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Scottish-Scandinavian
Seventeenth Century Naval Links:
A case study for the SSNE database

The *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580-1707* database¹ has proved a vital tool for the study of Northern Europe, particularly as regards relations with the British Isles in the seventeenth century. It was the facilitator of this comparative overview of the British impact (that is, individual Scots, Irish and English participants) on the developing Scandinavian sea-states of the seventeenth century. In pursuing my research on Scottish military involvement in the Swedish army during the Thirty Years' War period, the frequent occurrence of British names in the Swedish navy, both in terms of shipbuilding and as officers of various ranks, suggested a need for closer investigation. As the names were entered into the database, an obvious trend of particularly Scottish involvement emerged, paralleling the heavy Scottish military activity in the army. This study then presents the role of generally British, but particularly Scottish, naval expertise as characteristic of Scandinavian naval developments in the seventeenth century, with an emphasis on Sweden.

Results from the *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580-1707* database show that throughout the 17th century, approximately 130 Scots, English and Irish officers found their way into Scandinavian naval service, and almost 60% of these came to Sweden. This revealed that despite only making up approximately one fifth of the population of Britain, the Scots comprised by far the largest percentage (70% in Sweden and 80% in Denmark) of 'British Isles' officers in Swedish and Danish-Norwegian service.² Although 130 may not seem a vast number of people, the fact remains that many achieved high-ranking positions and thereby exerted an

influence in the navies they served.

There are a number of reasons why the Scots went abroad during the seventeenth century: poor conditions at home in terms of social prospects, the search for adventure, serving a particular cause (be it religious or political), or simply responding to a fellow family member's call to join them overseas. Developments in the British Isles, namely the assumption of the English crown by the Scottish king in 1603, also led to increased migration. With the cessation of official hostilities between those two kingdoms, their respective navies were reduced.³ In addition, the English conflict with Spain ended early in King James VI and I's reign, leaving many English and Scottish naval officers looking for employment.

The almost constant state of war between Sweden-Finland and Denmark-Norway during this period also proved a major pull factor for these officers. There are clusters of naval recruitment in Sweden and Denmark between 1609 and 1612, from 1628 through the 1640s, with a particular rise in 1645. Further activity occurred around 1658-60, though the largest single cluster occurs between 1675 and 1678. These clusters relate to the Swedish-Danish Kalmar war in 1611-13, the Swedish involvement in the Thirty Years' War between 1628 and 1648 which also included a Swedish-Danish war from 1645 to 1648, and two further Swedish-Danish wars in 1658-60 and 1675-78. Again, the importance here is not in the amount, but in the fact that these people were present at all. (Figure 1)

That there were any Scots impacting on the Swedish navy stems from the fact that both kingdoms relied largely on naval strength for defence and shipping for trade and therefore both had significant sea-faring populations. Inevitably the two came into contact, especially as successful merchant shipping needed the protection of a strong navy. The Scandinavians, since the time of the expansive Viking kings, were dependent on their naval prowess for success abroad, and indeed it was the rapid speed of arrival, attack and departure which resulted in the Scandinavians of the Dark Ages making such an impact, both on the British Isles and continental Europe. Although by the seventeenth century Sweden's

ambitions had taken on perhaps more socially acceptable political and religious dimensions (King Gustav Adolf was after all considered 'defender of the Protestant faith'), not much had changed in terms of the importance of sea transport. Michael Roberts, in discussing seventeenth century Sweden, called the Swedish empire 'essentially a maritime empire'. Thus despite all her military successes on land, which eventually saw her dominate a great part of the Baltic region, the Swedish state was dependent on the strength of her navy to protect these successes.

Figure 1: *Clusters of British recruitment for Scandinavian naval service*

	<i>Sweden</i>		<i>Denmark</i>
1609-1612:	5 Scots	Kalmar War	5 Scots
1628-1648:	16 Scots 1 English	Thirty Years' War Swedish-Danish war	18 Scots
1658-1660:	4 English 3 Scots	Swedish-Danish war	2 Scots 1 English
1675-1678:	9 Scots 4 English 1 British	Swedish-Danish war	4 Scots 2 Irish 1 British

If one considers the geographical make-up of Scandinavia at the time, where Denmark-Norway was one kingdom, which included Iceland, the Faeroes and a large area of modern-day southern and western Sweden, it becomes clear that Sweden-Finland was effectively surrounded by Denmark-Norway, her greatest threat and constant enemy. This becomes all the more apparent when it is emphasised that king Christian IV of Denmark-Norway, who reigned from 1596, controlled the Sound. This formed the gateway to the Baltic, which was an important trade route and the source of much of the wealth of the maritime kingdoms. All shipping had to pass through Danish tolls, and Sweden-Finland was highly vulnerable to economic isolation as a result.

Sweden's southern neighbour across the Baltic sea, Poland,

was also a threat to Swedish sovereignty due to a contested dynastic succession. King Sigismund III was the son of King Johan III of Sweden, and after Johan's death in 1592 he rightly assumed the Swedish crown. The fight of Duke Karl, who was Johan's brother, against Sigismund concerned avoiding the reinstatement of Catholicism as much as it did Sweden's independence. In this relationship again strength of defence at sea was paramount and the threat was viewed as constant throughout Gustav Adolf's reign. Poland, however, lacked a defensive fleet, and it was not until 1607 that Sigismund declared he would create a Polish navy. Even then Poland continued to rely on hired ships from Holland and England in her sea-battles. In 1622 Sigismund tried to reduce his reliance on foreign vessels by taking on the services of the Scot, James Murray, as shipwright and chief of shipbuilding operations, and his first ship was ready the following year.⁴ This in itself is of interest and strengthens the case for the wider study of Scottish naval impact in northern and Baltic Europe than has previously been considered.

Sweden also had to contend with alternately friendly and aggressive relations with Russia and Russian attempts at establishing a Baltic foothold around the Finnish bay. It proved a constant distraction to Sweden's expansive ambitions by keeping many of the valuable ships required to check the Danes and Poles effectively out of the western Baltic.

In addition to the above, the political tensions between Denmark and Sweden were continually confrontational. Although Sweden had been independent of Denmark-Norway for more than 80 years at the start of Gustav Adolf's rule in 1611 (it was his grandfather King Gustav I Vasa who broke from the Kalmar union in 1523), the Danish crown still aimed at re-unification, and the Swedish Vasas were still viewed as usurpers – not only by the Danes, but also by many foreign crowns, particularly after the struggle between Karl and Sigismund. Perhaps an indication of the rivalry between the two kingdoms can be gleaned from the fact that during King Erik XIV's reign (1560-1568), the best ship of the Swedish fleet was known as 'Jutehataren', or the Jute hater (Jute referring of course to natives of Jutland, and thereby to Kings of

Denmark. This epithet is used by Swedish statesmen well into the 1640s).⁵ Scandinavia in the seventeenth century thus comprised two rival sea-based powers whose mutual borders and ambitions necessitated continual military vigilance and development. Foreign support in this was a much sought-after element and it is in this aspect that the British kingdoms, and especially Scotland, played a major role.

In his study on Gustav Adolf, Michael Roberts noted that as the Danish navy was financed by the Sound Tolls, Christian IV could afford to bring in shipwrights from Scotland, England and Holland with impunity 'to build for him warships of the most modern design'.⁶ That avenue, the hiring of foreign professionals, was equally utilised by the Swedes. In fact, since the time of King Gustav I Vasa (who ruled from 1523 to 1560), foreign ships and sailors had been taken into Swedish service, and were indeed enthusiastically sought for their military superiority. Although Gustav Adolf may have been 'the only Swedish king to command a fleet at sea' he certainly was not the first to organise and improve the Swedish navy.⁷

Not only did Gustav I Vasa establish a permanent army through the process of national conscription in 1544, but he also founded the Swedish naval force.⁸ Indeed, it should be pointed out that it was his use of a naval force of 10 ships from Lübeck that was instrumental to his overthrow of the Kalmar Union king, Christian II, in 1522, and that there were probably 22 more on standby in Danzig.⁹ As no hierarchy of responsibility for naval matters in Sweden existed at that point, the king was personally responsible for all aspects of building up the Swedish fleet. Shipbuilding, ship personnel, provisions, salaries: these were all the king's personal concern.¹⁰ Indeed, the position of admiral was only finally created during the reign of his son, King Johan III. This surely suggests that the Swedish monarchs had a total awareness of and concern for the absolute necessity of a strong fleet to secure Sweden's defence and independence.

Analysis of the numbers of ships within the Swedish fleet reveals a spurt of growth between the years 1523 and 1580. During Gustav Vasa's reign the number of ships more than

doubled, from 10 to 49. Under his son, Erik XIV, they more than doubled again until there were 120 ships in the fleet. The trend took a sharp curve downward during the reigns of Johan III, whose concerns lay in areas other than the military, and similarly with Sigismund, due to the primary concern of fighting his rival for the throne, Karl IX, on Swedish territory. The decline was so great that numbers returned to roughly the same as they had been in the reign of Gustav Vasa. The strength and growth of the Swedish navy was so intimately linked to the king's personal interest that it sometimes took a backseat to other concerns. During Karl IX's reign, however, the navy once again expanded to its highest number of 139, although this was soon counterbalanced by the effect of war and wreckage.¹¹

The only figures I have accessed for Denmark in this period are those for the early part of King Christian IV's reign. At the time of his accession, 1596, the Danish fleet contained 22 ships. By 1606 Christian IV felt confident enough with his naval power to present his nephew, the Scottish prince Henry, with a warship and a vice-admiral.¹² During the next 15 years or so this was expanded to 50-60, still well below the Swedish average. However, it must be noted that the strongest of the Swedish ships at this time, in 1611, was equal, in cannon number, to the weakest of the Danish. The Swedish ships had between 22 and 34 cannons on board whereas the Danish had between 34 and 64 cannons.¹³ In military confrontations at sea the Swedes' best move was likely to be to attempt to capture the stronger Danish ships by surrounding or grounding them, or by calling in auxiliary support. This could either come from a political ally or privately sponsored naval support.

In terms of official royal contacts between Scotland and Scandinavia relations were rather unstable. Scotland, like all of the northern European powers, did not want to see either of the Scandinavian kingdoms gaining too much control of the Baltic region as this would have obvious implications for international trade. Therefore, before the 1590 marriage of King James VI to princess Anna of Denmark, the sister of King Christian IV, royal correspondence between Scotland and

Scandinavia shows no favouritism between the two. Keeping Sweden and Denmark as rivals was a safer option. During the reign of Queen Mary, Sweden, as well as Denmark, is listed amongst Scotland's allies.¹⁴ The parity of treatment by the Scottish crown would indeed prove a frustration to the Danes, and during the later sixteenth century royal correspondence frequently refers to Scots in Swedish service. Indeed, in 1566 king Frederik II of Denmark-Norway complained to Mary regarding the arming and manning of a Scottish ship for Swedish service. Yet at this time a certain Master James Barry already claimed to be in Danish service as authorised to 'mak weir, invaid and persew the King of Swadenis subjectis, and all his adherentis and partakaris in the present weris standing betuix the saidis kingis'.¹⁵ In the light of this, Frederik's complaints seem a little two-faced. This James Barry had actually been called up to account for himself by the Scottish Privy Council, which questioned him as to his activities at sea – he was obviously considered a privateer by the Scottish state.

Privateers

When help was not available from allied nations in times of troubles, there was always the option of privateers. Privateers posed the same problem for the Scandinavians as they did for everyone else – useful in times of trouble, but embarrassing in times of peace. In 1544 Gustav Vasa ordered the arrest of Scottish ships in Swedish waters until the Swedes got restitution for goods stolen from them by Scottish privateers. Then, in 1546 the king sent a letter to Queen Mary seeking recompense for ships lost to Scottish privateers. The obvious implication to be drawn is the strength of Scottish ships in Swedish waters. This problem was also experienced by Denmark as in 1580 king Frederick II ordered the Scot Robert Stewart to apprehend the privateer John Clerk in Shetland.¹⁶ He failed. This determination on the part of the Danish king to catch Clerk indicates the extent of impact the Scots made on the North Sea.

Perhaps the most long-drawn-out case of imprisonment concerned a Robert Scola from Orkney, listed as a Scottish merchant who had been arrested at Bergen for seven years by 1618. Although Scola had been supported by the Scottish procurator David Hart four years earlier, complete with royal letters requesting his release, the Privy Council finally wrote to Christian IV on behalf of him, offering a character witness for Scola. The Privy Council letter is of interest in mentioning the 'pirate' Simon Stewart as an example of what Scola was not.¹⁷ This Stewart was in fact a captain in Swedish service who had fled across the sea from the wrath of King James VI and I in 1612. He had then been captured by Norwegians as he tried to get to Sweden, escaped, and subsequently joined the Swedish navy. He would serve until 1646 by which time he had been an admiral for 12 years and had become ennobled.¹⁸ The description of a commissioned officer in a national navy as a pirate might be construed as showing a certain contempt for the Swedish state by both the Scots and the Danes. It is more likely that the comment is reflective of the Scottish Privy Council's attitude to Stewart rather than Sweden. However, it does confirm that in some circumstances the relationship between the Swedish state and the ex-patriot Scot was purely individual and had little to do with building or defining an international relationship.

Both Scandinavian kingdoms set about increasing their navies through the use of privateers. Of Christian IV's navy it has been noted that 'privateers acting with the state's blessing became an important element in the prosecution of economic warfare'.¹⁹ It is probable that King Gustav Adolf also availed himself of Scottish privateers during the 1611-13 Kalmar war with Denmark. He certainly hired 12 warships in Holland, although they never made it to Swedish waters, and after the peace of Knäred in 1613 it would have been against the treaty to do so. However, 15 Scottish ships were reputed to have taken part in the war on Sweden's side, capturing the town and area of Trondheim in Norway before returning to Sweden.²⁰ It is likely that these are the same ships that were hired by Gustav Adolf in The Netherlands.

Not all Scottish auxiliary naval support necessarily came

from privateers. One Scottish individual, John MacLean, was a very influential merchant, burgess and town councillor of Gothenburg. He commanded a private fleet of six armed vessels carrying between 10 and 24 guns. It is conceivable that in times of conflict with the Danes MacLean would have put his ships to the defence of Gothenburg. In the end, however, MacLean lost four of his ships to the English Republican Navy when he engaged them in the service of Montrose in 1651. Interestingly, he explicitly kept his Swedish crewed vessels out of that conflict.²¹ Sometimes, however, the relations worked the other way as exemplified during the Covenanting wars when the Swedes gave three frigates to the Covenanters in support of their cause against their king.²² This was not the only time that the Swedes had given naval support to the Scots. In 1649 a Swedish armed frigate was sold to General King for use in Charles II's cause, also in the Montrosian invasion.²³ However, despite such acts, the Swedish naval presence in Scotland, or Britain, does not equal that of the Scots in Sweden.

Shipwrights and Officers

By calling up a query of all British participants in naval service on the SSNE database it is possible to deduce their importance to each specific navy. (Figure 2)

Figure 2: *Comparison British involvement in the Swedish and Danish 17th century navies*

<i>Sweden:</i>	Total	75	<i>Denmark:</i>	Total	54
	Scots	56		Scots	47
	English	15		English	2
	Irish	0		Irish	4
	British'	4		British'	1

The results of the query showed a total of 75 British people in Swedish naval service, and a total of 54, in Danish naval service during the period 1580-1707. In Swedish service there

were apparently 56 Scots or Scoto-Swedes, no Irish individuals, and 15 English individuals. There were also 4 whom we could not define and so we left them as 'British'. In Danish service there were 47 Scots or Scoto-Danes, 4 Irish individuals, 2 English, and 1 British. This forces the question: 'Why the Scots?'

The earlier relations between Scotland and Sweden from Gustav Vasa's time onward provide an insight into answering this. Already in 1534 a Scottish captain, unfortunately only referred to as 'that Scot' in the king's letters, offered his services to the Swedish crown and was immediately accepted. The records reveal Gustav Vasa to be particularly keen and definite in his acceptance of the Scotsman's offer, along with as many sailors as the captain could muster.²⁴ Ten years (1544) later the king urgently requested the acquisition of a Scottish-built ship for the Swedish navy, and again six years (1550) later the king ordered his shipbuilders to study a Scottish ship presently in harbour so that it could be copied by Swedish shipbuilders.²⁵ This reveals regular Scottish maritime activity in Swedish waters, for how else would the king be so certain of the quality of Scottish ships. It also represents the beginning of a pattern of Scottish interest, on a private and individual level, in Sweden in terms of a place of employment in military service.

The role of the Scots in the Scandinavian navies can be broken down into two parts, shipbuilding and naval officers. It should be pointed out that these two categories are not mutually exclusive. In Denmark-Norway, the earliest shipbuilder listed is Robert Peterson. He is noted as a Scotsman who entered Danish service in 1596, and eight years' later was appointed royal shipbuilder. In 1597 David Balfour entered Danish service as a shipbuilder, where he remained until 1634.²⁶ Finally Daniel Sinclair was in Danish service as a shipbuilder from 1614 to 1636. In a move typical of the networking Scots in Scandinavia he married David Balfour's step-daughter.

These craftsmen certainly did not always find favourable treatment with the monarch they served. In 1605 two Scottish shipwrights (one of whom was William Duncan), who had

built a ship in Norway on the understanding they could sail it back to Scotland, had their ship detained by officers on behalf of Christian IV. In another example from 1615 King James VI and I had to write to Christian IV on behalf of David Balfour seeking his release from being wrongly imprisoned despite many years in Danish service.²⁷

For the 399 ships listed in Axel Zettersten's history of the Swedish Navy, viewed as the standard work on the topic, only some 22 shipbuilders are noted. The majority of shipbuilders' names remain anonymous as a considerable number of the ships came from outside Sweden. Many of the ships in Swedish service were captured from Denmark, the Imperial navy or Holland, or were commissioned outside of Sweden. 26 of the ships listed were taken from the Danes, 7 from the Imperial navy and just 1 from the Dutch. As a balance to that the Swedes lost 21 ships to the Danes, and 6 to the Dutch. Of the actual shipbuilders listed only three appear to be from the British Isles, and these are Robert Turner, Francis Sheldon and Thomas Day, all of whom worked in the 1660-1680 period.²⁸ It is surprising considering the number of Scots found working in the Swedish navy that no official record of the ships they built seems to exist. This is perhaps a reason why no study of the Scots has been undertaken.

Whereas Denmark had one major shipyard at Copenhagen (although it is likely that ships were also built in Norway and in other places), Sweden had seven separate shipyards throughout the kingdom. This meant that the Swedes had a need for more shipbuilders than Denmark. To date I have found four shipbuilders from the British Isles in Swedish service in the first half of the seventeenth century. The earliest, whose name was Robert Engelsman, is listed as an Englishman who in 1601 was a ship-builder at Kungsör shipyard. In 1608 there was a William Williamson listed as shipbuilder in Stockholm shipyard. In 1606 we see the entry of one Richard/Jakob Clerk the elder who was taken into Swedish naval service as master of shipbuilding. He held the monopoly over fitting and rigging for ten years, which was let out on contract by the monarchy, as well as attaining the rank of admiral.²⁹ Finally in 1609 William Robertson Ruthven

appeared as a master shipbuilder at Nyköping and Ulvesund's shipyards. He too made the rank of admiral later in 1609. Having come from King Sigismund's service whilst Sigismund had been king of Sweden, 1590-1599, he must have been quite a catch, as it meant he did not transfer his allegiance to Poland when Sigismund went home, which would have been to the detriment of Sweden. The examples of Richard Clerk and William Ruthven highlight the opportunities available for Scots who entered Swedish service, as both ended up as the highest-ranking officers. It also shows that the Scots were certainly in the majority in this discipline in the north, although in the second half of the century that would change. Of the last three shipbuilders in Swedish service, two are probably Englishmen, reflecting Sweden's developing of closer relations with England in the 1650s. Francis Sheldon was a most prolific shipbuilder, being responsible for eight separate vessels during his career in Sweden. (Figure 3)

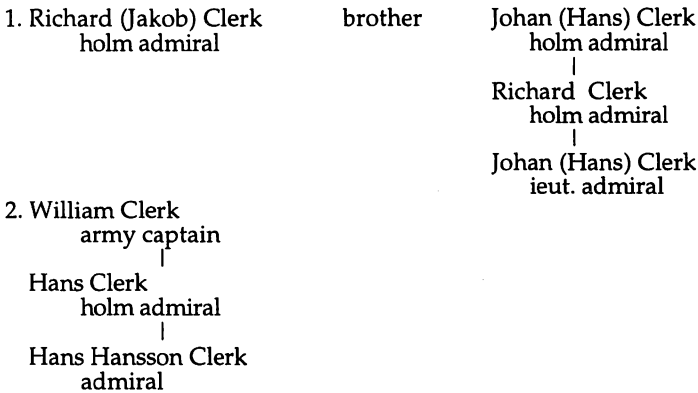
Figure 3: *British Shipbuilders in 17th Century Scandinavian Navies*

<i>Sweden</i>		<i>Denmark</i>	
Robert Engelsman	1601	Robert Peterson	1596-1604
William Williamson	1608	David Balfour	1597-1634
Richard Clerk	1606-25	Daniel Sinclair	1614-36
William Ruthven	1609-34		
Thomas Day	1660-68		
Francis Sheldon	1660-72		
Robert Turner	1674-80		

Three particular families made a big impact at officer level in the Swedish navy: the Forrats, the Stuarts, and the Clerks. Of the Forrats we know that Andrew, John (Hans) and Alexander were all captains between 1597 and 1660. Of the Stuarts we know that Simon became an admiral 1612-1646, and his son Andrew also became an admiral between 1621 and 1641. These are however only minor examples of the rise and integration of seafaring Scots in Sweden. The most influential naval family in the 17th century, the Clerks (Klerks), were

Scottish. The Clerk name was carried by three families who cannot be definitively proven to come from the same stock, but who are believed to have originated from the ancient Scottish noble family. Of the six Clerks listed in naval records, four were to attain the highest rank of 'holm amiral'. This was the highest commanding naval officer in the Stockholm fleet. (Figure 4)

Figure 4: *The Clerks in Swedish Naval Service*



In the early 1600s two brothers, Richard (also known as Jakob) and Johan (also known as Hans), immigrated to Sweden and both became holm admirals in Stockholm. Richard died in 1625, and Johan in 1644. Johan's son Richard began as ship's captain in 1628 and earned his way up to major in 1644. He was ennobled and was present at six parliaments between 1649 and 1664. He also served in a diplomatic capacity transporting the English ambassador Bulstrode Whitlocke to Lübeck in 1654. A year later he became holm admiral, and in 1657 he commanded the fleet in Wismar. His son, Johan (Hans), born in 1642, also became lieutenant admiral and served until his death in 1688.

Hans Clerk, son of a Scottish army captain who immigrated to Sweden, shared a similar success. He began as a constable in 1632 and rose in naval service, serving as commandant of Vaxholm garrison in 1653, and became a holm

admiral in 1668 and finally became a member of the admiralty council in 1674. He too was ennobled and present at seven parliaments between 1649 and 1672.

His son, Hans Hansson Clerk, was a diplomat in the Swedish embassy to England in 1661. He also served in the Dutch navy, before entering Swedish service. He was recruited by King Karl XI for his war against Denmark in 1675. He was a lieutenant in 1663, earned his way to lieutenant admiral in 1673. Like his father he was commandant at Vaxholm garrison in 1673 and became a councillor of the admiralty. In 1675 he was vice admiral and finally became admiral in 1676. He was present at the parliaments of 1680-97. His later career saw him as governor of three different areas of Sweden between 1680 and 1693. In 1711 he became royal councillor and a judicial president.³⁰

Perhaps of note is the fact that only two Scots actually achieved the rank of admiral in Danish naval service, these being John Cunningham, who served 1603-51, and Axel Moffat, who served 1628-61. Both these men were ennobled in Denmark and remained in her service for the duration of their careers. The fact that there was only two such men is in strong contrast to Sweden, where a total of 11 British Isles nationals became admirals, 9 of these were Scots, and almost all of them were either from the Clerk or Stewart family. (Figure 5)

Figure 5: *Admirals In 17th Century Scandinavian Navies*

<i>Sweden</i>		<i>Denmark</i>	
Richard Clerk	1606-25	John Cunningham	1603-51
William Ruthven	1609-34	Axel Moffat	1628-61
Simon Stewart	1612-41		
Hans Clerk	1617-44		
Andrew Stewart	1621-41		
Richard Clerk	1630-68		
Hans Hansson Clerk	1663-1711		
Hans Williamson Clerk	1664-75		
Johan Clerk	1668-88		
Sir George Ayscue	1658		
Owen Cox	1658		

The tightknit Scottish community also found itself

involved in problems highlighted when domestic disputes led to court cases and disgrace after some of its members assassinated one of their own number. In a Swedish account of the incident captain Alexander Forrat and James Muir were accused of the murder of ensign James Logan. Logan was a relative of Muir's and newly taken on in Swedish service as an ensign. On the 30th of April 1622, Logan arrived at the house of Admiral Richard Clerk, where he met in with Muir, Forrat and captain Stewart. They went on to the house of Gerdt Specht, where they 'had a beer'. There a dispute arose between captain Forrat and ensign Logan over money. Captain Forrat punched Logan, who promptly pulled a knife and put it to the Captain's throat. Muir got involved and in the moments that followed, admiral Clerk was wounded and ensign Logan was killed. In the subsequent trial, captain Forrat was found guilty of starting the fight, fined and ordered to take any additional punishment imposed by the king. Muir was sentenced to death for killing a relative, though the text does not say whether the sentence was carried out.³¹

This small snippet of information, little more than a dozen lines long, is informative for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it shows that the ex-patriot community socialised with their own kind. The guests at the house of the Scottish Admiral Clerk included at least five other officers from Scotland, while the second house mentioned belonged to another non-Swedish officer. It also gives a hint to the nature of recruitment since we know that there were relatives present in the form of Muir and Logan. From research into the Swedish army it can be established that relatives of Scots in the Swedish army often joined their kinsmen in a particular regiment, and the Logan incident combined with our knowledge of the Clerk family indicates a similar trend for naval service. We can also see that military rank was not a dividing factor in the naval community, for we have a newly appointed junior officer, ensign Logan, turning up for a drink at the house of a senior Admiral. The outcome of the evening, however, suggests that family loyalty was not necessarily a guarantee of protection as Logan was eventually killed by his own kinsman.³²

Conclusion

Naval strength was a prerequisite for success in military and trade relations during the seventeenth century. Both the Swedish and Danish navies have been shown to be expanding at this time, and in this expansion people from the British Isles played a significant role. In terms of both the shipbuilders and the admirals a particular pattern emerges of Scottish individuals making an impact in the earlier 1600s and English individuals doing so in the later half of the seventeenth century. Obviously, a factor in this would be the relative peacefulness in the Scottish kingdom during the first decades of the seventeenth century, which was then broken by civil wars from 1638 onwards. An interesting note is the apparent lack of Irish involvement in the Swedish navy at all, given the information available at present. In Denmark the four Irishmen made their appearance rather late, after 1650, and of these only one appears to have lasted more than a year. The two English admirals in Swedish service also only served about a year each before returning to England. None of these service records compares with the Scots' who in both Sweden and Denmark-Norway tended to serve for the duration of their careers. In addition, the Scots who made the rank of admiral in Sweden became ennobled and settled on Swedish estates. It can be concluded that the Scottish role in the Scandinavian navies, apart from initial links to privateers on the North Sea, was based largely on a personal initiative. Perhaps this is why the Scots in Sweden integrated so successfully into their adoptive society, despite maintaining close social networks with other Scots.

A closing comment can be made care of the Stuart secretary of State in 1631, Sir John Coke. It was presumably in his capacity as a commissioner for the Admiralty that he stated in his 'Proposition for the Navy' that 'the Kings of Denmark and Sweden have gotten considerable navies. The emperor pretendeth to command the Baltic sea...' He clearly views the two Scandinavian navies as of equal importance and as one of the reasons to improve the Stuart navy.³³ Certainly from the Stuart point of view the Scandinavian navies were not

insignificant forces and therefore the role of the British, especially the Scots within them, cannot be ignored.

Notes

1. S. Murdoch and A. Grosjean, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580-1707* (forthcoming, Aberdeen University, 1998).
2. As the research is ongoing for this project all figures provided can only be current estimates, not definitive statements.
3. C. D. Penn, *The navy under the early Stuarts and its influence on English history* (London, 1970), p. xi. See also chapters I and II on 'naval deterioration' after James VI's accession to the English crown.
4. Generalstaben, *Sveriges Krig 1611-1632, bilagsband 1* (Stockholm, 1937), pp. 55-6.
5. Generalstaben, *ibid.*, p. 5.
6. Michael Roberts, *A history of Sweden 1611-1632*, vol. 2 (London, 1958), p. 273.
7. Michael Roberts, *ibid.*, p. 273 and p. 277.
8. For Gustav Vasa's role in the army see D. Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: the Baltic World 1492-1772* (London, 1990), pp. 138, 146. For his role in the navy see A. Zettersten, *Svenska Flottans Historia Åren 1522-1634* (Stockholm, 1890), p. 1.
9. Ivan Svalenius, *Gustav Vasa* (Stockholm, 1950), p. 66; P. B. Watson, *The Swedish revolution under Gustavus Vasa* (London, 1889), pp. 109-10.
10. A. Zettersten, *ibid.*, p. 4.
11. Generalstaben, *Sveriges Krig 1611-1632, bilagsband 1* (Stockholm, 1937), pp. 3-4.
12. See B. White, 'King Christian IV in England', in *National Review*, vol. lxii, 1939.
13. Leon Jespersen, 'The machstaat in seventeenth century Denmark', in *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1985), p. 274; Generalstaben, *Sveriges Krig 1611-1632, bilagsband 1* (Stockholm, 1937), p. 53.

14. 6 July 1550, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, first series, vol. 1, p. 104.
15. 25 April and 3 May 1566, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. 14, p. 251 and p. 255. 18 April 1564, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, first series, vol. 1, p. 276.
16. Thomas Riis, *Should auld acquaintance be forgot...Scottish-Danish relations c.1450-1707* (Odense, 1988), vol. 2, p. 78.
17. 18 June 1618, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, pp. 629-30.
18. See 'Biografiska anteckningar om officerare vid örlogsflottan 1600-1699', in *Svenska Sjöofficerare*, vol. 2 (Stockholm, 1971), *Svenska Flottans Historia*, vol. 1, and *Svenska Adelns Attartavlor*, vol. 7.
19. Leon Jespersen, 'The machtstaat in seventeenth century Denmark', in *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1985), p. 274.
20. Generalstaben, *Sveriges Krig 1611-1632*, bilagsband 1 (Stockholm, 1937), p. 31; James Grant, *Memoirs and adventures of Sir John Hepburn* (Edinburgh, 1851), p. 27.
21. See James N. M. Maclean, 'Montrose's preparations for the invasion of Scotland, and royalist missions to Sweden, 1649-1651', p. 26.
22. Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, tredje serien, 1640-1, p. 160 and p. 217.
23. A. Zettersten, *Svenska Flottans Historia Åren 1522-1634* (Stockholm, 1890), p. 570.
24. 18 June 1534, *Kong Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 11, 1534 (Stockholm, 1883), pp. 148-9.
25. 1 May 1544 and 11 May 1550, *Kong Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vols. 16 and 21, p. 345 and p. 242 respectively.
26. See E. C. Williams, *Anne of Denmark* (London, 1970), p. 118, where Balfour is noted as accompanying Christian IV to Denmark in 1606 to help build up the Danish fleet.
27. Ronald Meldrum, *The letters of king James I to king Christian IV: 1603-1625*, p. ix and p. v.
28. A. Zettersten, *Svenska Flottans Historia Åren 1635-1680* (Stockholm, 1903), pp. 563-588.
29. 'Biografiska anteckningar om officerare vid örlogsflottan

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30. Bernhard Meijer, *Svenskt-historiskt handlexicon* (Stockholm, 1882), p. 39.
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32. 'Biografiska anteckningar om officerare vid örlogsflottan 1600-1699', in *Svenska Sjöofficerare*, vol. 2 (Stockholm, 1971), p. 256.
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