
NORTHERN STUDIES

The Journal of the Scottish Society for Northern Studies

Volume 55

General and Modern History Editor
KATHRIN ZICKERMANN

Medieval History Editor
SARAH THOMAS

Reviews Editor
TOM FAIRFAX

Copyeditor
JANE THOMAS

Production Editor
JANET E. KAY

2024

NORTHERN STUDIES

ADVISORY BOARD

Professor Barbara E. Crawford, OBE
Visiting Professor
University of the Highlands and Islands

Dr Rune Blix Hagen
University of Tromsø

Professor Steve Murdoch
Swedish Defence University

Professor Ralph O'Connor
University of Aberdeen

Professor Jón Viðar Sigurðsson
University of Oslo

Dr Berit Sandnes
Norwegian Mapping Authority

Professor Henk van der Liet
University of Amsterdam

Tracing the Settlement of Scottish Immigrants in Early Modern Stockholm

*Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch**

IN NOVEMBER 2008 Geoffrey Stell published an important overview article entitled 'Scotland and Europe 1400-1700: Some Architectural Links'.¹ Stell posed a salient question, pondering the extent to which Scottish "urban building and domestic practices may have emerged or developed in concert with those of the near continent ...",² focusing on three case-studies: Veere (The Netherlands), Aubigny-sur-Nère (France), and Ptuj (Slovenia). In so doing, Stell added to earlier discussions on Scottish architectural impact in Europe, including not least a very interesting case study contrasting fortified structures in Bergen (Norway) and Orkney (Scotland).³ Rimantas Žirgulis has discussed the Scottish community of Kėdainiai (Lithuania), observing that eleven out of nineteen of the houses in the main square of the town were owned by Scots, rising to a total of thirty-one when including those further away from the centre.⁴ It is Žirgulis's approach we have borrowed for this article, which grew out of an ultimately unanswerable query as to whether any particularly Scottish architectural elements could be identified in buildings constructed by members of the early modern Scottish community in Stockholm. The short answer may be 'no', but the research instead led to geolocating the addresses available for the Stockholm-Scots to see whether any patterns emerged. To clarify: this is not a review of Scottish (or Swedish) architecture, nor is it a detailed visual description of the houses under discussion. In many cases the houses no longer exist and are only known from contemporary drawings and engravings. Further, surviving edifices are often heavily altered from their seventeenth-century appearance. What this article does present, for the first time, is a concerted review of Scottish

* Dedicated to Vera Siöcrona (1914-2003), the woman who fought to save Gamla Stan.

1 Stell 2008, 1-14.

2 Ibid, 4.

3 Simpson 1961.

4 Žirgulis 2005, 225-247.

house ownership in early modern Stockholm, where known.⁵ Previously, we have surveyed the dates of marriages, births and deaths of the Stockholm-Scots, as well as named companies, regiments, and naval ships in or on which some of these individuals served, but we have not located them geographically within the Swedish capital.

A short introduction to early modern Stockholm

Stockholm was home to one of the largest seventeenth-century Scottish communities in the North Sea and Baltic regions, rivalling Bergen in size and dwarfing the subsequently better-known Gothenburg community fivefold.⁶ By the late-sixteenth century Stockholm (population circa 9,000) already housed a relatively multinational community. Anders Johnson states that in the 1580s ca. 200 ‘foreign’ families lived there, representing three main groupings totalling fifteen percent of the city’s population: at least 150 from Germany, around twenty from the Low Countries, and ten from Scotland.⁷ Previous studies by Eli Hecksher and Birgitta Lager Kromnow point to higher numbers of settled Scots, twenty-three and thirty respectively, by 1569.⁸ These figures only take cognisance of the male migrants, and the actual community was somewhat larger, although frustratingly hard to trace in the historical record. Alexia Grosjean, in 2003, already noted the difficulty in tracing female property transactions, and Steve Murdoch and Kathrin Zickermann sought to address this in 2019 through various case studies of women who owned property in Sweden, especially Margaret Forrat and Martha Stuart.⁹ Other national communities also existed in Stockholm—French, Italian, Irish and English to name a few—albeit smaller in size and not with the same degree of continuity.¹⁰ Regardless, permanent accommodation was a must for all residents; indeed, it was a legal requirement for those seeking burgess privileges in Stockholm. The buildings for which we have records tended to be stone-built, or a mixture of brick and stone.

The traditional Scandinavian building tool was timber, rendering houses vulnerable to fire in built-up areas, whilst the use of stone for construction

5 For fuller biographies of the Scots mentioned here readers are invited to investigate the authors’ *The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database* available online at www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne.

6 Murdoch 2010, 59-60.

7 Johnson 1997, 15.

8 Hecksher 1935, 49 and Lager Kromnow 1992, 231; See also Lager 1962, 132, on the strong flow of Scottish immigrants into Sweden since the end of Erik XIV’s reign.

9 Grosjean 2003, 145 and Murdoch and Zickermann 2019, 114-134.

10 Murdoch 2024, 272-292.

was limited before the early modern period.¹¹ Brick, however, gained currency before the early modern period, with 250 brick buildings built in Stockholm across the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹² Sweden had long looked to German (particularly given the impact of Hanseatic League) and 'Dutch' (Low Countries) craftsmen and imported their skills and expertise, resulting in a dominance of associated architectural styles. Although French and Italian stone masons became increasingly prevalent by the 1640s, both in the construction of palatial residences and defensive fortifications, Dutch stone masons remained very active in town construction during the seventeenth century. It was at this time that the concept of architecture by design, rather than functionality, emerged in Sweden, exemplified by the arrival of the Frenchman Simon de la Vallée, who was invited to Stockholm in 1637¹³ by the Swedish Field Marshal Åke Tott. Just two years later, in 1639, de la Vallée was appointed Royal Architect to the Swedish court. He is generally considered Sweden's first official architect. A contemporary of de la Vallée, Stralsund-born Nicodemus Tessin the elder, also arrived in Stockholm in 1637,¹⁴ to undertake fortification works. Following de la Vallée's death in 1642, Tessin not only succeeded him as Royal Architect in 1646, introducing Baroque elements to Sweden, but, from 1661 onwards also served as Stockholm's first City Architect,¹⁵ and many now view him as the 'father' of Swedish architecture. The late Simon de la Vallée's son Jean, meanwhile, spent time abroad developing his architectural skills before returning to Sweden and eventually taking over from Tessin as both Royal¹⁶ and City Architect, bringing with him Romanesque influences from the Continent. These architects did have certain impacts on some of the Scottish residences discussed below.

The seventeenth-century Stockholm-Scots tended to seek accommodation in the heart of the kingdom's capital, largely in an area which today is called Gamla Stan (Old Town). This area—the seat of the royal castle and the focal point for trade—used to be known as *Staden mellan broarna* ('the town between the bridges', reflecting the series of islands that made up the town). It comprised Stadsholmen, the central islet, along with Strömsholmen and Helgeandsholmen. The name Gamla Stan was only relatively recently (the 1980s) legally formalised, just as its heritage value was gaining recognition, thanks to Vera Siöcrona's preservation work. This ancient trading and port area had

11 In medieval Sweden 'less than 20 % of all medieval towns had buildings made of stone and brick' (Seppänen and Ihr 2021, 198). See also Franzén and Söderberg 2018, 237.

12 Andrén 1989, 602. See also Söderlund 2002, 16. Söderlund comments that the basements were constructed in granite whilst the upper floors were made of brick.

13 Bedoire 2001, 56.

14 Ibid, 52.

15 Neville 2009, 61.

16 Bedoire 2001, 105.

already replaced Sigtuna¹⁷ as Sweden's de facto capital in the fifteenth century, being finally ratified in the 1634 'Form of Government' prioritising Stockholm as the base of royal power and infrastructural administration. This in turn inspired a major construction programme for the city, lasting throughout the seventeenth century and beyond. The focusing of legislative and trade activities in Stockholm explains why so many of the Stockholm-Scots settled there: most were merchants, or military men, and many became ennobled. The burgess and noble classes made up two of the four estates of the Swedish parliament, and Scots were well-represented amongst them.¹⁸ The present article draws much of its material from the records relating to both estates.

Gamla Stan retains its largely medieval layout and medieval building patterns, reflecting its thirteenth-century origins, with some alleys and lanes barely wide enough to allow two people to pass. Surviving descriptions of the Swedish capital by foreign visitors describe the two entry gates, north and south (Norrport and Söderport), the castle, the church, two squares (Stortorget and Järntorget), and two main streets (Österlånggatan and Västerlånggatan). Stockholm was one of only four towns in Sweden to have stone city walls (long dismantled, but now traced by Västerlånggatan and Österlånggatan), surrounding the former medieval Tre Kronor castle.¹⁹ It was during the period of the walled city that Gamla Stan's oldest and continuously used street names arose, namely Köpmangatan (1323) and Skomakargatan (1337). Köpmangatan (literal translation: merchants' street) runs from what would then have been the shoreline straight to the central square of Stortorget—forming, ever since Erik XIV's 1563 royal decree, the focal point of trade activity. The waters on the main shoreline were deep enough to accommodate large sailing ships, and foreign merchant vessels could anchor within sight and reach of the royal castle. Houses in Gamla Stan tended to be narrow, about three storeys high, constructed using a mix of brick and granite and often only consisting of two rooms per floor, many with earthen roofs.²⁰ The stone-built buildings on Köpmangatan are often four storeys tall, with foundations dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The ground floors served as trade-premises facing onto the street, whilst the upper floors provided accommodation for merchants and craftsmen. Individual plots were usually divided into two: one facing onto Köpmangatan, the other often comprising wood-built properties facing onto 'Sanden' (approximately the area now known as Slottsbacken).²¹ This

17 For an interesting article on Scots in Sigtuna, see Palm and Undin 2012, 110-127.

18 Grosjean and Murdoch 2014, 7ff.

19 Seppänen and Ihr 2021, 197.

20 Dahlbäck 1995, 107; Dahlbäck et al. 2002, 76.

21 Källström 1996, 2. See Dahlbäck 1995, 48 and Stahre et al., 2005, 61, referenced in Stockholm Stadsmuseet, 2016, 5.

common practise meant that most addresses comprised two street names, in reference to the front and back of a building.

Throughout the seventeenth century Gamla Stan's city walls were gradually dismantled. Following the fire of 1625, new stricter building regulations practically banned the use of wood, and a new quarter was constructed at Skeppsbron. It faces directly opposite the former royal shipyard and artillery workshops now known as Skeppsholmen, and diagonal to the area (now a peninsula of the north island of Norrmalm), at the time a discrete islet and serving as the shipyard, which later became known as Blasieholmen. The origins of the name Blasieholmen, which emerged around 1586 but only properly took hold almost a century later, are obscure. One tradition connects it to the Scottish merchant Blasius Dundie,²² but his properties were mostly in either Gamla Stan or Södermalm, the south island, rendering his links to Blasieholmen unlikely.²³ Other members of the Scottish community certainly did leave their mark on street and area names in Stockholm as will be discussed below. Indeed, you still find Skottgränden (Scotch alley), a lane leading off Österlånggatan, with its name dating from circa 1597,²⁴ just around the period that Scottish settlement in Gamla Stan notably increased. Living within a stone's throw of the Tre Kronor castle was both socially and financially desirable and is reflected in the prevalence of the housing sites chosen by some of the early Stockholm-Scots. This study, therefore, begins in Gamla Stan.

Gamla Stan

The Stockholm-Scots largely belonged to three occupational groups: the military, those in government/diplomatic service, and those engaged in trade, although Scots could also be counted amongst doctors, musicians, clergy, and scholars (Table 1, Figure 1).²⁵ Some of these Scottish immigrants became well-integrated in their wider host community while others, through choice or necessity, remained more closely bound by ethnicity. The properties these Scots inhabited frequently comprised pre-existing buildings. It was not

22 Another origin source may lie in Blasius Olsson Rask / Rasch, an important Stockholm figure from the 1530s, who eventually served as Stockholm's mayor, and owned several properties and ships. Rask died around 1580 just before the islet began to be known colloquially as Blasieholmen. See Rasck, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/7560>, Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (art av Lars-Olof Skoglund), accessed 1 March 2024.

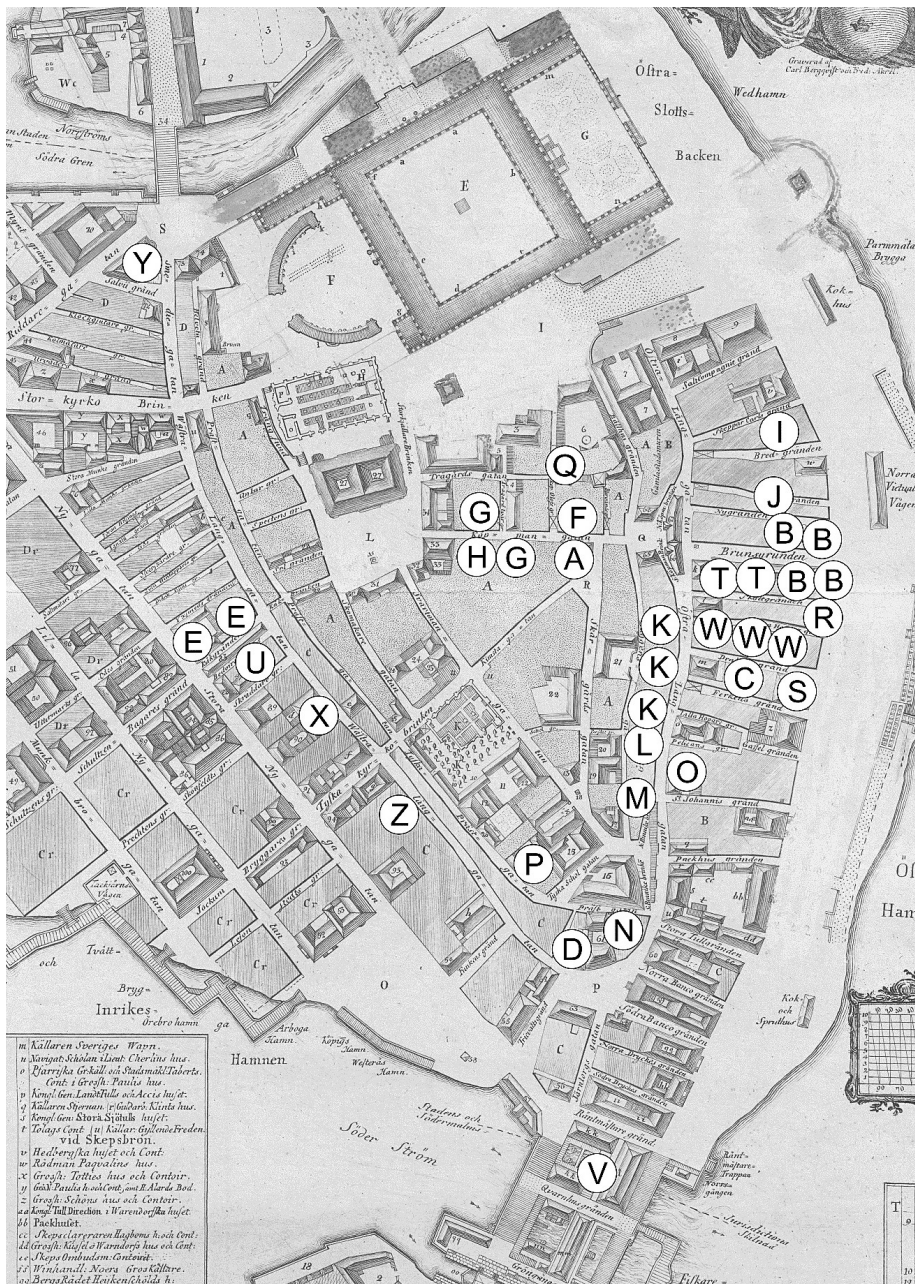
23 Wrangel 1912, 42 refers to a bathing hut Dundie may have owned on Skeppsholmen as a source for the name, but it is speculative.

24 Between the 1430s and 1513 the same alley way went by three different names, each reflecting a given merchant or building owner (see Stahre et al., 1982, 68). In 1700 it was still known as *Skottens gränd* (the Scot's alley), see image in Joneborg 1997, 18.

25 See, for example, Murdoch 2016, 50-65 and Grosjean 2016, 30-49.

Table 1: Identified Scottish Addresses in Gamla Stan. Map reference letters on the left hand side of the column correspond to locations on the map on the next page (Figure 1: Original map (in section) from Brolin 1771, edits by author Murdoch).		
Map Ref and ADDRESS	NAME AND STATUS	DATE
A. Brända tomten (crossroads of Kindstugatan and Själagårdsgatan)	James Gardner, Merchant	1637
B. Brunnsgården (later Skeppsbron 20)	George Gardner, Merchant	1630s
B. Brunnsgården	George Ross, Merchant	1640s
C. Drakensgården (then <i>Bredegrården</i>)	James Maclean, Merchant	1627
D. Järntorget & mill at Gåsgrården	Robert Lichton, Officer	1662, 1675
E. Kåkbrinken (Jost van Hattingsgrården)	George Logan, Baker George Gardner, Merchant	1617 1629
E. Kåkbrinken	William Petrie, Merchant	1633
F. Köpmangatan, corner with Skärgårdsgatan (then <i>Själagårdsgatan</i>)	Blasius Dundee, Merchant Brita Dundie (daughter) and Thomas Glenn, Merchant	1591 1622
G. Köpmangatan and Kindstugatan	James Forbes, Merchant (later of Lund) William Petrie, Merchant	1629 1632
H. Köpmangatan 15	James Robertson, Royal Physician, Pharmacist John Primrose, Merchant	1630 1650
I. Kråkgrården & Bredegrården	Adam Mesterton	Bf.1698
J. Nygränd 2	James Mesterton, Merchant	1658
K. Österlånggatan	William Scott, Merchant	Bf.1584
K. Österlånggatan	James Long, Merchant	Bf.1584
K. Österlånggatan	Colonel Patrick Rutherford	1617
L. Österlånggatan 18 /Baggensgatan 18	John Maclean, Wine Merchant	1700
M. Österlånggatan 28 /Baggensgatan 27	Colonel Andrew Keith	1578
N. Österlånggatan 34 and 36	James Forbes, Merchant (later of Lund) James Feiff, Brewer	1629 1655
O. Österlånggatan 41 (site of)	Donat Feiff, Goldsmith and James Feiff, Brewer	Early 1600s
P. Prästgatan 35	James Feiff, Brewer	1640s
Q. Skeppar Olofs Gränd 6	Alexander Buchan	1640s
Q. Trädgårdsgatan 5		1652
B. Skeppsbron 20	Thomas Tottie, Tobacco entrepreneur	1698
R. Skeppsbron 24	Robert Rhind, Merchant	1629
S. Skeppsbron 28	David Lyall, Factory owner	1700?
T. Skottgrården	Robert Rhind, Merchant	1623
T. Skottgrården	James Forbes, Merchant (later of Lund)	1625
B. Skottgrården 2 (later Skeppsbron 20)	George Gardner	1634
U. Skräddargården (then <i>Bredegrården</i>)	James Neave, Officer	1574
V. Söderport	Maria Neave, donated to her daughter Anna Skytte (1647)	1645
W. Stora Hoparegrården (then <i>Hoparegrården</i>)	Robert Rhind	1629
W. Stora Hoparegrården	James Maclean, Merchant	1640s
W. Stora Hoparegrården	Donat Feiff, Goldsmith	1640s
Unspecified Gamla Stan	Captain Henry Lyall	1594
Unspecified Gamla Stan	George Logan, Merchant	1616
X. Västerlånggatan	Maria Neave, donated to her grand-daughter Maria Kyle (1647)	1645
Y. Västerlånggatan 4	Donat Feiff, Goldsmith	1640s
Z. Västerlånggatan 54	John Maclean, Wine Merchant	1694

Tracing the Settlement of Scottish Immigrants in Early Modern Stockholm



uncommon for a Scottish male to gain rights to a building following marriage into an established Swedish merchant or noble family. Entirely new buildings were also commissioned, but not many of these have survived. Often the only information recorded is that a Scotsman inhabited a given site. For example, James Neave, an officer and governor, was awarded a plot at *Bredegränden* (now *Skräddargränden*) in western Gamla Stan in 1574.²⁶ Ten years later, in 1584, William Scott and James Logan were recorded as resident on *Österlånggatan*, seemingly just one door between them, albeit the specific building numbers remain elusive.²⁷

As is still the case today, sometimes properties were merely acquired for almost immediate resale. For example, Captain Henry Lyall (in active Swedish military service from 1569 and still in the pay of King Johan III nearly ten years later), gained the rights to a house in Stockholm (location unknown) owned by a Scottish burgess named Thomas Michee, which Lyall pawned in October 1594.²⁸ Similarly, Colonel Patrick Rutherford, received the sum of 650 Swedish riksdaler²⁹ in 1617 for the sale of a house on *Österlånggatan* (specifically on Valentin Nilsson's rise, named after the local inn proprietor), but when or how he acquired it is unclear.³⁰ Fortunately, much more detailed information survives for several other Gamla Stan Scots.

Köpmangatan and environs

Blasius Dundie is perhaps the best-known of the early settled Stockholm-Scots. He was well-integrated within the local establishment from at least 1576. In 1593 he was selected to serve on the official committee welcoming King Sigismund Vasa on his arrival in Stockholm from Poland. The following year he represented the Stockholm burgesses at the parliament held in Uppsala.³¹ Dundie purchased various buildings and plots, one of his earliest being an unspecified house he acquired in April 1589 and sold in July the same year.³² He also gained properties in Gamla Stan, including in 1591 a large stone-built building on the southern

26 SSTB 1600, 110, 113, 116, and 118.

27 SSTB 1584-1588, 25.

28 SSTB 1592-1595, 265. The surname is often spelled Leyell or Leijell in Sweden. Lyall also held various farms and properties in Sweden and what is now Estonia (see Brännman 1950, 38-40, n.32).

29 Brief note on seventeenth-century Swedish currency: three types of money were in use, namely the Swedish riksdaler (divided into marks, öre, and pennings), kopparmynt (copper coin) and silvermynt (silver coin). The value of the Swedish riksdaler fluctuated often, but an indicative approximation is 1 pound to 4 daler. Riksdaler here will always be Swedish.

30 See Palm and Undin 2012, variously 110-127, as well as SSTB 1616-1617, 210-11.

31 BR 1933, 337

32 SSTB 1589-1591, 36 and 71.

end of Köpmangatan, adjoining the corner of Skärgårdsgatan (known then as *Själagårdsgatan*), which appears to have been his main residence.³³ The same year he acquired a plot in St. Johannesgränd (alley).³⁴ In front of the building on Köpmangatan he owned a smaller 'garden' plot (presumably an allotment), and the alley which ran off it was long known as *Blasius Dundies gränd* (now Staffan Sassesgränd).³⁵ Several plots owned by Dundie were later incorporated within a building formerly known as Tessinska palatset (designed by Nicodemus Tessin the elder, serving as his private residence), situated close to the current royal palace. Blasius Dundie's daughter, Brita, inherited his house on Köpmangatan and her husband, Scottish burgess Thomas Glenn, later put it up several times as collateral against various loans advanced to him.³⁶ The last official mention of Dundie's properties dates from 1635, the year his eponymous son, Blasius junior, sold his property to Simon Simonsson.³⁷ In the same area, almost 20 years later, in 1652, another Scottish merchant Alexander Buchan—who already owned a building nearby on Olof Skeppares gränd—came into possession of Trädgårdsgatan 5, a narrow street lying between Köpmangatan and the royal castle.³⁸ His two properties backed onto each other, forming an upside down 'L' shape. What remains today of Buchan's property is represented by some medieval walls, indicating that Buchan gained ownership of a much older building.³⁹ As with Dundie's properties, Buchan's plot became incorporated into Tessinska palatset at the end of the seventeenth century, casually linking these two non-contemporaneous Scots in Stockholm's built heritage.

Still in the Köpmangatan area, another Scottish merchant William Petrie (first a burgess of Normalm, then of Stockholm, and finally of Sigtuna) purchased properties from fellow merchant (later colonel) James Forbes in 1632, who had acquired them in 1629.⁴⁰ This included a house on Köpmangatan, another on Kindstugatan (then *Kindhästgatan*), and a variety of other properties (some in Södermalm) for a total cost of 2800 riksdaler, a not insignificant amount,

33 SSTB 1589-1591, 246, 321, and 334. These transactions were dated 1 March, 2 October and 27 November 1591. The one on Köpmangatan cost him 900 daler. The current building at Skärgårdsgatan 2 is on the site of Dundie's property where he saw out his days (see Bergman 1937, 38).

34 SSTB 1589-1591, 247; Wrangel 1912, 44.

35 Stahre et al. 1982, 70.

36 SSTB 1628, 154 and 296.

37 Wrangel 1912, 54.

38 Buchan is consistently mis-transcribed as Buchau/Buchow. See Källström & Wändesjö 2008, and Wändesjö 2008. See also Nordberg 1960, 44-45 and Nordberg 1975, 266.

39 Nordberg 1960, 44. Anders Andersson Appelbom received the plot from Queen Kristina in 1648, and in 1652 sold it onto Jonas Persson, master of provisions in Narva. Persson immediately sold it the same day to Alexander Buchan, revealing the speed of some property and plot transactions.

40 SSTB 1629, 91 and SSTB 1631-1632, 234-5.

indicating Petrie's level of financial success. In 1633 he purchased David Sleman's house in Kåkbrinken (previously in Scottish burghess George Gardner's ownership, about whom see below).⁴¹ Later, in 1637, James Gardner, likely to have been the brother of George, was registered living at a house on Brännnda tomten (where Kindstugatan and Skärgårdsgatan meet), although when James acquired it remains uncertain.⁴²

Returning to the royal castle and its surrounding area we find court physician Dr James Robertson—from 1614 onwards serving as Gustav II Adolf's personal physician⁴³—awarded a 'garden' plot 'to the east of Stor Kyrkan' (the main church in Gamla Stan) around this time.⁴⁴ The king also presented Robertson with two royal privileges in 1623: firstly to set up the royal apothecary at the castle, secondly to establish Stockholm's second pharmacy, Markattan, apparently located at Stora Nygatan (then called *Kungsgatan*), though the doctor ended his involvement with it by 1628.⁴⁵ Dr Robertson tended to accompany the king on his campaigns in the Baltic and Continental Europe, thus conducting his business abroad as much as from Stockholm (including Södermalm). In 1630, the king awarded his physician the western and largest portion of a plot now lying at Köpmangatan 15, not far from where Blasius Dundie had his home.⁴⁶ Following Gustav II Adolf's death in 1632, Dr Robertson took up service with Queen Kristina, who was keen to see Stockholm expand beyond Gamla Stan. She awarded many of her loyal subjects—including the doctor—plots in Norrmalm (see dedicated section below). Shortly before his death, Dr Robertson sold his Köpmangatan 15 property to Scottish merchant John (Hans) Primrose in 1650.⁴⁷ Primrose had only just become a burghess that same year, and had relatively recently arrived in Sweden. He chose to remodel the existing main building and extend it. Despite centuries of refurbishments, original seventeenth-century elements can still be seen today in the portal facing onto

41 SSTB 1633, 67, for the Sleman/Gardner house.

42 de Brun 1922, 46.

43 Hjelt 1893, 715; Levertin, et al., 1918, 27-8.

44 Sacklén 1833, 17 and Nordberg 1960, 42.

45 It is usually given as Kungsgatan (equating to modern Stora Nygatan 28), but the road was not built until 1625 and the buildings came later. See Tidner 1917, 11 for a typical reference. The business continued over many years in many different locations.

46 Nordberg 1975, 174.

47 Ibid, 174; Josephson 1916, 104-105; Tidner 1917, 144-145.

the street, including a plaque bearing the Primrose family arms, his initials and those of his second wife, Ingeborg Larsdotter.⁴⁸

Österlånggatan and Baggensgatan

Some of the properties associated with the Scottish diaspora in Sweden subsequently gained long-lasting legacies. One of these was the so-called 'Papist' house in Gamla Stan. Andrew Keith was a colourful individual—soldier, governor, Swedish baron, Scottish lord, a diplomatic envoy in both Vasa and Stuart services, and a supporter of Sigismund Vasa (joint king of Lutheran Sweden and Catholic Poland) at a time of domestic turmoil in Sweden.

Keith owned a building on a plot in Gamla Stan that covered Baggensgatan 27 and Österlånggatan 28, which is still in use as private accommodation.⁴⁹ It is one of the oldest preserved dwelling houses in the Swedish capital, with foundations dating from the 1300s, when it was said to have been commissioned on behalf of the friars of St John to serve as a refuge for pilgrims. Between the years 1467 and 1527 the building was apparently in the possession of Vadstena monastery.⁵⁰ It is part of a plain-fronted terraced complex, with two storeys facing Baggensgatan and four storeys facing Österlånggatan. Andrew Keith gained possession of it around 1578 and lived there with his wife, Elisabet Birgersdotter Grip, as commemorated in the still extant heraldic stone slab bearing their initials above the door on Baggensgatan.⁵¹ When Keith left Swedish service in 1584, returning to Stuart service, he apparently left without clearing his debts. This came back to trouble him when he tried to sell the house to Count Axel of Raseborg in 1590. Ulf Persson of Flyshult obtained a letter from Johan III, dated 4 April 1590, forbidding Keith's sale from going ahead until Persson was refunded his 600 riksdaler.⁵² When Johan III's son, Sigismund Vasa and King of Poland, returned to enforce his legitimate claim to the Swedish throne, Keith's house was used to

48 The door was most probably designed by Nicodemus Tessin the elder (going by the similarities to his work on doorways at Wrangelska palatset) (Wrangel 1912, 287–288 and Josephson 1916, 104–105). For image of the Primrose house portal, see Larssons Ateljé 1907 (online at commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Köpmangatan_15,_portal,_17_april_1907.jpg).

49 In 2018 a one-room top floor flat at the property, just 39 square metres in size (420sqft) sold for 3,950,000 Swedish kroner (roughly £337,000). Source: www.hemnet.se/salda/lagenhet-1rum-gamla-stan-stockholms-kommun-baggensgatan-27-1322532, accessed 31 January 2024.

50 Tidner 1917, 15.

51 Intriguingly, Andrew Keith retained a master-builder, known as Jacob byggmästar in the sources (SSTB 1578–1583, 165, 204 and 209). As yet, it is not known what services Jacob provided to Keith.

52 SSTB 1589–1591, 158–9. Sigismund himself allegedly acquired the property (see Bergman 1937, 25).

hold Catholic services.⁵³ The fact that not only were priests accommodated in the building, but also that religious services were held there, gave rise to its name: 'Papisthuset'.⁵⁴ Keith seemingly never returned to live in the house.

Directly opposite the back entrance to Keith's house at Österlånggatan 28 lies no 41 on the east side of the same street. Here, goldsmith Donat Feiff and his brother James (a brewer and also a burgess) purchased a medieval house in the early 1600s, though the extant building dates from the 1640s.⁵⁵

In 1700 another ethnic Scot, the wine merchant Johan Maclean, became the owner of a plot to the north of Keith's at Österlånggatan 18-Baggensgatan 17 where Maclean had a house built.⁵⁶ When the street was widened in the late 1800s all the buildings were demolished, and now all that survives is a bit of wall unearthed half a metre underground during excavations in the 1990s.

The Eastern Lanes to Skeppsbron

Scots also resided, built, or purchased properties in the many lanes that run southwards towards the water and what is now the shore street of Skeppsbron. For example, the aforementioned burgess James Forbes owned a property on the eastern part of Skottgränden (which runs off Österlånggatan), which he purchased in 1625 for 750 riksdaler.⁵⁷ Fellow merchant George Gardner owned a plot Skottgränden 2 from 1634 until 1638, on which he constructed a stone-built house.⁵⁸ Two other Scottish burgesses named James Maclean (Jacob Macleer) and the aforementioned Donat Feiff also owned properties in nearby lanes.

In 1627 Maclean purchased a timber-framed booth and plot on a lane running from Österlånggatan towards the shore.⁵⁹ The plot was sold for 400 riksdaler by Anna, widow of Måns Mårtensson, and can now be identified as having been situated on Drakensgränd (then *Bredegränden*, which for a time became known as *Makulerens gränd* or Maclean's alley).⁶⁰ In May 1632 James Maclean purchased a plot for 52 riksdaler on *Hoparegränden*,⁶¹ the neighbouring lane, noted as being just beside Robert Rhind's new house on Skeppsbron (Figure 2). There he received guests and was responsible for filling in a hole in

53 Murdoch 2006, 99.

54 Josephson 1916, 132-133. By 1600 it was noted as a cloth storage site in city council record (see SSTB 1600, 61).

55 Nordberg 1975, 308.

56 Josephson 1916, 136.

57 SSTB 1624-1625, 401 and 522.

58 Nordberg 1975, 91 and Wrangel 1912, n.95 and 96, 389.

59 SSTB 1627, 35 and 257, and SSTB 1632, 233.

60 Wrangel 1912, n. 83 and n. 92 on 389.

61 SSTB 1632, 233-4. The house was built by August 1633 (see SSTB 1633, 37).

the wall in 1646.⁶² Maclean certainly had a Scottish neighbour in the 1640s, as that was when burgess Donat Feiff also owned a house on *Hoparegränden*, in addition to other properties in Gamla Stan.⁶³ *Hoparegränden* is now called Stora Hoparegränden.

To the north of these houses, on another of Österlånggatan's lanes, James Mesterton resided at Nygränd 2, a house now admired for its fine decorative stone portal.⁶⁴ Mesterton lived there from 1658 following his marriage to Christina/Kerstin Jakobsdotter, widow of its previous owner Hans Hansson. Mesterton's wife died in 1668, leaving the house built by her first husband to be inherited by her second. Nygränd, like most of the small lanes to the east of Österlånggatan, leads directly onto Skeppsbron.



Figure 2: The Lyall (first) and Rhind (third) buildings, Skeppsbron. Photograph: Grosjean/Murdoch.

Skeppsbron

A number of buildings and plots owned by Scots lay on this street and on the lanes leading up to Österlånggatan. Skeppsbron 24 (now known as Dångerska huset), bordering Stora Hoparegränd and Drakensgränd, was a building entirely commissioned by the wealthy Scottish merchant Robert Rhind in late 1629.⁶⁵ It was the very first house built in the area to follow new urban planning regulations instigated by King Gustav II Adolf after the 1625 fire. Skeppsbron was to become the public 'face' of Stockholm to all arriving from the east by sea, displaying 'large and handsome buildings' and as such the

62 Wrangel 1912, 375. John Durie wrote various letters from the property, which he dated "*de aedibus Jacob Macklier*" (Westin 1934-1936, 10, 104, 105, 140).

63 Wrangel 1912, n. 90 on p. 389.

64 The building was donated to the Nordiska Museum in 1962 (see Hansson 1972, 223).

65 Nordberg 1975, 129.

plots were four times the cost of those on the western side.⁶⁶ Rhind's house was constructed with differentiated floor levels and highly positioned gables on the facades facing both front and to the sides.⁶⁷ Sadly, the portal with a plaque commemorating the year of construction and Robert Rhind's initials only survived until the late-nineteenth century; however, interior elements such as decorated wooden ceiling panels and frescos from Rhind's time remain.⁶⁸ The building has been subsequently altered, added to, and almost torn down during the mid-twentieth century, but is now a listed building.⁶⁹ Next door but one to Rhind's house, at Skeppsbron 28, is a building which came into the ownership of David Lyall (son of David Lyall, a seventeenth-century emigré from Arbroath) in the early eighteenth century (Figure 2).⁷⁰

Just along the street, is a further example of a property that passed through Scottish ownership twice, nearly 60 years apart. What is now Skeppsbron 20 is built on a plot previously owned in 1634 by George Gardner (mentioned under Skottgränden 2 above), on which he had two stone houses built, both long since demolished.⁷¹ The second, which faced Brunnsgränd 1, was subsequently incorporated into a mansion by the architect Nicodemus Tessin, who obtained the plot in 1668. A second Scot to inhabit this same plot was Thomas Tottie, Scottish tobacco entrepreneur in Stockholm, who purchased Tessin's building in 1698.⁷² Thomas made the house his home, serving as the headquarters of the Tottie and Arfwedsson merchant house, and additionally leased a nearby building to serve as a tobacco spinning factory. Just two streets away a fellow Scottish burgess, Adam Mesterton, lived in a building which lay between Bredgränden and Kråkansgränd. Given the number and consistency of Scottish property ownership in this one corner, and the street named Skottgränden, one could describe it as a Scottish quarter of sorts.

At the southern end of Skeppsbron several lanes lead to Järntorget, another important hub in the everyday life of early modern Stockholm.

66 Råberg 1985, 125; Råberg 1987, 72.

67 A close-up of Willem Swidde's engraving from 1693 shows Rhind's house sandwiched between two slightly taller buildings with particular 'manorial roofs', later also added to the Rhind building (See Swidde 1693, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Suecia_1-013_-_Stockholm_från_öster-right_side_detail.jpg).

68 Nordberg 1975, 129-130. On p. 129 there is a hand-drawn depiction (belonging to Stockholms Stads Museum) of the doorway with the following inscription: Gods Providence is myn inheritense 1630.

69 Nordberg 1975, 132-3.

70 Josephson 1916, 292. See again an online copy of Swidde's 1693 engraving at en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Suecia_1-034_-_Kungliga_stallet.jpg.

71 Nordberg 1975, 91; Wrangel 1912, 389. Fellow Scottish burgess George Ross lived on Brunnsgränden in the 1640s (Wrangel 1912, 375, 390).

72 Joneborg 1997, 18 shows a map from 1700 listing the merchant Thomas 'Thoten' as owner, and Adam Mesterton on a neighbouring street; see also Nordberg 1975, 92.

Järntorget and Västerlånggatan

Järntorget lies at the south end of Österlånggatan, a square which forms a bridging hub between Österlånggatan and Västerlånggatan. From 1629 onwards, the aforementioned James Forbes owned a plot off Järntorget, which covered Österlånggatan 34 and 36 and Prästgatan 86.⁷³ Forbes sold a property (probably number 36) in December 1654 to Conrad Fult, already listed as living at “the Forbes house” in 1652, presumably under lease.⁷⁴ In January 1655 Forbes sold the plot of number 34 to James Feiff for over 3,500 riksdaler.⁷⁵ James Feiff already owned a property about a block westward, at Prästgatan 35 (now a school yard).⁷⁶

About seven years later, the Finnish-born Scot and Swedish army officer Robert Lichton took ownership of nearby property. Through his 1662 marriage to Beata Rosenstierna, Lichton came to own a three-storey building (precise date of construction unknown, but likely around 1600) located on Järntorget. Illustrations from the mid- and late-seventeenth century show a central rounded stone entry with a gable positioned on the roof directly above it, along with a roof hoist/crane. Beata had inherited the building, which had long served as an inn called Blå Örnen, from her father.⁷⁷ The couple never lived in the property but must have earned money from it. Intriguingly, the 1676 and 1683 population records list Robert as the owner, even though Beata did not die until 1684 and it rightfully belonged to her.⁷⁸

North-westwards from Järntorget is the second ‘main’ street of Gamla Stan, Västerlånggatan. Although less densely populated by Scots, some important figures lived there. One of the few records of Scottish female property exchange that is traceable involves Maria Neave, daughter of the aforementioned James Neave. Though born in Sweden, she and her son maintained their Scottish identities, her son even being naturalised as a Scot in 1635.⁷⁹ Maria specifically made two of her Gamla Stan properties over to her family on 16 May 1647 (see translation in Appendix A): the first, a house which she had built on Västerlånggatan, she gifted to her granddaughter Maria Kyle. The second was located at *Söderport* (the South Gate). Maria made over her

73 This property is often called *Kijkendal*, or some variant. See Wrangel 1912, 396 note 162; Josephson 1916, 380, 189; Tidner 1917, 182.

74 de Brun 1922, 39; Josephson 1916, 189.

75 de Brun 1922, 40.

76 James Feiff lived there until his death circa 1657, and his widow remained resident there. Tidner 1920, 22.

77 Wrangel 1912, 257, and Tidner 1917, 250, where the address is given as 39 Stora Nygatan, namely the other end of the same plot. See also Josephson 1916, 197-198.

78 Stadsholmen 2015; Stockholms Stadsmuseum 1980, 8.

79 Swedish Riksarkiv, Deposito Skytteana, Johan Skyttes handlingar. E 5412. Charles I’s Letter of Naturalisation for Johan Skytte (junior) as a Scot, Greenwich, 9 May 1635 (Notarial Copy).

half share of this house, inherited from her late husband Johan Skytte, to her daughter Anna Skytte.⁸⁰

Much later, the aforementioned wine merchant Johan Maclean purchased a plot comprising and bridging Västerlånggatan 54-Stora Nygatan 39 in 1694, where he had an entirely new building (known as *Macklins hus*) constructed.⁸¹ Another street linking both Västerlånggatan and Stora Nygatan is Kåkbrinken (dating from the 1400s), which leads from the western waterfront towards the central square Stortorget. In 1617 Scottish merchant George Logan, who already had a house in southern Gamla Stan (no specified address), purchased a stone-built building on Jost van Hattingsgränd at the top of Kåkbrinken from Cort Witthold, paying him 360 riksdaler.⁸² Just three years later Logan sold it onto another Scottish merchant, George Gardner.⁸³

Following this overview of Scottish property ownership in Gamla Stan, it is only natural that members of the Stockholm-Scottish community looked further afield than the boundaries of the old walled town. What is now known as Norrmalm, the northern island, was Crown property and Queen Kristina was keen to make parts of it available to her loyal subjects. One of these locations is Blasieholmen.

Blasieholmen

Crossing the bridge from the modern royal palace in Gamla Stan, towards Kungsträdgården (the former royal garden) on Norrmalm, immediately to the right is an area called Blasieholmen. In the seventeenth century this was a discrete islet with no direct bridge from Gamla Stan. Table 2 (below) lists the names of Scots who acquired property on the islet and the associated dates.

Table 2: Identified Scottish Addresses on Blasieholmen		
ADDRESS	NAME AND STATUS	DATE
Blasieholmhamnen 1/Blasieholmen 4a	Alexander (Arvid) Forbes, General & Krigsråd	1655
Blasieholmstorg 10	Captain (Naval) John Williamson Clerck	1646
Blasieholmstorg 12	Admiral Hans Hanson Clerck	1676
Blasieholmstorg 14	Field Marshal & Krigsråd Robert Douglas	1649
Blasieholmstorg 14	Count Gustav Douglas	1687

80 Swedish Riksarkiv, Deposito Skytteana, Johan Skyttes handlingar. E 5412. Maria Näf, 16 May 1647. For Johan Skytte’s ownership of houses at the Västerlånggatan (1629) and Söderport see Wrangel 1912, 380 and n. 160 on p. 394.

81 Josephson 1916, 217-218.

82 SSTB 1616-1617, 253-4.

83 SSTB 1620-1621, 13.



Figure 3: Douglas Palace Stockholm. Photograph: Grosjean/Murdoch.

Douglaska Palatset and Arvid Forbes's now lost 'palace'

Regardless of Blasius Dundie's unproven links to the area, strong Scottish connections exist with Blasieholmen, a popular site given its position directly in line of sight of the royal castle. The area became a showcase of stately homes and minor palaces from the 1650s onwards, including that of royal architect Jean de la Vallée himself.⁸⁴ It carries the legacy of at least four Scottish-owned buildings, two of which (at least) were commissioned from scratch and one of which still survives in a modernised format.

Douglaska Palatset, or Robert Douglas's palace, is probably the sole palatial-type residence in Stockholm commissioned by a seventeenth-century Scot that is still standing and marked with a brass heritage plaque naming him (Figure 3). The initial design was produced by Jean de la Vallée, in one of his earliest projects in post. Following a disagreement between Douglas and de la Vallée, pre-occupied with commissions elsewhere, the house was finished by Nicodemus Tessin the elder. The clearest illustration of the three-storey Douglas building can be seen on Erik Dahlbergh's 1660 drawing, centring Jakob De La Gardie's 'Makalös' palace at the edge of Kungsträdgården—albeit the house is 'finished' according to the eventually rejected plan by de la Vallée and thus is not accurate.⁸⁵

84 Wrangel 1912, 101.

85 Bedoire 2023, 144 and 162, where you can see a close-up reproduction of the drawing.

The building is located on the corner of Blasieholmstorget 14 and the plot originally extended out to Arsenalsgatan. Robert Douglas himself referred to the area as ‘gamla skeppsholmen’, or site of the former royal shipyard as it was, and not Blasieholmen. Douglas was the third individual to hold rights to the plot of land that includes Blasieholmstorget 14. In April 1646 it had initially been awarded by royal privilege to the naval officers Major Henrik Hansson and Admiral Henrik Gerdtsen (ennobled Sjöhelm), but remained undeveloped.⁸⁶ The latter sold his portion to Count Robert Douglas in 1649. Hansson’s plot was, in turn, purchased by Welam Böös (ennobled Drakenhielm), and eventually also came into Douglas’s ownership. In August 1652 Douglas considerably increased the size of his plot by obtaining the rights up to and including the shore,⁸⁷ later sold off in parts by his descendants.

Robert Douglas was a nobleman, a member of the *Krigsråd* (council of war), and a serving officer (eventually Field Marshal) in the Swedish army, and he was frequently abroad on campaign. He nevertheless still became embroiled in a legal case brought against him by his builder, Andreas Fischer. The building we see today was not fully completed until after Douglas’s death in 1662. Although the cellars and part of the ground floor had already been constructed according to Jean de la Vallée’s plans, Douglas called in Tessin the elder, whose new design for the house entailed a five-storey building (three full storeys and two ‘half’ storeys, or mezzanine floors). Andreas Fischer highlighted the ‘Italian and French manner’ of the new design and doubted that the work could be completed within the price originally agreed for the slightly smaller building. Although the final outcome of the case is not recorded, some compromise must have been achieved, as the building was completed. After Douglas’s death the entire property was inherited by his widow, Hedvig Mörner, and she subsequently passed it onto their son Gustaf Douglas in 1687. Johan van den Aveelen’s illustration from 1698 is the first to portray a full four-storey building: the top floor is a half/mezzanine floor and one assumes that the second half/mezzanine floor lay between the first and second.⁸⁸

At the southern tip of the same islet, beyond which no further building occurred, lay General Alexander ‘Arvid’ Forbes’s ‘palace’. Forbes was a member of the Swedish state council and formerly governor of Swedish-held Pomerania. In May 1655 he purchased a double plot that ran right onto the shore—previously part of Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie’s large easterly plot, comprising Hofslagaregatan 1 and 3 (also listed as Blasieholmshamnen 1 or 4)

86 Bedoire 2023, 170.

87 Wrangel 1914, 44.

88 van den Aveelen 1698, see online at en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Suecia_1-034_-_Kungliga_stallet.jpg

and Blasieholmsgatan 1. Forbes's house at Blasieholmen 4A looked directly across towards the royal castle.⁸⁹ The building was described as a beautifully proportioned jewel—albeit not as magnificent as the nearby Bååtska palace—with a notably ornate roof and a remarkable external double stairway facing the water.⁹⁰ In 1665 it was inherited by his daughter Sophia, who was married to Count Axel Julies De la Gardie, and subsequently became known as the 'De la Gardieska huset'.⁹¹ All traces of this building are lost, as whatever was left was razed in the 1860s and a new edifice constructed.

Erik Dahlbergh's copper engraving depicting the 1660 funerary procession for the late King Gustav X clearly displays both Douglas's and Forbes's houses on Blasieholmen although at that time they were either incomplete or just beginning to be built.⁹² The aforementioned 1696 illustration by van den Aveelen includes Forbes's residence located a few buildings down from the Douglas 'palace' and remains the only visual memorial of the lost 'jewel'.⁹³ Further to these two top military commanders, officers of the contemporary maritime force also built or purchased property on the islet.

Given Blasieholmen's origins as the former royal shipyard, it is perhaps unsurprising that in 1646 the Swedish Crown gifted admiralty captain John (Hans) Williamson Clerck a plot on the islet. It is important to note he was no relation to the two Admiral Richard Clercks (see Table 3) or the elder Admiral John (Hans) Clerck, all of whom had properties on Norrmalm and Östermalm. Captain Hans Williamson Clerck's small plot lay at Blasieholmstorg 10, where sometime after 1658 he had a three-storey stone building constructed, which was notable for its roof.⁹⁴ Aspects of this seventeenth-century building survive in the current building on the site. In 1676 his son, Admiral Hans Hanson Clerck, exchanged this plot for another at Blasieholmstorg 12 (acquired from Erik Kruse), becoming its fourth owner.⁹⁵ Had there been one or two Scots of importance in close proximity a case could be made for coincidence; however, a Field Marshal (Douglas), a General and Military Councillor of the Realm (Forbes), and two naval officers of the Clerk family all built or owned property in an area largely bereft of other residences, forming something of a 'Scottish' quarter. Further north of this section lay Norrmalm proper, where yet more Scots became property owners.

89 Bedoire 2023, 151; Wrangel 1914, 94; Runmark 1989, 17.

90 Wrangel 1914, 3 and 96.

91 Ibid, 95.

92 Bedoire 2023, 121.

93 van den Aveelen 1698, see online at en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Suecia_1-034_-_Kungliga_stallet.jpg

94 This building was inherited by his son, Baron Hans Hansson Clerk in 1679 (Wrangel 1914, 61 and 62).

95 Tidner 1917, 32-33. This building was replaced with another in 1771.

Table 3: Scottish Addresses Identified on Norrmalm & Östermalm		
ADDRESS	NAME AND STATUS	DATE
Drottninggatan, Västra malmen Kvarteret Skotten	Dr James Robertson, Royal Physician & Pharmacist	1636 &1638
Regeringsgatan	Admiral Richard Clerck, the elder Admiral Hans Clerck, the elder Admiral Richard Clerck, the younger	1600s 1625 1644
Repslagarbanan /Ladugårdslandet	Admiral Hans Clerck, the elder Admiral Richard Clerck, the younger	1630s 1644
Riddargatan	Lt General James King	1650
Västra Trädgårdsgatan 17	Admiral Richard Clerck, the elder Admiral Hans Clerck the elder Admiral Richard Clerck the younger	1618 1625 1644
Västra Trädgårdsgatan	Admiral Simon Stewart	1620s?

Norrmalm & Östermalm

Norrmalm, for a time called *Nörra förstaden*, belonged to the Crown and was a discrete town in the early 1600s. It numbered 3,000 inhabitants, a figure which rose to circa 40,000 by 1660,⁹⁶ following the area’s formal incorporation into Stockholm proper. The 1676 Norrmalm tax records listed 2,250 buildings, of which a little over 150 were made of stone, with most of these on lower Drottninggatan and Regeringsgatan.⁹⁷ Table 3 lists the houses we know to have belonged to Scots during this period.

One example of a city block being named after a seventeenth century Scotsman can be found in Norrmalm. In 1636, the previously mentioned Dr James Robertson paid 675 riksdaler for a plot on ‘Västra malmen’. The house he built there fell foul of the Norrmalm regeneration plan and was dismantled in 1638 and moved further north on Drottninggatan. The presence of Dr Robertson’s house in the area—one of the first—eventually gave rise to the name *Skotten* (The Scotsman), noted in 1649, presumably in recognition of the doctor’s elevated status.⁹⁸ Robertson was ennobled in 1630 and remained in royal service until his death in ca. 1652.⁹⁹ Dr Robertson was perhaps a little bit of an outlier in terms of where he built a house on Norrmalm. By far the greatest number of Scots were found inhabiting plots surrounding the area closer to the royal shipyard, and unsurprisingly these were mainly naval officers.

Indeed, members of the main naval Clerck family were prime investors in the area.¹⁰⁰ Richard Clerck the elder was in Swedish service from 1606 onwards, and the first of his properties we can locate is the empty plot he purchased on Östermalm from Jesper Matsson Krus (the Lord High Treasurer) for 100 riksdaler

96 norrholm.myor.se/norrholms-historia/norrholm-blir-till-1600.html, accessed 31 March 2024.
97 Råberg 1985, 13.
98 Forsberg 2001, 105 and 175.
99 Ibid, 200.
100 Bedoire 2023, 263.

in March 1618.¹⁰¹ This plot eventually housed at least two buildings between Regeringsgatan and Västra Trädgårdsgatan, all of which were unfortunately torn down in 1971.¹⁰² A notable event occurred at Admiral Clerck's house one evening in April 1622, when at least five other Scots—Captains Hans Clerck (probably Richard's brother), Alexander Forrat, and Simon Stewart, along with Ensigns James Logan and James Muir—gathered there. After proceeding on to a neighbouring home, two of the men fought, resulting in Ensign Logan's murder by Muir and leading to a protracted court case involving Scots on both sides.¹⁰³ Admiral Richard Clerck extended his property in 1624 by obtaining the plot directly next to his, probably on the site of what is now Regeringsgatan 30. Although Richard Clerck died the following year, the subsequent court actions this last purchase generated kept his descendants busy for a long time.¹⁰⁴

John (Hans) Clerck the Elder, believed to be Richard's brother, came to serve in the Swedish navy in 1617. During his time as 'holm' admiral, head of the royal shipyard, John Clerck obtained properties in the early 1630s, located unsurprisingly close to his workplace at Skeppsholmen, near Repslagarbanan. He also had a garden at Ladugårdslandet on Norrmalm. Both properties were lost to a major fire in 1640, just as the official regeneration of the area was beginning.¹⁰⁵ Upon John's death in 1644, he was also listed as the owner of Richard's house on Regeringsgatan.¹⁰⁶ John Clerck's son, Richard (known as the Richard Clerck the younger), owned several plots, presumably inherited from both his father and his uncle, at Ladugårdslandet, Regeringsgatan, and Västra Trädgårdsgatan. Richard the younger also extended his holdings by acquiring another empty plot near Trädgårdsgatan.¹⁰⁷ In 1650 he commissioned a three-storey stone house facing the royal gardens, as portrayed on Erik Dahlbergh's copper engraving of Kungsträdgården. These properties were variously inherited by Richard the younger's children, the siblings Elisabet and Hans Clerck, on their father's death in 1668, and all have subsequently disappeared.¹⁰⁸

The 'other' naval Scottish Clerck family also had property in Norrmalm. Admiral Hans Williamson Clerck, of Blasieholmen, purchased a house near Strandvägen at Ladugårdslandet, following the death of its former owner, Count Dohna.¹⁰⁹ This

101 SSTB 1620-1621, 202, 203, 206, and 207-208.

102 Bedoire 2023, 264.

103 SSTB 1622-1623, 26-31.

104 SSTB 1620-1621, 202-203 and 207-208. See Stockholms Stadsmuseum 1971; Tidner 1917, 322; Wrangel 1912, 105.

105 Bedoire 2023, 85.

106 Ibid, 265.

107 Ibid, 265.

108 Ibid, 266.

109 Ibid, 266.

house had originally been commissioned by Colonel Hugo Hamilton, a long-serving officer in the Swedish army, who had lived there with his Scottish wife and her children (from her first marriage to James Spens) before selling it to Dohna.

A third Scottish naval family was the Stuarts. In 1637 Admiral Simon Stuart acquired a plot in Norrmalm, to the east along the shore.¹¹⁰ Around thirteen years later, in 1650, Lieutenant-general James King apparently purchased a building belonging to the Finnish Colonel and noble Joen Pedersson Jernlod. It stood on the corner of what is now Sibyllegatan and Riddargatan on Östermalm.¹¹¹ Its 1647-dated lintel stone was saved from the razed building and is now incorporated into another edifice further up the street towards Östermalmstorg.

Most of the Scots who acquired land and built on Norrmalm—apart from Dr James Robertson—were members of the military, whether army or navy. Scots who were industrial entrepreneurs tended to obtain plots on Södermalm, long a less-developed, more rural, and less-monied area of the capital. The somewhat bucolic nature of that island is reflected in the low number of stone edifices: of the 1550 buildings listed on Södermalm in 1676, about 80 were constructed of stone, the majority of which were located near Södermalmstorg, the square closest to Gamla Stan.¹¹²

Södermalm

Södermalm only gained trading rights at the tail end of the sixteenth century, tallying well with the steady increase in Scottish settlers in Stockholm. Table 4 displays the Scottish owners of various sites in Södermalm and the dates the properties were obtained. Blasius Dundie, long-established in Gamla Stan, also owned a garden plot in Södermalm, which likely included a wooden building, as well as a bathing hut along Danviken.¹¹³

Table 4: Scottish Addresses Identified on Södermalm		
ADDRESS	NAME AND STATUS	DATE
Danviken	Blasius Dundee, Merchant	1591
Brännkyrkagatan 2	James Feiff, Brewer	1647
Maklerensgatan (now Timmermansgatan)	James Maclean, Merchant	1648
Mariatorget, Malongen	Daniel Young till Leijonancker, Merchant	1668
Nacka, woollen mill	Daniel Young till Leijonancker, Merchant	1677
Unspecified Södermalm	James Forbes, Merchant (later of Lund)	1629

110 Forsberg 2001, 75. A dispute arose over the plot, but eventually Admiral Stuart retained the portion he had paid for (ibid, 78).

111 Bedoire 2023, 232 and 258. Prior to demolition in 1912, the building’s seventeenth-century facades, iron anchor plates and a fine painted panelled ceiling with Baroque décor were recorded. Wrangel 1912, 208, erroneously notes him as “Joh”.

112 Råberg 1985, 14.

113 Wrangel 1912, 45

As noted above, Dr James Robertson also officially held property on Södermalm. Gustav II Adolf had granted him a farm there in the early 1620s (probably 1622-1623), following the death of its previous recipient, the Scottish officer Colonel Samuel Cockburn.¹¹⁴ This royal donation proved no end of trouble for the physician, giving rise to contesting claims, as well as squatters living on the site.¹¹⁵ Ten years later, the doctor was still seeking access to the land and thus never built on it.¹¹⁶ Burgess James Maclean, like Dundie and Robertson, also had additional property in Södermalm. The street now called Timmermansgatan became known during the mid-seventeenth century as *Macklerensgatan*, and continued to be known by a range of variants of that name until 1857, long after the man himself had died.¹¹⁷ James Forbes purchased some unspecified booths on Södermalm, with access to a plot on Brännkyrkagatan (then *Badstugugården*), in 1629.¹¹⁸ The brewer James Feiff, with several properties in Gamla Stan, had a brewhouse on Södermalm, located at Brännkyrkagatan 2, which he sold in 1647.¹¹⁹ However, these were relatively small fry compared to Daniel Young, ennobled as Leijonancker, who ran a veritable monopoly with perhaps slightly dubious employment practises.

‘Malongen’ – former site of Daniel Young till Leijonancker’s factory

The Stockholm-Scots were not only active as burgesses based in Gamla Stan, but also through the industrial sites they founded in both Sweden and Finland. Various industries such as mining, iron, steel (largely outside of Stockholm), and the production of various grades of cloth found favour with immigrant Scots.¹²⁰ Daniel Young became the dominant force in the manufacture of Swedish cloth.

Young, who must have arrived in Stockholm by 1650, began his Swedish working life in the tobacco trade, continuing in this line until ca. 1660, but he eventually found major success in the cloth industry. Daniel Young was resident in Södermalm by 1659, although we have no specific address for him. In 1662 he and another Swedish burgess, Hans Olofsson, obtained a royal privilege enabling them to set up a linen mill in Södermalm. Having sourced weaving masters and apprentices abroad, Young (now ennobled Leijonancker) gained a

114 Lundin and Strindberg 1882, 196; SSTB 1633, 44 and 206.

115 At one point a linen-weaver was evicted from the property, and a few years later a tailor was similarly found to be living there (SSTB 1624-1625, 261, 262, and 480).

116 SSTB 1633, 44 and 206.

117 Stahre et al. 1982, 52 and 266.

118 SSTB 1629, 91.

119 Tidner 1920, 22.

120 Murdoch 2006, 170-206

second royal privilege, in 1668, to construct a woollen mill on Malmgårdsgatan (then *Vintertullsgatan*)¹²¹ in Södermalm, which (according to his own notes) came to serve a workforce of around 1200, housing fifty-five weaving looms, 600 spinners, and also an associated dye colouring works.¹²² The building and surrounding complex comprised the earliest example of concentrated labour-force in Sweden, if not northern Europe. For a time the surrounding square that housed the workforce was known colloquially as ‘Leijonanckerstorg’, a name that appears on older maps, though the man himself died in 1688.¹²³ Initially the two-storeyed stone construction comprised two wings, and the whole plot extended far beyond the current building at Nytorget 15, which later came to be known as Malongen (Figure 4).¹²⁴ It is now a listed property, considered not only the oldest surviving stone building in that area, but also Stockholm’s oldest surviving industrial site. In addition to this worksite, Leijonancker was also active elsewhere and undertook in 1677 to erect a woollen mill in Nacka (then a discrete entity in its own right).¹²⁵

Given the sheer number of incoming Scots in Stockholm, it is highly likely that other entrepreneurs also established industrial sites there, presumably on a smaller scale than Leijonancker. Further research awaits to discover the details.



Figure 4: The Leijonancker building, Södermalm. Photograph: Grosjean / Murdoch

121 Jansson 1960, 52.

122 Murdoch 2006, 174-177.

123 Stadsholmen 2014.

124 Ibid. ‘Malongen’ derives from a contraction of a subsequent owner’s name, Johan Madelung

125 Jansson 1960, 52.

Concluding remarks

Producing this limited survey of early-modern Scottish property ownership in Stockholm has been fraught with challenges. In addition to the usual scattered, sparse, poorly referenced source material, the difficulties with constantly changing street and alley names—not to mention the myriad (and erroneous!) spellings of personal names (and mixing up of individuals of the same name)—complicated the modern identification of buildings, or their former locations. In Gamla Stan most plots initially extended the width of the space between two streets, and thus each plot had two street names, muddling precise identification attempts. Many more buildings survive there—thanks to the persistent efforts of Vera Siöcrona—than might otherwise have been the case! The same is sadly not true of Norrmalm, which suffered a radical ‘modernisation’ effort in the late 1960s-early 1970s, entailing the complete razing of historic blocks. Of the remaining ca. sixty edifices practically no identifiable seventeenth-century traces survive.¹²⁶ Similar ‘progressive vandalism’ occurred in other parts of modern Stockholm.

Perhaps the most surprising outcome of the research for this study is the sheer amount of published works on the Swedish capital and its many subsections (every Stockholm bookshop has shelves of dedicated ‘Stockholmiana’). The legal requirement for every burgess to reside in the town and to pay taxes implies that the historical records must once have existed. Regardless, the numbers involved would render such research an exercise in its own right. Thus, this study is neither comprehensive nor complete. We have identified an array of buildings purchased, inhabited in, or even built by Scots, but the Stockholm case reveals something other. The Stockholm-Scots formed a wide-ranging ‘community’ of sorts, dispersed across various quarters of Stockholm, with some members holding properties in several areas at the same time. The main visual contribution to the built heritage is evoked by lintel inscriptions with coats of arms and names, or initials, of previous owners. We have also shown small clusters of contemporaneous Scots living close to each other, whether it be in Skottgränden or on Blasieholmen. Limited examples of seventeenth century Scottish-commissioned edifices survive. The Douglas ‘palace’ and Robert Rhind’s house as residences, along with the ‘Malongen’ industrial complex, are exceptions. They display innovative designs, using architects brought in from continental Europe, with details added by their Scottish proprietors.

This survey of Stockholm-Scots residences has revealed that its members socialised (Irenicist cleric John Durie’s several stays at James Maclean’s house in Gamla Stan, 1636-1638) and worked together (reflected in the 1622 incident

126 Råberg 1985, 15.

at Admiral Clerck's Norrmalm house), and inter-married (Hugo Hamilton's home on Strandvägen housed his wife Margaret Forratt and her children from her first marriage to General Sir James Spens), in addition to simply acquiring property from one another. No consistent empirical evidence has emerged of specific marriage patterns, socialisation patterns, or so-called 'Scottish building policies' (whatever they may be) that can be applied across an entire century of Scottish activity in Stockholm. However, understanding the geographical location of where historic individuals lived allows us to visualise a bygone community, irrespective of the presence of physical buildings. Four high-ranking Scots acquired plots and constructed buildings on what was largely a derelict site at Blasieholmen—within direct gaze of Stockholm castle—across a twenty-five-year period. The 'Skeppsbron Scots', in contrast, represent a different 'grouping' of exclusively mercantile burgesses: George Gardner (1634), Robert Rhind (1630), Adam Mesterton and Thomas Tottie (1698) and David Lyall (1700) were not all contemporaries, but reflected continuous Scottish interest in one small area spanning seventy-five years. A 'Scottish quarter' certainly emerged in the neighbouring lanes of Brunnsgården, Stora Hoparegården, Drakensgården, Skottgården—where Robert Rhind, James Maclean, Donat Feiff, James Forbes, George Gardner were all contemporaries. We have but scraped the surface of the potential links and histories to be retold, but that is a huge project for another scholar.

Appendix A:

Transcript of Maria Neave's letter of donation regarding her properties:¹²⁷

I, Maria Neave, hereby through the authority of my open letter make it known that the stone house I had built on Västerlånggatan is for my dear son, Hans Kyle and his wife, my dear late daughter, Mrs Vendela Skytte, and both of their descendants' use and profit. Therefore it is my final desire that my dear granddaughter, Mrs Maria Kyle receives the same stone house built by me as her inheritance, and I assign my dear son and daughter Mrs Anna Skytte my half part in that stone house, located beside the South Gate here in town, which has come to them through their late father, to do with as they see best. This truth I confirm here by my own hand and signature.

Dated Stockholm 16 May 1647.

127 Translation by A. Grosjean, original at Swedish Riksarkiv, Deposito Skytteana, Johan Skyttes handlingar. E 5412. Maria Jakobsdotter Näf.

Bibliography

Archive Sources

Swedish Riksarkiv, Deposito Skytteana, Johan Skyttes handlingar. E 5412. Maria Jakobsdotter Näf's "Gåvobrev", 16 May 1647.

Swedish Riksarkivet, Deposito Skytteana, E5412. Charles I's Letter of Naturalisation for Johan Skytte (junior) as a Scot, Greenwich, 9 May 1635 (Notarial Copy).

Printed Primary Sources

(listed alphabetically by title and then chronologically for ease of reference)

Borgarståndets Riksdagsprotokoll före frihetstiden [BR], Stadshistoriska Institutet, 1933, Uppsala: Stadshistoriska Institutet.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1584-1588, Almquist J A and Hildebrand H (eds), 1947, Stockholm: Samfundet St. Erik.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1589-1591, Almquist J A and Hildebrand H (eds), 1948, Stockholm: Samfundet St. Erik.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1592-1595, Almquist D (ed), 1939, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1600, Sleman F (ed), 1953, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1616-1617, Staf N (ed), 1968, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1620-1621, Olson S and Särnqvist N (eds), 1976, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1622-1623, Olson S and Särnqvist N (eds), 1978, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1624-1625, Olson S and Särnqvist N (eds), 1979, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1627, Gejrot J (ed), 1994, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1628, Gejrot J (ed), 1998, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1629, Elthammar B (ed), 2000, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1631-1632, Elthammar B (ed), 2004, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Stockholmsstads tänke böcker [SSTB] 1633, Elthammar B (ed), 2006, Stockholm: Stockholmsstadsarkiv.

Secondary Sources

Andrén, A 1989, 'State and Towns in the Middle Ages: the Scandinavian Experience', *Theory and Society* 18:5, 585-609.

Bedoire, F 2001, *Guldålder Slott och Politik i 1600-talets Sverige*, Stockholm: Bonniers.

Bedoire, F 2023, *Stormaktstidens Norrmalm folk hus och gator*, Stockholm: Bokförlaget Langenskiöld.

- Bergman, B 1937, *Stockholm genom tiderna*, Stockholm: Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule.
- Brännman, E 1950, *Frälseköpen under Gustav II Adolfs Regering*, Lund: Gleerup.
- de Brun, F 1922, 'Vinstugor och värdshus i Stockholm i början av 1600-talet', in G Upmark (ed), *Samfundet St Eriks Årsbok 1922*, Stockholm: Wahlström and Widstrand, 29-48.
- Dahlbäck, G 1995, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget.
- Dahlbäck, G, E Eggeby, K Nyberg, and R Sandberg 2002, *Staden på vattnet del 1: 1252-1850*, Borås: Stockholmia Förlag.
- Forsberg, L 2001, *Stormaktstidens Stockholm tar gestalt. Gaturegleringen i Stockholm 1625-1650*, Stockholm: Stockholmia Förlag.
- Franzén, B, and J Söderberg 2018, 'Hus gårdar och gatubodar Fastighetspriser i Stockholm och Arboga 1300-1600', *Historisk Tidskrift* 138:2, 229-254.
- Grosjean, A 2003, *An Unofficial Alliance Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654*, Leiden: Brill.
- Grosjean, A, and S Murdoch 2014, 'Scottish Involvement in the Swedish Riksdag of the Seventeenth Century: the Period from Parliamentarianism to Absolutism, ca.1632-1700', *Parliaments, Estates & Representation* 34/1, 34:1, 1-21.
- Grosjean, A 2016, 'The Scandinavian Service of British Isles Musicians, ca. 1520-1650', *Northern Studies* 48, 30-49.
- Hansson, A 1972, 'Ett stockholmskt borgarhus från slutet av vasatiden', in C Axel-Nilsson (ed), *Fataburen*, Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag, 223-234.
- Heckscher, E F 1935, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa*, Stockholm: Bonnier.
- Hjelt, O 1893, *Svenska och finska medicinverkets historia 1663-1812*, 3, Helsingfors: Central Tryckeri.
- Jansson, E A 1960, *Nacka Kring Nacka Ström 1557-1887*, Stockholm: Nacka Kulturnämnd.
- Johnson, A 1997, *Inte Bara Valloner. Invandrare i svenskt näringsliv under 1000 år*, Stockholm: Timbro.
- Joneborg, U 1997, *Diana 2 Clasons hus vid Brunnsgränd i Gamla Stan*, Stockholm: Fastighets AB Fundament.
- Josephson, R 1916, *Borgarhus i Gamla Stockholm*, Uppsala: Nordiska Bokhandeln.
- Källström, M 1996, *Köpmangatan*, Stockholms Stadsmuseum Arkeologisk Rapport, Stockholm: Stockholm Stadsmuseet
- Källström, M, and J Wändesjö 2008, *Europa 1: Stockholms stad, Gamla stan, RAÄ 103, arkeologisk undersökning 1999*, Stockholm: Kulturmiljöenheten, Stockholms stadsmuseum
- Kauppinen, E 2016, *Stortorget och Köpmangatan Äldre torgnivåer RAÄ 103*, Stockholm: Stockholm Stadsmuseet.
- Lager Kromnow, B 1992, *Att vara stockholmare på 1560-talet*, Stockholm: Kommitén för Stockholmsforskning.
- Lager, B 1962, *Stockholms Befolkning på Johan III:s Tid*, Stockholm: Stadshistoriska Institutet.
- Levertin, A, C F V Schimmelpfennig, and K Ahlberg, *Sveriges Apotekarhistoria från Konung Gustaf I:s Till Närvarande Tid*, vol.1, Stockholm: Ernst Westerberg.
- Lundin, C, and A Strindberg 1882, *Gamla Stockholm. Anteckningar ur tryckta och otryckta källor*, Stockholm: Jos. Seligman och C:s Förlag.
- Murdoch, S 2006, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746*, Leiden: Brill.

- Murdoch, S 2010, 'Community, Commodity and Commerce: The Stockholm Scots in the Seventeenth Century' in D Worthington (ed), *British and Irish Exiles in Europe, 1603-1688*, Leiden: Brill.
- Murdoch, S 2016, ' "Medic!" An insight into Scottish field surgeons, physicians, and medical provision during the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648', *Northern Studies* 48, 50-65.
- Murdoch, S, and K Zickermann 2019, ' "Bereft of all Human Help?": Scottish Widows during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)', *Northern Studies* 50, 114-134.
- Murdoch, S 2024, 'Crown Policy, Church Decrees and Civic Necessity: Non-Lutheran Migration to Scandinavia in the Early Modern Period' in P Edwards (ed), *Monarchy, the Court, and the Political Elite in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden: Brill, 272-292.
- Murdoch S, and A Grosjean 2014, *Alexander Leslie and the Scottish Generals of the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648*, London: Pickering Chatto.
- Neville, K 2009, *Nicodemus Tessin the elder, architecture in Sweden in the Age of Greatness*, Turnhout: Brepols.
- Nordberg, T O 1960, 'Kvarteren Pygmalion och Europa, den Kungl. Trädgården och trakten däromkring', in O Nordberg (ed), *Årsberättelser / Museienämnden 1958-1959*, Stockholm: Stockholms Stadsmuseum,, 20-53.
- Nordberg, T O 1975, *Gamla Stan Stockholm kulturhistorisk beskrivning hus för hus kvarteren Achilles-Glaucus*, Stockholm: Stockholms Kommunalförvaltning.
- Palm, S, and O Undin 2012, 'A Note on the Scots in 17th century Sigtuna', *Northern Studies* 43, 110-127.
- Råberg, M 1985, *Husen på malmarna en bok om Stockholm*, Stockholm: Bokförlaget Prisma.
- Råberg, M 1987, *Visioner och Verklighet en studie kring Stokcholms 1600-talsstadspan, Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget.*
- Runmark, B 1989, *Det okända palatset på Blasieholmen, I, historia ägare hyresmän*, Stockholm: A B Boker Blom.
- Sacklén, F 1833, *Sveriges Apotekare Historia ifrån Konung Gustaf den I:s till närvarande tid, ett bihang till Sveriges Läkares Historia*, Nyköping: P E Winge.
- Seppänen, L, and A Ihr 2021, 'Buildings, Networks, and Institutionalization in the Medieval Baltics', in S Hüglin et al. (eds), *Petrification Processes in Matter and Society*, Switzerland: Springer Cham.
- Simpson, W D 1961, *The Castle of Bergen and the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.
- Söderlund, K 2002, 'Bostadshus i Stockholm', *Sankt Eriks årsbok 2002*, Stockholm: Samfundet St. Erik, 11-26.
- Stahre, N S, et al. 1982, *Stockholms Gatunamn*, Stockholm: Stockholms Kommun.
- Stahre, N S, et al. 2005, *Stockholms gatunamn*, Stockholm: Stockholmia.
- Stell, G 2008, 'Scotland and Europe 1400-1700: Some Architectural Links', *Review of Scottish Culture* 20, 1-14.
- Stockholms Stadsmuseum 1971, *Kvarteret Spektern*, Stockholm: Stockholms Stadsmuseum.
- Stockholms Stadsmuseum 1980, *Medusa 4 en byggnadsinventering från Stockholms Stadsmuseum*, Stockholm: Stockholms Stadsmuseum.
- Stockholms Stadsmuseum 2016, *Stortorget och Köpmangatan Äldre torgnivåer RAÄ 103*, Stockholm: Stockholms Stadsmuseum.

- Tidner, A 1917, *Palats och Kåkar Anteckningar om gamla Stockholm i våra dagar*, Stockholm: Magn. Bergvalls Förlag.
- Tidner, A 1920, *Palats och kåkar: anteckningar om gamla Stockholm i våra dagar*, andra samlingen, Stockholm: A B Magn. Bergvalls Förlag.
- Wändesjö, J 2008, *Europa 1: Stockholms stad, Gamla stan, RAÄ 103, arkeologisk undersökning 2002*, Stockholm: Kulturmiljöenheter, Stockholms stadsmuseum
- Westin, G 1934-1936, *John Durie in Sweden 1636-1638 Documents and Letters*, Uppsala: A B Lundequistska Bokhandeln.
- Wrangel, F U 1912, *Stockholmiana I-V Anteckningar*, Stockholm: P A Norstedt and Söner Förlag.
- Wrangel, F U 1914, *Blasieholmen och dess inbyggare*, 2nd ed., Stockholm: P A Norstedt and Söner Förlag.
- Žirgulis, R 2005, 'The Scottish Community in Kedainiai ca.1630-ca. 1750', in A Grosjean and S Murdoch (eds), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Leiden: Brill, 225-247.

Online Sources

- The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database (SSNE)*, A Grosjean and S Murdoch (eds), 2024 [Database]. University of St Andrews Institute of Scottish Historical Research. Available at: <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/>.
- Brolin, J 1771, *1771 års karta över Gamla Stan* [online]. Available at: <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/9735>. Accessed 31 March 2024.
- Larssons Ateljé 1907, *Köpmangatan 15, portal, 17 april 1907* [online]. Accessed online at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Köpmangatan_15,_portal,_17_april_1907.jpg. Accessed 31 March 2024.
- norrholm.myor.se/norrholms-historia/norrholm-blir-till-1600.html, accessed 31 March 2024.
- Rasck, N B, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/7560>, Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (art av Lars-Olof Skoglund), accessed 1 March 2024.
- Stadsholmen 2014, Bondeson Större 19, Malongen, Nytorget 15, Södermalm. Accessed online at www.stadsholmen.se/app/uploads/2018/09/BondesonStorre19-FAKTABLAD.pdf. Accessed 31 March 2024.
- Stadsholmen 2015, Medusa 4, Triewaldsgränd 1, Järntorget 80, Gamla Stan. Accessed online at www.stadsholmen.se/app/uploads/2018/09/Medusa4-FAKTABLAD.pdf. Accessed 31 March 2024.
- Swidde, W 1693, *Stockholm från öster* [online]. Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Suecia_1-013_-_Stockholm_från_öster-right_side_detail.jpg. Accessed 31 March 2024.
- van den Aveelen, J 1698, *Kungliga stallet* [online]. Available at: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Suecia_1-034_-_Kungliga_stallet.jpg. Accessed 31 March 2024.
- www.hemnet.se/salda/lagenhet-1rum-gamla-stan-stockholms-kommun-baggensgatan-27-1322532. Accessed 31 March 2024.