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Scottish and Irish Soldiers in Early Seventeenth-Century Russia: The Case of George Learmonth and the Belaia Garrison¹

Chester S. L. Dunning

The activities, writings, and historical significance of the Scottish general, Patrick Gordon (Peter the Great's mentor), are becoming very well known thanks to scholarship supported by the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies (RIISS) at the University of Aberdeen. Patrick Gordon's diary—being published in English and Russian—provides a unique and invaluable lens for viewing seventeenth-century Russia and the role in Russia's modernization played by an exceptional Scottish soldier.² Many other Scottish soldiers fought honourably for the tsars in the seventeenth century and played important roles in Russia's growing military power, but they are not well known. Several Scottish officers settled permanently in Russia, married, raised families, and founded Scottish-Russian clans of noble warriors. By examining some of these less famous Scots we can learn much about early modern Scottish culture, kinship ties, and networking, as well as the role Scottish soldiers played in Russian history.

Historians have been studying Scots in early-modern Russia for over two centuries, but the subject is not yet fully developed. For example, we still do not know how many Scots served in Russia during the seventeenth century. It has been estimated at about 3000, but there may have been many more.³ The

¹ I acknowledge with thanks the encouragement, bibliographic suggestions, and timely assistance given me by Dmitry Fedosov.

² Patrick Gordon, *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699, vol. 1, 1635–1659*, Dmitry Fedosov (ed. and trans.) (Aberdeen, 2009); idem, *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699, vol. 2, 1659–1667*, Dmitry Fedosov (ed. and trans.) (Aberdeen, 2010); idem, *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699, vol. 3, 1677–1678*, Dmitry Fedosov (ed. and trans.) (Aberdeen, 2012). See also Paul Dukes (ed.), *The Patrick Gordon Diary and Its Context*, *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, 3.2 (2010), 1–120.

³ Geraldine Phipps, 'Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia: A Study in the Origins of Modernization' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1978), 252–3; A. Francis Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History from the End of the 16th Century to the Beginning of the 19th Century* (Glasgow, 1913), 32–3; Paul Dukes, 'Scots in Russia and the "General Crisis" of the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, 3.2 (2010), 105; Robert Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers, Poland-Lithuania and the

study of Scots in early-modern Russia has been greatly advanced by recent scholarship associated with RIISS.⁴ Of particular interest to me is Dmitrii Fedosov and Oleg Nozdrin's forthcoming book, *Lion Rampant to Double Eagle: Scots in Russia, 1600–1700*, which contains biographical data on 650 Scots who lived in Russia during the seventeenth century. A surprisingly large number of those men (approximately 10%) served in 1613 in the garrison of Belaia, a town located on the border between Russia and Poland-Lithuania. That intrigued me because I had previously encountered the Belaia garrison while studying Irish soldiers in Russia at the end of its 'Time of Troubles' (1598–1613), a horrific period of civil war and foreign military intervention. By combining data from my Irish mercenary project and RIISS-related resources, it may soon be possible to write a collective biography (or cohort study) of the Belaia garrison. To my amazement, I was able to identify 117 out of the 130 Scottish and Irish soldiers who served in Belaia. (See Appendix.) One Scottish soldier in particular caught my attention—George Learmonth, the founder of Russia's famous Lermontov family. As an experiment in prosopography, I decided to use the Belaia garrison data base to try to fill the gaps in the record of George Learmonth's life and the early history of the Lermontovs. The main purpose of this essay is to reconstruct the biography of George Learmonth and to examine the impact of his obscure but remarkable career. Starting in 1613, Learmonth and his descendants proudly served the tsars as cavalry officers. George's descendants included one of Russia's greatest poets, Mikhail Lermontov (1814–1841), who was fascinated by and wrote poetry about his Scottish heritage.⁵ Many efforts have been made to trace the distant ancestry of Mikhail Lermontov, but with mixed results that contain many

'Thirty Years' War' in Steve Murdoch (ed.), *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden, 2001), 199; Peter Paul Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16th-18th Centuries* (Leiden, 2012), 153; Dmitry Fedosov, 'The First Russian Bruces', in Grant G. Simpson (ed.), *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247–1967* (Edinburgh, 1992), 55; Anna Biegańska, 'A note on the Scots in Poland, 1550–1800' in T. C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), 157, 162.

⁴ See Dmitrii Fedosov, *The Caledonian Connection: Scotland-Russia Ties, Middle Ages to the Early Twentieth Century: A Concise Biographical List* (Aberdeen, 1996); Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean (eds), 'The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database', electronic database maintained at University of St Andrews [hereafter cited as SSNE]; Dmitrii Fedosov and Oleg Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant to Double Eagle: Scots in Russia, 1600–1700* (forthcoming).

⁵ Robert Reid, 'Lermontov' in Michael Ferber (ed.), *A Companion to European Romanticism* (Oxford, 2005), 315–16; Ian G. Anderson, *Scotsmen in the Service of the Czars* (Edinburgh, 1990), 164; V. V. Nikol'skii, 'Predki M. Iu. Lermontova', *Russkaia starina*, vol. 7, no. 4 (1873), 561–5.

errors and a maddening lack of detail.⁶ This essay will attempt to overcome those problems.

During the sixteenth century many Scots (especially younger sons) left home to serve as mercenary soldiers in the armies of Continental European monarchs. Scottish soldiers soon became renowned for their martial skills and bravery, and they were actively recruited by, among others, the kings of Sweden and Poland-Lithuania and the tsar of Russia.⁷ Some enterprising Scots went into business as recruiters, gathering large numbers of unemployed Scots (including their own kinsmen) for service abroad, especially for the king of Sweden.⁸ By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the unquenchable desire for foreign troops in Eastern Europe also resulted in the recruitment (often by coercion) of many Irish soldiers.⁹ In the final stages of Russia's Time of Troubles, Swedish, Polish, and Russian armies contained many Scottish and Irish soldiers. When those armies collided on the battlefield, Scots and Irishmen fought side by side against their fellow countrymen, sometimes against their own kinsmen.¹⁰ How did this strange development come about?

⁶ Common biographical misinformation about George Learmonth includes confusing him with his kinsman Peter Learmonth, failure to comprehend the circumstances of his entry into and departure from Polish service, seriously misdating his entry into Russian service, and failure to examine his service to the Romanovs. See A. B. Kurakin (ed.), *Obshchii Gerbovnik Dvorianskikh rodov Vserossiiskoi Imperii: nachaty v 1797m godu*, 10 vols (St. Petersburg, 1798–1836), vol. 4, 102; Nikol'skii, 'Predki', 547–50; Antoni Krawczyk, 'The British in Poland in the Seventeenth Century', *The Seventeenth Century*, 17 (2002), 260; Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History*, 524.

⁷ Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden, 2003), 14–16; Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers', 195–9; Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, 51, 149–50, 153; Paul Dukes, 'The First Scottish Soldiers in Russia' in Grant G. Simpson (ed.), *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247–1967* (Edinburgh, 1992), 47; Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History*, 3–4, 13–20, 28–30; Thomas Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh, 1907), 73; Fedosov, 'The First Russian Bruces', 55; Biegańska, 'A Note on the Scots', 157, 162; Krawczyk, 'The British in Poland', 258–9; Chester S. L. Dunning, *Russia's First Civil War: The Time of Troubles and the Founding of the Romanov Dynasty* (University Park, PA, 2001), 154; Anderson, *Scotsmen*, 31; J. Wimmer, *Historia piechoty polskiej do roku 1864* (Warsaw, 1961), 146.

⁸ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 14–15, 28–9; Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 73.

⁹ Chester S. L. Dunning and David R. C. Hudson, 'The Transportation of Irish Swordsmen to Sweden and Russia and Plantation in Ulster (1609–1613)', *Archivum Hibernicum*, 66 (2013), 405–36; Phipps, 'Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia', 87; O. V. Skobelkin, 'Irlandskaia rota na russkoi sluzhbe v poslednie gody Smuty', *Shemrok*, 1 (1997), 71–85; idem, 'Uchastie irlandtsev v poslednikh sobytiakh Smuty v Rossii', *Shemrok*, 2 (2002), 56–66.

¹⁰ Dunning and Hudson, 'The Transportation of Irish Swordsmen', 430–5; Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History*, 22–8, 31–2; Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers', 198–9; Richard Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change in Muscovy* (Chicago, 1971), 169, 267; Samuel

In 1608 and 1609, King Karl IX of Sweden sent embassies to King James VI and I to request permission to recruit British soldiers for service in Russia in a war he and his beleaguered ally, Tsar Vasiliï Shuiskii (r.1606–10), were fighting against King Sigismund III of Poland-Lithuania. Negotiations were cordial and led James to formally recognize Karl's claim to the Swedish throne.¹¹ James allowed Karl quietly to recruit Scottish soldiers, and, as a result, large numbers of Scots were serving in Swedish military forces by 1609. One of those Scots, Sir James Spens (1571–1632), became Karl IX's principal military recruiter in Britain and headed the Swedish embassy to King James which sought reconciliation and more mercenary soldiers.¹²

Karl IX relied heavily upon foreign mercenaries, including Scots and Englishmen, to supplement Swedish soldiers fighting against Poland-Lithuania, and by 1608 Karl had a very good reason to ask James for permission to recruit many more soldiers. Sweden's next-door neighbor Russia was experiencing its devastating Time of Troubles. In 1606 Tsar Dmitrii had been assassinated by a small group of aristocrats, triggering a powerful civil war. The usurper Tsar Vasiliï Shuiskii loudly denounced the dead Dmitrii as an impostor, but the former tsar's supporters successfully put forward the story that Tsar Dmitrii had escaped death and would soon return to punish the traitors. So energetic was the response to the call to arms against Shuiskii that civil war raged for many years and produced several impostors claiming to be Tsar Dmitrii or other members of the extinct ruling dynasty. Russia's internal disorder eventually prompted Polish and Swedish military intervention. In 1608 a desperate Tsar Vasiliï Shuiskii approached Karl IX with an urgent request for

Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 20 vols (Glasgow, 1905–07), vol. 14, 48; Jacques Margeret, *The Russian Empire and Grand Duchy of Muscovy: A Seventeenth Century French Account*, Chester Dunning (trans and ed.) (Pittsburgh, 1983), 26, 47, 141 n149; Isaac Massa, *A Short History of the Beginnings and Origins of These Present Wars in Moscow* (Toronto, 1983), 83; Phipps, 'Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia', 87; Lloyd E. Berry and Robert O. Crummey (eds), *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers* (Madison, 1968), 288–9.

¹¹ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 27–8; Mary Elizabeth Ailes, 'From British Mercenaries to Swedish Nobles: The Immigration of British Soldiers to Sweden during the Seventeenth Century' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1997), 27–8; Steve Murdoch, 'Diplomacy in Transition: Stuart-British Diplomacy in Northern Europe, 1603–1618' in A. McInnes, T. Riis, and F. Pedersen (eds), *Ships, Guns, and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States* (East Linton, 2002), 101.

¹² James Miller, *Swords for Hire: The Scottish Mercenary* (Edinburgh, 2007), 81–4; Murdoch, 'Diplomacy', 101–03; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 26–7; A. Åberg, 'Scottish Soldiers in the Swedish Armies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in Grant Simpson (ed.) *Scotland and Scandinavia* (Edinburgh, 1990), 90–1.

military assistance. Karl took maximum advantage of Shuiskii's distress to force him to cede to Sweden valuable territory on the Baltic coastline in return for the promise to provide Shuiskii with up to 5,000 mercenary soldiers to be paid for by the Russians. Karl turned to James for assistance in recruiting those soldiers, and James proved to be very receptive to the idea. Brisk recruiting in Scotland and Ireland began almost immediately.¹³

Without doubt, during the early seventeenth century the most successful recruiter of Scottish soldiers was Sir James Spens, a middle-ranking Scottish landowner from the region of Fife. Spens recruited several thousand British and Irish soldiers for Swedish military service, and he sometimes acted as their commanding officer in the Swedish army. Occasionally, Spens served as Sweden's ambassador to James, invariably seeking permission to recruit more British subjects for Swedish military service. The majority of his Scottish recruits came from eastern and northeastern Scotland. Spens was always on the lookout for potential officers, and he recruited dozens of his fellow Scots to serve as officers of mercenary forces in the Swedish army.¹⁴

James Spens was the son of David Spens and Margaret Learmonth, and James Spens made serious efforts to hire his own kinsmen, including the Learmonths.¹⁵ The Learmonths were an ancient and respectable Scottish noble family. By the sixteenth century the Learmonths had become a powerful clan in eastern Scotland, especially in the region of Fife.¹⁶ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many Learmonths served abroad in Continental armies, including those of Sweden, Poland-Lithuania, and Russia.¹⁷ In the mid-sixteenth century Michael Learmonth became one of the first Scots to attempt to recruit Scottish soldiers for Sweden.¹⁸ It is therefore no surprise to

¹³ Dunning, *Russia's First Civil War*, 396, 402; Dunning and Hudson, 'The Transportation of Irish Swordsmen', 408–17; Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas* (Cambridge, 1968), 453; Mary Elizabeth Ailes, *Military Migration and State Formation: The British Military Community in Seventeenth-Century Sweden* (Lincoln, 2002), 9–11.

¹⁴ W. Borowy, 'Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy w wojsku polskim za Zygmunta III', in H. Barycz and J. Hulewicz (eds), *Studia z dziejów kultury* (Warsaw, 1949), 296; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 30–1; Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 71–72, 223; Krawczyk, 'The British in Poland', 259; Steve Murdoch, *Networks North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe* (Leiden, 2006), 256; Biegańska, 'A Note on the Scots in Poland', 157; Walter Wood, *The East Neuk of Fife: Its History and Antiquities* (Edinburgh, 1887), 439–46, 450–6.

¹⁵ Bruce A. McAndrew, *Scotland's Historic Heraldry* (Woodbridge, 2006), 518.

¹⁶ Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 223; Murdoch, *Networks North*, 32; Anderson, *Scotsmen*, 164.

¹⁷ David Dobson, *Scots in Poland, Russia and the Baltic States 1550–1850* (Baltimore, 2000), 93; Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67.

¹⁸ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 14.

find several Learmonths serving as officers under James Spens's command in the Swedish army. Among those officers was George Learmonth's outstanding kinsman, Peter Learmonth, who has occasionally been misidentified as the founder of the Lermontov family.¹⁹

Peter Learmonth entered Swedish service in 1603 as an ensign, and he rose through the ranks in (Colonel) James Spens's regiment.²⁰ In 1610 Peter Learmonth served as a captain in the Swedish army that was invited by Tsar Vasili Shuiskii to enter Russia to oppose Polish military intervention. At the battle of Klushino (June 1610) the large Swedish and Russian armies were decisively defeated by a small Polish army. After the battle, over 1500 foreign mercenary soldiers transferred their allegiance to the king of Poland-Lithuania, Sigismund III. Although Peter Learmonth was listed as 'captured' by the Poles, in fact he had little choice but to join the bulk of his men and fellow officers entering Polish service.²¹ It is important to note that early-modern European mercenary soldiers not infrequently switched sides for a variety of reasons, including lack of pay and food, the cowardice or incompetence of their commanders, and the hopelessness of their tactical position. Mercenary units and individuals regularly changed allegiance without embarrassment and usually without loss of credibility. In the seventeenth century many Scots served more than one master, including Patrick Gordon—who served the kings of Sweden and Poland-Lithuania and was 'captured' before entering the tsar's service.²²

Once in Polish service, Peter Learmonth proved to be an exceptionally energetic officer whose skill and bravery were quickly demonstrated. His unit was almost immediately sent to aid the Polish siege of the mighty Russian fortress of Smolensk, and Learmonth distinguished himself during that long and successful military operation.²³ In the final years of Polish intervention in Russia's Time of Troubles, Captain Peter Learmonth commanded three

¹⁹ Anderson, *Scotsmen*, 39; Thomas A. Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* (Edinburgh, 1903), 88; idem, *The Scots in Sweden*, 223–4; SSNE 2907, 2911; A. Francis Steuart (ed.), *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland, 1576–1793* (Edinburgh, 1915), xx.

²⁰ SSNE 1763.

²¹ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 30; Krawczyk, 'The British in Poland', 258–9; Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, 464, 468–9; Anderson, *Scotsmen*, 9, 25.

²² Dunning and Hudson, 'The Transportation of Irish Swordsmen', 431–2; Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers', 198–200; Gordon, *Diary of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699*, vol. 2, 1659–1667, xii–xvi, 130–41.

²³ Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, 333, 335; A. Francis Steuart, 'Scots in Poland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 3 (1905–6), 524; Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers', 200; SSNE 1763.

companies of infantry (900 men) in Polish forces that attempted to capture Moscow. During the winter of 1617–18, Polish troops reached the outskirts of the Russian capital before being turned back by Russian forces that included Captain Learmonth's kinsman, George Learmonth.²⁴ During that campaign Peter Learmonth once again demonstrated bravery, tactical skill, and energetic leadership. In 1619 King Sigismund III rewarded the 'noble' and 'brave' Scot with a hereditary estate.²⁵

George Learmonth (c.1590–1634), the son of Andrew Learmonth and the great-nephew of George Learmonth of Balcomie, was a minor nobleman (or 'gentleman of horse') from Fife.²⁶ No records have survived concerning George's early career, but in my considered opinion he almost certainly got swept up in his kinsman James Spens's large-scale recruiting campaign. George Learmonth probably entered Swedish service in 1609. Like his kinsman Peter Learmonth, George probably served in the large Russian-Swedish army that was decisively defeated by a smaller Polish army at the battle of Klushino in June 1610. Mercenary soldiers in the Russian-Swedish army (including more than 2000 Scots and Irishmen) performed well on the battlefield but suffered heavy casualties and were abandoned by their commanders before deciding to surrender.²⁷ After the battle, Peter Learmonth (and, I believe, George Learmonth) and at least 1,500 mercenaries agreed to enter Polish military service.²⁸ They were soon put to work by their new masters. In late 1610 many former members of the Swedish-Russian army participated in the Polish capture of the Russian border town of Belaia and subsequently served in a newly-created Belaia garrison composed of approximately 150 soldiers organized into two cavalry companies, one Scottish and one Irish. Those

²⁴ Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 223; Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers', 200, 206–7; Borowy, 'Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy', 298, 307–8; Henry Brereton, *Newes of the Present Miseries of Russia* (London, 1614), 52–3.

²⁵ Borowy, 'Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy', 298, 307–8; Steuart, 'Scots in Poland', 524; Krawczyk, 'The British in Poland', 260–1.

²⁶ There is no surviving record of George Learmonth's birth. It has been claimed that he was born as early as 1573 or as late as 1596. See Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67; Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61; Reid, 'Lermontov', 315; S. B. Veselovskii (ed.), *Prikbodo-raskbodnye knigi moskovskikh prikazov 1619–1621 gg* (Moscow, 1983), 414; Anderson, *Scotsmen*, 44; Wood, *The East Neuk*, 439–46; 'Rod Lermontovykh', in *Lermontovskaia entsiklopediia*, V. A. Manuilkov (ed.) (Moscow, 1981), 467. I wish to thank Dr Kelsey Jackson Williams for his insights into the Learmonth family history during the sixteenth century.

²⁷ Brereton, *Newes of the Present Miseries of Russia*, 53–4; Dunning, *Russia's First Civil War*, 409–10; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 30.

²⁸ Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers', 198–200; Krawczyk, 'The British in Poland', 259–60.

companies served side by side for three years while maintaining their separate identities and strong unit cohesion. Some of the men married local women and started families. George Learmonth probably participated in the capture of Belaia, but the first direct reference to him in surviving records dates from 1613. By then he was serving as an ensign in the Belaia garrison's Scottish company.²⁹

In August 1613 a Russian army commanded by *voevoda* (general) Dmitrii M. Cherkasskii laid siege to Belaia. After putting up a stout defence for almost a month, the garrison surrendered.³⁰ Voevoda Cherkasskii was impressed by the garrison's skill and determination, and he reported that to Moscow. The Russian army at this time contained less than 1000 foreign troops, and the new Romanov regime was determined to hire many more of them.³¹ The 'Bel'skie nemtsy', as the Russians called them, consisted of excellent, well-ordered soldiers with highly competent officers. They were soon informed that Tsar Mikhail had graciously agreed to accept them into Russian service.³² At the time of the garrison's surrender, it consisted of approximately 130 men almost equally divided between Scots and Irishmen. The 'Bel'skie nemtsy' immediately began receiving from the Russian government regular wages, food, and fodder for their horses.³³ The garrison contained fifteen

²⁹ Phipps, 'Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia', 201, 460–61; Dukes, 'The First Scottish Soldiers', 48; Dobson, *Scots in Poland*, 93; Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67; Fedosov and Nozdin, *Lion Rampant*, 61–2. Scholars have long assumed that George Learmonth joined the Polish army on his own initiative by 1613 and that he was not among the large group of mercenary soldiers who entered Polish service after surrendering at Klushino in 1610. Unfortunately, there are serious problems with that generally accepted interpretation. In fact, relatively few Scottish soldiers were enticed into joining the army of the arch-Catholic King Sigismund III in the period 1609–13. Presbyterians in particular were unlikely to seek their fortune in the service of the 'Jesuit king' of Poland-Lithuania. Although there are no surviving records of George Learmonth's faith, in my considered opinion he was almost certainly a Presbyterian. See footnote 58 below.

³⁰ Ruslan Skrynnikov, *The Time of Troubles: Russia in Crisis, 1604–1618* (Gulf Breeze, 1988), 281–2, 288; Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers', 201; Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History*, 22, 25; Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67.

³¹ Dukes, 'The First Scottish Soldiers', 48; Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History*, 31–33.

³² Borowy, 'Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy', 298; Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, 339–40, 480; Dukes, 'The First Scottish Soldiers', 48.

³³ *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka* [hereafter cited as RIB], vol. 28, *Prikhodo-raskhodnye knigi Moskovskikh prikazov* (St Petersburg, 1912), cols. 530–32; Vasilii Storozhov, 'George Lermont–Rodonachal'nik russkoi vetvi Lermontovykh', *Knigovedenie*, nos. 5–8 (1894), 9, 14, 19–20; O. V. Skobelkin, 'Shotlandtsy na russkoi sluzhbe v seredine 10-kh godov XVII veka', *Istoricheskie zapiski. Nauchnye trudy Istoricheskogo fakul'teta*

‘gentlemen’ (fourteen Scots and one Irishman), six of whom served as officers, including Ensign George Learmonth. George Learmonth—known as Iurii Lermont (or Lerman) to the Russians—was recognized by the Russians as a ‘nobleman’ and was initially paid two rubles per month, about twice the salary of a Russian gentry cavalryman. George worked hard and showed initiative, and as a result his salary was soon increased to three rubles per month.³⁴

Many of the ‘Bel’skie nemtsy’ were immediately assigned to Cherkasskii’s army and participated in skirmishes against Polish forces and a protracted but unsuccessful siege of Smolensk, which had been captured by the Poles in 1611. The Belaia garrison cavalrymen earned high praise for their order and discipline, and some of them were assigned as teachers of the native Russian gentry cavalrymen.³⁵ Scottish officers greatly outnumbered Irish officers in Russian service. As a result, several Scots served as officers of the Belaia garrison’s Irish cavalrymen. By 1616 George Learmonth (Iurii Lermont) was serving as an officer in the garrison’s Irish company, and his pay was increased to seven rubles per month.³⁶ By then more than a dozen ‘Bel’skie nemtsy’ had been sent to Tula, a major southern military headquarters, where they helped defend Russia’s vulnerable steppe frontier against Tatar raids. In the same period, many other members of the Belaia garrison fought gallantly and successfully against marauding Cossacks.³⁷

Dozens of ‘Bel’skie nemtsy’, including George Learmonth, were assigned to Russian army units trying to block Polish military intervention. During 1617–18 King Sigismund III’s son, Prince Wladyslaw, made one last serious attempt to capture Moscow and enforce his claim to be tsar of Russia. At least eighteen former members of the Belaia garrison served in military forces defending Moscow against a Polish army that contained many Irish and Scottish

Voronezhskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, no. 2 (1997), 14–15. According to one Russian source, there were 125 ‘Bel’skie nemtsy’; see Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov, f. 210, op. 10, d. 4, l. 46. The total number of Irish and Scottish troops in the Belaia garrison has frequently been underestimated; see Petr Kropotkin, *Russian Literature, Ideals and Realities* (London, 1916), 51; Steuart, ‘Scots in Poland’, 524; Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 106; ‘Rod Lermontovykh’, 467.

³⁴ E. D. Stashevskii, *Smolenskaia voina, 1632–1634 gg. Organizatsiia i sostoianie Moskovskoi armii* (Kiev, 1919), 14–15; RIB, vol. 28, cols. 673–4; Skobelkin, ‘Shotlandtsy’, 15; Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61.

³⁵ Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61; Storozhev, ‘George Lermont’, 11.

³⁶ Veselovskii, *Prikladno-raskhodnye knigi*, 216; RIB, vol. 28, cols. 673–4.

³⁷ Skobelkin, ‘Shotlandtsy’, 16–18; A. L. Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina v Rossii XVII v. Kazachestvo na pereleme istorii* (Moscow, 1990), 138, 141–3.

troops. Several of the 'Bel'skie nemtsy' were killed or wounded in the heroic defence of the capital. At least six of them, including George Learmonth, helped decisively turn back Prince Wladyslaw's troops in intense fighting at Moscow's Arbat Gate. In that battle, Ensign George Learmonth's bravery was on display 'for all to see'. When Lieutenant David Edwards was killed in the defence of Moscow, the Irish soldiers in his company immediately petitioned to have George Learmonth replace him. Newly promoted Lieutenant Iurii Lermont received fifteen rubles per month.³⁸

Polish intervention in Russia's Time of Troubles ended by negotiations. Tsar Mikhail was so anxious to have his father, Patriarch Filaret, released from Polish captivity that he agreed to cede several border towns to Poland-Lithuania, including Belaia.³⁹ By the time the war was officially over, most of the Scottish and Irish soldiers of the former Belaia garrison were concentrated in the Tula region. After a review of their condition, the Russians dismissed twenty one of them as unfit for further duty due to old age or infirmities; those men were honourably settled near Tula at half pay. About a dozen Scottish and Irish soldiers successfully petitioned the tsar to allow them to return home. The rest remained on active duty in the Tula region. There Lieutenant George Learmonth (called Iurii Andreevich Lermont in Russian records) served as second in command of a mixed company of Scottish and Irish cavalymen.⁴⁰ Several 'Bel'skie nemtsy' married Russian women and had children. Lieutenant Iurii Lermont married twice: first, to Ekaterina who bore him three sons (William, Peter, and Henry), all of whom became cavalry officers in the tsar's service; and second, to Mariia who bore him a daughter named Ekaterina.⁴¹ By 1620, Iurii Lermont's pay had risen to thirty rubles per month.⁴² His high salary testifies to the excellent reputation some Scottish officers had earned while in Russian service.

While living in the Tula region several officers of the former Belaia garrison, including Iurii Lermont, petitioned Tsar Mikhail for an increase in status and

³⁸ Veselovskii, *Prikhodo-raskhodnye knigi*, 216; RIB, vol. 28, cols. 673–4, 683–8; Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61; Phipps, 'Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia', 207, 313; Skobelkin, 'Shotlandtsy', 17.

³⁹ Dunning, *Russia's First Civil War*, 450, 457; Skrynnikov, *Time of Troubles*, 281–2, 288.

⁴⁰ Dukes, 'The First Scottish Soldiers', 48; Veselovskii, *Prikhodo-raskhodnye knigi*, 202, 206, 211.

⁴¹ RIB, vol. 28, cols. 674–75; Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61; SSNE 3968; 'Rodoslovnaia Lermontovykh', in V. A. Manuilkov (ed.), *Lermontovskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 1981), 464–5. Ekaterina Iur'evna Lermonta died in 1659.

⁴² Veselovskii, *Prikhodo-raskhodnye knigi*, 216.

salary. They requested transfer into the ranks of the Russian gentry militia (*pomeshchiki*). That would qualify each of them to receive several hundred acres of land as a *pomest'e* estate—a conditional land grant requiring the holder to serve in the Russian army for several months each year until death or disability prevented further service.⁴³ In their petition, the men stated: ‘We your slaves do not wish to go to our own land, because we have married here and have children, and we want to spill our blood for Thee the Sovereign.’⁴⁴ A few of the officers were granted *pomest'e* estates, but those estates were usually located in remote places near the southern frontier that were difficult to monitor and offered only limited opportunities for generating revenue.⁴⁵ That was not Lieutenant Iurii Lermont’s fate, however. Instead, in 1621 he was assigned a fine *pomest'e* estate of approximately 500 acres in the Zabolotsk district near Kostroma, about 400 kilometres northeast of Moscow.⁴⁶ In effect, he became a Russian nobleman. Iurii concentrated on the careful management and development of his *pomest'e* estate. He was regarded as a good lord who energetically improved his estate by attracting peasants to settle on his undeveloped ‘wastelands’, thereby increasing the amount of arable land he held by about 20%. In 1628 Iurii Lermont was the relatively prosperous lord of nine villages.⁴⁷

By 1628 the number of foreigners in Russian service who had formerly served in the Belaia garrison had declined significantly, leading to the merger of the Irish and Scottish companies into one unit under the command of Captain Thomas Garne. Many of those men lived long enough to participate actively in the Smolensk War (1632–34).⁴⁸ That war came about due to Tsar Mikhail’s determination to recapture Smolensk from Poland-Lithuania. The tsar and his advisers realized that the Russian army needed significant military modernization to achieve that ambitious objective. First and foremost, that meant attracting foreign officers who were well versed in the latest military technology and tactics, including the talented Scottish general, Alexander

⁴³ Phipps, ‘Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia’, 311–12.

⁴⁴ Stashevskii, *Smolenskaia voina*, 14–15; Dukes, ‘The First Scottish Soldiers’, 48–9.

⁴⁵ Dukes, ‘Scots in Russia and the “General Crisis”’, 105; Murdoch, *Networks North*, 92–3; Phipps, ‘Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia’, 312–13; Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 19, 54–5, 59, 85–6, 95, 106.

⁴⁶ Fedosov, *Caledonian Connections*, 67; Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61; SSNE 3968; RIB, vol. 28, cols. 683–88; Phipps, ‘Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia’, 207, 313; Reid, ‘Lermontov’, 315; Laurence Kelly, *Lermontov—Tragedy in the Balkans* (London, 1977), 25; Nikol’skii, ‘Predki’, 548; ‘Rod Lermontovykh’, 467.

⁴⁷ Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67; Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61.

⁴⁸ Storozhov, ‘George Lermont’, 9, 19–20; Stashevskii, *Smolenskaia voina*, 14–15.

Leslie. General Leslie and others were tasked with organizing and training Russian soldiers in 'new formation regiments' (modelled on the Swedish army) to fight in more modern ways. Most of the new formation infantry regiments were composed of Russian gentry militiamen who had previously served in cavalry units.⁴⁹

In 1632 a new formation cavalry regiment was formed composed of approximately 2000 Russian *dvoriane* (provincial noblemen) and *deti boiarskie* (petty gentry) under the command of a high-ranking foreign general.⁵⁰ Among the officers chosen to train this new cavalry regiment was Lieutenant Iurii Lermont, who was promoted to the rank of captain and given the astronomically high salary of 100 rubles per month (approximately the same salary paid to high-born aristocrats serving in Tsar Mikhail's court).⁵¹ Also joining the same new formation cavalry regiment were two newly-arrived kinsmen of Iurii Lermont—John and Thomas Learmonth.⁵² Captain Iurii Lermont was given command of a company of 200 cavalrymen, mostly Russian provincial nobles and petty gentry, along with some foreigners who had recently converted to Russian Orthodox Christianity.⁵³ Like most soldiers in the tsar's army, Lermont's men were required to bring their own food for several months, horses, helmets, armour, and sabres. After mustering for inspection, they were outfitted with gunpowder weapons: pistols and harquebuses, muskets, or carbines.⁵⁴

Captain Lermont's company participated actively in the Smolensk War of 1632–34. During that conflict, Scottish and Irish soldiers in the Russian army fought against Scottish and Irish soldiers in the Polish army. Not surprisingly, there were Learmonths in both armies.⁵⁵ At the outset of the war, voevoda Mikhail B. Shein's large army managed to recapture the town of Belaia. By early 1633, Russian forces settled into a long and bloody siege of the great fortress-

⁴⁹ Hellie, *Enserfment*, 170–1; Keep, *Soldiers of the Tsar*, 86; Paul Dukes, 'The Leslie Family in the Thirty Years' War', *European Studies Review*, 12 (October 1982), 405.

⁵⁰ I. B. Babulin, 'Polki novogo stroia v Smolenskoi voine 1632–1634 gg.', *Reitar*, 10 (2005), 22; A. V. Chernov, *Vooruzhennnye sily Russkogo gosudarstva v XV–XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1954), 135; Hellie, *Enserfment*, 171; Keep, *Soldiers of the Tsar*, 86; Dukes, 'The First Scottish Soldiers', 49, 53–4.

⁵¹ Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67; Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61, Nikol'skii, 'Predki', 549; Hellie, *Enserfment*, 171.

⁵² Dobson, *Scots in Poland*, 93; Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67.

⁵³ Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61; Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67.

⁵⁴ Dunning, *Russia's First Civil War*, 159–60; Hellie, *Enserfment*, 172, 181–2; Babulin, 'Polki Novogo stroia', 22.

⁵⁵ Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67; Dobson, *Scots in Poland*, 93.

city of Smolensk.⁵⁶ During 1633 approximately 10% of voevoda Shein's new formation cavalymen were killed. In August of that year several skirmishes helped clear Polish troops from the area around the fortress, but in those encounters the Russians suffered many casualties. One of them was Captain Iurii Lermont, killed in battle in late 1633 during the siege of Smolensk.⁵⁷

Although George Learmonth (Iurii Andreevich Lermont) faithfully served Tsar Mikhail for twenty years, he almost certainly remained a Presbyterian until his death.⁵⁸ All three of George's sons followed their father's career path and served as cavalry officers in the Russian army. George's eldest son, William, became a captain of cavalry, and in 1634 he received a *pomest'e* estate of about 300 acres. (The eldest son of a *pomesbchik* whose service had been honourable was almost invariably promoted to that rank upon his father's death and usually received his father's *pomest'e* estate or a comparable one.) William died in 1670. George's youngest son, Henry (Andrei Iur'evich Lermont), began his military

⁵⁶ Babulin, 'Polki novogo stroia', 22; *Akty Moskovskogo gosudarstva*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1894), 535–6.

⁵⁷ Babulin, 'Polki novogo stroia', 22; Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67.

⁵⁸ There is no surviving record of George Learmonth's faith, but at the time of his birth a majority of Scots, especially in northeastern Scotland, were Presbyterians. George's close kinsmen and his recruiter, James Spens, were Presbyterians. Early-modern Russians generally shunned Catholics as heretics and tools of Satan. By the time George Learmonth entered Russian service, the Time of Troubles had convinced most Russians that the Catholic church posed a dire threat to the existence of Orthodox Christian Russia. Polish military intervention and the activities of Catholic soldiers in Russia made the new Romanov regime wary of Catholics. Tsar Mikhail's father, Patriarch Filaret, regarded the Catholic faith as a 'heresy'. The tsar's agents scoured Protestant Northern Europe looking for officers to train Russian soldiers in modern warfare, but they avoided hiring Catholics. The appointment of Learmonth as a *pomesbchik* and lord of several Russian villages without first requiring him to convert to Orthodox Christianity suggests that he was a Protestant, as does his later appointment as captain of a regiment composed of Russian Orthodox Christian gentry and foreigners who had recently converted to Orthodox Christianity. Most Russians remained xenophobic about Catholicism, and it was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that the pragmatic Tsar Aleksei began to hire talented Catholic military specialists, including Patrick Gordon. Nevertheless, Catholics continued to face widespread discrimination in Russia and were not even allowed to worship openly. As late as 1690, Peter the Great's friend and mentor, General Patrick Gordon, was being denounced as an untrustworthy heretic by Patriarch Joachim. See Dunning, *Russia's First Civil War*, 468–9, 472–3; Hellie, *Enserfment*, 169–70, 173, 190; Givi Zhordaniia, *Ocherki iz istorii franko-russkikh otnosheniia kontsa XVI i pervoi poloviny XVII v.*, 2 vols (Tbilisi, 1959), vol. 2, 310–12, 327–57, 362–7; Paul Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1992), 52–3, 136–40; Gordon, *Diary of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699*, vol. 2, 1659–1667, xv.

career in 1641 and also rose to the rank of captain of cavalry. He married and had a daughter, Anna. Henry died in 1652.⁵⁹ George's second son, Peter (Petr Iur'evich Lermont), began his military career in 1641 (along with his younger brother). By 1653 Peter became a captain of cavalry. Starting in the 1650s, the Russian government began prohibiting foreigners who were not Russian Orthodox Christians from holding pomest'e estates. Foreign officers were forced to choose between giving up their estates or converting to Orthodox Christianity. Petr Iur'evich Lermont chose to convert, in the process changing his first name to 'Evtikhii'. Evtikhii Iur'evich Lermont subsequently rose to the rank of major and served as the military governor of Saransk (1656–59). He had four children: Evdokiia (d. 1653), Marfa (d. 1729), Iurii (d. 1708), and Petr (d. 1704). Major Evtikhii Lermont died in 1679.⁶⁰ By then the Lermonts had become a highly respected noble family of the Tula region.⁶¹

Evtikhii Iur'evich Lermont's sons, Iurii Evtikhovich (Petrovich) and Petr Evtikhovich (Petrovich) Lermont, both served as cavalry officers in Tsar Aleksei's army. In their spare time they enthusiastically studied their family's history which led them to make contact with the Scottish Learmonth. Among other things, the brothers learned about the Learmonth family coat-of-arms that was registered for the first time by the Scottish Parliament in 1672.⁶² Iurii Evtikhovich Lermont completed a written account of the Lermont family history by 1688, and in it he claimed that the Lermonts were descendants of the ancient Scottish noble Learmonth family that got its start in the eleventh century.⁶³ Before submitting genealogical records to the Russian Military Affairs Chancellery (*Razriadnyi prikaz*) along with a petition for official recognition of the Scottish-Russian Lermont family's claim of venerable noble lineage, Iurii and Petr asked a senior colleague for help. In a noteworthy example of networking among Scots in Russia, General Patrick Gordon attested to the

⁵⁹ SSNE 3969, 3970.

⁶⁰ SSNE 3971; Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61; Phipps, 'Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia', 312; 'Rodoslovnaia Lermontovykh', 464–5; 'Rod Lermontovykh', 467; Nikol'skii, 'Predki', 547, 552; Hellie, *Enserfment*, 173n51. Although the name 'Evtikhii' may be associated with Russian Orthodox Christian meekness, it is derived from a Greek term meaning 'good fortune'. See Judith E. Kalb, *Russia's Rome: Imperial Visions, Messianic Dreams, 1890–1940* (Madison, 2008), 54.

⁶¹ Murdoch, *Networks North*, 93; 'Rodoslovnaia Lermontovykh', 464–5; SSNE 3971; 'Rod Lermontovykh', 467.

⁶² Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 61–2; Dukes, 'Scots in Russia and the "General Crisis"', 105; idem, 'The First Scottish Soldiers in Russia', 47–54.

⁶³ Kurakin (ed.), *Obshchii Gerbovník*, iv–vi, 83, 102; Storozhov, 'George Lermont', 9–20; Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 61; Murdoch, *Networks North*, 93.

accuracy of the Lermont family's pedigree in 1688, less than a year before Gordon helped Tsar Peter I seize power from his step-sister, the regent Sophia. Not surprisingly, Tsar Peter accepted the Lermonts' petition. As a result, in 1690 the Lermont family added the noble 'ov' to their name—becoming the Lermontov clan.⁶⁴ Iurii Evtikhovich Lermontov rose to the rank of *stol'nik* (minor courtier) in the service of Peter the Great.⁶⁵

At some point, perhaps as early as 1682, the Lermontovs designed their own coat-of-arms. Even though it was not formally registered by the Russian government until the late eighteenth century, the Lermontov coat-of-arms is one of the oldest among Russia's nobility.⁶⁶ The Lermontov family's coat-of-arms was closely based on the Learmonth coat-of-arms. That becomes obvious when the two coats-of-arms are placed side by side. (See illustration.) The Lermontov coat-of-arms, with a black flower below the chevron, was designed as the coat-of-arms of a cadet branch of the Learmonth clan. There is an unusual Latin phrase inscribed on the Lermontov coat-of-arms: 'Sors mea Iesus' ('My fate is in the hands of Jesus' or 'Jesus is the master of my fate').⁶⁷ The devoutly Russian Orthodox Christian Lermontovs continued to produce many generations of cavalry officers, and the family continued to be held in high esteem among Russian aristocrats. The seventh generation of George Learmonth's descendants included the family's most famous member—the cavalry officer and extraordinary poet, Mikhail Iur'evich Lermontov.

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⁶⁴ Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, 67; Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61–2; Murdoch, *Networks North*, 93; SSNE 6723, 6724.

⁶⁵ Nikol'skii, 'Predki', 549–50, 552.

⁶⁶ S. N. Troinitskii (ed.), *Gerbovník Anisima Titovicha Kniazeva 1785 goda* (St Petersburg, 1912), v–vi, 83; Nikol'skii, 'Predki', 547; Fedoso, *Caledonian Connection*, 67; Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*, 61–2.

⁶⁷ See William Rae Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals* (Edinburgh, 1904), nos. 1584–91. I wish to thank Dr Kelsey Jackson Williams for this reference.



APPENDIX

SCOTTISH AND IRISH SOLDIERS OF BELAIA GARRISON WHO ENTERED TSARIST SERVICE IN LATE 1613⁶⁸

(S = in Scottish Regiment; I = in Irish Regiment)

ADAMSON, James (S)
AIKMAN, Adam (S)
ANDREWS, David (S)
ANSTON, Andrew (S)
ARDSON, Alexander (I)
ARMON, Arthur (S)
ARNOTT, John (S)
ARTHUR, William (S)
ASTON, William (S)
AUCHTERLONIE, James (S)
BAIN, Ian (I)
BELL, David (I)
BOURKE, Michael (I)
BOYD, Ian (I)
BREDON, Gabriel (I)
BROOM, Ian (I)
BROWN, David (S)
BROWN, John (S)
BUIST, David (S)
CARR, Alexander (I)
CARR, William (I)
CARROLL, William (I)
CAX (COX), Richard (I)
CLELLAND, Thomas (S)
COOK, Ian (I)
CRANSTON, John (S)
CRICHTON, John (S)

⁶⁸ Many sources were consulted to compose this tentative list of Irish and Scottish soldiers who served in the Belaia garrison and joined Tsar Mikhail Romanov's service in 1613. See RIB, vol. 28, *Prikhodo-raskhodnye knigi Moskovskikh prikazov*; Veselovskii, *Prikhodo-raskhodnye knigi*; Phipps, 'Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia'; SSNE; Skobelkin, 'Irlandskaia rota na russkoi sluzhbe'; idem, 'Shotlandtsy na russkoi sluzhbe'; Fedosov, *Caledonian Connections*; and Fedosov and Nozdrin, *Lion Rampant*.

CUMMINGS, Richard (S)
CUNNINGHAM, Robert (S)
DONOGH, Art (I)
DREW, James (S)
DRUM, Michael (I)
DUFF, James (S)
DUFFY, Ian (I)
DURIE, William (S)
EDWARDS, David (S)
EUSTACE, Thomas (I)
FARQUHAR, Ian (I)
FORBES, John (S)
GAR, Alexander (I)
GAIRNE, Thomas (S)
GENTS, John (S)
GETTY, Ian (I)
GORDON, Alexander (S)
GORDON, Peter (S)
GRIM, William (S)
GUTHRIE, John (S)
HALKETT, David (S)
HARVIE, William (S)
HERNE, Thomas (I)
HORN, Valen (I)
INGLIS, John (S)
IRIS, Thomas (I)
JOHNSON, William (I)
JOHNSTONE, Andrew (S)
JOHNSTONE, James (S)
KINGAN, Robert (S)
KINLOCH, William (S)
KINNAIRD, James (S)
KRIUSH, Michail (I)
LANE, John (S)
LAUNDIE, David (S)
LAUNDIE, John (S)
LEARMONTH, George (S)
MacALLEN, James (I)

MacCURTAIN, Thomas (I)
MacGINN, Arthur (I)
MacKEEN, Conagher (I)
MacKINLEY, Donogh (I)
MacMAHON, Art (I)
MacNAILLY, Peter (I)
MacNAMARA, Art (I)
MacNAMARA, Donogh (I)
MacTOOLE, Ian (I)
MELLICK, Gilbert (S)
MONTEITH, Patrick (I)
MOUTRAY, Andrew (S)
MOWBREY, John (S)
MUNTEAN, Peter (S)
O'CAHANE, Brian (I)
O'CAHANE, Donogh (I)
O'CAHANE, Michael (I)
O'COLLINS, Ian (I)
O'DONALD, Neil (I)
O'HANLON, Arthur (I)
O'KELLY, Ian (I)
O'MARA, Niall (I)
O'SIRDAN, Brian (I)
PAREKH, Ian (I)
PAUL, William (S)
PAULL, Edward (I)
PEEBLES, George (S)
PHILIPS, Thomas (S)
ROW, Ian (I)
ROWEN, David (S)
RUTHVEN, William (S)
SCOTT, James (S)
SCOTT, John (S)
SCROPE, Jarlath (I)
SEWELL, Frank (I)
SHAW, James (S)
SHEARER, William (S)
STEELE, James (S)

STENSON, Robert (S)
STEVENSON, Robert (S)
STEWART, William (S)
SYMPSON, Allan (S)
SYMSON, John (S)
WARD, Alexander (I)
WATTS, William (S)
WILLIAMSON, John (S)
WOOD, Andrew (I)
WOOD, Andrew Henry (S)
WOOD, John (S)
WYEAST, Thomas (I)
YETTS, Gabriel (S)
YUILLE, Peter (S)