



# Scotland, Europe and the English ‘Missing Link’

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## Abstract

This article discusses recent developments in the field of Scottish relations with Europe in the early modern period. It does so in two sections; firstly by précisising some of the important scholarship conducted in this field over the last decade. This has revealed in greater depth the important military, diplomatic and commercial links one small Atlantic nation had with her European neighbours. The second section of the article flags up the biggest single omission in the field of Scottish migration by looking to Scotland’s closest neighbour (and the only European country with which she shares a land border), England. It reflects on the few previous endeavours that have contemplated this field; postulates why the field remains largely untilled and concludes with an assessment of where England might fit in comparison to those locations that have benefited from sustained scholarly attention.

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If you ask the ‘average’ Scot on the street about which European nations Scotland had historical links to you would get a mixed bag of answers. A few might know of early relations with the Dutch or Scandinavians, depending on where in Scotland they live, while many are aware on some level of the *Auld Alliance* with France. Some scholars still invoke the memory of this relationship in their work; ‘*Vive la France! Vive l’Ecosse! Vive la Vieille Alliance!*’, as Billy Kay and Cailean Maclean ended their book on the Franco–Scottish wine trade.<sup>1</sup> Popular histories usually wish to promote good relations between countries by highlighting positive aspects of the past, often conveniently forgetting ‘troubled’ moments.<sup>2</sup> For example, during the early modern period, the Scottish nation underwent a number of confessional and political changes that saw her develop from an independent Catholic nation in 1559 to being a strongly Calvinist component of the new British state by 1707. Confessional realignment was accompanied by a political shift away from the traditional political axis of the *Auld Alliance* that had linked Scotland and France together over a number of centuries in the pre-Reformation era. After 1560, England became a focus of increased Scottish diplomatic attention as the two countries drew closer through the deepening Protestantism of both nations and blood ties of the royal houses of Tudor and Stuart. Intermittently thereafter, Denmark–Norway, Sweden and the Dutch Republic were courted as allies by the prevailing Scottish authorities.<sup>3</sup> The general awareness of the importance of international support by foreign

potentates ensured that many European governments were kept abreast of Scottish affairs, just as they were in those cities, states and kingdoms which became increasingly hostile to Presbyterian Scotland over time, for example Spain and the Austrian Habsburg territories during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48).<sup>4</sup>

The evolution of Scottish networks and communities in Europe mirrored these processes to some degree and their development has received renewed attention in the first few years of the new millennium.<sup>5</sup> This scholarship draws on an older tradition that spans the twentieth century and has attracted our gaze to a variety of locations with which Scotland, or at least some Scots, had contact in the early modern period.<sup>6</sup> Through this literature we are often reminded of familiar contacts such as the Franco-Scottish *Auld Alliance*, albeit in a context limited to either the military, religious and political spheres, rather than the commercial realities and cultural consequences of the relationship which remain somewhat understudied in existing literature.<sup>7</sup> Scottish military participation in France was reduced, after 1560, to the service of a small body of around 100 soldiers in the *Guard Écossais* who represented a symbolic reminder of the association that had existed previously.<sup>8</sup> A larger force of at least 1500 men was recruited in 1589 by James Colville of Easter Wemys for the service of Henry IV, though reports from the same year indicate that the French had permission to take as many as 3000 out of the country.<sup>9</sup> Even greater numbers of Scots, Calvinists and Catholics alike, enlisted in French service during the 1630s and 1640s as part of the ongoing European conflict – orchestrated largely against the aggrandisement of Habsburg hegemony.<sup>10</sup> This, in turn, sowed the seeds for later and larger Scottish military participation in France under Louis XIV (particularly after 1689), albeit the Scottish Jacobite refugees there never really attained the standing or reputation of their Irish counterparts in France, or other Scots elsewhere, particularly in the northern protestant states.<sup>11</sup>

### *A Background to Scottish-Scandinavian Relations*

The strong associations between Scotland and 'the North' (*Norden*) can really be said to have begun in the mid-fifteenth century. Margaret, daughter of Christian I of the Kalmar Union (the three united Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway), became the queen of James III in July 1469.<sup>12</sup> Among other things, the marriage also saw the transfer of the Orkney and Shetland islands to the Scottish Crown (from the kingdom of Norway) as a pledge for the four-fifths of Margaret's dowry that remained unpaid. The Scottish-Scandinavian pact that resulted from the marriage treaty was eventually expanded thirty years later to include France through the re-confirmation of the Treaty of Denmark (1499), which also made provision for the re-confirmation of the Franco-Scottish *Auld Alliance*.<sup>13</sup> After 1521, however, Scandinavia entered a period of domestic turmoil, ending with Gustav Vasa establishing himself as king of an independent Sweden and

Frederik I ruling over the rump of the Kalmar Union, the united kingdoms of Denmark-Norway. The success of the Reformation in Scotland in 1560, and the accession of the staunchly protestant Danish monarch Frederik II meant that, in Scottish eyes, Denmark-Norway was considered worth pursuing as an ally once again, though the likes of Sir James Colville still favoured a renewed alliance with France.<sup>14</sup>

Negotiations for an improved relationship with Copenhagen were accompanied by discussion of a dynastic alliance. This came to fruition when Princess Anna of Denmark married James VI in Oslo in 1589.<sup>15</sup> The royal couple returned to Scotland on 1 May 1590 and an alliance was established that came to carry equal significance to all the Stuart kingdoms after the Union of Crowns in 1603.<sup>16</sup> The dynastic union in Britain saw Scotland's pre-existing alliance with Denmark dictating the foreign policy of the three Stuart kingdoms until the mid-1640s.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore the Scottish monarch insisted that the English war with Spain was brought to a close in 1604 and ensured that a new 'British' treaty with France was drawn up in 1605. The marriage of James's daughter Elizabeth to Frederick V of the Palatinate, in 1613, added a German dimension to British politics. When Frederick accepted the throne of Bohemia and made Elizabeth a queen, the whole of Europe became embroiled to various degrees in the Thirty Years' War.<sup>18</sup> This war brought Scotland and Europe, but particularly Northern Europe, into even closer diplomatic contact, alliance and sometimes conflict. From a Scandinavian perspective, the ensuing military connections were built on pretty solid foundations, not only within the officially allied kingdom of Denmark-Norway, but also with the rising power of the north, Sweden. This evolved into what Alexia Grosjean has eruditely argued effectively resulted in a parallel, but 'unofficial alliance' between Scotland and Sweden.<sup>19</sup>

### *Seventeenth-Century Military Migrations*

In the 1570s, 1600 Scots were levied for Sweden after which a regular and unbroken stream of companies and regiments enlisted into Swedish-Vasa service.<sup>20</sup> The ever-growing Scottish presence in Sweden was complicated by the re-establishment of the Scottish-Danish alliance in 1589, for that treaty stipulated mutual support in all wars. The presence of so many Scots in Sweden led to the likelihood of Scots facing each other in opposing armies during the Kalmar War (1611–13) – privately enlisted soldiers in Sweden standing against an official Scottish/English force sent by their own sovereign to Denmark. Clever diplomacy by James averted conflict between these two groups after his ambassador, Sir Robert Anstruther, clarified the danger to him.<sup>21</sup> Additional clauses were then added to all warrants for private military contractors in Scotland allowing them only to recruit for, and serve in, armies which were not hostile to the Stuarts or their allies.

Throughout this period, a constant recipient nation of Scottish soldiers was the Dutch Republic. It maintained a force of 3000 Scots, divided into

three regiments collectively called the Scots Brigade.<sup>22</sup> However, it was not such longstanding military formations that facilitated the mass migration of Scottish fighting men to the continent in the seventeenth century. That was another event, the repercussions of which were of European-wide significance. When Frederick the Elector Palatine accepted the throne of Bohemia in 1619, in defiance of the soon-to-be Habsburg emperor, Ferdinand II, war ensued.<sup>23</sup> The first Scot to join the Bohemian army was the Catholic Sir Andrew Gray, who recruited 1500 Scots and 1000 Englishmen in 1620. They fought alongside Colonel James Seaton's Scottish regiment of 1000 men, which had been 'borrowed' from the Dutch Republic by James VI. The Bohemian army collapsed under the Imperial offensive at White Mountain in November 1620. Nonetheless, Seaton held the Bohemian town of Trebon until 1622, nearly eighteen months after the rest of the army had disintegrated.<sup>24</sup> Gray recruited in Scotland again in 1624 and eventually led 4000 Scots in an army of 12,000 Britons to serve in Count Mansfeld's private army. Over 6000 of these men died *en route* to Bohemia, more died after the destruction of Mansfeld's forces in 1626, and the few survivors joined the Scandinavian armies.<sup>25</sup>

Because of what was perceived to be English ineptitude in the raising of Mansfeld's troops, the Scottish nobility thereafter opted to levy and supply forces which were to serve under Christian IV of Denmark-Norway, who entered the war against the Habsburgs in 1625.<sup>26</sup> By March 1627, some 13,500 Scots had enlisted in Christian's army. The impact of this influx of Scottish commanders in the Danish-Norwegian army was even more significant than the total number of Scots serving. Between 1625 and 1629, over 300 Scottish officers joined the army of Christian IV, outnumbering Danish officers by three to one. Twenty-five held the rank of major or above while two became generals: Robert Scott, and Robert Maxwell, the earl of Nithsdale.<sup>27</sup> Ultimately, the chaotic efforts of the Danish-Norwegian army against Emperor Ferdinand came to nought and Christian IV retired from the war in 1629 through the Treaty of Lübeck. This paved the way for Swedish intervention and many of the remaining Scots in Christian's service were cashiered and transferred to the army of Gustav II Adolf.

Along with those who had already enlisted in anticipation of King Gustav II Adolf's entry into the war, these new recruits brought the total of Scots in Swedish service by late 1630 to around 12,000. By the war's end in 1648, some 30,000 had fought in Germany on behalf of Sweden. Of the 3262 officers at the disposal of Gustav Adolf in 1632, over 410 (one in eight) were Scots. Between 1624 and 1660 the Scots produced eight field marshals and generals, over 70 colonels and 50 lieutenant colonels, providing an officer corps that the Swedes themselves found hard to match.<sup>28</sup> Recruiting for Sweden continued right through until the supply of soldiers dried up in 1638. This was due to growing tensions in Scotland between the Stuart monarchy and the Covenanters, who began to build their own army to fight the forces of Charles I. Tens of thousands of Scots had fought against the

armies of the Catholic Habsburgs and their allies for years. They did not want to see their endeavours on behalf of 'the Protestant cause' abroad overturned at home by Charles foisting what they viewed as crypto-Catholic Anglican uniformity upon the Scottish Presbyterian Kirk.<sup>29</sup> After the failure of a royalist rising in the middle of the 1640s, individual officers travelled across Europe with commissions from the king. They sought enlistment in countries friendly to the Stuart monarchy where they could await the better fortune of their king at home. This led to some regiments, such as the *Bergenhuis* in Norway, being commanded by a Scottish royalist officer cadre overseeing indigenous Norwegian troops.<sup>30</sup>

Soon after the Treaty of Westphalia brought the Thirty Years' War to an official end in 1648, the Scottish units in French service were merged as the *Régiment de Douglas*.<sup>31</sup> The Cromwellian conquest of Scotland in 1651 made it hard for many to return home and significant numbers of refugee Scottish soldiers remained abroad. By the 1650s it was not just royalists who found themselves in this position. Scots of all persuasions looked to escape the 'Cromwellian usurpation', and indeed the option of foreign-service over imprisonment was offered by the English authorities to those Scots still in arms as an enticement to end their uprising. So it was that another Scandinavian enlistment occurred in 1655–56, when Lord Cranstoun and William Vavasour each led 2000-strong regiments to Sweden.<sup>32</sup> These were really the last significant group to leave before the political upheavals of 1689, albeit the Scots Brigade in the Dutch Republic remained at full strength. There were also some individuals who put themselves up for hire to whoever would pay them. Thus high-profile individuals like General Patrick Gordon in Russia, or colonels John Mollison and Andrew Melvill serving under the Duke of Lüneburg–Celle, became internationally famous for military service that was anything but aligned to the policies of their government or her allies.<sup>33</sup>

That said, a significant military migration occurred after William of Orange gained the 'vacant' Scottish throne in 1689, leading to an exodus of Stuart supporters (Jacobites) to the continent. They enlisted in armies as far apart as Russia, Sweden, France and Spain.<sup>34</sup> However, despite the presence of several hundred Jacobite officers in eighteenth-century Europe following the failed Jacobite risings, the age of mass enlistment to non-British armies had all but ceased. True, a few independents still appeared in various armies motivated either by politics or money. However, after the British Parliamentary Union of 1707, the majority of Scottish servicemen fought across the globe as part of the British army. It was fitting that the last regular Scottish military force in continental Europe was one of the first established, the Scots Brigade, finally 'nationalised' as a Dutch regiment in 1782.<sup>35</sup>

### *Commercial Migrations*

The service of Scottish soldiers, particularly in the Thirty Years' War, tends to dominate discussions of the movement of Scots abroad in the seventeenth

century, overshadowing the role of migrant Scots in commercial activities. The 'packman' (pedlar) was historically linked to the Scottish martial tradition: stories portraying them picking up weapons to fight at the first opportunity became common in Poland-Lithuania and Prussia.<sup>36</sup> Packmen were only part of a much more complex mercantile hierarchy. They tended to work for travelling merchants who in turn were employed by larger syndicates. These sent their merchant factors to a specific location where they bought and sold their goods. These merchants and entrepreneurs employed packmen who stocked up from factories and warehouses in established towns and also employed apprentices and servants. Scottish packmen tended to work from private houses and did business on credit or in exchange for farm produce and raw materials. With fewer overheads and greater freedom of movement than native merchants, the Scots could sell the same goods as their competitors but at a cheaper rate. Due to such practices, laws were passed in numerous locations to try to redress the balance in favour of local shopkeepers. Denmark was one of several places forbidding Scottish merchants from sending their servants into the countryside to hawk their wares and barring them from benefiting from municipal rights unless they could prove they were residents.<sup>37</sup> Duke Albrecht of Brandenburg issued a similar edict in Prussia in 1558. This was followed by a ban on Scots peddling their wares in the Polish countryside in 1566. In Norway in 1607, the Bakers' Guild of Bergen sought and received guarantees that Scots sailors could sell bread only in the market. This was confirmed in the 1620s with the addition that they were not allowed to become itinerant pedlars. Poland-Lithuania also introduced legislation against the Scots at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>38</sup> The sheer quantity of immigrants placed tensions on the relations between the Scots and their host communities, eventually leading to action by Sigismund III in 1594 designed to curb the influx. Several estimates reported the presence of some 30,000 Scottish families within the Commonwealth around 1621 with the number rising to 50,000 by the middle of the century.<sup>39</sup> Regardless of the truth of such figures – and they are certainly worthy of healthy scepticism – belief in their accuracy caused uproar among indigenous traders.<sup>40</sup> Was the resulting legislation designed to address this plague of Scots, or is it more likely that Thomas Fischer was correct when he postulated that it demonstrated an 'inability to withstand a sudden, keen competition of trade'?<sup>41</sup> Although King James appears to have supported attempts to curb the flow of pedlars to Europe, he probably understood well the benefits to the Scottish economy of allowing them to go. It both rid him of the problem of a redundant population and allowed his subjects to accumulate mercantile expertise. While the stereotype of the Scottish pedlar remains strong, there is a growing understanding that the packmen themselves were only one cog in a much larger and more sophisticated machine of Scottish commercial activity on the continent.<sup>42</sup>

Scottish pedlars formed an important interface between Britain and the Baltic. They not only managed to bring Scottish goods to market (often

cloth products, hats, gloves and linen), but they also served as intermediaries between those involved in cottage industries and the wealthier Scottish merchant, both at home and abroad. They in turn were employed by the merchants to take more refined goods back to the Scottish market.<sup>43</sup> The choices of destination were not random. Scottish pedlars, apprentices and merchants were attracted to locations where their countrymen had already settled or had some knowledge of favourable conditions awaiting them. Once successfully located, they would repeat the process, inviting friends to join them and establishing migration chains.<sup>44</sup> Over time, this process could be boosted as the number of well-heeled merchants, burgesses, councillors and other Scots of high station within the host societies grew. They were helped by British governmental insistence on the plantation of thousands of Scots in Ulster after 1609 which many used simply as a gateway to richer pastures throughout Ireland.<sup>45</sup> Other new destinations included the American colonies, albeit numbers were far smaller than to Ireland, and only a fraction of those who went to the more traditional destinations in the Baltic region (or perhaps even to the south of Europe too) – at least until well into the eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

There were several reasons for the continued flow of people and goods to northern European destinations throughout the early modern period. In the Baltic, for example, the Scots did not establish a mercantile monopoly like the English Eastland Company, or Muscovy Company. This lack of formal companies proved to be advantageous to the Scots in the long run because, with no company to restrict their exports to any one port, Scottish traders simply went wherever markets were best, often to the annoyance of their competitors. Irritating or not, the Scottish merchants in Elbing and Danzig have been singled out for their important role in facilitating Sweden's mercantile growth, as well as that between Britain and the Baltic.<sup>47</sup> Part of their success lay in their willingness to exploit both the networks that had brought them out of Scotland and to develop new ones through integration into host societies. This was not an option for those involved with mercantile monopolies.<sup>48</sup> Thus, when the Eastland Company lost many of its trading privileges in Elbing in 1626, Scottish merchants unattached to the company were unaffected, particularly the family of Charles Ramsay who had taken citizenship in the city in 1614.<sup>49</sup> When the merchant Robert Jollie exported goods from Scotland to Hamburg in 1683, he was initially impeded from selling them because he was not a member of the *English Company of Merchant Adventurers* there. The Hamburg authorities argued that he was therefore in breach of an article between the city and the English Company. As Jollie pointed out, that was an agreement between the city and the subjects of the king of England and thus did not apply to Scots who were not bound by that contract.<sup>50</sup> This argument was accepted and he continued to trade to and from the city with Scottish goods into the eighteenth century.

While Jollie opted to pursue his independent mercantile activities, Charles Ramsay was more typical of a merchant class happy to settle and take citizenship abroad. Many settled across the German-speaking Baltic coast from Pomerania to East Prussia, though trying to gauge numbers is fraught with problems. However, for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, specific figures are available: 5969 settled Scottish merchants have been identified, with some 500 of those in Danzig.<sup>51</sup> Some of them were decommissioned soldiers: several merchants found in Thorn in Prussia after 1659 were former soldiers of Lord Cranstoun's Scottish regiment who had held the town for Sweden throughout the siege of 1657–58 – men like William and James Fraser.<sup>52</sup> Equally important were the large Scottish communities in Lithuania, particularly the sizeable Calvinist one established in the 'private' town of Kėdainiai.<sup>53</sup> Many of the Scots within the Commonwealth formed themselves into brotherhoods and societies which had seats in Danzig, Lublin and about a dozen locations throughout Poland. These were frequently used to conceal illegal Scottish immigrants who traded in the towns, thus bolstering the Scottish population.<sup>54</sup>

In many places there was less need for stealth. Under the terms of the Stuart-Oldenburg marriage alliance of 1589, Scots theoretically enjoyed the same status as Danes and Norwegians in those countries while Danes and Norwegians would gain similar rights in Scotland. Norway sustained numerous Scottish communities engaged in the timber trade around Stavanger, Bergen and Trondheim. So important was the timber trade that in Norway it is still called *Skottehandelen* (the Scottish trade) while the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are known as the *Skottetiden* (Scottish period) of Norwegian history.<sup>55</sup> The importance of Norway to Scottish trade becomes apparent when one considers that some 150 Scots became burgesses in Bergen alone between 1600 and 1660. These burgesses were only one strand of the Norwegian settlement. For instance, some 20 Scottish families moved into Finnmark to take advantage of the patronage of the Scottish governor, John Cunningham.<sup>56</sup> Another group in the employ of the Dutch-based Scot, Sir William Davidson, operated the iron works at Mostadmark near Trondheim.<sup>57</sup> While the majority of Scots settled in Norway, significant communities also evolved at Elsinore and Copenhagen, with a scattering of Scottish merchants throughout the rest of Denmark mostly engaged in the 'carrier trade' in the Baltic Sea.<sup>58</sup>

Across the Sound in Sweden, the situation regarding citizenship was less formalised. Despite the passing of the *Handelsordination* (Decree of Trade) in 1607 limiting non-burgess traders to an 8-week period of activity in Sweden per annum, in 1638 it was revealed that 70 merchants had undertaken trade for as long as 12 years without becoming burgesses.<sup>59</sup> Many of these retained strong links with their families in Scotland. Patrick Lyall sourced £3000 sterling worth of naval supplies in Sweden for the British Admiralty. There was a delay in receiving payment and an action brought between him and the Royal Navy captain, John Strachan. Of great interest



is Lyall's assertion that delay in payment had led to people drawing more on his uncle, Arthur Lyall, than he had cash to hand and this would cost him future commissions from 'four other uncles in Stockholm'.<sup>60</sup> Such men also provided contacts within Swedish society for transient Scottish merchants.

For the numerous Scots who opted to become citizens of Swedish towns, their choice proved advantageous. The best-known group are those in the fledgling city of Gothenburg, where about 50 Scottish merchants and their families established themselves between its foundation in 1621 and the end of the century. Two seats on the city council were reserved for members of the Scottish nation.<sup>61</sup> However, while this Scottish-Swedish centre of population is well-known, the Stockholm community was of longer standing and even more considerable, with over 100 identifiable Scottish merchants working from the city throughout the century. Among these were numerous members of the Swedish nobility, Stockholm city council, Swedish state council and the Swedish parliament, thus their importance was not only the size of the community, but the influence its members wielded.<sup>62</sup> Scots did not confine themselves to simply trading commodities, but many became involved in the production of goods such as cloth and iron *within* Sweden. In the later seventeenth century some twenty Scottish families owned no less than 45 Swedish foundries and forges giving them a significant slice of the Swedish iron industry. They established networks to ensure that their valuable commodity reached their countrymen and partners within Sweden, Scotland and in third locations such as the Dutch Republic and England.<sup>63</sup>

Influential Scottish entrepreneurs also resided at Riga, Narva and other places under Swedish control, gaining citizenship and becoming part of the fabric of Swedish society. They had a significant advantage over their counterparts from England who tended to remain for a just a short time before returning home 'to make their proper careers'.<sup>64</sup> Though the examples selected to illustrate the commercial network here are chosen largely from Scandinavia, similar structures can be traced in numerous continental cities due to the ongoing work of Douglas Catterall on Rotterdam and Kathrin Zickermann on Hamburg and her neighbouring territories.<sup>65</sup> David Worthington continues to do excellent work investigating the presence of Scots in Habsburg lands while doctoral work by Almut Hillebrand (University of Greifswald) and Philipp Roessner (University of Edinburgh) both add considerably to our understanding of Scottish communities and networks in the north German states in the eighteenth century. Moving towards southern Europe, Bordeaux has been the subject of an investigation into the extent of Scottish trading and political networks within the port at the crucial period just before and after the Treaty of Union of 1707.<sup>66</sup> However, Calais, Paris, Rochelle, Dieppe and a host of other French ports and cities have only recently become the focus of sustained scholarly interest into their collective importance to Scotland through the postgraduate work of Siobhan Talbott at the University of St Andrews. The Mediterranean

ports, too, also supported Scottish merchants, companies and communities, though modern scholarship into networks in these locations is yet in its infancy.

### *The English 'Missing Link'*

For all that there is valuable work now being undertaken into regions like Germany, France and Italy, a glaring lacuna exists in our understanding of Scottish migration in the early modern period. A study of the population movement across the Anglo-Scottish border now awaits direction and systematic scrutiny, and two pilot studies conducted by the University of St Andrews have highlighted the wealth of material available in British archives that could open up this field of research.<sup>67</sup> Some early exploratory endeavours on the subject covered a broad time-scale and lacked a clear rationale for their investigation other than to note the existence of some prominent individuals in England.<sup>68</sup> More recently, scholars have produced valuable work on the 'idea of Britain' caused by closer Anglo-Scottish relations. These have cogently charted the problems of trying to implement that intellectual concept as a political reality.<sup>69</sup> Professor Keith Brown addressed some problems of Anglo-Scottish integration throughout the seventeenth century, though only illustrated with respect to a small sample of the Scottish noble and political elites.<sup>70</sup> Justine Taylor pioneered work on the commercial Scots in London through her scrutiny of the records of the Royal Scottish Corporation of London.<sup>71</sup> Important as these studies are, the challenge for the future is not just to study the affluent Scots dwellers in the English metropolis, but also to include the other members of the various Scottish communities or networks across England and at all levels of society.

The wider picture of the Scottish migrant experience in southern Britain must examine such issues as integration, community development, and social, commercial and cultural impacts both in England and, through return migration and repatriation of capital, also on Scotland. The seventeenth century is particularly apposite for this case study due to the formative experience of British state formation between the regal and the parliamentary unions. It is simply astounding to think that we know more about the importance of Scots within the Lithuanian town of Kėdainiai; within the Irish and American Plantations; and in the Dutch university system, than we do about the migration, settlement and cultural exchange between Scotland and England in this period.<sup>72</sup>

British historical tradition is often dominated by assumptions that widespread hostility existed between the indigenous populations of Britain. This view is informed by the writings of a few contemporaneous xenophobes on both sides of the border, usually at explosive periods in history such as the British Civil Wars; views which are subsequently taken as representative views of society as a whole. For example, in 1607, the English House of Commons was treated to several Scotophobic outbursts

while in 1643, the Royalist John Cleveland penned the classic poem *The Rebel Scot*.<sup>73</sup> Such polemic has been taken to represent English attitudes to the Scots, particularly when the political focus has been on English antipathy to the Covenanting military intervention in England, which ranged across the political spectrum in the 1640s.<sup>74</sup> However, a more dispassionate reading of personal testimony such as diaries, journals and manuscript letters leaves us with an altogether different understanding, and a more positive view, of the Scottish migrant experience in England, even during times of conflict between the nations. On the occasion of the First Bishops' Wars (1639), as an army of Scottish Covenanters headed towards the English border, John Aston recorded the following in his diary upon entering the English town of Berwick-upon-Tweed:

[My Landlord] and his wife were very pure, and in their discourse would ever justifie the Scots. I believe hee was of their covenant and soe were most of the towne. . . . They have two preachers in their towne, Mr Dury, a Scottishman, and Mr Jemmet, an Englishman. Mr Dury, by preaching obedience to the higher powers since the beginning of the troubles, had soe irritated his friends and countrey-men, that he durst not goe amongst them; and he was generally hated in the towne, and rebuked as one that sought after a bishoprick.<sup>75</sup>

At a stroke Aston demolishes the orthodoxy relating to universal fears of a Scottish invasion of England. Mr Dury is evidently a pro-Canterburian Anglican whilst the English preacher Jemmet is clearly sympathetic to Scottish Presbyterians. Further, Berwick-upon-Tweed evidently supported a significant Scottish community and the citizenry of the town were kindly disposed to them despite the prospect of an invading Scottish army. This suggests that the traditional received view of total English loathing towards their northern neighbours requires further scholarly attention, if only to discover how far south such pro-Scottish sympathies had spread. The pro-Covenanter faction in England were so well-known about in London that the Spanish ambassadors there in 1640 reported back to their masters that the enemy of the Stuarts included not only the Scots (Covenanters), but also their 'English allies'.<sup>76</sup> Such observations are particularly pertinent in light of recent research detailing the positive reception to Scottish intervention in the English Civil War by several sections of English society, at least in the opening years of the conflict and possibly as late as 1646.<sup>77</sup>

Throughout the 1650s, and notwithstanding the Cromwellian occupation of Scotland, we find commentators discussing London-based Scots with no hint of malice or surprise at their presence in the English capital. Samuel Hartlib recorded the merits of Scottish brewer women in London, going about their business at a time when the English New Model Army was moving north to fight the Scottish Army of Covenant.<sup>78</sup> More significantly, even during conflict on English soil there is evidence of empathy by English citizens and soldiery for the Scots. A perfect illustration is recorded in the memoirs of Andrew Melvill. Wounded after the battle of Worcester in 1651, Melvill was discovered seriously wounded lying left for dead in a ditch by

a lady from Worcester. With the aid of her two daughters she carried him home and took great personal risk to nurse him back to health for a period of over three months.<sup>79</sup> These may have been Royalist sympathisers or simply good people, but their actions once more challenge those of universal hatred of the Scots by the English. Melvill was discovered at the house by a Cromwellian soldier sent into the town with the explicit brief of searching for Royalist refugees. On being discovered, his would-be captor felt pity for Melvill's circumstance, drank a toast of beer with him and left promising not to give away his location; a promise which he apparently kept.<sup>80</sup> Indeed from this moment onwards, Melvill relates numerous other cases where Englishmen gave him money, kept his identity secret and generally took great risks to help him leave the country.

Such displays of kindness and empathy do much to challenge the negative impressions that often pervade our understanding of Anglo-Scottish relations in this turbulent time. Elsewhere in England at the same time, other Scots simply went about their business. For example, Scottish merchants traded from the city of London throughout the Cromwellian era – men such as William Barton who sent goods to Aberdeen in 1653.<sup>81</sup> A survey of Scottish wills held in the Edinburgh Commissary Court also reveals merchants in London such as Robert Inglis (1656) and even grocers like John Lyone (1658), albeit they could only remain after application for a licence to do so.<sup>82</sup> Crucially, however, Cromwell himself counted Scots amongst his friends, and some served as Cromwellian diplomats: John Durie worked in both Sweden and Switzerland while William Lockhart represented the regime as ambassador and military commander in France.<sup>83</sup> Many Scots, like Sir James Hope, worked hard at ensuring full Scottish participation in republican Britain. His efforts went some way to ensuring that at least some Scots rather than simply Englishmen sat in the Commonwealth and Protectorate parliaments of 1656 and 1659.<sup>84</sup> There were also large numbers who engaged as auxiliaries in the Cromwellian military and navy; the soldiers quite voluntarily even if the sailors had been put under the cosh.<sup>85</sup>

During the Restoration period Scottish regiments were stationed in England and described in Andrew Marvell's 1667 poem, *The Loyal Scot*, as model Britons in stark contrast to Cleveland's earlier work.

And Secret Joy, in his calm soul does rise,  
That Monk looks on to see how Douglas Dies,  
Like a glad lover, the fierce flames he meets,  
And tries his first embraces in their sheets.  
His shape exact, which the bright flames infold,  
Like the Sun's Statue stands of burnish'd Gold . . .  
When Octa and Alcides are forgot,  
Our English youth shall sing the valiant Scot.<sup>86</sup>

Additionally, huge numbers of Scots were recruited into the Royal Navy or lodged in English ports.<sup>87</sup> Men of humble origins, like David Mitchell, not only rose to the rank of admiral (and there were several others) but also

took on civic duties such as 'Black Rod' in the English parliament some nine years before the 1707 Union.<sup>88</sup>

In a completely different sphere, the outward migration of Scottish clergy to England became something of a recurring feature. This happened particularly at times of Presbyterian ascendancy in Scotland – 1639 and 1689 – which witnessed the southward migration of several hundred Episcopal clergy and their families.<sup>89</sup> From May 1639 onwards, many Episcopalians fled Scotland and sought refuge in England after the outbreak of the Bishops' Wars. These included Bishop Adam Bellenden of Aberdeen, the famous 'Aberdeen Doctors' from the Faculty of Divinity there and the Rev. Alexander White.<sup>90</sup> Many of these Scottish Episcopalians remained in England and found employment within the Anglican Church. This migration was repeated fifty years later after the establishment of Presbyterian church government in 1689. This event led to a significant Episcopal exodus of over 100 clergy and even more of their supporters.<sup>91</sup> Some, like the Rev. David Kinloch became rector of St Stephen's Church in Bristol,<sup>92</sup> while still more achieved higher office within the Church of England, including Gilbert Burnet who became Bishop of Salisbury.<sup>93</sup> There is a reluctance by many historians to view Scotland as anything other than a Calvinist country with 'Scotland: Kirk and People' united as one.<sup>94</sup> However, evidence suggests that there were many Scots, such as the men just noted or Gilbert Durie in Berwick, who had no problem integrating easily into English parishes or bishoprics with little animosity evident towards their Scottishness.

Scots also fared well in English intellectual society; Sir Robert Moray served as first President of the Royal Society from 6 March 1661 and lived in London thereafter.<sup>95</sup> Numerous Scots worked at English universities, becoming an important part of the educational establishment. For example, David Gregory arrived from Aberdeen and became Professor of Astronomy at Oxford University on the recommendation of Sir Isaac Newton and once there associated with numerous Scots including Dr Robert Gray – one of several Scottish doctors in the city.<sup>96</sup> Many of these men were keen to support the lower echelons of their nation who found themselves in England. In 1665, the Scots received a

Licence to erect a hospital or workhouse at Westminster, to be called the Scottish hospital of King Charles II, for the relief of poor artificers and orphans of that nation, inhabiting London and Westminster, eight Scots to be governors, and one elected master yearly.<sup>97</sup>

The Royal Corporation itself grew out of similar humanitarian sentiments. Yet while the philanthropic work was very noble, the real purpose of these Scots being in London was to make money.

It is thus in the field of commerce that (perhaps) the greatest impact of Scots on English society took place. By the second half of the seventeenth century, there were many Scots woven into the fabric of English commercial society. In 1663, in addition to his other Dutch and Danish-Norwegian ventures, Sir William Davidson had secured himself a position on the board

of the Royal African Company.<sup>98</sup> A couple of years later, Adam Lyall moved to London and joined the Eastland Company in 1666 highlighting the penetration of Scots into the English monopoly companies.<sup>99</sup> The vast collection of Scottish wills in the collection of the Edinburgh Commissary Court not only reveal Scots in Newcastle, but also in Bristol, Hull, Leeds, York and elsewhere. These included merchants, pedlars, jewellers, watchmakers, tailors and a number of other professions. However, it is in London that the bulk of Scots could be found operating. Andrew Russell's correspondence reveals the extent to which London-based Scots like James Foulis, John Robertson and William Jamieson had become part of the commercial establishment in the British metropolis.<sup>100</sup> Foulis served as treasurer of the Royal Scottish Corporation in London in 1674 and master of the Corporation in 1679. In 1678 he observed that 'if our gentry had not beine numerous heir at present' then the Scottish rate of exchange in England would have declined quite seriously and well ahead of the usual annual fluctuation.<sup>101</sup>

At the same time as Foulis rose to prominence in London, John Robertson noted that a number of his friends in the city included prominent merchants such as Robert Turnbull and his 'comerad' William Lamb. After reflecting on the company he kept in London, he comforted himself that he would not be alone there as 'Scotsmen shall breake off not', i.e. they would keep in contact.<sup>102</sup> Two years later, William Jamieson arrived in town and observed that there were enough of 'our folk' in the city to support him, albeit not enough to find him employment.<sup>103</sup> What we are able to draw from such indicators are that Scots from all strata of society were present in the city. Given the sheer size of London at the time, we cannot say that all these groups had connections, though some inevitably did. The Scottish poor who required relief were catered for in Scottish funded hospitals and by the poor box of the Scottish Corporation. Certainly many of the mercantile and noble classes probably met in church, or perhaps over a pint brewed by one of their country-women, but much more sustained research will have to be carried out to establish that fact. What we can say for sure is that by the end of the century many were quite comfortable to identify themselves as London-Scots. For example, the previously mentioned Dr Gray had a poem dedicated to him by his friend Pitcairn under the name of '*Roberto Graio Scoto-Londini*' in 1690.<sup>104</sup>

This has been the briefest survey of the Scots in England intended rather to reveal what we don't know than what we do in comparison to the other European destinations discussed. Until we can access, assemble and analyse significantly more data than has been presented here, we will only have crude assumptions as to the importance of England as a migrant destination for Scots, or of Scots as contributors to the English economy and society. There is progress: in 2004, Stana Nenadic at the University of Edinburgh organised a conference on the Scots in London dealing largely with the presence of specific individuals in the city in post-1707. Currently

a collection of essays seeking a more comprehensive coverage of the pre- and post-Union periods is planned by Gordon Pentland at the University of Edinburgh in collaboration with staff at the University of St Andrews. With the work already completed by Andrew Little, the knowledge-base on the subject is certainly increasing. Only after such research has been pulled together can we really contrast the results with the exciting data already collated and published for Sweden, Poland-Lithuania, the Dutch Republic, Germany and even Russia.<sup>105</sup> England might well have been *the* most important destination for Scottish migrants in early modern Europe, or maybe the least, but until sustained research is conducted we will simply never know.

### Short Biography

Dr Steve Murdoch is Reader in History at the University of St Andrews. His research interests include migration from the British Isles in the seventeenth century and all forms of interaction between early modern Scotland and the wider world. He has published extensively on the subject and his major publications include: *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart 1603–1660* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000/2003) and *Network North: Scottish Kin Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). His major edited collections include *Scotland and the Thirty Years War, 1618–1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) and with Alexia Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). Also with Alexia Grosjean he has produced the widely acclaimed *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database*, online at <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne>.

### Notes

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<sup>1</sup> B. Kay and C. Maclean, *Knee Deep in Claret: A Celebration of Wine and Scotland* (Edinburgh: Auld Alliance Publishing, 1985), 258.

<sup>2</sup> It is not only scholars of Franco-Scottish relations who produce these works. See for a Swedish example J. Black (ed.), *Sweden-Britain: A Thousand Years of Friendship* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> S. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003); A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); J. R. Young, 'The Scottish Parliament and European Diplomacy, 1641–1647: The Palatinate, The Dutch Republic and Sweden', in S. Murdoch (ed.), *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 81–103; G. Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660–1690* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> For more on this, and the role of Scots in promoting ties with the Habsburgs, rather than the northern Protestant powers, see D. Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> In addition to the books mentioned thus far, notice should be taken of Marie-Claude Tucker, *Maîtres et Étudiants Écossais à la Faculté de droit de l'Université de Bourges, 1430–1703* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001); D. Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of*

*Power in the Dutch Republic, c.1600–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); R. Wills, *The Jacobites and Russia, 1715–1750* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002); A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> T. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany* (Edinburgh: Otto Schulz, 1902); Fischer, *The Scots in East and West Prussia* (Edinburgh: Otto Schulz, 1903); Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh: Otto Schulz, 1907); A. F. Steuart (ed.), *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland, 1576–1793* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1915); Von Ilse von Wechmar and R. Biederstedt, 'Die Schottische Einwanderung in Vorpommern im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert', *Greifswald-Stralsunder Jahrbuch*, Band 5 (1965): 7–28; T. L. Christensen, 'Scots in Denmark in the Sixteenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, 49/2 (1970): 125–45; A. Biegańska, 'Scottish Merchants and Traders in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Warsaw', *Scottish Slavonic Review*, 5 (Autumn 1985), 19–34; T. C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986); A. Biegańska, 'Andrew Davidson, (1591–1660) and His Descendants', *Scottish Slavonic Review*, 10 (Spring 1988): 15–16.

<sup>7</sup> W. Forbes Leith, et al. (eds.), *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, 2 vols. (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1906); W. Forbes Leith (ed.), *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, 1909); A. Miro, *Souvenirs du Collège des Ecosseis* (Paris: n.p., 1962); J. L. Carr, *Le Collège des Ecosseis à Paris, 1662–1962* (Paris: n.p., 1962); B. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris 1603–1792* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997).

<sup>8</sup> For a general discussion of scaling-down see W. Forbes-Leith, *The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life Guards in France, 1458–1830*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1882); E. A. Bonner, 'Scots in France and French in Scotland', in G. G. Simpson (ed.), *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247–1967* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992). Notable among the individuals who participated post-1560 were officers like James Colville of Easter Wemys

<sup>9</sup> A. H. Williamson, 'Sir James Colville of Easter Wemys', in the *Oxford DNB*; For the permission for the French to recruit 3000 men see *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1589–1593* (Edinburgh: 1936), 441. Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley, Edinburgh, 26 December 1590.

<sup>10</sup> M. Avenel (ed.), *Lettres, Instructions Diplomatiques et Papiers D'Etat du Cardinal Richelieu*, 8 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1855–1877), 6:211–13. Cardinal Richelieu to M. de Bellière, 6 October 1638 and *ibid.*, 238–40, same to same, 13 November 1638; M. Glozier, 'Scots in the French and Dutch Armies during the Thirty Years' War', in Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 117–41.

<sup>11</sup> For more on Jacobites and the Scots of Louis XIV see Cruikshanks and Corp, *Stuart Court in Exile*; M. Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> The marriage, and other political relations of James III are discussed in N. MacDougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982).

<sup>13</sup> T. Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot . . . Scottish-Danish Relations, c.1450–1707*, 2 vols. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1988), 1:20.

<sup>14</sup> For more on Denmark's strengthening Protestantism see P. Douglas Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause: Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion, 1559–1596* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Williamson, 'Sir James Colville of Easter Wemys'.

<sup>15</sup> For an excellent summation of events, and the actual treaty, see L. Laurensen (ed.), *Danmark-Norges Traktater, 1523–1750: Med dertil hørende aktstykker, tredie bind, 1589–1625* (Copenhagen: Nielsen & Lydicke, 1916), 1–24. For a narrative account of events, see D. Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997).

<sup>16</sup> Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> S. Murdoch, 'Diplomacy in Transition: Stuart-British Diplomacy in Northern Europe, 1603–1618', in A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F. G. Pedersen (eds.), *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c.1350–1700* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 93–114.

<sup>18</sup> For a Scottish perspective on this war see Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*.

<sup>19</sup> Grosjean, *Unofficial Alliance*.

<sup>20</sup> For the specifics of the origins of the Scottish-Swedish levy see *ibid.*, 14–24.

<sup>21</sup> Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 40.

<sup>22</sup> W. Ferguson (ed.), *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, 1572–1782*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1899–1901).



- <sup>23</sup> Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 14.
- <sup>24</sup> J. Polisensky, 'A Note on Scottish Soldiers in the Bohemian War, 1619–1622', in Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 111–14.
- <sup>25</sup> Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, introduction, 12; Polisensky, 'Note on Scottish Soldiers', 114.
- <sup>26</sup> Recorded in John Chamberlain, *The Chamberlain Letters*, ed. E. McClure Thomson (New York: Murry, 1966), 356–57. John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 19 January 1626.
- <sup>27</sup> Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 201–25.
- <sup>28</sup> Grosjean, *Unofficial Alliance*, 74–111.
- <sup>29</sup> A. Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629–1660* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 111–51 and specifically 121–3.
- <sup>30</sup> Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 232–8.
- <sup>31</sup> Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France*, 41–7.
- <sup>32</sup> A. Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies? The Cranstoun Regiment in Sweden, 1655–1658', in S. Murdoch and A. Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience, c. 1550–1900* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 61–82.
- <sup>33</sup> For Gordon see B. Botfield (ed.), *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, 1635–1699* (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1859). For Mollison and Melvill, see T. Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs of Sir Andrew Melvill* (London: John Lane Company, 1918).
- <sup>34</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 313–54.
- <sup>35</sup> J. Miggelbrink, 'The End of the Scots-Dutch Brigade', in Murdoch and Mackillop, *Fighting for Identity*, 83–103.
- <sup>36</sup> R. Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers, Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years' War', in Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 191–213.
- <sup>37</sup> Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot*, 1:87.
- <sup>38</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 131.
- <sup>39</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1619–1623*, 237. John Chamberlain to Mr Carlton, 24 March 1621. 'The Polish Ambassador has had an audience [with the king], and requests men to resist the Turk. The King promises well; it is thought he will have leave to raise Scotch or Irish troops, there being 30,000 Scotch families in Poland'.
- <sup>40</sup> W. Kowalski, 'The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 63–4.
- <sup>41</sup> Fischer, *Scots in Germany*, 37.
- <sup>42</sup> M. Bogucka, 'Scots in Gdańsk (Danzig) in the Seventeenth Century', in Macinnes, Riis and Pedersen, *Ships, Guns and Bibles*, 41.
- <sup>43</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 134–5.
- <sup>44</sup> Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 1–19.
- <sup>45</sup> P. Fitzgerald, 'Scottish Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth Century', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 27–52.
- <sup>46</sup> N. Landsman, *Scotland and its First American Colony, 1683–1765* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); D. Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', in Murdoch and Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 105–31.
- <sup>47</sup> B. Steckzén, *Svensket och Brittiskt: Sex Essayer* (Stockholm: Gebers förlag, 1959), 19; A. Tønnesen, 'Skotterne og englenderne', in *Helsingøres udenlandske borgere og indbyggere ca. 1550–1600* (Ringe: n.p., 1985), 22; Bogucka, 'Scots in Gdańsk', 41; Kowalski, 'Placement of Urbanised Scots', 75.
- <sup>48</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 135–6.
- <sup>49</sup> Elbing Club, *Elbing: Als ehemaliger englischer Handelsplatz* (Elbing: Elbing Club, 1977), 14; Frost, 'Scottish Soldiers, Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years' War', 194. Frost concludes that the company lost the privileges as Charles I was more pro-Swedish than in favour of Poland-Lithuania. For the Elbing Ramsays see *Elbing*, 22; A. Biegańska, 'The Learned Scots in Poland (From the Mid-Sixteenth to the Close of the Eighteenth Century)', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 43/1 (2001): 16.
- <sup>50</sup> K. Zickermann, 'Briteannia ist mein patria: Scotsmen and the "British" Community in Hamburg', in Murdoch and Grosjean, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 249–73.
- <sup>51</sup> Bogucka, 'Scots in Gdańsk', 40.
- <sup>52</sup> J. Fraser, *Chronicles of the Frasers*, ed. W. Mackay (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1905), 424.
- <sup>53</sup> R. Žirgulis, 'The Scottish Community in Kėdainiai c.1630–1750', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 225–47. See also S. Nishikawa, 'Across the Continent: The Protestant

Network between the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and Kedainiai', in *Kulturu Sankirtos* (Vilnius, 2000), 296–308.

<sup>54</sup> Kowalski, 'Placement of Urbanised Scots', 80.

<sup>55</sup> E. Opsahl and Sølvi Sogner (eds.), *Norske innvandrings historie i kongenes tid, 900–1814* (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2003), 305–12; N. Pedersen, 'Scottish Immigration to Bergen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 152.

<sup>56</sup> R. Hagen, 'At the Edge of Civilisation: John Cunningham, Lensmann of Finmark, 1619–1651', in A. Mackillop and S. Murdoch (eds.), *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35–7.

<sup>57</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 195–202.

<sup>58</sup> Riss, *Should Auld Acquaintance*, passim.

<sup>59</sup> J. R. Ashton, *Lives and Livelihoods in Little London* (Sävedalen: n.p., 2003), 9.

<sup>60</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 140.

<sup>61</sup> A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, 191–223.

<sup>62</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, ch. 4–6.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 170–205.

<sup>64</sup> L. Müller, 'Britain and Sweden: The Changing Pattern of Commodity Exchange, 1650–1680', in P. Salmon and T. Barrow (eds.), *Britain and the Baltic* (Sunderland: Sunderland University Press, 2003), 21–46.

<sup>65</sup> For Rotterdam, see Catterall, *Community without Borders*; for Hamburg see Zickermann, 'Briteannia ist mein patria: Scotsmen and the "British" Community in Hamburg', 249–73. Kathrin Zickermann is currently completing her Ph.D. on Scottish activity within the Elbe–Weser region of Germany including not just Hamburg, but Bremen (Free Hanse City), Bremen Stift (Sweden), Verden (Sweden), Altona (Denmark) and Braunschwig–Lüneburg. Her findings should be complete in 2008.

<sup>66</sup> S. Murdoch, 'The French Connection: Bordeaux's "Scottish" Networks in Context, c.1670–1720', in G. Leydier (ed.), *Scotland and Europe, Scotland in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 26–55.

<sup>67</sup> In particular, the sustained research of Andrew Little in archival repositories in Hull, Bristol and London has produced stunning results that certainly indicates an equally significant Scottish presence in these English cities to any of those surveys already published on European destinations noted above. We await publication of Little's full findings with anticipation.

<sup>68</sup> See for example J. H. McCulloch, *The Scot in England* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1935).

<sup>69</sup> B. P. Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and the Union, 1603–1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); R. Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Mason, 'Scotland, Elizabethan England and the Idea of Britain', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004): 279–93; J. Robertson (ed.), *A View of Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); B. Bradshaw and J. Morrill (eds.), *The British Problem, c.1534–1707* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996); Macinnes, *British Revolution*.

<sup>70</sup> K. M. Brown, 'From Scottish Lords to British Officers: State Building, Elite Integration and the Army in the Seventeenth Century', in N. MacDougall (ed.), *Scotland and War, AD 79–1918* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), 133–56.

<sup>71</sup> J. Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness: The History of the Royal Scottish Corporation, A London Charity, 1603–2003* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), 255–7. Founded in 1657 by twenty-eight Scots to support indentured servants, the society gained thirty-four new members over the next eight years. After a moribund period, it then took on 154 new members between 1684 and 1692.

<sup>72</sup> Žirgulis 'Scottish Community in Kėdainiai', 225–47; Fitzgerald, 'Scottish Migration to Ireland', 27–52; Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', 105–31; E. Mijers, 'Scottish Students in the Netherlands, 1680–1730', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 301–31.

<sup>73</sup> For the general loathing of the Scots in the English Parliament, see R. Lockyer, *James VI & I* (London: Longman, 1998), 4, 59–60, 82, 87, 165–6; for 1643, see J. Cleveland, *The Works of Mr. John Cleveland Containing his Poems, Orations, Epistles, Collected into One Volume, with the Life of the Author* (London: Obadiah Blagrove, 1687), 37–45.

<sup>74</sup> D. Scott, *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms, 1637–49* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), 71, 84–6, 102.

<sup>75</sup> J. Aston, *The Journal of John Aston, 1639*, ed. J. C. Hodgson (Alnwick: Pallas Armata, 1910), 21. According to the editor, Gilbert Durie served as the vicar of Berwick from 1613 until his death in 1662, and thus he saw the reign of three kings and a dictator in England.

<sup>76</sup> This is reported in two letters which also indicate that the Royalists received 200,000 reales in aid from the Spanish. See Archives du Royaume de Belgique. Don Ferdinand: Correspondence avec les trois Ambassadeurs ci-dessus nommés 1640–1641. Bundle 377, ff.157–160 and ff.163–164. El Marques de Velada, El Marques Vigilio Malvezzi and Don Alonso de Cardenas to Don Ferdinand, 1 and 7 September, 1640. I thank Susana Calvo Alvarado for translating these letters for me.

<sup>77</sup> Macinnes, *British Revolution*, 153–4, *passim*.

<sup>78</sup> Samuel Hartlib Papers CD-Rom. HP 22/1/79B. Ephemerides, 1650, Part 4. 'Fish and Wild-foule there is abundance in Scotland. As likewise the best French-wine and Ale. The manner of the Brewing of it Mr Blackbourne is to write downe. It is twice boyled, made sharp to quench the thirst, cleere and lasting. In a word the true auncient English-Ale of which Mr Howle writes so much of commendation in his Letters in print. There are Scotch – Women in London, that have the Art of brewing of it. It will keepe a year. They in Scotland brew but twice in March and September.'

<sup>79</sup> Ameer-Ali, *Memoirs of Sir Andrew Melvill*, 127–8.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 129–30.

<sup>81</sup> L. Taylor (ed.), *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts, 1596–1670* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1972), 355. 26 April 1653. The Shore Work Accounts simply record: 'Importit be Wm Barton from London 10 thowsand geirds quharof I resavit 5 scoirs, payis 33s. 4d.' This source contains more information on Aberdeen's trade to and from England at this time.

<sup>82</sup> Edinburgh Commissary Court. Robert Inglis, 'merchant of London', wills dated 15 March, 1656 and 26 January 1657; John Lyone, 'grocer of London', will dated 20 August, 1658. For more on the licences required by Scots, see Taylor, *Cup of Kindness*, 18–20.

<sup>83</sup> For recent work on Durie see Murdoch, *Network North*, 280–312; for Lockhart see *Oxford DNB*.

<sup>84</sup> For a Scot called Melvill who was a friend of Cromwell see Ameer-Ali, *Memoirs of Sir Andrew Melvill*, 134–6. For Scots in the Cromwellian Parliaments see P. J. Pinckney, 'The Scottish representation in the Cromwellian Parliament of 1656', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 46/2, no. 142 (October 1967): 95–114; J. A. Casada, 'The Scottish Representatives in Richard Cromwell's Parliament', *Scottish Historical Review*, 51/2, no. 152 (October 1972): 124–47. For more on Scottish participation in republican Britain see A. H. Williamson, 'Union with England Traditional, Union with England Radical: Sir James Hope and the mid-17th Century British State', *English Historical Review*, 110/2 (April 1995): 303–22.

<sup>85</sup> For a Cromwellian military levy of Scots see Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 61–82. For the involuntary service of Scots in the Cromwellian navy, see A. Little, 'A Comparative Survey of Scottish Service in the English and Dutch Maritime Communities c. 1650–1707', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 332–62.

<sup>86</sup> A. Marvell, *Andrew Marvell: The Complete English Poems*, ed. E. S. Dunno (London: Media, 1974), 184–5. The poem is contextualised well in Little, 'Comparative Survey', 345–7.

<sup>87</sup> Little, 'Comparative Survey', 354–7.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 358–62, 373; *Oxford DNB*.

<sup>89</sup> For discussion of the removal to England of Scottish Episcopal clergy from Scotland after the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 or a second exodus at the Williamite Revolution in 1689, see Murdoch, *Network North*, 103–7. For a major work on the exile of Scottish Calvinists in the later seventeenth century see Gardner, *Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands*.

<sup>90</sup> Others in Bishop Bellenden's retinue included his nephew, Mr John Bellenden, John Blackwood, Mr Alexander Innes, Mr Alexander Scrogie 'and sum vtheris'. See J. Spalding, *Memorialls of the Tribles in Scotland and in England*, 2 vols. (Aberdeen, Spalding Club, 1850), 1:192; R. D. S. Jack and R. J. Lyall (eds.), *Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty: The Jewel* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), 5; Alexander White either left separately or is one of the 'vtheris' mentioned by Spalding. For his escape see Swedish Riksarkiv, AOSB, E748, Alexander White to Axel Oxenstierna, n.d., but post 1650. From its contents, the date of this letter can be placed as having been written somewhere between the Treaty of Breda (1650) and the Battle of Worcester (1651).

<sup>91</sup> There were two main types of Episcopalian refugee: those who believed whole-heartedly in the Scottish Episcopal Church and wanted it restored under William and Mary and those who wanted William and Mary removed and James VII restored. The first were the Jurors who became Anglican, the second were the non-Jurors who remained Episcopalian. The affiliation of the individual could be decisive as to whether there could be any integration into the sister Anglican Church in England, the latter institution largely supporting William and Mary.

<sup>92</sup> Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/81. 'Will of Mr John Kinloch', 1 January 1701.

<sup>93</sup> McCulloch, *Scot in England*, 45–7; *Oxford DNB*.

<sup>94</sup> See I. Henderson, *Scotland: Kirk and People* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969), 113; J. M. Reid, *Kirk and Nation: A History of the Reformed Church of Scotland* (London: Skeffington, 1960), 173. For discussion of the continuation of these beliefs in the post-1707 period, see W. Storrar, *Scottish Identity: A Christian Vision* (Edinburgh: Handsel, 1990), 26–54; R. J. Finlay, 'Keeping the Covenant: Scottish National Identity', in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (eds.), *Eighteenth Century Scotland New Perspectives* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 124.

<sup>95</sup> A Robertson, *The Life of Sir Robert Monay: Soldier, Statesman and Man of Service, 1608–1673* (London/New York: Longmans, 1922); *Oxford DNB*.

<sup>96</sup> British Library, Sloane MS 3216, various correspondences to Robert Gray including f.173. David Gregory to Robert Gray 1697. In one letter the Scottish networking of the academics is made clear. See for example f.164. Archibald Pitcairne (Edinburgh) to Gray, 23 September 1694. Pitcairne sent, by a Mr Kinkead, a copy of the discourse *De Curalione Febrium* and also sent a copy to Dr Gregory. Pitcairne recommended the young 'son to Sir Francis Scot of Thirleston' who travelled with Kinkead. Pitcairne noted that Scot's son 'goes to Utrecht for law. He was a schollar to Gregorie' and is a good mathematician. 'Pray give him your advyce, for yee know Holland better than I doe.' I thank Andrew Little for providing me with this source. Other Scottish physicians included the likes of Dr Alexander Reid who wrote his will in 1686. See Edinburgh Commissary Court. Alexander Reid, Physician of London, will dated 13 April 1686.

<sup>97</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1664–1665*, 434. License, 19 June 1665.

<sup>98</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and W. Indies, 1661–1668*, 120–1. Warrant for the King's signature for the Royal African Company, 10 January 1663. Davidson is discussed at length in Murdoch, *Network North*, ch. 4–6, *passim*.

<sup>99</sup> S. Åström, *From Cloth to Iron: The Anglo-Baltic Trade in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1963), 138; H. Roseveare (ed.), *Merchants and Markets of the Late Seventeenth Century: The Marescoe-David Letters, 1668–1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 123; L. Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm, c.1640–1800: A Comparative Study of Early-Modern Entrepreneurial Behaviour* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1998), 87.

<sup>100</sup> Taylor, *Cup of Kindness*, 45; National Archives of Scotland [hereafter NAS], Russell Papers, RH15/106/305. James Foulis to Andrew Russell, London, 23 April 1678 and John Robertson to Andrew Russell, 6 August 1678; RH15/106/387. William Jamieson to Andrew Russell, 23 March and 9 April 1680.

<sup>101</sup> See NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/305/12. James Foulis to Andrew Russell, London, 23 April 1678. Taylor, *Cup of Kindness*, 45.

<sup>102</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/305/f.24. John Robertson to Andrew Russell, 6 August 1678.

<sup>103</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/387/11 and 12. William Jamieson to Andrew Russell, 23 March and 9 April 1680.

<sup>104</sup> See Archibald Pitcairne, *Roberto Graio Scoto-Londini medicinam profitenti* (Edinburgh: S.N., 1690).

<sup>105</sup> For an online biographical database of the Scots, English and Irish in Northern Europe, see A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe Biographical Database*, <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne>.

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