

Edinburgh  
University Press



---

The Scottish Officers of Charles XII

Author(s): George A. Sinclair

Source: *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 21, No. 83 (Apr., 1924), pp. 178-192

Published by: Edinburgh University Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25519662>

Accessed: 19/02/2010 07:34

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=eup>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).



Edinburgh University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Scottish Historical Review*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## The Scottish Officers of Charles XII.

THE publication of Count Adam Lewenhaupt's *Biographical Notes on the Officers of Charles XII.*<sup>1</sup> has opened up a wide field of research for the historian. Whilst it is in no sense a complete biographical dictionary and characteristic details are entirely lacking, particulars are given in abbreviated form of the various regiments with which each man served, the dates of his promotion, capture, release, death or retirement, and in many cases the chief battles and minor engagements in which he took part. Swedish biographers have already found the *Notes* invaluable, and these massive volumes will afford ample material for the Scottish genealogist ;<sup>2</sup> for in many families in Scotland a tradition lingers of some ancestor who left his native land to achieve fame abroad but of whose descendants all trace has been lost.

When we come to deal with the Great Northern War a word of warning is essential. The list contains many junior officers wounded or killed in action or made prisoners in Russia, but few of these men were, as in the Thirty Years War, recruited from overseas. They did not set out from Scotland with the prospect of a fortune before them. They were fascinated by the commanding personality of one of the most extraordinary monarchs the world has ever seen.<sup>3</sup> A large number of the officers

<sup>1</sup> *Karl XII.'s Officerare* : Biografiska anteckningar av Adam Lewenhaupt. Stockholm : P. A. Norstedt & Söner's förlag, 1921. Two volumes.

<sup>2</sup> Reference should also be made to the following Swedish biographical dictionaries : (1) *Svenska Adelns Ättertaflor*, by Gabriel Anrep, Stockholm, 1858 ; (2) *Svenska Släktboken*, by same, Stockholm, 1871 ; (3) *Nordisk Familjebok*, by Th. Westrin, 1875 ; and (4) *Svensk Släktbok*, by K. A. K. Leijonhufvud, Stockholm, 1906. The *Register till Personhistoriska Samsfundet*, by Carl Magnus Stenbock, Stockholm, 1909, contains particulars concerning historical portraits in Sweden.

<sup>3</sup> See the brilliant series of episodes in the king's life, known as *Karolinerna*, by the Swedish novelist and poet, Verner von Heidenstam, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1916. The volume has been translated into English under the title *The Charles Men*, London, Milford, 1922.

of Charles XII. were the direct descendants of Scotsmen, who had fought in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus and had acquired extensive estates in Sweden. Others joined the army from the Scottish industrial class, which, since the reign of Eric XIV., had settled in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö and other large towns and had contributed in no small degree to their prosperity and development. This class also supplied a fair proportion of the rank and file of the armies. Naturally these officers and men fought as loyal subjects of the King, and not as Scots, and the task of sifting the pure Swede from the Swede of Scottish origin is not an easy one and involves a somewhat extensive knowledge of Swedish nomenclature.

Familiar Scottish names abound in Sweden up to the present day, but many families were either given or adopted different names. The Swedes apparently found the surnames of Colquhoun, MacDougall and Macpherson too much for them and shortened them into Gahn, Duvall and Fersen respectively. Quite a number of Scotsmen were ennobled under Swedish titles, which also tends to destroy their identity. For instance without independent research the reader of the *Biographical Notes* could not tell that Captain Adam Pistol Kors, who was captured by the Russians and remained a prisoner of war for many years, traced his descent from George Scott, who went to Sweden at the beginning of the seventeenth century and was subsequently granted a patent of nobility under this strange name.<sup>4</sup> The ramifications of another prolific family are even more complicated. Two of the grandsons of Donald Fyfe of Montrose, or Donat Feif as he was called when he set up as a merchant in Stockholm, became the founders of two noble families, the Adlerstolpes and the Ehrensparres. Another Scot, Jacob Fyfe, who belonged to a different branch of this family, adopted the same calling as Donald in the Swedish capital. He was a prominent burgher, and his three sons were all ennobled. The eldest of the brothers, Casten Feif, entered the civil service, and was a great favourite of Charles XII., whose flight from Bender he planned, having procured a passport for him under the name of Captain Peter Frisk. In 1715 he was made a baron, retaining his own surname. The noble lines of Adlerstolpe, Ehrensparre and Feif have all died out; but the Pfeiffs still figure in the Swedish Peerage,<sup>5</sup> one branch

<sup>4</sup> Literally translated means Pistolcross.

<sup>5</sup> *Sveriges Adels Kalender*, published annually.

created 1678 ranking with what is known as the untitled nobility, and the other branch created 1772 ranking as barons.

No history of the early years of Charles XII. or of his Scottish officers would be complete which omitted the name of General Carl Magnus Stuart. A certain John Stuart of Ochiltree, who became Master of the Horse in the pay of Eric XIV., and was afterwards appointed General over the Scots in Sweden, was granted the right to bear the three silver stars of the Earls of Arran upon his coat of arms by James VI. 'as our blood relation.'<sup>6</sup> About 1665 Carl Magnus Stuart began his career as a common sailor, joining the vessel called *The Little Sportsman*, but disliking a seafaring life he crossed over to England. He then took up the study of fortifications, returned to Sweden, and in conjunction with the great Swedish engineer general, Eric Dahlberg, put his knowledge to the test in improving the fortresses of Karlskrona and Vaxholm. In 1685, at the expense of Charles XI., he studied the works of the famous Vauban on the Continent, where he visited more than eighty fortresses and fought under the Emperor in the war against the Turks.<sup>7</sup> The King on his return made him tutor to the Prince Charles, whom he taught geometry and the science of fortifications. Stuart carried the mantle of Charles XII. at his coronation and was responsible for the plan of his first campaign.

In 1700 Frederick IV. of Denmark had invaded the territory of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, Charles's brother-in-law, and William III. considering Frederick the aggressor and anxious to curb the maritime power of the Danes, sent a combined Anglo-Dutch fleet under Admirals Rooke and Allemonde to the Sound.<sup>8</sup> The Swedish fleet of thirty-eight ships of the line, commanded by Wachmeister, was approaching from Karlskrona on the Baltic, and successfully navigating the dangerous strait of *Flintrännen* (Flint-Furrow) effected a junction with its allies. The Danish admiral, Gyldenlöve, who had only guarded the usual channel called the *Kungdjup* (King's Deep), was thus outwitted and outnumbered, and compelled to take refuge under the guns of Copen-

<sup>6</sup> *One Year in Sweden*, by Horace Marryat, London, 1862, vol. ii. p. 481. See also *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir J. Balfour Paul, 1909, vol. vi. p. 513, under Stewart, Lord Avandale and Ochiltree. These stars appear in the centre of the shield of the present head of the family of Stuart (Untitled Nobility—Creation 1625).

<sup>7</sup> *The Scots in Sweden*, by T. A. Fischer, Edin. 1907, p. 136.

<sup>8</sup> *Scandinavia*, by R. Nisbet Bain, 1905, p. 317.

hagen. The Swedish troops were then rowed across the Sound in large flat-bottomed boats protected by the three allied fleets, and landed at Humlebek in Zealand after a slight skirmish (August 4, 1700). These operations were carried out with great skill by Stuart as Quartermaster-General, he having previously conferred with the English admiral and reconnoitred the ground.<sup>9</sup> It was the first occasion on which the young King showed the stuff of which he was made. With fiery impatience he leapt into the water up to his waist and reached the shore sword in hand before his army.<sup>10</sup> Frederick IV., alarmed at the menace to his capital, hastily concluded peace with the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp at Travendahl, conceding him full sovereignty, and this short and bloodless war came to an end in six weeks. But it finished Stuart's more active career as a soldier. He was badly wounded in the thigh at Humlebek, and although he could not follow the King in his subsequent campaigns, he was made Governor of Courland, which he bravely defended for some time against the Russians and Poles. He was created a baron in 1703, and died two years later in Stockholm.<sup>1</sup> With his son Carl the barony became extinct.

The family of Wright, which was ennobled in 1772 and still appears in the Swedish Peerage, fled from Scotland during the troubles of Cromwell's rule.<sup>2</sup> The first settler was George Wright, who started as a merchant in Narva. His son Henry, who was born in 1685 and died at the age of 81, had a long and adventurous life in the army. When a youth he was made prisoner by the Russians, and was sold as a slave for five roubles. On New Year's Night 1703 he escaped to the Finnish army near Viborg, but five years later he was recaptured, put in irons, and compelled to walk the streets of St. Petersburg begging his bread. He was offered his liberty and a large reward if he would betray the secrets of the fortress of Viborg, but he refused. In 1710 he and other officers killed their guard, and after a month's march

<sup>9</sup> *Charles XII.*, by R. Nisbet Bain, 1895, p. 63.

<sup>10</sup> *Modern Europe*, by T. H. Dyer, 1907, vol. iv. p. 130.

<sup>1</sup> There is a large oil painting of C. M. Stuart in the Krigsskolan (Royal Military Academy) at Karlberg, on the outskirts of Stockholm. It depicts a fine-looking man, with blue eyes, in flowing wig and armour, bearing a truncheon in his right hand and a sword in a yellow hanger. In the same room are three other portraits of Scottish generals, viz. (1) Jacob Duvall (MacDougall), 1589-1632, of whom later; (2) Arvid Forbus (Forbes), 1598-1665, Governor of Pomerania; and (3) Robert Lichten, 1631-1692, Governor of Estland.

<sup>2</sup> Marryat, vol. ii. p. 500.

through dense forests and wildernesses, they reached Swedish territory in a starving condition.<sup>3</sup> Wright rejoined the army under Generals Stenbock and Armfelt, and remained with it until 1762, four years before his death. He held a longer record of service in the Swedish army than most of Charles's officers, many of whom died at a comparatively early age as a result no doubt of the hardships of his campaigns and the privations they suffered when prisoners of war in Siberia.

The Barony of Hamilton af Hageby is an earlier creation than that of the Swedish Counts Hamilton, which dates from the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The first baron, Major-General Malcolm Hamilton, went to Sweden in 1654, and on his advice his younger brother Hugh or Hugo followed his example about twenty-five years later. He was made Director of Ordnance, and in the course of time rose to the rank of General. While Commandant in Malmö in 1710 he made a sortie against the Danes and captured several cannon. He also held a command at the battle of Helsingborg in the same year, a notable fact in itself, since this brilliant victory, which was totally unexpected, caused a great sensation throughout Europe. With an army of raw recruits clad in goat skins and wooden shoes Count Magnus Stenbock defeated a superior number of splendidly dressed and equipped Danish soldiers and drove them out of Sweden.<sup>5</sup> In 1718 as general of the army in Wester Norrland Baron Hugo Hamilton compelled 14,000 Russians to retreat. Dying within six years of this achievement, his fame has been somewhat eclipsed by that of his more distinguished nephew and namesake, Malcolm's son, who was one of the bravest warriors of the Great Northern War. This Baron Hugo Hamilton was Lieutenant-Colonel at the Battle of Narva (November 20, 1700), and commanded the Östgöta Cavalry Regiment at Klissow (1702), where

<sup>3</sup> Fischer, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> The illustrated publication *Svenska Ätterna* (Swedish Families), Stockholm, contains a volume on the Hamiltons. Their principal seats are at Boo, Barsebäcks and Hedensburg. The Hamiltons easily outnumber any other family of Scottish origin in Sweden to-day. It is all the more surprising that Fischer has so little to say about them.

<sup>5</sup> Stenbock was the foremost of the three great Caroline captains. The other two were Rehnskjöld and Lewenhaupt. To this day Stenbock is known as the 'Saviour of Skåne,' the southernmost province of Sweden. He received letters of congratulation from a number of celebrities, including one from the Duke of Marlborough. The importance of this victory to the Swedes can hardly be over-estimated. See Bain's *Charles XII.*, p. 227, and Bain's *Scandinavia*, p. 336.

Charles with a force of only about 9000 men gained a complete victory over 20,000 Saxons and 12,000 Poles under Jerome Lubomirski.<sup>6</sup> Hamilton was also present at the Battle of Fraustadt (1706), another defeat for Augustus, whose Saxon infantry were almost annihilated. His general Schulenberg, who commanded 20,000 men, lost more than the total effective strength of the small Swedish army. For this extraordinary feat of arms Charles, who was then pursuing the Russians in Lithuania, rewarded Rehnskjöld with a Marshal's baton.<sup>7</sup> After the terrible disaster of Poltava (June 28, 1709) Hamilton was compelled as Major-General to take part in the Tsar's triumph at Moscow, being sent to Kazan in Eastern Russia. As nothing was heard of him it was assumed that he was dead and his son succeeded to his estates. When peace was concluded at Nystad (September 10, 1721) he returned to Sweden and King Frederick overwhelmed him with tokens of his gratitude, creating him General and Field Marshal. In 1746 Baron Hugo Hamilton took his discharge and died shortly afterwards on his estate of Juna. The first Count Hamilton, Gustaf David Hamilton, was a son of Baron Hugo, the Director of Ordnance. He also attained the rank of Field-Marshal, but his exploits belong to a later period of Swedish history.

The short-lived noble family of Cedersparre was of Scottish origin. Arvid Young, who was born in Scotland, joined the Swedish navy as Lieutenant, and later on he settled in the country. Afterwards he became a merchant in Borås, where he died in 1708.<sup>8</sup> His son Peter (1664-1757) entered the army and distinguished himself in the actions at Pelkenä and Storkyrko. He was promoted Colonel and was ennobled in 1716, taking the name of Cedersparre. He left fifteen children, of whom ten died in infancy, but this family existed for only two generations after its founder.

During the Great Northern War eight members of the Sinclair family held commissions in the army. Major-General Carl Anders Sinclair, who was born at Gothenburg in 1674, was present at the passage of the Dwina in 1701, where Charles transported his troops across the river in flat-bottomed barges in

<sup>6</sup> Dyer's *Modern Europe*, vol. iv. p. 136. The honour of the victory of Klissow belongs entirely to Charles XII., for while Stuart planned the invasion of Zealand, and Rehnskjöld devised the attack at Narva, the tactics adopted at Klissow were the king's own (Bain's *Scandinavia*, p. 105).

<sup>7</sup> Bain's *Scandinavia*, pp. 136-8.

<sup>8</sup> Marryat, vol. ii. p. 489.

the face of 30,000 Russians and Saxons, who were strongly posted on the opposite shore at Dünamünde.<sup>9</sup> He also served under Lewenhaupt from 1704 to 1708. This Swedish general gained a remarkable series of victories over the combined Russians, Poles and Saxons, who outnumbered him by two to one.<sup>10</sup> He defeated Prince Wiesnowiecki at Jacobstadt, captured the important Polish fortress of Birse and routed Peter's best general Sheremetev at Gemauerhof, an old castle near Mittau.<sup>1</sup> But in 1708 when marching with his small and much diminished force to join Charles in the Ukraine the Tsar intercepted and almost overwhelmed him with fourfold odds in the terrible battle of Lesna, which lasted two days. The Swedes fought with desperate gallantry, repulsing four furious attacks before they were forced to retreat. After incredible hardships Lewenhaupt, who had to sink his cannon in the morasses and destroy all his stores and ammunition, reached the headquarters of the main army in safety. Sinclair took part in all those memorable battles, and was captured at Poltava with his young kinsman Malcolm,<sup>2</sup> then in his eighteenth year. The latter returned to Sweden in 1722 at the conclusion of peace, but what fate befell the Major-General is uncertain.

It is unnecessary to repeat the information given in this review<sup>3</sup> by Dr. Eric Etzel concerning the family of Spens, beyond saying that General Jacob Spens had two sons Carl Gustaf and Axel.<sup>4</sup> The latter was one of the Swedish prisoners of war at Poltava and was sent to Siberia. After peace was declared he went home, and was made Colonel of the Vestgöta

<sup>9</sup> See *Karl XII.'s Officerare*, 1921. Count Adam Lewenhaupt includes in his list Frans David Sinclair, who fought at Narva, Riga, Saladen, Krasnokutsk and Poltava.

<sup>10</sup> Bain's *Scandinavia*, p. 328.

<sup>1</sup> Bain's *Charles XII.*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Major Malcolm Sinclair was assassinated by the Russians at Naumburg in Silesia whilst on a mission from Constantinople to Stockholm in 1739. See *S.H.R.*, vol. iv. p. 379, and vol. ix. p. 275. There are three good portraits of him in Sweden, viz. (1) at Gripsholm Castle on Lake Mälär, (2) in the Officers' Mess of *Kungl Svea Lifgard* (Royal Swedish Lifeguards), Stockholm, and (3) in the possession of Count Gustaf Sinclair of Tranås.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ix. p. 276. See also as to the records of J. Maule, p. 270, C. G. Montgomery, p. 272, and M. W. Nisbeth, p. 274, in this war. The last named was a great fighter, was wounded several times, and, according to all accounts, was a man of very violent temper.

<sup>4</sup> The father was created a count in 1712. The present head of the family has interesting portraits of this general and his sons. There are also excellent military portraits of Jacob Spens and Axel Spens in the Officers' Mess of *Kungl Lifregementets dragoner* (Royal Life Dragoon Regiment), Stockholm.



Cavalry Regiment, subsequently commanding the Lifregemente. As Lieutenant-General, Axel Spens suppressed the rising of the Dalecarlian peasantry in 1743, and died two years later when governor of the Province of Skåne.

For over a century (1676-1794) the family of Gerner flourished in Sweden. The parents of Albrecht Gerner, who prospered as a well-to-do merchant in Stockholm, are said to have fled from Scotland on account of the religious troubles. His son Andrew or Anders was sent by the Court Marshal Count de la Gardie as Swedish envoy to Vienna, and eventually rose to be speaker for the Burghers in Parliament. He was raised to the nobility and married Elizabeth Pfeiff (Fyfe), the daughter of the Bishop of Reval. His son Albrecht (1681-1775), who first studied at the University of Uppsala and subsequently joined the army, was thus of Scottish origin on both sides. At the victory of Holowczyn (July 4, 1708), which was the last pitched battle won by Charles against the Russians, Ensign Albrecht Gerner was wounded and had two horses shot under him. He succeeded in saving the standard, and when the king passed by after the battle was over Gerner stood at the head of his shattered regiment and saluted him with the broken stump. Both captains, both lieutenants and all the men except thirteen had been killed or wounded. Charles expressed his admiration of his officer's heroism, and, if misfortune had not in future dogged his army, he would no doubt have promoted him. After Poltava Gerner was sent to Siberia, where he learnt Russian, which was the means of enabling him to escape. He gained the favour of the Governor, who allowed him to go hunting, thus giving him the opportunity to win over two peasants well acquainted with the district. With these men as guides he set out for Archangel in the summer of 1716. After four weeks' journey through wild country Gerner overheard the Russians, who had wearied of the adventure, talking of killing him. With bribes he induced them to go on, and reached his destination in safety, whence he embarked on a Portuguese vessel for Lisbon, returning eventually to Sweden. In subsequent campaigns against Russia, in which his knowledge of the language was no doubt useful, he attained the rank of Colonel.

Although the Clercks were principally connected with the Swedish navy,<sup>5</sup> Count Adam Lewenhaupt sets out ten members

<sup>5</sup> Three of them became admirals, viz. (1) Robert Clerck, 1604-1659; (2) Hans Clerck, the elder, 1607-1679; and (3) Hans Clerck, the younger, *d.* 1718. See *S.H.R.*, vol. ix. p. 268.

of the family in his list.<sup>6</sup> Carl, the son of Admiral Hans Clerck the younger, fought at Holowczyn, and was killed by a shot at Poltava at the age of 25. Lorentz (1653-1720), son of Admiral Hans Clerck the elder, who became lieutenant-general and was created a baron in 1707, has five pitched battles to his credit. Both his sons Hans and Carl took part in the war, the former being killed at the Battle of Meskowitz. Thomas Clerck, who belonged to the same branch of the family, was present at Petzur, Klissow and Holowczyn, and after Poltava was kept prisoner at Solikamsk.

The MacDougalls are closely identified with Swedish military history, and the founder of the family must have come of a sturdy stock. In 1594 Albert MacDougall of Mackerston in Scotland crossed over to Sweden, and was appointed Governor of Örbyhus. He lived to the age of a hundred (1541-1641), married three times and had twelve children. According to an historian, quoted by Marryat,<sup>7</sup> the children of the old man 'did not hide themselves in a corner,' and his nine sons all served in the Thirty Years' War. The most famous of them, Jacob MacDougall (1589-1632), began as an ordinary musketeer in the Swedish army when he was eighteen years old, and eventually became general commanding in Silesia. Gustavus Adolphus, who regarded him as one of his best officers, gave him the title of Baron Duvall,<sup>8</sup> and the Monastery of Liebus in Silesia as barony. His son Gustaf (1630-1692) was chamberlain to Queen Christina, and afterwards to her successor Charles X., who sent him to London ostensibly to express his condolences on the occasion of Cromwell's death, but in reality, to procure the assistance of the English fleet.<sup>9</sup> Apparently Axel Duvall (1667-1750), one of the most conspicuous of Charles's men, was a son of this Gustaf. He fought at Zealand, Narva, Dünamünde, Riga, Klissow, Fraustadt, Holowczyn and Poltava. He shared the Turkish exile with Charles, and had a hand in the extraordinary affray known as the *Kalibalik* of Bender, in which 'Old Ironhead,' as the Janissaries called him, displayed unparalleled heroism, and with only 40 men defended his mansion against 12,000 Turks and Tartars with 12 cannon.<sup>10</sup> Axel Duvall rose to be Major-General, and

<sup>6</sup> *Karl XII.'s Officerare*, 1921.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. ii. p. 479.

<sup>8</sup> The present barony is a later creation, 1674. In *Sveriges Adels Kalender* it is spelt Duwall, and the name of Scottish origin, MacDougall, is given.

<sup>9</sup> Fischer, p. 132.

<sup>10</sup> Bain's *Charles XII.*, p. 212. *Kalibalik* means the hunting down of difficult game.

was made a Baron and Knight of the Order of the Sword.<sup>1</sup> Eighteen other members of the family of Duvall played their part in the war, one of whom Carl Albrecht was present at Zealand, Riga, Klissow, Thorn, and Poltava.

The first of the Hays to emigrate to Sweden was Alexander Hay, who left Scotland about 1600 and married the rich widow of a Stockholm merchant named Plessan, becoming a Colonel in the Swedish army.<sup>2</sup> His eldest son Henry, who was renowned for his knowledge of fortifications, served with distinction at the siege of Copenhagen in 1658 under Charles X.<sup>3</sup> He was made Commander of Kockenhausen and was ennobled in 1689.<sup>4</sup> His two sons Henry Magnus and Carl Henry were captured in 1709 at the Dnieper and sent to Tobolsk. The first named conspired with a certain Lieutenant Seulenberg to make Prince Gagarin, the Governor of the Province, King of Siberia and White Russia with the assistance of the Swedish prisoners of war.<sup>5</sup> But his plan was betrayed, Gagarin was tried and executed in Moscow, while Hay and Seulenberg were condemned to death by hanging in chains. The sentence was commuted by the Tsar to solitary confinement for life in two small caves. Whilst his fellow-prisoner died, Hay, who must have been a tough fellow, survived this cruel punishment, and by the intervention of the Swedish Ministry was rescued from his living grave in 1724. Ten years later he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel. Both his son and grandson had distinguished military careers, the latter attaining the rank of Major-General. Another Scotsman, Barthold Ennis, who was sent to Siberia after Poltava, had dealings with Prince Gagarin of a more agreeable nature. He was able to use a lathe and to weave, and was ordered by the Governor to make a costly silk tapestry ornamented with flowers of silver and gold for his castle. Ennis trained his fellow-prisoners, and with the money they earned he helped to improve the hard lot of the other Swedish captives.

One of the Scottish officers of Charles XII., Ensign Robert Petre, has left an interesting diary of the events of the Russian

<sup>1</sup> It is said that on account of rights of succession in Scotland Axel Duvall resumed the former surname of his race, MacDougall.

<sup>2</sup> Marryat, vol. ii. p. 484 ; *S.H.R.*, vol. ix. p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Bain's *Scandinavia*, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> His present descendants are named in the *Swedish Peerage*. Another branch, created 1815, held the title of Baron Haij. See *Sveriges Adels Kalender*.

<sup>5</sup> Fischer, p. 148.

campaign of 1702-1709.<sup>6</sup> He was the great grand-son of George Petre, Provost of Montrose, who died in 1627, and whose son and grandson went to Sweden, the latter, to Arboga, where about 1682 Robert was born. Besides the author's personal experiences the diary contains a graphic account of the marches, skirmishes and battles under Lewenhaupt, as well as many technical details concerning equipment, arms, artillery, regiments and divisions. This great Swedish general, of whose later victories mention has already been made, gained his first success in 1703 when with only 1300 men he utterly routed 5200 Poles and Russians in Lithuania. For five years he formed a connecting link between the King's forces in Poland and the Baltic provinces.<sup>7</sup> The Russians twice endeavoured to bribe Petre to enter their service. The first offer was a 'handful of ducats,' and six months pay in advance as a Lieutenant of Dragoons. 'I answered that I had sworn the oath of allegiance to my King, and that I would keep it as long as I lived,' writes Petre scornfully. 'People ought not to be so foolish as to think I would barter away my soul's salvation for a miserable sum of money.' The second attempt came from Prince Wiesnowiecki, to whose camp near Mittau Petre and five others had been sent by his Colonel with complaints about the conduct of the Polish soldiery. The embassy was received by the Prince with every mark of respect; he drank the health of the Swedish general, and after plying the young ensign with champagne ended by offering him the rank of Captain in a German regiment of dragoons.

During the winter of 1708-09 preceding the march against the Russians at Poltava the sufferings of the Swedish army were terrible. The cold was intense, the men's clothes were worn out and many hundreds were without shoes. Mazeppa, Hetman of the Cossacks, Charles's ally, and Count Carl Piper, his minister, advised a retreat into Poland, but the Swedish King preferred to listen to Rehnskjöld and continued his advance. The worst period of the march is thus described by Petre:—'For ten days we marched through a deserted country without seeing a human being, passing through forests and morasses which, I think, no foot ever trod before or after us. We tasted neither bread nor meat for nearly a fortnight, living on roots, turnips, and raw cabbage-stalks. Not even our generals had bread or salt.

<sup>6</sup> Published by Professor Quennersted in his *Karolinska Krigare's Dag: Böcker*, Lund. 1903. Republished Stockholm 1922.

<sup>7</sup> Bain's *Scandinavia*, p. 155.

Eatables which we formerly would have refused with horror we now swallowed with delight, as if they had been the finest marzipan; the hours during which we had encamped under the open sky in rain or snow now appeared to us like hours spent in a soft, downy bed. If any one had seen us in our then state I doubt not but that he would have shed tears of pity. And yet, God be praised, we were saved from these as from so many other dangers and sufferings. Having at last arrived at a small village called Sewerin, we tasted what horse flesh was like.' Petre was captured about ten days before the battle (June 28, 1709), and died in 1725 soon after his return from Siberia.

The Swedish Ramsays are connected with the Dalhousies in Scotland. John Ramsay, who went first to France and thence to Sweden in 1577, obtained proofs of his birth and status dated 1623 from David, Bishop of Brechin, several members of the Dalhousie family, and other notabilities, which are preserved in the archives at Stockholm.<sup>8</sup> He is said to have been the son of George Ramsay, who had a charter of the lands and barony of Dalhousie (May 20, 1528), but his exact parentage is doubtful.<sup>9</sup> He was ennobled in 1633 and died in 1657 in his hundredth year. His three sons were educated at Oxford and fell in the 'Thirty Years' War, and two of his descendants served under Charles XII. The first, Johan Carl (1675-1742), was wounded at the landing in Zealand in 1700, fought at Riga and Klissow, and after Poltava was sent to Kostroma, where he remained until peace was signed, being eventually promoted Major-General. The second, Alexander William (1680-1761), went with his regiment to Riga in 1700, was wounded on the march to Narva, took part in many engagements, including the actions at Ingritz (1702) and Systerbäck (1703), and in 1718 accompanied Charles to Norway on his final campaign.

Sir James Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith, had by his second wife a son William, to whom the lands of Whittinghame and Morton were secured. In 1474 William resigned his rights over Morton in favour of his nephew, James, first Earl of Morton. He was the ancestor of the Douglasses of Whittinghame, whose

<sup>8</sup> The present head of the family, Mr. C. W. R. Ramsay, who resides at Lidingö, the picturesque suburb lying to the north-east of Stockholm, produced a facsimile of this interesting document to me. His coat-of-arms, a spread eagle, is the same as that of the Ramsays of Bamff.

<sup>9</sup> See further *The Scots Peerage*, 1906, vol. iii. p. 95, under Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie.

principal male line ended in an heiress Elizabeth. The male line of Whittinghame is represented by the Counts Douglas in Sweden created Counts Skenninge and Barons of Skälby.<sup>10</sup> The first holder of these titles was the celebrated Robert Douglas, who began life as page to Gustavus Adolphus and rose to the rank of Field-Marshal and Councillor of the Realm. He served three Swedish sovereigns, Gustavus, Christina and Charles X. As colonel he took part in the closing events of the Thirty Years' War, and his dashing courage at the decisive Battle of Jankovitch, near Prag in 1645, in which he commanded the left wing of Jorstensson's army, was mainly responsible for the final downfall of the Imperialists.<sup>1</sup> In the Polish war of Charles X. Count Robert led the centre at the three days' Battle of Warsaw (1656), where the combined Swedes and Brandenburgers 18,000 strong defeated John Casimir's army of 100,000 men.<sup>2</sup> The field-marshal died in 1662 of a fit of apoplexy brought on by excitement of temper.<sup>3</sup> But although he is said to have once boxed the ears of the Duke of Mecklenburg in a towering rage because he had dared to contradict him, he was not so violent and overbearing as his grandson, Count Otto, who was one of the very few officers of Charles XII. to desert to the enemy when all was lost. The story of his wild career is told by Marryat:—'After wondrous adventures he was taken prisoner at Pultowa, but sooner than remain in idleness he entered the Russian service, where he reappears as Governor of Finland. Having in a passion murdered at table a Russian general of police, he was sent prisoner to St. Petersburg. Peter the Great, chancing to meet Douglas wheeling a barrow with other convicts, straightway pardoned and reinstated him in all his high offices. No sentiment of honour towards the country of his birth influenced his conduct. In 1719 he piloted the Russian fleet into Norrköping, stole the bones of St. Henry (English)<sup>4</sup> from the cathedral of Abo, carry-

<sup>10</sup> *The Scots Peerage*, 1909, vol. vi. pp. 350-2, under Douglas, Earl of Morton. The date of the Swedish creation is 1654. See *Sveriges Adels Kalender* under Douglas.

<sup>1</sup> Bain's *Scandinavia*, p. 220; Marryat, vol. ii. p. 462; Fischer, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Bain's *Scandinavia*, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> There is a fine engraving of Count Robert Douglas in the Stadsbibliotek (Royal Library), Gothenburg. *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii., Edin., 1845, reproduces the magnificent ceremonial at his state funeral in Stockholm.

<sup>4</sup> From the commencement of the eleventh century missionary work in Sweden was carried out chiefly by Englishmen. See *Sweden, Historical and Statistical Handbook*, edited by J. Guinchard, vol. i. p. 325, Stockholm, 1914.

ing them off to St. Petersburg. Hence the very name of Otto was held in horror among the Finns. The more wicked he became the more honours were lavished upon him, till, when on a commission in Livonia, he caused a noble of high rank to be whipped to death. This was more than even the Czar could stand. Count Otto was advised to retire to his vast estates, where he was still living in 1763, at that time seventy-six years of age.<sup>5</sup> Another grandson of Robert, the founder of the Swedish line of Douglas, Count William, has fortunately for the credit of the family a clean record of service. He was a brave soldier, and was the first to enter the town at the storming of Reusch-Lemberg. He was appointed adjutant to Rehnskjöld and was severely wounded at the Battle of Fraustadt. After Poltava he was confined at Wologda in Siberia, where he married Maria Houtman van Bouchshoon, the daughter of a Dutch merchant in the town. When he returned to Sweden he was promoted from Colonel to Major-General, and died at the age of eighty on his estate in Östergötland.

William Bennet of Grubet in Scotland had two sons, William and James, who were born at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The elder founded the Scottish branch, and the younger left home on account of the persecutions about 1640 and entered the Swedish service, first as Captain in Malmö and then as Major at Abo. He was raised to the nobility in 1675, and by his wife Christina, daughter of Colonel Kinimund, a naturalised Scotsman like himself, he had nineteen children. He seems to have lived to a great age, since he did not die until 1690. His son, William Bennet, ranks with Stuart as one of the most distinguished of Charles's officers. He was born in 1680, and joined the army at the age of fourteen, being promoted from sergeant (1699) to Major-General (1717). His bravery is still remembered in Sweden, if only for the fact that he was the means of saving the life of Charles XII. When the King had impetuously ventured too far from headquarters, and had been surrounded by the enemy—not an uncommon event for he delighted in dangerous exploits—Bennet fortunately appeared with a small body of men, and cut a way of retreat through the overwhelming forces. There are many stories of him subduing refractory nobles and fighting against heavy odds. On one occasion he and three others put to flight no fewer than forty Polish irregulars and burnt their village to the ground. He had

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii. p. 463.

a hand in all the great battles of the war, and, when the end came, Charles sent him back to Sweden to assist in the defence of Skåne. In 1710 after the invasion of this province by the Danes Stenbock made him commander of the left wing of the Swedish army at the Battle of Helsingborg, and he materially contributed to his triumph. He was with his royal master at the fatal siege of Fredrikshall (Dec. 11, 1718), and was chosen by the army for the hard task of conveying the news of Charles's death to his sister, Princess Ulrica Leonora. In the following year Bennet was created a baron, and at the time of his death in 1740 he was Governor of Malmö and Lord-Lieutenant of the Province of Halland. His letters and journals have furnished the Swedish historian Nordberg with much material for his history of Charles XII. The present representative of the family has estates at Rosendal in Skåne, and, according to Fischer, Bennet's descendants were so numerous that in 1857 no less than thirty Barons Bennet were counted in Sweden.

GEORGE A. SINCLAIR.