

THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

PART II (C)

MILITARIA

THE TIME AFTER GUSTAVUS II. (ADOLPHUS).

“The sun had lost its brightness, and a thick fog did not leave us for four weeks.” So it was. For a moment there was the blackness of consternation on one side, fiendish triumph upon the other. For was not the king dead whom even his enemies called great, and was not his only daughter a child? Oxenstierna’s peace-overtures remained unanswered. Sweden had to gird her loins for the continuation of a war which had lost its character; it had become simply a war of conquest or the defence of conquered provinces, like other wars; there was no religious element now; the inspiring influence of a noble cause had disappeared or was present only with a very few. The discipline of the Swedish troops, gathered as they were from the four corners of the earth, grew from bad to worse, and bickerings between the high Scottish commanders and their German confederates increased in bitterness. And again the insolence of the Imperialists, especially after the victorious Battle of Nördlingen in 1634, knew no bounds. They already saw the Swedes driven out of Pomerania into the Baltic Sea.

But the sun lost its glory for four weeks only. It is most interesting to note how Oxenstierna, after the first shock was over, never for a moment lost his self-control, guiding the unfortunate country with great wisdom and astonishing energy through all the fogs of uncertainty and impending doom. He was felt to be a tower of strength and safety; field-m Marshals and statesmen bowed to his decision.

Neither was Sweden without her great generals. Banér, a skilful leader, though unscrupulous, succeeded in at last driving the Imperialists out of Pomerania: he penetrated into Saxony, beat the enemy at Chemnitz (1639), and left the command, after his death in 1641, to the no less skilful and more

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humane Lennart Torstenson.

We have stated before that a certain violence of temper was a characteristic trait of many of the Scottish officers. A curious proof of this occurs in 1628, when, according to annotations in the Archives of De la Gardie, [*De la Gardiska Archivect*, xi. pp. 119 f.] a complaint was raised against them for having demanded of each recruit a tax of five marks, the so-called "Drille-skatte"; for ill-treating and beating to death the young levy, and lastly for accepting not a little money from the peasants for exempting their sons from military service. The discontent went so far that the newly raised force threatened to desert en bloc unless they were put under Swedish or German command.

But now it was not only this inborn violence but a certain irritableness arising from outward causes which begins to manifest itself among the Scotsmen in the service of Sweden.

Take Leslie's later letters to Oxenstierna. He writes in 1635 on the 3rd of October, that he finds the minds of the inhabitants of Stralsund despondent and very much set against him, so that he has to take the utmost pains to rouse them and to make it clear to them that only with Sweden's help can they with certainty expect peace. ["Daher ich umb so viel mehr allen müglichen Fleiss ankehre sie wiederumb zu animiren, dass sie nur mit Hülfe Schwedens auf sichern Fried rechnen können." - *Oxenst. Skr. och Brefve.*] According to him the garrison is too weak. Again, in a letter of the year 1637, where he reports the arrival of Cunningham's newly raised five Scottish companies, he adds: "No preparation did the town make against their arrival and provision except that I, with the assistance of the Town-treasurer, got together some pieces of cloth for some of the soldiers who landed here after their long voyage of nine weeks' duration, and much suffering, almost bare and without clothing." [General Wrangel also complains of the poor clothing of the English and Scots; they are so badly off in this respect that one can hardly allow them out on the streets. People prefer Swedes in their houses. From Ebling, 1632.]

The same irritation appears in the letters of Jacob Duwall, who held a high command in Silesia. He was an officer, this Macdougall, as his name really was, of long standing and proved fidelity. His service as a military leader in

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the Polish and Russian wars, and as recruiting officer, had been gratefully acknowledged by Gustavus Adolphus. The difficult task had now been given him, jointly with the troops of Chursachsen, to prevent the enemy from crossing the river Oder. Not that the task itself would have been difficult for a sufficient number of soldiers, but his own men only consisted of two thousand, and the alliance with the Germans was of the loosest possible character, threatening every moment to break into open hostility. Now that their king was dead, the Swedes were no longer considered of much account. [See Chemnitz, *Der von den Schweden in Teutschland geführte Krieg*, ii. 112.] Duwall concentrated his troops near Steinau, there to await further orders from the chancellor, a plan not much favoured by the German generals. In consequence of this disunion and, it appears, of some treachery, the Imperialists succeeded in taking the Swedes by surprise. Colonel Craford, Tobias Duwall, and General Duwall were taken prisoners. [Tobias was Jacob's brother. He also was an unfortunate man. There is a scrap of paper preserved in which he relates that his wife had been captured with all her baggage during a sudden attack of the enemy. The paymaster is to pay her fifty Thalers. The General's wife had died in 1633 when he asks for leave to go to Pomerania to see her decently buried (Chemnitz, *l.c.*). Many of the Scottish officers were accompanied by their wives, Ruthven, King, Leslie, and others. In 1642 Tobias receives 300 Thaler on account of his great poverty. From 1648 to 1650, he writes several letters from Gardelegen, a small fortified place between Hanover and Berlin, to the Generalissimus of the Swedish troops, Prince Karl Gustaf, describing the want of guns and ammunition, and interceding for the family of his brother-in-law, who lived near him on a small estate in Mecklenburg, to be freed from quartered soldiers should the army march in that direction (Riks A. Letters to Karl Gustaf). Comp. also *Riksrådets Prot.*, vii. 41 where Arnheim, the German General of the Chursachsen troops, is accused of treason and of having been to blame for the ruin of Duwall's soldiers in Silesia.] But the latter soon escaped, and wrote immediately to Sweden to crave a court-martial, "as this loss at Steinau not only touched worldly possessions but his reputation as a soldier, which he had gained during a service of no less than thirty years. He begs to have all the officers present at the battle summoned, including Lieut.-Colonel Lindsay, who had now gone over to the Churbrandenburgers, and whose conduct was not above suspicion. In the meantime Duwall went to Breslau, but here also he encountered the same half-heartedness. The magistrates refused to allow him the means for raising new levies. Vexation and disappointment brought about an illness in March 1634, and Duwall died not long afterwards.

Ruthven, who had been sent to London on recruiting business in 1634, was not behindhand in his complaints. He writes from the Hague on the 2nd of March to the chancellor, how greatly disappointed he had been at not

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finding certain moneys there. "All the other officers have received their pay," he continues, "but not I. Add to it the shameful treatment of my regiments. The General Field Marshal has not only given away my infantry regiment, but also for the greater part dismissed my regiment of dragoons. I should never have thought that such disrespect would be shown to one that has served the Crown so long; I rather thought I deserved better treatment. And if they had wished to do as they did, they might have told me when I was with the army. Then I should not have hesitated in the presence of the regiment to lay down my command and take my leave like an honest cavalier. To have my honest name in such a way diffamed! But for all that I shall not neglect to execute faithfully my commission for the Crown of Sweden, and because I see I am not treated as I ought to be I shall ask my leave, nolens volens, on my return, and nobody will blame me for it."

And again in 1636 (15th June) he accuses Banér of having given to another the quarters which Oxenstierna himself had assigned to him. "When the Chancellor's own writing and signet is so little respected, there is little hope that what has been promised to me and other officers will be fulfilled. I say there is no faith to be found in this world." [See *Oxenst. Skrifv. och Br.*]

Who was to blame for this state of things it would be difficult to decide now. The repeated absence of the Scottish officers at a time when their own country was slowly drifting into war, and perhaps Banér's inability to understand Scottish susceptibilities, may have contributed to it. Certain it is that Oxenstierna was free from blame. He rather favoured the Scots, and wrote to the Queen: "All foreign officers, especially those of the Scottish nation, are found willing and unwearied." [28th of Sept. 1635. See *Nya Handlingar rör. Skand. Hist.* xxvii. 386. The Riks-Råd expressed its conviction that it would be well to keep the Scottish officers in good humour (2nd November, 1637).] But the fact remains that the position of the Scottish officers in high command after the death of the great king was one beset with uncommon difficulties.

The case of Major-General King seems to have been somewhat different. He must have been a man who not only valued his own merits and station, but constantly overrated them; he is irritated at others having commands by his side; he does not want to obey Banér, and General Kratzenstein does

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not want to obey him. The differences between the latter and himself became more acute in consequence of Kratzenstein's doubtful conduct with regard to the ransom paid by imprisoned Imperial officers. "As for me," King writes in 1639, "the whole of the 'soldatesca' here pays me the compliment that I never took any ransom-money of the prisoners for myself, but left it to the other officers and soldiers, in order to encourage them in their further service to the Crown." Whilst King was apparently right in this respect, and also in his requesting Banér to send some official person to inquire and superintend the receipt and use of ransom-moneys, he had at the same time the knack of representing matters in a most unpleasant and dictatorial way. He is unwearied in memorialising the Government, asking for a written order that all officers should unconditionally obey him (!); that he should be responsible to the Crown of Sweden only, a trust to which his long services entitled him more than others; that no officer under him should receive a donation in the province which he occupied without his previous assent, lest a "worse officer should be preferred." In one word, King did not know his place; and as he moreover, on his own responsibility, entered into diplomatic relations with the German Princes of the Pfalz and Hessen, matters soon reached a point. The Riks-Råd at home sent him peremptory orders to obey Banér or return to Sweden. [*Riks-Råd. Protokoll*, vii. 345.] "I have," Banér writes, "left General King his choice, to set out for Sweden or to continue in his place; but as I suppose he will choose the first, which, I think, would be the best for certain considerations (the other officers not obeying his orders in the very least, and much confusion and dangerous complications arising from it), I have eventually chosen another Colonel in his place." [*Oxenstierna's. B. o. Skr. Banérs Bref*, p. 617.] "If men are thus minded," the writer continues, "it is not to be wondered at that everything is left on our shoulders." For the moment, however, matters were smoothed over, but in 1639 King definitely obtained his leave and left the Swedish army. His wife stayed behind, rather grieved that the Westphalian authorities refused to pay for his servants and horses any longer. Banér refers to this in another letter with rather spiteful irony. "I am very sorry for Mrs King," he says, "but I have ordered nothing in the matter. But because Herr King dismissed himself, so to speak, I do not see with what right he can demand the maintenance of his Court from a state which has without that very heavy burdens to bear." [*Banérs Bref till Oxenstierna*, p. 650.] Add to this the news from Scotland, where the clouds of Civil War were

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gathering fast, and the call of the mother-country to those of her children that served in foreign countries, and no further explanation will be needed of the wholesale exodus of Scottish officers. In fact this period may justly be called that of discharge and donation.

It was not always quite so easy to leave the Swedish service as it was to enter it. Take for instance General Leslie's case. He was known to the Swedish Riks-Råd as an ardent supporter of the Covenant, that is to say an enemy of his own king. ["Contra suum régem." See *Riks-Rådets Protokoll*, vii. 274. Cp. also vii. 279, 324.] How was the Riks-Råd to act? What was it to say more especially to Leslie's wish to take Swedish artillery with him to Scotland? These were grave questions, questions that might lead to international complications; but after much debate they were finally settled in a manner that appears rather to lack straightforwardness. Leslie's desire had been only temporarily to take his leave. But to this the Riks-Råd objected, arguing that by taking his discharge for all time he ceased to be a Swedish subject, and no responsibility could attach to the Government. Secondly, as to artillery, guns, and ammunition, it might be given to him as it were in reward for his past services. He was to receive two thousand muskets with all appurtenances, and, if he chose, to take the risk of the passage through the Sound, with ammunition and guns also, all free of duty, through Jacob Maclier, [Seven years later, in 1645, we again read that Leslie received 2000 muskets and 400 loads of lead (about 60 tons). Rika A.] a Scotch merchant in Stockholm.

In mitigation of this, as it would appear, flagrant breach of international law, it must be remembered that similar gifts, consisting of arms, were not unfrequent in those days. Colonel Lumsden receives two hundred muskets and two hundred cuirasses in 1640. [Lumsden received besides a "gold chain with the picture of Her Majesty." *Riks-Rådets Protokoll*, vii. 587. Indeed, this seems to have been the usual parting gift to a Colonel.]

General King, who left the Swedish service in 1639, raised difficulties in another quarter. In a letter full of his usual bitterness, he writes to the Riks-Råd that his pay was still due for several years, that he had served twenty-five years and not twenty, as stated in his passport, and that the word "eques auratus" should have been omitted, as he had never seen any

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profits accruing from it. Thereupon it was resolved to let him have for his travelling expenses one thousand Thaler, and later in Hamburg another thousand, this “allena (only) par courtoisie.” [*Riks R. Protokoll*, viii., 529.]

Besides Leslie, Ruthven, King, and Sir James Lumsden, [He was Governor of Osnabrück, and one of the famous three brothers Lumsden, about whom Munroe, in his *Expedition* (ii., 33), goes into such ecstasies.] the following officers went back to Scotland: Col. Lindsay, who received his discharge together with a gift of three hundred Thaler in 1639; Lieut.-Col. King in 1640; in the same year Major Guthrie, Col. R. Clerck, Francis Tinsdale, Hugh Peter, David Leslie, George Munroe, and the Captains David Stuart, Grier, James Turner, W. Mure; in 1642, among others, Col. Robert Douglas, Lieut.-Col. W. Barclay, Jacob Douglas, and Major Alex. Bell. All of these were given a suitable sum as a viaticum. No wonder that Leslie on his arrival in Newcastle met no fewer than twenty-six of his former companions-in-arms in the Swedish wars. Lumsden's letters to Axell Oxenstierna make it plain that the home authorities desired the return of Scottish officers. He writes in February 1639: “I have further to let Your Excellency know that I have received from the Scottish Estates, the authority placed by God and Nature over me, a peremptory call home, which I cannot disobey as a cavalier who loves his honour. I therefore request you to let me have a pass and leave to return to my country; and I shall hold myself bound to return to the service of the Crown of Sweden as soon as the disagreement between the two nations shall be terminated.”

If we add to these voluntary cases of quitting the Swedish service those involuntary ones where protracted wars claimed their victims, we can understand why the “personnel” of the Scottish officers was so entirely different after the Thirty Years' War from what it was as long as it lasted or previous to it. The famous and heroic defender of Hanau dead, having at last, a lion at bay, succumbed to treachery; dead after terrible agonies from wounds and imprisonment, and buried secretly and ignominiously, so that this day his grave is unknown; [See *Scots in Germany*, Part II. The fate of this “Son of Mars and the Muses,” as Grotius calls him, one of the most attractive figures in the whole list of Scottish officers during that time, is particularly tragic. To what has been said in the book quoted a short letter of Grotius may here be added: “Je prends,” he writes from Paris on the 30th of October 1637, “je prends part à tout ce qui sert à votre honneur tant à cause de l'obligation que je vous ay, depuis que j'ay eu le bonheur de vous cognoistre, que pour ce que cela redonde à l'honneur de la Suède qui vous a donné ce bel employ

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duquel les histoires ne se tairont jamais..." (*Histor. Handlingar*, xiii. 2, p. 45).] General Major Ker or Karr, dead (1637) after having been severely wounded near Munich and again in the Battle of Leipzig; [There is a kind letter of Banér on his behalf to Oxenstierna, asking to find some other suitable employment for Ker, should he recover (Banér's *Bref. till O.*, p. 372).] General King also dead (1652), after having for the last time penned his letters of complaint to the Queen or the Government, not even his dying wish to be buried quietly and inexpensively having been fulfilled; [The expenses of his funeral amounted to more than 1500 Riks Thaler. For the painting of "hufvud-banners" (hatchments) alone 200 Thaler were paid. At the desire of Queen Christina, King was interred in the Riddarholme Kyrka (1652). His debts in Sweden alone amounted to 25,000 Thaler. No wonder that his heirs lived in great distress and poverty, enjoying only a small annuity from the Crown. Kammer A.] and around these the hundreds that succumbed and found their last resting-places in the wilds of Livland or Poland, and in Germany from the shores of the Lake of Constance to those of the Baltic, to whom all donations came too late!

Leslie and Ruthven kept up their correspondence with Oxenstierna to the end of their lives. Both men are anxious to receive their pensions regularly, which in some cases were due for three years. It is interesting to see from one of Leslie's letters, dated Newcastle 1645, that he is still busy levying men for Sweden, this time "efficient naval officers." The difficulty of selling his estates in Sweden troubled his last years. His last letter is dated from the Tower, 27th of October 1651. In it he again urges the payment of his salary, now outstanding since 1648. Ruthven's letters from 1639 to 48 tell of the warlike preparations in Scotland, and beg Oxenstierna's assistance in the matter of selling his Swedish property "of which he drew no profit." In spite of his decrepitude - for his old drinking habits began to tell on him - he stuck to his post, was made an English General, and raised to the peerage as Earl of Bramford. But, in spite of these honours, his end was clouded. In a letter dated December 1647, he describes how the king and himself had lost all. All his Scottish property had been confiscated; this being so, he most urgently claims the sum of 4000 Thaler still outstanding, through General King or Jacob Maclier in Stockholm. This prayer he repeats in the last of the printed letters (4th September, 1648), in which he proposes that the sum might be taken out of the custom-revenues of Lifland. There is certainly a touch of greed in the man; he leaves no stone unturned where a chance offers of obtaining money. On the 4th of July 1649 he writes to the

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Pfalzgraf Karl Gustaf, cousin of Queen Christina, and begs not to be forgotten when the German war-indemnity came to be discussed. Later in the year we find him in Stockholm, where he was not only gratified by receiving his pension, but also got his hotel expenses paid by the good-natured Queen, and a letter of recommendation to King Charles as well, which latter favour does seem rather supererogatory. [See Riks A. *Registr*, 1649.] Ruthven died at Dundee on the 2nd of February 1651, leaving two women, his late son's wife and his own widow, to fight his last will in a lawsuit of the usual length. [Riks A. *Biogr*.]

Christina's age was also the age of donations. Whatever may be the final judgment of the historian, the queen certainly never forgot the services rendered by her Scotch officers to the Crown of Sweden during her great father's time and her own. These donations were mostly given in land, not in money. It would be wrong, however, to think of rich and well-appointed English estates in connection with it. There were no mansions or castles given away with the land. The donee simply received the rents of so many "hemmans," as they were called, that is small farms. Now of course the value of these "hemmans" varied according to their being situated in Finland or Lifland, or the uncultivated regions of Sweden, or in the rich districts of Southern Sweden or Pomerania. Sometimes the value of these donations expressed in money only reached the modest sum of four or five hundred Thaler; nay, the cases were frequent where no rents at all were forthcoming, and where these so-called properties became a burden to the owner, which he was most anxious to get rid of. One example may suffice. Towards the end of the XVIIth century Captain Peter Zinckler (Sinclair) sends a petition to the Crown referring to his two "hemmans" bestowed upon him for his "faithful services." He had been in the Polish war of 1655, had suffered much distress, and had been wounded in the engagements with the enemy. When he returned from his campaigns he found that the peasants of the district in which his property lay had suffered likewise from bad harvests, fire, and such like, so that they had hardly been able to pay the fourth part of the rent, which always went to the Crown, [About this fourth and other conditions these donations were subject to, see Supplement.] when it had been exacted of them. Petitioner now asks that at least this fourth part might be returned to him, so that he may have at least some profit for his "wearied, lacerated,

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and torn body.” [Kammer-Ark.: "Hvarmedh jagt kunne niuta någon wederkännelse för min wedermöda, sargkade och söndersliten kropp."]

Frequently, however, these proofs of royal favour were really of great value. Ramsay was given two large estates in Mecklenburg. Ruthven received estates in Sweden as well as in Russia, the rents of a whole principality, the receipts of iron-works in Småland for four years, and other gifts; Irving was granted the rents of many farms in Wermland and elsewhere; Col. Gordon's (of Clunie) estate of Hammerss "was sold for ten thousand Thaler to Hans Maclier in 1652." Besides these gifts in land there were the pensions, Alexander Leslie drawing for instance 1200 Thaler, his son 800 as long as he lived, Ruthven 1200 Thaler, King 1200, David Leslie 1000, Col. Lumsden 1000 for life, Col. Gun 1000 Thaler until the end of the queen's minority. [Registr., 20th April, 1638. Riks-A.] This liberality was extended to widows and children of officers fallen in the wars. Christina especially had a very warm heart for her soldiers. If the widows appealed to her for the remission of certain Crown rents, payable by them in consequence of the so-called "Norrköping Beslut." [See about it in the Supplement.] (Norrköping Act), they seldom appealed to a deaf ear. The children often received free education. [The son of Alexander Cunnigham received 150 Thaler for six years for his studies.] Even to the common soldier she stretched out a helping hand. No entry in the old documents more frequently meets our eyes than "för en fattige soldat," for a poor soldier; "för en gammal soldat att bekomma 6 Thaler," for an old soldier to receive 6 Thalers, or "för en soldate-änkia," for a soldier's widow, so much. These latter gifts often took the form of an annual tax of corn or flour imposed on certain hides of land.

It is pleasant to be able to state this of a queen who has not found great favour in the eyes of the historians. Her successors too continued in the path of liberality. We shall adduce one instance. Donations had been given in the usual form of farm-rents to Major Henry Primrose, both in 1645 and 1651. After his death, on the petition of his widow, the following reply was sent: "That she should be permitted to sell these rents to any other free-man, either to pay her husband's funeral with, or his outstanding debts" (1673). [Kammer-Ark. Such cases of utter poverty of Scottish officers are often met with. Col. Patrick Kinnemund, for example, applies for assistance, he and his five sisters having been left in great distress

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after his father's death. Here also the funeral-expenses had to be paid by the Government (Riks A. Registr., 16th Dec. 1661).]

Among donations in a wider sense of the word must also be counted the patents of nobility which were bestowed upon a very large number of Gustavus Adolphus's Scottish officers. [For a detailed list, see Supplement.] A great many of them settled in Sweden, held the highest rank in the army as well as in the Council of State, and became the progenitors of a long race of military sons. Thus for instance the Douglasses of Whittinghame were made Counts of Skenninge and Barons of Skälby. Wadstena Church contains their mortuary chapel, "the walls of which are adorned with banners taken by members of the family in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus and the Charles's, as also with their richly emblazoned 'hufvud-banners' (hatchments), which used to be carried at the funeral procession veiled in black crape." How rapidly the Scots had risen in distinction could be seen very plainly at the funeral of King Charles X. (Gustaf) in 1660. On that occasion Baron Forbes led Princess Maria Euphrosyna; Colonel Hamilton was one of the bearers; in the procession walked the Barons Lichtone, John Clerck, and Jacob Spens. John A. Stuart bore the banner of Ravenstein, Forbes that of Holland, Duwall that of Götland. Among the forty "cavaliers" of the second class are mentioned W. Philipp, Richard Clerck, Spens, and Ludovic Hamilton (Marryat, *One Year in Sweden*). This honour of being ennobled was eagerly coveted by the Scots; Anderssons and Belfrages and Bourdons and Lumsdanes all procuring by some means or other birth-briefs from home that proved their "gammal" (old), or "urgammal" (very old) Scottish nobility. No doubt the Swedish authorities were immensely impressed by the title "Chief of the Clan," or "Laird," and thus many of them took their seats in the Swedish Riddarhus that were not of true baronial lineage.

Some very ridiculous cases and examples of the eagerness with which the Scots tried to rank as Swedish nobles have come down to us. One is that of Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Irving of Tulloch, who, on the 19th of October 1643, petitioned the Senate to have his son ennobled, on the strength of a letter from the "Vice-Comes" of Aberdung in Scotland. The Senate declared very properly that they were quite willing to acknowledge Irving's own claim, as he had deserved well of the Crown of Sweden, but for his son other

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proofs of noble descent would be required, either from the king or from the highest parliament of Scotland. [*Sv. Riksrådets-Protok.*, 1643, p. 309. Son Alexander was not worth his father's trouble. Having married the widow of Governor Kinimund, his wife obtained a separation on account of his misconduct, and he was afterwards killed in a duel.] Another case is that of Captain Thet, who tried to prove his noble descent from the Tait mentioned above in Birger Jarl's time. The Rikråd characterised the document as somewhat "abstruse." [1642. See *Riksrådets-Protok.*, ii. 308.]

Of new Scottish levies, after those of 1636-38, which were raised by Francis Ruthven, [See Ruthven's letter to A. Oxenstierna, 11th September, 1636: "Francis Ruthven hat... eine Schwadron zu Wege gebracht," *i.e.* has managed to get together a squadron of horsemen.] Herbert Gladsteen, [See *Riks-A. Registr.*] Mathew Forbes, and Captain Blair, [*Ibid.*, and *Oxenstiernas Skr. och Brefv.*, ix. 914.] little or nothing is heard for a number of years, and this for the very good reason that Scotland in her times of trouble needed all her young warriors herself. [It appears from a letter in the Oxenstierna Collection that Capt. J. B. Munro was also engaged in raising troops in Scotland in the spring of 1637. He writes hopefully that the Duke of Argyll and the Marquis of Huntly had both promised their assistance - "si modo nervi," he adds significantly. William Dick in Edinburgh is his agent. *Riks-A.*] The Swedish Riks-Råd seems to have been of a divided opinion. After having expressed the desirability of keeping the Scottish officers "in good humour" (2nd November, 1637), levies were recommended in November of the year following, but their discontinuance was thought advisable on the 5th of March 1639. [*Riks Rådets-Protok*] Meanwhile the Thirty Years' War ran its course till all parties were bled almost to death. Long deliberations followed, and when at last peace was signed, Sweden had gained large territories in Germany, and the undisputed supremacy of the Baltic.

Scarcely, however, had she recalled her troops or garrisoned them in the newly acquired provinces, when war again broke out against the Danes and Poles. New efforts had to be made to put an army into the field able to cope with a powerful enemy. On the 29th of May 1655, Karl X. (Gustaf), who, being the first king of the house of Pfalz-Zweibrücken and a nephew of the great Gustavus, had succeeded Queen Christina, in 1654 issued an order in which Colonel Jacob Sinclair was authorised to raise one regiment of Scottish infantry, ten companies at one hundred men each, not counting officers, and complete the levy with the utmost despatch, so as to be ready within three months. At the same time he promised for each soldier

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(Knecht), as recruiting-money, the sum of 12 Thaler. [Riks-A. *Registr.*] Again, in April 1656, Colonel Cranstoun brings over a regiment of Scottish soldiers, consisting of six companies, another to follow in the month of August. [*Anteckningar om Svenska och Finska Fanor*, by T. J. Petrelli, Stockholm, 1892, pp. 10 f.] They were afterwards garrisoned in Stade, a small town of Northern Germany; when there the King addressed a very high-sounding Latin letter to them, exhorting them to be loyal and prove their courage against the "insult" of the Danes. He promises them in the same letter to do his utmost to hasten to the relief of the town. ["Ex castris nostris in pago Duzo unum miliare a Ratzeburg." Riks-A. *Registr.*, 1657. See also *Kgl. Concepte*, 1657, Juli.]

But if the supply of Scottish troops ceased, after having flowed freely for over a hundred years, there were still Scotsmen enough in the army of Sweden, sons and grandsons of the old warriors who first made the Swedish cause their own, and now had left the defence of their adopted country, to the gratitude of which they owed their worldly possessions and their rank in life, to their descendants. It would be dry work indeed, besides unduly increasing the size of the book, to give a detailed list of all the Swedish officers of Scottish name during the years that lay between Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII. Let us rather try to direct the reader's attention to a few of the most prominent military men during that period.

The first name that occurs to us is that of Major-General Arfvidius Forbes, or rather "Forbus," as he signs himself. His Christian name shows that he must have been born in Sweden. His father was Ernard Forbes, who came to Sweden towards the end of the XVIth century, as his ancestors, the Forbes's of Corsindae, are mentioned. [See *Anrep*, *Svenska Adelns Attartaflor*.] Forbes was an honest and lovable man, an expert officer, and a good royalist. He possessed little education, and his letters teem with the most ridiculous mistakes in spelling. Thus he writes: Leittenampt for lieutenant, monsier for monsieur, Exolenz for Excellency. But this illiteracy he shares with many of his brother officers. Account must also be taken of the Babylonian confusion of tongues that must have reigned in the Swedish army. During the years 1635-38, Forbes fought under the Duke Bernhard of Weimar. Whilst campaigning in Lorraine and the Rhine district, his regiments suffered much from want of food and forage. Still he was victorious in three engagements

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against the Imperialists and their general, De Werth. In the beginning of 1638 the Duke removed into winter-quarters near the Swiss frontier. Being hard pressed by the enemy, he recalled Forbus, who had been besieging the small fortress of Rheinfelden. When the troops were united a council of war was held, in which Forbus, nothing daunted, advised a bold policy. "Trust in God and advance" was his motto; "advance whilst the enemies are carousing within the town and think themselves safe." Duke Bernhard adopted this advice and gained a brilliant victory. After the battle he made Forbus a present of 1000 ducats, and appointed him governor of the conquered fortress.

Forbes kept a sort of diary which is preserved in the so-called De la Gardiska Arkivet at Lund, and parts of which have been printed. He also wrote a number of letters to the chancellor, Axell Oxenstierna. From these sources we learn some facts about the man which are not without interest. On the 16th of September 1641, he enters: "I removed with my dear wife [General Forbes had married a widow named Horn.] and little son to Stralsund, arrived there on the 5th of October. Gott lasse es glückliche ausgehen!" ["God give His blessings to it."] From another entry we see that he sent his stepsons to study at Strassburg, for which purpose he gave them 300 Thaler. In his letters to Oxenstierna, comprising the time from 1643 till 1646, he mostly informs him of political news which he had received either by way of Leipzig or Hamburg. Now and then, however, he touches upon less serious matters; thus when he tells the chancellor that his beautiful Hungarian mare had been sick with "worms," that he had received the Polish princess with a royal salute when she passed through Demmin in Pomerania, and that he and the nobles of the country had accompanied her on the following day half-a-mile out of town; that a wonder-working mineral spring had suddenly appeared in Horshausen, about half-a-mile from Aschersleben, the water of which had already cured thousands, including lame, blind, and deaf and dumb people. [Forbes encloses a medical description of the miraculous spring; its efficacy being specially noticeable in "gibbosis, calculosis, paralyticis, epilepticis, hydropicis, podagricis, et hypochondriacis (!)." Riks-A. Oxenst. Corresp., 16th July, 1646.] Every New Year he sends a very friendly letter of congratulation. Only seldom a note of complaint makes itself heard. Once only he expresses his vexation that so many officers younger than himself are promoted before him, which he attributes to the machinations of some

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ill-meaning persons; but this is only a passing note, and when in answer to it Oxenstierna sends him his patent as General (or "Generalmajor") his gratitude finds no words. In 1650 he enters as a memorandum that he sent home to his estate in Finland two long guns fixed on pivots, "so that they can be turned in any direction," for the shooting of wild geese. When, after the war was over, means had to be taken to reduce the strength of the army, his idea is to get rid of the married soldiers and the Roman Catholics first. To his stepson at Strasburg he continues to send good advice. "Be diligent in your studies," he writes in 1651, for the military career now is counted nothing." I again beg you to work industriously, especially in the Latin language, in order that you may soon be able to serve God and your country, for the pen is now in these times of peace valued more than the gun." To this he adds a short time later: "Be saving. My means are no longer what they were. The war is over, and there is no opportunity left of gaining money." [In 1640, on the 30th of September, Forbes enters in the Donation Book which I mentioned before, "Hafver jagh förährat till de fattige fempton Daler Kopper mynt," i.e. I have given to the poor 15 Thaler.]

Forbes rapidly obtained all the great offices of State as well. In 1650 he was made Krigsråd, i.e. Member of the War Ministry; in 1653, Riksråd, Member of the Senate; whilst he was ennobled as Baron of Kumo, Lord of Artsjö, etc. His only son, Jacob, died long before his own death, which took place at Stettin in Pomerania in 1665. His excellent and pious wife, who, it is related, found great comfort in spiritual songs and old national tunes during the troublous times in which her lot had been cast, followed him in 1668.

A cousin of Arfvid, Col. W. Forbes, also left a short account of his life, [Extracts are printed in *De la Gardiska Arkivet*, vol. ix. pp. 60 ff. Letters to him, see in the Appendix.] from which we see that he left Scotland, in the month of July 1634, with his elder brother, Lord Alexander Forbes, "the chief of the Clan and the first Lord of the whole of Scotland," who had already served in Sweden and commanded two regiments of Scotch soldiers, 2600 head strong. "We first went to Stade, in Germany," Forbes continues, "then to Minden, and lastly to Osnabrück, where Matthew Forbes was governor. In 1635 I was enrolled in Col. Leslie's regiment in Bremen. We joined Banér, took Lüneburg, and were present at the Battles of Wittstock and of Leipzig against an enemy

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who was four times as strong as ourselves.” He then describes various other encounters with the enemy; lastly, those with the Danes and their ally, the Imperial General Gallas. In the Battle of Jankow, in 1645, he had a narrow escape. In the presence of Forstenson, he writes, “I had to advance over an open piece of ground, and having no horsemen with me I was attacked in the flank by two troops of Cuirassiers, in consequence of which I lost several officers and men, who were either killed or taken prisoners. I myself was made a prisoner, but ransomed towards evening by our victorious men.” Several times Forbes was wounded. In 1647 he was made colonel, “publicly before the whole regiment,” though he had done a colonel’s service long previously. Once when he lay at Olmütz, in Silesia, he commanded the watch at the Mottethor. Suddenly the colonel came out riding, on a turn of inspection of the guards, followed by some of his dogs, which chased some deer in the open field. A fine stag was seeking his refuge in the town-moat, “and I had it shot by one of my musketeers, which I took for a good omen.” The writer then tells about his brother Alexander, who spent twenty-one months in captivity at Minden, until he was finally exchanged. His second brother, John, “de Pittachie,” came to Sweden in 1633, was wounded at Nördlingen, and killed in the skirmish near Hageburg. He lies buried at Minden. Other two of his brothers, Arthur and Jacob, both captains, he lost in the service of Sweden, as well as a step-brother, John, who was major in Colonel Pottley’s infantry regiment. “I had likewise to witness many of my nearest blood-relations and friends fall for the honour of their adopted country, holding mostly higher commands, and having gained for themselves an honourable name by their faithful and long services; such were John Forbes de Corse, who commanded a regiment, and was for a long time a prisoner at Lindau in Bavaria; Alexander Forbes de Ardmurdo, who levied a regiment in Thuringia and died at Eisenach; Matthew Forbes, the above-named Governor of Osnabrück; and his brother Arvid Forbes, the General and Governor of Pomerania; Arthur Forbes de Corse, a Lieut.-Colonel, who died at Buxtehude; John Forbes de Tulloch, who fell at Nördlingen, and so on. Altogether there were about forty Forbeses, officers in the Swedish army. [One of them, Jonas Forbus, a captain, was made captive in 1637, and had to pay 200 ducats for his own ransom (Palmskiöldska Samml. Upsala Bibl.).] The colonel concludes his short sketch with the following verse: -

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“die so viel Gutt verschossen
Und so viel tapferes Blut vergossen,
Doch bis dato kein recompens genossen.”

[“Who have fired away so much of their property, spilt so much brave blood, but have up to date received no recompense.” The latter fact he attributes to the ill-fortune that had hitherto followed him.]

On the last page of the Memorial is written in the same hand: -

“This memorial the late Colonel William Forbes composed shortly before his death. In it he has concisely and prettily told about his military services during twenty years. By all the officers, high and low, he has been much praised and loved in all this time. In the fortieth year of his life he died in the unfortunate and miserable hole of Burgk; he that had been present at so many famous battles, skirmishes and mighty attacks and earned so much undying honour and glory therein. His loss has been grievously felt by all, and he has been wept over by two kings.” [The original in Lund, from which the above account has been completed, is written in German, and apparently dictated by the colonel. The Library at Lund is particularly rich in Forbesiana. There is for instance Christina's patent of nobility for Peter Forbes on parchment, richly emblazoned (1651); Charles I.'s letter of nobility for Jacob and Patrick Forbes de Thainstoun (Edinburgh, 1629); Arvid Forbes's baronial patent, etc., besides numerou letters to the latter.]

Another prominent officer during this period was Robert Douglas, afterwards Count Douglas. He had been born in Scotland on the 17th of March, 1611, his parents being Patrick Douglas and Christina Lesslie, his wife. Not many officers can boast of having served three Swedish sovereigns in succession like Douglas. When young he came to the Court of Gustavus Adolphus as a page, but soon entered the army. As a colonel he took part in the events of the Thirty Years' War during its closing years. It was in the year 1642 that he, being of a hot temper, like so many other of his Scotch brother-officers, became engaged in a violent altercation with an Austrian colonel of the name of Spiegel, during a conference with the Imperialists at which the exchange of Swedish prisoners of war was being debated. Spiegel raised his pistol and wounded Douglas, but was himself cut down immediately by the Swedish officers present. In the following year (1643) Douglas wrote one of those precatory letters to Oxenstierna that are preserved for us in such astonishingly large numbers in the archives of Sweden. He was deeply in debt, and could not satisfy his creditors; his pay had not been forthcoming; a sum of 1300 Thaler is remaining due to him. Three of my

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brothers, he continues, have lost their lives in the service of the Crown; and then he adds with singular modesty: "I can in return as little promise any great deeds as I am able to boast until this date of very great performances, but I can assure her Majesty and the Government that they have in me a servant faithful in his duties and of an unfeigned mind." [Very charming in the German of the original: "Kann zwar dahingegen so wenig grosse Thaten versprechen, als ich mich bis dato grosser Streich zu berühmen weiss, ausserdem dass Ihre Majestät und der hochlöblichen Regierung eines treueiffrigen Knechtes und dessen ohngefärbten Gemüths zu versichern." See Oxenstiernas Corresp.in Riks-A.] The Polish War gave the writer more occasion for "great performances."

His dashing courage, which had led to the decisive attack in the Battle of Jankow or Jankowitz, near Prag, also showed itself in the fierce Battle of Warsaw, that lasted for three days, and at which Charles X. of Sweden led the Swedish wing, the Great Elector of Brandenburg the Brandenburg one, and Robert Douglas the centre. When the King after the battle left the small Swedish army under Douglas's command, whilst he himself brought his main body over to Denmark, the leader's skilful and victorious resistance against a superior force was no less remarkable. Very pretty is the tradition, which is still current in the neighbourhood, that when the two Generals, Douglas and Lilje, returned from the war, they wanted to live near one another, and therefore had their castles built so close that they were able to exchange signals. [From private information kindly given by Grefve Douglas, The Castle, Linköping. The above-mentioned tradition has been made the subject of a poem called "Vapenbröderna," by the Swedish poet Snoilsky.]

As a Field-Marshal (1657), Douglas went to Livland, took the town of Wollmar, and made the garrison, consisting of 923 men, prisoners. Then he turned his steps towards Kurland, where he took by surprise the town and fortress of Mitau, brought away the Duke and his wife as captives to Riga, and conquered the Lithuanian General Komorowsky in 1659. When peace was concluded, he returned to Stockholm, where he died in 1662. [In the *Tänkebok* of 1650 we find, *sub dato* July 19, that General Douglas brought an action for libel against a certain Thomas Berckmann from Hamburg. The latter was mulcted in the sum of 100 Thaler. Stads-A., Stockholm.]

The third on our list is Robert Lichtone (or Lichton). He was the son of Colonel John Lichton, who fell in the Battle of Wittstock in the year 1636,

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and of Catharina Guthrie. When only fifteen he took service in the Swedish army as a private (1646), and was present at the German, Danish, and Polish campaigns. In 1665 he became Lieut.-Colonel in Wrangel's cavalry-regiment, and ten years later Colonel in the new Regiment of Nobles (Adelsfana). To his rank as Major-General were added the important posts of Governor of Esthland (1681), and of President of the Chamber of Justice at Åbo (1687). Lichtone died in 1692, on his estate of Rörstrand, and was buried in Ulrica Elleonora's church at Stockholm in presence of the King.

He was brave almost to foolhardiness. In the Battle of Lund (1676) he was hit by several bullets which were never extracted. His violent temper was as well known and feared as was his great bodily strength. Thus he once killed a regimental surgeon of the name of Gruk, and had to leave the country, but got pardoned in 1664, on condition of his paying a considerable fine. But no punishment could change his temper. In 1667, on the 12th of June, he again shocked the good people of Stockholm by committing an assault on Colonel Bine with "sword in one hand and pistol in the other." He was arrested, but after a time allowed "to slip away."

When in the Diet of 1682 the question of raising the scale of duties was discussed, Lichton commenced to abuse the citizens, calling them "skinnare" and "skafvare," *i.e.* shavers and scrapers, "who took four or five Thaler for their table-beer which only cost them six Marks, as he himself had experienced in the restaurants to his loss." Upon this some citizens accused him of slander; but the matter was smoothed over by reference to the Minutes, when the words of the speaker, according to the Secretary, turned out to have been "*some* of the citizens; not *the* citizens!"

Around these officers others are grouped whose deeds were equally valorous, if the reward for them was not equally brilliant: among them Andrew Sinclair, [He was born in Scotland in 1614, came to Sweden as a common musketeer in the regiment of Robert Stewart, rose to be Governor of Marstrand and Calmar (1660), was ennobled and made a Colonel in 1680. He died in 1689.] who, as Lieut.-Colonel, defended his post during the siege of Thorn, in 1658, with such obstinacy that the storming party was eight times repulsed, and he himself hit by four bullets; David Sinclair, who came to Sweden in 1651, was Colonel of a cavalry-regiment,

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and shot by a cannon-ball in the sight of the King at the Battle of Warsaw in 1656; [He it was who changed his coat-of-arms by adopting the white, five-leaved rose as a symbol of his Royalist opinions.] Colonel Stuart, who is frequently mentioned by the historians of the time, and the two sons of General Jacob Duwall (Macdougall), Jacob and Gustaf. Jacob was first an officer, and was afterwards sent along with Nils Brahe as ambassador to Frankfort-on-Main. On his journey home to Sweden he was captured by the Brandenburgers between Hamburg and Lübeck, and could only regain his liberty by paying for his own ransom. He then became a Lieut.-Colonel, and finally Lord-Lieutenant of Österbotten (1669). A similar career, half military half diplomatic, is that of Gustav Duwall. In 1659 he was sent with Chr. Bonde to England, ostensibly to condole for the death of Oliver Cromwell, but in reality in order to procure the assistance of the British fleet. In this he was successful, and returned with thirty ships. But near Helsingör the whole fleet was compelled by the ice and terrific storms to return. After the peace with Denmark he remained at Copenhagen in the very difficult position of Swedish ambassador, until he received in 1661 the Lord-Lieutenancy of Kopparberg, in Sweden. [Palmskjölds Coll. in the University Library of Upsala. Added to the above notes written by Gustaf Duwall himself, are English letters of Will. Macdougall (Edinburgh, 29th March, 1656, and Henry Macdougall of Mackerstoun, 16th January, 1656), mostly on genealogical matters. The latter sends a birth-brief from Edinburgh. It appears that the estate of Mackerstoun was bought by the Earl of Roxburghe. Comp. also copy of patent of baronetcy (1676) bestowed upon Gustaf Duwall and his brother in the same Library.]

Two other Duwalls are mentioned at the close of the XVIIth century: Edward Duwall, who was made a Captain in 1673, and Albrecht Duwall, Captain in Uplands infantry regiment, who was tried for the murder of a peasant, found guilty, and executed in 1682, on the 28th of June.

Space forbids to do much more than mention a few more names of Scottish officers in Sweden towards the end of the XVIIth century. There was Captain Andrew Frizell, [His noble descent is attested by Hugo Hamilton, Thos. Hamilton, and Jacob Spens, at Stockholm on 1st December, 1663.] son of Thomas Frizell, who came across from Scotland as page to Jacob Spens, the elder; Patrick Kinnimund, who fell during the siege of Hetsin in 1661; John Laurin, who died as Governor of Marstrand in 1698; Colonel Thos. Livingsteen, [He also was testified as of noble family by W. Barclay and Orcharton, who append their seals, and state that Livingstone had been a

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relation of the Earl of Calendel (?) (see *Palmskjöld's Geneal. Samml. Upsala Bibl.*.)] whose noble birth is attested by George Fleetwood in 1666; John Orcharton, who had levied Scottish troops with Baron Cranston, but saw them quickly melting away during the terrible siege of Thorn in 1658, and who afterwards, through the intercession of General Forbus, got the appointment of Krigsråd; [*De la Gardiska Arkivet*, x. 20 f.] Jacob Cahun or Caun, who did excellent service as Major in the artillery; [Ennobled in 1692 as Canonhjelm. Many of the Cahuns are connected with the great Swedish gun-foundry at Falun.] Major Henry Primrose (Primroos), son of Hans Primrose of Stockholm, who was ennobled in 1653 on the 10th of August, and died as Governor of Johannsburg, near Norrköping, in 1668. [His coat-of-arms shows three red roses on a shield quartered by a blue fesse.]