

PART III

THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN

LITERARIA

It is but natural that the chief laurels were earned by the Scots in Sweden in the military service. And yet we have seen that in the peaceful ways of trade and commerce also, in the service of philanthropy and social amelioration, the Scots have gained a most honourable position and a name among the world's great benefactors and Mæcenases.

We have now to consider what part the Scots in Sweden have played in the Republic of Letters, taking the word in its widest sense. The sons of the merchants who had settled in the Swedish commercial centres very often preferred the life of a scholar to that offered to them in the paternal counting-house.

The mania for education, which to this day is proverbial for the Scot, was then conspicuous even in Sweden; and the fact that the greater part of Northern Germany, with its famous seats of learning at Rostock, Greifswald, and Königsberg, was for a long time, if not Swedish, yet within the sphere of Swedish influence, powerfully contributed to this desire for further mental culture. Neither had the influence of the memory of the Reformation, with its world-renowned centre in Wittenberg, wholly died out. For many a young scholar Wittenberg was the Palestine to which a pilgrimage must be made, that city to which Sweden owed her freedom of thought, nay, her very existence, and her glory in the annals of history.

Let us be courteous, like the English Table of Precedence, and give the first

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place in our review of Scoto-Swedish scholars to the theologians.

Of these we find two Bishops of Scottish extraction in Swedish ecclesiastical history, Jacobus Pfeif and Gustaf Murray. The former was a grandson of George Pfeif, who in the time of Cromwell emigrated from Scotland to Germany and settled in the small town of Gollnow in Pomerania. His son Dr Johannes Pfeif commenced as an advocate, and soon rose to distinction as a member of the lower Court of Appeal [Vitæ Pomer.] in Stettin. There his son Johannes Jacobus was born in 1613. After having studied at Wittenberg (1635), Leipzig (1636), and Königsberg (1638), he came to Sweden as second pastor at the German Church in Stockholm. His name occurs both in the Acts of the Town Magistrates, where he is mentioned as buying a "stone" house at the back of the Castle, and in the lists of contributors towards the Poor Fund. [See Part I.] In Stockholm he remained until he was called to Reval as Bishop in 1665. Here he died on the 13th of February, 1676.

Fortunately we are in a position to fill up these meagre outlines of his life. Among the biographical documents in the Riks-Arkivet in Stockholm, a letter of the Bishop has been preserved, which, being characteristic of the writer as well as of the period, we gladly insert here. It is undated, but from its contents we gather that it was written in 1672.

"Wishing your Majesty," it runs, "health and a long life from God the Almighty, prosperity and success in all the matters of government, and all that one may most earnestly desire for Y. M.'s welfare, I humbly thank Your M. for having graciously entrusted me with the episcopal functions in the diocese of Estland, and for having graciously received and fulfilled all 'desideria' arising from this office, such as presenting the Cathedral at Reval with 30 loads (94 cwt.) of copper, so that with the legacy of the late Lars Pedersson for that purpose, it might be covered with copper, not to mention that for this legacy the customary duty was remitted, and for having in other matters at all times graciously assisted me. All which the bountiful God may reward with His richest blessing and gladden the heart of Y. M. with perpetual welfare. . . ."

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“Y. Royal M. had entrusted me six years ago, together with my episcopal functions, with the German pastorate at Reval likewise, in such a manner that I should appoint and pay a vicar for the proper discharge of this duty. This has been done hitherto with God’s help, and the office has been jointly discharged for the edification of God’s people in Christian unity,- the deacon or vicar, Mathew Fischer, who is at the same time secretary and member of the Consistory, having done his part with great faithfulness and conscientiousness. But because the weakness of old age carries with it disabilities of all kinds in the discharge of my work, and the said vicar is anxious lest his office, which has been called into existence by my ordination only, should expire whenever it pleases God to call me home, I hereby pray Y. M. in all humility, to allow me to transfer the German pastorate connected with the Cathedral of Reval to him entirely, and to graciously confirm him in this office in consideration of the good qualities by which he has as a preacher endeared himself to his congregation. I am sure he will continue to fulfil his duties by my side with all loyalty and obedience.

“Some years ago I was obliged to inform Y. M. how my late grandfather Georg Pfeiff had deposited with the Magistrates of Alt-Stettin a certain sum of money for his heirs-male, which for my part amounts to 3333 Gulden and eight Shillings, with this condition that it should remain with that town for all time as long as the Magistrates should pay the annual interest of 6 per cent., and that the capital, if the male line became extinct, should devolve upon the town of Stettin. Though this gift should have rendered the Magistrates the more willing to pay the interest promptly and justly, there have constantly arisen difficulties concerning this matter, so that my late father forty years ago was compelled to sue for security, which he received, and was protected during the whole time of his life.

“Now, although I have tried to get what is due to me with all forbearance, still I have laboured in vain, with ever less hope, since the said Magistrates not only wish to reduce the annual interest to five per cent., but have also made my attorney frequently and for the most part in vain appear before them with his requests. But as my duty requires me to adhere firmly to the terms of the legacy, as well as to leave it intact to my heirs, lest I should be accused of negligence, and since moreover my sons have attained the age when they

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need the means left to them by their forefathers in order to continue their military education or their other well-commenced studies in foreign lands, and to make themselves more perfect and ready in languages and exercises for the services of Y. M., I most humbly petition Your R. M. to enjoin the Magistrates of Alt-Stettin to grant me, as to my late father, a certain mortgage, so that I may draw out of it what is due to me without molestation, and use it for the benefit of my family.

“Finally, I beg to thank Y. M. with all due humility for having graciously granted to me the same stipend as to my predecessors; but I cannot conceal that I received only two-thirds of it during the years 1667 and 1668, and that one part of it - as also was the case in 1669 - consisted of grain, reckoning the ton at nine-marks silver money. This I was obliged to sell to the Reval citizens, since we are not allowed to sell it to strangers or to export it by sea, and so it happens, the citizens of Reval fixing the price of grain at their pleasure, that people receive only half of what Y. R. M. in his grace have ordained. To bring this before Y. M. I have been all the more compelled, since in the year just past (1671) two hundred Thaler have been taken off my stipend.

“I therefore pray Y. M. most humbly to consider my case, and to graciously promote the due payment of the means of my living, and I shall always consider myself bound, and willingly bound, to serve Y. M. with my sincerest prayer and my most loyal obedience. -
Y. R. M.'s most humble and obedient servant,

“J. Jakob Pfeiff.”

The Murray families - partly hailing from Perth, partly from Montrose - have had a most interesting history in Sweden as well as in Germany. They descended from merchants, and the members mostly devoted themselves to the civil professions. The first learned Murray who came to Sweden was Andreas, son of J. Murray of Memel in the north-east of Prussia, where, as we have showed in our former books on the subject, the colonies of Scottish merchants were particularly numerous. He was born on the 9th of August 1695, [See Strodttmann, *Geschichte der jezt lebenden Gelehrten* (scholars) xii 316 ff.] and went to the University of Königsberg when fifteen. Here he occupied himself with

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philosophical and theological studies, with an energy and precocity which characterised all the Murrays. Having taken part in several public “disputationes,” he removed to Jena in 1715, took his degree of Master of Arts in 1717, when he publicly defended his thesis “de Kinæis,” *i.e.* the Kenites. In 1718 he set out on a visit to foreign countries (Hamburg, England), everywhere seeking the acquaintance of famous men and studying in the libraries. After his return he settled at Kiel, where he lectured at the University and published his treatise, “de Deo ex Voce Animalium demonstrando.” [“How a God can be proved from the Voice of the Animals,” a sufficiently curious title.]

This essay aroused some hostile criticism, and its author was accused of being an adversary of Wolff and his philosophy, and denying that the soul of man was necessary for the formation of words. Some years later Murray went to Haddeby [Not Haddeburg, as in the *Sw. Biogr. Lexikon*. The church of Haddeby is one of the most ancient in the north of Germany.] in Schleswig as pastor, whence he removed in 1735) having been called to fill the office of second pastor to the German congregation of Stockholm. Here he wrought continuously and with much acceptance until his death in 1771. He had been made pastor primarius in 1739, and Doctor of Divinity (Upsala) in 1752. [Andreas Murray was not a prolific writer. Besides several academical essays and a number of sermons, he wrote *Die Wahrheit und Göttlichkeit des christlichen Glaubens* (The Truth and Divineness of Christian Faith), i.-vi., Hamburg, 1733-35; *Erklärung des Galaterbriefes*, Leipzig, 1739; and an Instruction for the Proper Use of the Catechism, Stockholm, 1737.]

The spirit in which he lived and educated his children is best seen in one of his numerous letters, written either in German or in Latin as the humour took him, and addressed to his four sons, who all became famous in their various professions.

He writes on the 7th of August, 1750, to his eldest son, Johann Philip, who was then studying philosophy at Göttingen, as follows: -

“DEAR SON, - Your last letter is diffuse, but it has in so far been pleasant to me, as I could learn from it your state of mind and your opinions more clearly than before. My clerical duties prevent me to-day from answering all your points with this mail; at the same time I should not like to leave you

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without an answer at all. I am satisfied that you should remain at Göttingen, since I see that you have not lost your credit there, as people wished me to believe, but rather gained many friends and patrons, besides being already in a position with God's help, not only to gain your living - provided you do show good management - but also to expect still greater advantages from the future. I wish you to acknowledge this good fortune in all humility, and not to ascribe it to your own powers, but to the unmerited goodness of God. Above all, I pray that you may sanctify your gifts, eradicate all vain worldliness, and implant in your heart the humility of Christ, without which one cannot please God. Ah, may the merciful Father, to whom I did consecrate you, hear me, so that I may find in you not a proud philosopher and worldly orator, but an honest and true theologian who seeks the glory of Christ only and the benefit of the orthodox Church, and may hereafter embrace my firstborn in heaven with gladness. When I read of your intended method of preaching, of which you boast, I sorrowfully called to mind the words of St Paul: 'My word and my preaching consisted not of the reasonable speech of human wisdom, but of the demonstration of the Spirit and the Power, so that your faith might be grounded not on the wisdom of men but on the Power of God.' Either you must say that God's word is useless and the power of the Divine Spirit superfluous, or you must learn through repentance and faith that you and all men are but weak and corrupted creatures, and that therefore human skill and art are not sufficient to effect a change of heart, but that grace from above must be the soul of your sermons if you wish to convert the souls of men. I do not know what kind of achievement it may be in Germany whereby you think of attaining ('erjagen') a special fame. Let me hope you do not meddle with politics, which have broken many a man's neck, and much less do anything contrary to the faith you have learned, being grounded on Holy Writ. You must therefore take heed in your intercourse lest your mind ('Gemüth') be carried away with follies which bring you no fame but shame, and your father and all honest souls nothing but grief. Pray to God earnestly to guide you on the path which leads to peace and eternal glory. Can you imagine me begging for the situation of a Court Chaplain, though the salary attached to it be ever so 'fat' ('fett')? You have heard out of my mouth, and seen by my example, that we must remain passive in our good fortune, i.e. do good and leave the reward submissively to the Highest. If we carefully attend to this, God will

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provide for us in a miraculous manner, and we shall find rest for our souls.

“To your lectures and other work may God give His blessing! To study ancient history might perhaps take up too much of your time, considering your other studies. How voluminous are the writings of Prideaux, Ussher, Schlezer, and others! But I must conclude. Mother, sisters and brothers, and all friends send their best regards, and I remain in true love your faithful father,

“ANDREAS MURRAY.”

[Letter kindly lent to me by a descendant of the writer, Prof. Robt. Murray, in Stockholm.]

Truly this is the letter of a pious man. We feel the heart of an anxious father beating in every line of it. And then the unconcealed fear of a new rationalistic theology in Germany, and the moral indignation at being considered a place-hunter!

The son to whom the above letter was addressed became Professor of Philosophy at Göttingen.

The writer's third son, Gustav, was the only one that went into the Church. He also, like his brothers, proved a boy of excellent gifts. Born on the 23rd of March, 1747, he was ready in 1760 to commence his studies at Upsala. In 1766 he went to Göttingen, where, under the presidency of his brother, he afterwards publicly defended his thesis, “De fontibus historiæ terrarum septentrionalium domesticis.” The same year, 1768, he took his degree of M.A., but had to interrupt his further studies owing to the weak health of his father, whom he had to assist at Stockholm in his ministerial functions. From this time onward he remained in Sweden. What the father so indignantly refused, the son, less sensitive, obtained: he became Court Preacher to the Duke of Södermanland, whose trusted spiritual guide he remained to the end of his life. In 1780 he was chosen pastor of St Jakob's Church, a charge which he filled for twenty-one years. During that time he showed a warm interest in the improvement of the Catechism and the “Psalmbok,” whilst the favours of the Court were showered upon him. In 1801, after having accepted the call as pastor primarius of the Stor Kyrka (the Great Church) he was raised to the dignity of first Court Preacher, Commander of the Order

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of the Northern Star, and Bishop of the Order, honours which were followed by his being ennobled in 1810, and appointed Bishop of Vesterås in the following year. He was a member of the Swedish Diet during many years, and died on the 4th of May, 1825.

The judgments of his character were rather at variance. He was accused of being a fortune-hunter, but his long stay with the congregation of St Jakob seems to disprove this. As to scholarly attainments, he did not equal his brothers, but he possessed a good head and great industry. As a clergyman he shone more in the paths of practical Christian work than in the pulpit, where his grating voice produced a disagreeable effect. With great zeal and energy he devoted himself to the better teaching of children and to the better care of the paupers. The school for poor children at Stockholm, when he commenced his parish work there, could only accommodate ten children; when he left Stockholm the number provided for was one hundred and twenty. The duties of his office were sacred to him, and he discharged them without regard of rank or persons, without fear of giving political offence. As an enthusiastic Mason he was a friend of all sound progress, though he was often accused of being the contrary. His long connection with the Royal Court made it natural that in dress and manners he should maintain a certain stiff dignity, [We are told that he used to wear a long wig, long after this ornament had been discarded by others.] and that he should take a particular delight in the solemn ceremonies of his episcopal functions.

Besides speeches and sermons, a children's book, which he wrote for the use of the Crown Prince, has been printed. [Cp. *Sv. Biogr. Lexikon*; Muncksell's *Vesterås Stifts Herdaminne*.]

Around these two dignitaries of the Swedish Church there are grouped quite a number of other clergymen bearing Scottish names. As the first on our list let us mention *Jacobus Guthrie*, or *Güthrie*, as the name is often written. He had been born at Montrose in Scotland on the 11th of October, 1602, his parents being Walter Guthrie and Agneta Greig or Grieg. The father set out with his family for Sweden and arrived in 1614 at Stockholm where a brother of his, Walter, had settled as a merchant. There the boy was taken care of by a rich Scottish merchant named Findeloo (Findlay?), who lived

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childless at Hedemora, and who tried to teach his young countryman the rudiments of business. But owing to the unbearable extortion of the old man, Jacobus left his master; and, expressing a great predilection for the life of a scholar, he was fortunate enough to find friends who enabled him to indulge it. He first went to Örebro, where the famous Rudbeckius became his teacher; afterwards he visited the High School at Vesterås. Having finished his theological studies at Upsala, he took his M.A. degree in 1630, but declined the head-mastership of Hedemora School. After a visit to his relations in Scotland, he was on his return offered the head-mastership of Vesterås, his Lutheran orthodoxy having in the meantime been demanded and ascertained. In 1638 he was appointed clergyman at Sala, in 1648 at Juna. He died on the 20th of June, 1661. [He married in 1633 the daughter of the Dean of Gefle. Some of his sermons and academical "disputationes" have been printed (*Definitio virtutis moralis*, 1631). See Munektell, *l.c.*, ii. 395.]

Another Guthrie, Johannes, who was born at Arbroath on the 13th of February, 1662, came to Stockholm in 1680, studied at Wittenberg, where he took his degree, publicly adopted the Lutheran doctrine, and became first clergyman at Clara Church, then minister of Elfkarleby, and lastly clergyman of the Ulrika Eleonoras Church of Stockholm (1716). He died in 1724. [Of his writings two rather interesting essays deserve to be mentioned: *De Britanniae Magnae speciatim Angliæ et Scotiæ gessis et moribus* (Wittem. 1682) and *Informatio tenuissima de lectione et pronuntiatione linguæ Anglicæ* (Upsala 16 - ?). A third Guthrie, Andreas, was pastor at Reval at the beginning of the XVIIIth century; a fourth, Olof, born at Falun in 1694, where his father was a merchant, studied at Upsala (1712), went to Stockholm to his relations, and became a clergyman at the Clara Church. He died in 1738. Cp. Rüdlig, *Det i Flor stående Stockholm*, (i. 132, ii. 159).]

Like the Guthries, the Strangs (or Strangh) - a Scottish family likewise - have produced a series of Swedish theologians. The first of them was Jacob Strangh, who was born in Nyhammar's Bruk on the 7th of February, 1697. His father had settled there as a manufacturer in the time of King Johann III. When fifteen, Jacob went to Upsala, was diligent in his studies, and obtained his M.A. degree in 1722. Six years later he was appointed Assistant Head-master at Vesteras School, and, after his return from a journey through Germany, Head-master. In the same year, 1730, he was ordained, and rose to be Dean in 1745. Loved by all for his honesty, praised for the faithful discharge of his duties, and admired for his scholarship, he died in 1756, on the 7th of December. Two of his sons, Peter Olof and

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Jacob, rose to some eminence as well; the former, a Doctor of Divinity, died in 1809 as the pastor of Skerike; the second became Dean of Erköping in 1786, and chaplain to the Duke of Östergöthland.

We have already spoken of Casten Rönnow, pastor of Åhus. [See Part I.] The story of the chimney reads very much like a legend, but the fact remains that he stood in high favour with the king, who lay for some time sick at the Vicarage, and was nursed with great care and assiduity. After his recovery he promised his host the next vacant bishopric; but the promise remained unfulfilled, though Rönnow rose to the dignity of a "Probst" (1683). He died in 1691 or 1692. [Comp. Skarstedt, *Göteborgs Stifts Minne* (p. 410). One of his sons, Carl Castensson Rönnow, a clergyman also, was known for his dissolute life. In his early days he had a fall from a horse, and was afterwards temporarily deprived of his reason. Matters came to a crisis in 1721, when he was suspended because he taught the Catechism sitting before his beer-jug with a pipe in his mouth. He died 1741, in obscurity.]

Not to make our list too long, we shall only add the names of two Ennises, father and son. Caspar Ennis, born about 1671, was military chaplain, went with the army, was imprisoned, and, together with General Stenock, carried to Copenhagen, where he shared his captivity for several years. After the death of Charles XII. he returned to Skåne and died in 1730 or 1731. His son, Claud Ludwig, lived from 1727-79, and was Royal Chaplain, and Rector, *i.e.* Head-master, of Malmö High School.

The most eminent, however, of all the Swedish theologians of Scottish origin was Dr Thomas Ihre, who was born in the year 1659, on the 3rd of September, at the ancient town of Visby in the island of Gotland, where his father had settled as a merchant. The family name was originally Eyre. After having studied at Copenhagen and at German Universities, he came to Upsala in 1685, where he became Magister Artium. During the following years he travelled with two young noblemen as their tutor through Germany, France, and Holland. The chair of Professor of Philology at Upsala, which he accepted shortly after his return in 1692, he only filled for a year, when he exchanged it for that of the sister university at Lund. Here he remained until 1717, when he was appointed Dean of the Cathedral at Linköping. As such he died in 1720. He was a man of great brilliancy and of ready wit.

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When Charles XII. had arrived at Ystad, he conceived the idea of recruiting his officers from the students at Lund. For this purpose he sent an officer there with the order that on a given day an examination of all the students should be held by the Professor in the presence of this Royal messenger, and all who did not show the necessary aptitude for studies should at once be enlisted. When the appointed day came everybody appeared with the exception of the students, who, following an advice privately given by Professor Ihre, considered it their bounden duty to stay away.

Besides being a good classical scholar, Ihre spoke French, Italian, German, English, and Dutch. He was compared to St Chrysostom as a preacher, and to Luther in his outward appearance. [See *Svenskt Biogr. Lexikon*. The most important of Thomas Ihre's writings was a Latin Grammar, called *Roma in nuce*.] His son, Johann Ihre, who was probably Sweden's most brilliant linguist, was the first to apply strictly critical methods to the study of languages. He was born at Lund, on the 18th of March, 1707. A terrible "camp fever," which followed upon the invasion of the Danes in 1710, carried off his mother and two sisters in one week, so that the mourning father was left with one little boy only, whom he educated himself, and whose taste for languages he by all possible means encouraged. In his twelfth year John was able to read Homer in the original. A sad interruption of his studies seemed to threaten, when, in 1720, his father died; but under the fostering care of his mother's father, the Archbishop of Upsala, Steuchius, the youth continued to make excellent progress. In 1730, according to the custom of the time, he commenced a journey of three years' duration, which first led him to Jena, where he studied modern languages, and afterwards to Holland, Paris, London, and Oxford. Everywhere he sought the acquaintance of famous men, and always kept his one aim, philological erudition, well in view. After his return at 1733 he was chosen Professor of "Eloquence and Politics" at Upsala, an office which he held till he died. Like his father, a man of choleric temper and of witty repartee, he at times offended by his outspokenness. Once during a hot discussion on natural and revealed religion Ihre maintained that Reason had the same divine origin as Revelation. This of course aroused the indignation of the clergy, and in 1747 the Diet felt itself constrained to issue a missive addressed to the University of Upsala, in which it was requested that henceforward philosophy should be kept clear of the

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hunting-grounds of theology. Then Ihre, who felt himself particularly aimed at, wrote, not without irony, to the Chancellor: "My Lord! I lecture on eloquence and political economy. To become a heretic I possess neither sufficient genius nor sufficient stupidity, still less sufficient ill-will. I am therefore most willing to abstain from all interference with theological questions, and to confine myself to what may serve my own private edification and progress in Christianity. I never intended to go further." During his time at Upsala honours were showered upon him. In 1745 he was chosen a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm; in 1756 he received the title of Kanzleirat together with the patent of nobility. On this occasion his wit again showed itself. Contrary to the ordinary custom of changing his name on being raised to a superior and privileged rank, he retained his plain old name, saying that "he was not quite unknown under that name in foreign countries, but if he were to call himself Gyllenbjorn or Vargstjerna [Gyllenbjorn means "Golden Bear," Vargstjerna = "Wolf Star."] it would take ever so long to present himself to the public in that shape." In no less a degree Ihre was honoured by the students, the more so since his wit rarely or never had a sting in it, though he himself confessed that in his writings possibly satire sometimes proved stronger than his love of humanity. Four times he was chosen Rector before his industrious and beneficent life came to an end in 1780. Like Martial, he desired to be what he was and wished for nothing else.

His etymological researches date from his translation of Richard Steele's *The Ladies' Library*. In 1745 he published outlines of the *History of the Swedish Language*, which was followed by a *Lexicon of Swedish Dialects* in 1766. He also wrote an essay on the language of the famous Codex Argenteus in the library of Upsala, which he proved to be Western Gothic. But his greatest work was the *Glossarium Suio Gothicum*, which took him fully seventeen years to complete, from 1752 till 1769. In his etymology he preferred to go back to the Icelandic and the Mæso Gothic. [Ihre had been promised the pecuniary support of the Government if his great Dictionary was completed by 1763. At the Diet of 1766 this support was nearly withdrawn, the conditions not being fulfilled. But good sense finally triumphed. See *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria*, ii.212 ff. Ihre's second wife was of Scottish extraction also: she was the daughter of Colonel Albr. Gerner.]

Another great linguist was Magnus Rönnow, or Dublar, as the family name

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really was. He was a son of the above-named Dean; he was born in 1665, studied at Lund and Copenhagen, and, being of a restless disposition, set out for a journey through Germany. In Hamburg he met with a learned Jew named Esdras Edzardus, who introduced him to the study of the Talmud, a study which he continued with great diligence at Wittenberg. It was a disappointment to the father that his son showed no inclination for the clerical profession. Though made a notary at the Royal Consistory, his chief occupation continued to be the study of Oriental languages, to which he added that of Latin metrical art. In Latin verse he soon reached such perfection that he was considered to rank with Buchanan, the most famous Latin poet of the day. Having obtained an annual grant of 300 Thaler, he continued his researches at Utrecht and Leyden; but his great wish to write a Commentary on the whole Talmud, an undertaking which he had proposed to the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and for which he hoped to obtain the necessary funds in England, remained unfulfilled, as the Bishop could not promise him any fixed sum. This, of course, was a blow to the ardent scholar: his appointment as "Translator Regni" at Stockholm could only partly console him. In the meantime he continued writing Latin verses, and translated amongst other writings Scriver's devotional exercises. All his life he had been a very absent-minded and untidy man; the older he grew, the stranger his eccentricities became. No office which required regularity and self-discipline could hold him long. He was Secretary here and Secretary there, but one fine day he would throw it all up and disappear. At last we find him in England, the land of his hopes. The weakness of his own mind and body shattered them all. The only friend he found in London, a Dr Morton, rendered him the Samaritan service of procuring him a bed in a hospital. There he died in 1735.

One episode in the life of this nomad-scholar deserves to be mentioned. In the year 1710 he published some Latin verses in which he called Charles XII. "Magnæ Scandinaviæ Imperator." This so annoyed Denmark that it was actually adduced as one of the reasons for the declaration of war. [Gahms Biogr. Saml.; Library, Upsala. Rönnow published *Specimen Talmudicum* and *Codex Talm. de æstimationibus sive Taxis legalibus* at Utrecht.]

Passing on to Medicine, we meet with no lack of material. The first

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physician in Sweden of Scottish birth was the famous “Lifmedikus” (Royal Physician) of Gustavus Adolphus and of Queen Christina, Jacobus Robertsonius à Struan, so called from his birthplace in Perthshire. Towards the end of the XVIth century he came to Sweden and was appointed physician to the king. In this position he must have shown great skill, for he was overwhelmed with tokens of royal favour, so much so that he confessed himself he ought to be the richest man in Sweden if he had known how to manage. Now he receives a house, now an estate, and now a garden on the Schlossplatz; and what was more, the king not only assisted him to open an apothecary’s shop, which he licensed as the Schlossapotheke, but he also allowed him the sum of 200 Thaler for “medicamenta” prescribed to the queen or himself. Finally, he granted him letters of nobility in 1630, after he had produced his birth-brief, dated Edinburgh, 2nd July, 1630.

Robertson was not a man of an amiable character. He was greedy, and constantly applied for new royal gifts; his temper was bad; his name is often before the magistrates of the city; nay, he even disturbed the sanctity of the Riksråd, where he appeared in great excitement to complain of the libel of another doctor. In 1619 several Stockholm citizens accused him of having vilified their wives and daughters. [Kammer-Arkivet. Robertson was privileged to import all drugs free of duty (1625).] We have already seen that one year before his death, at the age of eighty-four, he married again. [See above.] He died in 1652, and lies buried in Spånger Church near Stockholm, where his tombstone bears a German inscription. One of the church bells also has the inscription: “Jacobus à Struan Robertstone, Scotus.”

His son Adolf inherited the estate of Kustenwiss in Curland, which had been bestowed on his father by the King of Sweden in 1626. His fate was a terrible one. Doomed to death for having murdered his wife when in childbed (“mense Martio 1656”), he was imprisoned at Dorpat, but his execution was delayed in consequence of the Russian invasion. He died as a prisoner under “Muscovite rule” in 1658. His children, three sons and two daughters, were all sent to Riga, where their grandmother on the mother’s side took care of them. The estate reverted to the Crown. [Anrep, in his Swedish Genealogy (*Svensk. Ad. Ättar Taflor*), says of him that once a King of Scotland, pursued by his enemies, came to a desert island, where there were many wild goats. He promised a reward to him that would first kill a he-goat, for he was hungry. This the ancestor of the Scragges is said to have done. He received the

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name of Scragee (He-goat), and an eatate called Crag(!).]

It sounds like a cruel parody when we read that Robertson's motto was "Virtutis gloria merces."

Another physician to the king was Samuel Scragge, though his Scottish origin is but poorly attested. His father was chaplain to Gabriel Oxenstierna, and afterwards Dean of Hedemora. Samuel studied at Upsala, travelled on the Continent, took his medical degree at Franeker in Holland (1684), and followed the Swedish ambassador to Russia in 1699. On the journey he discovered a medicinal spring in Norrland near Gideo Backa. When the war broke out against Russia, Scragge accompanied Charles XII. as his "Lifmedicus" and followed him into Turkey, staying away for five years. The rest of his life was of a more peaceful kind. He discovered on his home journey another mineral-spring at Lüne Kloster near Lüneburg, and remained there as "Brunnenarzt" till the end of his life, convinced of the miraculous effects of the waters, an account of which he published in 1715. [See Sacklen, *Sveriges Läkare Historia* (History of Swedish Physicians).] He died at Hamburg in 1718.

We are on safer genealogical grounds when we come to two other famous members of the Murray family, both medical men, Johann Andreas and Adolf. The former received his early schooling in the German school of Stockholm and from his father. In 1756 he went to Upsala to begin his study of medicine, profiting much by the instruction of Linné. So great was his zeal that he used even the holidays to perfect himself in his calling by visiting the hospitals and apothecaries' shops. After a stay of about three years at Göttingen he took his medical degree in 1763, and commenced lectures on botany. In 1769 he was made a professor, and Director of the Botanical Gardens. His fame now spread rapidly, especially after he had come in contact with famous men and societies abroad. With Linné he always remained on terms of friendship. The master did him the honour of calling an insect *Cassida Murrayi* and a plant of East India *Murraya exotica* probably with a slight allusion to his pupil's connection with foreign lands. Murray, however, was not a blind follower of the great botanist; he made several innovations in his system, and did not restrict himself to botany. His essays on pathological and scientific subjects belong to the best that have

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been published in the celebrated *Göttinger wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*. His *magnum opus*, and an astonishing proof of his industry, is his *Apparatus Medicaminum*, a treasure-house for the future pharmacologists. He was occupied with it no less than fifteen years, and yet he had to leave the completion of the work to another hand. Death surprised him when correcting proofs of the tenth sheet of the sixth volume on the 22nd of May 1792. He is described as stern, ceremonious, obstinate, and distant, having intercourse only with a few, and spending all his spare time in his botanical garden, the treasures of which he jealously guarded from visitors. He was scarcely intimate with any of his colleagues, and still less did the students like him. Besides being an honorary member of many learned societies in Bern, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Paris, Florence, etc., he was made a "Hofrath" by the King of England, and Knight of the Vasa Order by the King of Sweden.

Whilst the life of Johann Andreas properly belonged to Germany, that of his younger brother Adolf was entirely devoted to his own country. Born on the 15th of February, 1751, he could already, in 1764, be enrolled as a student at Upsala. Such was his progress there that at the age of seventeen he was appointed Prosector at Stockholm, and commenced lecturing on anatomy two years later. At twenty-one he became a doctor of medicine. Astonishing as this precocity is, to himself it was probably "a present from the Danaï," and the cause of his early death. The next years he spent in travelling, and in visiting Göttingen (where he continued his studies under Haller), Italy, and Paris. Owing to a most splendid testimonial of Linné, in which he is called "auditor meus conjunctissimus, præstantissimus, dilectissimus," [The testimonial goes on to say: "Certissimus sum, quod ejus mores suavissimi candidissimi, me tacente, eum insinuant omnium animis quibus innotescat." Datam Upsalæ 1772, Jun. 21. Cp. Sacklen, *l.c.*, i. 334 ff.] he was everywhere received by the famous men of the time and treated with great distinction. Voltaire hastened to put on his gala uniform when called upon, and the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria made him a present of books. In 1774 he was appointed to the vacant chair of Anatomy at Upsala, having declined a similar call to the Collegium Carolinum at Cassel. His desire to see the world, not as a curious traveller but as a scholar, was, however, not yet quenched. He obtained leave for another journey, which extended through Italy, Austria, Hungary, Prag, and Dresden, and the

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scientific results of which he has written down in a voluminous manuscript.

Having returned to Upsala, he commenced and continued his professional duties with the greatest zeal, unweariedly assisting the students and attending the sick. Already since 1788 his health had become impaired, and four years after his appointment as King's Physician he died, as he had foretold, from a rupture of a blood-vessel, on the 4th of May, 1803.

A great many essays, speeches, and "disputationes" exist from his hand, proving the close and indefatigable observer.

A family of Scottish origin which has risen to great distinction in the medical and scientific world of Sweden are the Gahns or Colquhouns. For centuries the Colquhouns have been connected with the great copper-mining and smelting industries of Sweden which centre in the little town of Falun. Already in 1568 we find a William Kahun as a Captain in the Swedish service, and of the sad fate of Peter Kahun in the Mornay Conspiracy we have spoken above. But the direct connection of these with the first Colquhoun in Falun has not been established. A Walter Cahun established a cannon-foundry there in the time of Johann III., [1568-92] of which his son, also called Peter, became managing director.

The two famous step-brothers Gahn who concern us here were both born at Falun, where their father, Hans Jacob, was landowner and the district-treasurer. Johann Gottlieb, the elder of the two, saw the light in 1745, on the 19th of August. From his first appearance at Upsala one might say that his whole life was given up to experiments. In 1770, the year he left the university, he received a commission for finding out improved smelting processes of metals, owing to complaints about the impure copper produced at Falun. These experiments were followed by others, which he undertook jointly with other famous scientists of the day, to produce vitriol and sulphur from the water of the mines; and he introduced new instruments in mining, for instance one for measuring the velocity of the wind. His great merits did not remain unnoticed. In 1784 the mining-college caused a gold medal to be struck in his honour, and from the king he received the title of "Bergmästare" (Mining-director) for his improving the quality of the copper.

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In 1784 he was made a member of the Mining Board, whilst he was already a member of many learned societies, and a partner in a chemical factory at Gripsholm. He was himself quite a complete scientific institution, by which new discoveries were conscientiously tested, and whence new ideas were continually being thrown out. On his laboratory, his books, and his instruments he spent the greater part of his income. But this unquenchable thirst for knowledge had its disadvantages. Hurrying from one experiment to the other, he almost entirely relied on his memory, and made few notes. So it happened that many of his discoveries were lost to posterity. On the other hand, he had a great gift of imparting his knowledge to others; we are told of a simple instrument-maker whom he enabled by unwearied teaching to construct the finest chemical and optical instruments.

For his native country and the social welfare of the community he had a warm heart; in his conversation he was unassuming and had the modesty of a true scholar. He exercised hospitality with an open hand, and many were the strangers who visited him. Among others the famous English chemist Thomson [Thomas Thomson.] called on him during his journey through Sweden. He says in his journal: "Probably Gahn is the man in Sweden now possessed of the greatest store of knowledge."

Johann Gottlieb Gahn died on the 8th of December, 1818. His library was bought by the State and presented to the Mining College at Falun. [The very day before his death Gahn had spent twelve hours before his writing-desk, to work out detailed rules for the working of the factory of Gripsholm (near Stockholm). A certain oxide of metal, dark green and unaffected by acids or alkalis, received the name of gahnit after him.]

His brother, Henry Gahn, was born in 1747. After having received his first training at the High School of Vesterås, he studied medicine at Upsala and became Licentiate of Medicine in 1770. He then undertook the customary journey through the Continent to see the hospitals and medical institutions of other countries. At Göttingen he stayed the whole winter and part of the summer, and then by way of Leyden he visited England. Here the offer reached him to accompany Cook on his voyage round the world, but he declined, fearing that his regular course of studies would be too much interrupted. From London, where he worked at St Thomas's Hospital, he

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went to Edinburgh, whence he returned in 1772 with a store of new ideas carefully noted down in his diary. From his first appointment as physician of the town of Gefle he was promoted to the post of physician to the Swedish squadron then lying at Stockholm, and later to that of Head Physician of the Royal Military Academy at Karlberg. In his private practice he enjoyed unbounded confidence, and his authority was undisputed. He was the first who used vaccination in Sweden, and many improvements in the way of erecting military hospital-barracks are due to him. Full of years and rich in honours, he died on the 6th of February, 1846. [*Sv. Biogr. Lex. Ny Följd.*]

The last doctor of medicine who deserves a notice in this place for his great merits and his extraordinary career is Casten Rönnow. After his father had died in 1710 during the plague, the son, being then twelve years old, was sent to his uncle, an army doctor, Johann Rönnow, at Göteborg. All his life he had a love for a military life. In 1716 he was present in the campaign against Norway, and gained so much praise for his prudence and resolution that the king offered him the responsible post of one of his war-secretaries. It was only in 1720, after his return to Stockholm, that he finally adopted the profession of medicine, and especially that of surgery. Provided with travelling scholarships, he now commenced his continental "tour of instruction," which took him through Denmark and Germany to Paris, where he remained for seven years. A great part of his time he spent there in drawing the beautiful plates in Le Dran's Book on *Lithotomy*, a work which increased his fame so much that the English physician Douglas invited him to London to assist him in his anatomical work. Professor Winslow also tried to enlist his services. But Rönnow declined. He had in the meanwhile taken his M.D. at Rheims, and accompanied the Austrian General, Count Mercy, on his campaign in Italy (1734). And now comes the great turning-point of his life. King Stanislas of Poland had taken notice of him and appointed him Royal Physician. As a member of his suite he travelled from Königsberg to Berlin and the Netherlands (1736), was created a "conseiller intime," and entrusted with the chief superintendence of the whole sanitary arrangements and medical institutions of Alsace-Lorraine. As such he displayed the most remarkable activity founding a medical college at Nancy, supporting and advising the medical faculty at Pont-à-Mousson, improving hospitals and apothecaries' shops, and carrying on an enormous

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correspondence with many of the famous men of the day. After the death of King Stanislas in 1765 he was seized with a desire of returning to his native country. In vain did the Queen of France make him the most brilliant offers if he would remain in Alsace or Paris. He remained firm. Endowed with a pension of four thousand livres for life, he journeyed home in 1767, where he was made President of the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm. He died in 1787, eighty-eight years old, leaving many legacies for scientific purposes, and a name which did not need the gold medal struck in his memory to save it from oblivion. [For a list of other medical men of Scottish blood in Sweden, see Appendix.]

As the Gahns are connected with Falun, so too the Leyels are similarly connected with the great iron-works of Sweden. We know that one, Jacob Leyel, son of Patrick Leyel, "ballivus de Arbrochs," came to Sweden in 1638, together with two brothers, David and Henry. Henry's son Adam was a member of the Board of Mining and a lord-lieutenant. He was ennobled in 1717, and died in 1744. David's son, another David, was likewise a Bergmästare (inspector of mines), and Bergråd (councillor of mines), and lies buried in the family vault of Elfkarleby.

Adam Leyel, son of Jacob, was director of the iron-works at Hammarby, and spent large sums in improving the productiveness of the silver-mines at Hellefors.

As a scientific genius we may add to the foregoing the name of Thomas Cunningham. He was the son of another Thomas, a native of Creall in Scotland, who lived in Stockholm as a grocer in 1659, and was drowned in 1697. Beginning as a staff-sergeant with the artillery (1713), he became lieutenant in 1718, captain in 1734, and colonel in 1757. Two years later he died at Carlskrona, where he lies buried in the German church. Of him it is said [See Anrep, *l.c.*] "that not only was he a brave soldier, but quite a slave to his profession. He improved the powder-mill, laid the foundation of a collection of models and drawings, and procured for the Swedish guns much appreciation and fame in foreign countries."

In the province of Statesmanship and the like we have already mentioned at

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length Alexander Erskine and his diplomatic achievements during the Thirty Years' War. [See Scots in Germany. The name is often written Erskain.]

By his side, though not reaching up to him in influence or character, we may place Walter Greig or Greigge, the ancestor of the Swedish noble family of Greniggenschildt. His father was the well-known merchant at Wolgast in Pomerania, John Greig, who also owned the estate of Pritzwald. He was born in 1622, on the 1st of May, and became a Licentiate Juris utriusque in 1654, after various journeys to foreign countries. In the same year Johann Oxenstierna, the Chancellor of the University of Greifswald, nominated him Professor Juris extraordinarius, with leave to continue his practice as an advocate. Five years later Greig was appointed Head "Auditor" (judge) with the Swedish army, and in 1669 Assessor or Member of the Court of Appeal, an office which he held for fourteen years at various places. After the death of the President he wrote a petition asking for admission into the Riddarhus, and for naturalisation as a Swedish noble, on the ground of his long-continued service to the Crown and his old noble Scottish descent (21st February, 1683). His desire was granted in the same year. His coat-of-arms varies slightly from that of the Scottish Greigs. In 1697 Walter (or Gualter) died and was buried in the church of St Nicholas. He left behind him the name of an honest and just lawyer. [See *Leben des Walter von Greiggenschildt*, Greifswald, 1730. *Vitæ Pomer.*, vol. 14.]

Another Scot who held a high official appointment was Casten Feif. His career is not a little remarkable. He was the son of a simple Kryddkrämare (druggist), Peter Feif, in Stockholm, who again was grandson of Alexander Feif of Montrose († *ante* 1628) and Jeaneta Rynd. In his early boyhood, about 1670, he was sent to a hat-maker in Finland to learn the trade; but not liking this, and his master failing in business, he returned to Sweden. His knowledge of the Finnish language recommended him for the post of clerk in one of the king's offices. After that he rose rapidly, became Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior, and in 1723 President of the Ministry. Looking over the events of his life, and reading his letters, one is indeed at a loss to understand how a man so utterly without any brilliant gifts, so incapable of any great independent action, could rise to such a height. But his weakness became his strength under a monarch of despotic wilfulness;

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he became the right hand of a Charles XII., while he would never have left off copying under a Gustavus Adolphus. What recommended him to the king was, besides courage, which he undoubtedly possessed, just this accommodating way of thinking. In judging of his character his contemporaries are greatly at variance. Some call him selfish, a fop, and faithless, others again praise his industry, his purity of morals, and his patriotism. Much of this divergence of opinion can perhaps be explained when we remember that all the popular discontent and hatred which the financial exactions of a king, anxious to satisfy his creditors, aroused in Sweden, were naturally directed against Feif as the king's willing tool, a man who had no great military qualities to atone for a ruinous financial policy. Probably Feif was aware of the rising storm. We know that he proposed to the king as an extreme measure the melting down of cannons to pay off part of the debt, but that the king refused.

Nor was his position less irksome and difficult after he had been summoned by the king to Bender, The whole of the administration of Sweden lay in his hands, and yet messengers between Turkey and that country were but rarely despatched, and letters were subject to a secret Royal censure and often opened by the post-officers. When at last the king's presence in his own land became an absolute necessity, it was Feif who issued the famous passport from Pitest, a small place on the Wallachian frontier, for Peter Frisk (the king), Van Rosen, and Von Düring, who travel on business to Germany (25th October, 1714). The only measure of Feif that showed some statesmanlike forecast of the rise and the importance of Stockholm was the free grant of that part of the town called Skeppsholmen to the magistrates for being built upon.

Feif died in 1739, on the 17th of March, having risen to great honours, and having been enrolled among the Swedish nobles. His two brothers also had remarkable careers. Peter (1671-1736) commenced as a sailor-boy and ended as an admiral; John († 1738) rose from an overseer in an arsenal to be a captain in the army.

We have come to the end of our task. Not that the task, properly speaking, could ever be ended. Indeed, there may be and there must be sources of

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information we have overlooked, while new materials will be made accessible in the future. But with the time, the means, and the materials at hand, what could be done has been done. Others will come after and continue the work.

For whilst the words of Tegnér, the great Swedish poet, are quite true, and a lesson not to be forgotten in the face of much foolish prejudice, where he says -

[Fritjof's Saga: -
"Yfs ej af fädrens ära! en hvar har dock blott sin;
Kan du ej spänna bågen, är han ej din?
Hvad vill du med det värde, som är begrafvet?
Stark ström med egna våger går genom hafvet."]

"Boast not of fathers' honours! Each but his own can know.
Canst thou not draw the bow thyself? is not thine own the bow?
What value are to thee the things that long ago were buried?
Strong waves by their own force alone into the sea are hurried "-

it is at the same time quite as valuable to remember the deeds of our ancestors as a warning and an encouragement in our struggle of life, and as a strengthening of our patriotism - not a patriotism clad in uniform or relying on Dreadnoughts, but a nobler patriotism founded on those deeper qualities which lie at the root of a nation's true greatness.