

THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

PART II (A)

MILITARIA

THE TIME BEFORE GUSTAVUS II (ADOLPHUS).

Far back in those remote days when the giant forms of Northern Mythology loomed out of the mist in unlovely grandeur, when Ossian sang and runic stones were raised in memory of battles, there is a legend of a host of Scots or "Skottarna" sailing across the seas on a roving and plundering expedition to Sweden and landing at Janum in the Bohus district. Their king was called Valbred, and his chief adviser Kuse. The frightened peasants, collected round their chiefs, found time to ensconce themselves in the Långevallspass, and awaited the enemy's arrival. Stubbornly the pass was defended. At last the Scots gave way, but before they could reach the shore a battle took place in the neighbourhood of Nafversdal Church and Östad, where seventy huge stone pillars bear witness to their defeat. The remaining Scots were cut down before they gained their ships at a place where now Janum Church stands. [The legend has been poetically treated by Birger Ström in a little epic called *Skottarna i Janum*, Grebbestad, 1900. There are about 120 of these stone pillars at Janum. Kuse reached the shore but was killed. His grave is pointed out near Kuseröd, which was called after him (öde = fate, destiny).]

As the centuries rolled on, the ships of other Scottish pirates, with the much dreaded Earl of Orkney at their head, troubled the Baltic seas, and for a long time prevented the development of a peaceful traffic between the two countries.

Putting aside the question whether these so-called Scots at Janum were not in reality Irish, we come to the time when the true Scots redeemed all their hostile actions of long ago by their faithful services under the banner of Sweden, from the time of Eric XIV., or the end of the sixteenth century, until the beginning of the nineteenth, when Swedish troops for the last time took the field to oppose the great disturber of European peace. This assistance

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was sought for.

When a small nation hardly numbering three millions of souls is bold enough to engage in war against powerful neighbours of three times the size and resources, it is driven by necessity to alliances on the one hand and to recruiting in foreign countries on the other. Sweden has tried both. She has had allies to-day whom she met on the battle-field to-morrow. As for recruiting, in the reign of Gustavus Vasa German legionaries were employed. It was Denmark then that made Scotland her recruiting ground. Sweden was highly indignant at this. It appears, moreover, from various documents, that the most extraordinary notions, mixed with no little apprehension, prevailed about these Scots. "The King of Denmark expects a powerfully efficient force from Scot]and," writes Hemming Gad [Doctor Hemming Gad was Bishop of Linköping, and, during the reign of Sten and Svante Sture (1504-72), one of the leading men in Sweden.] from Kalmar on the 9th of January 1507, and in a report addressed by Sture Jonsson to the Riks-Råd, on the 20th of January 1511, he calls the Scots the "ocristelige," the "unchristian" Scots. [Bidrag to *Skandinavias Historia*, C. G. Styffe, v. 189, 434.] Of the same import is a third reference to these auxiliaries in a letter of Sture, written in 1507, where he says that the King of Denmark had hired "swart tall folck," a very great number of men of Scotland, who were to arrive at Copenhagen about the time of Mid-Lent ("Midfasta"). [*Handlingar rörande Sk. Historia*, xx. 168.]

The earliest Scottish legionaries fighting for Sweden were hitherto assumed to be those that the great Gustavus engaged at the time of the Thirty Years' War on the Continent (1618-48). This is a mistake. Scottish soldiers formed part of the army of Sweden as early as 1563. On the 30th of July King Eric XIV. writes to Master Mårten to raise 2000 men in Scotland. [Eric's *Registratur*, Riks A. In the same letter ships and mariners were mentioned.] A certain officer, David Schotus, is repeatedly mentioned, and in a letter of October 8th of the same year - unfortunately much defaced - the Scots - Skottare - are mentioned. Nor were these levies restricted to foot and horsemen. Eric also tried to enlist Scottish sailors. We find a certain document, dated 12th September 1565, issued to a mysterious Captain N. N. Schotus, which contains full powers to engage one hundred "Scotos rei nauticæ peritos in regnum Sueciæ adducturos." [Already in 1534 Gustavus Vasa writes with regard to a Scottish sea-

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captain, who had offered his services to one Severin Kül, and commands him with all eagerness to accept the offer, also to be prepared to pay down a certain sum to him in case he might be willing "to enlist any men on our behoof," adding that the dangers of war were always threatening. Gustav's *Registratur*, ix. 148.]

Remembering that to sketch the lives of those at the head of great political or military movements only is doing but a small part of a historian's work, and that the historian must descend a step lower and inquire after the fate of the many, we have tried to arrange our material so as to be able not only to give the reader the names of the leaders of these early levies, but also to let them have a glimpse of the life of the common Scottish soldier in the service of an alien power, a life upon which at that time no political enthusiasm, no religious sympathy could shed a friendly light. It was a life that shocks us in its sad and repulsive reality.

The foreign legionaries were to be employed in what is called the Northern Seven Year's War (1563-70). Denmark had concluded an alliance with Poland and Lübeck, so that Sweden was on all sides, by land and on the sea, surrounded by enemies. The war did not end very gloriously for the latter country. In the peace of Stettin (1570) Sweden had to renounce all claim upon Danish or Norwegian provinces, or upon the island of Gotland, pay a fine of 150,000 Thaler, and retire utterly exhausted and crippled in its resources. We lay stress upon this, because it explains the difficulty the country had in paying the foreign troops.

As officers of this first levy of Scottish legionaries are mentioned: William Kahun, Jacob Henderson, William Ruthven (Redwin), Thomas Buchan, and Robert Crichton. Of these Kahun was made a prisoner by the Danes in 1568. Colonel William Ruthven is the same that was sent into Åbo Castle in 1563 to treat about its surrender, and was brother to that Alexander Ruthven of whom we have to speak further on. [Both are sons of Patrick Ruthven.]

Both Kahun and Buchan address a German petition to the king in 1567, [Riks. A.] explaining how they had become security for a Scotsman who had promised to raise and bring over into this kingdom a number of his countrymen, but had failed to do so. The king had advanced him 1200 Thaler for this purpose, and had now ordered this sum to be deducted from

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their pay as captains of horse. But the money, they continue, has been stopped at Mecheln, where it had been deposited with the magistrates. Would the king please write to Mecheln? [Riks A.] Now the name of this unsuccessful Scotsman is illegible, but there is the draft of an old letter to the king, likewise written in German, which may have been penned by him. It is so thoroughly characteristic of the period that a translation of its main contents will not be deemed out of place. "I cannot withhold from your Majesty," says the writer, "that I still want a letter to my most gracious sovereign the Queen of Scotland, in order to accomplish my purpose. For your Majesty will know very well out of his highly favoured knowledge ["Aus hochbegnadem Verstande." Riks A. King Eric's Reg.] that to raise such a number of soldiers without the gracious permission of the Queen is impossible. I therefore pray your Majesty to send me such a letter. Moreover, I submit to your Majesty whether I should not have power, in case I do not succeed in raising the sufficient number, to complement it to its full strength by other strong and efficient men." Finally the writer craves his expenses for living, "he having had to incur great outlay and being in debt to the amount of 100 Thaler." The letter is written from Stockholm, but neither dated nor signed.

But whoever it was that brought them across, there they are. We even know some of their names. In an old pay-list - probably dating from the year 1564 - William Brun mentions the following as having received amounts due for their services in Livland: Matth. Johnston, Jacob Wynne, Hans Renton, Ths. Krugshang, Jacob Paton, Andr. Seton, and Hans Liddell.

This matter of pay was (for reasons that we have alluded to) the one great difficulty with the ruling powers.

The treasury was exhausted; the iron-mines were mortgaged; and promises, nay, base money had to be resorted to. No wonder that the grievances and petitions of the Scots on this account are very numerous. As a model of all the rest let us take the following complaint contained in a letter of Scottish troopers to King Eric XIV. in the year 1566, on the 24th of May. [Handlingar angående Nordiska Sjuårskrig. Riks A. A trooper received a monthly pay of nine Thaler. The Scottish officers repeatedly received land as a security for their pay. Thus Wallace and Lyell, in Småland and Östergötland in 1578. See Riks A.] "Most gracious Lord and King. We,

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Scottish troopers, complain of the great wrong done to us in not paying us for the horses that were killed in the late battles and leaving us without our pay for the last three months.” They then proceed to say that they had to borrow horses. A messenger had arrived commanding them to wear armour. They were willing to do so, but must have the armour free of expense. To explain all these matters to the king they send their Colonel, W. Ruthven, to his Majesty. This letter is signed by James Stuart, Wallace, Thos. Larbon (?), Ch. Fullerton, Alex. Murray, Will. Monraff (Monroe?), Gilbert Young, Andrew Greig, David Bisset, John Lockhart, John Galloway, and David Kerr. [Riks A.]

In another similar petition they maintain that all their poverty and misery arose from the base and miserable coin in which King John had paid them.

[Riks A. Militaria, King John's time.]

Somewhat later in a letter of supplication sent by “poor strangers, troopers under Col. Ruthven,” they ask for their discharge and for their full pay as they had been promised. Their captain, they continue, had already advanced the pay to some of them, others had gone with Henry Leye.” But we others have nothing but hunger and nakedness.” The signatures of the following men are added: Alexander Trompatt, Carl Leitch, W. Wilson, David Johnston, Thos. King, Sander Chapman, Nicoll Rod(?), Hans Scharff (Sharp or Shairp), Bartel Longborough, Hans Waterston, Jacob Lesly, Jacob Konningham, and Jacob Gad. [This letter is not addressed to the king, but probably to Duke Charles, his brother.]

Whilst the Swedish fleet triumphed over the combined Danish-Lübeck fleet near Bornholm, almost the only success the Swedes could boast of on land was the taking of the fortress of Varberg in 1564. On this occasion the Danish Governor and his Scottish troops alone escaped the fate of being slain like the rest. The latter were taken prisoners and took service under King Eric or the Dukes. It was on this occasion that Colonel Hans (or John) Stuart, who had exchanged the service of King Erik for that of Duke Charles, was carried to Upsala as a prisoner, deprived of a large sum of money, and only set free at the intercession of other Scottish officers. It had been his second imprisonment, for, when returning from Edinburgh to Danzig in that

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year, his ship was seized, and the Danes had shut him up at Varberg on suspicion of entering the Swedish army. [Stuart belonged to the Ochiltree branch of the family. He afterwards became Colonel of a Scottish regiment and General Mustermaster of all foreign troops (1609). He died in 1618, and lies buried in Wadsbro Church. After having procured two certificates of birth, one proving his nobility on the father's, the other on the mother's side (both issued from Edinburgh in the years 1579 and 1585), he was ennobled.]

The inglorious Northern Seven Years' War ended, as we have seen, with the Peace of Stettin in 1570, and now the question arose what to do with the foreign legionaries.? King John - king since 1568 - who had always shown a warm feeling for the sufferings of the peasantry [Most admirable is the justice of the king, when having to decide on these matters. The Scottish trooper must certainly be enabled to buy his horses, but he must pay for them, and must not demand more pay than what is necessary. The poor "bönder," *i.e.* peasant proprietor, must be protected.] during the war, and who had been overwhelmed with complaints regarding these foreigners, who "cut down the corn before it was ripe," and otherwise oppressed the country-people on whom they were billeted, seemed only too glad to disband them. On the 21st of December 1570 the king writes to Anders Keith, his trusted friend, that the foreign troops are to receive a couple of months' pay and be discharged. Letters to the same effect are addressed to Will. Cahun and William Moncrieff. [F. Ödberg, om Stämplingerna mot Konung Johann III.; åren 1572-75. Stockholm, 1897.] We doubt, however, whether all the Scots really went home; for Russia was again on the war-path. Czar Iwan IV., King Erik's friend, but a bitter enemy of the reigning King Johann, sent hosts of irregular troops to inundate Estland, and a war of thirteen years, mostly consisting of plundering expeditions and sieges, followed. New levies were necessary, and it is not at all improbable that some of the disbanded Scots were re-enlisted - at all events we meet with the same names of officers in and after 1573 that came before us in the previous years.

The levy of Scottish soldiers in 1573 was perhaps the largest that ever took place. It has a close connection with a very remarkable event that occurred in 1574, and is known as the Scottish Conspiracy against the life of King John. With the aid of a very excellent book dealing specially with this subject, [F. Ödberg, om Stämplingerna mot Konung Johann III.; åren 1572-75. Stockholm, 1897.] WE have now to consider it more closely.

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Ever since the imprisonment of King Eric XIV., on account of his tyranny and his suspected madness, plots to release him from prison and to dethrone Johann had been concocted, plots whose meshes extended to France and Venice and can be met with in almost all the secret archives of Europe.

The chief actors in this drama were Charles de Mornay, Archibald Ruthven, and Gilbert Balfour or Baphur, as he is frequently called. Let us see what kind of men they were. Mornay has been called a Scotsman by various Swedish writers, but he was by birth, education, and character French. He signs himself Baron of Varennes, came to Sweden in 1557, and rose high and rapidly in the favour of the king. His services were repeatedly made use of in diplomatic missions to Copenhagen and London, in which latter place he was to promote Eric's matrimonial suit with the Virgin Queen; but neither there nor with Mary, Queen of Scotland, to whose court he - now styled "eques aureatus et cubicularius noster" - together with Peter Brahe and Martinus Helsingius, betook himself on a like errand, could he boast of any success. Still more unlucky was he in his capacity as Swedish General in the war against the Danes. True, he took Varberg in 1564, but was shamefully beaten immediately afterwards by the Danish leader Günter von Schwarzburg. In July 1566 he was captured by the Danes, and was kept a prisoner at Elfsborg for close on five years, till peace was restored between the belligerents. His great passion was to instigate conspiracies in favour of the imprisoned Eric. Had it only been this it might have been excused on the score of his being Eric's friend and of his being bound to him by ties of gratitude, but he did not scruple at the same time to aim at taking King Johann's life. A more double-faced character can hardly be imagined. Whilst almost daily receiving proofs of the reigning king's favour, who, it must be granted, showed a most deplorable want of insight into human nature, and of firmness and courage during all this plotting, he had his secret spies and fellow-conspirators at almost every court of Europe. Already, during 1571-72, he worked, together with Dancay, the French ambassador at Copenhagen, at his deep-laid scheme of putting Henri of Anjou on the throne of Sweden, - a scheme which only failed because Henri was elected King of Poland.

Having then been baulked, he now, in 1573, tried to inveigle the newly

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levied Scottish officers, and to talk them over into a plot that was to end with his own downfall.

Archibald Ruthven, the other of the chief actors in the drama, was the son of Patrick Ruthven - so well known to every reader of Scottish history in connection with the murder of Rizzio - and Jeanet Douglas. Of his early life not much is known, except that he was inured to scenes of terror and plotting. When his brother William became High Treasurer he was already in Sweden, and is spoken of as the "young Colonel" or as "Archibaldus."

Gilbert Balfour (or "Baphur"), another Scottish officer whose name fills the Swedish minute-books of the famous trial of conspiracy, was brother to Sir James Balfour († 1583) of infamous memory. With him and his other brother David he had partaken in the plot against Cardinal Beaton.

Around these three men there are grouped a weak, vacillating, timid king; the energetic, prudent, diplomatic Duke Charles, his brother; Scottish officers; Jean Allard, King Eric's gardener and trusted friend, who first gave out the story of the king's hidden treasure-trove of five tuns of gold, which played so important and mysterious a part in the trial; Pontus de la Gardie, another French adventurer, incapable General of the Swedish forces, and a liar from his birth; and Anders Keith, who was rapidly rising in King John's favour, and had just been made Governor of Vadstena Castle (1574). [Anders (Andrew) Keith of Dingwall came to Sweden about 1569. The king used him on a number of diplomatic missions, for instance to England and Queen Elizabeth in 1583. In Oxenstjerna's letter of introduction he is called "eques aureatus" and "affinis meus." He was married to Elizabeth Grip. The wedding took place at the king's own expense, the bride being a grand-daughter of Margareta Vasa. He continued to be one of the king's most trusted counsellors. His house in Stockholm in the Vitra Langgatan, behind the Palace, is still to be seen with his crest and motto, "Auxilium meum in Domino." It was afterwards bought by King Sigismund, who wanted to make a Roman Catholic chapel of it.]

The conspiracy originated with Mornay, who, shortly after the arrival of the Scots in June 1573, taunted them with having sought the services of a king who was so poor that he would not be able to pay them one month's wages. He would send them out of the way to a place where they would die of hunger and cold. Mornay advised them not to allow themselves to be separated, but to remain together until their claims should be satisfied. [Gilbert Balfour's statements in Mornay's *Rättegångsacter*. Riks A See also, Ödberg, *l.c.*, p. 57.] Having thus

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prepared the soil by sowing the seed of discontent and arousing the *perfervidum ingenium* of the Scottish officers, he ventured a step further. In the month of August, when both Ruthven and Balfour were in Stockholm, more definite proposals were made. Jean Allard promised them 100,000 Thaler each, and three months' pay for their men, if they would liberate King Eric, and Mornay settled other details. According to Messenius, the Swedish historian, [Messenius, *Scandia illustrata*, vii. 24.] King John was to be slain at the Royal Palace during a performance of the Highland sword-dance, which was new to the Swedish Court; but either Mornay - seized by an inward scruple - failed to give the sign agreed upon, or else the king retired before the dance, or even prohibited it altogether, since it did not seem safe to admit the Scots "with bare swords" into his presence. [Sven Eupfsson, *Paralipomena in Handlingar angående Skand. Hist.*, xii. 193.] Another report has it that Ruthven, Balfour, David and James Murray, Michell, and other Scottish officers were to crave a private audience and murder the king in his bed-chamber. However this may be, the murder did not take place, though the sword-dance was actually performed at a brilliant banquet which the king gave at the Palace of Stockholm on the fourth of October, and at which he himself, the Court, the members of the Riks-Råd and of the nobility with their ladies, as well as the Scottish officers, were present. In examining the voluminous record of the conspiracy trial, nothing strikes the reader more than the incomprehensible conduct of the king. Did he really not suspect the Scots? - why, then, did he hasten their departure? Did he suspect them, then why did he admit them into his presence with or without "bare swords"? Why did he continue to give them proofs of his favour. [On the 8th of September 1573, Ruthven received a gold chain worth 160 gold crowns, and Balfour, on the 30th of the same month, a silvergilt cup, embossed, weighing fourteen ounces.]

Soon, however, all doubts should be set at rest. There was a traitor in the camp. One Hugh (or Peter) Cahun, who bore Ruthven an ill-will, and had accused him of having appropriated some part of the pay due to the soldiers, disclosed the secret plotting of Mornay and the Scottish officers to the king. When this became known a perfect storm of indignation arose. Mornay especially demanded the immediate arrest and punishment of Cahun, and Ruthven declared he would go to the king with all the other Scottish officers and crave a strict inquiry into the matter. The poor king did

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not wish to take Cahun's life, "though he had sinned against him and against his own countrymen," but he had to give way to the urgent requests of his nobles and the Scots. [Cahun had been one of the first officers who had declared for John after the deposition of Eric in 1568; he had frequently since received proofs of the king's favour. Cahun's Christian name is also given as Peter. It is said that Johann repented of his execution and provided for his widow by marrying her to his friend Magister Andrew Anhiop in Upsala, who was assisting the king in his liturgical projects. (*Palmskiöldska Samml. Upsala Bittl.*)] Cahun was beheaded on the 20th of October; but a sting remained. In the meantime the Scottish regiments had been sent to Reval. Here also were Ruthven and the rest of the captains. Balfour, who foresaw further trouble, tried to escape to the sea and on board a vessel, but was captured, and confessed. Captains Lauder and Jacob Hume also told of the treacherous designs of Mornay. Concerning Ruthven, Pontus de la Gardie wrote to the king that he thought him innocent, and Ruthven himself, writing to the king on the 13th of January, tried to exculpate himself by screening himself behind Balfour and exposing the secret conspiring of the gardener, the Venetian ambassador, and others. Not before the month of April did the king demand the seizure of Ruthven, Balfour, and Moncrieff. With a strong escort they were to be sent to Stockholm, after having undergone a preliminary trial at Reval. Mornay, the chief plotter, to escape a similar fate had fled to Duke Charles, and leaving repeated royal summonses unnoticed or excusing himself on account of illness, he accompanied his protector on his journeys. During his imprisonment in the spring of 1574 Ruthven sent a petition to the king promising to communicate important political secrets, which he had come to know through his brother William, High Treasurer in Scotland, and among others the proposed mission of an extraordinary envoy to Sweden. Months passed again before De la Gardie could make up his mind to send the prisoners off to Stockholm. Well did he know the fate that threatened him, and he pledged his word that they should not be put to death on Swedish soil. The trial commenced on the 16th of July, before eight senators of the kingdom and fifteen members of the nobility. Charles de Mornay, who had also been sent to Stockholm after an unsuccessful attempt to escape, was the first to be condemned to death (August 21st). His guilt was admitted; and his cock-and-bull story of the hidden treasure which was to serve as a dowry for King Eric's daughter, and last, not least, for the payment of the Scottish legionaries, did not avail him. On the fourth of September he was executed on the "Great Market in Stockholm." His last words were, "To-day

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Carolus shall die, he by whose leniency King John lives.” Balfour who had been condemned likewise “to the loss of life, goods, and honour,” was retained in prison whilst the trial of Ruthven proceeded. Numerous are the petitions the latter sent to the king, the queen, De la Gardie, and others. He protests his innocence, and begs to be punished most severely if he had in word or deed offended against the Sovereign. Attachment to King John had made him mortgage his estates in Scotland. He did not yet know, he maintained, the reason of his imprisonment. His friends and kinsmen were dead, his soldiers miserably shot. He himself, being wounded and a prisoner, had no other hope but the king and his well-known leniency. When asked why he had introduced more Scottish soldiers into the country than had been agreed upon, he referred to Keith’s letter of the year 1572. The king, to whom he had offered to ship those of them that could be spared to Holland for service under the Prince of Orange, had refused the proposal. For this he was not to be blamed. As to the conspiracy, his answer was rather evasive. He still adhered to his former statement that he first heard of it at Reval through Balfour, and called Cahun’s fate well merited, because he had said all Scots were traitors, and it would never do for the sake of one scoundrel to make the whole army suffer. Asked if he had written to the Scottish Regent and defamed King John, he strongly denied the fact, reiterating that if he was guilty he was ready to suffer death, for honour was dearer to him than life.

In the meantime the Government in Scotland warmly pleaded the cause of the prisoners, of whose sad fate it had at last been informed. [On the 18th of July 1574 Walsingham writes to the English Government concerning the news of the conspiracy in Sweden. (See Calendar of State Papers.)] On the 20th of August 1574. the Earl of Morton, in the name of King James VI., then a boy of eight, wrote to the Swedish king. He even resolved to send a special Envoy, Magister Patricius Whytlace, to Sweden. When the king was informed of his arrival at Elfsborg on the 5th of October, he was greatly afraid it might be a herald carrying a declaration of war in his pocket. He therefore gave strict orders to ascertain first who the messenger was, and to close the gates of Stockholm against him if he was a “herald.” This embassy seems to have had this effect at least, that the lives of the two prisoners were spared, and that they were to be kept in separate places in Sweden until an agreement between Sweden and

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Scotland could be arrived at. Unfortunately this agreement never took place. It was of no avail that the Scottish Government wrote again [To the king on 6th June 1575; to Duke Charles on the 19th of November of that year.] on behalf of the prisoners. Ruthven was kept in close custody at the Castle Fort of Vesterås for nearly four years. He was allowed two or three servants, could walk about in the town, "especially to church," and had sufficient food provided for him, though he repeatedly complained on that score. But after the month of March 1576, when his fellow-prisoner, Balfour, had made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, prison rules were enforced more rigidly, of which he complains bitterly in a letter to his secretary, Hart. On the 10th of March 1577 he received a royal gift of thirty Thaler. The last five months and a half he did not live in the castle, but stayed with a citizen of the town. Towards the end of his unhappy, restless life he was denuded of means to such an extent that on his death-bed he had to pawn his clothes for fifty Thaler to his host. Thus he died in February 1578. His faithful servant Gilbert at once brought the news to the king and to Andrew Keith. The former authorised him to redeem his clothes, but Gilbert only succeeded in doing so toward the end of September. There was not even money to pay the sexton for ringing the bell at Ruthven's funeral. A certain Philip Kern ordered him to receive four "lasts" of corn out of the castle's storehouse for that service.

On the 17th of July 1574 the still more remarkable trial of Balfour commenced. It was remarkable chiefly in respect that it showed the almost incredible vacillation of the king. At first he intended to spare his life, but after the attempted flight he became so irritated, and the terror of new conspiracies so grew upon him, that he ordered him to be beheaded before Easter (1576). This sentence is again repeated on the 8th of May when he is to be "halshuggen" (executed) in Söderköping's great market-place. But the idea of the hidden treasure which Balfour promised to reveal so tormented him that he had the prisoner removed from the Castle of Stegeborg to Stockholm. On the 6th of June he writes to the Governor of the Castle, "Though We rather think that what the traitor Baphur says of King Eric's treasure-trove be nothing but lies and deceit, yet after he has given his word to reveal its hiding-place, within 24 hours, We desire you to examine him again and let Us know the result." [Riks A.] Balfour to gain time did not fully satisfy the examiners, but said he would only tell the whole of

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the truth to one of the king's trusty messengers. So Andrew Keith was sent to pump him, but failed likewise to elicit anything. [Diggings for the treasure were actually proceeded with "between a withered and a green tree" in the king's Trädgård.] He returned, however, with the news that the prisoner had offered eight hundred Rosenobles for his life and freedom. It is scarcely creditable to the king that, in a cynical letter of July 19th, he commanded the Governor of Stockholm Palace to demand one thousand. Thereupon Balfour, who could not in time dispose of so great a sum, was executed in the month of August 1576. Two of his utterances during the trial deserve our special attention. He solemnly declared that after having - partly at least - been satisfied as to the payment of his soldiers, he refused to have anything more to do with Mornay's treasonable plans, and secondly he asked why did he allow all his men to be drafted out of the country, if he had any treason in his mind?

Remarkable also is a Latin petition to the king in favour of Balfour, written on the 10th of September and signed by twenty-three Scottish officers. [The names of the officers were: Jacobus Stewart, John Maxwell, John Cockburn, James Strang (signifer), Ed. Methven, John Muir, John Kurck, Henry Leyell, W. Patterson, George Sunderland, Thos. Michell, Andrew Stark, W. Marshall; for the rest, who could not write, a public notary named Patrick Creich signed the petition. Riks A.] After having pointed out the prisoner's faithful services to the Crown in the war, and having referred to De la Gardie's pledged word, they add that Gilbert had actually opposed the execution of Mornay's plans. Be this as it may; for the king it sufficed that the two Scotsmen were implicated in the matter; only their death could rid him of the fear that they would place themselves at the head of the disaffected.

True it is that both Ruthven and Balfour came of a bad stock, and that they were early made familiar with treason and murder. But to infer from it an incredible moral corruption of Scotland in general, and the inherent tendency of the Scots to plotting, seems to me going a little too far. [Cf. Ödberg, *l.c.*] Surely other countries in the XVIth century were as full of political intrigues, and Sweden suffered from them above all from the time of the House of Vasa to Gustavus III., and his murder in the Opera-House of Stockholm.

But it is time to return to the Scottish levies. They were sent in hot haste by the timid king, who does not seem to have felt safe in their presence, to

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Livland and Esthland. To supply them with two months' pay John III. had pawned a silver-gilt bowl valued at 26,000 Thaler, he had even made arrangements with a rich English merchant, William Brown, to buy the remaining claims of the Scots for half the amount and set him free. [Ödberg, *l.c.*, pp. 73 ff.] Ruthven had had hard work to satisfy his men, who were stirred up against him by Cahun. They suspected the Colonel of having retained part of their pay, as we have seen, and their discontent grew to such a pitch that they threatened to kill him in the inn where he lay. This was only prevented through the timely aid of Jacob Näf, another Scot in the service of the king. At last everything - clothes and pay [With the exception of the not inconsiderable sum of 2000 Thaler.] - were ready, and towards the end of September 1573 the whole of the Scottish force, about five thousand men, were at Reval, where they stayed till November. Then the Swedish Commander-in-Chief, Pontus de la Gardie, resolved first to attack the important Russian fortress of Wesenberg. To this the Scots objected unless they were paid one month in advance; they refused to march until De la Gardie satisfied them with the proceeds of the sale of his bracelets and rings. [This is according to De la Gardie's own account. Rüssow, in his *Chronica der Provinz Livland*, says the Scots had to be forced to march by the Swedes; but Rüssow, a Lutheran clergyman in Reval, is not an objectionable witness. He also says that the Scots all belonged "to that dangerous creed: Calvinism."] The troops suffered greatly from hunger and exposure. Twice Wesenberg was assailed, Klas Åkeson Tott, leading the Swedish forces; twice the assault was repulsed. On the 2nd of March 1574 the third assault took place; it ended with the repulse of the Swedes, who suffered a loss of about 1000 men, besides many wounded. According to Ruthven the loss of the Scots alone amounted to 1100. During all this time there were bickerings between the German and the Scottish legionaries, the former reproaching the Scots for failing to support them sufficiently. During an expedition of De la Gardie's with part of the troops against Tolsberg and Dorpat, the irritation grew; the march was unsuccessful; and owing to dissension which every day threatened to break into open mutiny, the leaders had to return to the main army.

This fear was realised on the 15th of March, when a sanguinary conflict between German and Scottish soldiers occurred, which ended in the unparalleled and inexcusable slaughter of 1500 Scots within the space of one hour in the face of the enemy. A quarrel about some unpaid ale in the

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canteen was the ostensible cause. A German officer was called in to restore peace; but it was too late. The altercation ended in a free fight in which several Scottish soldiers were killed. In vain also was the interposition of De la Gardie, Ruthven, and Tott, who at this time came upon the scene. They barely escaped with their lives. Ruthven was wounded severely. Then the Scots seized the guns and threatened to fire. Upon this the whole of the German horsemen charged, and so furious was their onset, so much did they outnumber their enemies, that within the short space of one hour they only lost about thirty men, whilst their opponents, unsupported by their own cavalry, were practically annihilated. [It is said that the Scottish horsemen had been ready to mount, but that the melee would have spread to the Swedish and the remaining German troops if they had assisted their countrymen; and so they refrained. Only Moncrieff's regiment seems to have afforded help. De la Gardie mentions 2000 as the number of Scots slain, but he possibly means the loss of the Scots during the whole unfortunate campaign.] The Scottish camp was nearest to the fortress; first came Michell's regiment, then David Spalding's, and lastly Gilbert Wauchope's. Behind them, parallel to each other, were the German and Swedish camps. During the fight a number of Scottish officers lost their lives, amongst them David and Jacob Murray and George Michell. Thomas Michell, his brother, seems to have escaped death, for we find him amongst the Scottish officers and men who were afterwards sent to Stockholm as prisoners to give an account of the affair. Only 70, or, according to Rüssow, 700 (!) Scots fled into Wesenberg, and were received into the fortress with open arms, but afterwards were sent to Moscow, since when nothing more is heard of them.

Two facts impress themselves most strongly upon every impartial reader of this sad tragedy: the utter incapacity of the Swedish military leaders, and the cynical indifference of the king. There was a sort of a trial held, but only to incriminate the Scots. We read of no lists of the killed and wounded being forwarded to Stockholm; we read of no punishment dealt out to the Germans. The great anxiety of the Government was apparently to keep the awful truth to themselves.

After this sad end of the levy of 1573 we hear no more of Scottish legionaries until we come to the year 1591. In the meantime the war against Russia had, after an armistice, during which Sweden remained in possession of her conquests, broken out afresh. Great preparations were

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made during the summer of that year to meet the country's emergencies in the field. A certain unwillingness, however, to levy new troops in Scotland seems to have prevailed. In the letter which authorises Duke Charles to raise 4000 foreign soldiers, the significant addition occurs - preferably in the Netherlands ("eljest"); so that we are left in doubt how many Scots, if any, were among the number. It is certain, nevertheless, that Captain Henry Lyell received orders to levy one regiment of horse for service in Livland. He was to see particularly to their horse material and to their equipment. [Eighth of June. Riks A. *Registr.*] The following Scottish officers are named in 1595 as receiving their remaining pay: David Johnston, W. Williamson, Hans Johnston, Thomas King, Jacob Kunnigam, Charles Leitch, William Allan, Jacob Luschi(?), Hans Wetterson, Hans Kunnigam, and W. Robinson. [Riks A. As Governor of Wyborg, a Scot, Thomas Ebbnet (of Abernethy), is mentioned. He is sent to Narva in 1591 with some message to the Scots.] Towards the close of the century it is satisfactory to notice that with the accession of King Charles IX. (1599) a change took place in the estimate of the Scots and their services. On the 2nd of October of that year, in a letter which exhibits all the brevity and energy of this the most gifted son of the great Vasa king, the Scots at Narva are again taken into favour. What has happened in the past shall be forgotten, and if the Germans do not want to keep the peace, especially their leader Otto Yxkull, "arrest him and send him to Stockholm." "But you yourselves must be loyal," the letter continues; "if not, I shall spare none of you." In a later letter, dated November 6th, the king thanks the Scots at Narva for their fidelity; he approves of their acting in unison with the town authorities, as well as of their having taken Otto Yxkull and other traitors "by the neck," that is - executed them. [Riks A. *Registr.*]

The last years of the century are filled up with the war between Duke Charles and Sigismund, who was then King of Poland and King of Sweden as well. He was a Roman Catholic, and had by his faithlessness and by his continued residence in Poland forfeited the esteem of the greater number of his subjects. The war was one of momentous issue. It was to decide whether Sweden was to become a Roman Catholic country or continue to be a Protestant one. When Sigismund, in 1598, brought his army across, a great number of Scots were found in it. At first fortune seemed to favour him, but in the Battle of Stångebro he was completely beaten by Charles, who

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took advantage of the bad position of the enemy. Sigismund went back to Poland, he and his son were declared to have forfeited the right to govern Sweden, and Charles ascended the throne as Charles IX. (1599).

Among those who adhered to Sigismund as their lawful king were Andrew Keith and Jacob Näf. The former was banished the country and went to Poland or to Scotland. [Probably to Poland, to King Sigismund.] On the 14th of May 1599, King Charles writes to King James of Scotland that he had no doubt Andrew Keith, "that traitor," had instigated Sigismund to all his breaches of faith, and that he hoped his Majesty of Scotland would not suffer him or "men of his feather" to stay in Scotland. ["Quum autem dubium non sit, sceleratum illum nebulonem, Andream Keith, quemadmodum Reg. Majesem. una cum aliis proditoribus ad ea omnia stimulaverat, quæ Reg. illius Maj. contra fidem datam ac juramentum suscepit, ita et Vestram R. M. in hanc de nobis sententiam calumniis suis pertraxisse, idcirco Regiam Vm. Mm. mirum in modum rogamus, ne ejus maledicta justa nostra excusatione quam R. V. M. ex variis nostris scriptis abunde cognovit, ut præsentem literæ ostendunt, apud se valere sinat, sed sibi ab illo ejusdemque farniæ aliis cavendum ducat qui Pontificam religionem in pectore fovent."]

Keith must have died shortly afterwards, though the date of his death cannot be accurately fixed. In several petitions of Elizabeth Grip, his wife, she prays for the restitution of his and her property.]

A still sadder end awaited his countryman, Jacob Näf. He was properly called Jacob Neafve, Baron of Methie, in Scotland. The Nevoys or Neways were an ancient family of Forfar, now extinct in the direct line. Their property lay in the parish of Methie-Loune. The Barony of Methie did not belong to them, but they were Barons of Nevoy. All the Swedish sources give the date of his arrival in Sweden as 1579; they add that he brought with him a highly commendatory letter from the Scottish king, printed at length in Messenius. But this Latin letter is plainly dated 1615, *i.e.* almost twenty years after Jacob Näf's death, and was written "ex amore in posteros et successores ejus," on account of his love towards his children and heirs. True there is a reference of the writer to two other letters, dated respectively 1579 and 1580, but this is no conclusive evidence of the date of Näf's arrival in Sweden. They may have been sent after him, as was often done. Moreover, we have abundant evidence of Näf's presence in Sweden long before that time. In 1571 he is mentioned, together with William Ruthven, as one of King Johann's "småsvenner," *i.e.* pages. In 1574 he saved Archibald Ruthven's life, as we have seen above, and in 1576 he appears before the Magistrates and Council of Stockholm and declares

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himself willing, with the consent of his beloved wife, Karin Jacobsdotter (Jacob Hampe's daughter), to effect an exchange of a certain building-site belonging to him for another piece of ground which the town authorities were to give him for it. [Date: 21st of March. Rådhus A. See also Hofräkenskapar, Johann's III. Riks A.] Anyhow, Näf was well received at the Court of Sweden, and rose rapidly to posts of great responsibility. In 1583 he was made Governor of Westmanland and Dalarna. Estates in town and country were given to him by the king. At first he got on well with the peasantry of that district, but when his hostile feelings towards Duke Charles became known, and perhaps also on account of some harshness on his part against the poor, [See "Ihre, Dissert. de tumultu Dalecarl." "Sed cum immitior insimul et erga viduas, orphanos et alios severior existeret, gentis animos penitus alienavit."] he incurred the wrath of the "dalesmen." Already in 1596 they had tried to murder him, and he had escaped death only by the courageous act of a priest called Engelbertus Elai, who shielded him with his body. Not mindful of this danger, he went again into Dalarna in 1598 - or, according to others, accompanied a king's messenger of the name of Båt, [Ihre adds to this: he did so, "spe nixus officii recipiendi quod regnante Johanne tertio apud eos iudicis nomine administraverat." This would mean that he had lost the appointment during the Regency of Duke Charles.] to carry the news of Duke Charles's banishment to the peasantry. Then the storm burst. The peasants held a meeting at Fahlun; express messengers were sent in all directions to carry the alarm; the tocsin was sounded. In Tuna, Näf and the four envoys were imprisoned and asked if Sigismund, the king, lived. On their answering in the affirmative, the peasants shrieked: "It is a lie; the Poles have sent a journeyman tailor (skreddaregesell) in his stead to mock the Swedes." Näf was bound to a pig-sty and exposed to the most atrocious acts of mad violence. Finally he was cast into prison. In vain did he offer 2000 Thaler for his life, and when he expressed a hope they would at least allow him a barber to bind his wounds, if he were yet to recover, a young Dalecarlian drew his sword and clove his head with the words, "Take that for a plaster." The body was thrown into a ditch, but afterwards buried in Juna Churchyard. On the tombstone erected by his son-in-law (?), Skytte, in 1634, there is sculptured the figure of a knight in full armour, with gauntlet and helmet at his feet. On either side are the armorial shields of Neff, Baron of Methie; Lord de Gray; Leslie, Earl of Rothes; Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, on the left; on the right: Wishart, Baron of Pitarro; D. Lindsay; Lord Ogilvie; and

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Ramsay, Lord of Auchterhouse. The inscription reads: -

“Jakob Näf, en Skottsker man
Af grefvelig ätt och börde,
I dalom war och vistades han,
Och höfdinge wälde förde.
På Oknöön var hans timelig hem,
Thet unte honom Svea Konung;
Här under hvilat han sin ben
Och väntar en himmelsk boning.”

[In English: “Jacob Näf, a Scot, of baronial rank and birth, was settled here in Dalecarlia and held office as governor. In Öknöön while he lived was his abode, that the King of Sweden gave him. Here below his bones are at rest and wait for a heavenly home.”]

The new century did not bring Sweden what it wanted most for its moral and commercial development - peace. The resolution of the Swedish Senate, that henceforth Sigismund and his heirs should be excluded from succeeding as kings on the throne of Sweden, called forth a long war, called the War of Succession, between Poland and Sweden. Of course new troops were wanted, and foreign countries were drained of their available forces. On the 2nd of July 1602, King Charles writes to Colonel Thomas UGGLEBY (Ogilvie) in Scotland, that he should send two ships and his captain Cornelius, also the money expended in raising the levies, as soon as possible. If he should not be able to complete the whole force, let him only engage foot-soldiers. [Riks A. Charles IX. *Registr.*]

Towards the close of Charles IX.'s reign the scene of the war against Poland had shifted from Livland to Russia. The latter empire was then torn by rebellion against Czar Vasilij Schuiskij, who in his turn had asked the assistance of Sweden. Auxiliary troops to the number of 5000 were promised in return for the cession of the fortress of Kexholm and district. To raise these troops, which were to be under command of Jacob de la Gardie, extraordinary efforts were made. Already early in 1607 letters of recommendation to the Marquis of Huntley (*sic*) were issued to Robert Kinnart, who was by his permission to raise a force of two hundred horse-soldiers, [Latin Letters of Charles IX. in Riks A.] for which purpose he is to receive the sum of 3630 Thaler. A few days later (January 26th) the king writes to Jacobus Spens (Spentz) [James Spens is called Baron of "Wolmerstoun"; he was the son of David Spens of Wormiston, who captured the Regent Lennox at Stirling in 1571. His life was strange and

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adventurous. After having been Provost of Crail in Fifeshire, and after having tried to civilise the Lewes, he entered the service of Charles IX. of Sweden, but was recalled by King James. In 1612 he was sent to Gustavus Adolphus to promote the peace between Denmark and Sweden. In this he was unsuccessful.] in Scotland that he hopes he and his levied Scots will be in Sweden in eight or ten vessels at the beginning of spring. But when no Spens appeared by the end of May another letter is despatched intimating the number of troops required - sixteen hundred foot and six hundred horse. Jacob Wallace, a Scotch merchant, is to defray the expense. Other similar letters are written to Thomas Karr (July 17th) and to William Stewart (November 17th). In most of these cases the offer to raise a body of legionaries was made by the officers, the king only accepting their offer and adding not unfrequently that the levies must be raised at their own expense, "there being no money in the treasury." But he could appoint them Colonels or Captains of the soldiers they were to bring over to the assistance of Sweden, and this he did in the so-called "Litteræ Stipendii." Kinnaird, for instance, is appointed captain, on condition that he raise at his own expense ("suis sumptibus") three hundred foot-soldiers (18th of November); William Stewart receives his appointment on 8th January 1608, on similar terms; [At the same time letters were sent to the Earl of Orkney, who, together with the Duke of Lennox, had recommended William Stuart, his brother.] Jacob Spens is made colonel of all the English and Scottish troops, on condition that he bring across 1000 foot and 500 horse-soldiers by the beginning of spring 1609.

Great is the disappointment of the king when all these promises proved futile. "If I had known," he writes on the 28th of June 1608, "that Dominus Jacobus Spentz was not able to fulfil his promise and levy those troops, as he and William Stuart and several others had said they would, I should have sent an ambassador long ago." [Latin Letters, 1606-25. Riks A.] In the meantime he writes to the King of England on this subject, and having thus prepared him, sends Jacob Spens to him as a special messenger on the 17th of December. In his company travelled Samuel Cobron, Joannes Wacop, Hugo Cochrane, Georgius Duglasius, Daniel Rogerus, Robertus Kinnaird, Gulielmus Horne, and Patricius Ruthven - Scottish officers all bent on the same errand. Merchants were pressed into advancing a loan of 4500 Thaler, for which they were to receive as security the produce of certain copper and iron-mines.

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In the following year the efforts for recruiting were continued. The present number of Scots in Sweden was so exceedingly small that it had to be supplemented. Colonel Rutherford's adjutant, Robert Sim, is selected for this purpose. On the 1st of February he received power to levy 200. About three weeks later - on the 26th of the month - William Stuart is despatched to Scotland to raise five hundred horsemen; but when he does not arrive with them by September the 6th the king countermands his order, saying that, "as the summer had passed," he was not to bring the recruits to Sweden, especially as "the war was nearly over by this time." He warns him in the same letter not to enlist *Irishmen*, because most of them were "infected Pontifica Religione." [*Ibid.*]

To make King James - a brother-in-law of the King of Denmark - more willing to listen to his military requests and needs, Charles IX. sent him, in the month of August, a pair of well-trained falcons with a polite and cunningly worded letter; and King James, not to be behindhand, returns the compliment by forwarding through his trusty servant, Andrew Keith, a book, possibly one of his famous religious treatises, for which the Swedish king expresses his hearty thanks in a letter written on the 22nd of September 1609. [Not the Keith mentioned above, who was Baron of Dingwall, but a relation of his. In another letter the king mentioned that Keith was going to Sweden to claim his Dingwall cousin's inheritance. There are many Keiths in Swedish history: John Keith, who writes in 1562 from Elfsborg; Alexander Keith, who writes a Latin poem entitled: "Primatus seu Papæ imperium"; and old Major James Keith, who recalls his services to the Crown of Sweden during about forty years of war, imprisonment, ransom, and suffering from wounds. Queen Christina grants him the situation as town-major with an annual salary of 400 Thaler (1643). Riks A. Biogr.]

The whole result of these great efforts and machinations was a paltry three hundred men, with whom William Stewart landed in Sweden towards the middle of January 1610. The king is rather angry at his having arrived so late. "Your arrival would have been more gratifying to us if it had happened last summer," he writes.

Now, what was the reason of this falling off in the number of recruits from Scotland? No doubt, first, the very plausible one of want of material, secondly the inability of the Swedish ruler to provide the necessary means, and thirdly - if we mistake not - a growing dislike on the part of King James to allow these levies to go on, directed as they were against a near relation

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of his. But be this as it may, the failure of procuring levies just at that time was very acutely felt. Jacob de la Gardie, the Swedish General, had not been fortunate in his war against Poland; in the Battle of Clusina the Russians deserted him, and the foreign legionaries - long discontented on account of their being without wages for many months - went over to the enemy.

Moreover, war with Denmark had broken out again (1611). But King Charles IX., in a long and restless career, had seen enough of the welfare of this life. He died at Nyköping on the 30th October 1611, and left the Government to his greater son, Gustavus Adolphus.