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*Published in:*

Robert Wojciech Portius de Lanxeth - kronieski mieszczanin, kupiec i fundator

*Publication date:*

2019

*The Document Version you have downloaded here is:*

Peer reviewed version

### [Link to author version on UHI Research Database](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*

Worthington, D. (2019). The Scots in Poland in Memory and History. In P. opatkiewicz (Ed.), *Robert Wojciech Portius de Lanxeth - kronieski mieszczanin, kupiec i fundator* (pp. 8-28). Krosno State College.

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## **The Scots in Poland in Memory and History – Dr David Worthington (University of the Highlands and Islands)**

### Abstract (2000-2,500 characters)

This chapter considers academic writing and cultural memory in the case of a specific ethnic group. Its focus is one of the minorities in the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania (1569-1795), where some contemporaries and later commentators estimated there to have lived, at a high point, 30,000 or more people of Scottish background. Although this figure has been questioned by recent historians, the community of people of Scottish origins which could have been found there, most especially in the last years of the sixteenth- and beginning of the seventeenth-century, comprised a key numerical part of what can be considered the ‘first Scottish diaspora’. This was a dispersal largely to neighbouring North Sea and Baltic countries. However, ever since the partitioning of Poland-Lithuania, reference to this particular aspect of Scottish movement and settlement within Europe has been inconsistent, if we compare both ‘host’ with ‘sending’ society, and also historiography with cultural memory. In central Europe, scholarly arguments have focused around the multi-ethnic character of the former state and, through this, the part the Scots - their origins and social background assumed to have been largely ‘Lowland’ - played in that setting. Surviving evidence from place- and personal names, references to the mercantile and military presence in literature, film and other commemorations, has continued to collide, influence and overlap with this, as will be indicated. The chapter argues that, in order to understand the memory of the Scots in Poland, it is necessary to consider the presence of the Polish community in Scotland, and thereby employs the concept of ‘diasporic memory’. It considers the case of Robert Portius in this context, concluding that, albeit an extremely important individual to consider, Portius is, in many ways, atypical of the Scottish migrant in early-modern Poland-Lithuania, in his wealth, his Catholicism, and the imprint he has left on the town of Krosno. More generally, it is only with the growth of English as an academic lingua franca and with recent waves of migration from Poland and neighbouring countries to the British Isles, that Scotland, and the anglophone world more widely, has begun to contribute significantly towards highlighting the threads that have always linked historiography and memory in Poland and other successor states to the Commonwealth, with respect to this former ethnic group.

### Introduction

‘Scots in Poland, Poles in Scotland’ is the title of one of the short courses we teach at the Centre for History, University of the Highlands and Islands. The case to be made in this chapter is that our knowledge and memory of the two migrations - Scots to Poland, and Poles to Scotland - is intertwined. A fitting place to start is with wartime Polish journalist Ksawery Pruszyński (1907-50) who wrote a book, published in 1941, about his time in Scotland, entitled *Polish Invasion*. As is well known, following the fall of France in 1940, Polish forces prepared to arrive in Scotland in what would be tens of 1,000s. Here was one comment Pruszyński reported from a Polish recruit:

You know, in the north of England, of that island, there is a Nation called the Scots. They speak English but they are different. They wear their own costume and all the men go about in skirts. Haven’t you seen pictures in the newspapers? The English say the Scots can look after their pennies better than anyone. And one Polish aspirant who speaks English says that we are sailing to Scotland to rebuild our army there. So we shall find out about those Scots<sup>1</sup>.

Then, on initial arrival in the country:

Such was the encounter between the sons of a Slav nation and the Celts of the North. A meeting between the people of the Vistula plains, the mountains of Podhale, the forests of Pomorze and the rich fields of Poznan with the peoples of the Highlands, the Clyde and the Tay. Each knew very little about the other, and what they knew was often untrue. The one took the other for a kind of Englishman and was rewarded by being taken for a kind of Russian. But war is a great teacher of geography, helping to make discoveries hardly less startling than those of

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<sup>1</sup> Ksawery Pruszyński, *Polish Invasion*, London 1941, 2007 ed., p.6.

Columbus or of Cook<sup>2</sup>.

Yet, as some of the soldiers found out, or knew already, the two places were not so unconnected. In Chapter Twelve, ‘Scotsmen in Poland’, Pruszyński describes the actions of a Polish commander requesting a soldier give a history lesson, the following day, to a body of his compatriots in their new Caledonian base. The high-ranking officer states that he ‘asked our learned Cadet to prepare a short lecture about Polish-Scottish relations in the course of history’ and the following day he was ready, the talk beginning as follows:

‘Well, gentlemen,’ started the young graduate of two universities, ‘you may find it hard to believe, but there was once a time when there was as many Scots in Poland as there are now Poles in Scotland’.

‘Impossible’ muttered the Major<sup>3</sup>.

Pruszyński’s cadet then covered that ‘impossible’ migration. Indeed, at the end of the book, the author even imagined Poles welcoming their Scottish hosts into the Bay of Gdańsk in the aftermath of an emphatic victory over the Nazis for both the Scots and the Poles, a proposed re-enactment of the earlier Scottish migration to Poland that is poignant given the horrors that would then come.

### **Scottish ‘Diasporic Memory’ and Poland**

Cultural memory, or its absence, influences historical understanding. There is a vast range of conceptual writing on national memories and historiographies, how they, paradoxically, both clash and interact depending on the context. Evidently, emigration is deserving of its own study in this regard. Indeed, we have the concept of ‘diasporic memory’ for which we can be grateful to Andreas Huyssen, Professor of German and Comparative Literature at the University of Columbia. Huyssen’s ‘diasporic memory’ seeks to include dispersed groups or representatives of current or former ethnic minorities in the national memories of their host and origin societies<sup>4</sup>.

Regarding Scotland and its diasporic memory, one of the key conclusions of most recent scholarly works, is that, globally, since the eighteenth-century, this memory has been increasingly ‘Highland’ rather than ‘Lowland’ in nature<sup>5</sup>. In Poland, examples of this

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Andreas Huyssen, ‘Diaspora and Nations: Migration into Other Parts’, *New German Critique*, 2003, 88, p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper, ‘The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland’, in Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Oxford 1983; Timothy Ambrose, ed., *Presenting Scotland’s Story*, London 1989; Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, London 1989; David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely, eds., *Scotland—the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage*, Edinburgh 1995; Charles W. J. Withers, ‘The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands’, in Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley, eds., *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, Edinburgh 1992; Charles W. J. Withers, ‘Place, Memory, Monument: Memorialising the Past in Contemporary Highland Scotland’, *Ecumene*, 1996, 3, pp. 325–44; Laurence Gouriévidis, *The Dynamics of Heritage: History, Memory, and the Highland Clearances*, Aldershot 2010; ‘Representing the Disputed Past of Northern Scotland: The Highland Clearances in Museums’, *History and Memory*, 2000, 12(2), pp. 122–41; John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, “‘The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders’: Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden”, *History & Memory*, 2007, 19(1), pp. 5–38. See also Andrew Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory*, Edinburgh 2010. For further work on memory in the Scottish diaspora, see Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance eds., *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia, c. 1700–1990*, Edinburgh 1999; Marjory Harper ed., *Emigrant Homecomings. The Return Movement of Emigrants 1600–2000*, Manchester 2005; Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and Heritage-Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora*, London 2007; Celeste Ray ed., *Transatlantic Scots*, Tuscaloosa 2005; Mario Varrichio ed., *Back to Caledonia: Scottish Homecomings from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, Edinburgh 2012; David Hesse, ‘Warrior Dreams: Playing Scotsmen in Mainland Europe, 1945–2010’, (University of Edinburgh PhD Thesis 2011), pp. 32, 103, 111.

'Highlandism' would be those pointed out by David Hesse, such as, a 2010 festival celebrating 'Celtic' culture in the Polish village of Szkotowo (a place name itself reflecting its earlier connection with Scotland), 'Polish Highland Games athletes and a pipe band from the city of Gdańsk', this neglecting to mention examples such as the well-known pipe band, Częstochowa Pipes and Drums. The general point is a significant one, however, in that Highland and Celtic tropes affect modern Polish re-presentations of Scotland in diverse and often unexpected ways as they do the Scottish peoples' perception of themselves<sup>6</sup>.

This is not to argue that the Highland region of Scotland does not have tangible connections with Poland. 'Nasz-Dom' is the inscription on a late twentieth-century house sign in Nigg, Easter Ross, adjacent to another property with Polish connections from at least 250 years earlier. Sometime in the 1720s, Alexander Ross - an Easter Ross merchant who had settled with a wife and two children in Poland - made the decision to become a return migrant. By way of Scots Law, Ross received possession, in 1721, of the land and immovables of Easter Kindeace, just north of today's Nigg village, which he chose to rename 'Ankerville', an 'anker' being a measure of volume, dry or liquid, held in a barrel. Subsequent accounts suggest that, metaphorically-speaking, any celebratory homecoming glass may have been half empty. Richard Pococke, Anglican Bishop of Meath, travelled through the area later in the century, and was appalled by the story of Alexander's life in Poland and his return. Influenced by an emerging, in part, pejorative stereotype, both of the Scottish Highlands and, in a very different way, Poland, Pococke's account related Ross's 'low beginning', to serving the Polish crown and, from there, his return to the Highlands where he died 'much reduced in his finances between twenty and thirty years agoe.' Pococke was not the last to remember Ross's return across the Baltic and North Sea. As late as the mid-nineteenth century, a local pointed out to the Cromarty-born writer, Hugh Miller, a 'ghost story, that made some noise in its day; but it is now more than a century old'. Its spectral subject was Ross, who the people of Nigg had come to know as the 'Rich Polander', although other details of the ghost story had, by Miller's time, long since been forgotten<sup>7</sup>. Yet, in nearby Invergordon, a Polish War Memorial survives today and is the location for an annual remembrance service for those who arrived in the Second World War to serve the allied cause, many of them settling in the area thereafter. For example, the late Józef 'Joe' Zawięski (1923-2011) found himself there as a survivor of the Battle of Monte Cassino in 1944, helped both to build the camp and, after the war, the monument there. Research to date has yet to confirm if it was one of his fellow Polish ex-combatants who had made a home so close to Ankerville at 'Nasz-Dom'.

### **Central European Cultural Memories of the Scots in Poland**

#### ***German Memories in the Period of the Partitions***

These Highland examples do not account for a cultural memory of Scottish migration of long duration in central Europe, and which has emphasised the strongly mercantile or intellectual, indeed Lowland, features of the Scottish diaspora's representatives in the region. In other words, 'Highlandism' has had a minimal presence in central European cultural memory of its former Scottish ethnic community.

As regards its complexities, we can see an ethnically German cultural memory of Scots in the region in occasional contemporary broadsheet and literary depictions of the mercantile and rather 'Lowland' Scot. Maurer has shown how relevant entries in eighteenth-century German encyclopaediae and in literature (for example, Johanna Schopenhauer) drew on existing Scottish stereotypes that also had origins in the tradition of migration<sup>8</sup>. Other evocations of the Scottish

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<sup>6</sup> Hesse, 'Warrior Dreams', pp. 2, 110, 205.

<sup>7</sup> Hugh Miller, *Scenes and Legends from the North of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1869, pp. 361-2.

<sup>8</sup> Hartmut Ruffer and Kathrin Zickermann, 'German Reactions to the Scots in the Holy Roman Empire During the Thirty Years' War', in Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, pp.272-92; Michael Maurer, 'Was wußten die Deutschen des 18. Jahrhunderts von Schottland', in Winfried Siebers and Uwe Zagratzki, eds., *Deutsche Schottlandbilder: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte*, Osnabrück 1998, pp. 17-18. A detailed study of German and Prussian newspaper references to the Scots could provide further relevant evidence.

presence can be found in popular culture, especially in the 123-year period of the partitions, from 1795-1918: newspapers are one source, while Zagratzki has investigated the evolution of ‘*Schottenwitze*’ (‘Scottish jokes’) in Prussia, Austria and elsewhere in the German-speaking world over the same period and connected this, not just with travellers and reading, but, more explicitly, with the diminishing Scottish ethnic community of those times<sup>9</sup>. German-speaking civic worthies and historians in the southern Baltic ports like the Ramsey family in Elbląg and Wilhelm Crichton in Królewiec (Königsberg/Kaliningrad) were descended from Scottish families who had arrived in the Commonwealth period and were aware of this. As late as 1903, Thomas Alfred Fischer noted the mercantile nature of the phenomenon in what was, for him, Prussia, in the survival of the saying ‘*Warte bis der Schotte kommt*’ (‘wait till the Scot comes’) which he remembered operating ‘as a term of encouragement or maybe a threat for misbehaving children’<sup>10</sup>. More generally, Fischer wrote:

...still even to this day one finds and gladly notices among the descendants of the Scottish settlers the old origin remembered and cherished, like the far off echo of an old tune or the dim halo around a sacred head. Sometimes it takes the form of certain pronounced mental or moral qualities, sometimes that of a predilection for the English tongue, or of a longing for the country where their cradle stood, most frequently that eminently characteristic one of long pedigrees, intricate, and hard to unravel. The heart-throb is still there; but now it is the heartthrob without the pain of separation’<sup>11</sup>.

Later in the same book, Fischer recorded the longer-term impact of the earlier ‘flooding of Scottish traders’ to the extent that:

Besides the name *Schott* or *Schotte*, which came to signify throughout the German Empire a pedlar, and its derivations as ‘*Schottenkram*’, ‘*Schottenhandel*’, ‘*Schottenpfaffe*’, ‘*Schottenfrau*’, we have quite a number of traces of the old immigrants in local topography. There is a village called ‘*Schottland*’ in the district of Lauenburg [Łębork], in Pomerania, with eighty-four inhabitants and ten houses; another Schottland in the Danzig lowlands in Western Prussia, numbering some 200 souls; a *kirchdorf* (village with a church), ‘*Schottland*’ in the district of Bromberg [Bydgoszcz] in Posen, also numbering about 200 inhabitants. A so-called *Schottenkolonie* exists near Neuhausen [Guryevsk], in the district of Königsberg, Eastern Prussia. There are besides three so-called ‘*Schottenkrüige*’, Scotch inns, one four miles distant from Marienburg [Malbork], in the Danzig district, another in the district of Marienwerder [Kwidzyn], a third near the city of Culm [Chełmno], in Western Prussia. What the precise connection of these inns with the Scots was, whether they were at one time in possession of Scotsmen, or because they were placed in a district where many Scots lived, or finally, because they were much frequented by the Scots - and who would deny the latter eventuality? - it would be difficult to say. They are there, at any rate, witnesses of a dim past, when the county was flooded by Scottish traders. There was also a ‘*Schottengang*’ (‘Scottish lane’) at Danzig, which already boasted of an Alt-and Neu-Schottland, as we have seen<sup>12</sup>.

### ***Polish Memories***

A distinct Polish cultural memory of the mercantile presence in the region of the former Commonwealth stretches back to contemporary coverage in, for example, late Renaissance

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<sup>9</sup> Uwe Zagratzki, ‘Armut, Erfolg, Familiensinn, Zur Genese des Schottenwitzes und seiner Rezeption in der deutschen Alltagskultur’, Siebers and Zagratzki, eds., *Deutsche Schottlandbilder*, p.178.

<sup>10</sup> T.A. Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, Edinburgh 1903, p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 113-4.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 233-4.

poetry<sup>13</sup>. Such references could include comparisons with other ethnic groups in the Commonwealth, especially its Jewish people<sup>14</sup>. With the Sobieski connection to the Jacobites, ‘Ossianism’, then the beginnings of Polish travel to Scotland - one thinks of Maximilien de Lazowski (1786), Felix Yaniewicz (1815), Krystyn Lach-Szyrma (1820s) and Fryderyk Chopin (1837, 1848) - knowledge of the connection was, to some extent, maintained in the period when Poland was stateless. There were indeed, further Scottish migrations. The village in Poland now called Szkocja was first established as part of an early nineteenth-century Scottish migration (a settlement that once included the farms of Covenlock, New York, Longwood / Ludwinowo, Linton, Berwik and Bromfield). Aleksander Guttry (1813-91?) born in Paryż near Żnin in Prussian Poland, Guttry claimed descent from George Guthrie, a seventeenth-century Scottish soldier who had been given Polish nobility in 1673. He would take part in almost all of the nineteenth-century Polish risings and in some very poorly-known diplomacy with Britain, all of this with the aim of re-creating a Polish state. However, the current, limited state of research shows only a small number of the Polish-exiled residents of the Scotland during the nineteenth century to have influenced significantly the understanding in Scotland of the former community in Poland. One was Count Walerian Krasiński. Krasiński 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<sup>15</sup>.

Literature began to be the focus of Polish memorialisation of the former Scottish presence, at least its military aspects, in the late nineteenth century. The well-known 1886 trilogy by Henryk Sienkiewicz (and, later the 1969 film version) features a dashing officer called ‘Hasling-Ketling of Elgin’. Jerzy Pietrkiewicz’s (1916–2007), British-exiled Polish poet, novelist, translator, and literary critic published a novel, *Loot and Loyalty* (in 1955) covering Scottish migrants to seventeenth century Poland which has only recently been published in Polish as *Zdobycz i wierność*. In the 1960s, the novelist and playwright Jerzy Rychliński’s ‘*Kapitan Mory*’ character was based on the real historical figure of James Murray, a seventeenth century Lowland Scottish naval architect in the service of the Polish crown<sup>16</sup>.

Historian, James Hunter, has documented the renewal of the MacLeods of Skye’s ancestral connection with the aforementioned Polish Machlejd, instigated by the return to Scotland from Warsaw in the 1930s of Jerzy Machlejd, in order to research in the Clan MacLeod archives at Dunvegan Castle on the island<sup>17</sup>. However, the post-1940 and post-2004 waves of migration to Scotland from Poland have clearly had an influence on more recent evocations and even nascent heritage in both Scotland and Poland. In the former, two academically-minded members of that wartime community came much more to the fore in terms of scholarly writing. Stanislaw Seliga, sometime lecturer in Polish at St Andrews, and the Glasgow- domiciled

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<sup>13</sup> Filipa Sulimierski, Bronisław Chlebowski and Władysław Walewski, eds., *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, Warsaw 1880-1902. See also Mona McLeod, *Agents of Change: The Scots in Poland, 1800-1918*, East Linton 2000; David Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c.1560-1688*, Aldershot 2012, p.194.

<sup>14</sup> W. Kowalski, ‘The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Leiden 2005, pp. 66-7, 84-5.

<sup>15</sup> 3 February 1864, *The Scotsman*, 6. I am indebted to Professor Waldemar Kowalski for the reference.

<sup>16</sup> Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Pan Michael: An Historical Novel of Poland, the Ukraine and Turkey*, trans. Jeremiah Curtin, London 1901. The two books by Rychliński are *Galeon kapitana Mory*, Warsaw, 1956, and *Fama kapitana Mory*, Warsaw, 1960; Hesse, ‘Warrior Dreams’, pp. 31, 103, 124; <https://www.gwfoksal.pl/zdobycz-i-wiernosc.html> (accessed 27 April 2018). On Pietrkiewicz, I am thankful to Dr Katarzyna Gmerek.

<sup>17</sup> James Hunter, *Scottish Exodus: Travels Among a Worldwide Clan*, Edinburgh, 2005.

medieval historian, Professor Leon Koczy, published, in 1969, *Scotland and Poland: A Chapter in Forgotten History* in the explicit hope of ‘fostering friendship between our nations’<sup>18</sup>. Jan Stepek was another veteran and businessman who encouraged research into these themes throughout the Communist period, and a greater profile for Polish-Scottish connections in Scotland, which has finally found fruition in, for example, the Great Polish Map of Scotland, a vast relief map of the country created in the grounds of a castle near Peebles by Polish veterans of the Second World War, and in the figure of ‘Wojtek’ where, through community workshops, a book, a memorial trust and now an Edinburgh monument, a beer-drinking, cigarette- smoking brown bear has become a visible symbol of that Scottish-Polish history. There is also some coverage of the Scots in Poland too, encouraged online via the Edinburgh-based, Polish-Scottish Heritage Project. Poles in Scotland today are making a profound contribution to this heritage, presenting themselves - with verve and imagination - as part of an historical tie with the country going back to the Scots in Poland.

In modern Poland, local landmarks (rivers, lakes, beaches, mountains, villages or even entire suburbs) reflecting the early modern Scottish mercantile presence can still be found and are sometimes highlighted for touristic purposes. It is, of course, at the point of death that these ‘sites of memory’ become especially apparent. As Gaynell Stone has argued: ‘Gravestones are an enduring and traditional part of a people's culture, and the cemetery is a nodal point of the social landscape. Both represent choices illustrating their beliefs; their presence provides a fuller record of an area's history’<sup>19</sup>. Gdańsk's Church of St Peter and Paul and its surviving tombstones, are not major tourist destinations but, in the case of the Żychlin *lapidarium* which stores and seeks to preserve gravestones from a former Calvinist parish near Cracow, they are the focus of campaign headed by Jan Taylor, a biologist at the University of Białystok, and a descendant of one of those Scots whose graves survives.<sup>20</sup>

In terms of a more celebratory approach, recognition of the contribution of intellectuals of Scottish origin to the Commonwealth's history came in 1975 with the tricentenary of the death of Scoto-Polish polymath Jan Jonston, which was commemorated by means of a conference in the town he had settled in, Leszno, as well as being celebrated on an accompanying series of stamps and envelopes and on a medal. In 2003, the quartercentenary of Jonston's birth provided the opportunity for a further scholarly gathering in the same town, while a park and monument named after him following the 1975 commemorations remain in place there too. A hospital in Lubiń, in Lower Silesia, the region where Jonston spent some of the last two decades of his life, also bears his name<sup>21</sup>. Today, we also have the activities of the Aberdeen-born Polish resident, Paul Gogolinski witness, for example, the plaque to Alexander Czamers, four-time mayor of Warsaw, just off Warsaw's Old Town Square, the Warsaw Caledonian Society (established in 1996) and a variety of websites promoting the former Scottish connection.

### **Memory of Portius**

In some senses, the case of Robert Portius in Krosno is a microcosm of what has been described above, albeit his wealth, his Catholicism and his mercantile activity in some ways make him atypical as a Scot in Poland. Portius was memorialised by cotemporaries, while his subsequent impact on the built and social heritage of Krosno has been significant. Scottish General Patrick Gordon (1635-99) had this to say about Portius on passing through Krosno very shortly after his death, in 1661:

This Crosna is a fine compact towne, scituate by the rivolet Vislock... ..Here was lately deceased a Scotsman called Robert Portes or Portius, a very rich man and

<sup>18</sup> Stanislaw Seliga and Leon Koczy, *Scotland and Poland: A Chapter of Forgotten History*, Dundee 1969.

<sup>19</sup> Gaynell Stone, ‘Sacred Landscapes: Material Evidence of Ideological and Ethnic Choice in Long Island, New York, Gravestones, 1680—1800’, *Historical Archaeology*, 2009, 43(1), pp. 142-159.

<sup>20</sup> Tadesuz Jelinek, Jan Taylor et. al., *Lapidarium. Kościół ewangelicko-reformowanego w Żychlinie koło Konina, Żychlin* 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Alojzy Konior ed., *Jan Jonston w 400 lecie urodzin (1603-2003) – ‘Europejskość myśli i twórczości naukowej Jana Jonstona po czterech wiekach’: materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w Lesznie 23 maja 2003 r.*, Leszno 2003, p. 6.

great benefactor to the poor there and the country thereabout. He did many works of charity and magnificence to the monasteryes and churches, and left great legacies to the King, Queen, spirituall persons and principall nobility, as also the churches, monasteryes and poore. And yet three persons whom he left his aires had great estates left them, so that it is incredible what a vast estate he had. He had his only or greatest trade in wyne, and was accounted upright in dealing and magnificent in living. He lay as yet unburyed, great preparations being making for interring of him<sup>22</sup>.

Gordon was feasted there by ‘Colonell Lacinsky, the *starost* as well as by Francis Gordon, John Dawson and Andrew Portes, the aires [heirs] of the fors-d [foresaid] Robert Portes’.

Moving to Thomas Alfred Fischer, we have the perspective of a German historian in 1902:

...let another Roman Catholic be mentioned, who in the documents is erroneously called Portius instead of Porteous. He lived at Krosna in Poland and was engaged in a very flourishing trade in Hungarian wines. He rebuilt the church of his adopted home, which had been destroyed by fire, endowed it with rich vestments, altar-vessels, a baptismal font and beautiful bells. At his death he left legacies to the King and to the place of his birth, besides a large amount of money to his heirs. In the writing on a picture of him in Krosno he is called ‘*generosus*’<sup>23</sup>.

By the time he was covering Portius again in his *Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, in 1903, Fischer had found out much more:

Very remarkable is the last will of Robert Porteous or Porcyus, as his name is written in Polish documents. We have in our former volume been able to give a very few details only of this successful Scot. Further researches have brought to light other circumstances of his life, enabling us to complete the portrait<sup>24</sup>.

The reason for this was that Fischer had, by then, read the work of the man he referred to as ‘Rev. Ladislas Sarna, Szebnie near Moderowka [Moderówka] in Galicia’. Władysław Sarna’s translation of Portius’s will into Polish, published in 1898, spurred on not only Fischer but, one presumes, later Poles like the art historian, Tomkowicz, and also the literary historian, Borowy, to write about Portius.

Since the war, there have been chapters on Krosno and Portius in Polish-language works<sup>25</sup>. Most recently, Bajer and Kowalski have both been accurate, rigorous and rather understated in their descriptions of him. For Bajer, Portius was ‘perhaps the wealthiest Scot in seventeenth-century Poland’, while for Kowalski, he was ‘one of the wealthiest Scottish merchants in the crown’<sup>26</sup>. Meanwhile, memory continues to be vivid in southern Poland and northern Hungary, as Portius has recently been depicted by means of a plaque, statue, proposed ‘retro-train’, a hotel, annual running race and also a regular viticulture conference<sup>27</sup>.

## Conclusion

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<sup>22</sup> Dmitry Fedosov ed., *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635-1699, Volume II: 1659-1667*, Aberdeen 2010, p. 107.

<sup>23</sup> Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, Edinburgh 1902, p. 60

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Stanisław Tomkowicz, ‘Przyczynek do historii Szkotów w Krakowie i w Polsce.’ *Rocznik Krakowski*, 1899, 2, 151-74; Waclaw Borowy, ‘Skąd w Krośnie ulica Portiusa?’ *Ziemia*, 1936, 15, pp. 238–240.

<sup>26</sup> Peter Paul Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16th to 18th Centuries: The Formation and Disappearance of an Ethnic Group*, Leiden 2012, p. 203; Waldemar Kowalski, *The Great Immigration: Scots in Cracow and Little Poland, circa 1500-1660*, Leiden 2016, p. 75.

<sup>27</sup> [http://www.warsaw-life.com/news/news/1228-Warsaw's\\_Scottish\\_Mayor\\_Remembered](http://www.warsaw-life.com/news/news/1228-Warsaw's_Scottish_Mayor_Remembered) (accessed 16 September 2015); <http://www.portius.pl/dzialalnosc/turystyka.html> (accessed 16 September 2015).



What did the Polish soldier in Second World War Scotland Ksawery Pruszyński, have to say about Robert Portius in 1941? In one of the conversations between the Polish general and cadet recorded by Pruszyński and relayed at the outset of this chapter, the subject of how wine came to Poland is discussed. The narrator claims that, in the medieval period, mead was more popular but that ‘very soon the Hungarian wines of the Tokay region acquired a semi-monopoly, thanks to the proximity of Hungary and friendly relations existing between that country and Poland’<sup>28</sup>. Portius is not mentioned explicitly, but he does seem to loom in the background.

To conclude, the power of diaspora studies can be to tie more closely the history and memory of the place of settlement with that of the land of origin. This confirms the importance for the maintenance of any community abroad of a memory of its own development, by means of which members recollect and present a shared past both in the place they have left behind, and also a common history of dispersal and resettlement. This is pertinent when seeking to understand memory of the Scots in early modern Poland, albeit the situation is even more complicated in this case, with two émigré groups to consider, since it is crucial to consider the Poles in Scotland too when seeking to understand the Scots in Poland.

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<sup>28</sup> Pruszyński, *Polish Invasion*, pp. 27, 29.