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Worthington, David

Published in:
Immigrants and Minorities

Publication date:
2015

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Citation for published version (APA):
Worthington, D. (2015). 'Unfinished work and damaged materials': historians and the Scots in the Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania (1569–1795). *Immigrants and Minorities*, 33(3), 1-21.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.2015.1063812>

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‘Unfinished work and damaged materials’: Historians and the Scots in the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania (1569-1795).

Dr David Worthington
 Head, The Centre for History
 University of the Highlands and Islands
 Burghfield House
 Dornoch
 IV25 3HN
 Tel: 01847 889624
 Email: David.Worthington@uhi.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

The burgeoning of an historiography of the Scots in Poland-Lithuania has been hindered by either the unavailability to scholars of, or their unwillingness to tackle, secondary sources in the relevant foreign languages. Despite this ethnic group having comprised, at one time, the largest representation of the Scottish diaspora in a foreign state, this article demonstrates that, since Poland-Lithuania’s partition, historiographical coverage has been compartmentalised along linguistic and national lines. The article is tripartite, outlining work in the German-, Polish- and English-languages, albeit highlighting the detrimental effects caused, until recently, by the frequent isolation of these, and other linguistic traditions of historiographical significance, from one another.

KEYWORDS

Historiography, Scotland, Poland, historians, diaspora, ethnicity

Introduction

‘A report on unfinished work and damaged materials’: these words begin the title of a document prepared in 1947 by Polish historian, Waclaw Borowy (1890-1950). The text in question reflects on the abandonment of what, had it been completed, would have marked an important contribution to the field of British, and Scottish historical relations with early modern Poland.¹ Borowy had, from the mid-1930s, been publishing occasional journal articles in both Polish and English, a period during which he spent time also as a guest lecturer at the then-School of Slavonic Studies in London. It was a research, writing

and teaching schedule he sought to maintain in Warsaw throughout the Second World War, struggling to preserve his papers surrounded by what would become, by 1945, the debris of the city's Institute of Polish Literary History.²

When extrapolated from the horrors of the Polish capital during the war and, given what may have been a cursory coverage of relevant archival sources (in comparison to that of many other historians working in much easier surroundings) Borowy's breakthroughs may appear modest and these circumstances to provide an unusual starting point for a survey of a key element of Scottish emigration history. However, they highlight a problem in the historiography of the 'first Scottish diaspora': the relevant primary and secondary sources comprise material in a multiplicity of European languages, and evince a complex relationship with national, local and personal histories. These challenges aside, this was a dispersal of Scots predominantly to locations situated to the country's immediate east, south and south-west, which took place in late medieval and early modern times. Recent research by historians of Scotland has affirmed that, during a period of several centuries prior to 1707, when a Highland or Lowland Scot emigrated, he or she almost certainly did so, not to enjoy a new found freedom in, for instance, North America or Australasia, but to seek a better future in Ireland, England, or somewhere else in Europe. It was a dispersal which peaked from 1600-1650, when Scotland's population was around one million, but when roughly twenty percent of Scottish adult males alone left their home country.³ During the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there occurred a reimagining of the circumstances surrounding Scottish settlement overseas, however, which led to this earlier emigration fading

significantly from cultural memory within Scotland and in the entire British Imperial world, if not always in Europe.

The purpose of this article will be to focus on historical studies of the Scots in Poland-Lithuania, a key element of this ‘first diaspora’. It will assess how and why current English-language historians engaged with the theme remain so indebted, first, to German- and, subsequently, Polish-language studies, yet how historians, even in those latter traditions have, only recently, begun to benefit from secondary sources written in all three languages. Thus, the article will assess not only the debates and discussions in both Germany (especially the former Prussia) and Poland - two successor states to the Commonwealth between which its multi-ethnic heritage has often been contested, but also the discourse in the English-speaking world around the nature of Scotland’s diasporic past, and how the community in the Commonwealth has been viewed within that context.⁴

Clearly, central European history has led, at several points, to borders and populations shifting, often with horrific consequences, and to a ‘reinscription’ of land as a result.⁵ Between 1772 and 1795, Prussia and Austria, along with Russia, partitioned Poland-Lithuania, a state which had been a feature of European politics since 1569, out of existence. As regards the Scottish community in what had been the Commonwealth, it is perhaps unsurprising then that German interest in the topic has tended to focus on German-language traditions and sources, and the Polish engagement on Polish-language equivalents. By the early twenty-first century, one important connection with the bloody narrative of central European nationalism, was that a previously-dominant German scholarly contribution had lessened in prominence. Although German-language histories

of the former Scottish physical presence in the region continue to be written, historiography representing the Polish tradition has either re-emerged or else come to the fore for the first time. Meanwhile, although, as Neal Ascherson has put it, ‘the process of making Scotland aware of the long Scottish-Polish connection has been slow’, an English language corpus has begun to develop too, even if, until recently, this has been largely reactive to (rather than interrogative of) the German and Polish scholarly work.⁶

The German-language perspective

Any study of the historiography of the Scots in Poland must aim to explore that community’s consciousness of itself. One Polish-born scholar of Scottish parentage on his paternal side, Jan Jonston (1603-75), worried, in 1635, that any individual aspiring to write ‘the history of the Polish people’ would require a ‘very considerable historical knowledge’.⁷ Although not usually remembered as an historian, Jonston wrote a two-part historical textbook in Latin in the 1630s, and published a further, five-volume universal history in the 1660s.⁸ A contemporary of his in the port of Elbing (Elbląg)⁹, Charles Ramsay (1616-69), similarly both a Latinist and of Scottish parentage, researched and published on the history of the Commonwealth too, in his case, taking a clear interest in the Scottish presence there as an aspect of this.¹⁰ However, while the Royal Prussian cities of Elbing, and, to an even greater extent, Danzig (Gdańsk), remained hubs within the later Commonwealth, in terms of encouraging historical writing on the Scots, it was the latter decades of the eighteenth century and the German language that provided much of the initial input to the relevant historiography in and of this part of central Europe. As Karin Friedrich has shown, some exceptional scholarship emerged, although, with an

increasingly powerful Prussia asserting a 'Borussian' myth - which denigrated Royal Prussia and, from 1772, brought about the first partitioning of the Commonwealth - much of this work failed to find a balance.¹¹

It was at this time that a handful of German-speaking scholars emerged from within what remained a still-Scottish and British influenced milieu, that of the merchant communities of the south-eastern Baltic port cities, to effect the early development of historical writing on this ethnic community. This was most visible in Danzig: a 1706 commercial agreement between England and the city, just one year prior to the Anglo-Scottish political union, formalised the mercantile connection of earlier times (Scottish immigration had peaked in the decades around 1600) and promoted, for example, the timber trade, to the extent that, in a recent work, Almut Hillebrand has argued for the 'rising economic importance of British merchants in Gdańsk' during the century that followed.¹² A starting point can be found with the output of the author, Johanna Schopenhauer (1766–1838). Schopenhauer was striking in having a command from an early age of English, her teacher being Richard Jamieson, a minister to the anglophone merchant community in the city. Her early familiarity with Jamieson, a close neighbour who she referred to at least once as her 'special mentor', seems to have been decisive. Jamieson was a member of a network including bibliophiles and mainstays, some of them freemasons, at the city's 'English Library', this involving individuals such as Archibald Maclean (1736-1810), Jacob Kabrun senior (1723-96) and Jacob Kabrun junior (1759-1814) as well as, the especially-prolific Samuel Wilhelm Turner.¹³ Schopenhauer had a range of contacts with this element of Danzig society prior to she and her husband making their first visit to London in 1787, even if it was only on a subsequent journey, in

1803, that she crossed to the north side of the Tweed. Regarding her first encounter with Scots on their home turf, she noted in her journal their ‘friendly, kind civility’ which ‘constantly reminded us of the inhabitants of the German mountain regions’. Touching on the diasporic tradition, she commented that:

...poverty often forces the Scot to seek his livelihood abroad, and this he prefers to do in more distant places than England where his beloved country is looked upon with unwarranted contempt. The largest number of Britons settled in Germany, for example, are actually Scots.¹⁴

As well as her renown as a travel writer, Schopenhauer became recognised as a biographer and novelist, writing a work based on the life of Margaret I of Scotland (c.1045-1093), in addition to a fictional account of a ‘Richard Wood’ who she cast as the English-born son of a stocking factory owner, sent to St Petersburg to receive his upbringing.¹⁵

A ‘germanised’ discourse linking Scotland with what had, until recently, been Royal Prussia, and so part of the Commonwealth, connects with some of the first works on the theme by archive-focused historians too as they attempted to present a ‘common, durable and specific German past’.¹⁶ As Hillebrand has shown, successive scholars such as Daniel Gralath, Gottlieb Fuchs, Hertha Grunau and Gotthilf Loeschin accounted, to a small extent, for the British presence in the two major coastal cities of the former Royal Prussia.¹⁷ To the east, Wilhelm Crichton (1732-1805) - a son of the once-Commonwealth city of Königsberg (Kaliningrad), and of Scottish descent as suggested by his surname as well and his own statements, researched in the archives of Elbing. Although his contacts with the leading family of Scottish background there, the Ramsays, have yet to be

confirmed, Crichton's labours in Elbing produced an essay in 1784, '*Englische Handlungsgesellschaft und Evangelischreformirte Gemeinde in Elbing*', which he published as part of a broader outline of Prussian history.¹⁸

It has often been mentioned that, further west, Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) was inspired to study history on being disappointed by the historical inaccuracies in Sir Walter Scott's account of Quentin Durward, a fictionalised Scottish soldier in the service of Louis XI of France.¹⁹ Nearby on this shifting historiographical ground, and twenty-nine years after Schopenhauer's death, Friedrich Wilhelm Schmitt wrote that:

A very characteristic element of the population of German towns in Eastern and Western Prussia is formed by the descendants of former Scotsmen...
...The increase in strength and industrial capacity which this Scottish admixture instilled into the German was of the very highest importance and it can scarcely be doubted that the peculiar compound of stubbornness and shrewdness which characterises the inhabitants of the small towns of Eastern Prussia has its root in the natural disposition of the Scot.²⁰

He went on to point out some examples of this 'admixture', tracing the Scottish origins of local families such as the Forsters and Barrys.²¹ However, in terms of historiography, one more well-known writer who cited Schmitt's work and who, without doubt, shed new light on the Scots who had settled in 'Eastern and Western Prussia', was a fellow German, Thomas Alfred Fischer (1844-1906). Born in Lübeck (and baptized as Ernst Ludwig Fischer), Fischer trained in law in his home country, then went to Edinburgh where, besides translating works by Carlyle and Tennyson (hence his two adopted

forenames) and teaching, he wrote histories based on his archival research. Two of his subsequent English-language books sought to account for the Scottish presence, not only in those regions that had been partitioned by Prussia but also in the Austrian Habsburg lands (if not so much the less well-accounted for area taken by Russia).²²

The germanocentric perspective on the Scots in Prussia and rest of the southern Baltic region - which would recur in several German works published between then and 1945 - produced some groundbreaking history. However, the authors tended to present the immigrant Scots, irrespective of whether they had lived in Royal Prussia, Ducal Prussia, or even Lesser Poland and Greater Poland, as having operated in an overwhelmingly German social and political context.²³ It is an approach that has now been superseded by a body of writers working, at least partly within a German milieu, who, like Fischer before them, are fluent also in English. This latter group includes Almut Hillebrand and, even more so, Karin Friedrich, whose monograph on Royal Prussia is available in English and Polish, grounded on sources in several languages, and counters several, previously-pervasive historical myths once visible not only in the German, but also the Polish and English-language works. The most important such conception shown to be deeply flawed by Friedrich, is that the region's early modern history should be best understood from the perspective of a single, dominant ethnic group, whether German or Polish.²⁴

A rival Polish historiography?

Ethnicity in nineteenth-century Prussia could be of great complexity. Another author who wrote predominantly in German about the Scots in the southern Baltic region, although of

mixed German-Polish ethnic background, was Jan (Johannes) Karol Sembrzycki (Sembritzki) (1856-1919) from Olecko (Marggrabowa), now in the Masuria region of Poland.²⁵ In Sembrzycki we find a rare bridge between two otherwise quite distinct pre-1918 historiographical traditions, one German and the other Polish. His focus on the ‘germanisation’ of the Scots in Prussia is stronger than that in the work of the pre-1945 ‘Borussian’ historians.²⁶

More widely though, early Polish interest in the theme mirrors the fate of the Polish state itself. Following partition, Polish scholars, of course, noticed and responded to the attempted erasing of the Commonwealth’s history.²⁷ Moreover, a fascination for Scottish and British culture, literature and technology developed, even if historiographical developments remained limited as long as incorporation in Prussia (and, indeed, Austria or Russia) thwarted aspirations for renewed statehood. Bogucka argues for the ‘special place’ occupied by the legend of Mary, Queen of Scots both before and after Schiller’s drama appeared on the stage in full translation for the first time, in 1844.²⁸ By that latter date, Polish versions of the works of James Thomson (1700-1748), James ‘Ossian’ Macpherson (1736-1796) and Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) had also appeared, and, by the 1840s, as Katia Kretkowska has shown, their reception had led to the publication of a Polish-language title, *Rozmaitości Szkockie* (‘The Scottish Miscellany’). Exiled Polish scholars also visited and wrote about Scotland: Maximilien de Lazowski travelled on foot through the country in 1786, Jan Potocki reached Orkney in 1787, while Izabela Czartoryska, Andrzej Zamoyski and Krystyn Lach-Szyrma are three further aristocratic adventurers who provided accounts of their Caledonian trips up to and including the early nineteenth century. Several of them showed an awareness of the earlier Scottish

community in the Commonwealth.²⁹ Meanwhile, Scottish émigré farmers were instigating the arrival of British machinery on Polish country estates.³⁰ It is not known if it was because of this more pragmatic connection that the historian and book collector, Tadeusz Czacki (1765-1813), became attracted to the theme, thereby beginning a trend for accounts that were more commerce-focused rather than concerning themselves with literary, social, cultural or political aspects. Czacki's sometime-Danzig residence on the Holy Ghost Street (*Heilig-Geist-Gasse*) today's *ulica Świętego Ducha*, lay in the area where Johanna Schopenhauer was born, close to the former 'House of English merchants' and 'Scottish Jetty', and just a few kilometres from those two of the city's neighbourhoods with names which, prior to 1918 as today, reflected their former Scottish connection: Alt-Schottland (today Stare Szkoty) and Neu-Schottland (today Nowe Szkoty).³¹

The lack of a Polish state from 1795, and the fact that few Poles were fluent in English, meant that there remained less work in that language on the theme compared to that emanating from German-speaking historians in Prussia prior to Poland re-emerging as a state after the First World War.³² However, as Waldemar Kowalski has shown, with the foundation of the second republic emerged a greater liberty for ethnic Poles to write about their national past in their mother tongue and to connect with international scholarship. It is, indeed, historians writing largely in Polish who have led the way regarding work on late medieval and early modern Scottish-Polish ties ever since. As Kowalski's recent survey of the Polish historiographical tradition indicates, in the inter-war years, they tended to highlight political and denominational factors.³³ The aforementioned Borowy was influential in this, since, during the 1930s, a wider circle of

his colleagues and compatriots followed him to research and teach in Great Britain.³⁴ The ensuing publications by Kot and Szumska are of relevance here too, even if they sometimes confused 'England' with 'Britain'.³⁵ Following the destruction brought to this nascent scholarly community by the Second World War, elements of Polish national historiography became 'aggressively and unstintingly placed in the service of *raison d'état* as regards the border areas of what became East Germany', so that it is only in the last few decades when, according to Friedrich and Zernack, the dialogue between Polish and German historians over the key problem of Prussia has become more fruitful.³⁶ Still, Jasnowski, Przewdziecki and Fedorowicz published works of value, and often in the English language, subsequent to resettling in the anglophone world.³⁷ In Poland too, there was a wave of work on socio-economic aspects of the connection, including contributions by, for example, Kossowski, Samsonowicz, Gierszewski, Guldon, Guldon and Stepkowski, Guldon and Krzystanek, and, more recently, Bogucka.³⁸ Featuring more of a British focus in accounting for the mercantile ties, there have been publications by Zins, Mierzwa and Krzystopa-Czupryńska.³⁹ Focusing on diplomacy, we have reliable contributions by Kalinowska, and also Sobiecki and Korytko, for English-language travel accounts a recent book by White, while Ostrowski and Cieszyńska have added to our understanding of the literary connection.⁴⁰ Most of these authors, even if Polish residents, have read widely not only within the Polish-language corpus but have, generally, tackled English-language sources and provided summaries of their articles and chapters in English too, although, on the whole, their engagement with the relevant German-language sources has been weaker, partly due to what has remained the relative inaccessibility of German material in Polish university libraries. It is a body of work has

grown in scope and ambition even more obviously due to the work of three other Polish writers. The two most prominent examples internationally - Anna Biegańska, an independent scholar, and the aforementioned Waldemar Kowalski of the Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce - have researched abroad and written numerous, extensively-researched pieces, from within what have become increasingly open scholarly surroundings.⁴¹ These are, furthermore, developments which clearly influenced Peter Paul Bajer, an ethnic Pole living in Australia, towards producing, in 2012, the first ever English-language monograph on the theme, arguably, the single most substantial work, in any language, on the topic to date.⁴² Innovative use of, for example, wills, epigraphs and epitaphs, have allowed Kowalski and Bajer, in particular, two scholars whose work reflects a much broader understanding of international developments in social and emigration history than that of previous Polish writers, to emphasise the role of women migrants as well as to compare the socio-economic with other motives, providing fresh input increasingly thereby also to the previously thin English-language historiographical tradition.⁴³ Also welcome in extending the reach of the Polish historiography have been the scholarly groups and events in Poland that have begun to pay attention to the theme. 2000 saw a highly successful and fruitful conference in Warsaw at the Polish Academy of Sciences, while, most recently, the town of Kazimierz Dolny has hosted two international gatherings (2012, 2014), organised by staff at the Institute of English Studies, University of Warsaw. Both, to a greater or lesser extent, covered the former Scottish community. The first of these latter conferences has already generated a volume edited by Korzeniowska and Szymańska, containing three papers

focusing specifically on the Scots in Poland-Lithuania, these from an historical (Kowalski, Crickmar), and linguistic (Kopaczyk) perspective.⁴⁴

Scottish and British approaches

Within Scotland and Britain, contributions have, until very recently, been more modest. We might look for precursors in the travel accounts of British and Irish visitors to the Commonwealth, and the fewer numbers of Polish memoirs of visits to Scotland, which comment on the historical background to the Scottish presence in the Commonwealth. The only one of the Polish-exiled residents of the Scottish capital during the nineteenth century who is known today to have influenced significantly the understanding in Scotland of the former community in Poland was Count Valerian Krasinski. Krasinski persuaded Edinburgh residents and some members of the Scottish aristocracy to the extent that *The Scotsman* reported in 1864 on a lecture there by 'Mr Carruthers of Inverness' in the following way:

Great numbers of our countrymen settled there [Poland] - some in the army, some as merchants - and it would almost seem, as a Polish writer (Count Valerian Krasinski) had said, that there is a mysterious link connecting the two distant countries. If in those bygone days Scotsmen sought and found a home and sanctuary in Poland, in our own times a warm and brotherly sympathy for the suffering and exiled Poles has been manifested in Scotland.⁴⁵

Otherwise - and notwithstanding the influential re-publication, in 1863 and again in 1906, of William Lithgow's insightful contemporary travel account and its exaggerated claims

as regards the numbers of Scots involved, as well as the story of a Scot in Poland making a ‘homecoming’ in spectral form, that of Hugh Miller’s returning ghost (the ‘Rich Polander’) - there was no firm basis for an historiographical tradition.⁴⁶ As Friedrich and Zernack have argued, the English-language historiography of the northern and western parts of the Commonwealth, such as it existed before 1945, tended to adhere to ‘the teleological German vision of *kleindeutsche* historians, their neglect of Prussian-Polish relations and their ignorance of the lively - if usually negatively tainted interest Polish historians have shown in the Prussian past itself’.⁴⁷

The works of the German writer, Fischer, wielded a preponderant influence on all in Scotland who broached the topic. In 1930, for example, Aberdonian scholar, W. Douglas Simpson, published an article in which he stated:⁴⁸

That Scottish memorials should exist in this remote cathedral [Marienwerder] is less surprising than at first we may think, for during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries very large numbers of Scotsmen emigrated to Prussia, where their descendants in many cases still flourish. The late Dr Th. A. Fischer devoted a considerable book to tracing out these Scottish emigrants into the district beyond the Vistula.⁴⁹

Later in the 1930s, a student at the University of Königsberg, Bruno Fuchs, began work on a PhD, for which he sought the support of the Scottish historical community, suggesting the German historiographical tradition was not resonating with scholars so far east by that point. Writing to *Notes and Queries* on 8 August 1936, Fuchs stated, somewhat pessimistically, that:

There are no German books written on this subject, and I could only procure three works written in English... ..I have gone through these and have made out that they do not give me enough material for my thesis. I need some more information on the origin of the Scots and English who came over to Germany and especially to Eastern and Western Prussia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I should like to know the cause of their emigration. Some seem to have as merchants; others left England or Scotland because of religious persecution.⁵⁰

Fuchs persevered, although he continued to rely almost exclusively on the earlier German-language historiography. He lost his life during the war. However, a contact of his, E. V. K. Brill, noted the importance of his dissertation for understanding the history of Scottish migration to 'North East Germany' in a 1948 article, while the Reverend Duncan Shaw of Chapelvernas has also explored Fuchs' material since the early 1970s.⁵¹

Two further groups of anglophone scholar of the Scots in Poland-Lithuania can be ascertained, both of whom have backed interpretations of the Commonwealth past that are more Polish-focused. The first are representatives of those Polish émigrés to Scotland and the rest of the English-speaking world who arrived as a result of the Second World War and committed themselves to looking at crossovers in the histories of the two nations. Historically-minded Polish travellers, historians and political exiles had visited Scotland before then, as has been shown. However, the volume of Poles arriving at the mid-twentieth century point to serve on behalf of the Allied cause led to a key moment in British-Polish relations, which, in turn, affected the writing of history. In an account of his time spent in Scotland during World War Two, one Polish soldier reported a

conversation between a young Polish scholar and his commander while serving north of the Tweed:

‘Well gentlemen’ started the graduate of two universities [the soldier], ‘you may find it difficult to believe, but there was a time when there were as many Scotsmen in Poland as there are now Poles in Scotland.’

‘Impossible’ muttered the Major...⁵²

Regarding trained historians working within the wartime and post-1945 framework, English-language accounts by ethnic Poles (for instance, the aforementioned works by Jasnowski, Przedziecki and Fedorowicz) are of relevance. In Scotland itself, two academically-minded members of the Polish community came to the fore in terms of scholarly writing: Stanislaw Seliga, sometime lecturer in Polish at St Andrews, and the Glasgow-domiciled medieval historian, Professor Leon Koczy, both advanced the soldier’s mission to spread the word, publishing, in 1969, *Scotland and Poland: A Chapter in Forgotten History* in the explicit hope of ‘fostering friendship between our nations’.⁵³

As for the second group of anglophone writers, these have been scholars with no obvious Polish family connection, but who have become involved either from the perspective of the wider study of Scottish emigration or through a commitment to broader Polish history. The first Scottish scholar to take a rigorous approach to the topic, if from what seems now to be an inconsistent and linguistically-limited view of the Polish-Prussian past, was the Aberdonian journalist, John Malcolm Bulloch (1867-1938).⁵⁴ The first major non-Polish language contribution involving academic historians to show any

significant engagement with the Slavic-language background of many of the population amongst whom the emigrants had lived was the 1915 publication by the Scottish History Society, *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland*. The volume was officially edited by Archibald Francis Steuart, the society's recently retired former secretary, and is of immense value, although marred by an anti-semitic undertone for which Steuart may not have been to blame. Steuart's introduction acknowledges that the work had been 'made by and in part edited' by a researcher named Beatrice Baskerville, who claimed to have spent eight years in Poland.⁵⁵ Historians today can be thankful that work in the English-speaking world has been less obviously prejudicial since then. Scholars such as T.C. Smout, Alasdair M. Stewart, Robert Frost, Allan MacInnes and Arthur Williamson have ploughed new furrows, although in none of these cases is the Scottish community in Poland-Lithuania the main focus of their work.⁵⁶ In 2009, an Edinburgh conference took place, covering, in equal part, the Scots in Poland-Lithuania, and also Polish migration to Scotland, this leading to the organisers, Professor T.M. Devine and his then-PhD student, David Hesse, publishing an important and accessible volume in 2011, featuring contributions from Neal Ascherson alongside several other of the leading scholars. Recent, highly-sophisticated work linking Scotland and northern Europe remains crucial here for scholars seeking to understand the nature of the networks involved, nevertheless.⁵⁷

Conclusion

Although relevant historical work written in Lithuanian-, Yiddish-, Hebrew- and other languages is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this article, it is evident that historians

writing in German, Polish or English have made huge strides in recent decades to further the 'unfinished work' and repair the 'damaged materials' referred to by Borowy. Regarding historians writing in these three linguistic frameworks, which continue to generate most publications on the topic, their work on the Scots in Poland-Lithuania is surely of great significance in understanding the theme, and it is appropriate to assess the often extraordinary efforts that have characterised it. Although it may continue to surprise some in the English-speaking historical community, the topic has never been an ignored one. Indeed, the volume of scholarly studies amongst Germans and, even more so, Poles over the centuries - through Prussia's rise and fall, Germany's transformations, along with Poland's frequently posited presence in Europe as partitioned, terminated then 'resurrected' state, to Nazi-occupied zone, through Communism, Solidarity, the eventual joining of the European Union and the subsequent arrival in Scotland (and sometimes fairly rapid departure) of thousands of Poles and others from the lands once encompassed by the Commonwealth, is striking. It is a tradition that has not been so obvious, at least until recently, within the English-speaking academic world. Nevertheless, these historiographical threads provide a background that it is imperative for supervisors and funding bodies to take account of, so as to ensure that new scholars in this still-developing field, attain a reading knowledge in the several European languages of relevance to the theme.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In Poland, I would like to thank Professor Waldemar Kowalski, Dr Anna Kalinowska, Dr Joanna Kopaczyk, as well as staff and students at the Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce and the University of Wrocław, for their help in the development of this article. I am also grateful to Richard Torrance and the staff at the Scottish Genealogy Society in

Edinburgh for providing me with access to notes relating to Bruno Fuchs as well as a draft of his PhD thesis.

NOTES

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- ¹ Borowy, *Anglo-polonica*.
- ² Weintraub, 'Review', 328; Maślanki, ed. *Wacław Borowy*.
- ³ Murdoch, 'Introduction'; Mijers and Murdoch, 'Migrant destinations, 1500-1750'.
- ⁴ Friedrich, 'Introduction'; *The Other Prussia*; Kopp and Nizynska, eds. *Germany, Poland and Postmemorial Relations*.
- ⁵ Demshuk, 'Reinscribing Schlesien', 41-2.
- ⁶ Ascherson, "'Brothers and Sisters for a' That'", 7.
- ⁷ 6 February 1635, Paris, (original Latin), Jan Jonston to Samuel Hartlib, in Hitchens et al., *The Letters of Jan Jonston*, 125.
- ⁸ Biegańska, 'Learned Scots', 16; Matuszewski, 'Jan Jonston', 37-53.
- ⁹ Placenames are given in their official, modern form first, although, on first use, their most widely-used international version during the period of the Commonwealth is provided in parentheses.
- ¹⁰ Morcinek, *Inwentarz*, xvi, 152; Töppen, 'Die Elbinger Geschichtsschreiber', 32-44; Biegańska, 'Learned Scots', 16; Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 233; Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, 160; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 142.
- ¹¹ Friedrich, "'Pomorze" or "Preussen"?", 352; *The Other Prussia*, 3.
- ¹² Hillebrand, 'Britain and Gdańsk', 305.
- ¹³ Hillebrand, *Danzig und die Kaufmannschaft*, 308, 315; Butterwick, *Poland's Last King*.
- ¹⁴ Machaelis-Jena and Merson eds., *A Lady Travels*, xii, 27, 54-6.
- ¹⁵ Schopenhauer, *Der Bettler; Poor Margaret; Richard Wood; Jugendleben und Wanderbilder*. For further, secondary analysis, see Hillebrand, 'Britain and Gdańsk', 317, 323; Dworetzki, *Johanna Schopenhauer*.
- ¹⁶ Fritzsche, 'The Archive', 20.
- ¹⁷ Hillebrand, *Danzig und die Kaufmannschaft*, 21-4.
- ¹⁸ *Urkunden und Beyträge*, 85-100; Grothe, 'Ramseyowie', 106-10. Hillebrand, *Danzig und die Kaufmannschaft*, 19-20.
- ¹⁹ Curthoys and Docker, *Is History Fiction?*, 50-68.
- ²⁰ Schmitt, *Geschichte des Deutsch-Croner Kreises*, 145.
- ²¹ Schmitt, *Geschichte des Stuhmer Kreises*, 132-3.
- ²² Fischer, *The Scots in Germany; The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*.
- ²³ This allowed Bruno Fuchs to produce a final draft of a PhD thesis, just before the outbreak of war. See Fuchs, 'Die wirtschaftliche und bevölkerungs-politische Bedeutung'.
- ²⁴ Ruffmann, 'Engländer und Schotten', 17-39. On Danzig, see Hillebrand, *Danzig und die Kaufmannschaft*, 17-51. For accounts relating to 'Pomerania', see H. Riemann, 'Die Schotten in Pommern', 597-612; Wechmar and Biederstedt, 'Die schottische Einwanderung', 7-28. See, also, focusing on the area to the north-west: Bethe, 'Die schottische Kompagnie in Greifswald': 'Schotten in Anklam', a follow-up to Bruinier, 'Schotten in Anklam'.
- ²⁵ Sembrzycki, 'Die Schotten und Engländer'; 'Kant's Vorfahren'.
- ²⁶ Kowalski, 'The Reason for the Immigration', 38-49.
- ²⁷ Porter, *When Nationalism*.
- ²⁸ Bogucka, 'Mary Stuart in Legend', 87-89.
- ²⁹ McLeod, ed., *From Charlotte Square*; Kretkowska, 'Scotland in the Life of the Polish Country Estate', 171; Tomaszewski, ed., *The University of Edinburgh*; Lipoński, *Polska a Brytania*; Bülow, 'Journey through England and Scotland'; Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita*, 99-103; Scarfe, *To the Highlands*; Gmerek, 'Scotland in the Eyes of Two Polish Lady Travellers'.
- ³⁰ Kretkowska, 'Scotland in the Life of the Polish Country Estate'.

³¹ Fedorowicz, *England's Baltic trade*; Szumska, *Anglia a Polska*, 6.

³² For a comparison of Italians and Scots in Cracow, see, Grabowski, *Starożytnicze wiadomości*, 232-4. Two further articles, one by Aleksander Wejnert, and the other, by the art historian, Stanisław Tomkowicz, are exceptional cases. Tomkowicz used works by Sembrzycki, Grabowski and Wejnert as his major secondary sources. See Aleksander Wejnert, 'Prawa i swobody Szkotów'; Tomkowicz, 'Przyczynek do historii Szkotów'; Kowalski, 'The Reason for the Immigration', 42.

³³ *Ibid.*, 45.

³⁴ Borowy, 'Skąd w Krośnie', 239; 'Prześadowani katolicy', 111-24; *Scots in Old Poland*; 'Anglicy, szkoci i irlandzycy'. For more on this circle, see Kridl, 'Wacław Borowy'; Cieszkowski, *Wacław Borowy*.

³⁵ Kot, 'Anglo-Polonica'; Szumska, *Anglia a Polska*. See also, for Polish sources with further 'British' references, Tyszka, *Anglia a Polska*; Weintraub, 'Anglik przyjaciel', 71, 74. Weintraub was superseded by Odložilik, 'Thomas Seget'. Another 1930s work, on the Scots in Lublin, is: Sadownik, 'Szkoci w Lublinie'. Kot and Borowy also wrote frequently on local aspects of the connection in weekly and monthly magazines. See, also, for the Taylors, Taylor, *Historja rodziny Taylorów*.

³⁶ Friedrich and Zernack, 'Developments', 318.

³⁷ Jasnowski, 'England and Poland'; Przędziecki, *Diplomatic Ventures*; Fedorowicz, *England's Baltic trade*; Hinton, *The Eastland Trade*.

³⁸ Kossowski, 'Przyczynek do dziejów Szkotów'; Gierszewski, 'Szkoci w mniejszych miastach'; Samsonowicz, 'Handel zagraniczny Gdansku'; 'Deux forms d'activité commercial'; Guldon, *Żydzi i Szkoci*; Guldon and Stępkowski, 'Szkoci i Anglicy'; Guldon and Stępkowski, 'Ludność szkocka', Guldon and Krzystanek, 'Żydzi i Szkoci'; Guldon and Guldon, 'Saga szkockiego rodu Russellów'; Bogucka, 'Scots in Gdansk'; Kosicka, 'Emigracja Szkotów'; Sęczys, 'Szkoci w Polsce'.

³⁹ Zins, *England and the Baltic*; *Polska w oczach Anglików*; Mierzwa, *Anglia a Polska*; Krzystopa-Czupryńska, *Kompania Wschodnia*. Jacek Feduszka takes a local focus in his 'Szkoci i Anglicy'.

⁴⁰ Kalinowska, 'William Bruce'; "'Pardon me my Lord'"; Sobiecki, 'The Authorship'; Korytko, 'Angielska mediaj'; Krawczyk, 'The British in Poland'; White, *Obraz kultury Rzeczypospolitej*. For the literary connections, see Ostrowski, 'Angielsko-polskie'; Cieszyńska, 'Literackie okruchy'; 'Polish Religious Persecution'. Eriksonas and Žirgulis have explored the Lithuanian connection. See Žirgulis, 'The Scottish Community'; Eriksonas, 'The Lost Colony of Scots'.

⁴¹ Biegańska, 'Wielka emigracja'; 'James Murray'; 'Scottish Merchants'; 'A Note on the Scots'; 'Andrew Davidson'; 'In Search of Tolerance'; 'Subscribers from Poland'; 'Learned Scots in Poland'; Kowalski, *Wielka Imigracja*; 'The Placement'; 'The Scotsmen in the Cracow Market'; 'Robert Spens'; 'Patrick Gordon'; 'Kraków Citizenship'.

⁴² Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*.

⁴³ *Ibid.*; Kowalski, 'Kraków Citizenship'; '*Comonitas gentis Scoticae*'.

⁴⁴ Korzeniowska and Szymańska, eds. *Scotland in Europe*. Meanwhile, Nowe Szkoty, a Scottish Studies Research Group at the University of Gdańsk, has potential to encourage further collaborative research. See, <http://noweszkoty.com/> (accessed 15 October 2014).

⁴⁵ 3 February 1864, *The Scotsman*, 6. I am indebted to Professor Waldemar Kowalski for the reference.

⁴⁶ Miller, *Scenes and Legends*, 361-2; Bosworth, *An Intrepid Scot*, 15-17, 21-2.

⁴⁷ Friedrich and Zernack, 'Developments', 319.

⁴⁸ Simpson, 'Scottish Memorials'.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 330

⁵⁰ Fuchs, 'Scots and English in Prussia', 97.

⁵¹ Brill, 'A Sixteenth Century Complaint', 187, n.3. This reference led Reverend Dr Duncan Shaw of Chapelverna to make contact with Fuchs's family, who donated his research notes (and a draft of his thesis) to Shaw in 1972. In turn, Shaw donated these, and his own notes, to the Scottish Genealogy Society in 2013, this forming the basis for a recent six-volume collection of painstakingly-compiled pamphlets, available from the Scottish Genealogy Society in Edinburgh. See Torrance, ed. *The Scots in Prussia*.

⁵² Pruszyński, *Polish Invasion*, 63.

⁵³ Seliga and Koczy, *Scotland and Poland*.

⁵⁴ Bulloch, *The Name of Gordon*; *The Gay Gordons*; *The Gordons of Coldwells*; *The Gordons of Poland*; *Gordons in Germany*. Bulloch left copies of most of his publications with the University of Aberdeen, while further material is kept in the British Library.

⁵⁵ Baskerville, *The Polish Jew*. The Steuart edited publication stirred up a new interest in the Scots in Poland among Scotsman readers. See, 2 August 1923, *The Scotsman*, 9.

⁵⁶ Smout, 'Scottish Commercial Factors', 122-128; *Scottish Trade*; Stewart, ed. *Scots in the Baltic*; Pernal and Gasse, 'The 1651 Polish Subsidy'; Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers'; MacInnes, 'The Hidden Commonwealth'; Williamson, 'The Nation Epidemical'; MacDonald, 'A History'. See also, for 'Central Europe' more widely, Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions*.

⁵⁷ Devine and Hesse, eds. *Scotland and Poland*, contains chapters by Neal Ascherson, Kowalski, Bajer, Kalinowska, Worthington, and two by Frost in relation to this theme. See, also, for an introduction, the works by Mijers and Murdoch, Murdoch, Grosjean and Eriksonas referred to in the bibliography.

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