

PART I

THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

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The history of a nation is like the course of a mighty river. Arising in the dark recesses of mountain solitude, it does not reach the ocean on its own strength and fulness alone, but receives new life, and a quickening of the old, from numerous tributaries, partly national, partly foreign.

But whilst the tributaries of a river can be easily ascertained, named, and measured in their width and power, those tributaries that influence, colour, and direct the course of a nation's history often remain unexplored or at best unheeded. National vanity dislikes to confess to a powerful and steady influence from abroad, and where this cannot be denied, it has been the watchword and the cherished purpose of many a political writer to minimise its character and to ridicule its importance.

In many cases, this influence of other nations on our own history is so outspoken, the powerful commingling with the waters of our national life so visible - as, for instance, in the case of the German [It has only been discovered of late years that the great and true authors of the English Reformation were John Wycliffe, at the close of the XIVth century, and Dean Colet, Erasmus, and other "Oxford Reformers" at the beginning of the XVIth." - Ed.] Reformation or the French Revolution - that an attempt to deny it or even to weaken it would be sheer ignorance.

But there are other cases where, as we said above, the sources of the tributaries are unnoticed, losing themselves underground, as it were. Here the task of ascertaining their course and their power is very much more difficult. An instance we had in the large emigration of the Scots to Germany, especially to the North-Eastern parts of it, during the XVth, XVIth, and XVIIth centuries. We have tried [Th. A. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*. Edinburgh, Otto Schulze & Co., 1902. Th. A. Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*. Edinburgh, 1903.] to elucidate this fact, which resulted in the establishment of quite a number of Scottish colonies throughout that country, and left its traces in the language, in proverbs, on many a tomb and faded parchment, and last, not least, in numerous public and charitable institutions, which keep the memory of the foreign donor green, long after his grave has been forgotten.

Already during the publication of our two volumes on the Scots in Germany the fact became clear that the influence of the Scot on the history of

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Sweden, once the greatest Power of the North, has been, if different in its character, quite as great and quite as deserving of special study and research.

The Scottish emigration to Sweden was chiefly owing to her military needs, and much less to the trading habits of the Scots, though we likewise meet with the familiar figure of the Scottish pedlar trudging along with his box on his back, or dragged by his shaggy beast on rough roads in the remote districts of a thinly populated country. Only we do not now find the name of "Schott" or "Schotte" given to the pedlar or enshrined in the proverbs of the land, nor do any villages or suburbs in the signification of their names commemorate the presence and the settlements of the ubiquitous stranger.

A few instances which prove that the Scottish Krämer and the edicts [It is a remarkable fact, though not quite connected with the subject on hand, that the numerous edicts, specimens of which we have given in our *Scots in Germany*, nowhere contain any really serious charges against the Scots. They were mainly issued in deference to the popular demand of prohibiting free trade. If there had been any really serious crimes of which the immigrant Scot had been guilty, how readily these prohibitive orders and the authorities flinging them forth would have taken advantage of the fact! As the matter stands, the edicts are far more remarkable for what they do not say than for what they do say. Their silence does more credit to the Scots than their assertions do them harm, even if one grants their justification.] issued against him were not quite unknown in Sweden may here be mentioned. The first of these is a petition dated Ystad, 1534, "on Friday after St Martin's day." In it the magistrates and council complain of the many Scots who every year come and carry on their trafficking to the great loss of all old-established businesses, hawking about their ware all the country over, "which is against our royal privileges." Not only that, the document proceeds, but these Scottish traders try to intrude among us in the towns, such as Lund, Christianstad, and Aarhus. For this reason the petitioners have agreed, with the consent of the magistrates, after this day not to admit any Scots into the town, and resolved that no old Scots who have paid their taxes for a long time back to His Majesty should take in or employ in their business any other servants or apprentices except Germans or Danish ones, on account of the "eternal injury" and illicit trade these Scots have been carrying on of late. A number of inhabitants of Ystad append their names and seals. [Rigs Arkivet i Kiøbenhavn.]

It will be seen that this petition of the "many men" in no way differs from

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other such documents which are found among the records of German towns in very great numbers. Nor does our second instance of the then popular trade-policy show any deviation from the old, well-trodden path of argument, except that it is a rather elaborate and detailed literary production. It runs - with only short omissions - as follows: -

“As Your Majesty has asked us about the Scots, whom we refused to accept as citizens on our roll, we draw Y.M.’s attention to the fact, that we only did what other cities of Y.M. did, which banished such people from foreign lands, for instance Ystad, Engilholm, Roeskilde, and several other commercial cities in Seeland as well as in Schonen. This was done on account of their improper way of trading and trafficking, carrying, either themselves or through their servants, their ware as soon as the autumn market is over from village to village, such as clothing and earthenware; and in the country, also among the peasants, they barter and sell so that no peasant henceforward needs to carry his ware to any of Y.M.’s towns; and on account of these pedlars and traders, who in such a manner travel about, Y.M.’s trading-places become impoverished and ruined. In the like manner they single out among the numerous peasantry clergymen and certain persons, and gather and buy up all the saleable goods they can get: such as butter, skins, tallow, and leather, and other such things. And although such trade has been forbidden by the King, they in spite of it blind (förblinda) Y.M.’s officials by means of presents and gifts. They are therefore a nuisance and ruin to Y.M. as well as to the trading-towns, and wherever the said pedlars and Scots go, they give out that their home was Malmö, which is not the case. . . . Moreover, should Y.M. for the Kingdom’s sake require a number of soldiers from this district (which God prevent!), be it on land or on sea, we should not be powerful enough, nor be able to persuade them with good words sufficient, to win over one of them, but as soon as they notice [what is going on] they collect their small ware and betake themselves to the country as far as Halland, Blekingen, Sweden, and Norway, so that Y.M. or ourselves on behalf of Y.M. have no help or assistance from them. In the same manner if Y.M. should send soldiers here to be quartered for a time, and if we should ask the Scots to take them in, they would refuse and say they could not afford it, though they have both property and money. But they will rather leave the town and go elsewhere,

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which has happened and still does happen. To these aggrivements we must add that the citizens in this town, both Danish and German, grievously complain that the Scots outbid poor citizens, that have paid their taxes regularly, when there are houses in the market, offering the double or triple sum in Joachim's, taler, or Danish coin for them. They also, when they have possession of a house, prevent the poor burghers of the town from acquiring it for honest money. On account of all this wrong, and for many other matters which we cannot just now explain to Y.M., the instant prayer of all of us is, that Y.M. will prevent these stranger Scots, whenever they try to intrude themselves into our towns, from wishing to acquire citizen's rights, to the great loss of Y.M.'s trading-places." [Malmö Stads Arkivet.]

As to the number of Scots in Malmö during the XVIth century, we have no direct information. Scottish names occur already in 1518 and 1519 in the account-books of the town, amongst them a "Maxfell."

About a century later, in 1635, the magistrates of the capital city of Stockholm also mention with great indignation the Scottish "dräng" or non-journeymen, who "did oust all native competition." "All the best trade they draw to themselves," they say. [See Schering Rosenhane, *Relation öfver Stockholm*, p. 84. Very likely the following passage in the *Sv. Rikrådets Prot.* (x. 366) also refers to the itinerant Scot: "A hundred years ago the Dutch were not allowed free 'segelation' (sailing) in the Baltic, but commerce lay entirely in the hands of Lübeck or Danzig, except perhaps that a few Dutchmen came to Finland and did *what the Scots do now*, a little trade, selling here and there a cask of wine or a little spice." (1643.)]

In spite of these prohibitive measures the Scots in Sweden increased in numbers.

Naturally the Scottish trade took the shortest route, and first selected those ports on the Western coast of Sweden that seemed to offer the best chances.

Gothenburg, or, as the Swedes call it, Göteborg, lies in a wild, picturesque surrounding of rock and water at the mouth of the Göta Elf (river). The distance between it and the nearest Scotch harbour of Leith would only be a few hundred miles. Originally the town had been founded on the neighbouring island of Hisingen in 1603, but it was destroyed by the

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Norwegians in 1612, and rebuilt only seven years later by King Gustavus Adolphus in its present situation. The hope of its rapid development largely depended on the possibility of attracting strangers of means and energy, and of persuading them to settle in the new borough. With this end in view, letters were written to Germany, France, Holland, England, and Scotland, inviting immigration and promising at the same time great advantages and privileges. Göteborg's hope was not disappointed. The foreign element so largely increased that, during the first half of the XVIIth century, of twenty-five town-councillors only thirteen were Swedes, the rest Dutchmen, Germans, or Scots. [*Samlingar till Göteborgs historia* (Materials towards a history of Göteborg), by W. Berg, Stockholm, 1886, f. i.]

The earliest proof of the presence of Scots in or about Göteborg, however, is contained in an old tombstone of the Hospitalkyrka, the inscription of which tells us that it was erected to the memory of Agneta Gipson, "sponsa Jacobi Reid," and that she died "in die 15 mensis Junii Anno Domini 1579, aetatis suae 34." [*Ibid.*, i. 22.] About the same time, 1587, the name of Leslie (Lesle) occurs in a list of house-owners in Göteborg. We are told in this document that unless Leslie would pay the market-price of thirty-six "dalers" for his yard within the time prescribed by law it would be publicly sold.

He must have found means to satisfy the law, for in the year 1600 we again find him mentioned as the owner of a "jord," or plot of ground.

Other old Scottish names are Jacob Reid (Ridd), who sues Andrew Atkinson for a partly unpaid purchase of iron.

In the XVIIth century quite a little colony, not unlike the one at Danzig in Germany, gathered together in Göteborg. The members of it were as strongly attached to each other, and as strongly attached to their church. But whilst at Danzig it was the Presbyterian (Reformierte) church of SS. Peter and Paul where they worshipped, they had to content themselves with the Lutheran church of St Gertrud at Göteborg, also called the Tyska Kyrka, the German church, because the Germans formed the greater number of its adherents. This at times led to no little inconvenience, for the prejudice against the Presbyterians was strong in Lutheran Sweden. It happened that

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people professing the Presbyterian doctrine were buried without the usual funeral sermon, and when in 1680 old Andrew Jack, a Scottish merchant from Helsingör, is carried to his last resting-place in St Gertrud's churchyard at Göteborg, the church entry adds triumphantly: "der sich zu unserer Religion begeben," *i.e.* who had adopted our faith. [W. Berg, *Samlingar, etc.*, iii. i, p. 486. Complete freedom of worship was introduced into Sweden only in 1741 by Royal Decree dated Aug. 27.] Even as late as 1748 several clergymen of the town were punished because they had used the rites of the Lutheran Church at the funeral of "ätskilliga (several) Engelsmän." [W. Berg, *Samlingar, etc.*, iv. 154.]

Under these circumstances it would appear very natural that in 1747 Colin Campbell, a Scot of some influence who had settled as a merchant in Göteborg, should petition the Consistory for the loan of a large hall of the High School in order to have a suitable place of worship for the Presbyterians. The petition, however, was refused. [Berg adds: "We need not say that this petition was negatived; it was more wonderful that it should have been sent" (!), iii. 2, 697.]

Barring these little frictions, the life of the Scots in Göteborg seems to have been very peaceful. They married among their "ain folk" as long as the supply lasted; they were unwearied in acting as godfathers or godmothers at the christening of the "bairns" of their countrymen. [The church-books of the Christina Kyrka or the Tyska Kyrka, one of the foremost sources of information regarding the Scots in Göteborg, give numerous examples of this. For instance, in 1670 a son of John Maclier is christened; godfather and godmother: Capt. G. Maclier and Catharine Gordon; in 1671 a daughter of the same father; godfather and godmothers: Catharine Gordon, William Gordon, and Anne Senckler (Sinclair); at the christening of Andrew, son of Dan. Croquet (Crocket), President Maclier, Alex Kinnaird, and M. Thornton undertake the office, and so forth. The entries in the church-books from 1624-1725 were printed by Berg in his *Samlingar*.] With all this characteristic clannishness, which, as we noticed elsewhere, was also a feature in Danzig and Königsberg and wherever the Scots settled in larger numbers in the North of Germany, the little colony at Göteborg showed no lack of interest in the welfare of their adopted country. In April 1697, "borgemaster" (mayor) Andrew Spalding, at a meeting of the Town Council, referred to the neglected and filthy condition of the streets. He proposed to employ regular gangs of workmen to remove the filth, and at the same time to erect pillars with a notice attached as a warning to those that should hereafter commit the like nuisances. ("Att de voro ämmade åt dem, som hedanefter låta komma sig till last at kasta orenlighet på gatorne.")

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In July 1707, David Kinnaird informed the Town Council that some nights previously a scuffle and a tumult had taken place between some members of the fire-brigade (brandvakt) and other people. He reminded the magistrates of a former resolution that the firemen should be provided with some sort of weapon (kurtz gevähr) by which they could be distinguished.

[Berg, i. 115.]

Likewise for church and schools these Scoto-Swedes proved their interest by contributing to their support according to their means, and when in the reign of Charles XII. the glory of war had to be purchased by voluntary contributions and forced loans, they were again forward in assisting their foster-country in times of distress and difficulty. These loans were called in Swedish by the very mild name of "förskottar till kronan" (1710 and 1713), "förskottar till Pommerska Arméen" (1716), "förskottar till flottans utrusting" (1716) - *i.e.* loan (lit. advance, Germ. Vorschuss) to the Crown, loan for the purpose of paying the armies in Pomerania, loan for the fitting out of a fleet, etc. - but in sober truth they were nothing else than forced loans. On one of these occasions David Kinnaird excuses his small contribution with the fact that he had some moneys in the bank which he could not well command at present, but that he should contribute according to his means as soon as these untoward circumstances were removed. Everybody knew him to be a well-to-do man, he adds.

But it is time that the reader should be made acquainted with the names of these Scotch settlers in Göteborg. They mostly occur in the books of St Christina's church, some are found elsewhere. (Barclay [Berclei]); Anderson, J. (he is called a visitor, and was married in 1670 to Joanna, daughter of Robt. Murré); Bethune, [Of the Balfour family. This was probably Charles Isaac, one of the many officers of this name (1727-94).] Burnet, Andr., died 1773; [In the Church Register of Deaths these two words are added after Burnet's name: "Erat pacificus."] Chalmers (Chälmer, Kalmer, etc.); Chambers; Clerck, Robt., died 1659; Craik; Duncam (Duncan); Feif; [We shall have more to say on this remarkable family further down.] Flint; Forrester, W. (who was drowned whilst skating in 1730); Gordon, Catharina and Arabella; Gregor; Magnus Henry Hay, a Major (1727); Hamilton; Hunter, Ths., died 1673; Kennedi; Kinnaird; [The Seal of the Göteborg Kinnaird is given in Berg. It varies but little from that used in Scotland.] Krichton (married in

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1628); Krockat (Crocket); Lamb, J., [He became the founder of the Ancarcreutz family in Sweden.] 1642; Lindsay, Magdalena; Maclier; Sinclair; Spalding; Col. Stewart, who occurs as godfather in 1687; and Watson.

All of these were merchants with exception of the following: Thomas Hunter, who was a clergyman at the Christina church, married in 1624, died 1663, and left son and grandson, who acted as “klockaren” (sextons) to the same church; James Kinnaird, who became master of the mint, and his two sons; Duncan, who was Major-General; Hugh Hamilton, who is called Colonel; and Malcolm (?) Hamilton, who died as Major-General in 1698, sixty-three years old.

Of the families named above, the Macliers (or Macleans), the Sinclairs, and the Spaldings were the most prominent. We shall not enter into the fabulous genealogy of the Macleans, with their forty-two descents from some Irish chieftain, who was part-owner of an ark at the time of Noah. Suffice it to say that one Hans (John) Maclier, son of Hector Maclean, fifth Baron of Dowart, came to Göteborg in 1620, settled in business, and succeeded so well that he became a town councillor (1640-1650). The burial-list of the Christina church says of him that “he was ennobled by his Majesty of Sweden in 1649 as Lord of Gåsevadholm, Hageby, and Hammersöö, and by His Majesty of England as Baronet of Dowart on account of great good services rendered to both their Royal Majesties. He lived till 1666.” He also acted as Royal Banker. In the year 1635 he advanced the sum of 1150 thalers to Queen Christina at a time when the Exchequer was exhausted and new armaments were urgently required. His intimate business connection with Charles II., King of England, appears from several Royal letters, [See *Biographica*, Rikv. A. Maclier. These important letters are given in the Supplement *in extenso*.] dated respectively 24th Dec. 1650, 24th Feb. 1651, 19th March 1651, and 28th Dec. 1652. In the first of these the King begs “his trusted and well-beloved John Macklier” to hasten the sending of arms and ammunition, of which he stood in great need “to this our sad condition of Scotland.” This Maclier had already done in 1649, and again in 1650, but each time his ships, the *Unicorn* with twelve guns bound for France, and the *King David* with twenty-four, and the *Mary* with twelve iron cannons, were taken by the “Usurping Power,” and with their cargoes confiscated by the sentence of the Admiralty. The two latter

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ships had sailed, it appears, with a fleet of Gothenburg ships which after strict examination were set at liberty, whilst those of Maclier, "only because they belonged to an enemy of the Commonwealth," were retained as good and lawful prizes. This declaration is given and duly witnessed by the two masters of the said ships and two other captains of the Gothenburg vessels on the 26th of August 1650 at "Gothenburg." In the second letter King Charles recommends the bearer Captain Frederick Cooke, referring at the same time to a former Royal Messenger sent to Sweden "for some affaires." The third letter announces to Maclier, who in the meantime has become Sir John Maclier, Bart., that James, Viscount of Newbury, has received 150 cases of Pistols at 8 Dollars a pair, and 50 Carabines at 3 Riks-Dollars a piece, and that the King owns himself to be indebted to the sum of 1350 Riks-Dollars, which shall be paid unto the said Sir John or his "assignes" "so soone as it shall please God to enable us"(!). In the fourth and last Royal letter the King desires Maclier to hand the remaining arms and ammunition to Major-General Middleton, "he being the person to whose conduct we have entrusted the managing of the martial affairs with reference to our Kingdom of Scotland and for the freeing of our good subjects there from the dishonour of slavery they are at present compelled to submit to."

Again in 1654, David Wemeys, merchant-burgess of Dundee, is sent to Gothenburg. He has in the meantime examined Maclier's accounts and found the sum due to him since 1650, "with an interest of 8 pro cento," to amount to 16,030 rixdollars, or between four and five thousand pounds. "For this sum," he continues in his statement, "His Gracious Majesty and Estates of Parliament could not give at present due contentment to the said Sir John Maclier, as they willingly would have done, in case that many inconveniences had not happened to the country; wherefore His Gracious Majesty and Estates of Parliament authorized me to present the said Sir John an act of Parliament and public bond of the Kingdom of Scotland for his assurance of thankful payment of the above-mentioned sum, together with the due interest of 8 pro cento from the end of February until it be duly contented and satisfied to the said Sir John Maclier, his Airs, Executors, or his Assignes."

To his arrangement Maclier agreed, making only the one condition that the

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bond should bear the Great Seal of Scotland. Wemyss on his part obliged himself to procure the Act of Parliament under the Great Seal “within the space of six months under the penalty of 5000 Riks-Dollars.”

“An abridgement of Sir John Maclier’s Pretensions from His Gracious Majesty of England,” and an “Account of damages and losses” conclude this remarkable set of papers. We rather fear His Gracious Majesty remained a debtor to the end of his life. But John Maclier of Gothenburg had at least the satisfaction of now being an English Baronet, though the Usurping Powers had had the audacity of seizing his war contraband.

Maclier’s son John became President of the Court of Justice in Göteborg (1639-1696); but whilst the father’s name was one of the most respected in the town - he having been foremost in promoting public welfare and liberally contributing towards the erection of church and school buildings - the son’s circumstances do not seem to have been equally favourable, for in 1697 we find one Pollrath Tham offering for sale a diamond ring which he held in pledge from him for some loan. [Berg, *loc. cit.*, Supplement, p. 49.] A later scion of this race, David, a Colonel, was made a Swedish “Friherre” (baronet) and took the name of Maclean.

Of the German branch of the Spaldings enough has been said in another place. [See *Scots in Germany*.] We are here concerned with the brother of the German Andrew Spalding who settled at a small town of Plaue in Mecklenburg. His name was Hans. Born in Scotland, he came to Göteborg in the beginning of the XVIIth century, where he became President of the Court of Justice in 1658. Besides him two other “borgmästere” of the name are mentioned: Gabriel (1683-1687), the son of the former, and Andrew, his nephew (1696-1698). In the next century the Spaldings left Göteborg, but we find them again in Stockholm [John Spalding of Göteborg became the founder of the two Swedish noble families of Spaldinreutz and Hjelmberg. Three Spaldings were enrolled as citizens of Stockholm in 1703 (Johann S.), 1727 (Jacob), and 1737 (Johann). See *Borgare-Bok*, Stadsarkivet, Stockholm.] and elsewhere in Sweden.

The Sinclairs appear in 1623 in the chronicles of Göteborg, but the family was known in Sweden long before that. As far back as 1379 a “Henricus de

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Sancto Claro," a merchant at Marstrand, signs a reverse for 200 Rosenobles which he had borrowed from a certain Håkan Jonsson. In Göteborg they occupied rather humble positions: one, James, was a mason; whilst "Fru Anna Sinclair owned one of the twenty-seven breweries of which the small town boasted nearly three hundred years ago.

In the transition period between the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries we may mention Colin (or Collin) Campbell [See above.] (1687-1757), who became a Director of the "Svenska-Ostindiska" Company. He received the patent of nobility in 1731. His valuable library was sold by auction in 1758. [See Svenska Bibl. och ex-libris.] Almost contemporaneous with him there lived at Göteborg a painter and master of his guild, John Ross (1695-1773). He was one of a widespread and talented family, which, though settled in Holstein, originally hailed from the North of Scotland, and contributed many a famous name to art and literature. [Karl Ross, the artist (1816-58), and Ross, the archæologist and classical scholar (1806-59). See *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, xxix. 243 ff.]

In the meantime the unfortunate risings of the Stuarts in 1716 and 1745 became the cause of a new influx of Scotsmen into Sweden. A curious proof of this is given us in a lawsuit which, in 1716, was carried on by Lars Gathenhielm against the captain (skeppare) of a French vessel called *La Paix de Calais*. It had been ordered to Scotland in order to embark and save several officers who had served under the Pretender, and had on board twenty Scotsmen, among them Lord Duffus, who landed in Sweden. The vessel was to return and take up other fugitives in Scotland. A fate similar to that of these officers overtook the founder of a large business concern in Göteborg, which is flourishing to this day under the title of Carnegie & Co., viz. George Carnegie. Like so many others of the Pretender's adherents, he had to fly after the Battle of Culloden. He is said to have evaded his pursuers by gaining the coast and rowing out in a frail boat until he met with a sailing-vessel whose destination was Göteborg. [See "Från vår merkantila och industriela värld" (Andersson, Fredberg), i., ii.] Here he soon succeeded in building up one of the foremost business firms. [There was a Hans Carnegie in Göteborg in or about 1645, when his name is mentioned in an action against Henry Sinclair. Riks A.] After a strenuous activity of twenty years, Carnegie returned to Scotland, leaving the Göteborg business to his trusty friend and book-keeper, Thomas Erskine,

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who in 1803 handed over the management of it to George Carnegie's son David. As a proof of the strong position of the firm and of the absolute confidence placed in its management, it may here be mentioned that when, in the early years of the XIXth century, Swedish commerce had to pass through a severe crisis, Mr Carnegie succeeded in obtaining a loan of £20,000 from the Earl of Kelly, [Probably through the influence of Thomas Erskine, who was a distant connection of the Earl's. Cf. "Från vår merkantila och industriela värld," i., ii.] at a time when the town itself could only raise a loan of 10,000 Riksdaler by giving as security the building of the East India Company. The great Carnegie breweries now give employment to about one thousand workmen, for whose welfare in the way of housing and old-age pensions every thing has been provided in the most liberal and philanthropic spirit.

Some time later than Carnegie, but still in the XVIIIth century, William Gibson from Arbroath came to Göteborg (in 1797), and founded another large business. He commenced with a sail-cloth spinning-mill, but having been joined by another clever Scot, Alexander Keiller, [Keiller was a very energetic and far-seeing man. He erected spinning-mills, iron-works, etc. (1804-74). Gibson built a church and eight schools for his working men, and was constantly aiming at promoting order, sobriety, and morality among them. W. Gibson's mother was Isabella Neish. She removed to Sweden to her only remaining son, together with her husband, old William Gibson (born in 1742 at Arbroath), to spend the remaining years of their lives with him.] an engineer, he opened mechanical works and iron-foundries at Jonsered, which soon grew in importance. Like Carnegie, he showed the liveliest interest in public undertakings and filled many a post of honour, such as Director of the Savings Bank. He died in 1857, seventy-four years old. The business was converted into a joint-stock company.

But it was Robert Dickson and his family who obtained the greatest wealth, the highest honours, and a world-wide reputation as patrons of art, science, and industry. Robert, the elder, was born in Montrose in 1782, and came to Göteborg in 1802. He commenced as a shipowner, but he enlarged his sphere of activity by erecting iron-works, saw-mills, etc., until his possessions had outgrown in size many a small German principality. His brother James worked in the same spirit, but being of a retiring disposition, and hating publicity, his charitable gifts cannot well be estimated. Partly during his lifetime, and partly by his last will, he set aside 320,000 Thaler for workmen's buildings, [Known as the "Dickson Stiftelse."] besides leaving 40,000 for

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scholarship to the two Universities of Lund and Upsala. Robert's son Charles, and James's son and grandson, followed in the same path. James, the second, founded Fröbel schools, housekeeping schools, and elementary public schools, whilst Oscar, his son, inclined more to the promotion of science and art. His munificent gifts to Göteborg's Museum, his fitting out Nordenskjöld's expedition to Spitzbergen in 1872, as well as his energetic furtherance of Nansen's plans and of his voyage to the Arctic regions, are too well known to need any repetition. He now received his country's and his king's recognition: his coat-of-arms as Baron Dickson hangs up in the Riddarhus, next to that of Sven Hedin. [A few other benefactors of Göteborg we can only mention in a note, as a history of the present times, in which praise and blame alike appear only too often overcharged, out of proportion, and in bad taste, does not lie within the scope of our book. The names are Kennedy, Seaton, Chalmers, and William Chambers, though the latter is of English parentage.]

Thus the town of Göteborg offers a very interesting example of Scottish energy, activity, success, and public spirit during a period of nearly three hundred years.

But this energy was not confined to Göteborg. Turning to the capital, Stockholm, we again meet the ubiquitous Scot in early times - not in great numbers, to be sure; still he is there, and means his presence to be known. To prove this we need not go back to Henning Tait, who is said to have been a friend of Birger Jarl (Earl), the founder of Stockholm in the XIIIth century, to have joined him on his expedition to Finland, and to have become the founder of the noble family of Sterncreutz. [The early presence of Tait in Finland seems to rest on something more than tradition. In a description of the district of Perno in Finland, the author, A. I. Hipping, mentions a document formerly preserved among the Perno Church documents, which ran: "Extract of a document the original of which is in Malingård. A nobleman from Scotland named Teet of Pernå served Birger Jarl in his war against Tavasthus and Nylands in Finland, conquering these countries for the Crown of Sweden in 1250. Afterwards he became an influential person there (i.e. Finland), built Pernå Church, and called the district and the church after his own native place of Pern in Scotland. His coat-of-arms was a red St Andrew's cross in a white field, one-third of the field over the cross red with three silver stars. The crest above it consisted of a stag's head with a star between the antlers. His son was Jöns Teet, who was Hakan's father in Teetorn. Ex vidimato vidi George Lagus." This Lagus was Pastor at Perno Church in 1756, and his report cannot be doubted, though both copy and original of the document have since disappeared. Very likely, however, it referred to a later time. There is no record of churches in Finland having been built at so early a date. Åbo Cathedral was finished in 1300. Hattula Church in Tavastland is first mentioned in 1324, the present church of Perno in 1351, unless we like to accept popular tradition which points out an old stone foundation, discovered on the property of Tait, as the remains and site of the old church, which was afterwards removed to its present location, since it proved too far out of the way for

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the peasants of the shore. About sixteen years ago C. Carstens again discussed the question of Tait in an Almanac published by friends of the Swedish primary schools at Helsingfors in 1891, where he adduced the fact that, according to information received from the Historical Department of the General Register House, Edinburgh, one Tait was granted the charter of Pirn or Pern or Pren near Innerleithen by Robert III. (1390-1406). The armorial bearings of the Scottish Tait family is similar to the one given above, at least in the earliest occurrence of a seal of James Tait attached to a Peebles charter. This shows a stag's head cabossed, on a chief three stars.] We prefer safer ground. Fortunately the old "Tänkeboks" and minute-books of the various Stockholm Archives are full of the presence of the Scot.

Already in the year 1568 a Scot named Johan Macfassun appeared before the Magistrates assembled in the Town Hall of Stockholm and declared that he had sold his house in Leith to a certain Richardson, a countryman of his. The name of Leith is written Leicht. The house is described as situated between that of William Foster or Forster and that of Archibald Penicuik. The price paid for it was three hundred German Thaler. [*Tänkebok*, R. A. See letter in the Appendix.]

One of the names oftenest mentioned in the records of the time is that of Blasius Dundee or Dundi. [That the part of Stockholm called Blasiholm should have been named after Blasius Dundee may perhaps be doubted, for his eminence does not after all seem to have been such as to warrant this name being given to it more than fifty years after his death.]

We first come across his name in 1575. At that time he was already a well-to-do, enterprising, and energetic merchant, and not merely the miserable owner of a "badstuga." He enjoyed the confidence of his fellow-citizens. He also seems to have been a sort of purveyor to the Court and the army. On the 20th of December, the king allows him several tuns of butter out of the Royal Warehouse at Calmar as payment for certain goods furnished. [Riks A. Johans III. Reg.]

Two years later, on a cold December day, there appeared before the Borgmästare and the Magistrates assembled in the Rådhus (Town Hall) of Stockholm two Scotsmen - Blasius Dundee and Hans Anderson, relating how last autumn in Norköping they had agreed with a skipper from Rostock, whose name was Westphal, to freight his ships and take the cargo, consisting of several tuns of grain (spannmel) and other wares to Copenhagen. Now it had happened on this same voyage that a Dutchman

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with his ship sailed carelessly and ran down Westphal's ship near the Falsterboo Riff, so that they had lost their grain and wares, as well as the skipper his craft. Having thus suffered considerable loss, both Blasius Dundee and Hans Anderson were anxious to ascertain the cause of the disaster, but as the latter had no opportunity of visiting those places which the Dutchman had called at in common with Blasius, they had agreed among themselves that Anderson should cede his claim on the cargo to Blasius in such a manner that neither he nor his heirs would or ever should have any demands to make on the freight. Anderson also declared before the Magistrates that he was well content, and had been fully satisfied by his partner. He now gave Blasius full power to deal with the Dutchman according to law, do and leave undone what seemed necessary to him, just as if Hans Anderson himself had been present. [*Tänkebok* for 1583. R. A.]

A further proof of Royal favour awaited Dundee in 1578, when he was granted by Royal Letter, dated October 26th, exemption from all duties and customs for his imported goods. This exemption was to be valid only for the year, but for the two following years his goods were also to enjoy the same privilege if not exceeding seven hundred Thaler in value. [*Riks A. Ibid.*] The same favour was extended to other rich merchants, no doubt in acknowledgment for loans advanced to the Crown, and not in consequence of any enlightened trade principles.

In 1583 we meet with Dundee's name again. In that year he was enrolled as a citizen of Stockholm, and had to swear the customary oath of allegiance. In the same year he was granted a percentage on all the imported ox-hides, whilst in 1585 he is to receive as payment for certain goods delivered a quantity of bacon and butter. [*Riks A. Johannis III. Reg.*] In 1586 he brings an action against a certain Lehusen for money due out of ship's freights, [See *Tänkebok* of 26th November 1586, and again of 10th January 1588. *Rådhus Arkivet.*] whilst two years later [*Riks A. Ibidem.*] he appears as the accused, when another Lehusen charged him with having unduly arrested certain moneys which were to come to him out of the ship *Star*, taking God to witness that to the best of his knowledge his brother Zachæus, on whose behalf the arrest had been imposed, had no part in the ship's freight, "not so much as a nail is worth." Thereupon the arrest is decreed "löst," *i.e.* annulled. A

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further proof of the king's favour he received in 1589, when a ship of his had stranded off the coast of Curland. The king then sent him a present of five hundred Thaler. [Riks A. Johannis III. Reg.]

During the years 1589-99 Dundee's name is never absent from the list of the forty-eight "good men" who were annually elected to assist the Magistrates in their deliberations.

In 1589 he and four other Scottish citizens of Stockholm - "ährlige män," honest men - appear as witnesses in an action brought by Tomes Ogleby, citizen of Nyköping, against a countryman of his, Andrew Concreor, "who is said to be in Poland now." [On the 2nd of May; see *Tänkebok*. The names of the other witnesses are: William Davidson, Henrich Eller, Robbert Clemett, and Andreas Lamiton.]

Various other public functions were at other times entrusted to him. We find that in the year 1597 he is elected a member of a Commission appointed to fix the duties on imported wines, [See *Stad's Embetsbok*.] and in 1593 he is one of the four prominent citizens who, in company of the nobles of the kingdom and of the Magistrates of the town, received King Sigismund and his young wife on their entrance into Stockholm. [Stad's *Tänkebok* of that date. Rådhus Arkivet.] Sad to say, the end of his life was clouded. Men of his position do not usually escape calumny, and conspiracies were in the air. Did not the Lübeckers some forty years previously conspire with some German settlers to blow King Gustaf up by placing a cask of gunpowder under the Royal seat in the church? "Perhaps this man also" - so his enemies argued; and the consequence was that in 1599, on the 16th of July, there appeared before the Magistrates one Erich Jörensoun, who accused Blasius of secretly conspiring with the unruly element at home and with the enemies of Sweden abroad. The charge mainly rested on the contents of a certain slip of paper enclosed in a letter. Blasius indignantly denied the crime, and brought forward witnesses, who proved that the whole letter-affair was concocted by four soldiers when imprisoned in the tower of the castle in order to extort money from him. [*Tänkebok* of 1599, p. 59. R. A.]

But the great trial of his life was not business-anxiety, not the ill-will of his enemies, but the infidelity of his wife, whom he accuses before the court of

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“lösaktighet,” as the old minute-books call it, in other words of a loose and adulterous life. [*Ibid.* and 1600, pp. 142-58.] The trial must have been the *cause célèbre* of the day. It is intensely modern. But as this book does not aim at interesting by its piquancy, and as the trial moreover extends to over twenty closely written folio-pages, it must suffice to state that in the end Blasius invited Borgemäster and Councillors to his house as his dinner-guests, and there certain incriminating articles were in the presence of all committed to the flames. Our surmise that his position as “Royal Merchant” included that of Royal banker is proved by certain accounts, where the Crown pays him annual interest on loans advanced. [Kammer Arkivet (1614-16).]

Once again, in the year 1616, his name appears in a case against the heirs of a certain merchant named Leye, a case which was decided in his favour. [Rådhus Arkivet.] Then the curtain drops, and we hear no more of him. About twenty years later Blasius Dundee, the younger, is mentioned, but the old man had gone to his well-earned and probably much-longed-for rest.

This is the Dundee as we find him in the old records: something less than what Marryat maintains him to have been - a burgomaster of Stockholm, [Horace Marryat, *One Year in Sweden*, vol. ii. One of Dundee's daughters in 1604 married Peder Pedersson, afterwards ennobled as Bergenfeldt; and the Brita Blasiidotter mentioned in 1626 in the *S:t Nicolai Kyrkas Vigselbok*, i.e. Marriage Register (i. 33, note), is very probably another of his daughters.] - and a good deal more than what the Swedish historians make him - the humble owner of a bathing-establishment (badstuga)!

Another Scotch family, of the name of Pfeif or Feiff, frequently appears in the old minute-books during the next two or three generations in Stockholm. They seem to have been two distinct families. The name Pfeif also occurs in Greifswald in Pomerania, which, it must be remembered, formed a province of Sweden until 1815. There, as early as 1612, a *Juris utriusque* Doctor Johann Pfeif [*Vitæ Pomeranorum*, a most valuable collection of rare pamphlets, vol.152. A grandson of his was ennobled in Sweden, and his son was raised to the rank of a baron. See Anrep, *Sv. Attar Tattler.*] is mentioned, whose son afterwards became Bishop of Revel, after he had for some time acted as pastor to the German Church at Stockholm. The other Feiffs settled in Sweden and took to commerce. Many a page in the old minute-books of the Town Hall is filled with their doings,

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the more so since they proved as litigious as any Irishman can be supposed to be. There were three brothers - Jacob, David,[David seems to have suffered losses. In the year 1647 he is arrested for debt, and his "stall" (Krambude) closed. Westin's *Saml. Bibl. Upsala.*] and Donald; [Donald was accused of adultery in 1654, but received a reprieve.] the latter, constantly called Donat, was a goldsmith and banker, and acquired citizen's rights in 1633. They were well-to-do and public-spirited men; for more than twenty years Jacob's name is among the forty-eight town-councillors, often together with his youngest brother. In 1629 he is, together with two other Scotsmen, [The other two were Jacob Forbus and George Gern, *S. Sv. Riksrådz Protokoll.* When, in 1640, the merchants of Stockholm were again asked their opinion with regard to certain changes in the coinage, there were, out of a deputation to the Riksråd of twelve, no less than four Scotsmen: Anders Boy, David Feif, Alb. Rind, and Jacob Maclier.] a member of a deputation which was to complain to the Riks-Råd of the usury of a certain Wilshusen, who sold Hungarian Gulden and Riks-dollars at an exorbitant profit. On that occasion he urged the necessity of fixing the standard value of the Thaler. A year later, as one of the Directors of the Shipping Company, [The Shipping Company was originally started by the Swedish towns at their expense and risk. The ships of the Company were therefore called *Städarnas Skepp* = Towns' Ships. See *Sv. Riksrådz Protokoll*, 1630.] he applies for a state subvention for seven of the company's ships lying in harbour ready to sail for Spain and France. This time he was accompanied by the famous Cablian, the Director-General of the Trading Company.

In 1647 he is entrusted with the office of Inspector of the Poor-House and the Children's Hospital; [See *Embetsbok*, which contains the lists of men who held public offices in the town of Stockholm.] he is an "alderman" in the Guild of Brewers, and frequently has to act as guardian. How much his services on such occasions were valued is shown by the testimony of Colonel Moritz Duval - one of the many Macdougals we shall have to notice in another part of this book - who, in a letter deposited with the Magistrates on the 4th of November 1650, writes: "I, Moritz Duval of Broby, make it known herewith that both I and my wife have received accounts and payments from our dear brother-in-law Jacob Feiff out of the patrimony of my wife, to our full satisfaction. He has been her guardian, and we acknowledge to him and his heirs for ever that we have got the last penny as well as the first he has had in his hands from him. We thank him in the heartiest manner for his administration, and desire the Magistrates both to approve of this receipt

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and to have it entered in the minute-book. Our representative must also give our brother-in-law 'handsträckning' (i.e. corroboration by a shake of hands) according to the law, if he should demand it. To show this to be true, we have both of us signed this paper and put our seal to it." [Protokoll. R. A.]

Curiously enough, Jacob Feiff like his fellow-country-man Dundee, was not a happy married man. He also - in 1649 - had to come before the court and complain of the infidelity of his wife, Elsa Grundell, whom, a fair widow as the church-books of St Nicolaus tell us, he had married only three years before. By far the most quarrelsome of the family was David. Sometimes he has as many as three cases going on at the same time. Now he sues a certain Robert Wood, a skipper from Scotland, complaining that he had not delivered his shipment of iron in Leith and Dundee, as he had been ordered by him, but in a small place called Krijel (Creall), whereby he had suffered damage to the extent of 555 Thaler. But Robert proves from his bill-of-lading that no special port in Scotland was mentioned; he also hinted that the present prosecution was not so much undertaken to decide the justice or the injustice of the cause, but to hinder him from continuing his voyage until the sea was closed. Both parties were finally informed that they must find sufficient security, after which Wood was permitted to continue his voyage. [Protokoll, R. A., 1645.] Or David is aggravated at the delay of the law, and sends in a libel to the Magistrates complaining that he could not obtain his rights, ["Att han sin rätt icke erlanga kan." Same year, November 22nd.] whereupon the bench with natural indignation answers, that such reproaches were intolerable for any honest man, much more for the Magistrates. The law must have its course, but in the meantime Feif must procure bail, or himself become bail, for future good behaviour.

Sometimes the tables are turned, and Feif appears as the defendant. Thus, on the 25th of November 1635, he is accused by the Treasury of attempting to cheat the Crown out of seven hundred Thaler.

Old Jacob Feif died in or about 1657. Towards the end of his life he was much broken down in spirits, having sustained heavy losses in his shipping business. His friends resolved to start him anew by offering him 4000-5000 "plåtar," i.e. koppar plates, which at that time took the place of money. But

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the old man refused, returned the proffered sum after he had considered the matter for a week, and allowed his son Casten to care for him as long as he lived. [*Kgl. Bibl. Stockholm; Af Klercker's Geneal. Saml.*] The latter left four sons; Peter, William, Johann, and Arvid (or Anders?), and one daughter, Anne, who sues her brothers for her part of the patrimony. [*Protokoll, R. A., 1665.*] But there is a whole bevy of Feifs besides. [The name of Alexander Feif occurs in 1670. Carl Feif was a lawyer and a town-councillor in 1683; J. Feif was an architect; Elias Feif, a wainwright. Cp. Schering-Rosenhane, Relation öfver Stockholm. R. A.] They were a prolific race, like many of the Scots in foreign countries. Well might old Alexander Fyfe of quiet Montrose, and his wife, Jeaneta Rynd, have wondered, if they could have come to life again, to see one of their descendants a friend and councillor of the great Swedish King Charles XII., and two others the founders of two noble families in Sweden, the Adlerstolpes and Ehrensparres. [Casten Feif, the right hand of Charles XII., descended from Jacob's son Peter, a "Krydd-krämer," i.e. druggist, who had his shop where now the Hôtel Rydberg stands. He died in 1739. The Adlerstolpe and Ehrensparre families descended from Donat. They are both extinct now, while the Pfeifs still continue to flourish in Sweden.]

Around these two names, Dundee and Feiff, are gathered a number of other eminent Scots. There was Andrew Boy - later Boij - who became "Borgmästare" of Stockholm in 1663, and whose son Anton was ennobled in 1678 for having considerably increased the revenues of the Crown by his able and intelligent management of the Swedish mines at Falun. There was Andrew Gerner, son of Albrecht (?) Gerner, a rich merchant, and Mary Watson, who for six or seven years filled the highest civic office of the town; and about fifty years later David Leyel or Leijel also had the honour of being Borgmästare in 1731. Gerner's speech, long and laudatory, delivered on entering upon his important office, may still be read in the old minute-books. On the bench of the Rådmän or Aldermen we find Mathis de Nääf (1661), Carl Feif, Jacob Clerck, a notary and founder of the noble family of Clerck, W. Guthrie, and others, whilst the names of Kraffert, Maclier, Eller, Reid, Lockhart, appear in the list of the forty-eight town-councillors. [See *Embetsbok*. R. A.] Another alderman of Scottish parentage was Daniel Young, who established a large weaving and cloth factory during the reign of Charles X. (Gustavus). He was made a "Kommerzieråd" in 1682, after having been ennobled in 1666, under the new name of Leijonancker. He was buried in the Maria Church of Stockholm. By his three wives he left no less than thirty-two children - twenty-three sons and nine daughters.

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Quite a number of these Scotsmen in Stockholm, in the XVIIth century, besides Feif, were ship-brokers and wealthy men, e.g., Robert Rynd; W. Lindsay, who, when his name was entered upon the roll of citizens in 1648, paid a sum of thirty Thaler; John Primrose, who was enrolled in 1650; and Alexander Waddel or Waddal, who persuaded the Magistrates, in 1673, to pen a petition to the king with regard to several ships of his - one of which, called *Diamanten*, had been bought in Edinburgh - that had been taken off the coast of Holland by Scottish privateers. It was indeed no easy matter in those days of political and commercial insecurity to freight a ship, and numerous are the complaints in consequence. Another Scotsman in Stockholm, Thomas Tottie, hailing from Jedburgh, and born in 1664, was a tobacco-manufacturer. He became the ancestor of a number of well-to-do merchants in Stockholm and Gefle. His grandson, Carl, became Swedish Consul-General in London, and was known for his philanthropic efforts on behalf of the Swedish Church, the Bible Society, and the Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress. In honour of his jubilee a gold medal was struck at the expense of Swedes and Norwegians in London. He died in 1870, at the ripe old age of eighty-nine years. [See Svenska, *Attartal*, 1890, and for Jordan and Masterton, Af Klercker's *Geneal. Saml.*, in the Royal Library, Stockholm.]

Thomas Cunnigam was a silk-merchant; W. Strang dealt in cloth. Quite a number of these settlers were small "Krämers." Among the handicraftsmen were several Scottish goldsmiths: two Clercks, A. Lockhart, H. Feif, and his sons. David Chalmers was a tailor, one of the many Macliers a wine-merchant (Källarmästare), Robert Turner a ship-builder (1674), and James Halliday a brewer, who received permission in 1676 to brew a certain quantity of malt. Of the Jordan family a number were bakers and brewers, whilst two of the Mastertons were rope-makers in Nyköping. Glovers seem to have been wanted badly in Stockholm in the XVIIth century, for in 1688 one Patrick Thompson laid quite an elaborate plan before the Magistrates of bringing a number of Scotch glovers "who worked well in lamb-skins." The town treasury was to provide the means and pay for each master-glover 100 Thaler, for each "pojke," i.e. apprentice, 4 Thaler. I have tried in vain to discover what became of the plan.

Most of these Scotch inhabitants and citizens of Stockholm owned house-

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property. In quite a number of cases so-called "Fastebref" (charters of seizin) were given them; for instance, in 1655, Alexander Buchan is granted a fastebref on a "steenhus" (stone-house) in Skepper Olafs-gränd (lane); Robert Smith, one of a feu in Rysse-gränden, for 282 Thaler. Jacob Feif, in 1658, acquires a house at the back of the Castle, then the fashionable part of the town; Adam Leyer buys a "tompt" (a site) for 2900 Thaler in 1681; Jacob Mesterton, another Scotch merchant, owned a house in the Nygränd in 1662, whilst Thos. Gipson sold a wooden house in 1623; Hinrich Feif [He was a goldsmith and master of the guild (†1696). His sons were also goldsmiths. Cp. Af Klercker, *Geneal. Saml. Kgl. Bibl. Stockholm.*] spends the large sum of 13,500 Thaler Koppermynt on the purchase of a "steenhus." It was in a cheaper way that Jacob Anderson became the owner of a house: it was presented to his wife for "long continued, faithful services" in the family of the famous Chancellor Oxenstierna (1657). [For the whole paragraph see *Mag. Registratur* volumes in the R. A.]

As to their domestic life, something has already been said incidentally; though, of course, very little can be gleaned out of public documents. The Stockholm Scots were not in a position so favourable as that of their countrymen at Danzig in Germany, [Cf. *The Scots in Germany* and *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia.*] where they had the splendid Calvinistic Church of St Peter and Paul peacefully to worship in, to have their children christened, to get married, and finally to find their last resting-places. In Sweden they seem to have attached themselves to the Lutherans. Many of them were married in St Nicolai or the Stor Kyrkan, among them Alexander Reid, a tailor, in 1619; Jacob Feif and Thomas Glen, in 1626 and 1627; W. Guthrie and Hans Primrose in 1644; Johannes Laurinus, whose son was afterwards ennobled, and Count Robert Lichton in 1662; Robert Kininmund in 1679, and others. [See Wrangel, *Vigselbok of St Nicolai Kyrka.*] Among the children baptised in that church, we mention two of Kahuns or Kahunds (Colquhoun) in 1617 and 1620. [One of these children is probably the Kahun who died in Batavia in 1672, and whose inheritance caused such troublesome correspondence between the magistrates and the Swedish claimants.] Other Scotsmen preferred the Tyskan Kyrka, or the German Church, for functions of the kind. Jacob Porteous is married there in 1642, also Lieut.-Colonel Robert Douglas to the widow of Captain William Blackhall, and foolish old "Doctor Jacobus Robertsonius a Struan," a few years before his death at the

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age of eighty-four, led to the altar the daughter of Major Alexander Seitserf, a young girl of seventeen! Here also with unfailing annual regularity Albrecht Gerner has his many children baptised, whilst we find that John Maclean (now changed from Maclier to Maclin), a wine merchant, on a similar festive occasion, had asked for godfathers Town-Councillor Charles Feif and the Countess Hedvig Horn (3rd October 1695). [See *Deutsches Kirchenbuch von Stockholm*.]

The characteristic trait of the Scot abroad of “sticking closely together,” which, as we have seen elsewhere, became quite a reproach in the eyes of the offended German tradespeople, reveals itself in Sweden as well. As wives, godfathers, witnesses, or bailsmen, they prefer their own people. Gradually, of course, this feeling died out; the little Davids, Roberts, and Alexanders became Erics, Gustafs, and Olafs. The surnames were also changed to accommodate themselves to the Swedish ear and spelling, and soon their Scottish blood was but a recollection. They became good Swedes, paid their taxes, served in the town-militia, [In 1661 and 1674 we find Jacob Leye, Walker, Guthrie, Buchan, and Pfeif as officers and sergeants in the town militia. William Barclay was the Town Colonel. As such he had a salary of 750 Thaler. We are told that he was not satisfied with this, but demanded a free house as well. The magistrates very properly refused (*Protokoll* of 1660)] and filled other public functions. They never forgot the poor. There are in the Rådhus Archives two very interesting volumes, dating from 1639 to 1649, in which the donors with their own hand entered their contributions towards the poor of Stockholm. Among many names famous in Swedish history we also find those of Scottish settlers. “Of what God has granted me,” writes Robert Rind on the 28th of June 1639, “I shall give to the Poor eight hundred Thaler.” In later years the sum becomes less and the hand more shaky; he contributes 50 Thaler in 1642, and 20 in 1649. Then follow many of our old acquaintances: Hans Kininmund, Patrick Ogilvie (1640, July 2nd), Magister Johan Jacob Pfeif, [Both these entries are made in the German language.] Halliday, Robert Smith, Jacob Maclear, [Both these entries are made in the German language.] Jacob Feif, Donat Feif, Sander Clerck, the goldsmith, Johannes Laurinus (Maclaurin), Walter Guthrie, and others.

Of their fondness of going to law, which was perhaps not owing so much to their own inclination as to the uncertain condition trade and commerce were

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in, I have already spoken. The cases mostly arose out of last wills, [So in 1657, on the 8th of July, when Alexander Frazer from Dundee puts forth his claims on the inheritance of Robert Rynd, deceased. His wife's mother had been Robert's sister. *Protokoll. R. A.*] debts, ship's freights, and very often out of pupillary moneys.

Now and then cases of violence of temper are recorded, as in 1620, on the 13th of December, when Peter Ugleby, Ogilvie, an officer, stands accused of having suddenly attacked some students in "Abel Brokikare's house," and of having murderously assaulted one of His Majesty's servants. [*Protokoll. R.A.*] At another time Jacob Gerner accuses a certain Salomon Castens of having abused the Scottish soldiers who then were in town, and consequently got into a row with the military patrol; to which Castens answers that the whole fault and cause of the riot lay with an ensign who had refused to listen to the Scottish captain, and, being full with drink, ran amuck. [*Ibid.*, year 1625.]

In 1631 occurs a different kind of case. Jacob Warden, authorised by Colonel Lumsden, demands that the two bonds of 1000 Thaler which James Simson, a citizen of Dundee, had given to the children of the late Rutherford, should now be called in, as they had hitherto not been paid in specie.

It was a more serious affair when Jacob Ross, suspected of being a Polish spy, was subjected to a most rigorous examination before the Riks-Råd (Senate). [*Sv. Riks-Rådets Protokol*, 10th December 1628.] But it was easy in those days to get implicated in political intrigues in Sweden; for so much incredibly cruel, underhand work went on among the rulers of the land and the aristocracy that the miracle is how any one that raised his head a little above the multitude could have escaped the infection.

Very curious is another rather trumped-up case in 1643, when the English Ambassador at the Court of Sweden prosecuted a ship's captain of the name of Hermann Backer for having called the King of England a Roman Catholic. As witnesses appear Thomas Hutto and H. Leyel. [*Criminal-Protokoll. R. A.*]

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To this list of crimes there must be added the national besetting sin of the Scots, that of smuggling. Thus we find *inter alia* in 1636, on the 22nd of June, a resolution passed in the Riks-Råd, according to which those goods for which certain "Skottars" had not paid duty should be confiscated, and the would-be smugglers moreover mulcted in the sum of 200 Thaler, payable to the Church of St Jacob. [*Riks-Rådets Protokoll*, vi. 322.]

In the eighteenth century the name of George Seton comes before us. He had been born in Scotland in 1696, and came to Sweden shortly after the death of Charles XII. There he commenced as a poor man, but, like so many of his countrymen, soon acquired great wealth. Many anecdotes are told of his peculiarities. Though one of the merchant-princes of Stockholm, he continued to dress as he did in the days of his poverty. Once he walked to the quay to inspect one of his ships after a stormy voyage. When the vessel was made fast a sailor jumped ashore, rushed up to Seton, and put some money into his hand. "Why do you give it to me.?" asked the merchant. "Because," answered the sailor, "I promised, when in sore distress on the broad seas, to give my little all to the first poor man I should meet on landing, if God would save me." Seton kept the money, but asked the sailor to accompany him home. There, being pleased with the man's character, he told him the truth and made him captain of a vessel that was just putting off to sea. Another time he was sitting solitary in his counting-office when a young man entered, who, after some time of lively conversation, suddenly put a pistol to his breast, saying: "Lend me 20,000 Thaler at once, or taste this." When the old merchant had fetched the money and given it to him, the latter put down the pistol and ran away. When Seton took up the weapon, calling to the young man to bring back the money at once or answer for it with his life, he was met with a laugh and with the words: "The pistol is unloaded!" With this forced loan the visitor, formerly a poor officer, equipped himself, and thus succeeded in overcoming the prejudice of his rich father-in-law and winning his bride. The money was returned with interest, and Seton became the intimate friend of the family. He also acted as banker to the king. He died in 1786, one year after his having received the patent of nobility. [Stranger still are the adventures of one of his heirs, Alexander. He and his brother Patrick (later a Doctor of Medicine) were sons of Alexander Seton of Preston, a nephew of George. Alexander became, like a second Don Carlos, desperately enamoured of his stepmother, so much so that his mind seemed to be unhinged. The father therefore took him

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to England and put him into Bedlam. After a time the medical men pronounced him cured, but all his efforts to regain his liberty were baffled by the Governor. Only when a new one came in his place he obtained money and his freedom. But no sooner had he made his appearance on the road, when an unknown man took him to a remote vicarage, where he was again kept a prisoner until the priest died. Then he wandered about for some time, avoiding the abodes of men, pacifying his hunger with the flour ground by the miller, which he kneaded into dough with rain-water and dried in the sun. At last he reached a small harbour whence a ship took him to Sweden. After an imprisonment of eighteen years, he arrived in Stockholm in the year 1826, now sixty-two years old. His first care was to procure an advocate to urge his claims as the co-heir of old Seton. In this he succeeded after his identity had been established by Count de la Gardie, but the lawsuit outlasted his life. He died in 1828. During his short stay in Stockholm he greatly exerted himself for the edition of the Svenska *Diplomatarium*; he also published some poems. Gentle and melancholy his mind remained. The noble family became extinct in the direct line with his brother Patrick, who died in 1837. The family seat, Ekolsund, passed into the hands of Gen. C. Adlercreutz, who had married a daughter of Patrick Seton (Biog. Dict.).]

Turning now to eminent Scottish merchants in other parts of Sweden, we first come across the name of Magnus Dublar or Dunbar, a Scot who carried on business at Rönneby. He became the father of a rather famous man, the clergyman Casten Rönnow - so called after his native place, according to the fashion among the learned in those days. Once, so the story goes, he saved Charles XI.'s life by hiding him up in a chimney at Åhus during a sudden incursion of the Danes. We are told that Rönnow was promoted to Örebrö, and Åhus became a "majorat" in the Rönnow family. [See H. Marryat, *One Year in Sweden*, i. 83.]

Next to Dunbar we find John Innes or Ennes, as he is called. He was born about the year 1600, had to fly from Emden on account of religious persecution, and finally settled in the Swedish town of Helsingborg, where he gained great wealth and honour. In 1662 a memorial was erected to his memory in the church there, behind the pulpit. [*Ibid.*] It consists of a large painting by a Dutch master, and represents the donor and his family, and above it Christ on the Mount of Olives. One of his sons became a merchant in Malmö, the other in Gefle, where he obtained an influential position on account of his wealth.

Other Scottish merchants were Arvid Young, in Borks († in 1708). From him the noble family of the Cedersparres derive their descent. John Hython (Hutton?) from Berwick settled as a köpman in Norköping, Bengtson in Westerwiik. The latter became the founder of the now extinct family of Westenhjelm. Besides these we must not forget four other borgmäster

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(mayors): Richard Lichton in Ystad about the year 1620, Thomas Clerck in Örebrö, and two Lesles, Christian and David, father and son, the former Mayor of Landskrona, the latter of Westerwik (1689-1749). In Norköping we find Jacob Spalding settled as a merchant (1668), and much later - about 1850 - Gustav Magnus Stuart; in Falun, one of the numerous Guthries (or Gütthies).

It now remains to glance at the commercial relations between Scotland and Sweden during the XVIIth century, that is the century in which most of the above-named trading Scots appear in the annals of Swedish ports.

In the earlier centuries there hardly was any commercial intercourse between the two countries. Nor are the reasons far to seek. Continual wars of Sweden, either with Denmark or the mighty Hanseatic city of Lübeck, made the passage through the Sound a most hazardous venture. Large cities in Sweden there were none; duties on all imported goods were of the heaviest; and piracy, the curse of the Middle Ages, was rife. A royal letter of marque was issued by the King of Sweden on the 6th of October in 1544 against the Scots, [See Gustaf's *Registratur*, 1544.] apparently without much success, for in 1548 we read that the Scotch pirates are always ready to take what they can, [*Ibid.*, year 1548, pp. 167, 171.] and in the same year "that terribly great damage is done to Swedish trade by the Scots and English, who have taken five or six ships from Lödöse (Göteborg) last year." [*Ibid.*, year 1548, pp. 167, 171.] These complaints continue till late in the XVIIth century. [In 1673 Alexander Waddal sends a petition to the king for redress of damage done to three of his ships by a Scottish pirate, though they had been provided with proper Swedish passports. *Mag. Registratur*. R. A.] Nor are the Scots always the aggressors and the Swedes the sufferers. Often the case was reversed. Swedish piracy is mentioned for instance in 1506, when the Scots are particularly named as the victims. [C. G. Styffe, *Bidrag till Skand. Historia*, v. 82.] During the reign of King John III. two Scottish merchants, William Smith and Hans Blackatt (or Blackan?), complain of Swedish pirates, and seek to recover 3600 Thaler for a ship taken by a certain "Antonius," [Riks A. (Kaperier).] and so on. No wonder that in earlier times we only now and then hear of a Swedish ship going to Scotland, or of a Scottish ship appearing at Kalmar. [Cp. Silen, *Sv. Handels Historia*, iv. 175.] No wonder that curious ideas prevailed concerning the Scottish merchants. Gustaf I. writes in 1550

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that he had heard the Scottish merchants had a great deal of gold which they desired to get rid of. It would therefore be desirable, thinks the king, to send Skipper Oloff, Gerlef van Emden, or others, to trade with them so that the gold may change hands. Give them whatever they like best for it, and retain them in the country till we see what manner of men they be, adds the writer. [Gustaf's *Registratur* of the year 1550y p. 275. Also in 1544, when the king wishes a fine and "very powerfully" built Scottish ship to be bought.] Great admiration is expressed for the Scottish ships. Let our shipbuilders carefully examine the Scottish vessel so that we may build one after its "shape and fashion." [*Ibid.*, p. 242.] This reminds us of the fact that till then most of the Swedish trade was carried on by means of vessels belonging to Lübeck, and that Sweden only late in the XVIth century commenced to build her own merchants' fleet. Gradually, however, trade matters improved. In 1636 no fewer than sixteen Scottish ships import salt and pay a considerable duty to the State. The names of the skippers are Jöran (George) Alexander, Robert Law, Thomas Bossveld (Bothwell), William Roberts, Will. Steinson, Thomas Wadson, Jas. Zidon (Seton), W. Greig, Andrew Bayndt, Jacob Brun, Robt. Bonnert (?), Andrew Derseing (?), W. Halliburtt, W. Gray, and G. Dunker (Duncan). [Räkenskajss Bok (1636-37). Stads Arkivet.] In 1660 several Scottish ship-captains have made Stockholm their home; two of them, Joren Adam and John Masterton, from Dundee. Comparing their number - twelve - with that of Lübeck (twenty) or of Holland (twenty-eight), this is not a bad account for Scotland. [See Schering-Rosenhane, *Relation öfver Stockholm*, in the R. A.]

The chief exports to Scotland consisted of iron, copper, and tar, the chief imports of salt, cloth, wool, leather, and manufactured goods. Pearls also were in great demand: we even read of a recommendation given to pearl-fishers that they should engage expert people in Scotland and bring them to Sweden, where they were to enjoy the privilege of free fishing in the rivers of the Crown. [*Riks-Råds Protokoll*, ix. 449.] Prominent among these was a certain Robert Buchan, "de Portlethin" (Leith?), as he signs himself. His letters to the Swedish Chancellor Axell Oxenstierna show him to have been a man of great mechanical skill, not without knowledge in physics, botany, mineralogy, and alchemy, and of a very singular character besides. [Letters in the Riks A., Stockholm, dated about 1643. Once he writes: "Send me above all a man that will not talk."]

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Thus we see a commercial intercourse taking place between the two countries which was neither insignificant nor unimportant in its political aspect, especially when we consider the small size and the undeveloped state of trade of Sweden and Scotland.