

A Note on the Scots in 17th Century Sigtuna

Stefan Palm & Ola Undin

IN May 2007 Sigtuna Museum held an exhibition entitled 'The Scots of Sigtuna'. The inspiration for the exhibition came from two cousins, Colonel John Crafoord and Dr Joar Crafoord, who are the descendants of James Craufurd, a seventeenth-century Scottish soldier who emigrated to Sweden from his homeland.¹ The Crafoord Family Society in Sweden had approached Sigtuna Museum curator Elisabeth Claesson to discuss their disappointment that the local church authority had removed Alexander Craufurd's (a relative of their ancestor) funerary coat of arms from Sigtuna church. The arms had been on display there for over 300 years, from 1617 until 1967, and had been the subject of an article by Joar Crafoord.² That initial conversation with the Crafoords eventually led to the exhibition and the subsequent ongoing research into the Sigtuna Scots. One of the present authors, Stefan Palm, who had independently spent six years transcribing the Sigtuna courthouse records for 1638-1780, learned of this development from the museum curator. He began to contemplate the number of British surnames he had come across in his transcriptions, one of which was his own ancestor George (Jöran) Ross. Thus two discrete genealogical surveys had both uncovered evidence of Scottish settlers in this small Swedish town.

The historic presence of Scots in seventeenth-century Sigtuna was largely unknown to the local population and this had to be rectified. Another genealogist, Ola Undin, was brought onboard and the topic was researched

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- 1 They have authored several articles and books about the Crafoord family in Sweden. See, for example the most notable: Joar Crafoord and John Crafoord, *Familjen Crafoords släkthistoria 1600-1747* (Stockholm, 1998) and Joar Crafoord and John Crafoord, *Tolv Kungars Knektar* (Stockholm, 2003).
 - 2 Joar Crafoord, 'Alexander Craufurds begravningsvapen i Mariakyrkan, Sigtuna' in *Heraldisk tidsskrift*, (2001), 9:83, pp. 105-115. These funeral arms are still held in Sigtuna church, albeit undisplayed, and they featured in the exhibition.

during the winter of 2006-7. When the authors began their work there were only five British names to contend with, but by the end of the project this number had more than doubled.

Sigtuna is the oldest town in Sweden, founded by King Erik Segersäll around the year 980, and is currently home to ca. 7,000 inhabitants. It lies on lake Mälaren, in an economically central position within the Swedish realm: the traditional route from Stockholm to Uppsala passes through it. Sigtuna was for a time the most important town in Sweden, housing the kingdom's first mint amongst other things, but by the 1300s it had been replaced in significance by both Stockholm and Uppsala. It is thus intriguing that some of the outwardly mobile Scots of the seventeenth century eventually established themselves in this somewhat quiet town.

The distinctive role played by Scotsmen in the Swedish armies of the seventeenth century is well-established, and recently there has been growing academic interest in documenting the wider Scottish involvement in Swedish society during the early modern period.³ This work in turn builds on the efforts of earlier scholarship dating back to the late nineteenth century.⁴ Indeed, the Royal Museum in Edinburgh held an exhibition in the 1960s, organised by Nordiska Museet, called 'The Scots in Sweden'.⁵ However, the Sigtuna Scots rarely get a mention, possibly due to the relative proximity of Stockholm and

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- 3 See the work of Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch in particular: Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's closest ally?' in S. Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War 1618-1648* (Leiden, 2001); Grosjean, 'A century of Scottish governorship in the Swedish empire, 1574-1690' in S. Murdoch and A. Mackillop, *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c.1600-1800* (Leiden, 2003); Grosjean, *Scotland and Sweden an unofficial alliance 1569 -1654* (Leiden, 2003); A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg' in Grosjean and Murdoch, eds, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005) and the co-authored Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe Biographical Database* [hereafter SSNE] published to the internet at: www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne For more on this database see S. Murdoch, 'The Database in Early Modern Scottish History: Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580-1707' in *Northern Studies*, vol. 32, (1997).
- 4 T. Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh, 1907) ; J. Dow, 'Ruthven's army in Sweden and Esthonia', *Historiskt arkiv* 13, Stockholm, 1965; J. Dow, 'Scottish trade with Sweden 1512-80', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xlviii, 1, no.145, (April 1969); E. Grage, 'Scottish Merchants in Gothenburg, 1621-1850' in T. C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and Europe 1200-1850* (Edinburgh, 1986); the work of Alf Åberg, including 'Scottish Soldiers in the Swedish Armies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in G. Simpson ed., *Scotland and Scandinavia 800-1800* (Edinburgh, 1990).
- 5 See the publication accompanying this exhibition: J. Berg and B. Lagercranz, *The Scots in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1962).

the number of Scots who settled and traded there.⁶ The background to the movement of Scots to Sweden, or at least into Swedish service, is well-known through the works of the authors mentioned above. The majority of these Scots were soldiers, many were officers, but there was also a significant commercial presence congregating in both Gothenburg and Stockholm. Members of both the military and mercantile spheres also left their marks on Sigtuna, raising the question of why the Sigtuna-Scots chose to settle in this provincial town rather than one of the larger urban centres. So far eleven Scottish surnames have emerged representing individuals who had connections with Sigtuna. The town, it seems, was an ancillary site in many of these Scots' lives, not the main site of their business or personal operations. Four of these Scots were in the military sphere while the remaining seven were merchants and burgesses. Some of their names crop up in a variety of source books, others only appear once and leave many questions unanswered. In general, the surviving information tends to be patchy. Nevertheless, we will present results of our research here, beginning with the military Scots who came to Sigtuna.

Sigtuna Scots with Military Connections

To date, we have found four Scottish officers serving in the Swedish army who can definitely be linked to Sigtuna. These men are: Alexander Craufurd, Patrick Rutherford, James Seton and Humphrey Cunningham. We will start with Craufurd who served as the link to the Sigtuna Museum exhibition and also the impetus for the present article.

Alexander Craufurd

Alexander Craufurd (later known as 'Crafoord' in Sweden), 1577?-1617, was the son of William Craufurd of Anachie and Beatrice Hay. Alexander was one of the many Scots who came to Sweden as a soldier in the first decades of the seventeenth century, and came to serve in his father-in-law Patrick Rutherford's (about whom see below) regiment as a captain. Alexander did not migrate alone as he was accompanied by his brothers and cousin, and at least one of them served alongside him during the Swedish-Danish Kalmar War of 1611-1613. Alexander appears to have married Anna Rutherford before migrating to Sweden and they had four children together: Alexander, William (1607?-1658), Clas (still living in 1691), and Helena. After Craufurd's death his widow went on to marry Alexander Forrat, another military Scot in Sweden, in a move that was not only common practise but that also indicated the extent

6 For more on them see S. Murdoch, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce: The Stockholm Scots in the Seventeenth Century' in David Worthington, ed., *British and Irish Exiles in Europe, 1603-1688* (Leiden, 2010).

of the Scottish network in Sweden. Further, their daughter Beata continued the tradition by marrying David Seton, the son of Colonel James Seton (of whom more below) and further strengthened the Scottish ties within the family.

Alexander Craufurd appears to have been settled in Stockholm, and perhaps one of his most notable duties was organising the defence of that town in anticipation of a threatened Danish attack, and as such Alexander was appointed town commandant. One of his specific duties occurred on 1 September 1612 when Stockholm's inhabitants were ordered to remain within the town on pain of death should people attempt to travel to Västerås for the annual Aros market (usually held annually on 8 September). Alexander's task was to maintain order amongst the burgesses and ensure that the edict was adhered to.⁷

Craufurd's ties to Sigtuna came through his wife. There is no indication that Alexander himself held either a farm or any other kind of land lease in Sweden – these types of royal compensation for military service were frequently used by the cash-strapped Swedish Crown. However, his father-in-law Patrick Rutherford had received a lease on two farms near Sigtuna at Norr- and Södertihl in 1612 and it is possible that Alexander may have lived at Södertihl. Rutherford had expanded this property to a 'säteri' (main farmhouse on a property). It is likely that Craufurd was at Södertihl when he died. What is certain is that Alexander was buried with great ceremony on 13 July 1617 in Maria church at Sigtuna and a printed *gravskrift* (funerary memorial) survives, along with the aforementioned funerary arms. The arms were carried on the coffin during the burial procession and were subsequently hung up on the southern wall of the choir, where they remained until 1967. Alexander and his descendants were neither naturalised nor ennobled as Swedish noblemen and this family line died out around 1700. The name lives on in Sweden, however, as the previously mentioned James (aka Jacob) Craufurd was ennobled already in 1621 and his branch was later introduced into the Riddarhus (the Swedish house of nobility) in 1668.⁸

Patrick Rutherford

Patrick Rutherford (1577-1618) entered Swedish military service around 1607 when he as colonel of a regiment of Scots and Irish was quickly put to use in Swedish campaigns in the Baltic. By 1610, King Karl IX feared a Danish invasion and so Colonel Rutherford returned to Sweden, along with

7 *Stockholms Tänkeböcker från år 1592* [henceforth *STB*], vii, (Stockholm, 1964), p.200, 1 September 1612.

8 For sources see: Upplands forminnesförbunds skrift ang. Mariakyrkan i Sigtuna ca.1870. Joar and John Crafoord, *Tolv Kungars Knektar*, pp.365-6.

several other regiments, to serve in defence. When the Kalmar War broke out, Rutherford's regiment comprised four companies (fänikor) of Scots and Irish soldiers which formed an integral part of the new king Gustav II Adolf's winter campaign. These soldiers were also involved in mutinous actions (refusing to fight due to lack of pay) which led to the loss to the Danes of the Swedish fort at Älvsborg – Sweden's only harbour on the west coast. Despite this disobedient behaviour, Rutherford's regiment was again mustered in April 1613 [implying that the Crown did not hold Rutherford to blame for his troops' actions] to face the new Russian threat. As wages were still not forthcoming, these troops mutinied again at Reval (Talin). Instead of punishing the mutineers, Rutherford's regiment was simply disbanded and he was put in charge of a new force where he served as regional commander in chief of all cavalry and soldiers in the Uppland, Västmanland, Bergslagen, Dalarna and Norrland regions on 18 February 1614.⁹ As such he was amongst the foremost of military leaders in Sweden at the time, along with Pierre de la Ville, James (Jacob) Spens (a fellow Scot) and Reinhold Taube. It is representative of the significant foreign influences Sweden experienced at this time that all these high-ranking men were non-Swedes. Perhaps one of Rutherford's earliest connections to the town of Sigtuna occurred in March 1614 when the town was under orders to quarter his troops and by May that year he began drafting Uppland men for service.¹⁰

We know little of Patrick Rutherford's life before he came to Sweden other than that he was born in Scotland sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century, and that his wife was Elin Barram. They had two surviving children: Anna, who married Alexander Craufurd, and Anthony, who had a short-lived experience as a private in the 'drabant' (lifeguard) company in 1619, the same year in which he died.¹¹ As noted above, Patrick Rutherford was rewarded for his service with several land donations and farms in the 1612-14 period. These were in the parish of Danmark in Vaksala 'härad' (district) and in St. Olof's parish in Ärlinghundra 'härad'. As previously mentioned, Patrick Rutherford also owned the farms at Norr- and Södertihl just outside Sigtuna.¹² Despite Patrick Rutherford's demanding military life he also led a busy civil

9 Riksarkivet Stockholm, RR1614: 236, royal letter dated 18 February 1614.

10 Crafoord and Crafoord, *Tolv Kungars Knektar*, p.18.

11 *STB*, xi (Stockholm, 1974), pp.69 and 261, 12 June 1619. In fact, it appears that Anthony became the proverbial thorn in his mother's side after his death as he had several debts outstanding when he died, including one for 166 daler to a merchant in Helsingör.

12 Sigtuna Kyrkoarkiv ser.O1:1, page 52, Stockholm Stadsarkiv: Patrick Rudderfort till Tijhl, Bleff dödh dhen 15 Junij och begrafuen Klösterkyrkian die S. Johannes Baptista. Gaff i Testament, itt Kiedentz#, och 50 dl Penningar. The ähr än nu intet framkommit. Kredentzet bleff leferat till Kyrkian, then 15 Nov 1618.# medh tücke (skrivet i marginalen)

life in Sweden, which included engaging in a legal case against a Stockholm goldsmith named Hans Olsson. The Colonel had bought a silver spoon from Olsson at the price of 5 silver daler (implying that Rutherford was far from impoverished), but the silver had shown itself to be impure.¹³ Further, it seems that the Colonel had acquired a house in Stockholm on Österlånggatan, just below the castle, at some point. In March 1617 it was noted in the city records that Rutherford sold this house to councillor Knut Kråka for 650 Swedish daler.¹⁴

Rutherford died on 15 June 1618, and was buried 9 days later at Maria church in Sigtuna. His widow, Elin, was allowed to continue living on the land granted to her late husband, but by January 1629 she applied for and received permission to sell two thirds of these lands, and in June 1630 she gave up all three farms in Til. It is unknown why Elin decided to return to Scotland, perhaps due to penury, but this proved to be a fatal decision as she died in a shipwreck on the way to Scotland in 1631.¹⁵

James Seton

Colonel James Seton's (d.1633) connection to Sigtuna long outlived him. Seton came to Sweden in the early decades of the seventeenth century and first appears in the muster rolls as a captain in the Uppland infantry regiment, of which he became colonel in 1630. Seton's connection with Sigtuna dates from the 1620s: he was noted as a farm-owner near Rådhusorget in the town from 1626, and in July that year he was awarded a 'skattehemman' [land that he owned but was taxed on by the Crown] called Norr- or Nederkumla in Kumla, Danmark parish. Also in 1626 he donated money – 10 daler – to the church for his children's burial plot. Two years later, in March 1628, Seton received two further pieces of land, a 'kronohemman' [land that he leased but which remained in the Crown's ownership] and a 'prebendehemma' [a term particular to the 17th century referring to a home owned by the Church from which any income went toward a professor's salary] both also in Kumla. Presumably all these land entitlements were awarded in lieu of payment for his military service.¹⁶

There is a reference to Colonel Seton on active duty in Germany from 1633, the year he died.¹⁷ Although the funeral arms on his tomb do not reveal

13 *STB*, vii, p.174, 6 June 1612.

14 *STB*, ix, (Stockholm, 1968), pp.210-11, 17 March 1617.

15 *STB*, xx, (Stockholm, 2004), p.73, 10 October 1631.

16 Johan Axel Almquist, *Frälsegodsen i Sverige under storhetstiden. Stockholm och Uppsala län*, (Stockholm, 1931) p.704 (22 March 1628).

17 *STB*, xxi (Stockholm, 2006), p.47, 16 October 1633.

Seton's location at death the date is given as 29 December 1633. He was given a significant position in the church, placed right beside the altar. Subsequently, his descendants sold this position to Agneta, the daughter of Customs Inspector George (Jöran) Ross (of whom more below), on 7 March 1690.¹⁸ Few specific details are known of Seton's private life. Elisabeth Neuhausen was possibly his second wife, as in an undated letter to Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna clearly written after Seton's death she refers to her 'stepchildren' in her request for a year of grace (presumably regarding taxes) and the payment of her husband's overdue wages.¹⁹ Three of Seton's children are known to have survived: David, who became a student at Uppsala University from 1636-9 and subsequently in 1646 married the aforementioned Beata Margareta Forath (Forrat), daughter of Alexander Forrat; Johan, who also became a student at Uppsala University in the same three year period, and was still living in 1656; and finally Jakob, of whom we know little more than that he was still alive in 1651.²⁰ David and Johan's stay at Uppsala University did not pass unnoticed: in August 1636 (presumably soon after they had started attending) they provoked their servant boy to tease one of their instructors named Caroli Rosingii, however, the resultant punishment remains unknown.²¹ David went on to own a farm in Danmark parish in 1639, and seems to have joined the army where he attained the rank of Captain. Although David had died by 1672, his widow, Beata, remained living at Kumla in the same parish.²² Johan inherited the family farm at Särsta in Knivsta parish after his father died. Johan himself died around 1660. His widow, Malin Flörich, remained at the farm until 1670.²³

Humphrey Cunningham

Humphrey Cunningham is one of the 'mystery' Scots for whom we have very little information whatsoever. He appears to have served in the Swedish army at the rank of major before his death in 1625.²⁴ His connection to Sigtuna lies, like Alexander Crawford, through his apparent burial in Maria church, where the Cunningham funerary arms were displayed. These now lie in storage at Sigtuna Museum. Whether there is a link between this man and the

18 Sigtuna Rådhusrätts protokoll 27 augusti 1691, Kyrkvaktmästaren Mårten Anderssons gravkarta 1710, Sigtuna ser. O1a:1 pp. 230-232, Stockholms stadsarkiv.

19 The letter can be found at Stockholm Riksarkiv, Oxenstiernska samlingen, volym BI:E 718.

20 Sources for these individuals are Sigtuna Rådhusrätts protokoll and Crafoord, *Tolv Kungars Knektar*.

21 Uppsala Universitets konsistorieprotokoll, 302-315.

22 Uppsala Universitets konsistorieprotokoll, 220.

23 Almquist, *Frölsegodsens i Sverige under storhetstiden*, p.845.

24 Inventarieförteckning, avdelning Huvudbaner i Mariakyrkan Sigtuna; source Upplands forminnesförbunds skrift ang. Mariakyrkan i Sigtuna ca.1870.

Cunningham family that was eventually ennobled in Sweden in 1747 remains to be discovered.

This brief note of Sigtuna's place in the lives of four individuals from the military sphere will now be followed by a look at some examples of the mercantile and entrepreneurial migration from the British Isles into Scandinavia.

Scottish tradesmen and merchants of Sigtuna

George Logan

One of the earliest Scottish tradesmen of Sigtuna was George Logan (who appears as Jöran Logan, Logen, and even Lång in the sources) who seems to have settled first in Sigtuna but was also active in Stockholm in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. He is listed as a burges of Sigtuna from ca.1600/01 to 1616, and then again referenced as such in 1620.²⁵ He also appears as a burges of Stockholm in 1606, having taken his oath in the city on 12 May in the presence of Didrich Fisch and Sander Davidsson (the latter was probably the Scot Alexander Davidson).²⁶ This was soon to land him in a bit of trouble, however, as it was not legal to have the benefits of being a burges of two separate towns simultaneously. That he was living in Stockholm is confirmed in the civic records which note that he was the neighbour of one 'Jakob Long' (possibly his brother) in 1612, and the same year he made some money from a cash-strapped officer as he was noted for selling two pawned items belonging to Captain Thomas Thomasson: a silver stopper and a knife sheath.²⁷ He twice appears on the contributors list as paying special taxes for the Älvsborg ransom, which the Danes imposed on Sweden after the Kalmar War.²⁸ George was listed as married and having a family by 1613 and in 1615 he was noted as living in a house on 'Pårsshanksgränd' in Stockholm.²⁹ He also became involved in a fellow Scotsman's legal case that year. The man who stood as guarantor for John (Hans) Douglas, who had fled Sweden almost a year earlier, was languishing in prison in Stockholm and claimed that George had refused to post bail for him - a claim George strenuously denied.³⁰

In 1616 it seems that the Stockholm civic authorities finally caught on that George was, in fact, a dual-burges of both Stockholm and Sigtuna for which

25 *STB*, xii (Stockholm, 1976), p.13, 13 March 1620. *STB*, ix, p.89, 30 June 1616 simply notes that he had already been an active merchant in both towns for several years.

26 *STB*, vi, p.109, 12 May 1606; *ibid*, part vii, p.258, on 'mantals register' 30 November 1607.

27 *STB*, vii, p.154, 9 and 16 March 1612, and p.161, 20 April 1612. This may possibly be the Scot Captain Thomas Thomasson who went on to serve at Wittstock in 1636 and died in 1645.

28 *STB*, vii, pp.281, 295 and 312, 16 November 1613.

29 *STB*, viii, p.90, 19 June 1615.

30 *STB*, viii, p.79, 7 June 1615.

he was fined 40 marks by the Stockholm authorities. At this point he admitted that he owned a farm in Sigtuna and that he had long engaged in trade in that town.³¹ George appears to have continued to remain in Stockholm and seems to have been a successful tradesman as he was recorded buying a stone-built house from Cort Witthold in Jost van Hattings lane in the city for 360 daler in June 1617.³² However, he suffered a setback after acquiring a large amount of wine to celebrate the royal coronation of King Gustav II Adolf in Uppsala on 12 October 1617: he was left in debt to Abraham Claesson, a debt still owed in 1620.³³ This may have been why George then sold this house to George Gardiner (aka Jöran Gerner, who may have been his son-in-law) on 13 March 1620; the house subsequently burnt down in January 1626. By October 1620 Claesson was demanding his debt be paid and another of George's son-in-laws, Thomas Duncan, who had stood as guarantor, was threatened with the loss of personal property to cover the outstanding debt and imprisonment.³⁴

Of George's personal life we know that he had a wife called Dorothea Hyfsona/Hussona(?), who died on 14 October 1622 as marked on a memorial which hangs on the southern wall of the Maria church. The pair had at least three daughters and their marital selection shows very strong Scottish network development: Margareta married another Sigtuna Scot, the burgess Thomas Dunkell (Duncan), of whom more below; Euphrosyne married another burgess of Stockholm, William Petrie; and an unnamed daughter married George Gardiner, also a Scot of Stockholm. George Logan certainly had one brother, James (Jakob), the man who may have been his neighbour mentioned above, and possibly another relative, Lydert Lång, though this awaits substantiation.³⁵

In 1619 George stood as guarantor for his nephew (unnamed), to ensure that the nephew would appear before court after some infraction at the Uppsala

31 *STB*, ix, p.89, 30 June 1616. This information on George Logan adds another Scottish citizen to the lists of citizens and residents compiled by Steve Murdoch. See Murdoch, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce', pp.61-66.

32 *STB*, ix, pp.253-4, 2 June 1617.

33 *STB*, xii, pp.33-4, 22 May, 1620.

34 *STB*, xii, p.93, 11 October 1620.

35 James Logan became a burgess of Stockholm in 1619. See *STB*, xi (Stockholm, 1974), p.73, 14 June 1619. His status as a citizen updates the information of him as a merchant in 1620 contained in Murdoch, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce', p.65. Jakob Logan was killed in a pub-brawl in April 1622 which erupted between Logan and fellow Scot, Captain Alexander Forath, over money. Yet another Scot, named Muir, stabbed Logan resulting in his death. *STB*, xiii, p.26, 4 May 1622. The incident is related in A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance, Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654* (Leiden, 2003), p.131. The details vary slightly, rather than a burgess, Logan is described as an ensign. Grosjean drew her information from Krigsarkivet, 'Meritförteckningar. Svenska Sjöofficerare, vol 2. Biografisk anteckningar om officerare vid örlogsflottan 1600-1699'. Manuscript, 1971, p.256.

market.³⁶ George Logan himself died a year after his wife, on 17 September 1623 in Sigtuna, as is recorded on the same church memorial. Apparently there was some family feuding over inheritance issues caused by the death of George Logan's daughter (Mrs Gardiner) who appears to have predeceased her father, but these matters were peaceably settled by 30 January 1624.³⁷ Her son, George 'Gerner', carried on as a merchant and in 1646/7 travelled to England – Newcastle specifically – to engage in trade there, bearing a letter of accreditation from Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna.³⁸

Thomas Duncan

George (Jöran) Duncan (also variously Dunkell, Dunker and Dubler) lived from 1562-1627 and first appears in Stockholm records in 1615 where, as 'Jöran Dubler', he is specifically described as a Scottish trader, and just six years later he was again noted for engaging in trade in the city.³⁹ It is highly likely that this man is identical with the 'Jöran Dunkan' mentioned on a memorial which hangs beside the Logan one in the Maria church of Sigtuna, where Thomas 'Dunkell' Duncan and his family and in-laws are memorialised. George is noted as dying on 3 October 1627 at the age of 65. He was probably the father of Thomas Duncan who owned a house in Sigtuna in the seventeenth century, and who lived until 1642.

Thomas Duncan, like his father, initially settled in Stockholm where he took his burghess oath in 1616, in the presence of James Fife (Feiff)⁴⁰ and George Gardiner (later his brother-in-law).⁴¹ Thomas also appeared on the list of names of those who contributed to the Älvsborg ransom in 1617.⁴² Perhaps an indication of Thomas' position in Swedish society can be gleaned in the reference to his 'dräng' (servant boy) Richard Ross (probably also a Scot), who appears in the records charged with fornication.⁴³ The fact that Duncan had a servant suggests

36 *STB*, xi, p.183, 22 January, 1619.

37 *STB*, xiv, p.12, 30 January, 1624.

38 Riksarkivet: Oxenstiernska samlingen Axel Oxenstierna av Södermøre / E 536, letter dated 21 June 1646/7. A George Gardiner, referred to as a 'Skottskedrang' lived in Stockholm between 1636–1653, though the term used to describe him implies a lower status than one who would receive accreditation from Oxenstierna. For mention of 'Skottskedrang' Gardiner see Murdoch, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce', p.65.

39 *STB*, viii (Stockholm, 1966), p.176, 2 December 1615; *STB*, xii, p.325, 5 November 1621. This information on George Logan adds another Scottish citizen to the lists of citizens and residents given in Murdoch, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce', pp.61-66.

40 James Fife was a citizen of Stockholm, a member of the Stockholm city council and a director of *Skeppscompagniet* (The Stockholm Shipping Company). Murdoch, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce', pp.46, 49, 61.

41 *STB*, ix, p.182, 2 December 1616; Murdoch, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce', p.61.

42 *STB*, ix, pp. 468, 478, 500 and 510.

43 *STB*, x (Stockholm, 1973), p.161, 4 November 1618.

a modest standing in the community. Further, he was also able to stand as surety for friends and family. For example, Thomas stood as guarantor for George Logan's debt to Abraham Claesson in 1620.⁴⁴ His motive may have been personal given that Thomas married Logan's daughter Margaret. They had five children together, cruelly none of which lived past the age of 12: Elisabeth (1607-1619); Alexander (1619-1620); Jakob (1623); Welam (1626); and Thomas (1627-28).

Thomas appears in the Sigtuna legal records in 1638, when he was involved in a quarrel over a field with another inhabitant of Sigtuna.⁴⁵ Apart from that, there is a reference to him after his death. Apparently the mayor of Sigtuna, Mårten Jönsson, had leased Thomas Duncan's farm in Sigtuna, but had not paid his rent for nine years. On 1 February 1653 Alexander Matsson, representative for William Petrie, aforementioned burghess of Stockholm, submitted an invoice to the mayor. In addition to not paying his rent, the mayor had also sold a small water-mill and his debts to Petrie amounted to 570 daler. Finally, there was a question of a 46 daler death-fee which also remained outstanding. The mayor claimed that he had settled all these bills and various people, many bearing Scottish surnames, were summoned to the court. After a long case, it transpired that William Petrie's wife had thrown the mayor out of the farm in 1652, and in the end the final sum owed to the descendants of Thomas Duncan was reduced to 28 daler and 16 öre.⁴⁶

James Fife

Another Scottish burghess of Sigtuna was Jakob (James) Feif, a skipper who may well have been a relative of the eponymous Stockholm burgher, and who appeared twice in the Sigtuna legal records. Firstly, on 3 May 1652 he was accused by Henrik Jöransson, also a burghess of Sigtuna of having stolen a barrel of flour worth 5.5 daler in Stockholm. They had been business associates, sailing together on Jakob's vessel carrying flour and they had argued over the division of profits. Then, the same year, on 9 August, Jakob accused Henrik not only of calling him a thief but of also stealing an amount of Baltic herring. As Henrik could not prove that Jakob had been guilty of stealing the flour Henrik was fined 40 marks for this. In December they met again in the courts, this time Jakob accused Henrik of not recompensing him for cargo which he had collected and delivered from Finland to Sigtuna.⁴⁷

Finally in an unrelated note, on 1 February 1653 Jakob bid on a 'kassierka' (uncertain meaning) in Killinge and paid a certain amount of seed

44 *STB*, xii, p.93, 11 October 1620.

45 Riksarkiv, Svea Hovrätt, Sigtuna Rådhusrätt renoverade protokoll, 20 May 1638.

46 Riksarkiv, Svea Hovrätt, Sigtuna Rådhusrätt renoverade protokoll, 1 February 1653.

47 Riksarkiv, Svea Hovrätt, Sigtuna Rådhusrätt renoverade protokoll, 3 May 1652.

or corn for it. Although James Fife kept the Stockholm court clerks busy, there is very little other information on this man, and nothing of his personal life is known.

George Fullerton

An individual we do know more about is George (Jöran) Fullerton (1620-1659), who was another member of this group of Scottish burgesses in Sigtuna. He was born in Scotland in 1620⁴⁸, although no specific place is given, and came to Sweden in the 1640s, settling initially in Stockholm where he worked as a clerk/book-keeper for John (Hans) Gahn senior.⁴⁹ From 1645-47 he worked as a merchant in Sigtuna, then moved onto Hedemora until 1648 and finally to Falun until 1655.⁵⁰ He married a Swedish woman, Margareta Dalecarlia (1628-1682)⁵¹ and they had a daughter named Elisabeth (1652-1721), who was born in Hedemora, although at this point Fullerton was based in Falun. He had initially bought and owned a farm in Sigtuna from 1645-49, a transaction registered in the local legal records.⁵² This farm had previously belonged to mayor Per Nilsson's son-in-law, Johan Larsson, and is said to have lain between the area known as 'Stadsgränden' and the square, which probably equates to modern-day Drakegården. Fullerton sold this farm in March 1652 to Herman Pedersson of Stockholm as by this time Fullerton was established in Falun, and on 10 June 1651 he sought a bit of land from the town council.⁵³ He had already received citizenship of Falun on 9 May 1648 and was an alderman in the merchants' guild.⁵⁴ Fullerton served as a director of the Tobacco company in Falun from 1651-52; further we know that he was taxed at the rate of 12 daler 'silvermynt' in 1655, but that he never became involved in the copper trade. George Fullerton died in Hedemora in 1659.⁵⁵

48 Mormon database, Utah.

49 Register list at Genealogiska föreningen, Stockholm. For more on the Gahn family see P. Möller, 'Colquhon-Cahun-Gahn-Canonheim; en boskillnad' in *Person Historisk Tidskrift* (1966), pp.85-125.

50 Sigtuna Rådhusrättsprotokoll, 2 October 1647 and 18 August 1649; K.G. Hildebrand, *Falu stads historia 1641-1687*, (Falun, 1946) p.779.

51 Information found on Familysearch.org; accessed http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/IGI/individual_record.asp?recid=100373691936&lds=1®ion=17®ionfriendly=Sweden&frompage=99. Mormon database, Utah.

52 Sigtuna rådhusrättsprotokoll, 5 January 1646.

53 Hildebrand, *Falu stads historia 1641-1687*, p.787, reference to Falu stads rätthusprotokoll, 10 June 1651.

54 Hildebrand, *Falu stads historia 1641-1687*, pp.373, 401, 549, 552, 779, 787, 803.

55 Kyrkoräkenskaper L:2 Hedemora.

William Petrie

William Petrie, like several of the aforementioned Scottish merchants, began his working life in Sweden by settling in the capital city, working first as a silk merchant before concentrating on the iron trade, and finally becoming a Swedish citizen.⁵⁶ We don't have exact dates for William Petrie's birth in Scotland but it was around 1603 and he came from Montrose.⁵⁷ He was the son of mayor George Petrie of Montrose and his wife Regina Edmonston. William Petrie makes several appearances in the Stockholm city records. The fact that he took his burghess oath on 5 January 1622 implies that he had already been in the Swedish capital for a while. At this time he was unmarried and lived in the autonomous northern part of the city, which had its own administration. In 1627 Petrie moved into the inner part of Stockholm, called 'the old town', giving as a reason his recent marriage to a daughter of a burghess there. It was also understood that the old town tax rates were lower than in the northern district. The Stockholm council were distinctly unhappy with this move as Petrie was specifically tied to North Stockholm through his burghess oath, and the council even had a lock placed on his booth door to prevent him from engaging in trade. However, within two years he bought a house in Stockholm, implying that relations with the town council had improved. In fact, Petrie acquired his first houses from fellow Scot James Forbes of Lund (ennobled in Sweden in 1631), who sold him two stone houses on Köpmangata for 2800 daler.⁵⁸ Further, on 7 January 1633 he bought David Sleman's house on Kåkbrinken.⁵⁹

William Petrie was later listed as a burghess of Sigtuna, from 1650-55, and only then after already having spent some time in Arboga pursuing his iron interests.⁶⁰ His move to Sigtuna was probably related to Petrie's involvement in the life of fellow merchant George Ross: he was godfather to Ross's daughter Agnes (Agneta), who was baptised in Stockholm on 4 January 1650.⁶¹ George Ross (of whom more below) established himself in Sigtuna in 1662. It is not until the 1660s that William Petrie began to regularly appear in Sigtuna

56 *STB*, xiii, (Stockholm, 1978), p.254, 5 January 1622; Berg and Lagercranz, *Scots in Sweden*, p.38; Murdoch, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce', p.65.

57 Alf Åberg, 'Släkten Petres skotska ursprung' in A. Åberg, *Släkt och hävd*, (1954), pp.108-109.

58 *STB*, xx, (Stockholm 1631-32), pp.234-5, 9 May 1632.

59 *STB*, xxi, (Stockholm, 1633), p.67, 7 January 1633.

60 William Petrie is mentioned as a Stockholm iron-merchant before he moved to Arboga in 1644. Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Leiden, 2006), pp.187-188, 192-193, 223.

61 Baptism register for Tyska församlingen, Stockholm. George Ross had become a citizen of Stockholm in 1630. See Murdoch, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce', p.61.

records. The references again revolve around house sale and purchase. On 27 August 1660 one Abraham Jönsson from Stockholm informed Sigtuna town court that he was selling his stone house in Stockholm, and Petrie took advantage of already being in ownership of the neighbouring house by registering his interest, but explaining that he was en route to Arboga so would send definite news via post to Stockholm. The next reference to Petrie dates from the end of the year, on 19 December, when Margareta Jönsdotter, widow of a burgess, made a comment about some pigs that had been the focus of a quarrel between Petrie's wife and one Bengt Hansson, noting that the said pigs actually belonged to another burgess in Sigtuna, namely one Bengt Jönsson. Sigtuna records remain silent regarding Petrie until 11 April 1663 when it is noted that for three years Petrie had been living on Olof Larsson's descendants' farm in Sigtuna. There is legal silence once again until 2 March 1667 when a young servant girl was called in regarding a rumour that Petrie had allegedly spread about the organist Maximillian having sold 'stolen' copper in Stockholm. Petrie's wife had been robbed of a copper bucket and it was suspected that Maximillian may have been to blame. The last reference to this case before it was postponed indicates that the court was awaiting proof from the coppersmith in Stockholm to whom the copper waste had been sold. In any case, William Petrie had already died in Stockholm in 1665 and was buried on 20 June that year in the German church, so the legal action may simply have been a case of post-mortem sour grapes.⁶²

George Ross

The final Scottish merchant based in Sigtuna to be considered here is George (Jöran) Ross. The Scottish Ross family has frequently been misidentified as being of German origin, a fact complicated by the presence of bona fide Germans in Sweden who bore the surname Ross. In the source material – much of which concerns the records from the German congregation in Stockholm – this man is variously called Georgen, Jörgen and Jöran. It was normal practise that Scots settled in Sweden were known by local variants of their given names, serving to demonstrate how fully they integrated into their host society. Unfortunately we do not have any birth details for George Ross, but it is believed that he was born around 1605 in Scotland. The authors further believe that he may well be related to the Ross family, headed by one George Ross, who came to Vasa (now in Finland, but part of the Swedish kingdom in the seventeenth century) in 1617, allegedly as 'political refugees'. This George

62 Death register for Tyska församlingen, Stockholm.

Ross senior's son, William (Wilhelm), was born in 1598 and became a burghess of Vasa, where he died in 1648.⁶³

To return to George Ross (junior?) in Sweden: he is known to have married Gertrude Parker (1610?-1693), a member of the wider British community in Sweden: her father was the Englishman Thomas Parker, a burghess of Stockholm. George and Gertrude had 13 children, all of whom were baptised in the German congregation church of Stockholm. It is unknown exactly when George Ross moved to Sweden, but he certainly began trading in Stockholm in the early 1630s. His name first appears in official records on 29 February 1632 when he was accused of engaging illegally in trade in North Stockholm.⁶⁴ This would not be the last time Ross was involved in legal proceedings. However, the situation was obviously settled by 1 June 1633 as that day Ross took the burghess oath in Stockholm, witnessed and guaranteed by Robert Rhind and David Andersson; Rhind was definitely a fellow Scot.⁶⁵ During the 1640s George Ross again appears in legal records: in 1647 he quarrelled with a burghess from Nyköping, and in 1649 he spent some time locked up in Uppsala castle as he had stood as personal guarantor for an unnamed colleague from Stockholm who got into debt.⁶⁶ Neither of these incidents caused him to permanently fall foul of the local authorities and he was still listed as a burghess of Stockholm in 1656. In that year Ross and his brother-in-law Johan Hildebrand protested against being held responsible for a loan that Thomas Parker had taken out; the debt was owed to two brothers in the Netherlands called van der Nordt.⁶⁷ Ross turned his hand at various trades: for example, in the tax register for 1647 he was noted in particular for being a 'lakanshandlare' (linen and wool merchant).⁶⁸ However, from 1662 onwards Ross was listed as an inn-keeper and wine trader in Sigtuna, while

63 Some genealogists have connected William Ross of Vasa, Finland to George Ross of Haddington, Lauder in Scotland. The authors have been in correspondence with Bertil Rostedt, who claims descentance from William Ross of Vasa. Rostedt has a letter dated 1817 written by an ancestor seeking ennoblement for the Ross family in Finland. This letter specifies that William Ross had a brother, George, who was established in Stockholm and with whom William engaged in trade during the 1630s.

64 *STB*, xx, p.299. A Jöran Roß was noted amongst several others as guilty of engaging in this.

65 *STB*, xxi, pp.26 and 153. In the first instance his guarantors were named as Robert Rind and David Andersson, but in the second instance (a draft of the source) the guarantors were named as Albrecht Rind, Johan Pedersson and David Andersson. See also Murdoch, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce', p.61. Murdoch notes Rind as a ship broker.

66 Uppsala rådhusrätt, 2 March 1649.

67 *STB*, 2 June 1656, 28 July 1656, 1 December 1656, 6 May 1657.

68 Genealogiska föreningen Stockholm. Kortregister: Georg/Jürgen Ross burghess in Stockholm, 'Lakanshandlare'.

also serving as a customs man for that town until his death in 1672.⁶⁹ The shift toward the wine trade is presumably connected to the fact that both Ross's father-in-law, the aforementioned Thomas Parker, and his son-in-law, Mattias Dittmer of Stockholm, were wine traders, with Parker having been engaged in the hostelry trade in Stockholm since 1613.⁷⁰

Ross moved from Stockholm to Sigtuna in the 1660s. There is one surviving letter from Ross to Queen Christina (undated) which is marked with the word 'bankruptcy', indicating that his Stockholm existence had perhaps come to a premature end.⁷¹ Further, a letter he wrote to Chancellor Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie in 1669 provides evidence that Ross owed his new position as customs officer to the Chancellor's influence.⁷² Ross then purchased a house in Sigtuna from Johan von Lillienhielm, the second husband of Elisabeth Neuhausen (who was the widow of Colonel James Seton).⁷³ Ross went to some expense to regenerate the farm, which had burned down before he acquired it.

George Ross died in 1672 and was buried in Sigtuna in Colonel James Seton's grave in Maria church that year.⁷⁴ Seton's son's widow, Beata Margareta Forrat, protested about this use of her father-in-law's grave, but Ross's widow, Gertrude, explained that the use of the grave was part and parcel of a house acquisition Ross made from Seton's widow and her second husband Lillienhielm around 1662.⁷⁵ In any case, almost thirty years later George Ross's daughter Agneta (Agnes) bought the Seton grave in Maria church and, according to an account from 1710, Ross's funerary memorial was placed to the right of altar, beneath the organ beside the baptismal font.

After Ross' death, his widow Gertrude sought assurance that their son, also Jöran would be able to succeed his father as a customs man, despite a recent incident involving her son's role in the embassy to Russia(?) which had led to spiteful gossip concerning his unreliability.⁷⁶

69 Stockholm Stadsarkiv, Sigtuna kyrkoräkenskaper L1 1661-1715. Riksarkivet, Svea Hovrätt, Sigtuna Rådhusrättsprotokoll 27 April och 8 October 1670. Riksarkivet, De la Gardiska samlingen, volym 1538.

70 *STB*, vii, pp.292 and 312, lists Parker as a contributor to the Älvsborg ransom. One of Thomas Parker's inns lay on Skottgränden near Österlånggatan, Stockholm.

71 The letter is in the collection held at Riksarkivet, Stockholm, but the exact call number has been misplaced.

72 Riksarkivet, De la Gardiska samlingen. Volym E 1538.

73 Uppsala domkapitel ser E:V, p. 403.

74 Uppsala domkapitel ser E:V, p. 403.

75 Upon Gertrude Ross' death in 1693, she donated a painting called 'Ecce Homo' to Maria church in Sigtuna, and this painting remained on display there until the 1930s, when it fell into the hands of Sigtuna Museum.

76 Riksarkivet: De la Gardiska samlingen. Volym E 1538.

Conclusion

This brief survey of the Scots who came to seventeenth-century Sigtuna sheds new light on a hitherto unknown community of Scots living overseas in the early modern period. Though these people did not form an extremely large group, and they cannot compare in number to the communities of Stockholm and Gothenburg, their activities show them to maintain links not only between themselves but also with Scots elsewhere in the Swedish kingdom. To some scholars the information provided here will simply gild the understanding which we already have of how these networks were formed, particularly regarding those Scots with links to Stockholm. This article also offers interesting behavioural trends by the Scots, such as migration in groups (represented by the Rutherford and the Crawford families), and the fluid movement of migrants within the Swedish realm (as evidenced by most of the merchants, and several of the soldiers). However, as regards one of the Sigtuna Scots in particular, this research represents the first scholarship of any sort about them. The enigmatic Humphrey Cunningham appears to have been lost from the historical record and is only known to us through the Sigtuna evidence. It is clear that for those who did move to Sigtuna that it was a community of choice and attracted a successful sort, whether military or civilian. Perhaps similar work can be done on other towns to provide a fuller impression of the Scottish impact on seventeenth-century Sweden.

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