

# THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

## PART II (D)

### MILITARIA

#### THE PERIOD OF CHARLES XII.

No two other nations can boast of so large an element of romance in their history as the Scottish and the Swedish nations. The reader often forgets that he has facts before him, and not the most poetically fanciful or barbarously frightful imaginations of an overwrought brain. Think of the amount of mystery that enters into the life of Mary Queen of Scots; of the death-feuds of the Highland clans; of the wanderings of the Pretender. In Swedish history what can be more romantic than the adventurous youth of Gustavus Vasa, and the imprisonment, madness, and poisoning of King Erik XIV.? Whole periods in the life of Gustavus Adolphus - I here especially allude to his "Brautfahrt" ("search for a bride") in Germany - are still shrouded in mystery, and now we come to the most romantic King of all, the stubbornly brave, fiery, and thoughtless Charles XII. - not a man who would have been, like Gustavus Adolphus, equally great in the tranquil times of peace, had he ever known them; not a lovable, wise man like Gustavus Vasa, whom the cruel persecutions of his youth did not render bitter and revengeful; but a remarkable man all the same, with something of meteoric rapidity and demoniac splendour in him or rather in his career. For he himself was plain almost to shabbiness, plain in speech, in his food, and in his dress. No strong drink ever passed his lips after the follies of his youth. But his great characteristic was his uncurbed love of war.

Great indeed was the glory he earned for himself as a military leader, but great also were the sufferings of his people, exasperated by exorbitant war-contributions and never-ending levies. Loud indeed was the martial music of drums and pipes, but behind it there sounded the dull groan of a population whom ruin stared in the face.

When Charles XII. ascended the throne of Sweden in 1697, he was but a

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

youth of fifteen, who showed no great inclination for the serious task of governing a kingdom. But the designs of his jealous neighbours soon showed what stuff he was made of. Now or never the right opportunity seemed to have arisen of humbling the proud and domineering Power of the North. Frederick IV. of Denmark concluded an alliance with King Augustus (the Strong) of Poland and Czar Peter of Russia, and the so-called Northern War followed. Of these three powerful enemies Charles singled out Denmark first. In his campaign he was well advised by General G. M. Stuart. This remarkable officer had commenced his military life in the navy, where he served as a common sailor. Afterwards he applied himself to the art of fortification, and rose rapidly from a lieutenant to a captain. In 1680 he put his knowledge to the test in improving the fortifications of Carlskrona and Waxholm. A journey which he took in 1685 at the expense of the King enabled him to study the works of the famous Vauban on the Continent, when he visited more than eighty of the most important fortresses, besides witnessing many of the events in the war of the Emperor of Germany against the Turks. After his return he taught Charles XII. geometry, who thought so much of his teacher that he appointed him to the honour of carrying his mantle at the Coronation.

When the war against the Danes broke out, it was Stuart who with great skill planned and effected the landing in Seeland (1700). Protected by the fire from the ships' guns, five thousand men stood on Danish soil within a few hours, and took the weak positions of the enemy without much trouble. Unfortunately, Stuart was wounded so severely in the thigh during the engagement that he could not follow his King in his campaign against Russia and Poland, but was appointed Governor of Curland, in which position he skilfully defended the country against its hostile neighbours. [We read that he presented an image of St Nicholas, taken from the Russians in 1703, to the Nicholas or Storkyrka in Stockholm (*Det i Flor Stående Stockholm*, ii. 67).]

In the meantime the sudden appearance of the Swedes in Denmark and their threat of laying siege to Copenhagen had compelled the Danish Government to submit to the terms of the peace of Travendahl, on the 8th of August 1700, by which the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who had been wantonly attacked by the Danes, was reinstated in all his rights.

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

Now, having shaken off one of his enemies, Charles XII. was free to turn to the others and invade Finland, where King Augustus was besieging Riga and the Czar Narwa. Charles was well informed of the plans of the two allied monarchs. We are told that a Scottish nobleman in his train offered to procure him news about the conference of the two rulers held at Birsen. He went there under the pretence of being a Brandenburger and wishing to enlist among the squadron of Saxon cavalry which formed the body-guard of King Augustus. Having succeeded in this, he contrived to obtain valuable information about the points raised and discussed at the conference. It clearly appeared from these that the King of Poland was Sweden's most dangerous enemy. He it was that unfolded the plan of pursuing and harassing Charles until he no longer owned a province near the Baltic. Czar Peter was to get an army of 200,000 men ready by the month of June, of which number Augustus was to enlist 50,000 men out of his own German possessions. Moreover, the Czar was to guarantee the sum of 200,000 Thaler for two months for the payment and maintenance of the Saxon army. War-operations were to begin in Livland and Finland simultaneously, whilst Prince Menzikoff was to unite his forces with those of the Lithuanian Prince Sapicha near the frontier of Lithuania. [See Von Saraw, *Die Feldzüge Karls XII.*, p. 62 f.]

There is no doubt that the knowledge thus gained of his enemies' intentions goes far to explain the almost implacable hatred of Charles XII. against King Augustus. How he won his signal victory at Narwa on the 30th of November 1700; how he pursued Augustus during four years with an almost cruel obstinacy until he had deprived him of his crown and made Stanislas Leczinski King of Poland in his place; how he then turned against the Czar, and, owing to a combination of unlucky circumstances, suffered the terrible defeat at Poltawa in 1709: all this is a matter of history.

The King was accompanied on his campaigns by a large number of Scottish officers, scions mostly of families whose members had served his father and grandfather, or even won laurels at the time of the great Gustavus. Here we meet with the Douglasses, Hamiltons, Duwalls, Ramsays, Spenses, and Sinclairs again. Many of them were killed in battles, still more were imprisoned after Poltawa. Of the thirty thousand men of the army of the Swedish King, including Cossacks and Poles under Mazeppa and

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

Poniatowski, close upon three thousand were killed or taken at this terrible struggle against overpowering numbers, whilst other fourteen thousand were made prisoners during the unsuccessful attempt to cross the river Dnieper. Only fifteen hundred followed the King on his hasty flight to Bender.

We cannot, of course, give detailed biographies of all the fifty or sixty officers of Scottish extraction during the war of 1700-1709; but we shall single out those of them whose position of trust or whose deeds of valour were exceptional, or whose sufferings and adventures were remarkable, and let them, where possible, tell their story in their own words.

To begin at the top, the name of Hugo Hamilton occurs to us. He was Lieut.-Colonel at the Battle of Narwa, and Colonel of the Östgöta cavalry regiment at Kleissow in 1702. In 1705 he was sent to escort the Queen of King Stanislas of Poland to Stettin with three hundred horsemen. Like so many others, Hamilton, then Major-General, was made a prisoner of war at Poltawa, brought to Moscow, and thence sent to Kasan in Eastern Russia. During his absence the news of his death spread so positively that his son entered into possession of his father's estate. When he at last did return, King Frederick overwhelmed him with tokens of his favour. He was made General and Field-Marshal. In 1746 he took his discharge, and died two years later on his estate of Tuna.

Of high rank also were the two Counts Douglas, William and Otto, who fought in the Northern War. The career of the former had been a very chequered one. He first served in the French army, whence he took his leave in 1703 as "Capitaine." Having returned to the Swedish ranks as a volunteer, he was present at the siege of Thorn, and when some time later the town of Reusch-Lemberg was taken by storm, he with the well-known Douglas impetuosity was one of the first to enter its gates. In 1705 he was made Captain; 1706, Adjutant to Field-Marshal Count Rehuskjöld. As such he was severely wounded at the Battle of Frauenstadt. After Poltawa his fate was that of all prisoners: he was carried to Siberia. But he had the consolation of finding in Wologda the daughter of a Dutch merchant, Maria Houtmann, who took his fancy and whom he married. After his return he advanced from Colonel to Major-General, and died at the good old age of

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

eighty on his estate of Stjenarp in Östergötland.

Count Otto was one of the very few Swedish officers of Charles XII. who after Poltawa entered the Russian service. He was made Governor of the whole of Finland with residence in Åbo; but he made himself disliked by the uncompromising rigour with which he collected the taxes, and the little sympathy he showed for Finnish feeling. Even the tutelary saint of the Finns, St Henry, was not safe in his grave. Douglas removed his bones, from the church of Åbo and sent them to St Petersburg. His violent temper at last brought him into disgrace. During a dinner given by him in 1719 to a number of Russian officers, he had an altercation with a Russian General; carried away by his passion, he ran his blade through him and killed him on the spot; whereupon he himself was sent by Prince Gallitzin as a prisoner to St Petersburg, tried, and condemned by Czar Peter to forced labour. Once, however, the latter saw him wheeling away his barrow in the fortress, sent for him, released him, and not only reinstated him in all his former offices, but made him some time after a Lieutenant-General and a Knight of the Alexander Newski Order. But Douglas remained what he was, a tyrant. Having condemned a nobleman of Livland to corporal punishment, he was deposed, and received his discharge in 1751. He was still alive, though very old, in 1763.

Another name famous from of old meets us in General Axel Spens. He was the great-grandson of the first James or Jacobus Spens, of whom we had to say so much during the time of the great Gustavus. In 1681 he was Lieut.-Colonel in Colonel Kruse's cavalry regiment. Taken captive, he was banished to Siberia, and did not return till 1722, when he was made Colonel over the Vestgöta cavalry regiment. When later the Russian War broke out, he held the command over a corps of observation to the north of Stockholm. He died as Lieutenant-General and chief in command in the province of Skåne in 1745, after having been exposed to many dangers in the rising of the Dalekarlian peasantry in 1743. [His horse was shot under him. Cp. *Handlinger rörande Skand. Hist.*iii. 239. Lieutenant Ramsay was wounded on the same occasion.]

Among the other officers of Scottish extraction in the army of Charles XII., William Bennet deserves mention. Having commenced his military career

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

as a Cornet (Ensign) in the regiment of Colonel Albedyll, he had the good fortune of saving Charles's life, who in his impetuosity had ventured too far and suddenly saw himself surrounded by the enemy, when Bennet with a small number of followers cut a way through the overwhelming force and allowed the King to retreat uninjured. He was present later at all the great battles of Charles XII., at Klissow, Turm, etc. In 1704 he was promoted to be Captain and Commander of Dirschau, a strongly fortified place near Danzig. Of his bravery many stories are told in the annals of the war: how he and three others chased forty Polish irregulars under the leadership of Glinsky, burned his village, and enforced contribution from the whole surrounding district; how he subdued the refractory nobles of Cassubia and pursued the Danzig troops to the very gates of their town. In 1706 he was leader of the advance-guard of General Meyerfeldt. As such he by stealth took the fortress of Nessewitz, surprised the garrison of two thousand Russians, and slew the Commander with his own hand. Immediately after the defeat of Poltawa he and General Meycofeldt were sent by Charles XII. to Czar Peter, from whose court he returned after an absence of four weeks. The King of Sweden then ordered him back to Sweden to assist in the war against the Danes, who in the meantime had invaded Skåne. Men of his temper were wanted at the front, and he very soon showed his mettle. In the Battle of Helsingborg in 1710 he commanded the left wing of the Swedish army, and drove back the right wing of the Danes. Wherever the danger was greatest Bennet found his place, and his appointment as Major-General and Director "af Avantgarde" (1717), as the Swedes call it, was certainly well deserved. Having witnessed the fatal siege of Fredrikshall, he was despatched to the Queen with the news of the King's death. He peacefully concluded a stormy life in 1740 as chief commander of Malmö and Governor of Halland. His descendants were so numerous that in 1857 no less than thirty Barons Bennet were counted in Sweden. [See *Biographiskt Lexicon*.]

Among the Swedish officers of Scotch extraction in the army of Charles XII who have left us memoirs or notes is Robert Petre, whose diary has since been published. [The Provost of Montrose traces his descent to Lord Petre of Writtle in Essex.] His great-grandfather was George Petre, Provost of Montrose, who died in 1627, whose son and grandson went to Sweden, the latter to Arboga, where he was town-councillor in 1658. Young Robert was born about 1682, in the

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

same little town. Having entered the army as a volunteer in the Hälsinge Regiment, he witnessed Charles XII.'s Russian campaign from 1702 till 1709, and has given us a very interesting and apparently trustworthy account of his exploits. He graphically describes the marches, skirmishes, and battles near Mitau under General Lewenhaupt, who had succeeded General Stuart; how his regiment once arrived in the small town of Kielmen, where he met many German and Scottish inhabitants, and found a Scottish Presbyterian Church; how the fortress of Selzburg was taken and razed to the ground, and what befell after the surrender of Mitau to the superior force of the Russians: all this and much more he notes down. On the latter occasion he had entered the town to fetch his horse when he was offered by a Russian official the rank of a Lieutenant with the dragoons, a "handful" of ducats, and six months' pay in advance if he would enter the Russian service. We let him tell the rest in his own words: "I answered that I had sworn the oath of allegiance to my King (of Sweden), and that I should keep it as long as I lived. People ought not to be so foolish as to think I would barter away my soul's salvation for a miserable sum of money." [The diary is carefully published by Quennerstedt, in his *Karolinska Krigares Dag-Böcker*, Lund, 1903. See vol. i. 86 f. The author has convincingly proved the identity of Robert with the Arboga family, The *Krigs-Arkivet* also gives Arboga as his birthplace.] Petre then goes on to relate his experiences as his Colonel's clerk in Riga, his promotion to the charge of Ensign, and the ceremonies in connection with it. Very amusing is the description of his embassy to the Russian prince Witsnowitzky in his camp about seventeen miles outside Mitau. He carried a letter from his Colonel in which great complaints against the conduct of the Polish soldiery were raised and redress demanded. Accompanied by a non-commissioned officer and four men, he arrived in the camp, where he was most hospitably received. The prince even treated him to champagne ("wijn de Schampanie"), drank to the health of his General, and then - offered him the post of a Captain in a German regiment of dragoons! Terrible sufferings awaited the writer in 1708. This is how he describes the march against the Russians at Poltawa: "For ten days we marched through a deserted country without seeing a human being, passing through forests and morasses which, I think, no foot ever trod before or after us. We tasted neither bread nor meat for nearly a fortnight, living on roots, turnips, and raw cabbage-stalks. Not even our generals had bread or salt. Eatables which we formerly would have refused

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

with horror we now swallowed with delight, as if they had been the finest almond cake (“Marzipan”); the hours during which we had encamped under the open sky in rain or snow now appeared to us like hours spent in a soft, downy bed. If any one had seen us in our then state, I doubt not but that he would have shed tears of pity. And yet, God be praised, we were saved from these as from so many other dangers and sufferings. Having at last arrived at a small village called Sewerin, we tasted what horseflesh was like.”

[Quennersted, *loc. cit.*, i. 178 ff.]

Petre then tells of the extraordinary cold during the winter of 1708-1709. Even the customary Sunday sermon at Christmas was countermanded by the King on its account.

The diary abruptly closes on the twenty-second of June. The author was captured on the 28th, and carried to Siberia after the Poltawa defeat. But of his further fate we possess no account. All we know is that he died after his return, in 1725, on the 13th of April. [*Krigs-Arkivet*, Stockholm.]

Let us pass in review the military exploits of some other officers. There is first Henry Wright, the son of George Wright, who had fled in the Cromwellian troubles and settled as a merchant in Narwa. Henry, or Henric as he is called, was born in 1685. When nearly nineteen he was made a prisoner by the Russians and sold as a slave for five Rubel, but he succeeded in escaping during the dark New Year’s night of 1703 to the Finnish army near Viborg. Imprisoned a second time in 1708 near Kalkonpö, his treatment was much more severe. Put in irons, he had to go about St Petersburg and Nöteborg begging for his bread. In the year following his chains were removed, and he was attached to the Russian General Bruce, [There were two General Bruces, both of Scotch extraction, in the Russian army at that period. Old General Bruce invited his nephew, Peter Henry Bruce of Detring Castle, born in 1692, to come to Russia. This he did in 1711. He has left us a most interesting account of his life and adventures, written in German, but translated into English in 1755, and retranslated into German in 1784.] who offered him his liberty and a large reward if he would enter the Russian service and disclose all about the fortifications of Viborg. Wright refused, but made another attempt at flight, together with eight other officers, on the 10th of May 1710. After having killed their guard, they marched for a month through dense forests and deserted wildernesses, starvation staring them in the face. At

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

last they reached Nyslott and Sweden, and, nothing daunted, Wright took service again under Generals Steenbock and Armfelt. In 1732 he threw up his commission as Lieut.-Colonel, but when the Russian War broke out afresh he joined the ranks again at the express desire of General Lewenhaupt (1741). As a special envoy of the King to the Russian General Lascy, he did valuable service. It was not till 1762 that he finally took his leave. Four years later he died, having reached the great age of eighty-one years.

We next come to Albrekt Gerner, [Andrew's parents were Albrekt Gerner and Maria Watson.] who was the son of Andrew Gerner and Elizabeth Pfeif, the daughter of the Bishop of Reval. Andrew had been used in the diplomatic service by the Riksmarshall de la Gardie, who sent him to Vienna as envoy. He died on the 23rd of February 1683. One, or, according to others, two years before his death, his son Albrekt was born. He first studied at the University of Upsala before he entered the army. When King Charles XII. in 1705 defeated the Russian army near Holofzin, he noticed Ensign Gerner after the battle saluting him at the head of his regiment with the splintered stump of a flag which had been saved by him. Upon inquiry the King learned that both the captains, both the lieutenants, and the whole of the men had been either killed or wounded except thirteen. Gerner also was wounded, and had two horses shot under him. His bravery excited the King's admiration, who promised him speedy promotion. But the terrible misfortune of Poltawa overtook him before he could fulfil his promise. Gerner was made captive and carried to Moscow. Thence he was sent to a small town called Solimanskoj in Siberia, where he suffered much distress. He succeeded, however, in gaining the favour of the Governor, who even permitted him to go outside the boundaries for the purpose of hunting. Gerner used his liberty to persuade two peasants who were well acquainted with the surrounding country to assist him in his escape. He paid them fifty Rubels each there and then, and deposited another hundred with a friend, which they were to receive after the safe accomplishment of their journey. With great industry Gerner had previously learned Russian, especially the dialect of his district. This knowledge, as well as a map and a compass, the gifts of the Lutheran clergyman of Moscow, made him start on his journey to Archangel in good spirits. Dressed as a peasant, he and his two guides

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

started on their perilous expedition on the 13th of July, 1716. They carried a small boat with them, and avoided all human habitations. After a fatiguing march of four weeks the Russians grew tired. Once when they thought Gerner was asleep they deliberated whether it would not be advisable to kill him and return to Solimanskoj; but Gerner succeeded by his presence of mind and new promises of pecuniary reward in persuading them to continue their march. At last, after six weeks of great dangers and privations, they reached their goal. The Russian guides received another hundred Rubels and departed, whilst Gerner himself hid in the house of a Dutch merchant, who had taken pity on him. Dressed in sailor's costume, he left it the next morning and went on board a Portuguese ship, which was just about to set sail. After a fortnight's voyage he reached Lisbon, where his sufferings came to an end. With the assistance of the Swedish Consul there he took passage to Gothenburg, met the King at Ystad, and after having related his adventures, was made Captain in the same regiment whose colours he had so well defended. During the campaign against Russia he rose from a Major to a Lieut.-Colonel (1747). In 1752 he took his leave as Colonel, and died three years later in 1755, and was buried at Sigtuna. He was a man of very lively temper. To his good looks was joined an uncommon strength of body, which he retained to his old age. [It is a remarkable fact that most of the Scottish officers who had been imprisoned in Siberia reached a great age. Many accounts tell of their extraordinary "Kroppstärke," "bodily strength." With Gerner's son, Colonel Jacob (1722-99) the Swedish noble family of Gerner became extinct.]

Another brilliant and romantic career was that of Ensign Barthold Ennis. [of the Ennis of Helsingfoss, see Part I.] He has left us some short notices of his banishment to Siberia after the disaster of Poltawa. We learn from them that he started from Moscow, where he had to assist at the Czar's triumphal entry on the 22nd of December, 1709, on the 12th of January in the next year, and did not reach Tobolsk until the 14th of February, 1711, having accomplished the journey partly on board small vessels. His prison-life turned out to be more endurable than that of others, as he possessed great mechanical skill. He was able to turn out good work at the lathe, to weave and to crochet, after having procured the necessary implements. Prince Gagarin, who had seen some of his products, commissioned him to weave Gobelins for his castle of silk embroidered with silver and gold flowers, for

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

which he received one Rubel a yard. Ennis had now not only enough for himself, but he also procured work for three of his comrades, whom he taught as his apprentices the art of weaving; their names were George Mallin, Gustaf Horn, and John Barry. With the help of these three he soon earned enough to treat twelve of his poorest fellow-prisoners to a good dinner on every Sunday of the year. On 21st November, 1721, the glad tidings reached Tobolsk that peace had been concluded between Sweden and Russia, and two months afterwards thirty-three officers and two ladies commenced their home-journey after an imprisonment of more than twelve years. They reached Petersburg in March, and Stockholm on the 22nd of June. In 1742 he received his discharge, to which was added a double pension. Ennis then bought a small farm, employed himself in gardening and agriculture, and lived to the patriarchal age of ninety-four. He had never been ill in his life, performed long journeys on horseback when eighty, and died of weakness in 1713, leaving a family of thirteen children. He was buried in Wedby Church, in the province of Skåne. [Ennis, *loc. cit.*, ii.]

Perhaps the most terrible fate of all was that of Captain Magnus Henrik Hay, who returned from Tobolsk, two years later than the other prisoners, in 1724. According to family papers he and a certain Lieutenant Seulenbergh entered into a conspiracy during his stay in Siberia with the Governor of the Province, Prince Gagarin, for the purpose of making the latter King of Siberia and White Russia, with the assistance of the Swedish prisoners of war. But the bold plan was betrayed; Gagarin was carried to Moscow, tried, and executed, whilst Seulenbergh and Hay were condemned to be hung up by the iron-hooks projecting out of one of the portico-walls. But the sentence was commuted by the Czar to solitary imprisonment for life in two miserable caves. Here Seulenbergh died in 1716, but Hay lived on until he was rescued from his grave through the mediation of the Swedish Ministry in 1724. He was made Lieut.-Colonel in 1734. [Ennis, *Konung Carl XII.'s Krigares Minnen*, i. 297, Note. According to the Russian history of Abbé Perin, Gagarin was executed for peculation.]

To this long roll of Scottish bravery and endurance we shall add the name of Maurice William Nisbeth, who entered the Swedish service in 1695 and rose from the ranks to be Lieut.-Colonel and Knight of the Order of the Sword. He was wounded no less than four or five times during the Northern

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

War, the last time at Poltawa. There he was treated with special severity because he had purposely misled a Russian General by his answers when interrogated about the Swedish army, and had by the delay enabled part of the Swedish troops, including the baggage, to escape. [See "Karolinska Officerares Tjänsteförteckningar" in *Historiska Handlingar*, xviii. 3, p. 48 f.] In 1722 he returned from his Siberian prison, and died in 1767 at the ripe old age of eighty-six. Like his father, [In 1681 we find him (William) accused by the Directors of the tobacco-manufactory at Upsala of stealing and secretly selling tobacco through the wife of the sexton. When the myrmidons of the law came to arrest him, he ran his sword through the body of one of them, took horse and pistols from him, and galloped off (*Upsala Lands-Arkivet.*)] he was a man of violent temper. Three years after his return from Siberia he is sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment and a penalty of 50 Thaler for having caused a private soldier of the name of Nordberg to be whipped almost to death. [See Westin, *Saml. Biogr.*, Upsala Library. The collection also contains two letters of Nisbeth from Wologda.]

Considering the period now in question independently of biographical detail, we must, in conclusion, draw the reader's attention to two interesting characteristics. The first is the revival on a small scale of Scottish immigration during the time of the Pretender's rising at home, and the second the completed amalgamation of the Scottish element with the Swedish people, especially in its nobility.

Sweden's policy during the last years of Charles XII. decidedly favoured the rising of the Stuarts. The King's ministers even thought of invading Scotland and attacking from there King George of England, who was now his enemy. [France made overtures to persuade Sweden to support the Jacobites; five or six thousand men were to land in Scotland under command of General Hamilton, whilst a sea-expedition under Captain Christophe was to assist at the landing. Large sums of money were collected by the Jacobites and handed over to Baron Gortz, the Swedish representative, in order to pay for the levies, ships, ammunition, etc. But the King of Sweden himself was only partly let into the secret. The whole matter seems to have been over-rated by the English Government. See F. F. Carlsson, *Om Fredensunderhandlingarne 1709-1718*, Stockholm, 1857. Fryxell, *Berättelser*, xxix. pp. 42-64.] This and the old traditions of Scottish warriors under Gustavus Adolphus led many of the Pretender's adherents to seek refuge in Sweden.

An example of this is told us in the history of Göteborg. It there appears from a lawsuit in 1716, between one Lars Gathenhielm and the Captain of a French ship, called *La Paix de Calais*, that this ship had orders to sail to

## THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

Scotland and there to take on board a number of officers who had served the Pretender against the King of England, and who were now, after the failure of their rising, compelled to save their lives at whatever cost. The vessel had twenty Scotsmen on board, among them "Lord Duffus," who landed here, whilst the ship was to return to Scotland to take up other fugitives who in "woods and mountains" waited for the opportunity of escaping. [See Berg, *Samlingar till Göteborgs Hist.* ii. 154. Lars Gathenhielm was a notorious privateers-man, son of a skipper, ennobled afterwards by Charles XII.] The news is confirmed by John Norcross, the famous pirate-chief of England, who tells us in his autobiography that he found in Göteborg a great number of unfortunate men who all had fled from Scotland after the defeat of the Pretender. [See Berg, *The Days of Great Disturbances*, Göteborg, 1900, pp. 7 ff.] It was common in those days to fit out privateers, and by their prizes to fill the exhausted Royal exchequer.

After what we have said of the adventure-loving nature of the Scots it need not astonish us that we meet Scottish names in expeditions of the kind. Jacob Galbraith was a Lieutenant on the privateer *Stöfvare*; Andrew Whitlocke, Serjeant on the *Svenska Vapnet*; and Jonas Styfvart, Captain of a third vessel (1710). [See Berg, *Samlingar till Göteborgs Hist.* ii. 336.]

In the meantime the large number of Scottish officers, and in a lesser degree of Scottish merchants, who had been gifted with estates during the time of Gustavus Adolphus and Christina, had settled in the country of their adoption. With a lavish hand patents of nobility had been dealt out to them, even to those that hardly would have been considered to rank among the gentry at home. They had married in Sweden - at first frequently their own countrywomen - they had founded families that soon only through their names told of Scottish origin. They had been buried in many a proud church or quiet country churchyard throughout Sweden. An examination of the list of Swedish noble families in the XVIIth century proves that a very large number were of Scottish extraction, [See Supplement. A list of Scottish family names among the Swedish nobility has been given before, by Marryat, in his *One Year in Sweden*, and by Professor Donner of Helsingfors in his little book written for the Tercentenary of the University of Edinburgh. The former author, if reliable, is very prolix, and includes many English families; the latter does not claim any completeness. It seemed to me to be especially desirable to let the reader see at a glance which families are extinct and which not; I have therefore, at the risk of unnecessarily increasing the size of the book, added the new list in the Appendix.] and even now many of the old Scottish family names

## **THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN**

meet the eye in the Swedish Peerage and Baronetage. The foreign branches had become ingrafted, nourished by, and grown into one with the native tree. The adopted country had in every sense of the word become their "Fosterland."