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The Scottish diaspora
in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Szkocka Diaspora
na terenie Rzeczpospolitej Obojga Narodów

Abstract

At the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth experienced an unprecedented influx of Scottish immigrants. It is estimated that at its peak (the 1640s) there were approximately 30,000 Scottish settlers in Poland (Bajer, 2012, p. 77). At a time when Europe was engulfed in various wars and religious conflicts, the multi-ethnic and tolerant Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth became 'the America of those days' for Scottish migrants (Popławska, 1993, p. 35), enabling them to obtain full civic rights and gain the highest distinctions. Hence, this article is concerned primarily with the main factors that enticed this migration as well as the Scot's contribution to religious, political and military life of Poland.

Key words: *Scots, immigration, the Commonwealth, Scottish settlers.*

Abstrakt

Na przełomie szesnastego i siedemnastego wieku Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów doświadczyła bezprecedensowego napływu szkockich imigrantów. Szacuje się, że w okresie największego wzrostu imigracji, w Polsce było około 30,000 szkoc-

kich osadników (Bajer, 2012, p. 77). W czasach, kiedy Europa pochłonięta była różnymi wojnami i konfliktami o podłożu religijnym, zróżnicowana etnicznie oraz tolerancyjna Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów stała się 'Ameryką tamtych czasów' dla szkockich migrantów (Popławska, 1993, p. 35), umożliwiająca zdobycie pełnych praw obywatelskich jak również najważniejszych funkcji w państwie. Niniejszy artykuł, zatem poświęcony jest analizie głównych czynników, które wpłynęły na migracje jak również udział Szkotów w życiu politycznym, religijnym i wojskowym ówczesnej Polski.

Słowa kluczowe: *Szkoci, imigracja, Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów, szkoccy osadnicy.*

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was founded in 1386, with the marriage of Queen Jadwiga of Poland and Władysław Jagiełło, the Grand Duke of Lithuania. (Bajer, 2012, p. 83) It continued to exist for several centuries and by the second half of the seventeenth century it became one of the largest and most powerful kingdoms in Europe, attaining its greatest extent 990,000 square kilometres. (Wyczański, 1973, p. 17-18) At its peak (late 16th century), with its 'total population estimated at eleven million, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was the third most populous state in Europe'. (Kuklo, 1996, p. 73-74) The commonwealth government, which was a 'republic under the presidency of the King' (Benfield, 2009, p. 254) constituted equilibrium that lasted for a couple of centuries and fostered economic stability. According to Krzysztof Olszewski, 'Poland was the main supplier of grain to Western Europe and a considerable trading partner. As long as the grain produced high profits, the economy grew and the Commonwealth was powerful'. (Olszewski, 2007, p. 9) It seems that the Acts of the Lublin Diet (1569) that transformed the Commonwealth into 'a composite republic of the nobles, where the throne was elective and the royal prerogative was restricted to a large extent by the privileges of the nobles' (Dembkowski, 1982, p. 175) contributed tremendously to the emergence of the ideal form of government in contemporary Europe that endured for over 200 years. Moreover, the 'Golden Freedom' of the political system included religious liberty guaranteed by Warsaw Confederation Act 1573 (Davies, 1982, p. 282, xxxi) which was unprecedented amid the ethnic and religious tensions of that time. As historian Norman Davies aptly noticed: 'Certainly, the wording and the substance of the Confederation of Warsaw of 28 January 1573 were extraordinary with regards to prevailing conditions elsewhere in Europe, and they governed the principles of religious life

in the Republic for over two hundred years' (Davies, 1982, p. 126) Thus, with a unique political and economic structure that was futuristic for those times (Olszewski, 2007, p. 9) the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth experienced an unprecedented influx of immigrants.

It is estimated that the early 17th century Commonwealth 'sustained a multi-ethnic population of 11 million'. (Pogonowski, 1987, p. 141) In his article, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a Political Space*, Satoshi Koyama aptly notices: 'The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a country inhabited by various groups, speaking different languages and having diverse creeds' (Koyama, 2007, p. 139). Peter Bajer points out that neighbouring countries at that time formed rather homogenous societies, while Poland-Lithuania was a culturally diverse society', made up by such ethnic groups as: 'Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Jews, Germans, Balts, Armenians, Tatars as well as Italians, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Magyars, Transylvanians, Czechs, Croatians, Flemings, Wallons and Swedes'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 65) According to Cezary Kuklo, at the turn of the 16th century those ethnic minorities constituted even 50 percent of the population. (Kuklo, 1996, p. 73-74) The ethnic diversity appears to be fully reflected in three official languages of the Commonwealth: Latin, Polish and Ruthenian. (Koyama, 2007, p. 139) What is more, Latin was not only a 'common language of the intellectuals' (Koyama, 2007, p. 139) but 'in the sixteenth century, Latin language education was popular among the townspeople as well'. (Koyama, 2007, p. 139) Marcin Kromer seemed to confirm this statement. In his book *Polonia*, he indicated: 'All people, both the poor and the rich, both the noblemen and the plebeians, above all the townsmen, make efforts to send their children to schools, to give them an education, and to accustom them to Latin from early childhood'. (Kromer, 1901, p. 49) Moreover, according to Satoshi Koyama, Polish was also commonly used as the official language and 'from the sixteenth century onwards, it became a lingua franca for almost all noblemen from the Baltic coast to the steppe frontier north of the Black Sea during the next century'. (Koyama, 2007, p. 140)

Considered to be economically stable and offering opportunities for enhancing livelihoods, the Commonwealth enticed migration. Among the unprecedented influx of refugees and migrants The Scots formed a conspicuous group. It is estimated that by the 1600s there were 30,000 Scots living in Poland. (Steuart, 1915) This great increase in Scots emigration to Poland was noticed by T. Fisher, who described it 'as making Poland the America of those days'. (Fisher, 1903, p. 31) What is more, the number of the Scottish immigration was so considerable that it even arose concerns in the English

Parliament of 1606. Arthus Wilson in the *History of Great Britain* reports: 'If we admit them [the Scots] into our liberties, we shall be overrun with them, as cattle (naturally) pent up by a slight hedge will spill over it into a better soil, and a tree taken from a barren place will thrive to excessive and exuberant branches in a better, witness the multiplicities of the Scots in Polonia'. (Wilson, 1653, p. 34) These 'multiplicities' of the Scots were also noticed by William Lithgow, a Scottish traveller, who visited Polonia in 1616. He reports: 'Being arrived in Crocko or Crocavia (...), I met with diverse Scottish Merchants, who were wonderful glade of mine arrival there'. He also notices that: 'Poland is a large and mighty Kingdome, puissant in Horsemen and populous of strangers being charged with a proud Nobility. (...) Here [between Cracow, Warsaw and Lublin] I found abundance of gallant, rich Merchants, my Countrey-men, who were all very kind to me, and so were they by the way in every place where I came. (Lithgow, 1906, p. 367-368) Lithgow's contemporary Fynes Moryson, seems to be in agreement with such observations, as in his itinerary, in 1617, he mentions that 'the Scots flock in great numbers into Poland'. (Moryson, 1617, p. 155)

Undoubtedly, there were many factors that induced this massive migration from Scotland. One major reason for this increase is the religious situation in Scotland. According to Bajer: 'The third decade of the sixteenth century in Scotland was marked by the arrival of Protestantism, which was opposed by the Catholic hierarchy. The execution of Patrick Hamilton in 1528, a convicted adherent of the new doctrines, led many Protestant leaders to take refuge abroad'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 48) It seems that for the next decades the situation did not improve. Charles I implemented changes that were not approved by the Scottish bishops. His decision in 1637 to impose Anglican observances in the Scottish Church, based upon the English Book of Common Prayer brought about Bishop's Wars (1639-40) (Hosh). Scots also 'fought in or were affected by the Thirty Years' War, a religious conflict that caused an estimated 8 million deaths'. (Wilson, 2012, p. 787) The religious toleration in Poland after the Confederation of Warsaw in 1573 meant that the ethnically diverse Commonwealth, often called 'the Paradise of the Jews' was the country where the Protestant Scots would also experience a warm reception. (Davies, 1982, p. 207). With reference to the religious freedom in Wilno, Eleazar Gilbert wrote: 'There be also therein many Religions professed and tolerated, where-unto also belong many Churches and places of Divine worship, as a Synagogue to the Jews, whereof there be many thousands in the City; a Church the Lutherans; all which doe enjoy their exercises of Religion without trouble or interruption'. (Gilbert, 1641, p. 7)

Apparently there was no other possible country in Northern Europe for migration at that time owing to the fact that 'Other European countries, including France, were fighting or preparing to fight religious wars, and the peaceful nature of the Polish Reformation and Counter Reformation must have appealed to Scots of all denominations'. (Ożog, 1995, p. 56) Analysing the phenomenon of religious toleration throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Peter Bajer concludes: 'Given the spirit of legality and humanism pervading Polish society, (...) Scottish Protestants did not have to fear inquisition, anathemas, religious terrorism or confiscation of property'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 75) There is little wonder than that Scots aware of this favourable situation regarding the freedom of religion chose the Commonwealth as their destination place.

Another key factor that caused larger Scottish migration was unfavourable socioeconomic situation caused by population growth. It is estimated that in the sixteenth century Scotland had '800,000 inhabitants with the number rising to a million in 1700'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 42) The most densely inhabited towns were Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen (each with up to 10 000 people) (Bajer, 2012, p. 42) and Edinburgh, which doubled in size at the beginning of the 16th Century. (Whyte, 2005, p. 41) The increasing population density resulted in a lack of income opportunities, poverty and the low standard of living conditions. Thomas Kirk, who travelled through Scotland for several months in 1677 commented: 'The poorer inhabitants go almost naked, only an old cloak, or apart of their bed-cloths thrown over them'. (Brown, 1973, p. 260) With reference to the houses of the common people he also wrote: 'Very mean, mud-walland thatch the best; but the poorer sort live in such miserable huts as never eye beheld; men, women, and children pig altogether in a poor mouse – hole of mud, heath, and some such like matter'. (Brown, 1973, p. 260) Another traveller to Scotland in 1568, Pierre de Bourdeilles, had a similar impression, as he reported: 'Scotland, with its gloomy skies, its poverty and squalor, its harsh and rugged aspects, was unfit to have produced the paragon of princesses'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 44)

What is more, Smout in *'A History of the Scottish People'* stresses that the difficult economic situation was caused by harsh climate, poor soil quality and primitive agriculture. (Smout, 1994, p. 135) To make matters worse 'severe famines hit Scotland in 1572, 1587 and 1595. (...) This famine, persisting for many years, was accompanied by 'the plague' (typhus) and smallpox'. (Anderson, 1997, p. 23) Such situation contributed to the fact that 'beggars and the vagrant poor were in infinite numbers, and the same reason of their extreme want and misery [were] bold and very impudent'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 46)

Apart from that, it is also necessary to underline the fact that the institution of primogeniture (based on the law that only the firstborn legitimate son could inherit his parent's property), which was generally accepted throughout Scotland forced the younger sons to migrate abroad for financial gain and the improvement of their living condition. Studying patterns of population movement in Scotland R. Houston and C. Withers came to a similar conclusion. They noticed 'what is known of vagrant mobility in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries suggests a predominance of young single males (...); movement of whole families was unusual except in periods of severe dearth'. (Houston, 1990, p. 289) Analysing the patterns of migration, Biegańska also came to conclusion that the majority of those who arrived to the Commonwealth 'were young and even the very young-often alone'. (Biegańska, 1992, p. 159)

Among most important factors pushing the majority of Scots out of their country were also military ones. The poor economic situation, overpopulation and poverty meant that young men had no choice but to leave their homes to serve in the army 'or navy of either their own monarch or under the banners of a foreign ruler'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 46) According to historians in the first half of the seventeenth century, in Europe 'Scotland was one of the prime providers of military manpower in Europe. (Murdoch, 2001, p. 191) It is estimated that a substantial number of Scots fought in the Hundred Years' War, for the King of Denmark in his war against Sweden, or in Sweden's war with Muscovy. 'While Sweden, Denmark and Low Countries offered great opportunity for men prepared to serve as mercenaries – about 50,000 Scots are likely to have served during the Thirty Years' War in the anti-Habsburg armies – such an activity was extremely dangerous. To become a regular trooper in this war was like buying a one-way ticket to almost certain death'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 52)

The Commonwealth at that time offered substantial opportunities for soldiers of fortune and Scottish mercenaries joined the Polish armies. Moreover, it appears that their martial activities enjoyed the best of reputations. King Stefan Batory encountered them in 1577 during a brief war fought over the city's privileges and impressed by their military skills and courage, 'commented favourably on the fighting qualities of the Scots, expressing a desire for them to serve him in the campaigns he was planning against Muscovy and his wish was granted'. (Murdoch, 2001, p. 196) Spytko Wawrzyniec Jordan, one of King Batory's captains, reported that although most of them [Scots] were former peddlers, 'having abandoned or sold their booths, buckle on their swords and shoulder their musket; they are infantry of unusual quality,

although they look shabby to us... 2000 Scots are better than 6000 of our own infantry' (Biegańska, 1984, p. 87, 100) There were also Scots in Jan Zamoyski's army. One of them was Thomas Buck, who 'fought on the Polish side in the wars against Charles IX of Sweden, earning letters of commendation from the Lithuanian Grand Hetman Jan Karol Chodkiewicz'. (Murdoch, 2001, p. 197) Furthermore, the attempt of King of Poland Władysław IV to raise 14,000 infantry in Scotland for the Polish navy was another argument proving that the Scottish soldiers were highly valued. (Bajer, 2012, p. 69) Such positive portrayal of the Scottish soldier was also presented in Polish literature. For instance, Henryk Sienkiewicz in one of his dramas (*With Fire and Sword, The Deluge, Sir Michael*) 'features a dashing officer called Hasling-Ketling of Elgin, perhaps modelled on the seventeenth-century diary of Patrick Gordon', while the novelist Jerzy Rychliński 'published two books celebrating the memory of James Murray, the Scot responsible for overseeing the construction of Polish fleet in the 1620s'. (Worthington, 2016, p. 193) It seems that professional mercenary was a very popular type of career among young Scots. Brzeziński in his book 'British Mercenaries' (Brzeziński, 1986, p. 23) mentions Scottish military man, Colonel Henry Gordon of Huntly who in his letters 'commented on his stay in Poland with some fondness'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 30)

It seems that there was yet another factor that could have triggered Scotland to 'send forth swarms of migrants, of whom great numbers did haunt Pole. (Bajer, 2012, p. 75) Owing to the commercial ties between Commonwealth and the British Isles 'regular sea links were established between Gdańsk and Aberdeen as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century.' Moreover, the sea route, which took approximately three weeks, seemed to be 'the safest, shortest and thus the least expensive way of travelling to Poland'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 60) What is more, under the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 'Vistula Trade' was established, which from the port of Gdańsk 'reached more than 600 kilometers inland'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 59) Water transport became 'accessible not only to wealthy merchants and nobles, but also to common folk'. (Bajer, 2012. p. 61)

Those regular sea links between Gdańsk and Aberdeen offered a huge scope for the Scottish merchants. Aware of the demand for foreign commodities, religious toleration, and thriving economy, the enterprising migrants engaged in commerce. (Bajer, 2012, p. 64) The less wealthy Scots 'became pedlars moving around the country selling their goods in villages or small towns'. Those itinerant tradesmen 'carried with them a variety of goods (...): some metal wares, largely domestic utensils made from tin and iron. (...) There were also numbers of youths such as weavers, cutlers and shoema-

kers'. (Ożóg, 1995, p. 58) Apparently they received a welcome reception as Andrew Fisher states that 'the Scottish Pedlar was well received by the country folk, who living many miles away from any town were glad to have the shop brought to their door'. (Fisher, 1903, p. 18) Scottish Resident in Poland, Patrick Gordon described the Commonwealth, 'as a country where any man could, by his own work, make his mark or fortune and (...) where foreigners were able to make financial gains'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 68)

Due to the peddling nature of their occupation, less wealthy Scots chose the itinerant way of life, and usually 'spent all year moving round the country selling their goods to country peasants and in villages'. (Ożóg, 1995, p. 58) The affluent merchants on the other hand adopted a more sedentary lifestyle and settled in big towns, where they left 'a contribution to (Polish) society, military, religious and academic life'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 6)

Of particular interest among Scottish entrepreneurs were Gdańsk (Danzing), Cracow, Lublin and Warsaw. Owing to the fact that Gdańsk enabled to maintain commercial links and served as a destination port of Scottish vessels, it became a permanent home of Scottish migrants. Beyond any doubt their presence left a lasting impression on Polish maps as even modern Gdańsk is the home of two suburbs named Nowe Szkoty and Stare Szkoty. (Kay, 2006) The movement of the newcomers is also reflected in other geographical locations. Peter Bajer enumerates other 'places that may bear witness to the migration such as Schottland (suburb of Gdańsk), Schottenkrug (village near Chełmno) or Szotniki (village in Lesser Poland). (Bajer, 2012, p. 88) Those exclusive ethnic enclaves dispersed much further inland and became an inevitable feature of economic development. As Murdoch explicitly stated: 'Sots rapidly spread out (...). There were strong concentrations (of Scots) in Cracow, Warsaw, Wielkopolska (Greater Poland), especially around Poznań'. (Murdoch, 2001, p. 194) Moreover, the traces of Scots were found in smaller country estate parishes as well. For instance, Murdoch in his book: 'Scotland and the Thirty Year's War' mentions Robert Porteous, a Scot who settled in Krosno and became 'a noted benefactor of the local community'. (Murdoch, 2001, p. 194) Porteous 'amassed a huge fortune by acquiring a virtual monopoly of the trade in Hungarian wine, the favourite drink of the Polish nobility'. (Murdoch, 2001, p. 194) The Scottish traveller Lithgow's observations seem to confirm the statement regarding the huge Scottish diaspora as his recollections show that he met 'an abundance of gallant rich merchants', his compatriots 'in practically every place he visited in the Crown'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 90)

Beyond any doubt, the Scottish immigrants made an immense contribution to Polish as well as Scottish culture owing to their means. Billy

Kay draws our attention to Robert Gordon who 'made a fortune through the Aberdeen-Danzig (Gdańsk) trade route, and donated some GBP 10,000 to the foundation of a hospital in his hometown' and William Forbes, known as Danzig Willie, who 'built the spectacular Craigievar Castle on the back of his trading profits' (Kay, 2013), while James Kabrun, a wealthy Gdańsk merchant financed the building of a theater'. (Marszalek, 2014) The affluent tradesmen of Scottish origin also gave their 'financial backing to projects concerning the Reformed of Poland-Lithuania'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 294) For instance, an influential parishioner of Szczepanowice, David Aikenhead of Tarnów made 'a bequest with the purpose of giving young people, university education. (...) His grant secured well-educated Protestant theologians for service in the Reformed Church in Poland-Lithuania and (...) allowed students to go to universities'. (Bajer,2 012, p. 295) Another notable figure of Scottish descent worth mentioning is William Bruce, a professor of Roman Law at the new university at Zamość, who wrote 'well-informed and detailed accounts of Polish politics'. (Tomaszewski, 2011)

Apparently, their input into the local community was acknowledged as Bogusław Radziwiłł, in his decree giving 'vast privileges to the foreigners in Węgrów', called Scots 'a fine ornament of the town,'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 282) Another example of recognition of Scottish traders' service to the court took place in 1576, when Batory granted to John Gibson, a Scottish merchant, the royal privilege, on the basis of which he could 'set and build shops or merchant's booths in public places and (...) sell wine and other liquors on their premises'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 183) Among many Scottish migrants, who managed to rise through the ranks to notable positions, was also Alexander Czamer, who not only served as a judge and a deputy in the coronation parliament of King August II, but also was four-time Mayor of Warsaw between 1671 and 1702. (Konopka, 2014)

Those entrepreneurial endeavours of Scottish merchants contributed to a growing economy of the Commonwealth, as they became a substantial group of taxpayers. The 1564 constitution proclaimed 'Scots, who carry their merchandise for sale on their backs, shall pay one złoty; and those Scots who use horses to transport their goods, shall pay sixty groszy from each horse used'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 98) In recognition for their service, they were granted citizenship. It is estimated that 'between 1576 and 1650 over eighty Scottish merchants' received that privilege in Krakow alone. (Ożóg, 1995, p. 63) Once the citizenship was granted 'a payment of money with a gun and gunpowder was paid to the city by the new citizen'. (Ożóg, 1995, p. 64) Peter Bajer points out that such payments depended on the financial capability of

the tradesmen. For instance, 'David Liddell had to pay 50 Hungarian florins', while 'James Carmichael and Peter Wood had to pay '20 Hungarian gold pieces (each)'. (Bajer, 2012, p. 187) Full civic rights enabled Scottish entrepreneurs to build up fortunes. Among most wealthy Scottish merchants in the Commonwealth were: 'Robert Porteous of Krosno (valued at 90,000 zł), Thomas Gellatly of Gdańsk (24,000 zł), and Robert Blackhall of Cracow (20,380 zł). (Bajer, 2012, p. 201) In order to understand the size of their fortunes it is necessary to mention that in the middle of the seventeenth century one could purchase a horse for 30 zł and 120 kg of wheat for about 1 zł. (Bajer, 2012, p. 201)

Moreover, the most wealthy and prominent tradesmen became the Royal Merchants, 'so named because they had been given the privilege of serving and following the Court'. (Ożóg, 1995, p. 61) This position was of great importance and granted them the liberty to 'open booths and shops in any town where Diet was sitting; they could follow the Court on military campaigns and could act as purveyors to the Court in both peace and war'. (Ożóg, 1995, p. 61)

Both the commercial ventures of Scottish tradesmen and their contribution to domestic revenue increase had to be significant enough for the foreign officials to take notice of it. The exiled Charles II 'was in great need of political and financial support'. (Bajer, 2012, p.190) The Polish government endorsed his idea of collecting money from his Scottish subjects residing in the Commonwealth. However, due to objections from Scottish merchants King Jan Kazimierz decided that the only way to aid Charles II was to force them by means of legislation. In 1651, Polish Subsidy to King Charles II was voted according to which 'the Scottish merchants who resided in the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania (...) were to be required to declare, on oath, the total worth of their possessions and pay a sum in the amount of 10 per cent of its gross value, within eight weeks, to municipal officials of royal towns and to the owners, or their representatives, of towns belonging to lay or ecclesiastical lords (...) Those who did not comply with the law would face serious penalties'. (MacRobert, 1998, p. 10,11) As a result, the 'sum of 102,220 zł 29 gr 12 d.' was collected (Bajer, 2012, p. 193). Nevertheless, the tax levied on Scottish merchants on behalf of Charles II put many of them into financial difficulties and brought about changes that altered their favourable position on the market diametrically.

Both the growing hostility of other merchant groups and unfavourable government policies forced the Scottish tradesmen into 'trading unions, Scottish Brotherhoods, in twelve cities of the Kingdom, including Cracow, Poznań and Lublin'. (Ożóg, 1995, p. 65) The idea of this institution was to

represent and protect the commercial interests, preserve national identity and enable its members to practice their creeds. (Bajer, 2012, p. 235)

In the late seventeenth century, the Scottish community in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth begun to dwindle. It seems that a number of factors prompted that change. Apparently, the long-lasting war with Sweden had devastating and irreversible effects upon both the country's economy and their trade that became no longer profitable. Also, 'the members of the Brotherhood suffered a great deal of religious persecution (...) mainly at the hands of the Jesuits who were doing everything possible to crush Protestantism in Poland in 1687. (Ożóg, 1995, p. 70) As a result of changing political situation and conflicts within brotherhoods most Scottish migrants converted into Roman Catholicism, lost their distinct identity and became more integrated with native population. It is claimed that 'assimilation, shown in the Polonisation of Scottish names, was the main reason for the disappearance of the Scottish ethnic group in Rzeczpospolita' (Bajer, 2012, p. 19). Thus, MacLeod became Machlejd, MacAulay became Makaliński, Cochrane became Czochran etc.'. (Marszałek, 2014)

To sum up, it must be acknowledged that Scottish merchants who remained in Poland for 200 years made a valuable contribution to the economic development of the Commonwealth, commercial expansion of cities and the emergence of wealthy, multi-ethnic and well-educated urban society. The favourable conditions of Poland enabled them to obtain full civic rights and gain the highest distinctions not only in public but also in military realms. (Bajer, 2012, p. 13) Admittedly, their presence in the Commonwealth made its way into the historical consciousness and constituted a mutual Polish-Scottish cultural heritage.

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