who opposed to Leslie's strategy and tactics their preference for politics and theocracy.

He accompanied Charles II, as his Lieutenant-general, to Worcester

and defeat in battle there; and remained a prisoner in the Tower till the Restoration. Then, created Lord Newark and given a pension of £ 500 a year, he retired, also to Fife, and like Leven lived till he was over eighty.

In the early days of the war Leven had taken Edinburgh Castle and its commander, Patrick Ruthven, an old comrade of the German wars — there were veterans of the Swedish service on both sides — and Leven allowed his crippled opponent — physically crippled as well as defeated — to march out with the honours of war. Another of the Swedish Monarch's officers, was James, Marquess of Hamilton, and subsequently its first Duke.

His King, Charles I, had earlier said of him that he was 'very active in his own preservation'. His activities, however, were in the long run insufficient to save him from execution in 1649. In popular memory, though a Duke and further elevated on the scaffold, he has long been outlived by a much humbler man — but a man of gentle origins — who, having first acquired some learning at the Marischal College of Aberdeen, served in the Swedish forces 'six years first private gentleman of the company, and three years lance speisade; disdaining to receive a halbert, as unbecoming my birth'. Later he rose to be lieutenant and ritt-master 'under that invincible monarck, the bulwark of the Protestant faith, the Lion of the North' — and received immortality from the hands of Sir Walter Scott, who gave him the name of Dugald Dalgetty of Drumthwacket.

Fiction has its uses as well as history, and a power not less than history: to schoolboys of my generation Dugald Dalgetty was a livelier representative of the German wars, a clearer image of hard soldiering, even than the two Leslies.

Scots in Sweden

BY JONAS BERG AND BO LAGERCRANTZ

The Middle Ages

The Swedish runestones tell of many who took part in Viking expeditions to the west. The majority probably sailed to England to exact Danegeld, the tribute imposed on the English from the end of the tenth century. Many, even so, certainly visited the Scottish coast both to raid and to trade. But we have no detailed knowledge of this at all.

Sweden's most intimate contacts during the Middle Ages were with Central Europe, particularly Germany. Parallel with these we find less extensive, but (even so) important, cultural influences from the British Isles. It is worth noting that throughout this period it was Norway that was most strongly influenced by Britain, owing to her geographical position.

Ansgar (died 865), a monk from Hamburg, was the first missionary to Sweden, but his work can hardly be said to have had any far-reaching consequences. Not until the 11th century did Christianity gain a firm foothold in Sweden, and this was mainly through missionaries from Britain. We know the names of some of these but it is uncertain whether any of them were Scottish. The centre of the British mission was Västergötland, and the bishop's seat in Skara was occupied by churchmen of British origin. Sweden's first Archbishop, Stefan, who was enthroned in 1164 and his seat in Upsala, was also an Englishman. In areas where the British mission gained a foothold there are still traces of British influence in church art and architecture. This is true not only in Västergötland but also in Östergötland (Linköping) and, for example, at Sigtuna, where Sweden's first Christian King, Olof Skötkonung, in the early 11th century had his English mint master strike coins marked with a cross.

At the beginning of the 13th century, the German church and Ger-

manic culture became dominant in Sweden, and we find in the sources only a few travellers from the west. These include the Scot Jacob Teit, who was in the service of Birger Jarl in the middle of the 13th century. Descendents of Teit are still to be found in Finland.

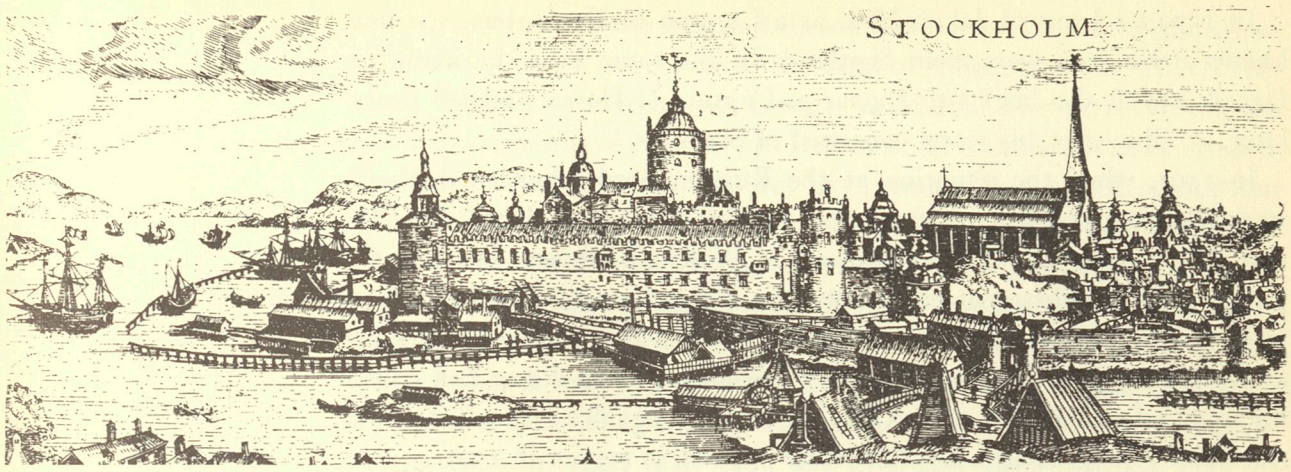
The Sixteenth Century

The first occasion on which we learn of Scottish troops in Sweden is in 1502, but they were in Danish service. A large contingent arrived that year in Copenhagen and were later employed in the fighting against Sweden. In 1520 a number of Scots took part in Christian II's expedition against Sweden and in the capture of Stockholm.

In the following year Gustaf Vasa, assisted by Lubeck, liberated Sweden from the Danish King, known in Sweden as Christian the Tyrant. King Gustaf generally turned to Germany whenever he needed to enlist troops, but occasional Scottish units may have been included. In 1556 there were negotiations between Gustavus Vasa and one Johannes Edmonstone on the raizing of troops in Scotland, but they do not seem to have come to anything.

Under Gustaf Vasa's three sons the situation changed. The father had with great vigour tried to transform mediaeval Sweden into a modern state, but to keep it rather isolated from the rest of Europe. The sons, each of whom ruled Sweden in turn, devoted great attention to foreign policy. In the spirit of the time, political marriages were sought as one of the most important means of furthering that policy.

For almost five years from 1557 the eldest son Eric courted Elizabeth. Three times he sent ambassadors to her court, on one occasion his brother, Duke John. He was about to set sail for England in person in 1560 when Gustaf Vasa died. From 1561 King Eric XIV courted also Mary Queen of Scots, whose suitors later included his brother Magnus. Although none of these attempts led to any result, nevertheless they had their importance, in that the envoys sent out also tried to enlist troops and to promote trade.



Detail of Hogenberg's engraving of Stockholm around 1580.
Seen from north.

In 1563 Eric XIV wrote to an agent in Scotland and requested the enlistment of 2000 men. In this year the Scandinavian Seven Years' War broke out between Sweden and Denmark. No mention is found of any Scottish infantry on Sweden's side during this war, and it is uncertain whether the King's letter had any result. On the other hand, a troop of Scottish cavalry appears as early as in 1565, and five years later there were at least three troops, under Willem Cahun, Robert Crichton and Andrew Keith. In 1568 Eric XIV was deposed and imprisoned, and the throne occupied by his brother John III. After bringing the war to an end in 1570, John was concerned to discharge his foreign cavalry, which by then numbered seven troops (3 Scottish, 1 English and 3 German) but in the case of the Scottish troops at least this seems to have been a long drawn-out procedure.

Meanwhile, relations with Russia became strained, and in 1573 foot soldiers were enlisted in Scotland on a large scale. In June of that year there arrived a large contingent, perhaps as many as 4000 men. This troop, which was under the command of Colonel Archibald Ruthven, marched through Sweden to be shipped out to the fighting in Esthonia and Livonia. The Scottish cavalry from the Seven Years' War seem then still to have been in Swedish service.

In 1579 we learn of Jakob Neaf as a Captain of Horse, but it is not known if his men were from Scotland. In the same year the name of Henrik Leyell also begins to appear as Captain of Horse, and ten years later, at all events, his troop consisted of Scots.

In 1591, when the situation at the Russian border hardened, there were two troops of Scottish cavalry in the Swedish army, Henrik Leyell's and a new troop under the command of Willem Ruthven. The latter's patent for the enlistment of horsemen is still preserved, and it is clear from this that he had the right to enlist Scottish horsemen wherever he could find them, although it is hardly probable that he did in fact enlist his men in Scotland. In 1593 a further troop of cavalry was enlisted by Abraham Young. Henrik Leyell's troop was still in service in 1597.

John III died in 1592 and was succeeded by his son Sigismund, but as the latter was King of Poland and a Catholic, Sweden came to be ruled by John III's brother Duke Charles, who became king at the turn of the century as Charles IX. Professional soldiers were needed for the War of Succession that then broke out between Sweden and Poland. Charles IX wrote numerous letters to different people in Scotland in an attempt to get men enlisted, but apparently without result until 1607.

Archibald Ruthven

Archibald Ruthven was son of Patrick Ruthven, 3rd Lord Ruthven, and Janet Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Angus. His father had instigated the murder of Cardinal Riccio in 1566 and died in exile in the same year. Archibald was the fourth son, the eldest died and another was murdered in 1571. His brother William Ruthven, 4th Lord Ruthven, had also taken part in the murder of Riccio, but returned to Scotland. He was Lord Treasurer from 1571. In 1581 he was created Earl of Gowrie. The statement, sometimes to be found, that he visited Sweden is probably false.

Archibald signed himself "of Forteviot and Master of Ruthven". In 1572 he was recommended to John III by the Regent, Mar. In the autumn of 1572 the stayed at John's court in Vadstena for five weeks

with an escort of eleven men and three extra horses. He was commissioned on this occasion to go over to Scotland to enlist 2000 men. He travelled via Denmark where he met Dançay in March. The latter wrote (2nd June) to Catherine of Medici: "In Denmark all is calm, not so in Sweden. Those who come from that country have strange tales to tell. About four months ago there came a Scottish nobleman, Master Rewen, brother to My Lord Rewen, passing through Denmark on his journey from Sweden to Scotland to enlist soldiers for the King of Sweden. I have now heard from those coming from Scotland that he has enlisted a number of men which he hopes soon to take over to Sweden." At the written request of, among others, the King's Court Commissioner, Anders Keith, enlistment was made on a larger scale than had originally been planned, and the total number enlisted was in the end probably around 4000 men.

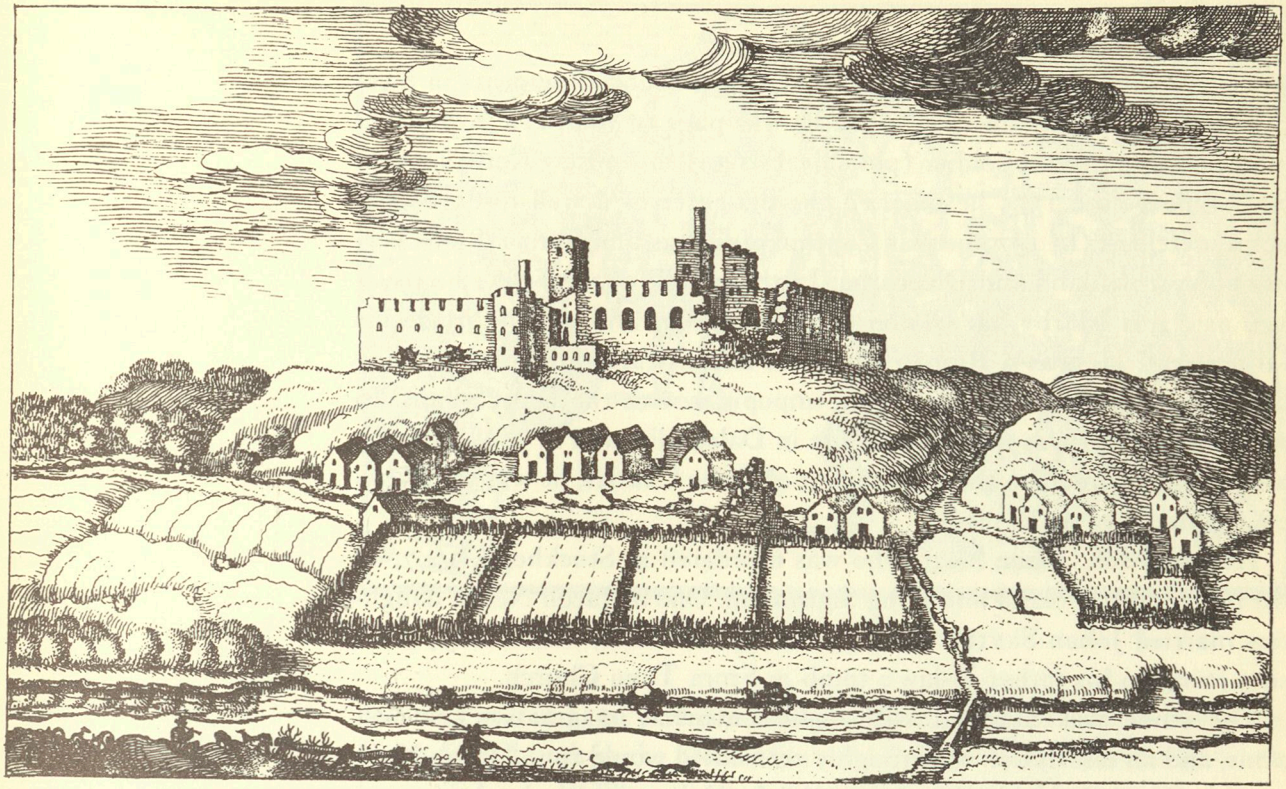
The troops enlisted were of the Reformed Church and many of them had just taken part in the siege of Edinburgh Castle. Archibald Ruthven himself took part in this siege which led to the capture of the castle on 28th May. According to a letter from the Earl of Morton to John III, dated June 19th, he was then still in Scotland but arrived in Elfsborg in Sweden already on the 18th and was immediately ordered to proceed to the King.

Later on in the summer Archibald Ruthven arrived in Stockholm with his force, and a number of complications immediately arose. The direct cause of the trouble appears to have been that the pay of the Scottish troop was missing. The Scottish officers were accused of having embezzled the same, and in a tight corner they made the accusation a question of honour. They held a countryman, Hugh Cahun, who had been five years in the service of John III, responsible for the accusation, and refused to sail to the fighting in Livonia until he had been executed. The King gave way, and Hugh Cahun's head fell in the Great Square in Stockholm. The Scots then set sail. This situation reflects the terror felt by the Swedish authorities for the numerous foreign soldiery. John III's bad conscience was eased by a generous pension to Cahun's widow.

In the late winter of 1574 the main Swedish force was camped outside the Russian fortress of Wesenberg in Livonia. Pontus de la Gardie was

in command and tried three times to storm the town, suffering great losses. The besieging force included Swedish and Scottish foot soldiers and Swedish and German cavalry. There was much ill-feeling between the Scottish infantry and the German cavalry and on the 15th March fighting broke out between them. German cavalry attacked Scottish soldiers and Colonel Ruthven, who tried with De la Gardie and other officers to intervene, was badly wounded. One of the troops of Scottish cavalry (Wilhelm Moncrieff's) joined in on the side of their countrymen and several hundreds (some sources give 1500) were killed. A number of Scots fled to the besieged Russians in Wesenberg. At the trial that was held in Stockholm the Scots — probably unjustly — were given the chief blame for what had happened. The Scottish force had been broken. Ruthven, who had been wounded, and Gilbert Balfour were sent in irons to Stockholm. There, cut off from the remainder of their forces, they were accused of having played a leading role in Charles de Mornay's conspiracy to replace Eric XIV on the throne. For six years Eric XIV had been kept imprisoned by his brother and successor, and the risk of his being liberated by his followers had been a continual and predominant problem for John III. Twice during the previous autumn, apparently, Archibald Ruthven and Gilbert Balfour — experienced in such matters since the murder of Lord Darnley — had plotted the murder of the King, under the supervision of Charles de Mornay. On the first occasion certain Scottish captains were to rush to the King's bedchamber and the minutes of the trial inform us that he was saved only by chance. On the second occasion it was planned that the murder should take place in grand style at the farewell banquet that was held at Stockholm Castle, after payment had finally been made and the departure of the Scottish force to Livonia agreed. A Scottish sword dance was a natural feature of the festitivities and gave the conspirators their chance to bare weapons. The murder was to be the climax of the dance — but de Mornay's nerve failed him at the decisive moment and he never gave the agreed sign.

It is impossible to distinguish facts from false accusation in this story. What is certain is that Charles de Mornay was led to the block in Stockholm in September 1574. "Today" he is reputed to have said, "dies



The castle of Wesenberg in Livonia.

Carolus, by whose good service King John is alive." It is also a fact that Archibald Ruthven died imprisoned in Västerås Castle, in February 1578, after a number of petitions from prominent countrymen in Scotland had been ignored. Gilbert Balfour was condemned to death in the autumn of 1574 but long succeed in avoiding execution by claiming knowledge of the legendary treasure of Eric XIV. After belief in this story had waned, following repeated interrogations, Balfour gained a further respite by an offer of 800 golden nobles. The King raised the demand to a round 1000, and when the prisoner was unable to raise this amount, the axe fell in August 1576.

Jacob Neaf

Jacob Neaf's origins are obscure, but he was a Scot and appears in Sweden for the first time in 1571, when he was page to John III. Two years later he was a private soldier (possibly Ensign) in Andrew Keith's troop. Sometime before 1575 he married the daughter of a well-to-do Stockholm merchant. In 1579 he was Captain of Horse, and from 1583 Governor of Västmanland and Dalecarlia. In the middle of the 1580's he received as a gift Marby, on Oknön in Lake Mälar, and this he made his family seat. He was a Roman Catholic, and a warm adherent of King Sigismund, which made him highly impopular with the Dalecarlians. In 1596 an attempt was made on his life in Dalecarlia, and in 1598 when he attempted to proclaim the banishment of Duke Charles, he was imprisoned, manhandled and killed.

He had a son, Johan Neaf, who was murdered in Stockholm, 1607, on his return from Poland and King Sigismund. One of Jacob Neaf's daughters married Johan Skytte, Gustavus Adolphus' tutor, who in 1634 placed a stone on his father-in-law's tomb in Stora Tuna Church.

The stone was adorned with eight somewhat imaginative coats-of-arms, and an inscription that roughly translated would run: "Jacob Neaf, a noble Scot/ Of Noble line and birth/ In Dalecarlia lived, where 'twas his lot/ To govern, while on earth./ On Oknö lay his temp'ral home/ A gift from the King of Sweden./ Hereunder rests he now his bones/ And waits a Heavenly Eden." The shields are thought to be those of: Neff, Baron of Methie/ Lord de Gray/ Leslie, Earl of Tothes/ Lindsay, Earl of Crawford/ Wishart, Baron of Pitarro/ D. Lindsay/ Lord Ogilvie/ Ramsay, Lord of Auchterhouse.

Andreas Keith, Lord Dingwall, Baron of Forsholm and Finsta

It is not known when or where Andrew Keith was born. He was the illegitimate son of a man of the church, Robert Keith. The mother's name is unknown but his father, who was Commendator of the Abbey of Deer,



Sword dance. "Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus" by Olaus Magnus 1555.

died in Paris in 1551, and lies buried in front of St. Ninian's altar in the Carmelite Church in the Place Maubert. Andrew Keith was of high birth, his uncle being William Keith, 4th Earl Marshal. Andrew Keith entered Swedish service in 1568 and from 1568—73 was captain of a troop of Scottish horse. In 1574 he became Commandant of Vadstena Castle and was created Baron. In 1576 he became Court Commissioner.

In the early 1570's, probably in 1573, he married a Swedish lady of high birth, Elisabeth Birgersdotter Grip. She was related to John III (her grandmother was Gustav Vasa's sister) and the King seems to have paid for the wedding. In 1578 Keith bought a house in Stockholm, and in 1580 we learn on two occasions of a builder in his employ, so that we can assume that it was on this occasion that he built the house that still exists in Baggensgatan. It has a stone plaque with the arms of Keith and his wife, their names and AUXILIUM NOSTRUM A DOMINO.

In 1583 Keith was Swedish legate to Queen Elizabeth of England. A letter from James VI of Scotland to John III is still preserved, in which

Keith seems to have been released from his service to Sweden. He was created Lord Dingwall in 1584, and was appointed as one of the ambassadors who were to arrange the marriage that took place in 1590 between James VI and Princess Anne of Denmark. For this purpose Andrew Keith journeyed six times between Scotland and Denmark and for his services he received a life annuity of £ 1000 from 1588/89 and, in 1591, a confirmation of his title of Lord, and soon afterwards he seems to have left Scotland for good. In 1589 he was a member of the court that tried the Earl of Bothwell for treason, but by as early as 1592/93 Sir William Keith of Delny held the deeds of all the possessions he had in Britain. The title, however, did not follow with the estate, and Sir William never signed himself Lord Dingwall.

Keith had the whole time maintained his links with Sweden and the House of Vasa. In 1587 he had been appointed Court Counsellor by Sigismund, John III's son, who was elected King of Poland that same year, and in the following year he had paid a short visit to Sweden. During the 1590's Andrew Keith seems to have been a warm supporter of King Sigismund, and he was exiled from Sweden by Duke Charles, who was then in power. The last we hear of Andrew Keith is that in 1597 he wrote his wife a letter from Elsinor. In all probability he died before 1600 as his wife then signed herself "of Finsta", the Swedish estate he had used in his signature during the 1590's. He had no children, but in 1609 a claim was put forward in Stockholm to his estate by a Scottish envoy who also bore the name Andrew Keith.

Hans Stuart

The first Stuarts in Sweden were two sons to Johannes Stuart of Ochiltree, who accompanied Mary Queen of Scots to France in 1558, and who served as Colonel under Francis II of France until the latter's death in 1560, when he returned to Scotland. His wife's maiden name was Forbus. His son, Hans Stuart, was in 1565 captured by the Danes on a voyage from Edinburgh to Danzig and taken to Varberg where

he was held prisoner, it being suspected that he intended to enter Swedish service. But when the Swedes stormed Varberg in August of the same year he was robbed of all his possessions and taken in chains to Upsala. Only at the request of the Scottish officers he was finally set free. He was raised to the Swedish nobility in 1579, after showing evidence of his birth. From 1582 he held the estate of Hedenlunda, which remained the main seat of the family for two hundred years. In 1585 he received letters from James VI granting him the right to bear "the arms of his blue field." In 1604 he was Gentleman of the Bedchamber at the court of Charles IX, and later Colonel of a regiment that he had enlisted in Scotland. In 1609 he was Inspector-general of all foreign troops, and in 1611 he was sent as Swedish envoy to Russia. He was married to Brita Soop. He died in 1618 and his wife in 1622. The two lie buried under a lovely stone in Vadsbro Church. He had a brother, Anders Stuart, who was an officer. The family still survives in Sweden.

Hans Stuart's grandson, Carl Magnus Stuart, was the country's foremost fortifications officer at the turn of the 17th—18th centuries, and was military tutor and adviser to the young Charles XII.

The Colquhoun Family

The Scottish family of Colquhoun have been in Sweden for 400 years. In the middle of the 1560's two brothers, William and Hugh Colquhoun, came to Sweden as officers with a Scottish troop of horse that had been enlisted for the bloody war between Sweden and Denmark, which then surged back and forth in south Sweden. Their father was apparently Sir Alexander Colquhoun of Luss and Colquhoun and the mother a Buchanan. From the time they arrived in Sweden they were called Cahun.

Willem used a signet with the same Cross of St. Andrew as the Scottish family bore in its arms. He commanded a troop of Scottish horse at the battle of Axtorna in 1565. We learn nothing of his fate after 1574. He possibly accompanied the large Scottish force that was sent out to the fighting in Russia. The archives provide more details on his brother



The use of Swedish wooden mazers — "kåsor". "Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus" by Olaus Magnus 1555.

Hugh, who was one of the first foreign officers to defect from Eric XIV in 1567 and to join Eric's brother Duke John, later John III. When the Scottish infantry under Archibald Ruthven arrived in Stockholm in 1574, he was accused of slandering its officers and, on the demand of his countrymen, was executed. John III made generous provision, however, for his family. The present Swedish family of Gahn stems from his son Peter Cahun, who became part-owner of the Falun copper mine.

One of his descendents was raised to the nobility in 1689 under the name of Canonhielm. Later on, General Pontus Gahn, when he became aware of his noble Scottish origin, took the name Gahn af Colquhoun when he was raised to the nobility in 1809.

A roll of the men in Willem Cahun's troop is extant from 1569. It was 100 men strong, and the other officers were Hugh Cahun, David Cor, Thomas Bachnari, Willem Moncrieff and Robert Crichton. The other ranks include such names as Arbaterr, Campbell, Douglas, Hamilton, Maxwell, Muir, Ogilvie, Ramsay, Ross and Stewardt. Henrik Leyell and Willem Wallace were later to command their own troops.

Scottish merchants

During the 16th century, and later, the Swedish Crown opposed all commerce other than by the burghers of the cities. In 1572 a general mandate was published from John III's chancellery concerning "foreign cavalrymen, Germans, Scots and others", which had begun to travel around the country, selling merchandise. They were now offered special benefits if they would settle in the cities and become real burghers. The names of many of these "country merchants" are Scottish, particularly in Småland and Västergötland. Many of them concealed their identity under such names as *Jacob skotte* (James the Scot), but others are easier to identify. One Hans Moncur, for example had served in 1569 in Willem Cahun's troop of horse and appears in 1587 as a country merchant in Västmanland. Another man, who paid tax 1587—90 as a country merchant in the parish of Luleå, by the nothern tip of the Baltic, may also have belonged to this troop. The merchant we know most about is one Hans Waterstone. Waterstone was prosecuted in Vadstena in 1579 for illegal commerce, and claimed on that occasion to be a burgher of Linköping. The following year saw him before a court in Söderköping. In 1582 he was a merchant (possibly also a burgher) in Stockholm, and in 1587 he was charged once more with illegal commerce in Vadstena, and he seems on this occasion to have been in partnership with Hans Moncur. In the 1590's he was an officer, serving in Livonia. In 1608 we hear of an estate forfeited by him in Vadstena.

It is also clear that many of the Scots who had come to Sweden to serve with the cavalry later settled down as burghers in the small towns. We meet, for example, such names as Willem Hamilton (Karlstad 1598), Willem Munkrij or Magkryff (Marstrand 1588 and 1599) — probably the Captain of Horse at Wesenberg in 1573 who was charged for going to the assistance of the Scottish foot soldiers — and Thomas Ugleby — Ogilvie — (Nyköping 1600). From the middle of the 16th century merchants of Scottish origin also began to infiltrate the larger cities, particularly Stockholm, Kalmar and Ny-Lödöse (the predecessor of Gothenburg). They came to begin with from Danzig and Elbing, the bases for

trade already established south of the Baltic, but later years saw also a direct immigration from Scottish ports. These Scots were relatively few in number, but through their resources of capital they played an important role in the Swedish export and import trade towards the end of the century. The burghers of Ny-Lödöse included in the 1590's such men as magistrate Jacob Gatt, Jacob Leslie, Jacob Reidh and Petter Forbos. Living in Stockholm in the 1580's were merchants Anders Lamiton, Erland Mackner and Lucas Lami, and craftsman Gilbert Silber. The most prominent Scot living in the city at that time was Blasius Dundee.

Blasius Dundee

Blasius Dundee is the most outstanding of the Scottish burghers in Stockholm. He was of bourgeois origin, and was born before 1550.

We first learn of him in Sweden in 1576. In the following year he delivered supplies and acted as a banker for the campaigns of John III. He was paid in kind, with products that he exported on his own ships. A burgher of Stockholm from 1583, he was always one of those who paid the highest taxes. He owned several houses in Stockholm. 1586—96 he was one of the City Elders. In 1595 he extended large cash loans to the Swedish Crown, which were not finally repaid until 1616. In 1594 he was one of the burghers who represented the city at the burial of John III and the coronation of Sigismund in Upsala. In 1599 he was accused of having conspired with Sigismund, but refuted the charge.

Blasius Dundee was married three times. His first wife was one Katarina Andersdotter. The fragment of tombstone that is preserved with the date 1586 is considered to be hers.

His second wife, Malin Willemsdotter, was probably of Scottish birth. In 1599 he accused her of adultery with several men, including a Scottish clerk of Muster Roll named Willem Brun. The trial, which ended in a settlement, gives us a glimpse of the life of the Scots in Stockholm. We learn that Malin had embroidered a handkerchief for a Polish officer, and that she had accepted his portrait. Willem Brun and another Scot, Tho-

mas Clement, had given Blasius a glass window with their names on it. When Malin saw this, she removed the pane with Thomas' name and put in one with her own. Finally, we learn that in her sewing basket there lay copies of a couple of ballades.

His third wife, Anne Werner, bore him three children. When he died in 1621 he must have attained a considerable age.

The Seventeenth Century

It was during the 17th century that immigration from Scotland reached its zenith. The main reason was naturally the many long wars in which Sweden was involved during the first six decades of the century. Practically throughout this period there was a need of both officers and enlisted men. The majority of Scots came as military men, but there were others, too. It was in this period, for instance, that commercial expansion in Scotland reached its peak, with a resulting infiltration of Scottish merchants into Swedish cities. Their interest in Sweden seems to have been the result partly of the country's new status as a great power, and partly of the exploitation of the country's natural resources that was the concomitant of that status.

Enlistment for the Thirty Years' War



A central figure behind the enlistment of Scots for service in Sweden was Sir James Spens of Wormiston (sometimes called Jakob Spens). He was born in 1571, in which year his father took part in the capture of Lennox and forfeited his estates. His father died while Spens was still a child, and his mother remarried, with a member of the Anstruther family. In 1594 Spens became Provost of Crail, in Fife. In 1598 he planned, together with his stepfather, to occupy and colonise the island of Lewis, the largest and most northerly of the Hebrides. The plan was discovered and Spens was imprisoned as a hostage.

In 1606 James Spens made his entrance into Swedish history. In April of that year he received a letter from Charles IX concerning the enlistment of 600 horsemen and 1600 foot soldiers. In January 1607 the King wrote that he hoped that Spens and his troops would arrive with 8—10 ships in the spring. In 1608 Spens received a promise of the command over all British troops in Sweden, and a colonelcy, provided that he arrived in the spring of 1609 with 500 horsemen and 1000 soldiers.

In June 1608 Charles IX wrote to the Earl of Orkney, who had recommended his brother, William Stuart, as enlisting agent. The King complained that no troops were arriving, and that had he realised that William Stuart and James Spens would not be able to keep their promises he would have sent over an ambassador long since. He also wrote and complained to James VI, who received in December 1608 a delegation consisting of James Spens and other officers who were concerned to enlist men for service in Sweden. These included Robert Kinnaird, who had been in contact with Charles IX as early as in 1607, and two other Scots who became famous in Sweden, Samuel Cobron and Patrick Ruthven.

Enlistment, however, continued to move slowly. In February 1609 William Stuart received a warrant to enlist 500 men, and Robert Sim, Colonel Rutherford's adjutant, 200 men. When Stuart had not arrived by September Charles IX annulled the order for two reasons, namely that the war was almost over and that the summer was at an end. Stuart, however, arrived in January 1610 with 300 men. These 300 seem to have comprised the only Scottish contingent to have arrived in Sweden during the first decade of the 17th century.

In 1611 Gustavus Adolphus ascended the Swedish throne. War broke out with Denmark, which is reported to have had 18,000 mercenaries in its service. In Sweden at that time there was only one Scottish regiment, Colonel Rutherford's (Captains Learmonth, Wauchope and Greig).

Gustavus Adolphus appealed to Spens in November 1611, speaking of the latter's promises to Charles IX, and requesting that he should as soon as possible bring 3000 men, preferably infantry.With these he was to sail for Elfsborg in April 1612, and money was to be provided in Hamburg. The King also mentioned Münnichhofen's enlistment of 1000 men



in Holland, and suggested joint transport. Münnichhofen succeeded in enlisting his men and the troops landed in Norway, from which — ravaging the countryside at they went — they made their way to Stockholm.

Spens himself played no active part in the enlistment of the Scots. This job he left to Colonel Andrew Ramsay, one of the favourites of James I (his brother John had saved the King's life in the Gowrie conspiracy. One of the Earls of Orkney, Robert Stuart, had plundered in Norway under the pretext of being on the way to Sweden with troops. The Danish King, who was James's brother-in-law, protested violently against all this enlistement by Sweden. In July-August 1612 James forbade that it should continue.

Captains Hay, Ker and Sinclair were by then well under way with enlistments on behalf of Colonel Andrew Ramsay. Their units, which do not seem to have been armed, had to be disbanded, but a group of about 350 recruits, under the command of Alexander Ramsay, Sinclair and others managed to leave from Caithness. On 19th August they arrived in two ships at Romsdalen in Norway, where they disembarked and marched through Gudbrandsdalen to reach Sweden. On the 26th August they were attacked by Norwegian peasants in the pass of Kringelen. All the Scots were killed except 134, who were taken prisoner. On the following day 116 of the prisoners were killed, leaving 18 out of the 350. Of these, Lt. Colonel Alexander Ramsay, his Lieutenant James Mongepenny, who had previously been in Sweden and Denmark, and Captain Henry Bruce, who had served in Holland, Spain and Hungary, were sent to Copenhagen. Some of the remaining 15 were sent as recruits to a Danish regiment at Elfsborg, and the others remained in Norway.

At the court martial in Copenhagen it was found that Ramsay had embarked from Dundee, and G. Hay and George Sinclair from Caithness. The latter had fallen in the fighting at Kringelen. It emerged also that the soldiers had in no way molested the population. The battle has long been regarded as a great feat of valour in the history of Norway, and has repeatedly been used as a theme in Norwegian literature and art.

Andrew Ramsay, who had led the enlistment, was for this and for disobedience declared a rebel. He proceeded to England, where he accused

Sir Robert Carr (Ker, see above) of Ancrom, Viscount Rochester, for having spread the rumour of the enlistment. In England Andrew Ramsay was outlawed, but pardoned by 1614, or possibly earlier.

Sir James Spens meanwhile had visited Sweden in 1610, as Legate, and must then have met Gustavus Adolphus for the first — but not the last — time. In the same year he was made commander over all British troops in Swedish service, and was charged to enlist 3000 men. In 1611 he was Swedish Legate in England, and in a letter written to Gustavus Adolphus in the spring of that year he recommends as captain one John Campbell, standard-bearer to Captain Wauchope. Cambell, he wrote, was the most experienced of all Rutherford's officers in the training of recruits, and he had a good knowledge of Gaelic. He recommended Andrew Ramsay for service in 1612, and Thomas Hamilton in 1615.

In 1612 James gave Spens the job of mediating between Sweden and Denmark, but in this Spens was unsuccessful. In October of the same year, he became Swedish diplomatic representative in Britain, and in December 1613 Swedish Ambassador. During the following years he remained in London, writing on numerous matters to Gustavus Adolphus.

James I sent him in 1619 as British Ambassador to Sweden, and this was repeated in 1620. In 1622 he seems to have been made a "baronet", but whether this was a British title or a Swedish one we do not know. In 1623 he was sent as Swedish Ambassador to London to acquire permission to enlist troops for the war against Poland. His son, James, received permission to enlist 1200 Scots, and in the same year Sir James returned to Sweden as British Ambassador to bring about an alliance between Britain, France and Sweden. He returned to England in 1624, but the claims made by Gustavus Adolphus were thought too high, and it was instead Denmark that was included in the alliance. In the same year Sir James visited Holland as Brittish Ambassador.

During the period 1624—29 Spens lived mainly in London. In 1626 he was appointed Court Counsellor and Swedish Legate in Britain. In 1627 he travelled as Britain Ambassador to Danzig and Brandenburg, during which journey he also presented the Order of the Garter to Gustavus Adolphus. This was shortly after the famous battle of Dirschau, in



which the King had been badly wounded, and during the ceremony the outposts of the camp were attacked by the enemy. In 1628 Spens was created Baron of Orreholmen (in Västergötland) and in the following year he once more became regular Swedish resident at Charles' court.

The last two letters from Gustavus Adolphus reached him in 1629. The first informed him that the Earl of Crawford wished to raise a couple of regiments for service in Sweden, and the second, dated in May, ordered Spens to take in person and as soon as possible the newly acquired troops over to Germany. After this James Spens seems to have accompanied the King in Germany. In 1632, however, he was in Stockholm, where he died shortly after learning of the King's death at Lutzen — according to tradition from the shock he felt at the news.

He was buried in Stockholm, in Riddarholmskyrkan, the burial church of the Kings of Sweden.

His son, James Spens, probably the eldest son from his first marriage (with Agnes Durie), who was to enlist 1200 men in Scotland in 1623, is in all probability the Colonel of a regiment which appears in the Swedish rolls. Another son in Sir James' first marriage, William Spens, Lt. Col., died in 1647. Three daughters from his first marriage were married to Scottish officers in Swedish service: Cecilia to Major-general David Drummond (1589—1638), Isabella to Major-general James Ramsay (1589—1638), and a third daughter to Captain William Monipenny. In his second marriage, to Margareta Forath, there were two sons: Axel Spens (1626—1656), Major, father of Jakob Spens (1656—1721), Major-general and Count (who founded the present Swedish line) Jakob Spens (1627—1663 or 1668), Colonel and unmarried.

Samuel Cobron

Samuel Cobron (Cockburn), who was probably born around 1574, appears in Swedish service in 1606—07 when he took part in the fighting in Livonia, as Captain of a newly enlisted troop of foot soldiers. At the turn of the year 1608—09 he travelled with Sir James Spens and other

Scottish officers to England, to enlist further men. By the same autumn he was back in command of a new troop of horse, which in 1610 took part in Colonel Evert Horn's expedition in Russia, in which there shortly broke out a mutiny under the leadership of two British officers. The mutiny was quelled and Cobron was put in command of the entire British contingent and joined de la Gardie's and the Swedish army was taken by surprise by the Poles at Clusina. The Polish Army was overwhelmingly superior in numbers, and the Russian allies fled immediately. A new mutiny broke out, and de la Gardie was forced to capitulate in return for a free passage for Horn, himself, and all men who wished to remain loyal to Sweden. Cobron was one of the few non-Swedish officers who returned to Sweden.

In the autumn of 1610 he was in command of an enlisted regiment that consisted of seven troops of foot soldiers and two troops of horse. This regiment took part in the storming of Novgorod, 16th July 1611. He commanded one wing of the attacking force, and was one of the first to enter the city. His regiment lay in quarters in Åbo during the winter 1612—13 and then took part in an unsuccessful expedition in Russia. In 1614 he was in command of 2000 men and succeeded together with Colonel Münnichofen in blockading a large Russian force, thus securing Swedish possession of Novgorod. Later this year he took part in the taking of Gdow, and was made Major-general. In the following year he first cleaned up the Ladoga district and was later in command of all English, French and Scottish troops before Pskow. His regiment was by now unfit for service, and was discharged in 1616. When the war with Russia came to an end, and with the approval of Gustavus Adolphus Cobron negotiated 1616—18 to enter Russian service against Poland. His plans, however, did not materialize and 1616—21 Cobron seems to have lived as a country gentleman on his Finnish estate.

In 1621 he took fighting men from Finland to Livonia, and during the summer he was with the Royal Army before Riga, in command of the forts on the islands in the Düna and on its south bank. One of these forts came to bear his name for more than a century. He was here wounded in

the leg by an exploding cannon, but by November he was active once more and commanded the advance troop of cavalry in the expedition against Kokenhausen. He died of camp-fewer during December 1621.



Gustavus Adolphus.

He was buried in 1622 in Åbo Minster under a magnificent monument erected by his "frater", M. Johan Klaparton, who started a law suit through an agent to claims his estate. On the monument there can be read: "You lived bravely, but died cruelly. Mars and Minerva rest with you in the same grave. Never have Sweden and Scotland had more sorrowful — or Poland more welcome — (news)."

Cobron was first married to one Kristina (mentioned 1614) and later to Barbro, née Kinnaird, widow since 1606 of Willem Ogilvie, a Swedish colonel. He never signed himself Cockburn.

Jacob Mac Dougall

Another Scot of great importance at the beginning the 17th century was Jakob Duwall, whose father, Albert MacDougall of Mackerstone, had emigrated from Scotland to Mecklenburg and moved many years later in c. 1600, to Sweden, where he became a bailliff. He died, probably nearly 100 years old, in 1641, by which time he had outlived 7 of his 9 sons, all of whom were officers in Swedish service. Jakob Duwall was born in 1589 and took service as a musketeer in 1607. He became Captain in 1641, Lt. Colonel in 1621, and Colonel of a regiment from Norrland in 1625. In 1629 he had enlisted two German regiments of infantry. In the autumn of 1628 he had been sent to Stralsund, where he took part in the mopping-up operations preparatory to the Swedish landing in 1630. In 1631 he was made Commendant of Frankfurt an der Oder after the capture of the city, and in the following year "General Commendeur" of a Swedish army in Silesia. He seems to have been partly responsible for the defeat at Mitau in 1633, when Wallenstein took the Swedes by surprise. He died in 1634 and is buried in Stralsund.



Jakob Duwall had two sons, Jakob Duwall (1625—84), who became County Governor of Österbotten, and Gustaf Duwall (1630—92) who was born in Stralsund, and became an extremely skilful diplomat and administrator. In 1662 he became County Governor af Dalecarlia. In a series of Riksdags he was the Speaker of the non-titled nobility and his

career was crowned in 1674, when his father, 40 years after his death, was created baron, and in 1675, when he himself, as Lord Chancellor, led the Swedish nobility in an important Riksdag.

James Hamilton's Expedition

From the British point of view the political situation of the early 17th century was in short as follows.

James VI was a peaceful monarch in a turbulent age and always unwilling to enter a war. He was regularly short of funds.

In 1611 he betrothed his daughter Elisabeth to Frederick of the Palatinate. In the previous year Charles IX had initiated a proposal to her on behalf of Gustavus Adolphus, and James had at first approved. The earlier proposal, however, had failed owing to the opposition of the Queen, who was born Princess of Denmark, as her native country was at that time at war with Sweden.

Frederick was elected King of Bohemia in 1619, and James found, to his sorrow, that he had become to some extent involved in the Thirty Years' War, as the energetic and clever Elisabeth was an indefatigable champion of her husband's restitution. Although Charles I had a great weakness for his sister, he had neither the money nor the interest to enter the war.

The longer the Thirty Years' War dragged on the harder Gustavus Adolphus worked to gain Britain as an ally. Charles I, however, drew closer and closed to Denmark. Elisabeth did all she could to bring about an agreement, and it was she who arranged an Order of the Garter for Gustavus Adolphus who was the first Swede to receive this honour. It was presented to him by Sir James Spens at Dirschau in 1627. This was, however, a poor substitute for an alliance, as Sweden was very hard pressed at this time. Gustavus Adolphus now began to associate himself with the Earl of Buckingham, with whom he signed a treaty in 1628. After the murder of the latter shortly afterwards, Sir James Spens was once more sent to London to persuade Charles. Spens arrived in March

1629, but although the atmosphere was very friendly Charles could not be brought to make any promises.

In this situation Spens came into contact with Hamilton, who provided an opportunity for Charles I to help without entering the war.

Hamilton, 2nd Marquis of Hamilton, was married to Anna Cunningham, a woman of strong will. He was a country nobleman who joined the court of King James in London in 1615, and had high titles bestowed on him. His son, James Hamilton, 3rd Marquis and 1st Duke of Hamilton, was born at Hamilton Castle in 1606.

From there he was brought — at the age of 14 — to London for a political marriage with a seven year old daughter of the Duke of Buckingham. He stayed in London for five years and seems to have found no friend except Charles, later Charles I. He watched his father grow further and further apart from Buckingham, and finally die, poisoned it was said, by the latter. Almost simultaneously King James died and in 1626 Charles I was crowned. Young James Hamilton carried the Sword in the procession, after which he left court and returned home to Hamilton Castle. Not until Buckingham had been murdered in 1628 did he accept the offer of a high position at court, and return.

Once in London he was immediately drawn into politics, above all by the King's sister Elisabeth, wife to Frederick of the Palatinate. She planned at this time to have a British army of volonteers liberate the Palatinate together with the troops of Gustavus Adolphus, and she saw in James Hamilton a suitable commander for the enterprise. Hamilton, who was by now 22, was attracted by the idea. He can also have been influenced by the famous diplomate Thomas Roe, who in 1629 had been British legate to Gustavus Adolphus. Further persuasion was naturally brought to bear by Sir James Spens, then Sweden's envoy in London, with whom he came into contact in the spring of 1629.

Later on in the summer of 1629, Hamilton and Spens discussed an expeditionary corps to be called the "English Army", and a few months later Hamilton began to negotiate terms with Gustavus Adolphus. As intermediary he used his kinsman Archibald Hamilton, a Colonel in Swedish service who arrived in Sweden in October for secret consultation

with the King, and in December Gustavus Adolphus wrote a very positive letter to Hamilton.

In the winter 1629—30 Colonel Hamilton met in Stockholm Lord Reay, Master of Clan Mackay, and in command of the regiment of this name. Robert Monro was also in Stockholm at this time. In March 13 Scottish officers dined with the King. Lord Reay tried, without result, to pump Colonel Hamilton on what was actually happening. With David Ramsay who arrived in 1630 to conclude negotiations Lord Reay met with more success. In the summer of 1630 Lord Reay returned to London. Negotiations did not end until 31 st March 1631, by which time Hamilton had had to renounce much of the freedom of action he had demanded in the beginning.

In 1630 Hamilton enlisted men, mainly in Scotland but also in England. From August to October of that year there served as military expert with Hamilton an unknown adventurer named Wolmar Farensbach who had been specially appointed by Gustavus Adolphus, but in the autumn he defected to the Emperor. In his place the King sent Alexander Leslie, who did not, however, arrive in London before 12th June 1631. At the end of June the expeditionary corps of four infantry regiments of all together 5000 men, plus the Marquis's lifeguard mustered in Yarmouth to embark. Forty ships had been assembled for the voyage. Preparatory to his departure Hamilton was honoured with the Order of the Garter.

It was then that Hamilton was denounced by a certain Lord Ochiltree, who claimed to have evidence that he intended to land in Scotland and proclaim himself king. The background to this charge was that Lord Reay had offered his services to Hamilton but had been refused, and in anger had "embroidered" in speaking to Ochiltree what he had heard in Stockholm from David Ramsay in the spring of 1630. Lord Ochiltree was an old enemy of the Hamilton family. Hamilton was recalled to London, where he demanded redress. Ochiltree, Reay and David Ramsay were imprisoned in the Tower, and a court was appointed. The witnesses included Colonel Alexander Forbes, the chief of the Forbes Clan, who was called home from Germany exclusively for this purpose. Reay demanded a duel with Ramsay, but both were acquitted.



On the 16th July 1631 the fleet could sail and anchored on the 27th in Elsinore where Hamilton called on the Danish King at Frederiksborg. July 29—31 they sailed to the mouth of the Oder, between Wolgast and Usedom, to disembark 2nd-3rd August. Almost immediately, however, there broke out a pestilential disease, and within six weeks the deaths had amounted to one third of the force, i. e. 2000 men.

Gustavus Adolphus was delighted at Hamilton's arrival. He had already for some weeks been exploiting the "English Army" in his propaganda, and the effect was heightened by its actual landing. The result was that Tilly gave up blockading the Swedes in their permanent camp at Werben and went over to the defensive. On the 10th August Hamilton visited the Swedish King in Werben with due pomp and state. Hamilton, who was untried as a soldier, was excluded from the Swedish High Command, and his army was given the rather modest task of operating behind the Swedish army.

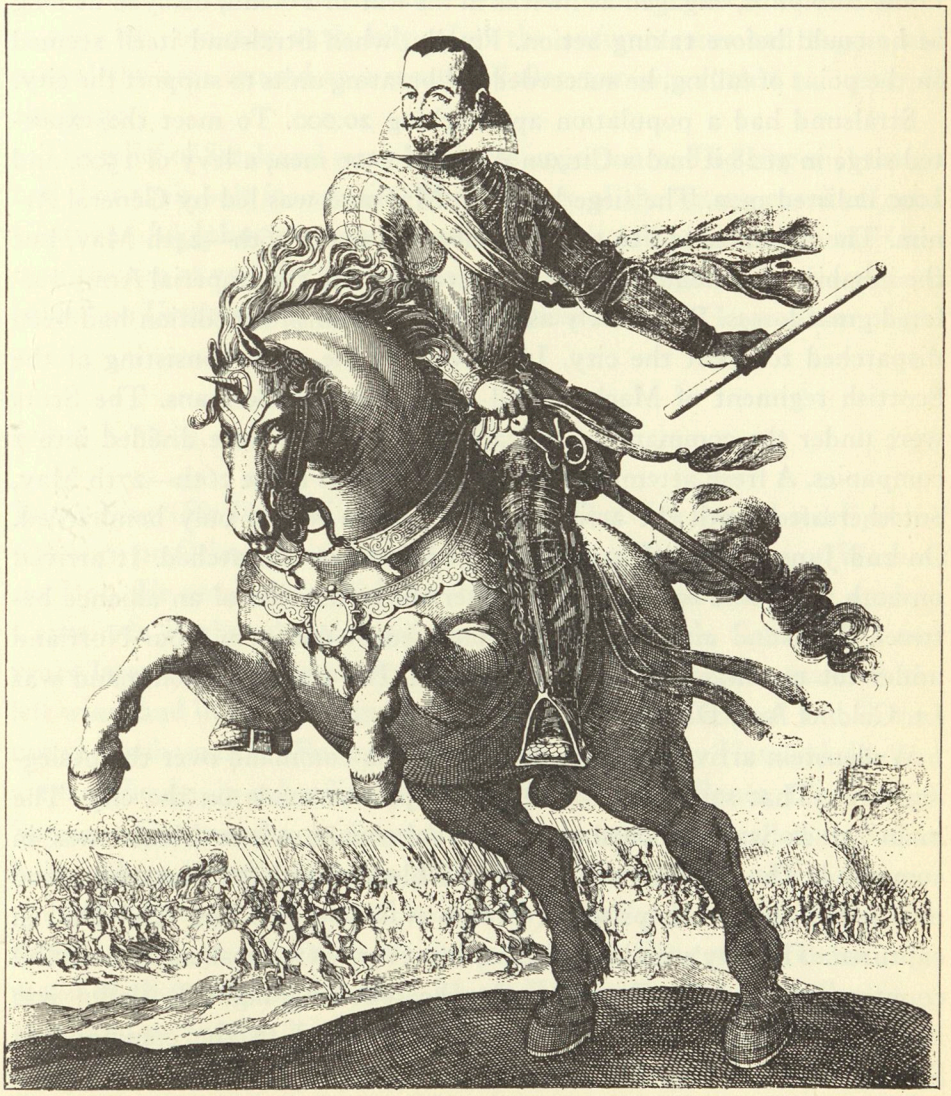
In September, Hamilton's army, which was by now down to just over 1000 men, was reinforced by 2000 men from Swedish units, and was transferred to Johan Banér's Army Corps. He and Hamilton never managed to get on together. This must have been due, in part at least, to the fact that they had to converse always through an interpreter.

By February 1632 the "English Army" had dwindled, in spite of reinforcement, to 700 men and Hamilton suggested that they be combined with other units. He himself set out to meet Gustavus Adolphus in Frankfurt-am-Main.

His object was two-fold, to persuade the King to set up a new army for him, and to support the current British negotiations. He seems to have accompanied the King from Frankfurt via Augusburg to Munich, where he once more had occasion to meet his patron, Queen Elisabeth. The negotiations reached a deadlock, however, and the King showed no interest in the new army. Hamilton stayed the summer in Germany, but then gave up, and in August he obtained the permission of Charles I to return. At the beginning of September he called for a last time on Gustavus Adolphus in Fürth, together with Colonels John Hepburn and James Hamilton, after which he departed from the theatre of war.

Scottish Troops at Stralsund, 1628

The Northern German Baltic city of Stralsund, south of the island of Rügen, was the bridgehead that made it possible for Sweden to intervene in the Thirty Years' War. The Emperor's general, Wallenstein, Duke of



Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland.

Friedland, had in 1627—28 succeeded in gaining control over practically all the more important German cities on the Baltic, with the exception of Stralsund. He had begun rapidly to build naval bases to secure control also over the Baltic itself, and the Protestants were hard pressed. Christian IV of Denmark — brother-in-law of James VI of Scotland — made an unsuccessful attempt to slow down the advance of Wallenstein. Gustavus Adolphus, engaged as he was in his war in Poland, delayed as long as he could before taking action. Finally, when Stralsund itself seemed on the point of falling, he succeeded in liberating units to support the city.

Stralsund had a population approaching 20.000. To meet the expected siege in 1628 it had a Citizen Army of 2500 men, a levy of 1500, and 1000 enlisted men. The siege began in May and was led by General Arnim. The first attempt to take the city was made 16th—24th May, but the inhabitants defended themselves bravely, and the Imperial Army suffered great losses. By as early as 8th May a Danish expedition had been dispatched to assist the city. It arrived on the 24th, consisting of the Scottish regiment of Mackey, and a company of Germans. The Scots were under the command of Alexander Seaton and were divided into 7 companies. A fresh attempt to storm the city was made 26th—27th May, but thereafter until the arrival of Wallenstein it was only bombarded. On 2nd June a Swedish auxiliary expedition was dispatched. It arrived on 20th June, and was set ashore after the conclusion of an alliance between Stralsund and Sweden. It consisted of 600 men from Norrland under the command of Colonel Rosladin. His second in command was Lt. Colonel Axel Duwall.

Wallenstein arrived on 27th June and took command over the besieging force. That same night a new attempt was made on the city. The main attack was launched on the Frankenport, where Monro was in command. The fighting was fierce and bloody, and the Scots lost 2000 men fallen and taken prisoner. Monro was wounded and Axel Duwall captured. The city's main positions, however, were retaken by a skilful counter-attack under Rosladin. On the following night Rosladin was badly wounded, and this sector was transferred to the command of Seaton, who was forced to evacuate the outer works. By the 30th June

the city was concerned to start negotiating with Wallenstein, but this was prevented by the firm attitude of Rosladin. No further attempt was made to storm the city, and during the bombardment that followed the city's forces were gradually reinforced. On 2nd July 400 Danes arrived, and a week later the Scottish regiment of Mac Spynie (in Danish service), 1100 men strong. A further week saw the arrival of Alexander Leslie from Sweden with 800 men from Norrland. Leslie took command in the city, and 21st-24th July, after the autumn rains had begun and turned the area around to a marsh, Wallenstein was forced to break off the siege.

The relief of Stralsund was of decisive importance. The Imperial troops had shot their bolt for a while. The pressure of the attack eased off, and Gustavus Adolphus was enabled to devote his full attention to the German theatre of war. By 1630 he had been able to regroup his forces, and landed on Usedom, which was the springboard for his German campaign.

James King

James King (Sir James King of Birness and Dudwick, later Lord Eythin) was born on Orkney in 1589, and was the son of David King of Warbester Hoy. He entered Swedish service in 1615, and in 1622 was made a Captain in Ruthven's regiment. In 1632 he was made Colonel and two years later Major-general. At Wittstock, in 1636, he commanded the left wing, and in the following year he was made Lt. General and Governor of Vlotho on the Weser, where he was defeated by Hatzfeld. He had great difficulty in subordinating himself to General Banér, the Swedish Supreme Commander, and was for this reason in 1639 called to Stockholm, where he was raised to the nobility. He returned the same year to England, where he was well received by Charles I, who used him both to enlist men on the continent and as general. King was thus in command of the centre at Marston Moor. He was created Lord Eythin in 1642, and in Sweden became Baron of Sanshult. In March 1650 he was to have taken part as Lt.General in Montrose's expedition, but did not



succeed in enlisting any men. He died in 1652 in Stockholm, and was given a state funeral.

HIS JACET NOBILISSIMUS AC GENEROISISSIMUS DOMINUS D.KING LIB. BARO DE EIJTEN IN REGNO SCOTHISA DOMINUS INFONSH HULT ET EQUES AURATUS NEC NON SERENISSIMAE POTENTISSIMAEQUE REGINAE REGNIQUE SVETHIAE QUONDAM GENERALIS SEPULTUS 1652 D. 18 JULII
Around the stone, MILITIA EST VTA HOMINIS SUPER TERRAM — VIVIT POST FUNERA VIRTUS

James King seems to have had several relatives in Swedish service. One Thomas King had pay due as an officer in 1595. The General's eldest brother, John King of Warbester was a Swedish officer and had two sons, both Swedish officers, James, the principal heir of his uncle, and Henry. Another brother, Major David King, distinguished himself at Donauwört in 1632 and fell at Nördlingen in 1634. Members of the main line of the family, King of Barra, also appear in Sweden during the second half of the 17th century. It appears from the General's will that he had a half brother, William Sinclair of Seaby, whose son, David Sinclair, was a Lt.Colonel in Swedish service.

Patrick Ruthven

Patrick Ruthven, later Lord of Ettrich and Earl of Forth and Brentford (1586—1651) first appears on the stage of Swedish history when he took part in Spens' delegation to James VI in December 1608. He later took part in Charles IX's campaign in Livonia. He was Captain of Horse during Evert Horn's Russian campaign of 1612, was made Major in 1613, and took part in the fighting around Novgorod 1613—14.

In the latter year he travelled home to Scotland to enlist troops, and returned in 1615 with 500 men, who were quartered in Narva. In 1615 he became Quartermaster General, and in 1616 was in command of the fort at Pleskow. In 1617 he was once more in Novgorod. He took part in Gustavus Adolphus' Livonian campaign of 1623, and in 1623 became

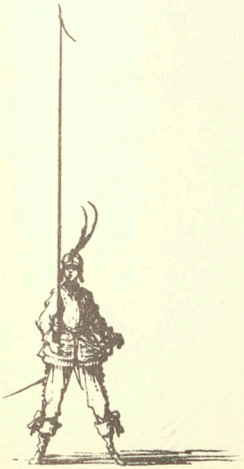
Colonel of the Kalmar Regiment. In the years immediately following he reorganised this regiment, consisting entirely of Swedish troops, and fortified the city of Kalmar.

He took part in Gustavus Adolphus' Prussian campaign in 1626, distinguished himself at Mewe, and was knighted in 1627. In the same year his regiment, by now in sad shape, was discharged, while he himself remained and supervised in 1628 the fortifying of the Weichsel Line. In 1629 he was given the command of an enlisted regiment of Scottish infantry, which was first stationed in Elbing, but was transferred to Memel in 1630.

He served in the German campaign of 1631, and in the following year was made Major-general and Commendant of Ulm, the fortifications of which he strengthened. In October 1631 he was made second-in-command of the entire army in Swabia. In 1634 he travelled once more to Scotland to enlist men, and on his return was transferred to Banér's Army Corps, where he commanded an enlisted regiment of cavalry. In 1635, at Dömitz, he won a brilliant victory over a Saxon force under Baudissin.

In the following year he was once more in Scotland to enlist men, and received an offer of a command in his home country. He left Swedish service in 1637.

To his brothers-in-arms Patrik Ruthven was known as Pater Rotwein; it was not only that they found his name difficult to pronounce, he was also famous in the army for his prowess as a drinker. In fact Gustavus Adolphus often appointed him host at the banquets held at headquarters.



Entering British service, he was given the command of the royal troops in Scotland. In 1639 when the Civil War broke out he was Commandant of Edinburgh Castle and was besieged by the rebels and forced to capitulate in September 1640. In 1646 he accompanied the House of Stuart into exile.

He later wrote to the Swedish Crown concerning the pension granted him in 1638, and made a visit to Sweden on the same matter. In 1650 he landed with Charles II in Scotland, and died shortly afterwards.

His first marriage was to a daughter of Alexander Leslie.

David Drummond

David Drummond (1593—1638) was the son of a Scottish nobleman, and was Spens' son-in-law. He entered Swedish service as a Lieutenant in the Lifeguard in 1617, was promoted to Captain in 1619 and raised to the nobility in 1627. In the same year he succeeded Patrick Ruthven as commanding officer of a Småland regiment, and in 1631 his regiment was transferred to Pommerania, where it remained in the garrision of Stettin until 1634. In this latter year Drummond was promoted to Major-general. He distinguished himself in the capture of Gartz in 1637, and became Commandant of the town. The enemy took Gartz by surprise in the following year. Drummond was wounded, fell prisoner, and died shortly afterwards in Spandau.

He was buried in Riddarholmskyrkan i Stockholm. When the — now lost — coffin was opened in 1758 it was found to contain only a sawn-off skull. This was probably a purely practical arrangement to facilitate transport.

Alexander Leslie

Alexander Leslie, later Earl of Leven and Lord Balgonie, born 1582 at Castle Blair in Athol, died 1661 at Balgonie. Son to George Leslie.

Leslie took part in the Dutch-Spanish War in 1605, as Captain. In 1608 he entered Swedish service, and took part in de la Gardie's campaign against Moscow. In 1622 he became Lt. Colonel with Ruthven's Småland Regiment. From 1623 to 1629 he was Colonel of a regiment from Södermanland, Närke and Värmland.

In 1626 he was given command of the fort at Pillau, where he remained until 1628, when he commanded the force that was sent to relieve Stralsund, which he defended against Wallenstein. The main attack was, however, over by the time Leslie arrived. In 1630 he expelled the remaining Imperial troops from Rügen before the Swedish landing.

In 1631 he crossed to London to assist Lord Hamilton as Chief of



The battle of Wittstock 1636.

Staff in transporting the latter's troops to Germany. On his return he was made Major-general and Commandant of Stralsund.

In 1632 he fought against Pappenheim, without marked success, and took part in the battle of Lutzen. During the years following he commanded an Army Corps operating between the Elbe and the Weser. In 1636 he was made Field Marshal and Commandant General of the army

in Westphalia. Shortly before the battle of Wittstock he joined the main army. It was in this battle that he served Sweden with most distinction, by the way in which he commanded the furious struggle in the centre. Banér's brilliant victory was due in no small measure to his efforts.

In 1638 he retired from Swedish service and returned to Scotland, where he was given command of the Covenanters when they crossed into England in 1639. After his capture of Newcastle in 1640, the Covenanters and the King came to terms in 1641. In the same year Charles I appointed him Privy Councillor, Earl of Leven and Governor of Edinburgh Castle.

James Ramsay

Most famous of all the members of the Ramsay family who entered Swedish service was Major-general James Ramsay (c. 1589—1638), the defender of Hanau. A branch of the family had settled in Sweden before his time. The father of Captain of Horse Hans Ramsay of Dalhousie, who was introduced into the House of Nobility in 1633, emigrated to Sweden as early as in 1573.

Hans Ramsay lived in Finland, and it is from him that the still existant Swedish-Finnish line of Ramsay (a branch of which was ennobled in the 19th century) is descended. One of the members of the Finnish line, Carl Henrik Ramsay (1866—1951) was a member of the Finnish Government during World War II, and was for some time Foreign Minister.

John Hepburn



John Hepburn was born c.1598 in Scotland. After serving Frederick of Bohemia 1620—23 under Mansfeld he entered Swedish service, and was made a Colonel in 1625. He distinguished himself in the Prussian campaign and in the storming of Frankfurt an der Oder in April 1631. At the battle of Breitenfeld he was in command of the second division of the centre, but lead the entire centre when General Teuffel fell. His brigade

were known as "the Greens" from their colours, and consisted normally of his own and Spens' Scottish regiments and Monro of Fowli's enlisted German regiment, whose officers were mainly Scottish. In 1632 he left to enter French service, which is possibly connected with the fact that, unlike almost all of the other Scottish officers in Sweden, he was a devout Roman Catholic. After leaving Swedish service he fought in Alsace and Lorraine, entered the service of Bernhard of Weimar in 1635 and fell at the siege of Zabern in the following year.

Scots in Civil Service

It was not only soldiers who were attracted by the rich opportunities of martial Sweden. The rising great power, with its newly discovered natural resources, attracted also men of business. The Scottish immigrants in particular were of a variety of trades and professions.

Alexander Erskein was the son of a merchant in Greifswald, who had emigrated with his wife from Scotland. After studying at several German universities and in Denmark, he entered Swedish service in 1628. He was employed as a diplomat and agent and in 1643 he was made President of the Court of Appeal in Pomerania, and raised to the nobility. He took part in the Congress of Osnabrück 1647—48, and during the period 1648—1656 was at times President of the War Council. He was created Baron in 1655, and died in imprisonment in Poland in the following year.

For more than two decades Erskein stands out as one of Sweden's most distinguished civil-military agents and diplomats, not only during the war but on its conclusion by the Peace of Westphalia and in the following negotiations.

Doctor Jakob Robertson of Struan came to Sweden in 1614, and became physician to Gustavus Adolphus. In 1623 he was granted the right to a new apothecary's in Stockholm, which was given the name "Markattan" ("The Long-Tailed Monkey"). He was raised to the nobility in 1630, and was from 1639 physician to Queen Christina.

He died in Stockholm in 1652, aged 86, and is reputedly buried in

Spånga Church. On one of the bells in this church was inscribed his name, "Jacobus a Struan Robertsone Schotus", by the side of the names of two counts of the old Swedish nobility, which is some indication of the high respect in which he was held.

He had two daughters, both of whom married Swedish noblemen.

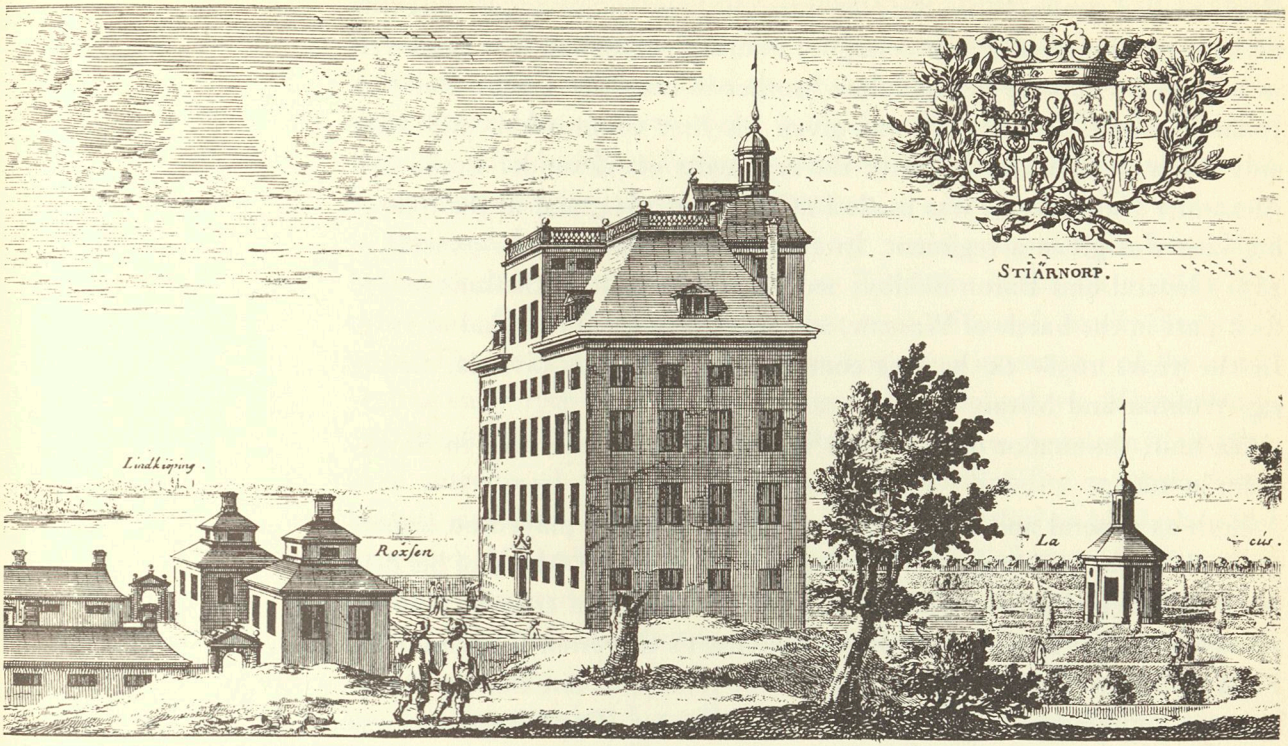
The Scots Return Home

From as early as 1637, when liturgical dissent began to flame in their home country, we see how the interest of the Scottish officers began to turn to the situation in Scotland. In 1639 they returned home in increasing numbers.

Towards the end of the 1630's changes in the political equilibrium in England made it apparent that civil war was unavoidable. This naturally aroused the interest of the many Scottish officers in Swedish service, who, unlike their colleagues in Scotland and England, had a good training and experience of practical military operations. In 1639—40 large bands of them returned: it is recorded, for instance, that when Alexander Leslie landed in Leith in 1641 he met no less than 36 fellow officers from Germany. The returning soldiers were of all ranks, from Field Marshal (like Leslie and Patrick Ruthven) downwards. Not only officers but also other ranks were needed, and General James King was sent to the Continent and to Denmark to enlist men. The situation had been completely reversed.

Several officers, even so, stayed in Swedish service, many of them having married and having stronger ties in Sweden. Some of these attained high rank, and distinguished themselves in the final stages of the Thirty Years' War and in the Polish and Danish wars of Charles X.

It can be mentioned, too, that a number of the weapons used in the fighting beween Scotland and England were of Swedish origin, and had originally been gifts to retiring officers. Lord Hamilton, for instance, received six cannon in 1635, while Alexander Leslie received 2000 muskets in 1638 and a further 2000 muskets and a large quantity of shot in



Robert Douglas' manor Stjärnorp. Detail of engraving from "Suecia antiqua et hodierna", printed in the late seventeenth century.

1645. In 1640 Colonel Lumsden was presented with a number of muskets and cuirasses.

Robert Douglas

Robert Douglas was one of the many children of Patrick Douglas of Standingstone, the younger son of William Douglas, laird of Wittingham. Wittingham was a collateral line to Douglas of Dalkeith. The mother was a Leslie, probably of the same family as Field Marshal Alexander Leslie (Earl of Leven).

Robert Douglas was born in 1611 at Standingstone, and came to Sweden with an enlisted troop in 1627 together with three elder brothers, all

of whom died young. When the men were mustered in Sweden Robert was thought to be somewhat too young for military action and was employed as a page by Gustavus Adolphus brother-in-law, the Count Palatine Johan Kasimir. In 1634 he was given his first commission, and after only a few years of service with the regiments of Alexander Leslie and Alexander Hamilton he was made Lt.Colonel in 1634, and in the following year was given a regiment. In 1643 he was made Major-general in 1651 General and Baron Skälby; and in 1654 Count of Skänninge. He took part in the battle of Warsaw, and was made Field Marshal in 1657. In the years 1658—60 he was commander-in-chief in Livonia, taking e.g. Wolmar and Mitau.

He built the manor of Stjärnorp in Östergötland, and died in Stockholm in 1661.

Both as general and administrator Robert Douglas played an important role in the building up of Sweden to a great power. Many of his descendants have also been prominent men. His grandson entered Russian service and in 1717 was made Peter the Great's Governor Gerneral over Finland. In the 1890's the then head of the family, Count Ludvig Douglas, was a distinguished Swedish Foreign Minister. The latter's son was Commander in Chief of the Swedish Army during World War II.

In 1646 Robert Douglas married Hedvig Mörner, who bore him six sons and a daughter. Two of the sons died in their infancy, and three became officers, and died without issue. The daughter married an Oxenstierna. The remaining son, Gustaf Douglas, first of the Swedish noble line of Douglas, became a Colonel, and Governor of Västerbotten.

The Forbes Family

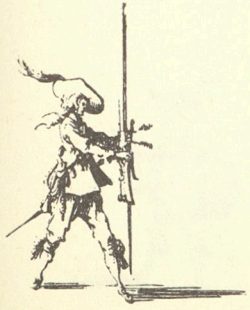
The many branches of the Scottish family of Forbes were apparently represented in the troops of Gustavus Adolphus by no less than some 40 members. Several interesting members of the family had visited Sweden.

The Calvinist theologian John Forbes (c. 1570—1634), after being exiled by James VI, was invited in 1608 to Sweden, where Charles IX was

strongly interested in Calvinism. At the King's order there was arranged in Upsala a disputation between Forbes and Swedish Lutherans. The latter emerged victorious, and the phrase "Ad haec Forbesius nihil" has since remained a common cliché in Sweden. Forbes left Sweden in 1610, after the King had been forced to abandon his attempts to bring the two Protestant doctrines closer to each other.

The first Forbes in Swedish military service appears to have been Henry Forbes of Tolquon, who fell at Kirkholm in Russia in 1605. His eldest son, Jakob Forbes, was the first of the Swedish family Forbes of Lund. The younger son, Peter Forbes, became a paymaster of the army.

In the early 17th century there emigrated to Finland, via Mecklenburg, one Ernald Forbes of Corsindae, whose two sons, Arvid and Mattias, were introduced into the Swedish House of Nobility in 1638. Arvid Forbus was born in 1598, in Borgå in Finland, whither his father had emigrated. His father, who was a customs officer, died when Arvid was seven. Arvid started as a private, and gradually rose in rank. In 1630 he was made Lt.Colonel. In the early 1630's he was one of the leading enlistment agents, not only in England and Scotland but on the Continental market. He distinguished himself under Bernard of Weimar, whose infantry he often commanded. He played an important part in surprising Rheinfeld in 1638, and was raised to the nobility in the same year. In 1641 he was made Commandant of Hither Pomerania, and in 1646 he was promoted Major-general. In 1650 he was elected to the Academy of War. Two years later he was created Baron, and in the following year became Privy Councillor. He took part in the wars of Charles X, and was made a full General in 1658. He died in Stettin in 1665.



The Hamilton Family

The two lines of the Swedish family of Hamilton stem from Malcolm Hamilton of Dalserf, Archbishop of Cashell, Ireland. His sons Hugo and Ludvig entered Swedish service during the Thirty Years' War, and in 1654 they were created Barons under the name Hamilton of Deserf. Lud-

vig Hamilton died in 1622, and Hugo returned home to Ireland in the same year, with the surviving family of his brother. His descendants were still living in Ireland in the late 19th century. A third brother to Hugo and Ludvig, Captain John Hamilton, had two sons, Malcolm (1635—1699) and Hugo (1655—1724) who came to Sweden in 1654 and 1680 respectively, and were created Barons in 1689 under the name Hamilton af Hageby. The former was Major-general and Governor of Northern Sweden. The latter was made Lt.General by Charles XII and in 1715, by reason of his Scottish origin, was made commander of the planned expedition to aid the Jacobites. Malcolm Hamilton's son, Gustaf David (1699—1788) became Field Marshal, and was created Count.

Hamiltons of both lines have played prominent roles in Swedish life right up into our own time.

Montrose in Sweden

In February 1649 Patrick Ruthven — over seventy years old — arrived in Stockholm as emissary from Charles II followed in September by James King, Lord Eythin.

On 15th November 1649 James Graham, 5th Earl of Montrose, arrived in Gothenburg from Copenhagen, and stayed with a Scottish merchant, James Maclean, who had been raised to the nobility in May 1649, under the name Makeléer. Maclean, or Makeléer had been an officer in the British Royal Navy before settling in Gothenburg in 1629. He had always been a warm supporter of the House of Stuart.

Montrose stayed for three months negotiating through King, for the purchase of warships from the Swedish Crown. In December 1649 a ship with fighting men arrived from Copenhagen, and the purchase of a ship from the Swedish Crown was settled.



In the beginning of January 1650 a large amount of weapons was delivered to Montrose from the Crown armouries in Stockholm and Kalmar. These included 3000 infantry swords, 600 cavaltry swords, 820 pairs of pistols, 2000 sets of cavalry harness, 30 pikes, 20 drums and great

quantities of shot and powder. Montrose also had three standards manufactured in Gothenburg; and it was during his stay that he wrote the famous declaration to the Scottish people, which was printed in 1650.

On 10th January 1650 Montrose mustered his little fleet in the archipelago off Gothenburg. It consisted of three ships; the frigate he had bought from the Crown, and two merchantmen, one with the 200 men he had enlisted in Denmark, the other with the weapons he had bought. There he lay for over a month, waiting for orders from the indecisive Charles II. On the 14th he himself journeyed by land to Norway with three officers, and on the 17th the three ships set sail for Bergen, where they rejoined their commander, who had heard nothing from the King.

Montrose left Bergen in the middle of March, and arrived — after losing one of the merchantmen in a storm — in Kirkwall, in the Orkneys. Here he at last received a letter from Charles II, dated as early as ten weeks previously. The bearer of this letter also brought Montrose an Order of the Garter. But the letter was in favour of an invasion and by 9th April Montrose had mustered his troops, 300 men on foot and 50 horsemen. On the 12th he crossed to the mainland. By as early as the 27th he was defeated at Carbisdale, and he was executed in Edinburgh on 21st May 1650.

Scots and the Swedish Navy

As early as in 1534 Gustav Vasa wrote to a Scottish sea captain, who had been offered service with Sweden, trying to persuade him to accept.

In 1550 the King became interested in two Scottish ships, which had been boarded and brought to Stockholm on suspicion of piracy. They had shown an excellent performance under sail, and the King wrote to the Governor at the Royal Palace ordering that his shipbuilders should inspect the Scottish ships in detail, and "that he should have them build a ship for the King after the fashion and appearance that the ships of these Scots are built". Unfortunately it is not known whether any such ship was actually built.

Some years later Eric XIV wrote to another Scottish captain, and gave him a warrant to enlist 100 Scottish hands, with unknown result. A document from Reval, from 1574, shows that both captains and seamen of Scottish nationality were in Swedish service at that time.

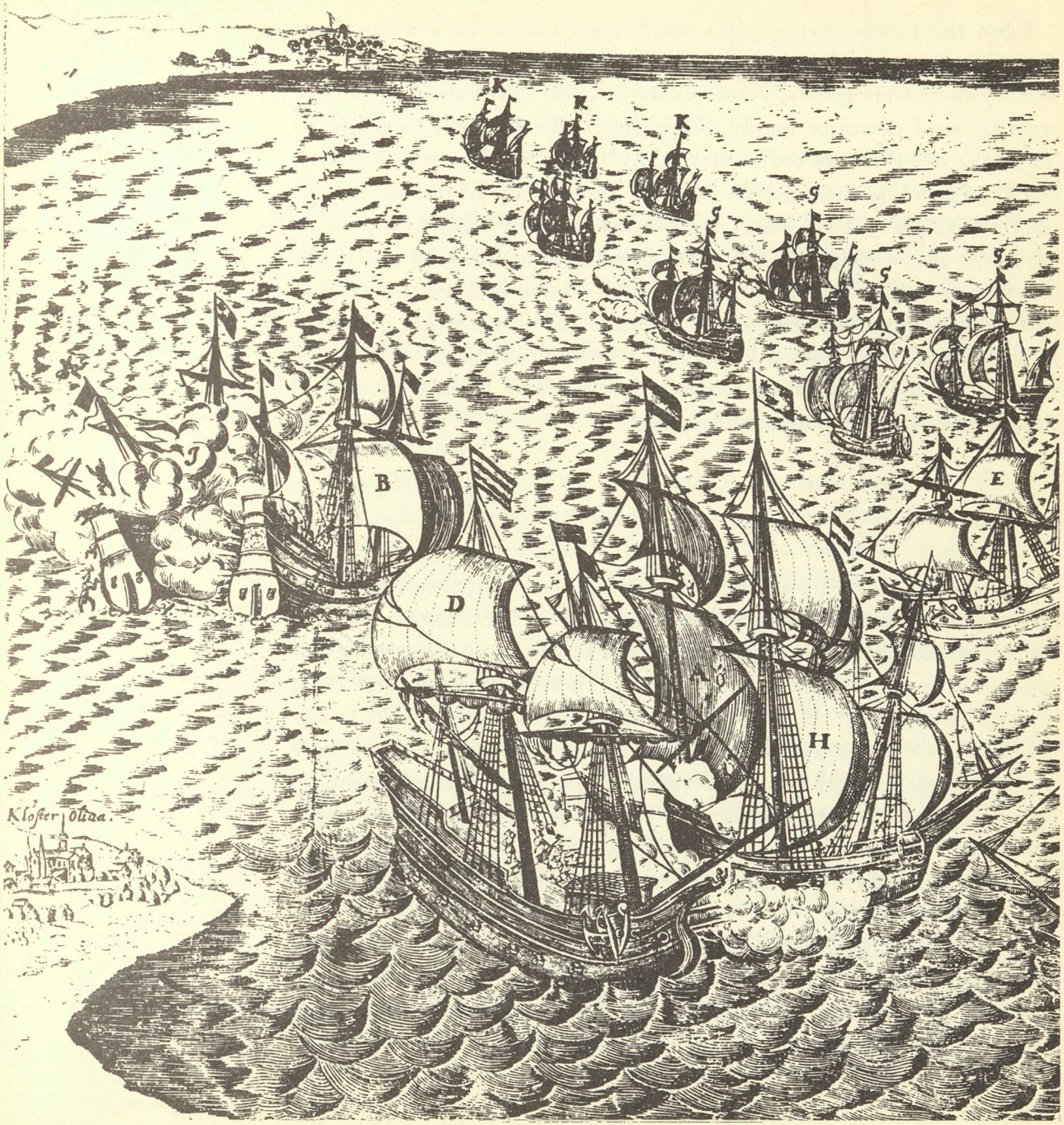
Not until the beginning of the 17th century do we find the names of Scots in the service of the Swedish Navy, and at that time they played a very important role. We learn, for instance, of two Scottish shipbuilders, Jakob Clerck (perhaps the same man as Admiral Richard Clerck the Elder), who built a ship called *Mars* in 1606—08, and William Ruthven, a Captain of Horse who in his later days served as Shipbuilder and Superintendent at a number of Swedish yards, in the years 1609—13. And for almost fifteen years all rigging for the Swedish Navy in Stockholm was contracted for by Scots, first by Admiral Richard Clerck the Elder, 1615—1625, and after his death by Admiral Hans (or Johan) Clerck, 1625—1628. These two were probably brothers.

The first Scottish Captain known by name was Anders Stuart, who in 1598 was in command of the *Svenska Björn*. He was brother to Hans Stuart, and held several positions, the most outstanding in 1611, when he travelled to Russia as Swedish Envoy. For many years he was Colonel of a Swedish regiment. We hear of him in the Navy only on one other occasion, in 1621, when he was Rear Admiral.

Two Captains Forath, most probably brothers, and from Dundee, deserve mention. Both had on several occasions the honour of conducting Gustavus Adolphus over the Baltic. Hans Forath was Captain 1610—1628 and Alexander Forath 1611—1627. The latter was in command of the *Solen* at the blockade of Danzig in 1627. A force of six ships ran into difficulties when ten Polish ships made a sortie from the city. Four ships fled, the Swedish flagship was boarded by the Poles, and the *Solen,* which was the next largest, was blown by its captain — an honourable death.

One Simon Stewart (son of Robert Stewart of Touccars) who had come to Scandinavia with Ramsay's unfortunate expedition of 1612, became — after a time spent as a prisoner in Denmark — a Captain in the Swedish Navy in 1616, and Admiral in 1630. He died as a landowner in Uppland.

Naval battle near Danzig in 1627.
The vice admiral in the Swedish fleet, Alexander Forath, is blowing his ship and himself up.


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Kloſter Oliua.

A Scottish family that played a much larger role in the Swedish Navy than those mentioned so far was the Clercks of Coulli. During the 17th century there were generally one or two Swedish Admirals Clerck. They seem to be of the same family, but perhaps two different branches, as they have two different coats-of-arms in the Swedish House of Nobility. One branch would then include Jakob or Richard the Elder, who was in the Swedish Navy 1606—1625, his brother Hans or Johan, who was in the Navy 1617—1644, and the latter's son Richard the Younger, in the Navy 1628—1688. The other branch, which started in Sweden with William Clerck, Captain in the Army, would include his son and grandson, both of whom were named Hans, and who were in the Swedish Navy 1632—1679 and 1663—1711 respectively. We have already mentioned their interest in shipbuilding and rigging.

Merchants

In the early 17th century the stream of Scottish burghers seems to increase. We now find not only merchants, but a number of craftsmen. In 1619, when Gothenburg replaced Ny-Lödöse, the Scotsmen in this town included not only merchants as Jacob Linsaj, Thomas Stewardt and Hans Carnegie, but a barber, a hatter, a weaver, a tailor and a smith. In Stockholm, too, we find the occasional Scottish craftsman, such as Jakob Clerck the goldsmith, around 1610, but the great majority of Scots in the capital were merchants, trading above all in silk (Maclier, Morij, Kinnemund, Feif and Petrij) and broadcloth (Rebben, Ross, Fief, Nairn, Helligday and Greger). Many were wholesale dealers of a more general kind (Guthrie, and Primeros).

Even in some smaller Swedish towns Scotchmen played prominent roles. Hans Belfrage was a wellknown Provost in Vänersborg at the middle of the Century. Many came from Danzig and settled in Kalmar, where David Haijock became a leading burgher.

A large number of silversmiths of Scottish birth were active in Stockholm during the 17th and early 18th century.

Among these were no less than five by the name of Clerck. Of Jakob Clerck, who was active 1605—15, very little is known. His son, Sander Clerck was active 1636—65, and appears to have been a respected burgher with the rank of Lieutenant in the Stockholm Burgher Militia, and a member of the city's Council of Elders. Of his sons, Jacob (1636—79) became a magistrate, while Hans and Nicolaus were goldsmiths. Hans became Master Goldsmith in 1665 and died in 1679, and was one of the leading goldsmiths in Stockholm. A large number of his works are still extant, but unfortunately nothing is known of the work of his younger brother Nicolaus.

Johan Willem Helleday (1670—1711), who was married to Elisabet Feif, daughter of a Scottish goldsmith, was the grandson of Hans Helleday, from Tulliebole Castle in Fife, a wine merchant who had emigrated to Sweden in the 1630's. Johan Willem Helleday had two younger brothers, one of whom was the patron of a manufacturing estate, and the other a magistrate in Stockholm, which reminds us of the high social standing enjoyed by goldsmiths.

A third family produced many goldsmiths, btu it would be wrong to talk of a family of goldsmiths. Three sons of Alexander Feif, a merchant in Montrose, immigrated in the 1630's and became burghers in Stockholm. The eldest brother, Jakob, was a brewer, and was the first of the noble line of Feif. The second brother, David, was a draper and a highly respected burgher, with many children and grandchildren. One of his sons, Henrik, was Chairman or "Alderman" of the Goldsmiths' Guild, and another, Salomon, was also a goldsmith. Work of both is still preserved. The youngest brother, Donat, was a silk-mercer. One of his sons was a magistrate, and the other, Donat, became Alderman of the Goldsmiths' Guild. Some of the latter's works are preserved. He had two sons, who were raised to the nobility under the names Adlerstolpe (1727) and Ehrensparre (1719).



Apart from the above, we find two persons with the name of Feif in 17th century Sweden, Hans, a burgher in Gothenburg, and Duncan Feif, who was probably an officer. The latter was married to a Swedish woman, and in 1641 ordered from a famous Stockholm founder a church bell "TIL BE GIFIN TO THE KIRK AND CHAPEL OF KARMEILE". The bell bears his arms, a lion rampant with seven cannon balls. It was never delivered to its destination and came somehow to Häverö Church sixty miles north of Stockholm.



Curiously enough, the Adlerstolpe arms are identical with those of Duncan Feif, and the same components are contained in the Ehrensparre arms. The noble line of Feif, 1705, however, bears quite different arms.

An outstanding member of the Swedish commoner line of Feif was also Casten Feif (1662—1739), who began as apprentice to a hatter and advanced to high positions in the administration of Charles XII. He was raised to the nobility in 1705, accompanied Charles to Turkey, and after the King's death became President of the Exchequer in 1723.

The Eighteenth Century

Scottish-Swedish relations in this century were to continue the development in trade and business, but the background to Scottish immigration remained the stormy political situation in the home country. The first wave of immigrants followed the Stuart rising 1715—16 and the second followed Culloden in 1745.

The Jacobites and Charles XII

The links of the Jacobites with Charles XII in the years 1715—17 is an extremely interesting chapter in the history of Scottish-Swedish relationships.

After the final failure of his Russian campaign at Poltava in 1709, and five adventurous years in Turkey, Charles XII appeared in Stralsund in 1715 in an effort to save the remains of the Swedish empire in Germany. His opponents now included George I, who desired to bring Bremen-Verden, then a Swedish possession, under Hanover. Contact was established between the Duke of Mar and the Swedish government, through the good offices mainly of Count Carl Gyllenborg, the Swedish Minister in London, and the adventurous diplomat Georg Heinrich von Görtz, who had entered the service of Charles XII. The Jacobites subsidised Swedish armament in return for a promise that Sweden would support the

Stockholm.
Detail of Swidde's engraving 1692.

restoration of the Stuarts. A landing by Charles XII in Scotland or England was planned, but it is not known just how far negotiations advanced. All such plans were in any case crushed early in 1717, when the English government had Gyllenborg arrested, in spite of his diplomatic status. The plans were in fact revived once more, but were completely abandoned in November 1718, when Charles himself fell at the siege of Fredrikshald in Norway

Colin Campbell and the Swedish East India Company

In the 1690's there lived in Edinburgh a notary named John Campbell. He is first mentioned in the sources as being accepted into the guild on 14th December 1691, after a period of apprenticeship under John Dallas. On 9th September he became a burgher of the city, and in the years 1697—99 he was the city's representative. He died an old man and was buried on 14th April 1699. This notary was married to Elisabeth Campbell of Moy, born 20th May 1658. Her father was probably Captain John Campbell of Moy (some time Captain in Colonel Monro's regiment) whose will was registered in Edinburgh 13th February 1694. The couple had three sons, Archibald (died 1727), who followed the same profession as his father, Hugh, who was a businessman and paid a short visit to Sweden, and Colin (died 1757) who became a burgher of the city of Gothenburg. On 3rd August 1720 Archibald and Colin became burghers in Edinburgh, as a recognition of their father's services. Colin was then referred to as "of London, Esq.,".

Colin Campbell lived in London 1720—23, and was involved in the transactions that led to the South Sea Bubble. He appears to have fled when the bubble burst and is next to be found in Ostend. 1723—30 he worked, largely as super-cargo, in the Austrian East India Company, which was based in that city. This company was a clear attempt to compete with the British East India Company, and many Scots were engaged in the enterprise. It did not, however, prove the success that the Emperor had expected, and Campbell left it a couple of years before its liquidation.



The ship Prins Gustaf in the Stockholm harbour. Detail of the title-page for "Architectura navalis mercatoria" by Fredrik Henrik af Chapman, printed in 1768.

The next similar attempt was to be made from Sweden. In 1730 we meet Colin Campbell for the first time in Sweden, to which he had been called by the powerful Gothenburg merchant Niklas Sahlgren to assist in the formation of the Swedish East India Company. It is difficult to determine whether it was Sahlgren or Campbell who took the initiative originally but the latter clearly played a dominant role in the Swedish company from the very beginning. In 1730 Campbell was in Stockholm, but in the following year he settled in Gothenburg, where he lived until his death. He applied for Swedish citizenship on 14th June 1731, and we learn from his application that he was born in June 1686, and regarded himself as a member of the noble family of Argyll through the Campbells of Cawdor. From 1731 until his death he was a director of the new company.

As a company of this kind must formally be managed by a Swede it is often only possible to guess at Campbell's role as one of its leading spirits. In 1731 the Swedish government granted the new company its privileges, and in the following spring the Swedish East India Company's first ship, the FRIEDERICUS REX SUECIAE sailed for China. Colin Campbell himself accompanied the ship on her voyage, armed with a letter of credit that made him the first ever Swedish envoy to the Emperor of China. Financially the voyage was a brilliant success, as were the majority of the 22 expeditions made in the first 15 years of the company, in spite of the fact that both the English and the Dutch did their best to hinder the Swedes from encroaching on what they regarded as their exclusive market.

After the death of Colin Campbell in 1757 the management of the company became increasingly Swedish. Its two most successful decades were in the 1760's. After this came the decline that led to liquidation during the Napoleonic Wars.

Robert Campbell, the son of the Under-Secretary in the Board of Trade Robert Campbell — of the same family as Colin Campbell — who had immigrated in 1707, was appointed British Minister in Stockholm in 1757, but owing to the current antagonism to England in Stockholm never presented his letter of credence.



The Blackwell case

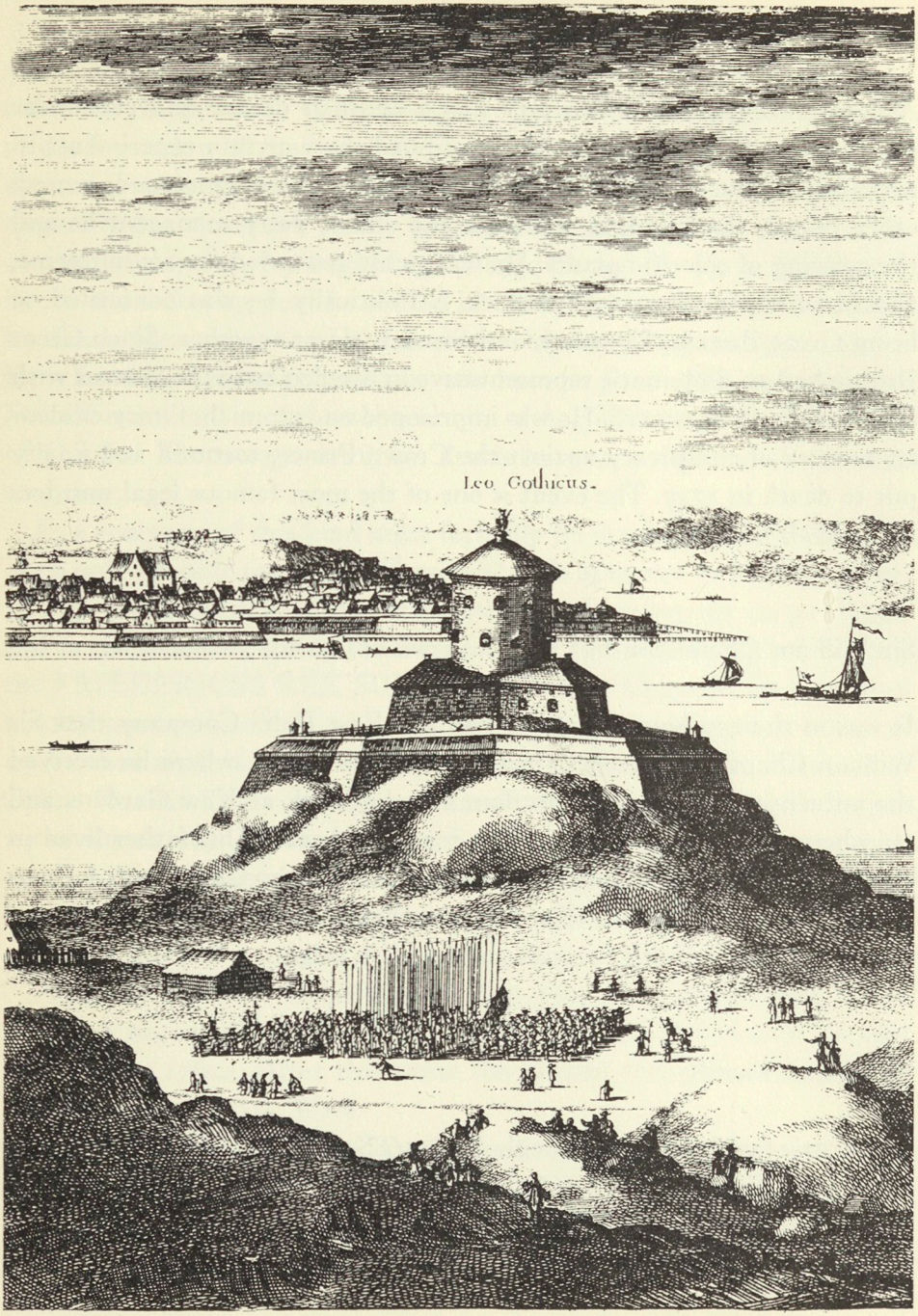
Alexander Blackwell (1700—47) was a Scottish doctor and economist who came to Sweden in 1742 and continued there certain experiments in agriculture that he had started in Aberdeen. These concerned, among other things, the breeding of horses and sheep, dairy management and the growing of colorific plants. He was richly rewarded for his initiative, and became physician to Frederick I. Politically he was concerned to bring Great Britain, Denmark and Sweden closer together. Since Great Britain had no diplomatic representative in Sweden he made contact with the Minister in Denmark. He was imprisoned on extremely flimsy evidence, accused of conspiracy against the Crown Prince, tortured and finally put to death in 1747. The event is one of the most famous legal murders in Swedish history.

Sir William Chambers

It was in the employment of the Swedish East India Company that Sir William Chambers travelled, in the 1740's, to China, where he received the influence that was later to dominate his work at Kew Gardens and elsewhere. He came to serve in this company because his father lived in Gothenburg, as a merchant. The list of subscribers to Chambers' *A Treatise on Civil Architecture* (London, 1759) contains a striking number of Gothenburgers, of both Scottish and Swedish origin.

The Tottie Family

The Tottie family came to Stockholm in 1688 with a tobacco dresser named Thomas Tottie, born in 1664 in Jedburgh, where his father was a customs officer. In the 1690's Thomas Tottie set up his own tobacco dresser's,



The fortlet Göta Lejon in Gothenburg. Engraving by von Avelen in 1709, probably after drawing by Karl Magnus Stuart.

which seems to have thrived. When he died in 1724 he was a very rich man. His wife and three sons continued for some years to run the factory, but in 1728 one of them, Samuel Tottie (1702—50) started a new factory in Gävle. The two other sons — Charles Tottie (1703—76) and William Tottie (1705—66) operated from the 1740's a large-scale wholesale business. William Tottie was regarded as one of the richest men in Stockholm. Charles Tottie distinguished himself in a variety of fields, and was among other things one of the founders of the Stockholms City Fire Insurance Office. The family still flourishes in Sweden.

His manor, once situated just outside Stockholm, was removed about twenty years ago to Skansen, the open-air museum in that city.

The Carnegie Family

As early as in 1620 a merchant named Hans Carnegie had been active in Gothenburg but he apparently died without issue.

After the Battle of Culloden in 1745, one George Carnegie, who in the battle had fought against his elder brother, fled to the hills of Flenesk and Glenmark with James Carnegie, Laird of Balnamoon and an Ochterlony of Guynd. The three rebels shortly escaped in an open boat from Montrose, were picked up by a Swedish ship, and landed safely in Gothenburg.

George had apparently studied commerce in Scotland, but broke off his education to fight for Bonnie Prince Charles, of whose lifeguard he was a member. He was outlawed after Culloden, and in Gothenburg worked first as a shop assistent, but later became a wholesale dealer. In 1764 he had working in his office Thomas Erskine (later Earl of Kellie), John Hall (of British origin, although probably not a Scot, and later a man of great wealth) and James Carnegie Arbuthnott the younger. The firm exported bar-iron and boards to England, and imported from England wheat, butter and pitcoal, and from Russia rye and flax. In all probability George Carnegie was also a shipowner.

In 1769 he returned to Scotland, where he had some years before bought back his family seat of Pittarrow, and another estate, Charleton,

both in Southesk and near Montrose. He married in the same year a Scottish woman by whom he had three sons, John, James and David. David, and James' son of the same name, maintained contact with Sweden. George Carnegie died in 1799.

James Carnegie, "the rebel laird", was third cousin to George. It is uncertain how long he remained in Sweden. He was proscribed until 1758.

James Carnegie Arbuthnott, son of the above, was born in 1740, and we first learn of him in Gothenburg in 1764, when he worked in George Carnegie's office. In 1766 he obtained his citizenship, as an inn-keeper, and was known in Gothenburg as "Old Man Carnegie of Klippan". He died unmarried in 1810.

David Carnegie (the Elder), son of George Carnegie, was born in 1772 in Montrose, and was in 1786 sent to Gothenburg where from 1787—92 he worked as clerk for Thomas Erskine, the British Consul. From 1793—c. 1800 he was accountant with John Hall & Co. In 1800 Thomas Erskine having inherited the title Earl of Kellie returned to Scotland, and David Carnegie took over his firm. In 1799 he became member of the Royal Bachelor's Club. He was made a burgher, as a whole-sale merchant, in 1801. When in 1803 he took an accountant named Jan Lamberg into partnership, the name of the firm was changed to D. Carnegie & Co.

D. Carnegie & Co. exported timber and iron. From England colonial goods, wines, porter, meat, flour and salt were imported and from Russia flax and tow. The firm was also interested in herring fishery and owned curing houses. It also had certain mills in Värmland after John Hall & Co. had gone bankrupt.

In 1873 David Carnegie the Elder died in Gothenburg. He had a Swedish wife and a daughter, Susan Mary Ann Carnegie, from 1845 married to her cousin, David Carnegie the Younger, who had taken over the firm. David Carnegie (The Younger), nephew of the above, was born in 1813 in Scotland. He came to Gothenburg straight from Eton in 1830, to work in his uncle's firm. In 1836 he bought at an auction the Lorent sugar mill and brewery. Later in the same year he took over also D. Carnegie & Co. The sugar mill was managed by John Nonnen and the firm of F. Malm, who took is over completely in 1848. David Carnegie

had a partner, W. Robertson. In 1850, when both Nonnen and Robertson had died, there was founded a company under Oscar Ekman. Carnegie apparently returned to Scotland in 1841, and four years later married his uncle's daughter. They lived in Scotland but particularly during the 1880's D. Carnegie donated large sums of money to Gothenburg. He died in 1890.

Thomas Erskine and the Bachelor's Club

Thomas Erskine was born c.1746, of a family that were strong adherents of the Stuart cause, and who had suffered severely from the confiscation of estates after Culloden. In 1759 Thomas Erskine, then 13 years old, was in Gothenburg, where he worked until 1765 as a clerk in the offices of George Carnegie. 1765—67 he was accountant with John and Benjamin Hall. In 1767 he was made a burgher, and became part owner of John Hall & Co. He married a Swedish girl in 1771, and was for a number of years British Consul in Gothenburg. From 1794 he ran a business under his own name, for a while in partnership with David Mitchell, a Scot from Montrose. In 1793 he became, by inheritance, Sir Thomas Erskine, Bt., and in 1799 Earl of Kellie. No estates accompanied these titles, however. At the turn of the century he returned to Scotland, where he settled in Cambo House, Fife, which he purchased himself. There he died, in 1828.

Many members of the British colony in Gothenburg in the 1760's were interested in billiards, a game forbidden in Sweden on public premises. As many were fairly young men, bachelors who worked as clerks and accountants in the various merchant houses, they had no homes in which they could indulge their passion for the game. On the initiative, mainly of Thomas Erskine, who was at that time still unmarried, there was founded in 1769 the Bachelors' Club, for "billiards, and pleasant, undisturbed fellowship". Erskine was Member No. 1, and the 19 founder members include such names as Robert Innes, Henry Greig, David Lyall, John Scott and John Fraser. This club — since 1787 the Royal Bachelor's Club — is apparently the fifth in age of the world's existing clubs.

It was long debated whether Rutger Maclean, one of the most important Swedes of the 18th century, was of German or Scottish origin, but it is now generally accepted that he stemmed from Scotland. His father was one of Charles XII's officers, and the first of his ancestors in Sweden was probably Johan Macleer,the Gothenburg merchant who actively helped Montrose during the latter's visit to Gothenburg in 1650. Johan Macleer had been raised to the Swedish nobility in 1649, and in the following year was created an English baronet by Charles I as a reward for his services in helping Montrose. His Swedish wife had a sister who was married to Jakob Makeleer, a silk mercer in Stockholm. The two brothers-in-law were obviously related and possibly brothers. They seem to have been the first of their family to settle in Sweden.

At the age of 40, in 17-, when he was an indigent captain, living in modest officers' quarters in southern Sweden, Rutger Maclean inherited from his mother's family the great estate of Svaneholm in the richest part of fertile Scania. Farming in Sweden, not least in Scania, was at that time still primetively organised,and the land split up into countless small allotments. The production of grain by then had begun to prove profitable, and the big landowners began to show an interest in agricultural reforms, and more effective large-scale farming. This was to be Rutger Maclean's life's work. He was one of the most well-read landowners in the country, and he had deepened his experience by travels on the Continent.

When Maclean took over his estate he found the peasants in his four villages so weighed down by their obligatory "daywork" for the landowner's manor, that they were unable to look after their own land, which was also split up into numerous allotments, often as many as 60—70. But as a landowner Rutger Maclean was a benevolent despot. He called a surveyor, had the land measured up, and reorganised the many small allotments into one or two large ones. He also split up the villages and made the peasants live in new houses by the new ground they were given. The "day-work" system was abolished, and the putting of old pasture land into cultivation encouraged.

Map of the Svaneholm estate in Scanie, showing how Rutger Maclean's reform in land distribution changed the landscape.

CHARTA

öfver

FRÄLSE HEMMANEN

SKURUP, HYLTEBÈRGA, SANDÄCKRA, SARITSLÖF och ÄNGAMÖLLAN,

under

SVANHOLMS SÄTESGÅRD;

uti Skåne och Malmöhus Lähn.

genom

Utbrytning

uti Storskifte lagde, År 1785,

af

Carl Gideon Wadman.
Comm. Landm.

Afskrifto
År 1786 den 8. Martii vid Sammanträde
Härads Lagtima Vinterting uti Onsdorkiöf sr Herreds
Charta upvisit, och då något Klander, hvarken i an-
seende till Ägorna Indelning eller Skiftningarnes Uträkning
är anmält, höfver den samma härmed blifvit approberad
och fastställd, hvilket vid skrifvas på Häradets Rättens vägnar.
Efter förordnande.
Hermans Pedersen.
Med Original Påskriften lika lydande bekräftar
C. G. Wadman

ALNAR

SÄTESGÅRDEN SVANHOLMS EGENTLIGA ÄGOR.

Närbyholms Sion

Svenstorps By

Hässle Böfert till stöter här intill

Örsjö Bys Ägor, till stöta alt här intill.

Slemminge Bys Åker-Wäng är Angränsa hit intill.

Brödda Säter.

SARITSLÖF

HYLTEBERGA

SKURUP

ÄNGAMÖLLAN

Anmärkning.

Romerska Siffror betyda Hemmans Nummer
Svenska Dt Gårds Mas Dt
a betyder Skurups Hemmans
b Hyltebergs Dt
c Sandäckras Dt
d Saritslöf Dt

Within the space of some ten years Svaneholm was transformed into a famous model farm. The radical reforms introduced by Rutger Maclean provided a pattern for the single allotment system introduced by law in Scania in 1802, and was later followed in legislation for the country as a whole.

One of Rutger Maclean's most outstanding successors was Carl Georg Stjernswärd (1767—1825). Stjernswärd was of entirely Swedish birth, but his work is very largely the result of influences from Scotland.

With a view to raising the yield of his estate of Engeltofta in Scania he made contact in 1794 with Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kellie, who was then still in Gothenburg. With him as an intermediary Stjernswärd succeeded in employing no less than ten or so young Scottish farmers, who in 1803 set about reforming the system at Engeltofta. Some of them were skilled smiths, and introduced modern Scottish ploughs into Sweden, which were greatly superior to the old Swedish ones. Stjernswärd also built a factory on his estate for the smithying of ploughshares, and from here the new implements spread over Sweden. The Scots at Engeltofta also introduced revolutionary new methods for putting land under cultivation, and these were of great importance for the development of Swedish agriculture during the 19th century.

The Nineteenth Century

At the beginning of the century there was, as has already been mentioned, a large Scottish colony in Gothenburg. This now grew still larger, as the pattern of trade changed.

The coalition wars of 1806—12 were followed by the Continental blockade, which provided businessmen in Gothenburg with a unique opportunity to make their fortunes. Sweden was outside the blockade, and Gothenburg was a suitable port for transshipment. This was accompanied by a peculiar development of prices, as when the price of foodstuffs, for instance, soared as the result of purchases by the British Navy, which lay off Gothenburg. This situation attracted many enter-

prising young Scots. Many of those who had made a fortune were, however, hard hit by the depression that followed around 1815, and many firms went bankrupt.

When business conditions steadied once more, in the early 1820's, it was found that the city offered rich opportunities for business also under normal conditions. Business men became aware as never before of the great natural resources of Sweden.

Exports of pig iron via Gothenburg rose steeply at this time, in step with the increasing production in Värmland. Scandinavian timber exports to Britain had previously been mainly from Norway, where the Östlandet forests, conveniently situated near the coast, had been exploited. Now, in spite of the difficulty of transport, the Swedish forests also began to be exploited. Business in Gothenburg flourished.

Timber from Värmland was soon being shipped abroad via Lake Väner and the Trollhätte Canal, which had been built in 1800 to join the lake with the sea. The leading figures in this development were Robert and James Dickson, from Kelso and Montrose, who settled in Gothenburg in the early 19th century. Their firm, James Dickson and Co., was one of the largest merchant houses in Gothenburg, rivalling even David Carnegie and Co., and having as its main area of operations the factories, sawmills and forests of Värmland. With a merchant fleet that was for some time the largest in Sweden they exported Swedish iron and timber, working in cooperation with the eldest brother Peter, who managed the London firm of Dickson Bros. Return cargoes were made up of colonial goods, which were in great demand in Sweden.

The most outstanding period in the history of the firm was just before and during the Crimean War, when the Dicksons also shifted the emphasis of their operations from Värmland to the rich forests of Norrland, at the northern end of the Baltic. The firm's local manager in Norrland was James Robertson Dickson, who built loading stations on one river after another, and organised timber-ways down which the timber was floated to the great water saws on the coast.

James Jameson Dickson and Oscar Dickson (who was created baron by Oscar II) were among the great Swedish philanthropists in the late

19th century, and they made donations not only to Gothenburg but to a variety of scientific institutions, including the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm. Both Adolf Eric Nordenskiöld, the famous Arctic explorer, and Artur Hazelius, who founded the Nordiska Museet, benefited from their generosity.

William Gibson (1783—1857) was one of the most outstanding members of the Scottish colony in Gothenburg in the early 19th century. Born in Arbroath, where his father was a sailmaker and shipowner, he left Scotland for Gothenburg at the age of 14, and was employed in an ironmonger's. By the age of 23 he was able to open his own business, and like many others he made a fortune out of timber and iron exports during the Continental blockade. The depression in 1815 hit him very hard, and for a number of years afterwards he seems to have tried his hand in building and construction. In the early 1820's, however, he began, following his father, to specialise in rope-making and sail-making. In 1834 he moved his factory from Gothenburg out to Jonsered, east of the city, and here he and his friend and partner, Alexander Keiller, built up, with the help of Scottish and English workmen, the highly modern factory that soon dominated the entire Scandinavian market. A foundry was added and in the 1850's an engineering shop that produced agricultural machinery. A cotton spinning mill and a weaving mill were also added around this period.

After the death of William Gibson, the management of the Jonsered-fabriken was taken over by his son William (1816—65), who developed the engineering shop in particular, and with great success started to manufacture timber processing machines, which came to be of great importance for the Swedish timber industry. The latter's son, William Gibson III (1848—1917), successfully carried on the proud traditions of the firm, and still further expanded its production programme.

Alexander Keiller (1804—74) was a technician of outstanding versatility. Born in Dundee, he came to Gothenburg in 1826 and became William Gibson's partner and colleague, helping to build up the great enterprise at Jonsered. After the two friends had separated, in 1839, he founded a mechanical engineering shop that soon became one of the largest in

The stevedores' gang in Gothenburg had the exclusive rights to all transports inside the harbour. Detail of engraving by Elias Martin's school, around 1780.

Sweden. He also founded a shipyard, and was active as a wholesale dealer. He turned his hand also to mining.

During the 1860's Alexander Keiller ran into financial difficulties, but succeeded finally in consolidating his position. Of his many concerns, the shipyard in particular grew — under the name of Götaverken — to be one of the largest in Scandinavia. This was largely due to the work of his sons Alexander and James Keiller.



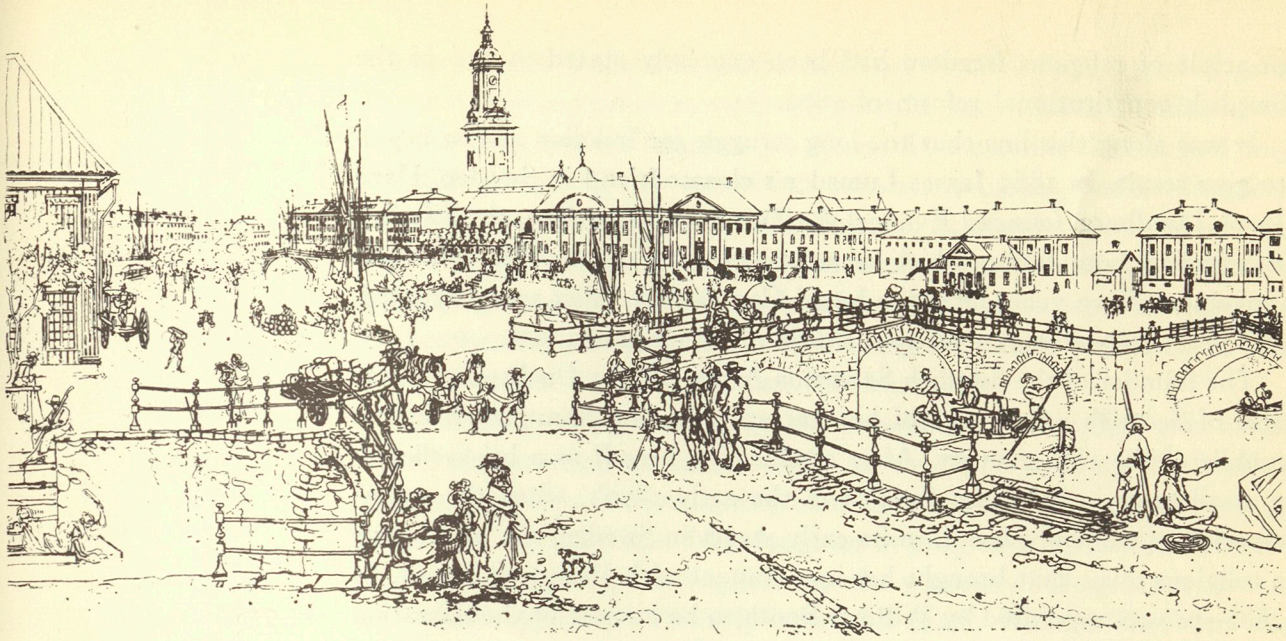
Absolute monarchy was buried in Sweden with Charles XII. A few months after his death in 1718 a new constitution was accepted, which gave the Riksdag strongly increased powers, at the expense of the monarch. The era in Swedish history known as the "Age of Freedom" had begun. As yet, however, this was far from being a religious and spiritual freedom. And the grip of the Lutheran State Church on the Swedish people had not been weakened.

Pietism was at this time winning more and more adherents. Characteristically enough it had won great ground among the comparatively few of Charles XII's many officers who had returned to Sweden after often more than ten years as prisoners-of-war in Russia. Without hesitation, however, the Lutheran priesthood tried to suppress Pietism. By the Conventicle Edict of 1726 religious meetings of "known and unknown, few or more" in private houses were forbidden. The aim was to preserve unity of religion, but unfortunately by this edict laymen were excluded from all church activities.

The result of this blow was that Pietism developed in an increasingly radical direction. The Conventicle Edict was to keep many Swedish tempers boiling, and the victory of freedom on this particular frontier was only to come into sight 130 years later. Its champions at this time found inspiration to a great extent in Scotland, whose Free Church was described by one of them as "a lantern in the hills, a brilliant light for all Protestants, in the beam of which they can see and behold the glory and power of Jesus Christ, His grace and mercy, Who still today confirms his Word, and does not allow Himself to be without witness."

At an early stage of the struggle two Scottish zealots crossed the North Sea to help their fellow Free Churchmen. The first one to come was missionary John Paterson, in 1807 sent by the Religious Tract Society in London, to work for the spreading of spiritual writing in Sweden. On his initiative, the Evangelical Society was founded to work to this end in 1808 and a few years later also the Swedish Bible Society.

In 1830 there came to Sweden the Methodist preacher George Scott,



The inner harbour of Gothenburg.
Detail of engraving by Elias Martin's school, around 1780.

whose twelve years stay in Sweden coincided with a very flourishing period for the Swedish revivalist movement. His main object in coming was the cure of souls among his countrymen in Stockholm, but he soon established intimate contacts with Swedish Free Churchmen. During his journeys to England and the United States he collected money for their support. He met stubborn resistance from the Lutheran priesthood and from certain political circles, and once his life was actually threatened during a service.

A third Scot who was of great help in the Swedish Free Church movement was James Lumsden, a Professor of Aberdeen University. After a visit to Sweden in the 1850's he published his book *Sweden — Its Religious State and Prospects: with some Notices of the Revivals and Persecutions which are at Present taking place in that Country*. For the rest of his days he maintained a lively correspondence with his Swedish friends, helped them financially, and contributed many articles to Swedish religious publications. In 1852 he wrote expressing his pleasure that people in Sweden had at last become conscious of the fact that basic

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principle of religious freedom had been expressly stated in §16 of the Swedish constitutional reform of 1809.

It was along this line that the long struggle for freedom at last began to give result. In 1865 James Lumsden's closest friend in Sweden, Hans Jacob Lundberg, founded Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen, the Swedish Evangelical Foundation, which became the leading organ of the revivalist movement. Two years later the hated Conventicle Edict was rescinded, and practically complete religous freedom had become a fact.

The founder of the Swedish Salvation Army, Hanna Ouchterlony, was also of Scottish origin, one of her ancestors having immigrated in the middle of the 18th century. After establishing herself as a bookseller in a small town in Southern Sweden in the early 1870's, when the emancipation of women was still in its early stages in Sweden, she underwent a religious crisis that brought her into contact with Bramwell Booth. In 1882 she was appointed by William Booth to be pioneer of the Salvation Army in Sweden, and thanks to her outstanding talent for organisation it rapidly established a foothold in this country. In 1888 she established the movement also in Norway, and was later active at the Salvation Army headquarters in London.

The Thorburn Family

The Thorburn family stem from the county of Roxburgh in south Scotland. William Thorburn moved from there to Leith, and became a wholesale dealer in tea. He lived 1756—1844, and had numerous children including William and James.

James Thorburn emigrated to Gothenburg, where he attained burgership as a wholesale merchant in 1819. Together with a countryman, William Brodie, he ran the wholesale firm of Brodie and Thorburn. After some years in Sweden he ran into financial difficulties, and his elder brother William was sent over, in 1822, to clear things up.

William Thorburn, 1780—1851, visited Norway on his way home from Gothenburg in 1822 and attracted by the scenery bought the estate of

Kasen, outside Uddevalla, /from the Kock family/ for a barrel of gold. In the following year he moved, with his wife, Jessy Macfie Thorburn, and his four sons, and his daughter, to Kasen. It is possible that he had only intended to use his new estate as a summer residence, but he disagreed with his brother George over the business in Scotland and stayed in Sweden. To begin with he lived purely as *rentier,* but from 1825 he operated a shipping company with four ships that he had taken over when settling his brother's affairs in Gothenburg. During the 1840's he liquidated this business, which had brought him little but trouble.

He realised at an early stage the possibilities of Swedish oats as an export commodity, but it was really his sons who built up the family's grain export firm. A contributory cause of his interest in agriculture may have been the marriage of his daughter in 1845 to a landowner, Edward Nonnen of Degeberg, an Englishman who was one of the great reformers of Swedish agriculture. Shortly before his death, William Thorburn was made an honorary member of the Skaraborg County Agricultural Society.

The two sons took over the business on their father's death. William F. Thorburn was 31 and Robert M. Thorburn 23 in 1851. The firm came to play a dominant role in Swedish grain exports. These were only a temporary phenomenon in the Swedish economy, but during the decades that followed large quantities of oats were shipped to England. The two brothers had a sister who married another Scot, William A Macfie.

A vegetable-oil plant belonging to the firm in Uddevalla still exists. With two other Scots from Uddevalla, R.H. Jobson and William Andrew Macfie, William Franklin Thorburn (1820—1903) introduced into Sweden the sport of curling. Their curling club — founded in 1846 — later enjoyed the patronage of Oscar II, and played an important part in social life around Uddevalla. The game was played in furs and silk-hats, often to the accompaniment of music by the Regimental Band.

Impressions of a Scot visiting Sweden

From Thomas Thomson: Travels in Sweden during the autumn of 1812, London 1813.

"The principal merchants in Gothenburg are Scotsmen. In consequence of letters of introduction which we carried to several of them, we experienced from that liberal and respectable body a profusion of kindness and politeness which it was impossible to surpass, and which it would be very difficult to equal. The want of inns, and our ignorance of the Swedish language, would have made it very difficult for us to have procured dinner while we stayed at Gothenburg, but this difficulty was obvaited by the merchants, with one or other of whom we dined every day during our stay in that city. The entertainments which they gave were in the Swedish style, and possessed a degree of splendour at which I was not a little surprised. As the mode of dining in Sweden is very different from the mode followed in Great Britain, I shall give a general description of a dinner, that my readers may form some notion to themselves of the customs of that country.

The houses in Sweden are fitted up with great magnificence. The public rooms are usually on the first floor, and vary from three to seven or more according to the size of the house and the wealth of its master. These rooms always open into each other, and constitute a very elegant suite of apartments. The furniture though very handsome is not similar to ours. You seldom see mahogany chairs; they are usually of birch or of some other wood painted. As the table cloth is never removed they have no occasion for our fine mahogany tables, and as the dishes are brought in one by one, and the dessert and wine put upon the table before the company sit down, they have but little occasion for a side-board. Accordingly, except in the house of Mr. Lorent, who had a very splendid side-board made in London, I do not recollect to have seen one in Sweden, even in the houses of men of the first rank. The rooms are not provided with bells. This I am told is owing to the extreme cheapness of servants in Sweden,

which enabled every person to keep such a number as rendered bells uneccessary. This reason, which I do not consider as a very good one, exists not at present, for since the loss of Finland the wages of servants have considerably increased. Bells, therefore, might now be introduced with the greatest propriety; and to a foreigner, from Britain at least, they would constitute a great convenience. I have sometimes been obliged to go three times to the kitchen during the course of my breakfast, to ask for things that had been neglected or forgotten by the servants.

The Swedes are fond of great parties. I have more than once sat down to table with nearly 50 people in a private house. The hour of dinner is two o'clock. After the company are assembled they are shown into a room adjoining the dining-room. In the middle of this room there is a round table covered with a table-cloth, upon which are placed bread, cheese, butter and corn-brandy. Every person eats a morsel of bread and cheese and butter, and drinks a dram of brandy, by way of exciting the appetite for dinner. There are usually two kinds of bread; namely, wheat-bread baked into a kind of small rolls, for I never saw any loaves in Sweden: and rye, which is usually baked in thin cakes, and is known in Sweden by the name of nickebroed. It is very palatable but requires good teeth to chew it.

After this whet, the company are shown into the dining-room, and take their seats round the table. The first dish brought in is salmagundy, salt fish, a mixture of salmon and rice, sausages, or some such strong seasoned article, to given an additional whet to the appetite. It is handed round the table, and every person helps himself in succession to as much of it as he chooses. The next dish is commonly roasted or stewed mutton, with bacon ham. These articles are carved by some individual at table, most commonly the master of the house, and the carved pieces being heaped upon a plate are carried round the company like the first dish. The Swedes like the French eat of every thing that is presented at table. The third dish is usually soup, then fowls, then fish (generally salmon, pike or streamlings), then pudding, then the dessert, which consists of a great profusion of sweet-meats, in the preparation of which the inhabitants of Gottenburg excel. Each of these dishes handed about in succes-

sion. The vegetables, consisting of potatoes, carrots, turnips, cauliflowers, greens, &c. are handed about in the same way. During the whole time of dinner a great deal of wine is drunk by the company. The wines are claret, port, sherry, and madeira. What they call claret at Gottenburg does not seem to be Bourdeaux wine. It is a French wine with a taste intermediate between claret and port. At Stockholm I drank occasionally true claret; but scarcely in any other part of Sweden. As all the wine used in Sweden is imported from Great Britain, our wine merchants can probably explain this circumstance though I cannot.

The Swedes employ the same articles for seasoning their food as we do, salt, peppar, mustard, vinegar, &c. I was struck with one peculiarity which I had never seen before: they always mix together mustard and sugar: I had the curiosity to try this mixture, and found it not bad. The dinner usually lasts about two hours. On a signal given the company all rise together, bow with much solemnity towards the table, or rather towards eachother, and then adjourn into the drawing-room. Here a cup of coffee is served up immediately to every individual. It is but doing the Swedes justice to say that their coffee is excellent, greatly preferable to what is usually drunk in England. This is the more remarkable because the Swedes import all their coffee from Britain: its quality therefore is not different from that of our own, and its superiority owing solely to their understanding better how to make it. You can get coffee in the meanest peasant's house, and it is always excellent. It is usually about five o'clock when coffee is over. The company separate at this time, either going home to their own houses, or sauntering about in the fields if the weather be good.

Robert Monro

BY FRANS G. BENGTSSON

Some time in the 1630's the Scottish mercenary Colonel, Robert Monro, sat down to compose a narrative — "to the use of all worthie Cavaliers favouring the laudable profession of Armes" — of the services in Germany of himself and his regiment, "the honourable Scotch regiment, call'd McKeyes" — "first under the magnanimous King of *Denmark,* during his warres against the Emperour; afterward, under the Invincible King of *Sweden,* during his Majesties life time; and since, under the Directour Generall, the Rex-chancellor *Oxensterne* and his Generalls." Monro had returned to his fatherland in 1633, with Oxenstierna's commission to levy troops in order to bring his depleted regiment up to full strength. It was presumably the disaster at Nördlingen that intervened to prevent his return: Swedish shares, we may suppose, no longer stood very high on the mercenary market in the months that followed, and in that fatal battle his regiment had been as good as wiped out. For lack of any better occupation this unemployed Colonel now took to the pen, and proceeded, in a narrative whose particularity does not make it the less moving, to reduce to words the epic experiences of seven years, adding by way of adornment such quotations, applications of military lore, pious reflections and tangled pedantries of style as might reasonably be expected of a right-thinking cavalier with some pretensions to education, some hazy recollection of his youthful studies in the Latin tongue, and a clear eye for the inherent majesty of his subject. His book appeared in London in 1637; its title, long as a preface, is well-known to readers of *A Legend of Montrose,* where Scott inserts it into his Introduction. It is usually referred to simply as *Monro his Expedition.*

Colonel Monro himself is not wholly unknown to those who remember their Scott; for it was he who provided a good deal of the material for the immortal Dugald Dalgetty — "Rittmaster Dugald Dalgetty

of Drumthwacket", the valorous soldier of fortune and military theorist, who returned to Scotland just in time to take part in Montrose's campaigns, and to edify his brothers-in-arms with endless reminiscences of the time when he followed "the invincible Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North, and the Bulwark of the Protestant Faith". Dalgetty is of course by no means a mere copy of our Colonel: Scott has in great measure stylised him. As a rhetorician he has been made better than his model, and can at any moment produce well-turned periods of preposterous phraseology, to the frequent imperilment of the gravity of his audience, while Monro keeps to a more modest level and achieves the sublimely comic only by way of exception. On the other hand Scott's hero, for artistic reasons, has been made of coarser moral fibre than his original. Dalgetty is a pure mercenary without ideals of any sort, pushing, valiant, and jealous of his honour; proud of his profession, and imbued with the most minute interest for its etiquette and technique, but completely devoid of any idea that the trade of war may have a more ideal side. He fights as cheerfully for Papists, Arminians and Anabaptists as for Protestants — provided only that his wages be honestly paid, or at least that he be given now and then a decent chance of plunder; for a moment he has even contemplated entering the Turkish service; the religious element in him is limited to the Biblical phraseology of his descriptions of Gustavus Adolphus. Monro, on the other hand, takes a personal interest in the success of the Protestant Cause, and is in general very ready to speak of religion: he could never have reconciled himself to serving with Tilly or Wallenstein; he notes with satisfaction that English and Scottish soldiers of fortune prefer to follow the Swedish standard. On the battlefield of Breitenfeld, where Monro had intervened effectively in the hand-to-hand struggle which brought Tilly's great infantry attack to a standstill, he applied to the King after the victory was won for permission to reinforce his depleted regiment by incorporating all prisoners of British nationality. He obtained leave to do so, and applied to Banér, who had charge of the sorting-out of the prisoners. And when, among all the thousands of prisoners available, the two of them succeeded in dredging up only three Irishmen — then Monro was indeed somewhat downcast at a



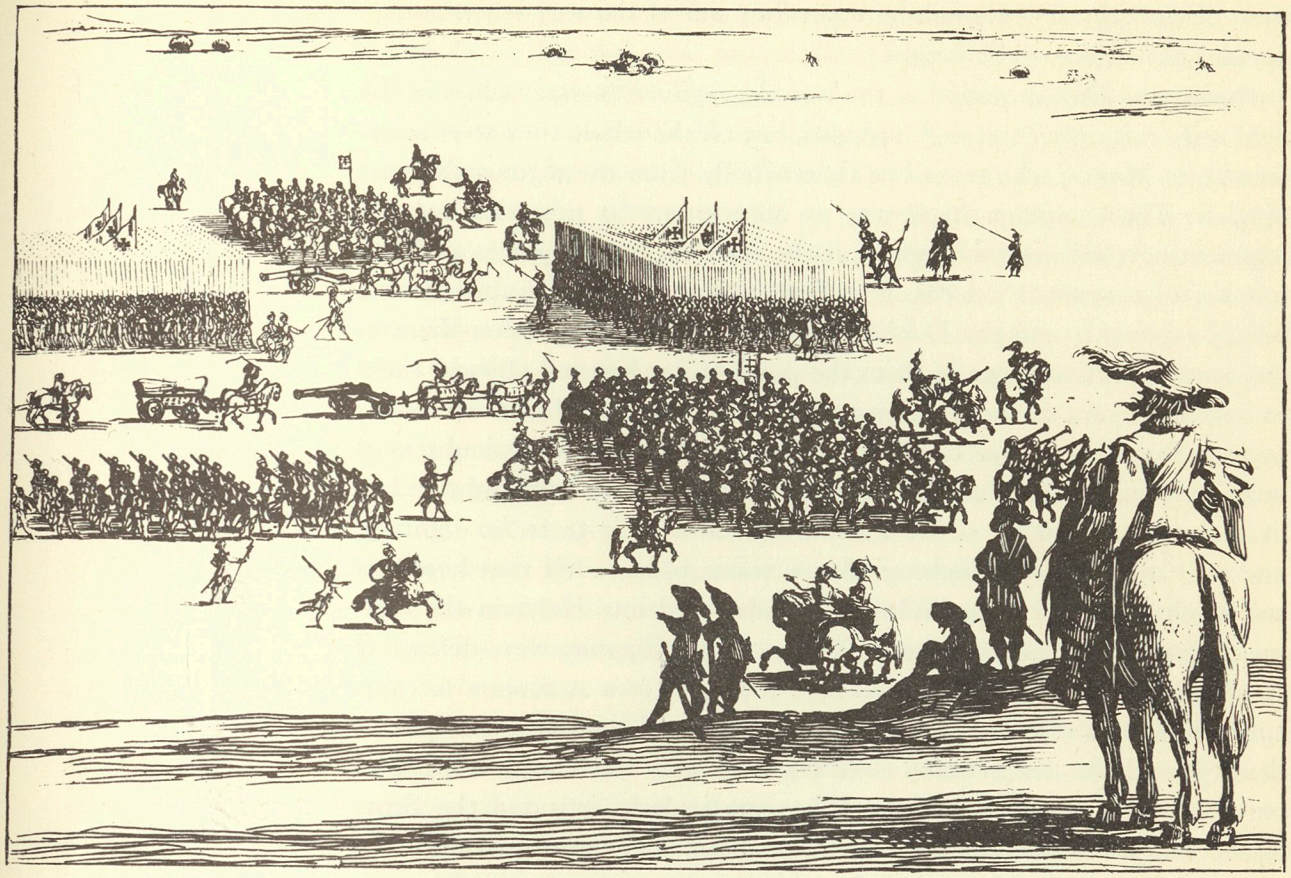
recruiment so poor from the point of view of the service, but derived none the less a certain moral satisfaction from telling the King of his ill-success, as being proof that the British Isles produced in the main men who fought for the cause of righteousness.

The sword and the half-pike were instruments whose use Monro understood down to the smallest particular; with the pen he felt himself less at ease, and his manoeuvres to get to grips with what he wishes to say can often become somewhat tedious. His subject is akin to Xenophon's, his enthusiasm for Gustavus Adolphus is reminiscent of Joinville's for St Louis; but while the lucidity of the Athenian and the easy conversational style of the Sénéchal of Champagne have put their military memoirs among the fixed stars in the literary firmament, Monro has not succeeded in making his narrative of the campaigns in which he took part much more than a forgotten curiosity of literature. No subject is great enough in itself to make a book readable. It may be treated as seriously and conscientiously as you please; but a certain literary instinct — often almost impossible to detect, but still decisive for the reader — must have been operative at the moment when events were clothed in words, if any such narrative is to escape the fate of becoming no more than a source for the historian. Few men have been less affected with literary *arrière-pensée* than a man such as Joinville when he dictated his book on King Louis; in so far as he troubled himself about the arrangement of his material at all, he usually succeeded in putting the cart before the horse, and in his narrative he chattered away, just as things occurred to him, with supreme disregard of other considerations. Nevertheless his book emerged as great literature, partly perhaps because he had in comparison with a writer such as Monro one great advantage: as became a *gentilhomme* in his day, he could neither read nor write. He spoke to his secretary in the tone of a man of the world, easily and with a charming lightness, entirely fascinated by his subject, and the result was readable from start to finish. But Monro, full of Latin quotations, and with Frontinus and Quintus Curtius at his finger-ends, saw (thanks to his studies) the portals of the land of pedantry open wide before him; and with much painful care he has succeeded in rendering his book largely unreadable, unless the reader

bring considerable patience to the task. Parallel to every narrative chapter in his book runs a chapter of *Observations,* highly repetitious and packed with didactic verbiage; but containing nevertheless matter which makes it impossible simply to skip them in the reading. Thus Monro spreads over the events he describes a veil of heaviest baroque ornamentation, obscuring them from the eye of the reader; and it is only rarely that he permits a more or less clear image to slip through.

Nevertheless Monro is a writer worthy of all respect — a barbarized Xenophon from an age when literary products blossomed only with extreme rarity in the tented field. In bibliographies of the Thirty Year's War his book occupies an almost unique place: memoir-writing by active participants — whether in war or politics — seems to have been almost exclusively confined to France. He stands therefore as a virtually unique spokesman for a great confraternity: many inarticulate spirits, many simple-minded men of the sword in him find a voice, and the uncomplicated philosophy and ethics of the honourable craft of arms is given clear expression in his reflections and commentaries.

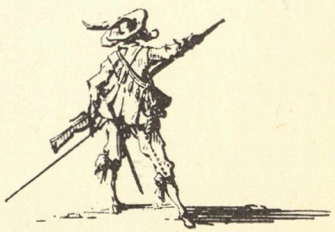
The regiment whose fortunes Monro relates (he commanded one half of it throughout the period of its Swedish service) was levied by Lord Reay, and was originally intended to be used as reinforcement for Count Mansfeld, at that time Protestantism's one remaining champion in Germany. But by the time it was brought up to full strength and embarked at Cromarty — in the autumn of 1626 — Mansfeld's restless life had already closed, and instead they steered their course to Christian IV of Denmark, then busily engaged in raising men for his German war. Monro began his career as Lieutenant under "the worthie and well-born Captaine, Thomas McKenzie of Kildon"; but his own merits — assisted by sword and pestilence — brought him quick promotion, and after little more than a year he became Lieutenant-Colonel, and commanded the regiment in Lord Reay's absence. Lord Reay tended to be mainly absent. Men of rank such as himself raised regiments and lent them the lustre of their name, and arranged the details of high finance with any Kings who might be interested; but for routine service on the battlefield or at the head of the storming-columns they rarely had the time to spare: such



things fell to the lot of simpler folk such as Monro. The clan of Monro was numerously represented in the regiment: the subalterns, N.C.O.'s and privates of that name, whom the conscientious Colonel notes down in the course of his narrative as dead, are as the sands of the sea in number. The regiment included no less than three members of the family who afterwards became Colonels under Gustavus Adolphus: Robert Monro the Lord of Fowles, head of the house, called "the Black Baron", who had been compelled by financial difficulties to mortgage his estate and enlist as a soldier, and who died of wounds at Ulm; John Monro of Obstell, who fell at Wetterau on the Rhine; and the author himself, longer-lived than

most of the others — though he was rarely out of the way when an important action was to be fought.

During the Danish period of the war the regiment's experiences in the field were certainly extremely arduous, but on the whole they were satisfactory to Monro, who looked at them wholly from the regiment's point of view. The campaign itself was as unfortunate as possible; but the regiment covered itself with glory at the storm of sundry places and in a number of reaguards actions. The Scots soon won the reputation of a picked regiment; and the Danish command relied largely upon them in moments of difficulty, gave them the posts of danger, and allowed them to bear the brunt of the fighting without reinforcement for much longer periods than in the case of other troops. All of which is no doubt very honourable for a regiment, and redounds to the glory of Scotland too; but even Scots have limits to their endurance and their taste for fighting, and once or twice in Oldenburg Monro seems to have felt that here was too much of a good thing. When Tilly advanced into Holstein the regiment sustained a serious disaster. Three of its companies were defending Bredenberg, a fortified castle in those parts; after a summons to capitulate had been rejected, the Imperialists stormed the castle and put to death every man, woman and child inside it; only one ensign escaped to carry a report to the regiment. What particularly irritated the Scots about this was that their regimental chaplain had been slain with the rest, although he had been found on his knees, praying for his life with uplifted hands. Shortly after this Monro in his turn stormed a place in Holstein garrisoned by the Imperialists (disguised in his narrative under the name of Aickilfourd); the Scots now, by way of *quid pro quo,* refused to give quarter; the Imperialists at last barricaded themselves in a church; and Monro, after a short struggle with his conscience, caused the door to be broken open with battering-rams: no place, he felt, could be sufficiently sacred to afford sanctuary to people who killed regimental chaplains. These two episodes provided a sort of prelude in miniature to the similar incidents at Neu-Brandenburg and Frankfurt on the Oder in which the regiment was to play a part a few years later.



With the King of Denmark Monro was well-pleased; he was not, per-

haps, much of a commander, but wages were punctually paid, and he took pains to arrange for good quartering. His standing epithet with Monro is "the Magnanimous", his appearance was truly regal; his wisdom, carefulness and tenacity win Monro's commendation. He was, besides, in his dealings with honourable cavaliers an amiable and loquacious gentleman; Monro ate at his table, and even on one occasion, when they were quartered on Laaland, had the honour of a visit from the King which lasted until 3 o'clock in the morning; upon which Monro's only comment is that the King departed without saying farewell — a piece of absent-mindedness which is not perhaps entirely incapable of explanation, in view of the hour and His Danish Majesty's prowess with the bottle. Monro, it is clear, never had better quarters than those he enjoyed in Denmark — at least until the march through the Rhineland in the autumn of 1631. Minor clashes with their Danish hosts and with other regiments did indeed occur from time to time, but they appeared almost as an agreeable break in an existence which might otherwise have declined into torpid luxuriousness. Upon his return from Holstein, Monro (he had just got his majority) was sent with a portion of the regiment to Assens, on the island of Fyn, where he found another Major with some squadrons of the Rhinegrave's cavalry. The question as to which of them had the right to command the garrison soon produced a coolness between the two Majors, a coolness which communicated itself to their devoted troops; so that the ensuing street-fights soon showed a daily casualty-return of from four to five killed per regiment. Major-General Slammersdorff was forced to quit his headquarters at Odense, to hold a court-martial, and to pronounce a verdict in Monro's favour, before this civil war could be brought to a conclusion. When next these two regiments encountered one another — both were by that time in Swedish service — these little irrations seem to have been forgotten; or perhaps Gustavus Adolphus and his order-loving Field-Marshal Horn had effective prophylactics against private diversions of this sort.

When from time to time Danish burghers and peasants grew exasperated at the Scots billetted upon them, they had at first recourse to the obvious remedy of thrashing such of them as they encountered alone; but

when this proved in the long run not to be a very paying proposition, they hit upon a better method, and brought accusations of rape. In one case Monro lost three men at a stroke, on account of a single peasant girl; the court-martial in Copenhagen, which had called in Monro as assessor, allowed itself to be persuaded to defer sentence on grounds of insufficient evidence. However, when this had been agreed on, and Monro had left Copenhagen, the court nevertheless caused the accused to be summarily hanged. Monro shook his head at this way of doing business, partly because he considered the accusations to be false, but mainly because he felt that the court-martial had acted in an ungentlemanly fashion towards him by arranging for the hanging privily and in his absence.

Monro in this connection is concerned to point out that the machinery for the administration of justice was by no means lacking in such a regiment as his; and his account of how it was organized is of its kind a good picture of his age:

"To conclude this observation, there are lawes and justice observed as well among souldiers, as in other governments, and the strictest justice, that is, with least partiality: our lawes are the Kings Articles, we are sworne to obey our President or Iudge, he amongst us present having the command, to whom his Majesty joynes, as assessor to the Iudge, an Auditor for doing of justice, our Assisers of Iury we have not to seeke *(viz.)* a competent number of thirteene of our owne Regiment, Officers, Captaines, Lievetenants, Antients, Sergeants and Corporalls, till our number be full: our Proforce or Gavilliger brings in the complaints, and desires justice, in his Majesties name, to the party offended, and to his Master the Kings Majesty or Generall, that fuers or leads the warre; and every Regiment is bound to have an executioner of their owne, which if the Regiment wants, the Colonell is obliged to hire another to doe the execution for paiment, and sometimes as the crime and the person is respected, that is to suffer, he is honoured to be shot by his camerades, or beheaded, not suffering an executioner to come neare him. Other slight punishments we enjoyne for slight faults, put in execution by their Camerades; as the *Loupegarthe,* when a Souldier is stripped naked above the waste, and is made to runne a furlong betwixt two hundred Souldiers,

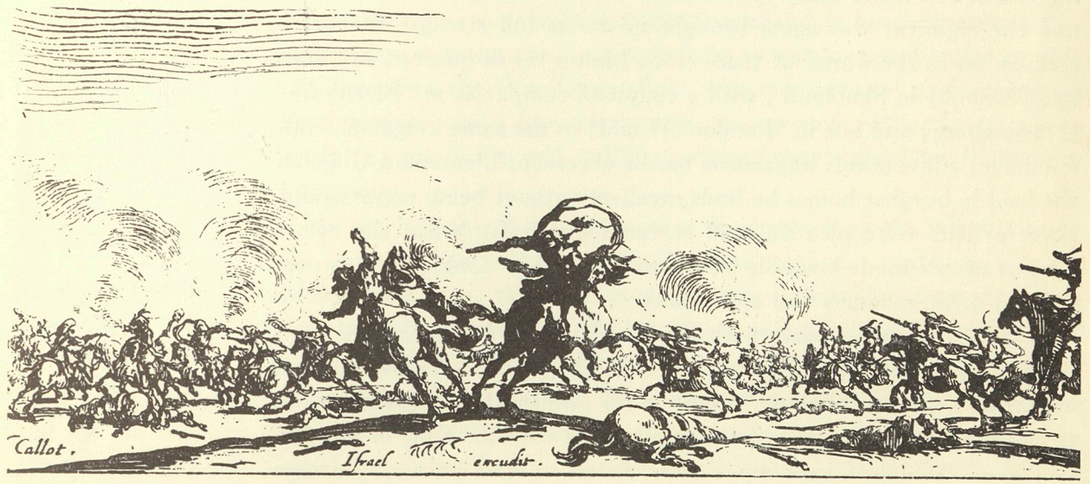
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ranged alike opposite to others, leaving a space in the midst for the Souldier to runne through, where his Camerades whip him with small rods, ordained and cut for the purpose by the *Gavilliger,* and all to keepe good order and discipline; for other lesser faults, there is ordaited slighter punishments, as Irons, standing at a jost, his hands bound up above his head; likewise sitting on a Treen or woodden Mare, in some publicke place, to make him ashamed of his fault: At also sometimes to stand six or seaven hours longer than ordinary at the centrie posture; as I was once made to stand in my younger years at the *Louver gate* in *Paris,* being then in the Kings Regiment of the Guards, passing my prenticeship, for sleeping in the morning, when I ought to have beene at my excercise, for punishment I was made stand from eleven before noone, to eight of the Clocke in the night Centry, Armed with Corslet, Head-piece, Bracelets, being Iron to the teeth, in a hot summers day, till I was weary of my life, which ever after made me the more strict in punishing those under my Command."

In May 1628 the regiment received orders to march with all speed to Elsinore, whence it was shipped to serve as garrison in Stralsund, which



at that time was menaced by the attacks of Wallenstein, and had been taken under the protection of Christian IV. Here Monro and his men were to experience their severest trials in the Danish service. Wallenstein, who had sworn to take the town "were it grappled to Heaven with iron chains", pushed the siege with great fury. Three attempts at storm were made upon the positions held by Monro; outworks were taken and retaken in desperate nocturnal encounters with pike, club and partisan; the regiment in a few weeks lost more than half its strength. But Scottish blood did not flow in vain: the town was held, despite Wallenstein's efforts, and the Imperialists, as Monro points out with satisfaction, lost in their attacks at least thrice as many men as he. When the crisis was at its worst, he was cheered by the arrival of a famous fellow-countryman, Alexander Leslie, Major-General in the Swedish service, who had been sent with sufficient aid by Gustavus Adolphus; and Monro in reporting this unexpected deliverance compares Stralsund with Sara the wife of Abraham, who was made fruitful when she least expected it. The Danish troops were now withdrawn; and with such of his men as survived — and, for his own part, with a musket-ball in one knee — Monro returned to Copenhagen. Here Lord Reay now appeared with a large number of new levies which he had raised on a recruiting tour in Scotland, and the regiment was again brought up to its full strength of twelve companies. In the winter of 1628—1629 Monro lay in quarters in "Malline [Malmö] in Skonland", with a couple of companies in "Alzenburg" [Hälsingborg] and one in "London" [Lund] in the same kingdom. Malmö makes a favourable impression on the observant Lieutenant-Colonel: the food in burgher homes he finds excellent without being extravagant; silver articles were plentiful and servants numerous; while the better class of people made laudable efforts to imitate the King, as far as possible, in dress, manners and appearance.

In June 1629, when peace with the Emperor was imminent, the regiment was paid off from the Danish Service; since the Colonel was as usual absent on a visit to England Monro on his own initiative sent an envoy to enquire into the possibilities of employment with the King of Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus sent by return an affirmative answer, journey-

money, and orders; and thereupon half the regiment sailed to East Prussia and was installed as garrison in Braunsberg, while the other half was sent to Stockholm, whither Monro followed it soon after in company with his Colonel, who had by this time returned. Here His Majesty showed off his infantry, and demonstrated for their benefit

"his new order of Discipline of *Briggades,* then first brought in use, at which time his Majesty having showen unto my Colonell and his Officers, the Order of his Majesties discipline, in which Order, his Majesty commanded to put my Colonels Regiment, which was presently obeyed, insomuch, that his Majesty was so well pleased with the capacity of my Colonels Souldiers going so orderly and readily to their Duties, that his Majestie did wish in open presence of the Army, that all his Foot were so well disciplined as my Colonels Regiment: for which, his Majesty would bee content to be indebted of a huge great summe of money, and having caused the Regiment march by towards their Quarters his Maiesty did mightily and much praise the Regiment for their good Order; saying, hee hoped one day, to get good service of those men for his monies . . ."

The King went over to Germany soon after; Lord Reay accompanied him with the available half of the regiment; Monro was sent to East Prussia to take over the independent command of his companies there, with orders to rejoin the King with them as soon as possible. He presented himself to the "Rex-Chancellor", who was installed as Governor of that province, and a few months after the opening of the campaign was ready to embark his men at Pillau, whence they steered for Wolgast in Pomerania.



He reached the Pomeranian coast in a heavy storm, which caused the ship to spring a leak, and finally piled it up on a sandbank, whence Monro with great difficulty made his way ashore; his arms and men were indeed retrieved, but all his baggage and ammunition was lost, and in this condition he found himself isolated on the coast, twenty German miles east of Stettin (where the King was) and with enemies ensconced everywhere in the surrounding country. He succeeded, nevertheless, in extricating himself adroitly from his precarious position, and made con-

tact with the main army; and despite the crossness of fate he essays on this occasion a short lyrical flight:

"Having thus by the providence of God happily landed againe on the faire, fertill, and spacious Continent of *Dutchland,* with a handfull of old experimented Soldiers, able to endure all misery, toile, or travell, being valourous to undertake any peril or danger, they were to be commanded upon, being led by such a Generall as GUSTAVUS the *Invincible,* their new Master was: (under whose command and conduct, as their supreame Leader, and me, as his Majesties and my Colonels inferiour Officer, they marched from the Coast of *Pomerne,* out of *Rougenvalde,* through *Dutchland,* unto the foot of the Alpes in *Schwabland . . .*")

Alas!, he sighs upon a later occasion, had but our master not been taken from us, "the King of Captains and the Captain of Kings", we should have crossed the Alps at that time, and paid Rome a visit.

From the moment when Monro enters upon his long march through Germany in company with the King's army — to which he and his regiment continued to be attached almost until the battle of Lützen — his tone is pitched higher than before, and his attitude to the trade of war undergoes a certain transformation. During the Danish campaigns it is his regiment, its weal or woe, its battle honours, which is all in all to him: the army as a whole scarcely exists for him, so little does the feel himself to be a part of it; and in enterprises common to them all he takes but little interest. When he writes "we", he invariably means simply "the regiment". But under Gustavus Adolphus he at once sees the operations as a whole, feels a strong *esprit de corps:* when now he writes "we", he means the whole army. Naturally he continues to use every suitable opportunity to vent his purely Scottish sentiments; but they do not now stand in the way of his corporate loyalty: the King may certainly be proud to possess such a regiment as Monro's, but on the other hand Monro takes unbounded pride in serving such a King — *of never dying memory . . . Illustrissimus among Generalls . . . the Phoenix of his time.* The exploits of the Scots of course claim the greater part of his space, for he narrates only what he personally has witnessed; but he freely admits that others than the Scots can distinguish themselves: the German foot, particularly

those of the blue and yellow brigade, are not the men to be daunted by bagatelles; the Swedes too bear themselves worthily in the open field and in attacks on fortified positions; and the Finns, whom he calls *Haggapells,* are useful men on horseback, valuable in dangerous enterprises, and well able to meet the curiassiers of Holck and Montecucculi on level terms.

Within his own branch of the military art Monro has very definite views on the differing value of musketeers and pikemen, which together composed, in almost equal proportions, the infantry of that age. Musketeers, he considers, are no doubt serviceable in many ways, especially to send forward ahead of the army as skirmishers; the new Swedish system of interspersing the cavalry with musketeer platoons is also highly to be recommended. But when there is really serious work to be done, the musketeers reveal their limitations: in large-scale frontal attacks on fortified towns, in particular, they show a lack of sense of duty and a certain insecurity in morale, which sometimes it is impossible wholly to counteract; they have an ingrained tendency to scatter in search of plunder as soon as they have got inside the ramparts, leaving standards and officers to take care of themselves; while pikemen have better self-control. And in general Monro holds the view that the pike is a far nobler weapon than the musket:

"Pike-men being resolute men, shall be ever my choyce in going on execution, as also in retiring honourably with disadvantage from an enemy, especially against horsemen: and we see offtimes, . . that when musketiers doe disbandon, of greedinesse to make booty, the worthy pike-men remaine standing firme with their Officers, guarding them and their Colours, as being worthy the glorious name of brave Souldiers, preferring vertue before the love of gold, that vanisheth while vertue remaineth . . . The Pike [is] the most honourable of all weapons, and my choise in day of battell, and leaping a storme or entering a breach with a light brest-plate and a good head-piece, being seconded with good fellows, I would chose a good halfe-Pike to enter with."

In mid-winter the King broke up from Stettin with a portion of his army, and moved forward in snow-storms and severe cold to Neu-Brandenburg, which was easily taken. According to Monro, the officers and

men who composed its garrison were, in a military point of view, the most wretched collection he had ever set eyes on; but (he adds) that was no more than was to be expected, since they consisted exclusively of poor simple Italians, who could hardly be expected to have much idea of warfare. Nevertheless the garrison duties of this battered troop had left ample leisure for plundering the surrounding country; and hence the leading elements of the King's troops came upon considerable quantities of money and gold chains. Despite the feeble resistance Monro had been profoundly impressed by the whole operation, and here breaks into a long dithyramb on the King's unique endowments as a commander. "Such a Master would I gladlie serve; but such a Master," he adds sadly, "I shall hardly see againe." Knyphausen was now put in command of the place; he was in Monro's view a man well experienced in the science of war, and in his company a cavalier with his wits about him could pick up many a useful lesson, for all that he did not love Scots. It was Knyphausen who formulated the dictum that in war an ounce of luck is worth a pound of calculation; but he was himself invariably unlucky, and not least at Neu-Brandenburg. That half of Lord Reay's regiment which had come over from Sweden was installed as garrison, after which the King turned his attention elsewhere. Shortly afterwards Tilly appeared before the town and took steps to make himself master of it; Knyphausen delayed too long in treating, and in the final storm almost the entire garrison was put to the sword: only the commandant himself and a number of officers were spared. This was a hard blow for Monro, who here lost many old comrades-in-arms; but he had not long to wait before taking his share in the great revenge at Frankfurt.

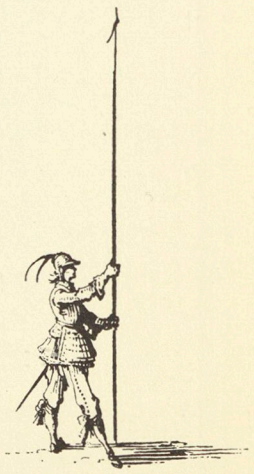
The storming of Frankfurt on the Oder, on 3 April 1631, is the most successful piece of narrative in the whole book: it was an event in which Monro personally played an important part. His regiment, or half-regiment, formed — now that the King had finally settled the composition of his tactical unit — together with three other regiments, "the Scotch Brigade", under the command of John Hepburn, a chivalrous and valiant gentleman, and a boyhood friend of Monro. Besides the Scotch Brigade, there were present in this action the Blue and Yellow Brigades; and with



the cavalry the King had 10 000 men outside the walls; while inside them Field-Marshal Tiefenbach with 9 000 men awaited the onslaught with the utmost composure. Monro here inserts a long strategical discussion on the extreme daring of the enterprise, with Tilly encamped at no great distance, strong in numbers and no less so in the terror inspired by his success at Neu-Brandenburg; and expatiates on the extraordinary nicety of the King's calculations and general dispositions. Since there was no time for a regular siege, either Tiefenbach must be lured into the open, or the town must be stormed without delay; but neither of these possibilities appeared immediately practicable. After the advancing Swedish army had approached within one German mile of the town, it was drawn up in battle-order by the King in person, and then in all its splendour — the memory of which seems to have been particularly vivid when Monro wrote his book — advanced to offer battle with martial pomp and ceremony. But Tiefenbach was not to be drawn, and the infantry was therefore sent forward to take up suitable positions for a storm. The Scotch Brigade was to attack one of the main gates of the town. It was

required to cross a moat, climb an earth rampart furnished with palisades, traverse the space between this and the town wall, and then, if all went well, force its way into the town itself on the heels of the retreating foe. The operation was under the command of Banér. When after a day or two all preparations were complete, the artillery gave the signal for the assault by firing a general salvo, and the Brigades, veiled in smoke, began to advance upon their objective. The Blue and Yellow Brigade, "being esteemed of all the Army both resolute and couragious in all their exploits", came up against Walter Butler's Irish, and were twice beaten back with great fury and severe losses; it was not until the greater part of Butler's men had been hewn down and he himself taken prisoner, with a pike wound through the body, that they succeeded in mastering the resistance of these energetic sons of Erin; "and truely," declares Monro, "had all the rest stood so well to it, as the *Irish* did, we had returned with great losse, and without victory." On his own section of the front they made shorter work of a less heroic resistance, and the Scots quickly found themselves immediately before the gates; but here the enemy resolutely barred the way, supported by a couple of small cannons placed there, and by "flake of small shot, that shot a dozen of shot at once" — clearly some sort of contemporary machine-gun or multiplebarrelled weapon. Monro was the first to enter this somewhat uninviting thoroughfare:

"... the valorous *Hepburne,* leading on the battaile of pikes, of his owne *Briggad,* being advanced within halfe a pikes length to the doore, at the entry he was shot above the knee, that he was lame of before, which dazling his senses with great paine forced him to retire, who said to me, bully *Monro,* I am shot, whereat I was wondrous sorry, his Major then, a resolute Cavalier, advancing to enter was shot dead before the doore, whereupon the Pikes falling backe and standing still, Generall *Banier* being by, and exhorting all Cavaliers to enter, Colonell *Lumsdell* and I, being both alike on the head of our owne Colours, he having a Partizan in his hand, and I a halfe Pike, with a head-piece, that covered my head, commanding our Pikes to advance we lead on shoulder to shoulder, Colonell *Lumsdell* and I fortunately without hurt, enter the Port, where at our entry some I know received their rest, and the enemy forced to retire in confusion,



being astonished at our entry, they had neither wit nor courage, as to let downe the Portecullis of the great Port behinde them, so that we entering the streets at their heeles, we made a stand till the body of our Pikes were drawne up orderly, and flancked with Musketiers, and then wee advanced our Pikes charged, and our Musketiers giving fire on the flancks, till the enemy was put in disorder. After us entered Generall *Banier,* with a fresh body of Musketiers, he followed the enemy in one street, and *Lumsdell* and I in another, having rancountred the enemy againe, they being well beaten, our Officers tooke nine colours of theirs, which were to be presented to his Majestie, and the most part of the Souldiers were cut off, in revenge of their crueltie used at *New Brandenburg,* but some of their Officers got quarters, such as they had given to ours."

However, even this glorious day proved no unmixed pleasure for Monro; for the streets were choked, not only with corpses, but with the baggage of the Imperialists — lines of carts and supply-waggons, where a man might pick up "silver services, jewels, gold, money, and clothing". It was too much for the soldiery to resist, especially as they had had the King's own word for it that a good time was coming. The ranks around Monro quickly thinned, as men slipped off upon their own private concerns; officers were no longer obeyed; by way of increasing the festive spirit, or in order to obtain more light for ransacking the darker recesses, the excited troops set the town alight in various places; some of their own standards were lost in the confusion, and could not be found until next morning, and in some regiments not a man remained with the colours — all of which is gravely deplored by Monro, who frankly admits that on that evening his men were utterly out of hand.

When towards evening the King rode into the town with the Rhinegrave's cavalry, he appears to have felt no more than modified rapture at what he saw there; he issued a number of stringent orders, but since there were relatively few men within earshot, it took some time before they produced any perceptible effect. A few days later, after the taking of Landsberg, which had proceeded in a more orderly fashion, he had recovered his good humour, and

"on the Sabbath day in the afternoone suffered the principall Officers

of his Armie (such as Generall *Blanier,* and Lievetenant Generall *Bawtis,* and divers others) to make merry, though his Majestie did drinke none himselfe; for his custome was never to drinke much, but very seldome, and upon very rare considerations, where he had some other plot to effectuate, that concerned his advancement, and the weale of his State."

It is of course no accident that Banér and Baudissin are mentioned in connection with this carouse: they were both mighty men with the bottle. The Scots too had famous performers in this way: Major-General Patrick Ruthven, called Pater Rotwein, who in spite of the sternest competition quickly secured for himself an acknowledged pre-eminence as a tippler: he had a head of iron, and could take incredible quantities. He and Baudissin (who was pretty near on the same level) often drank together; but after the King's death Baudissin took his discharge and entered the Saxon service, presumably attracted by the reputation of the electoral cellars. The two boon-companions were to meet once again: during one of Banér's earlier campaigns, when each was in command of an independent corps, (though now on opposite sides), they met early one morning in a very odd battle near Dömitz; and here Ruthven, being a shade the soberer of the two, seized the opportunity to add one last brilliant victory — though this time of a rather different sort — to his earlier triumphs over Baudissin. Monro, for his part, lingers with pleasure over the companionable carouses he enjoyed when he lay quartered next to Axel Lillie, at Treptow in the Mark of Brandenburg.

"a Towne . . . renowned of old, for brewing of good beere, which during our residence there with the *Swedes,* we did merrily try, till that we had both quarrelling and swaggering amongst our selves, who before our departure againe were made good friends, reserving our enmity, till we saw our common enemy."

Axel Lillie's friendship with Monro seems to have stood the test; for six months later, before Mainz, he was sitting in Monro's redoubt — he had dropped in for a pipe and a chat — when a cannon-ball came and took off his leg.



Immediately after the capture of Frankfurt Monro was given a taste of the King's hot temper, when he was detailed to put in order a redoubt

outside Landsberg, and despite unremitting labour throughout the night did not succeded in having it ready for the King's early morning inspection. The King took him severely to task, and would hear of no explanations or excuses; but when later on he understood all the circumstances, he was sorry for his hard words. Monro shows no resentment; on the contrary, he thinks all the better of the King for his impatience, which, he says, always caused him to press on the work on field-fortifications to the utmost of his power. And at the same time he concedes that in the matter of digging the German soldiers are handier than the Scots: this is the only instance in which he concedes a superiority to any other nation. And indeed it is one of the King's most notable qualities as a commander, that he can induce his men, even the mercenaries, to wield the spade without wages:

"Likewise his Majestie was to be commanded for his diligence by night and by day, in setting forwards his workes; for he was ever out of patience, till once they were done, that he might see his Souldiers secured and guarded from their enemies; for when he was weakest, he digged most in the ground; for in one yeare what at *Swede, Francford, Landsberg, Brandenburg, Verbum, Tannermonde, Wittenberg,* and *Wirtzburg,* he caused his Souldiers to worke more for nothing, than the States of *Holland* could get wrought in three yeares, though they should bestow every yeare a Tunne of gold: and this he did not onely to secure his Souldiers from the enemy, but also to keepe them from idlenesse."

After sundry less colourful episodes from the campaign in Brandenburg and the march to Berlin, Monro's simple epic winds deviously on to the camp at Werben — a camp of a type which was invented by Gustavus Adolphus, and was considered by contemporaries as a miracle of field-fortification. Werben not only confirmed Monro in his enthusiasm for the King's military genius, but afforded him a proof of his singular good fortune in everything he undertook, so that he might indeed fitly he called *Mars his Minion and Fortunes Favourite.* For in Brandenburg the plague had raged so hot, that Monro lost thirty men of his regiment in a single week; while in Werben, only six day's march away, every trace of it vanished at once from the whole army, which could not be considered otherwise than as a miracle from God. Tilly showed himself before the camp,

with a view to trying an assault; but he was much harassed by anxiety for his food-supply, since the King's cavalry had swept the country clear beforehand, and after considering the matter for a day or two he sullenly retired. The Swedes soon broke camp to follow him; and passing the Elbe at Wittenberg, there made their junction with the army of the Elector of Saxony. The Saxon army, when they first met it drawn up in parade-order, looked brand-new, and glittered amazingly, while the King's men looked worn and tattered; "nevertheless," says Monro, "we thought not the worse of our selves." And now at last they were ready, as he puts it, to advance "*conjunctis viribus*" against the champion of the House of Austria and the Catholic League; and the united armies set themselves in motion towards Breitenfeld.

"As the Larke begunne to peepe, the seventh of September 1631" the drums of the Swedish army beat to arms; and after the men had fortified their bodies with victuals, and their souls with meditation and the confession of their sins, they covered — not without some difficulty — the last piece of the way to Tilly's positions. By noon the armies were ranged front to front, and the exchange of cannonading could begin; this was sufficiently trying for the foot, who during a wait of some hours had nothing to do but to stand still and fill the gaps in their ranks; "the sound of such musick being scarce worth the hearing, though martiall I confesse, yet, if you can have so much patience, with farre lesse danger, to reade this dutie to an end, you shall finde the musicke well paide; but with such Coyne, that the players would not stay for a world to receive the last of it, being over-joyed in their flying."

The Scottish Brigade was placed in the second line, but after the armies came to grips had the good luck to get a better chance to distinguish itself than the Brigades further forward, which were never engaged at all. For when Tilly, after crushing the Saxons, sent the mass of his infantry crashing into Horn's wing, it was the Scots, among others, whom the King himself sent forward to check them. And Monro has succeeded in capturing a sort of smoke-swept impression, of the obscurity and confusion of a seventeenth-century battlefield, in his description of the moment when his men came to grips with Tilly's *tercios:*



"The enemies Battaile standing firme, looking on us at a neere distance, and seeing the other Briggads and ours wheeleing about, making front unto them, they were prepared with a firme resolution to receive us with a salve of Cannon and Muskets; but our small Ordinance being twice discharged amongst them, and before we stirred, we charged them with a salve of muskets, which was repaied, and incontinent our Brigged advancing unto them with push of pike, putting one of their battailes in disorder, fell on the execution, so that they were put to the route.

I having commanded the right wing of our musketiers, being my Lord of *Rhees* and *Lumsdells,* we advanced on the other body of the enemies, which defended their Cannon, and beating them from their Cannon, we were master of their Cannon, and consequently of the field, but the smoake being great, the dust being raised, we were as in a dark cloude, not seeing the halfe of our actions, much lesse discerning, either the way of our enemies, or yet the rest of our Briggads: whereupon, having a drummer by me, I caused him beate the *Scots* march, till it clered up, which recollected our friends unto us, and dispersed our enemies being overcome; so that the Briggad coming together, such as were alive missed their dead and hurt Camerades."

According to Monro the King attributed the victory (under God) to the Swedish and Finnish cavalry; but among the foot it was the Scotch Brigade which earned most thanks and commendation. In his general discussion of the battle Monro enumerates a long list of reasons for the victory, mixing impartially the religious with the military and technical; but the principal cause in his view is still the King himself, who in his own person was worth more than twenty thousand men:

"O would to GOD I had once such a Leader againe to fight such an other day in this old quarrel! And though I died standing, I should be perswaded, I died well; . . . he that would labour an Army as *Gustavus* did, he will finde fruite, yea even the best that groweth under the Empire, good Rhenish and Necker wine, not onely for himselfe, but for the meanest Souldier, and that unto excesse, which hath made me sometimes complaine more of the plenty our Souldiers had after this victory, through the abuse of it, then ever I did before for any penury".

The long triumphal progress after the victory, through Thuringia, the Rhineland and Bavaria, brought Monro many experiences, often worth pursuing through his clotted text, but hardly on the same plane as Frankfurt and Breitenfeld. He commanded the palace-guard in Munich, when the King held his court there in company with the Winter King of Bohemia; and he was still with the royal army at Nuremberg. But he was not present at Lutzen, it was the first major action in which the King had not had Scots to rely upon, as Monro points out in his explanation of why the battle turned out as it did. He was at that time in South Germany, serving under Horn, and among other places was plaguing the diocese of Dunklespiel on the Upper Rhine — the same diocese in which Ritt-master Dugald Dalgetty had so enjoyed himself with the episcopal property. After the King's death a shadow began to creep across an existence which hitherto had been uniformly sunny; and after Nördlingen the survivors of Monro's regiment numbered less than a company — a twelfth of the strength with which it had entered the Swedish service. If the King had lived, he must have conceded that the hope he had expressed when he mustered them in Stockholm had been abundantly fulfilled: from this regiment he had gotten good service for his money.



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