



The Dutch years of the Swedish navy 1631–1654

Hielke van Nieuwenhuize

On 15 April 1644, a Dutch ship arrived in the harbour of Gothenburg. On board were nine captains, fifteen lieutenants, twelve gunners and ten gunner's mates. They had been recruited for the Swedish admiralty by its agent in Amsterdam, Peter Trotzig, with the assistance of a Dutch naval captain, Jakob de Boer, who himself had joined Swedish service in 1641.¹ One of the fresh recruits was lieutenant Jan Jansen Bockhorn, who, according to the Swedish admiralty, had been going to sea since his youth. He went on to have a successful and very varied career in Sweden. He served on the flagship of admiral Fleming in 1644 and on one of the warships that brought the Swedish envoy Magnus de la Gardie to France in 1646. As Bockhorn was such an experienced navigator, he also took part in various trading journeys. He sailed to the colony of New Sweden three times, first as pilot and on his last journey as shipmaster. Furthermore, he

Hielke van Nieuwenhuize (1980) is Research Assistant at the Chair of Modern History at the University of Greifswald. His field of interest are the maritime connections between the Dutch Republic, Denmark and Sweden in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He is the author of *Niederländische Seefahrer in schwedischen Diensten. Seeschifffahrt und Technologietransfer im 17. Jahrhundert* (Böhlau, 2022). He is currently working on Dutch Baltic shipping and Scandinavian privateering, 1710-1734.

was repeatedly loaned out to Swedish shipowners to command private merchantmen during the 1650s and 1660s. For example, shortly after his promotion to captain in 1650, Bockhorn undertook three journeys in a row to Lisbon as shipmaster of a trading vessel from Gothenburg. Despite all these activities outside of the navy, he stayed in the service of the admiralty until he died in 1672.²

The example of Jan Jansen Bockhorn shows that the careers of Dutch officers, at least in the Swedish navy, were not straightforward. The research of Ingvar Sjöblom and AnnaSara Hammar suggests that in the 17th century, the careers of Swedish naval officers increasingly followed the same pattern. Without any previous seafaring experience, they mostly started as a warrant or junior officer (midshipman, junior lieutenant, or lieutenant) and while staying permanently in the admiralty's service, they steadily rose through the ranks to eventually reach the rank of flag officer.³ Bockhorn almost spent 30 years in Swedish service, but he only was promoted once. During this time, he constantly alternated between employers. He not only commanded warships, but also various private merchantmen and ships of the New Sweden Company. Bockhorn's career makes one wonder what role the Dutch naval officers exactly played in the Swedish state. It seems that they, in contrast to Swedish officers, were used as navigation specialists, who could be deployed not only by the navy but also by the trading companies and even on private trading vessels. It is probably not a coincidence, that Sweden mainly recruited Dutch officers in the 1630s and 1640s. In these years, Swedish trading companies, private shipowners as well as the Swedish navy itself, were slowly beginning to send their ships to maritime regions outside the Baltic.⁴ It was, especially for the navy, difficult to find enough skilled personnel to navigate these vessels in relatively unknown waters. Not only did Swedish captains, lieutenants and pilots often lack sufficient general navigational knowledge (as especially the officers did not have a maritime background and learned on the job), but they were also only familiar with the coasts, shoals and waters of the Baltic Sea.⁵ When, during Christina's reign (1632-1654), the admiralty started to organise expeditions to Western and Southern Europe regularly, the skills of her Dutch captains and lieutenants must have been in high demand.

This article aims to prove that the utilisation of the navigational skills, experiences and knowledge of Dutch officers for the improvement of Sweden's navy and merchant shipping was more extensive than in any other state in Northern Europe. It focuses on the following research questions: how many Dutch officers were recruited by the Swedish admiralty during the 1630s and 1640s? What kind of careers did they have and what was their maritime background? Were they continuously in the service of the navy and did they rise steadily through the ranks – like their Swedish colleagues – or did they regularly change their employers and therefore never obtained the rank of flag officer? Finally, how did the Swedish state use its Dutch naval officers to promote Swedish shipping outside the Baltic Sea and to what extent were these Dutchmen responsible for the education of Swedish junior officers around 1650?

In the historiography of the Swedish navy, the admiralty's Dutch officers have often been mentioned but never been researched. However, there has always been an awareness that they were important for the development of the navy in the seventeenth century. The title of this article refers to Axel Zettersten, who in his famous *Svenska flottans historia* (1903) framed the years 1635-1656 as the "holländska åren". He not only emphasised the material and personal Dutch influence on the Swedish navy, he also stated that as opposed to English and German officers, many Dutch employees of the admiralty migrated permanently and developed into "good Swedes". Zettersten furthermore pointed to the usage of the Dutch language in the navy.⁶ In another general history of the Swedish navy, published in 1942, *kommendörkapten* Edvard Spens just mentioned that especially Dutch officers had left their mark on tactics, shipbuilding and organisation of the navy.⁷ However, both Zettersten and Spens described the Dutch officers' impact in very general terms without going into any details. In the most recent standard work on the Swedish navy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Jan Glete's *Swedish Naval Administration 1521-1721*, the information offered on the subject is even shorter. Without addressing Dutch influence on the navy, Glete just stated that during the Battle of the Sound (1658), eight of 41 captains and two flag officers were of Dutch origin.⁸ In socio-historical studies of the Swedish navy, its Dutch personnel is not discussed either, as these books mainly

focus on the sixteenth, the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. An important exception is Sjöblom's influential article on the naval officer corps in the seventeenth century. This contribution, however, does not discuss Dutch officers, as it focuses on the emergence of naval officers as bureaucratic officials.⁹ According to the same author's impressive work on Swedish naval officers in the sixteenth century, during the years 1571-1592, there was maybe one Dutch officer in the navy.¹⁰ James Cavallie only counted five Dutchmen in his study of Swedish flag officers in the years 1650-1700.¹¹ As is to be expected, in Hammar's recent contributions on the careers and education of Swedish officers in the eighteenth century, Dutch officers do not turn up at all, although it is mentioned that many Swedish officers had Dutch forefathers.¹²

As detailed research on the Dutch officers of the Swedish navy has never been undertaken before, this article attempts to fill this gap. It should be perceived as an addition to the findings of Sjöblom. It is undeniable, that already in the first half of the seventeenth century, a more differentiated rank system, in which officers were permanently in the service of the navy, learned on the job and rose steadily through the ranks, had come into existence. However, at least until the end of the reign of Christina, there was also another type of officer present, who did not adhere to this tendency. Furthermore, as the focus of this article lies on the 1630s and 1640s, a period which has not been thoroughly analysed in socio-historical studies of the Swedish navy, it could provide new information on the recruitment and careers of naval officers. Finally, this contribution offers some new clues on a relevant aspect of the beginnings of Swedish maritime long-distance trade around 1640. Not only Swedish neutrality during the wars of Louis XIV, mercantilist policies and the founding of trading companies were important aspects of maritime expansion but to a lesser extent also the availability in Sweden of foreign navigation specialists, who were able to steer Swedish ships to unfamiliar destinations.¹³

In this article, Dutch does not automatically mean "of Dutch origin". Due to the international nature of the Dutch labour market, some officers may not have been born in the Netherlands. This does not constitute a problem, as these Dutch and foreign officers all had sailed on Dutch ships and therefore shared the same experiences, skills and knowledge. It

can however safely be assumed, that most officers were born in the Dutch Republic. The officers of Dutch naval and trading vessels were mostly Dutchmen, only rarely were foreigners promoted to the highest ranks.¹⁴ This assumption is confirmed by the research of Asger Nørlund Christensen on Danish recruitment of naval crews in the Netherlands during the Scanian War (1675-1679). Although 41% of the recruited sailors were Scandinavian, most officers and pilots were actually Dutch.¹⁵ The starting and endpoint of the “Dutch years”, 1631 and 1654 respectively, has been chosen mostly out of practical reasons. To be able to research the recruitment and careers of naval officers in Sweden around 1650, a historian is dependent on the qualitative sources of the admiralty, especially on its correspondence. They contain the instructions for recruitment agents and naval commanders as well as letters, leave passes and discharge letters, which are fundamental for the identification of an officer’s place of origin. Because the admiralty’s incoming and outgoing letters have been preserved since the early 1630s, the year 1631 was a logical starting point for my research. The year 1654 coincides with the beginning of Charles X Gustav’s reign. Not only did his wars against Poland, Denmark and the Dutch Republic prevent any new naval and commercial undertakings in the Atlantic, his reign also resulted in the definitive end of recruitments in the Netherlands.

The above-formulated research questions will be answered by analysing the recruitment and careers of Dutch naval officers in Sweden. In the first two paragraphs, the most relevant results of the research on Dutch officers in the Russian and Danish navies will be summarised, to make a comparison of the utilisation of Dutch seafaring knowhow within the three Baltic navies possible. Were the varied careers of Dutch officers in Sweden unique or did they have similar careers in Denmark and Russia? The third paragraph then focuses on the Swedish recruiting agents, the recruitment processes and the origins of the Dutch officers. Finally, the maritime background of the recruited officers as well as their careers within the Swedish navy, the trading companies and the private shipping sector will be discussed. What maritime experiences did these officers have and how were their skills and experiences used to the advantage of the Swedish navy and merchant marine?

Dutch officers in the Russian Navy

Russian recruitment of Dutch officers started with the “Great Embassy” of Peter I in the years 1697-1698. One of the purposes of this undertaking was to find suitable officers, shipbuilders and other technicians for the creation of his Black Sea Navy. In Amsterdam, the Russians with the help of the burgomasters of Amsterdam as well as the Amsterdam admiral Schey convinced Cornelis Cruys, who was responsible for the equipment of the admiralty of Amsterdam’s ships, to join the Russian navy as rear-admiral. Cruys was a good choice to aid the creation of the Baltic Sea Navy, as he was a specialist in the field of shipbuilding, the provisioning and the armament of fleets.¹⁶ After he had come to an agreement with his new employers, Cruys proceeded to recruit 231 officers: among others one rear-admiral, five captains, 23 commanders, 36 lieutenants and 32 pilots.¹⁷ Most of the officers were Dutch: fifteen of 23 commanders, seventeen of 32 lieutenants and nineteen of 38 pilots. However, the composition of sailors was far more multinational: the most important national groups were the Swedes (35,1%), the Norwegians and the Danes (22,6%), the Dutch (19,1%) and the Germans (15,9%).¹⁸

Despite the Great Embassy, the Black Sea Fleet suffered under a lack of officers over the next few years, which was only resolved by another round of substantial recruitments in Amsterdam. In 1703, Cornelis Cruys returned to the Dutch Republic to enlist another 96 officers, among them seventeen captains, 24 first and 25 second lieutenants as well as 47 pilots. Of the officers, whose nationality is known, most were Dutch (50,9%). The second group, which Krotov has identified as “Danish” (34,3%), consisted probably of all subjects of the Danish king, including Norwegians. Only a few officers came from Germany (7,4%), England (4%) and France (3,4%).¹⁹ The last extensive enlistment of officers in the Dutch Republic took place in the years 1715-1716. Czar Peter sent captain-commander Wybrandt Scheltinga, who himself had joined the Russian navy in 1703, to the Netherlands to obtain a certain amount of skilled officers for the Baltic Navy. Scheltinga concluded contracts with 344 officers. However, due to various problems, only 180 of these recruits actually entered Russian service.²⁰ The “Dutch years” of the Russian navy



lasted until 1715; around which time an increasing number of Scottish and English officers were enlisted. In these years, the number of Russian officers started to grow considerably as well. Nevertheless, until the End of the Great Northern War, Dutch remained the working language among the officers of the navy.

The careers of Dutch officers in Russia could be long lasting. Promotions to the rank of flag officer were not uncommon. Cornelis Cruys, who started his Russian career as rear admiral, got promoted to vice admiral in 1698 and was finally appointed admiral in 1721. The Dutchman Pieter Sivers, an officer of the Russian navy since 1704, reached the rank of admiral as well, in 1727. In the years 1728-32, he even became president of the admiralty board. The aforementioned Wybrandt Scheltinga was promoted to rear admiral in 1717, only to die a year later. According to

The battle of Fehmarn 1644 between Swedish and Danish ships, by Willem van der Velde the Elder (circa 1650), commissioned by Carl Gustaf Wrangel. Skoklosters Slott, inventory number 1675. In the battle of Fehmarn at least half of Swedish ships were commanded by Dutch officers.

P A Krotov, many Dutchmen remained in Russian service permanently after their recruitment.²¹ This means that they must have been adequately rewarded and given the possibility to rise in the hierarchy through promotion. Regarding alternative occupations, it is safe to assume that no Dutch officer changed his employer during his naval career in Russia. This coincides with developments in the Dutch Republic. At the end of the 17th

century, a clear divide between navy and merchant marine had become visible and the possibility to alternate between commands on trading vessels and warships was not a given anymore.²²

Due to the dominance of Dutch officers in the Russian navy from 1698 until 1715, they must have played a considerable role in the education of their Russian crews, especially during the Great Northern War. However, young Russians with the ambition to become officers were mostly trained in Western Europe. To learn navigation and mathematics, they spent their winters in navigation schools in the Netherlands and England. During the summer months, they then sailed on Dutch, English and Danish warships and merchantmen as apprentices, while being instructed by the navigation officer. In total, 49 young noblemen (1708-1714) and 130 commoners (1706-1711) received their education abroad. These visits to the Dutch Republic and England ended in 1715 due to the opening of the Russian Maritime Academy and the expansion of the Russian navy, which now offered officers in training enough possibilities to practice navigation.²³ As Dutch influence in the navy started to dwindle around the same time, Dutch officers were probably not that important as educators or trainers of new generations of Russian officers as English and Scottish officers have been.

Dutch officers in the Danish navy, 1660-1684

Although according to Erik Reske-Nielsen the years 1660-1684 were the zenith of Danish recruitments of Dutch officers, Denmark had been enlisting officers in the Dutch Republic in the two preceding wars as well.²⁴ In the last year of the Torstenson War (1643-1645), the Danish factor in Amsterdam, Gabriel Marselis, was given the order to recruit ten captains and 6 700 sailors, probably to remediate the losses that the Danes had suffered in the battle of Fehmarn the year before. Ahead of the next Danish-Swedish war (1657-1660), Gabriel's son, Selius Marselis, had to fulfil similar instructions. Like his father before him, he had to take sailors as well as officers in Danish service. It is, however, not clear, how many men his recruitment assignment did concern. Christensen lists only three

individuals that were successfully convinced by Selius to join the Danish navy. The presence of Dutch officers in Denmark grew strongly between 1663 and 1669, however. In this period, 31 Dutchmen served, mostly as captain or lieutenant, in the navy. Responsible for this sudden increase in peacetime was the Norwegian admiral Cort Sivertsen Adelaer who had spent a few years in the Netherlands himself.²⁵

Already two years before the Scanian War began, the Danish admiralty compiled a naval manning plan in which the necessary extra personnel needed to bring the navy up to wartime strength was determined. According to the admiralty's calculations, the navy required in total 3 000 sailors, sixteen captains, 25 lieutenants and 40 navigators who had to be enlisted in foreign countries. The whole operation, which took place in Amsterdam in the spring of 1676, was led by the Danish ambassador in the Hague, Baron Henning Meyercrone. He was, however, assisted by a certain commissioner Müller and Dutch captain Adriaan Akersloot. The latter had entered Danish service the year before. The appointment of the Dutch admiral Cornelis Tromp as the successor of Adelaer and superior commander of the Danish naval forces further helped to bring the Danish recruitments to a successful end. Due to Tromp's popularity among sailors and officers, many of them were willing to follow him and take up service in the Danish navy.²⁶

As already mentioned above, most officers and navigators came from the Netherlands. This predominance existed among all officer's ranks. Christensen found that 84% of the recruited senior officers and 65% of navigation officers were Dutch.²⁷ Only a few appointed officers had been born in Scandinavia: two pilots, three captain lieutenants, four lieutenants and two masters.²⁸ Based on the collection of officers' biographies, compiled by T A Topsøe-Jensen and Emil Marquard, it is possible to shed some light on Dutch officers' naval careers in Denmark, although the collection is not complete. Reske-Nielsen found after analysing the same biographies a total of 44 Dutchmen, who entered Danish service in the 1660s and 1670s.²⁹ However, if my own research is correct, only 22 officers were identified by Topsøe-Jensen and Marquard as being born in or from "Holland" or a specific Dutch town. Four other officers, whose nationality is not stated, but who were recruited in the Netherlands

and did have distinct Dutch names, I also included in my analysis.³⁰ Of these 26 officers, nineteen were recruited during the Scanian War and another five in 1666. Although most of them were clearly hired with the purpose of enlarging the officer corps during the war, nine officers only left service or died in the first five years after the war's ending.³¹ Another eight stayed even longer: the longest-serving Dutchmen, Peter and Peter Petersen Beesemaker, were discharged in 1704.³² During their time in Denmark, seventeen of the 26 Dutch officers were promoted at least once. Nine reached the rank of captain, one captain was eventually appointed as rear admiral (*schoutbynacht*) and one pilot, as well as a captain, became *ekvipagemester* (officer responsible for the equipment and fitting out of naval vessels).³³ It, therefore, seems that successful careers were very much a real possibility for Dutch officers in Danish service.

According to Gustav Sætra, the presence of Dutch naval officers in Copenhagen enabled Danish merchants and ship owners to pick these Dutchmen as masters and navigators of their trading vessels.³⁴ This suggests that they were not only highly relevant to the navy but to trading companies and private shipowners as well. Taking a closer look at the biographies collected by Topsøe-Jensen and Marquard, a different picture emerges. During the years 1660-1684 at least eighteen naval officers took part in trading expeditions to the Danish East and West Indies, but only six had been born or trained in the Dutch Republic. The Danish state was clearly not dependent on officers with Dutch experiences and skills to command its merchantmen. According to their biographies, most of the Norwegian and Danish officers without any Dutch connections only sailed to the Indies once, so they could not have very much knowledge of the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean.³⁵ However, their warrant officers and crews probably had. Christensen's research of 17th-century Dutch notary files, clearly shows that most Scandinavian sailors in the Dutch Republic until 1660, were Norwegian or Danish seamen. According to his three samples from the years 1639, 1646-1649 and 1652, between 87 and 96 percent of Amsterdam's Scandinavian seamen were subjects of the king of Denmark.³⁶ Due to the availability in Denmark of crews and pilots with vast experiences in the fields of navigation and the handling of ocean-going vessels, it was arguably not

necessary to pick Dutch officers or officers with a Dutch skill set as commanders of Danish voyages overseas.

It can not be doubted that the Danish navy and merchant marine was heavily influenced by Dutch maritime practices and navigational knowledge. The actual role of Dutch naval officers in this process must have been relatively small, as Dutch maritime experiences were mostly brought to Denmark by the many Norwegian and Danish seamen of the Dutch navy as well as the Dutch East and West India Company. In this light, the influence of the recruited Dutch officers must mainly have been restricted to the navy, where they not only had successful careers but also were able to improve the quality and the effectiveness of their crews. In the Scanian War, the Danish navy was actually smaller than its Swedish counterpart, but thanks to their skilled and experienced officers, more effective in battle. In the battle of Køge Bay, the Danes were victorious over Swedish junior officers, who, as previous engagements had shown, "were too inexperienced to maintain formation and understand orders, and senior officers [who] had difficulty implementing any kind of tactics that took advantage of the firepower of the many new and great ships".³⁷ Christensen sees the quality of the Dutch officers therefore as one of the main reasons for the Danish victory: "their ships were able to keep a tight line formation and thereby concentrate their fire at the beginning of the engagement".³⁸

The recruitment of Dutch officers for the Swedish Navy, 1631-1645

The first Dutch officers entered Swedish service already in the first decades of the seventeenth century. However, in the 1630s and 1640s, recruitments of Dutch captains and lieutenants became almost a regular occurrence, probably from 1631 on. In that year, captain Jan Jakobsen received a passport from the admiralty to travel to the Netherlands for recruitment purposes.³⁹ However, as his instructions have not survived, it is not known what kind or how many officers he had to hire. The oldest instructions that are still kept in the files of the admiralty are those of Scottish *holm-kapten* (yard captain) Richard Clerck, who was ordered to recruit six or seven captains and five or six lieutenants in the Republic in 1633.⁴⁰

A year later, captain Jonas van Padborch travelled to his home country to provide the Swedish admiralty with four captains and eight lieutenants. According to his instructions, these officers should be good and capable persons, who already had taken part in sea battles and could therefore safely be entrusted with the care for the navy's warships and men.⁴¹ After his arrival in the Netherlands, Padborch encountered various difficulties. Due to the prohibition of foreign recruitments of naval personnel, he had to spend considerable time in the Hague to obtain permission to enlist Dutch officers. As not only the Dutch admiralties but also the East and West India Companies as well as Danish agents were looking to recruit naval officers, prices were high. To make things worse, some of Padborch's recruited officers very quickly left Swedish service, after some deserted sailors, who had served on the Swedish ship *Meerweib* under the command of Dutch captain Hendrik Duivel in Prussia, had spread rumours in Amsterdam that the Swedish admiralty was unable to pay its sailors their overdue wages. However, Padborch's attempts were successful in the end. As he recruited the officers in the towns of Amsterdam and Enkhuizen in the province of Holland, it is no surprise that most of the few officers, whose place of origin is known, came from this region.⁴²

The next recruitments in 1638 were carried out by Cornelis van Vliet, like Padborch a Dutch captain in Swedish service. His orders were to enlist ten lieutenants with knowledge of seafaring, navigation and maritime warfare.⁴³ As usual, competition on the Dutch maritime market was fierce. Van Vliet had to compete with various other employers like the admiralty of Amsterdam, the Northern Company (a whaling company), the Directors of the convoy ships, which escorted Dutch trading vessels to Norway and the Baltic Sea, as well as France, which like Sweden tried to recruit Dutch officers for its navy. Again, after rumours spread about slow wage payments in Sweden, some already enlisted officers deserted and probably joined van Vliet's rivals. Despite his difficulties, Van Vliet managed to fulfil his task. Before he returned to Sweden he informed the admiralty that he had hired an unspecified number of lieutenants, who were good and experienced sailors.⁴⁴ The Swedish admiralty must have been content with van Vliet's achievements: a year later he was again active as a recruitment agent in Amsterdam. His original instructions have not been preserved.

However, his letters to the admiralty show that he eventually enlisted five captains and nine or ten lieutenants.⁴⁵ As this number probably did not suffice, only a few months later, in October 1639, Dutch captain Maarten Jansen was sent to Holland to recruit two additional lieutenants.⁴⁶

The last recruitments before the Torstenson War occurred in 1641. The admiralty had originally ordered her Dutch captain Herman Willemsen to provide them with six experienced and loyal lieutenants from Holland but is not clear if these instructions were ever put into effect, as no letters of Willemsen have survived.⁴⁷ However, in the same year the Swedish resident in the Hague, Peter Spierinck, did enlist various captains and lieutenants for the navy. It is not known how many officers he had to or in the end, was able to recruit. Fortunately, the muster rolls of 1642 list six captains and ten lieutenants, who must have been hired by Spierinck the year before. They are the only officers of which the place of origin is mentioned, and they are furthermore all grouped together. According to the muster roll of the year 1649, the officers who were part of this group and then still were enrolled in the Swedish navy, were all taken into service on the same day, namely the 12th of April 1641.⁴⁸ Of course, as a diplomat, Spierinck was not familiar with the Dutch maritime labour market himself. He was, therefore, assisted by Klaas Hendriksen Rigel, a captain from the harbour town of Flushing, the naval base of the admiralty of Zeeland. Rigel must have contacted a lot of his own acquaintances: five of the six aforementioned captains (including Rigel himself) and two of the ten lieutenants originated from Flushing.⁴⁹ As the low Swedish wages (at least for captains) must have hampered Rigel's attempt to hire able and experienced officers, Spierinck asked the Swedish admiralty for permission to promise the Dutch officers higher wages than those paid in Sweden. His request was denied because the admiralty feared that the resulting wage differences could cause jealousy among her officers.⁵⁰

The most extensive recruitments of Dutch naval officers took place during the Torstenson War. In January 1644, the admiralty instructed one of her Dutch captains from Flushing, Jakob de Boer, to enlist, with the help of her agent in Amsterdam, Peter Trotzig, ten captains and fifteen lieutenants for the Swedish navy. The admiralty ordered Trotzig to leave Amsterdam and to together with captain de Boer travel to the latter's

hometown to hire the best and competent officers of Flushing. It even recommended four specific captains from the province of Zeeland by name.⁵¹ The officers from Flushing, who already stood in the service of the Swedish admiralty, must have somehow influenced the decision-making of their employer. It is the most probable explanation why the admiralty sent her agents to Zeeland and tried to obtain four specific officers, who had not been in Swedish service before. Of course, not all officers originated from this region, as recruitments took place in Amsterdam as well. In the end, Trotzig and De Boer almost fulfilled their task and enlisted nine captains and fifteen lieutenants.⁵²

In the same year, a Dutch auxiliary fleet was hired by Sweden to assist the invasion of the Danish isles. Before this fleet returned to the Dutch Republic, her admiral and vice-admiral, Maarten Thijssen and Hendrik Gerritsen, as well as captain Peter Petersen Sloos, took up service in the Swedish navy. As many other officers in Swedish service, Thijssen originated from Flushing, where he had been responsible for the equipment of the admiralty of Zeeland's naval vessels. Ennobled as Anckarhielm, he was the most skilled of the two flag officers. Due to his extensive knowledge of seafaring, navigation and shipbuilding, he was highly valued by the admiralty. From 1645 on, he commanded the new Gothenburg squadron as vice-admiral.⁵³ However, his first task was the enlistment of ten captains and fifteen lieutenants during his leave in the Netherlands in the spring of 1645.⁵⁴ The admiralty clearly hoped that he, as a former and well-known Dutch admiral, would be able to convince the best naval officers, especially in Zeeland, to join the Swedish navy.⁵⁵ Anckarhielm – like Spierinck before him – tried to make his employers understand that Swedish wages were too low to acquire such captains.⁵⁶ Again, the admiralty forbade the payment of higher wages, as they would result in “confusion and displeasure” within her officer corps.⁵⁷ The mission of Anckarhielm could eventually be described as a success. He even hired two lieutenants more than the admiralty originally had asked for.⁵⁸ Besides these 27 officers, another four, three lieutenants and one captain were hired by the captains Jacques Duquesne and Cornelis van Catwijck. They had been sent to the Dutch Republic by Carl Gustav Wrangel to acquire seamen for his naval squadron in Wismar.⁵⁹

When the Torstenson War came to an end in 1645, the admiralty employed 32 captains and 43 lieutenants who had been hired in the Netherlands. Due to fifteen years of almost continuous recruitment, 46 percent of the captains and 41 percent of the lieutenants had a Dutch maritime background.⁶⁰ Most must have had a Dutch nationality, as there were not many foreigners serving as officers in the Netherlands but a few non-Dutchmen emigrated to Sweden as well. In total, Sweden had at least recruited 138 “Dutch” officers (lieutenants, captains and two vice-admirals) in the years between 1631 and 1645.⁶¹

The Dutch as the navigators and educators of the Swedish navy, 1646-1654

In February 1654, the admiralty received a letter from Maarten Thijssen Anckarhielm, vice-admiral and commander of the Gothenburg squadron, in which he proposed to appoint his countryman Gilles Jaspersen de Ridder from Flushing as a naval captain. Of course, Anckarhielm highlighted the past experiences of de Ridder that could be relevant to a captaincy in the Swedish navy. Interestingly, he did not mention any participation in sea battles or naval conflicts but focussed on de Ridder's commands of ships sailing to Brazil, the West Indies and even the South Sea. Recently, de Ridder even had been shipmaster of one of the largest trading vessels in Gothenburg, importing salt from Portugal.⁶² It seems remarkable to recommend a Dutch colleague for a position in the navy by naming his experiences on trading vessels. This is not an exception, however. Another recommendation letter that has survived, shows exactly the same pattern. This letter was written by Enoch Marinessen to recommend himself to Louis de Geer, who equipped the Dutch auxiliary fleet in 1644. In his letter, Marinessen stated that his services had been recommended by “general Jacob Speck”, probably a relative of Teunis Speck from Flushing, who had joined the Swedish navy as captain in 1641. Marinessen himself had spent his days on the sea from his childhood on, had commanded ships as shipmaster as well as captain and had been employed by both the Dutch East and West India Company. As in the letter of Anckarhielm, no specific naval experiences are mentioned.⁶³

So why did the Swedish admiralty appoint Dutch captains without a naval past? A part of the answer is the income difference. Dutch naval captains were tasked with the provisioning of their own vessels. As their reimbursements usually outstripped their actual costs, they could make substantial profits. Although Swedish wages were higher and paid in summer as well as in winter, they could not compete with the total income of captains in the Dutch navy. The Swedish recruiting agents, therefore, were not able to recruit these captains. They mostly will have promoted lieutenants to captaincies or hired commanders of trading vessels. This is, however, not the entire answer. Only the recruitment of captains was difficult: the total incomes of Swedish naval lieutenants were considerably higher and more permanent than those of their Dutch colleagues.⁶⁴ It could very well be, that the Swedish state actually preferred Dutch officers with a broader navigational knowledge of the North Sea, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean than normal naval service could provide. Although there is no direct proof for this assumption, the fact that the Swedish admiralty appointed mostly Dutch naval officers as commanders of expeditions outside the Baltic Sea and often hired them out to private ship-owners and trading companies, suggests that they were not only recruited to enlarge the officer corps quantitatively but also to gain skilled seamen who were familiar with unknown maritime regions and could help the state to widen the geographical scope of its maritime activities.

Between 1645 and 1654, the admiralty planned around sixteen expeditions into the North and Atlantic Sea, although not all of them were carried out. These ships transported diplomats, or they served as trading vessels or convoys. Twice Swedish warships were delivered to the government of France.⁶⁵ Not all the commanders of these vessels were Dutch, at least one English and three Swedish captains were also involved.⁶⁶ The large majority was, however, of Dutch origin. The largest expedition was the trading mission to Portugal in 1646-1647. This squadron, consisting of six ships, was commanded by admiral Maarten Thijssen Anckarhielm and the Swedish major Daniel Jönsson Struts.⁶⁷ The individual ships were captained by five Dutchmen and one Swede. Among the six lieutenants, only three were of Dutch origin, as the admiral had not been able to find enough Dutch lieutenants in Gothenburg.⁶⁸ The seven pilots had all been recruited in the Netherlands.⁶⁹

Although various Dutch officers participated in these journeys to western and southern Europe, certain captains seem to have been specialised in expeditions to specific destinations. A good example is captain Peter Petersen from Edam, who was chosen four times by the admiralty to undertake a journey to France. His first mission outside the Baltic Sea in 1647, took him to Stade in the Swedish duchy Bremen-Verden, where he, together with his countryman captain Peter Petersen Sloos, had to deliver a cargo of munition.⁷⁰ Three years later, Petersen, as captain of the *Fortuna*, was ordered to escort the *St. Anna*, commanded by the Dutch captain Teunis Speck, to France, where the latter ship would be handed over to the French state. Petersen sailed back to Sweden with captain Speck and his crew on board.⁷¹ Just shortly after his return, he was instructed by the queen personally, to fetch certain items for her in Paris.⁷² His third expedition, the transport of an embassy to Le Havre in 1652, was, however, annulled.⁷³ Finally, in 1653, he was sent to France again to collect another cargo for the queen, but he never arrived. His ship was damaged and he was forced to undertake repairs in the harbour of Ostend and sail back to Sweden.⁷⁴

The admiralty needed not only skilled officers but also experienced and knowledgeable pilots for expeditions into the North Sea, the English Channel and the Atlantic. Finding suitable navigators for these journeys was a continuous problem, especially, if the Swedish merchantmen to Portugal and Spain had left their harbours. Therefore, the admiralty often had to resort to hiring foreign pilots. As their wages could be as high as the regular summer wages of a Swedish lieutenant or even a captain, the admiralty tried, mostly unsuccessfully, to prevent the recruitment of foreigners as much as possible, by appointing its Dutch officers as navigators instead.⁷⁵ For example, when the admiralty needed pilots for the six ships sailing to Portugal in 1646, it attempted to find them among its Dutch lieutenants. However, due to the lack of Dutch lieutenants in Stockholm and Gothenburg, the admiralty had no other choice than to hire pilots in the Netherlands.⁷⁶ To make matters worse, as a result of a misunderstanding, not six, but seven pilots were recruited, which increased the wage costs of the expedition even further than necessary.⁷⁷ In 1648 the admiralty suggested to admiral Anckarhielm a different solution, namely

to man the two ships of an expedition to France with captains and lieutenants who could fulfil the tasks of an officer as well as a navigator at the same time. The admiralty presumed that Anckarhielm had several Dutch officers under his command in Gothenburg who were familiar with the English Channel and would be able to perform such a double function on board.⁷⁸ The admiral appointed Jan Jansen Bockhorn as lieutenant as well as pilot for the expedition to France, which in the end never materialised. In the same year, he also gave his Dutch captain Hendrik de Letter the double function of captain and pilot of the ship *Kalmar Nyckel*.⁷⁹

Dutch officers were also hired out by the admiralty to Swedish trading companies and private shipowners. Especially the New Sweden Company (*Söderkompaniet*) and the navy exchanged its Dutch personnel regularly. Naval captains and lieutenants served on company ships, but it also happened that Dutch navigators and shipmasters, who had been hired in the Dutch Republic by the company for a journey to New Sweden, joined the Swedish navy after their return. An example of the former is the aforementioned Jan Jansen Bockhorn who sailed as a pilot to New Sweden in 1647 and the West Indies in 1649. Although the last journey ended up in a disaster, he was hired out to the company again and commanded the *Örnen* as shipmaster in 1653.⁸⁰ Stefan Willemsen's Swedish career was very different. The New Sweden Company had recruited him in the Netherlands in 1642 to serve as a pilot on board the *Svan*. He must have functioned to the Company's satisfaction as he undertook another journey to New Sweden as pilot of the *Fama* in 1643.⁸¹ After the latter had returned to the Dutch Republic, admiral Anckarhielm appointed Willemsen as captain of the Swedish navy. He was hired out by the admiralty to the New Sweden Company as shipmaster of the *Svan* in 1647 and left the navy eventually in 1649 to become master of a Swedish merchantman.⁸² Only rarely did *Västerviks skeppskompani* (concerned with the import of Portuguese salt) use the services of the navy's Dutchmen. An exception is the small fleet of four warships which were rented out to the *skeppskompani* in 1649 and were commanded by the four Dutch naval captains Jan Jansen, Peter Lucifer, Herman Lambertsen and Klaas Cornelissen Loos.⁸³

The admiralty did also hire out its Dutch officers to shipowners of private merchantmen. For instance, in 1650 the Gothenburg merchant

Anton Brun employed naval captain Klaas Cornelissen Loos for a trading voyage to Portugal.⁸⁴ As wages in the merchant marine were paid more regularly and were considerably higher, these officers could be tempted to leave the navy permanently. After his first voyage from Gothenburg to Portugal, captain Bockhorn asked the admiralty for permission to undertake a second journey for his shipowners.⁸⁵ After he had carried out not only a second but also a third voyage, he was ordered to finally return to his real employer in Stockholm.⁸⁶ Thereupon, admiral Anckarhielm informed the admiralty that, out of financial considerations, Bockhorn planned to not only travel to Stockholm but also ask for his dismissal and definitively join the Swedish merchant marine.⁸⁷ His request must have been denied, as Bockhorn stayed in the navy. His navigational skills could evidently not be missed.

At least twelve Dutch officers, however, successfully asked the admiralty for their dismissal to seek employment in the service of a Swedish trading company or as shipmasters on a Swedish private merchantman. The most popular was *Västerviks skeppskompani*: it employed at least seven former Dutch naval officers. One Dutch captain, Jakob Maartensen, left the navy in 1650 and joined the Africa Company (*Afrikanska kompaniet*). He commanded three expeditions to the Swedish colony in Cabo Corso (Ghana) and the island São Tomé.⁸⁸ The lords of the admiralty themselves also seem to have appointed discharged Dutch officers as shipmasters of their own merchantmen. After his dismissal in 1650, captain Jan Jansen became shipmaster of the private Swedish trading vessel *Hoppet*, which was owned by several navy officials: admiral Erik Rynning, admiral Åke Hansson Ulfsparre, vice-admiral Maarten Thijssen Anckarhielm, vice-admiral Hendrik Gerritsen, *holm-major* Richard Clerck, commissioner Reinhold Leuhusen and bookkeeper Lars Johansson.⁸⁹

The education of the Swedish crews by their Dutch officers has left no traces in the admiralty's sources at all, which is to be expected, as the transfer of seafaring knowledge and experience was mostly done orally and by example. The training of officers is, however, another matter. In the correspondence of the admiralty, there are a few mentions of junior officers, so-called *adelsbussar*, who joined the ships commanded by Dutch captains to learn about seafaring and navigation. *Adelsbussar* were the

lowest-ranked officers, comparable to junior lieutenants, a rank that was introduced in the Swedish navy in 1650 after the rank of *adelsbuss* had been abolished. Despite what the name may suggest, most *adelsbussar* were not nobly born.⁹⁰ In 1646, one of these *adelsbussar*, Sven Höök, participated in the expedition to Portugal. Höök had been recommended to the admiralty and had declared himself willing to learn navigation. He was therefore appointed as *adelsbuss* and sent to Gothenburg to join the expedition and acquire seafaring and navigational knowledge.⁹¹ Not only junior officers were found among those willing to educate themselves. Baron Sten Nilsson Bielke was appointed captain by queen Christina in 1648, although, having skipped the junior officer ranks, he did not possess any seafaring skills. He would, therefore, come along on board as a passenger on the ship of vice-admiral Hendrik Gerritsen to France and inform himself in the matters of seafaring and navigation. The admiralty ordered Gerritsen himself to instruct the baron in the best way possible.⁹²

In 1649 the Swedish government decided that all *adelsbussar* should join a company or similar ships, which undertook voyages outside the Baltic Sea. They had to perform the duties of a common seaman but would receive their usual wages.⁹³ As Dutch (former) naval officers often commanded the ships of the New Sweden Company and the *Västerviks skeppskompani* around this time, it is to be expected that they educated various Swedish junior officers. An entry in the admiralty's protocol of 1649 shows how this decree was put into practice. It deals with the expedition of four naval ships, rented out to the *skeppskompani* for a voyage to Portugal in 1649. By order of the admiralty, four junior officers, Sven Höök, Johan Eriksson Hammar, Lars Pettersson and Petter Mars joined the expedition to strengthen their seafaring knowledge and general seaman skills. The four Dutch naval captains, commanding these ships, were responsible for the education of the junior officers on board. Thus, when the fleet returned to Stockholm, the four captains were invited before the admiralty council to report on the progress of their pupils. Klaas Cornelissen Loos and Jan Jansen informed the admiralty that both Nils Höök and Johan Eriksson Hammar had conducted themselves so well, that they did not have any complaints to make. Herman Lambertsen had even praised Lars Pettersson personally when his junior officer left the ship.

The conduct of *adelsbuss* Petter Mers left much to be desired. During the voyage, captain Lambertsen had accused him of some transgressions, which had officially been noted in the protocol of the ship's court proceedings.⁹⁴

Concluding remarks

From 1631 until 1645, at least 136 Dutch captains and lieutenants as well as two vice-admirals were recruited by the Swedish admiralty. Although recruitments took place regularly during the 1630s and 1640s, they reached their peak during the Torstenson War. The Swedish and Danish recruitment numbers are relatively modest because they already had their own naval officers at their disposal. The scope of their activities on the Dutch maritime labour market was pretty similar. Danish agents in the Netherlands enlisted at least sixteen captains and 25 lieutenants in the Scanian War, Swedish agents 20 captains and 34 lieutenants in the Torstenson War. Russia obtained the most officers by far (at least more than 500), which is not very surprising as her navy had just recently been established. Sweden, like Russia and Denmark, almost always used its Dutch officers as recruiting agents to have better access to local resources. As these agents used their own networks to recruit new officers, many Dutch employees of the Swedish admiralty originated from the same harbour towns, mainly from Flushing. Especially in the 1640s, there must have been a strong network of captains from the province of Zeeland within the Swedish navy's officer corps.

The profile and the maritime background of the average Dutch officer in the Swedish navy were unusual, to say the least. They were not professional naval officers, but navigators and captains of company ships and private merchantmen. As lieutenants and shipmasters, they were the navigators of the Swedish navy: the admiralty needed their seafaring and navigational experiences, skills and knowledge as commanders of individual ships but especially for expeditions beyond the Baltic Sea and the education of their crews and junior officers. This is probably the main reason why they never rose through the ranks and never progressed beyond

captaincies. They were, however, not only useful for the navy, but also for the trading companies and private shipowners. One of the most distinguishing features of these Dutch officers was their flexibility and adaptiveness. Due to their background in the Dutch merchant marine, they could continuously switch between warships, company ships and private merchantmen, acting as captains, lieutenants or even pilots. Only Dutch officers asked the admiralty for their dismissal to take up service on Swedish trading vessels. In the admiralty records, there are no mentions whatsoever of Swedish or Scottish officers leaving the navy to become shipmasters of Swedish merchantmen or company ships. It shows that Dutch lieutenants and captains were never typical naval officers who envisioned for themselves uninterrupted and long-lasting careers within the navy but always had a keen eye for all the possibilities the emerging and then expanding Swedish maritime branches had to offer.

The careers of the Dutch officers in Sweden, Denmark and Russia differed considerably. In Russia, they behaved like professional naval officers and career migrants. Their careers in the Russian navy were long or even permanent and they were able to rise through the ranks to flag officer. In Denmark, some officers with a Dutch background also served on company ships in the Atlantic or the Indian Ocean, but most commanders of such expeditions did not have Dutch experiences at all. The availability of the many Norwegian and Danish sailors, as well as warrant officers with extensive experiences on Dutch ocean-going vessels, made the Danish merchant marine less dependent on the services of Dutch naval officers as its Swedish counterpart in the 1640s and early 1650s. Most Dutch officers in Denmark only served in the navy, had relatively long careers and were often promoted to higher ranks, although these careers were not as successful as those of the Dutch officers in Russian service. Until 1660, few Swedish sailors migrated to the Republic to work on its naval vessels and ocean-going East- and West Indiamen. Seamen with a Dutch skill set must definitively have been harder to find in Sweden than in Denmark-Norway. In a way, it was a lucky coincidence that the recruitment of so many Dutchmen for the improvement of its navy during the Thirty Years' and the Torstenson War coincided with the beginning of Swedish maritime expansion. Particularly during the reign of Christina, the growing

merchant marine as well as the navy itself came to rely on the admiralty's Dutch officers for the navigation of their ships outside the Baltic Sea and the education of their crews. As a result, nowhere in Northern Europe the impact of Dutch captains, lieutenants and pilots was as strong and varied as in Sweden.

Sammanfattning

Under perioden 1631-1645 rekryterade det svenska amiralitetet inte mindre än 138 nederländska sjöofficerare (huvudsakligen kaptener och löjtnanter) för att förbättra officerskårens navigationskunskaper. Nederländska kaptener som redan tjänstgjorde i svenska flottan skickades till Nederländerna för att rekrytera officerare som hade erfarenhet av sjöfart och navigation. Till en början hämtades de från provinsen Holland (särskilt från städerna Amsterdam och Enkhuizen). Från 1641 var hamnstaden och flottbasen Vlissingen i provinsen Zeeland den viktigaste källan för svenska rekryteringar i Nederländerna. Eftersom amiralitetet ansåg att de nederländska sjöofficerarnas löner var alltför höga rekryterades istället personer med erfarenhet från civil sjöfart och inte minst resor till Ostindien. Det visade sig vara till särskild fördel när svenska köpmän, skeppskompanier och flottan själv började organisera expeditioner till tidigare okända områden. Eftersom många svenska sjöofficerare inte hade erfarenhet av annat än Östersjön eller ingen tidigare erfarenhet av sjöfart alls och lärde sig yrket ombord på fartygen som de tjänstgjorde på, fick de nederländska officerarna stor betydelse och efterfrågades starkt. De hade seglat i Medelhavet, på Atlanten och Indiska oceanen och kunde utbilda de svenska officerarna. Men de ledde även örlogsexpeditioner till England, Frankrike och Portugal. De nederländska officerarna hyrdes också ut till svenska skeppsredare och handelskompanier som Nya Sverigekompaniet.

Flera nederländska officerare blev kvar i Sverige efter att de tagit avsked från flottan och arbetade för Västerviks skeppskompani, Afrikanska kompaniet och olika skeppsredare. Där övade de inte bara fartygens ordinarie besättningar i sjömanskap utan tränade även unga svenska sjöofficerare som deltog i expeditionerna som lärlingar för att lära sig navi-

gation. Nederländska kapteners och löjtnanters karriärer i svenska flottan följde inte det normala mönstret. Amiralitetets svenska och skotska officerare tjänstgjorde på mer permanent bas i flottan och klättrade kontinuerligt i graderna. Deras nederländska kollegor hade däremot relativt korta karriärer i flottan. Under 1640- och 1650-talen, när den civila sjöfarten riktade större intresse mot Asien och Afrika, saknades svenskar som hade erfarenhet av sjöfart utanför Östersjön och Nordsjön. Det innebar att nederländska officerare som tjänstgjort i den svenska flottan var mycket attraktiva för den svenska civila sjöfarten. Genom att lämna flottan och ta tjänst på ett civilt fartyg kunde de tjäna mer pengar. Det var unikt för Sverige. I andra länders flottor hade nederländska officerare inte samma möjligheter.

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- ⁴⁹ KrA, Ak, Inkomna handlingar 1646, fol. 497^r.
- ⁵⁰ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1641, p. 58f.
- ⁵¹ Ibid 1643, p. 827ff; ibid 1644, p. 104-107.
- ⁵² SA, Archief van de Notarissen, Inv. Nr. 1572, p. 179ff, 193f, 216, 336f, 361f; KrA, Rullor på amiralitetsstaterna, vol. 1.
- ⁵³ Paesie 2012, p. 95f.
- ⁵⁴ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1645, p. 50-53.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid 1644, p. 724-727.
- ⁵⁶ KrA, Ak, Inkomna handlingar 1644, fol. 541^r-541^v.
- ⁵⁷ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1645, p. 70-73; Riksregistraturet 1645, tyskt och latinskt, fol. 9^v-11^r.
- ⁵⁸ KrA, Rullor på amiralitetsstaterna, vol. 1.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid; RA, Carl Gustav Wrangels arkiv, E 8484.
- ⁶⁰ KrA, Rullor på amiralitetsstaterna, vol. 1.
- ⁶¹ Nieuwenhuize 2022, appendix 10.1.
- ⁶² KrA, Ak, Inkomna handlingar 1654, fol. 555^r-555^v.
- ⁶³ RA, Leufstaarkivet, Kartong 48.
- ⁶⁴ Lucassen 1977, p. 141; Zettersten 1903, p. 217f. The Swedish summer and winter wages are also mentioned in the instructions for the recruitment agents: KrA, Ak, Registratur 1633, p. 30; ibid 1634, p. 11; ibid 1638, p. 58; ibid 1639, p. 285; ibid 1640, p. 205f; ibid 1644, p. 104-107.
- ⁶⁵ Zettersten 1903, p. 380-391.
- ⁶⁶ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1646, p. 522-526; ibid 1649, p. 327ff; ibid 1653, p. 392-395; KrA, "Sjöofficerarnas" avräkningsextrakt m.m., vol. 1.
- ⁶⁷ Zettersten 1903, p. 381f.
- ⁶⁸ KrA, "Sjöofficerarnas" avräkningsextrakt m.m., vol. 1. Not all officers mentioned in the accounts of the admiralty, actually participated in the voyage to Portugal. Two Dutch lieutenants and one Dutch captain, who originally should join the expedition, remained in Gothenburg: KrA, Ak, Inkomna handlingar 1647, fol. 44^r-45^r; KrA, Ak, Registratur 1646, p. 322ff; ibid 1647, p. 81ff; 211f.
- ⁶⁹ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1647, p. 463f.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 508-511.
- ⁷¹ KrA, Ak, Protokoll, Vol. 1.
- ⁷² KrA, Ak, Registratur 1650, p. 631-636.
- ⁷³ Ibid 1652, p. 303-306; Zettersten 1903, p. 386f.
- ⁷⁴ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1653, p. 508f, 588f; Zettersten 1903, p. 388.

- ⁷⁵ The two German masters, who were hired in 1653 for a voyage to Spain, costed 24 Riksdaler monthly. Swedish naval pilots were paid 26 Riksdaler (summer wages): KrA, Ak, Inkomna handlingar 1653, fol. 292^r, 390^r.
- ⁷⁶ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1646, p. 288, 322ff, 609ff, 640ff.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 963ff; KrA, Ak, Inkomna handlingar 1646, fol. 662^r-662^v, 691^r-692^r, 696^r-696^v.
- ⁷⁸ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1648, p. 451-460.
- ⁷⁹ KrA, Ak, Inkomna handlingar 1648, fol. 460^r-461^r, 483^r-483^v.
- ⁸⁰ Johnson 1911, p. 761.
- ⁸¹ KrA, Sjöexpeditioner, eskaderchefer, vol. 1642-1645.
- ⁸² KrA, Rullor på amiralitetsstaterna, vol. 1; KrA, Ak, Registratur 1649, p. 158f; Johnson 1911, p. 760.
- ⁸³ KrA, Ak, Protokoll, vol. 1.
- ⁸⁴ KrA, Rullor på amiralitetsstaterna, vol. 1; Zettersten 1903, p. 385.
- ⁸⁵ KrA, Ak, Inkomna handlingar 1651, fol. 87^r-88^r, 93^r.
- ⁸⁶ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1652, p. 128f.
- ⁸⁷ KrA, Ak, Inkomna handlingar 1652, fol. 88^r-88^v.
- ⁸⁸ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1648, p. 184f; ibid 1649, p. 158f; ibid 1650, p. 195ff; RA, Leufstaarkivet, Kartong 82; Nováky 1990, p. 248ff.
- ⁸⁹ RA, Diplomatica. Anglica, vol. 541.
- ⁹⁰ Zettersten 1903, p. 52.
- ⁹¹ KrA, Ak, Registratur 1646, p. 902.
- ⁹² Ibid 1648, p. 491f.
- ⁹³ Ibid 1649, p. 263-266.
- ⁹⁴ KrA, Ak, Protokoll, vol. 1.