

ARTYKUŁY I ROZPRAWY

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ILLUSTRI GENERE EX SCOTIA: SCOTTISH SETTLEMENT IN CHEŁMNO, 16TH TO 18TH CENTURIES

Abstract

The article analyses the history of the Scottish settlement in Chełmno (Culm), one of the most important centres of Roman Catholicism in Royal Prussia (province of the Kingdom of Poland). An attempt is made to establish the size of this colony and describe their economic, spiritual, cultural and social activities. The participation of the Scots and their descendants in the local government and guilds, as well as their contribution to the local parish and the Catholic Church as a whole are also discussed.

Key words: Scottish emigration, Scots, Poland, Chełmno (Culm).

Słowa kluczowe: Imigracja szkocka, Szkoci, Polska, Chełmno (Culm).

This Culm is very ancient and hath been of great account in former tymes, which may appear by its giving name to all that district; and the common law, which is observed throughout all Prussia, is ordinarily called Culmish law. It was fortified by the [...] wi [...] with a very strong brick wall of a large circumference. It is but meanly inhabited, and slenderly builded; only about the market place are some very faire houses, with wealthy indwellers. ... It is under the jurisdiction of a bishop, who hath his title from it, and resideth in a towne abouth 15 miles from thence, called Libava. It hath its owne magistrates and peculiar lawes and very great and ancient priviledges. ... It hath within the towne 3 monasteryes, a Dominican, Franciscan, and of Votaresses, and a large cathedrall.¹

¹ P. Gordon, *The Diary*, Russian State Archive of Military History (hereafter RSAMH), Moscow, Fond 846, Op. 15, vol. I, k. 9-9v; Cf. idem, *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699, Volume 1: 1635–1659*, ed. D. Fedosov (Aberdeen: AHRC Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies), 2009, pp. 17–18.

In the early modern period, Chełmno (Kulm), in Royal Prussia, was one of the most important centres of Roman Catholicism in that part of the Kingdom of Poland. As Patrick Gordon lively described it, the city was indeed a historic municipality, dating back to the eleventh century. Granted city rights in 1233, Chełmno quickly became one of the most important political, administrative and economic centres of the Teutonic Knights' state. During the course of the late Middle Ages, the city joined the Hanseatic League. However, after 200 years of prosperity it suffered a gradual decline as a result of the Thirteen Years' War and the subsequent occupation by the Teutonic mercenaries in the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1466, Chełmno was incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland and forty years later the control of this royal city was given to the bishops of Chełmno (1505). Although the bishops were unable to restore the city to all its former glory, over the next two centuries, they managed to reinvent it and offer it a new, important role.²

While the much more populous and prosperous cities of Royal Prussia, such as Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń, were dominated by the followers of the Evangelicals of Lutheran persuasion, Chełmno, because of its Episcopal protection, remained loyal to the Catholic faith. The city, or as Bishop Wojciech Stanisław Leski called it, *civitas totius Prussiae metropolis*, combined several significant roles. Since 1505, Chełmno was a seat of an diocese, a deanery, and a parish. It was also a hub of monastic life and an important educational centre. The cult of Our Lady made it also a significant pilgrimage destination. The bishops used the city as a tool of the Counter-Reformation influence in this Protestant dominated province of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They had also succeeded in improving its economic situation.

Another distinctive difference that set Chełmno apart from the other significant cities of the province was its demographic make-up. Unlike the other major towns, the city was dominated by ethnic Poles rather than by Germans. Its multi-ethnic population consisted also of Dutch, Danish, Italian and English settlers. Apart from them, there were also Scots who constituted a distinct, though not as numerous as the Germans, group. This paper endeavours to provide an analysis of the Scottish presence in the city between the last decades of the sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth. The brief examination of this influx of migrants, their economic, spiritual, material, cultural and social activities, as well as their interaction with their host community, will expand the hitherto state of research of this immigration.³

² Z.H. Nowak, *Dzieje Chełmna do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] M. Biskup (ed.), *Dzieje Chełmna i jego regionu. Zarys monograficzny*, Toruń: 1968; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno: civitas totius Prussiae metropolis XVI–XVIII w.*, Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2007, pp. 70–99.

³ For the most comprehensive account of Scottish migration to Poland-Lithuania please refer to: P.P. Bajer, *Scots in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16th to 18th Centuries: The*

The first visitors from Britain were recorded in Chełmno in the fifteenth century. Around 1400, English merchants established there a staple and constructed two stores. The first of them, taken over at a later stage by the City Council, was in use until 1779.⁴ According to Schultz, the Englishmen imported cloth and exported grain, flour, wood, tar, pitch, ashes and other raw materials.⁵ It is unknown if among those early visitors there were any Scots, nevertheless, judging from an ethnic make-up of a similar English venture in Elbląg, this supposition is highly plausible. Although no information about the Scots in the fifteenth and sixteenth century Chełmno exists (nearly all civic records of that period have since perished), the Scottish itinerant traders must have been visiting the city during this time. As it has been recorded in the documents of the *Landtag* (State Diet) of Royal Prussia, complaints from the inhabitants of this province about Scots and other merchants and traders “who prejudice their common interests and usurp their means of livelihood”, resulted in laws against the foreigners (1537).⁶ In 1551, King Zygmunt August issued a decree against the Scottish and Jewish peddlers wandering about the countryside selling “not only good and bad wares, but all manner of fur garments and skins, which are usually the due of those in authority and are heavily taxed”.⁷ This legislation was confirmed and endorsed in 1556 and 1580.⁸

Formation and Disappearance of an Ethnic Group, Leiden: Brill, 2012. Information about Scots in Chełmno can be found in: M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 497–506; S. Gierszewski, Szkoci w mniejszych miastach Pomorza Gdańskiego (XVI–XVIII w.), “Zeszyty Naukowe WSP im. Powstańców Śląskich w Opolu, Historia” 26 (1988), pp. 49–60. The Scottish presence in other parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is the subject of a number of more recent publications, e.g. W. Kowalski, *The Great Immigration: Scots in Cracow and Little Poland, circa 1500–1660*, Leiden: Brill, 2012; Z. Guldon, K. Krzystanek, Żydzi i Szkoci w Sandomierzu w XVI–XVIII wieku, “Studia Historyczne” 31/4, 1988, pp. 539–541; R. Žirgulis, The Scottish community in Kėdainiai ca. 1630–ca. 1750, [in:] A. Grosjean, S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad In The Early Modern Period*, Leiden: Brill, 2005.

⁴ E. Schultz, *Geschichte der Stadt und des Kreises Kulm. Tl. 1, Bis zum Jahre 1479*, Danzig: Kafemann, 1876, p. 8.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 134.

⁶ F.A. Steuart (ed.), *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland 1576–1593*, Edinburgh: Scottish Historic Society, 1915, pp. 93–95.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 96–100.

⁸ *Ibidem*; Cf. Z. Guldon, L. Stępkowski, Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie w połowie XVII wieku, “Kieleckie Studia Historyczne” 32, 1977; idem, Ludność szkocka i angielska w Polsce w połowie XVII wieku, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 2, 1982, p. 203; T.A. Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co, 1903, p. 157; W. Kowalski, The placement of urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, [in:] *Scottish Communities Abroad In The Early Modern Period*, eds. A. Grosjean, S. Murdoch, pp. 53–103, Brill: Leiden, 2005, p. 56; S. Bodniak, Z. Skorupska, *Jan Kostka, kasztelan gdański, prezes Komisji Morskiej i rzecznik unii Prus z Koroną*, Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1979, p. 45.

It seems that it was not until early 1600s that some Scots decided to settle in Chełmno. This influx was not fortuitous, but rather was part of a larger Scottish mercantile expansion to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that started in earnest at the end of the sixteenth century and continued well into the second half of the seventeenth century. The position of the city on the main trade route between Toruń and Gdańsk meant that it was regularly visited by the ever mobile Scottish traders and travellers. The decision of the local bishop, Jan Małachowski, to increase city's depleted population, by declaring in 1678 freedom of religion for the Protestants, may have also attracted some Scots.⁹

One of the first Scottish visitors who left an account of Chełmno was Peter Mundy. Mundy visited the city twice, in 1640 and in 1643. According to him, the city “offe promiseth much by sundry high spires, Fabricks off Churches, etts., butt generally within poore, low, unhandsome base buildings, even soe many boore [peasants'] houses enclosed together.”¹⁰ Mundy has also mentioned the fact that the city was once a location of the English staple.¹¹

In time, some Scots decided to settle in Chełmno on a more permanent basis. As various documents attest, they often provided lodgings for their travelling compatriots. In 1652, Robert Bargrave spent a night there among his countrymen while travelling from Toruń to Grudziądz. Like Mundy, Bargrave was not overly impressed by the city. In his travel journal he described it as “a small old Towne, ten miles beyond [Toruń]”.¹²

The best description of the city in the middle of the seventeenth century and the quarters provided by Scots to their compatriots was left by the earlier mentioned Patrick Gordon. Between 1653 and 1654 Gordon spent a winter in Chełmno. It is important to note that even before his arrival, he was provided with names of Scottish contacts, residents of the city who could render him assistance. One of these individuals was “a country man and namsake of [Gordon]...who was a very civill man.”¹³ Although Gordon did not state his first name, this was most likely Peter Gordon (*Petrus Gordan Scotus*), a fellow Catholic, mentioned in the records of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary parish church.¹⁴

⁹ Z.H. Nowak, *Dzieje Chełmna...*, pp. 116, 195; Cf. M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 135.

¹⁰ P. Mundy, *The travels of Peter Mundy 1597–1667*, ed. J. Keast, Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1984, p. 97.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 207.

¹² R. Bargrave, *The travel diary of Robert Bargrave: Levant merchant (1647–1656)*, ed. M.G. Brennan, London: Hakluyt Society, 1999, p. 150.

¹³ P. Gordon, *Diary...*, vol. I, p. 15.

¹⁴ Records of the Assention of Our Lady, Roman Catholic Parish, Chełmno, [in:] *Archiwum Akt Dawnych Diecezji Toruńskiej*, Toruń: Liber Natorum (thereafter L.N.) 1667–1690, sig. AA001 (W 736); Liber baptisatorum (thereafter L.B.) 1727–1734, sig. AA002 (W 737), L.B. 1734–1743, sig. AA003 (W 738); L.B. 1738–1755, sig. AA004 (W 739); L.B. 1752–1765, sig. AA005 (W 740); Register baptisatorum 1752–1776. sig. W 764; L.B. 1777–1787, sig. AA006 (W 741);

Patrick Gordon met several other of his countrymen who resided in Chełmno at that time. One of them, John Dick “prentice to a merchant called Robert Sleich,” persuaded Gordon to travel with him deep into the heartland of Poland.¹⁵ Apart from him, there were other Scots, “ffriends”, whom Gordon left behind. Although Gordon did not provide any other names nor leave information about a precise number of the settlers from Scotland, there is no doubt that by the first half of the seventeenth century there was a small Scottish colony established in the city.

Among the first recorded Scots who settled in Chełmno were Alexander Gillespie and William Burnet. Alexander Gillespie, son of David and Isobel Watt, originally of Auchlech, parish Skene in Aberdeenshire, was recorded as an indweller of that city. He died, most likely during a business trip, and was buried in Gniezno (Gennisna, Knesin), in April 1589. According to a testimonial issued in Aberdeen in 1590, Alexander’s sisters Isobell and Margaret, nominated one Thomas Douglas to be their executor “to call and persew for quhatsumever guidis pertaining to ye said umq^{ll} alex^r w^t power to substitut.”¹⁶

According to “Testimonial book of Aberdeen”, William Burnet, son of William of Gask and Janette Forbes, arrived in Chełmno through the port city of Gdańsk. In the late sixteenth century Burnet successfully applied for a birth brief to the city of Aberdeen. The parchment dated 6 June 1589 most likely helped him to acquire the civic rights in Chełmno.¹⁷ This unfortunately cannot be verified as the burgess roll no longer exists. The absence of this important source prevents establishing the exact number of Scots and their descendants who enjoyed the civic rights of that municipality. Based on other documents listing names of important office holders – to be a part of magistrate one had to enjoy full rights of citizenship – it is safe to conclude that between 1580s and 1750s at least 20 Scots and their descendants obtained burgess status in Chełmno (see Figure 1).

L.B. 1781–1800, sig., AA007 (W 742); Liber copulatorum (thereafter L.C.) 1751–1852, sig. AD 001 (W 750); L.C. 1777–1781, sig. AD 002 (W 751); Liber mortuorum (thereafter L.M.) 1782–1812, sig. AE 001 (W 754).

Records of the Assention of Our Lady, Roman Catholic Parish, Chełmno, [in:] *Archiwum Fary Chełmińskiej* (AFCh), Chełmno: L.B. 1718–1738, sig. 1134; Register baptisatorum 1773–1825, sig. 1144; L.C. 1640–1699, sig. 6; L.C. 1761–1776, sig. 7; L.M. 1686–1725, sig. 3; L.M. 1725–1748, sig. 4.

¹⁵ P. Gordon, *Diary...*, vol. I, p. 18.

¹⁶ Testimonial issued in the city of Aberdeen on 18 July 1590, [in:] *The Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club* [hereafter MTSC], Vol. 2, Aberdeen 1940, no. 24; Cf. Testimonial issued in the city of Aberdeen on 6 August 1589, [in:] *ibidem*, no. 11; D. Dobson, *Scots in Poland, Russia and the Baltic States, 1550–1850*, Baltimore: Clearfield Company, 2000, p. 64.

¹⁷ Testimonial book of Aberdeen. Testimonialis grantit be ye ballies sen ye last day of Merche 1589, [in:] MTSC, no. 4; D. Dobson, *Scots in Poland...*, p. 24.

Citizens of Chełmno of Scottish origin

Surname	Name	Date	Office titles
Ahorn	Kazimierz	1700s	marshal of the Brotherhood of the Rooster (<i>Marszałek Bractwa</i>)
Ahorn	Lawrence (Laurentius)	c. 1701	standard-bearer of the Brotherhood of the Rooster; Rooster King
Arbuthnot (Arbusknot)	George (Jerzy)	1730s	member of the Brotherhood of the Rooster (<i>podkiercmistrz</i>)
Baxter	James (Jakub)	1636	member of the Brotherhood of the Rooster, Rooster King
Burnet	William	1589	
Charters (Czatter)	James (Jakub)	1674	member of the Brotherhood of the Rooster, Rooster King
Charters (Czatter)	Peter (Petrus)	1676, 1688–1690	alderman (<i>lawnik</i>), official of the city treasury (<i>fiskal, advocatus fisci</i>), treasurer (<i>kamlarz</i>), mayor, assessor of the Brotherhood of the Rooster, Rooster King
Charters (Czatter)	John (Joannes)	1704, 1711, 1733	<i>proconsul</i> , member of the Brotherhood of the Rooster, Rooster King
Charters (Czatter)	Peter (Petrus)	1748–1751, 1755, 1766	treasurer (<i>kamlarz</i>), mayor, burgrave (<i>burgrabia</i>), president of the butchers' brotherhood
Forbes	Balthazar (Baltazar) aka Walter	1727, 1730–1732, 1736, 1738, 1742	councillor (<i>consul</i>), treasurer (<i>kamlarz</i>), <i>proconsul</i>
Forbes	George (Georgius)	1742	mayor, burgrave (<i>Praesidens ac Burgrabius</i>)
Forbes	Joseph Longin	1769, 1771	councillor (<i>rajca</i>), suburbs bailie (<i>Judex Suburbanus</i>)
Forbes	Paul (Paulus)	1744, 1746	secretary (<i>Secretarii</i>), suburbs bailie (<i>Judex Suburbanus</i>), city bailie (<i>Judex Culmensis</i>), councillor (<i>Consul Culmensis</i>)
Gordon	James	c. 1703	
Gordon	Peter	1659	councillor (<i>rajca</i>)
Gordon	Thomas	1704	suburbs bailie (<i>Judex Suburbanus</i>)
Gordon (Gordan)	William (Wilhelmus)	1694, 1704–1706	treasurer (<i>kamlarz</i>), member of the Brotherhood of the Rooster, Rooster King

Surname	Name	Date	Office titles
Harvie (Herwi)	Martin (Marcin)	1719, 1720	official of the city treasury (<i>fiskał</i>), Rooster King
Harvie (Herwi)	Stanislaus Martin (Stanisław Marcin)	1725–1728, 1729–1730	treasurer (<i>kamłarz</i>)
Jefferyes (Dziafray)	Alexander (Aleksander)	1625, 1628, 1629, 1630	member of the Brotherhood of the Rooster, Thee-time Rooster King (<i>trzyletni król kurkowy</i>)
Porter	John (Jan)	1616, 1618, 1620	member of the Brotherhood of the Rooster, Rooster King
Smith	George	c. 1697	
Smith	John (Jan)	1694–1695, 1696–1700, 1707–1712	alderman/assessor (<i>ławnik</i>), treasurer (<i>kamłarz</i>), mayor (<i>burmistrz</i>)
Smith	George	1719, 1713–1714	judge (<i>sędzia</i>), treasurer (<i>kamłarz</i>), elder of the Brotherhood of the Rooster

Civic rights must have been also bestowed on John (Jan) Porter, who in 1616, 1618 and 1620 was the Rooster King (*król kurkowy*), that is the best marksman, of the Brotherhood of the Rooster (*Bractwo Kurkowe*) in Chełmno.¹⁸ The brotherhood or shooting society, was a defensive militia customarily kept by all major Polish cities of the times, and comprised of craftsmen and merchants whose main responsibility was to defend the city in the event of an external military threat. The fraternity has been also actively participating in a variety of civic events and local rituals, and from its very beginnings, in cultivating religious traditions of the Catholic Church.¹⁹ In total between 1505 and 1772, the brotherhood in Chełmno held 195 shooting competitions. Among its 155 winners, there were ten men of Scottish origin who, between them, won the laurels 17 times.²⁰

The most distinguished marksman among them was Alexander Jefferyes (Dziafray), who won the prestigious title in 1625, 1628, 1629 and 1630. By winning three times in a row, Jefferyes acquired the highly esteemed title of Thee-time Rooster King (*trzyletni król kurkowy*), for life. Such honour was bestowed only three times in the history of Chełmno fraternity. Apart from the

¹⁸ M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 461.

¹⁹ A. Mańkowski, *Dzieje bractwa strzelców chełmińskiego*, [in:] *Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 2, 1920, pp. 17–32; see also M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 443–469.

²⁰ M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 460.

fame as the title holder, Jefferyes was excused for life from any obligations to the city.²¹

Other Scots who achieved the title at least once were: James Baxter in 1636, Peter Charters in 1667 and 1668, James Charters in 1674, John Smith (Szmet) in 1692, William Gordon in 1694, John Charters in 1704 and 1711, and Martin Harvie (Herwi) in 1719.²² It is important to note that in 1711, George Smith was elected the elder of the Brotherhood of the Rooster, that is, he obtained the most senior position within the fraternity. According to M. G. Zieliński, Smith's energy helped to revitalise the organisation. During his reign lasting from 1711 to 1715, Smith organised the refurbishment of the shooting range, improved the financial position of the brotherhood and increased discipline of its members.²³ Among the office bearers of the fraternity were also: Peter Charters, its assessor (1691–1694); John Harvie, its marshal (1717, 1722–1725); and George Arbuthnot, its corporal (1718–1720), and *podkiercmistrz* (1721, 1723).²⁴

As the data shows, the Scottish names appear in greater number only in the last decades of the seventeenth century and the first three decades of the eighteenth century. This is not necessarily connected to the fact that the records for the first half of the seventeenth century are scarce.²⁵ One of the most important surviving documents of this period, the register of the contributors to the 1651 tithe for Charles II (imposed on all Scots and Englishmen residing in the Kingdom of Poland), indicates that at this time the Scottish community in Chełmno was reasonably small. Although the roll does not provide the names or the number of individual taxpayers who made their payment in Chełmno, the sum of 800 zł collected there indicates a rather low number of contributors.²⁶ In Przeworsk, a similar amount of money was collected from three Scotsmen, in Chojnice from four, and in Leszno from seven men.²⁷

Similarly, not many Scots have been recorded during this period in the books of the treasurer of the city council (*księgi kamlarskie*). Apart from the earlier mentioned, only few other Scottish names appear in this document

²¹ A. Mańkowski, *Dzieje bractwa strzelców chełmińskiego...*, pp. 19–20; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 460–461.

²² M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 461–463.

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 447, 450, 454–455, 462.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 452–459.

²⁵ The most comprehensive survey of lost, as well as currently available documents is given by M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 32–36.

²⁶ *Exactio decimae partis substantiarum a mercatoribus cateris/q/ue nationis Scothiae et Anglicanae hominibus in Regno Poloniae degentibus iuxta ordinationem constitutionis comitalis die mensis Decembris 1650 pro subsidio serenissimi magnae Britanniae regis laudatae. Expedita Radomii sub tempus tribunalis die 13 mensis Martii anno 1651, AGAD, sig. ASK I 134, fol. 40.*

²⁷ *Ibidem* – Chojnice, fol. 36v; Leszno fol. 4v; Przeworsk fol. 20.

before 1650s. Such were James Erskine (Erskien) and Alexander ‘the Old Scot’ (Aleksander *Stary Szot*), traders in tar, metal and fish-oil.²⁸

The apparent influx of Scots from the 1680s onwards can be observed in the registers of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary parish church. Although the records are not complete, the source provides much data about the local Scots.²⁹ The material pertaining to the parishioners, supplemented by information from other sources allowed to create a register of about 230 individuals of Scottish descent who resided in Chełmno between 1640s–1780s. Close inspection of the register permits to conservatively identify ten families that inhabited the city in the 1680–1690 period: Arbuthnot (Arbusknot), Charters (Czater, Czatter, Czatters), Forbes, Gordon (Gordan), Harvie (Herwi), Lockhart (Lokiert, Lockert), Ramsay (Ramza), Ross, Scott (Scoth, Skotowski, Szott) and Smith (Schmidt, Smit, Szmēt, Szmeth, Szmit, Szmitt, Szmith, Szmyt, Szmyth). Based on this information, it is possible to estimate that the total number of Scots during the given time was about 30–50 individuals.

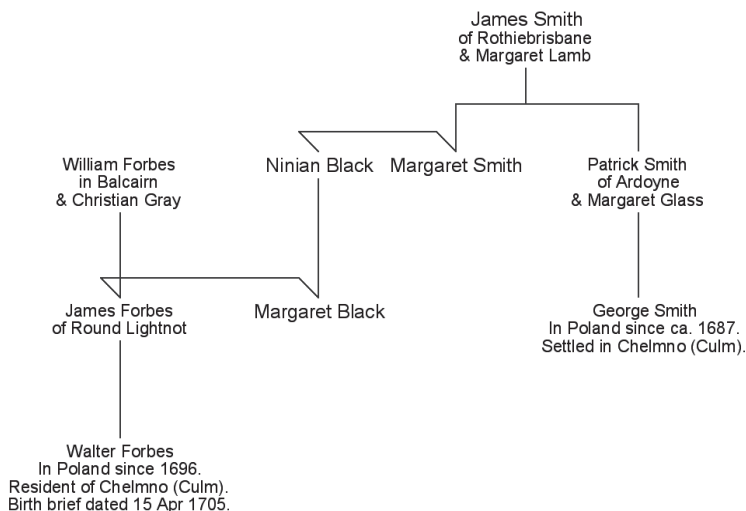


Fig. 2. Ancestors and relationship of Walter (Balthazar) Forbes and George Smith

Like Burnet and Gillespie, and many other Scottish migrants in Poland, the ancestors of Forbes, Gordon and Smith families came from Aberdeenshire. The case of Balthazar Forbes and George Smith (see Figure 2), reveals that it is

²⁸ APT, Akta miasta Chełmna, sygn. 12, p. 78; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 416. I am very grateful to M.G. Zieliński for alerting me to this information.

²⁹ Metrical books including the baptisms registers 1598–1664, 1690–1709 and 1710–1743; marriage registers 1603–1639, 1719–1759; and death registers 1748–1776 have unfortunately been missing since World War Two. For detailed information about available records please refer to footnote nr. 13.

likely that the families were related. Smith migrated to Poland from Ardoyneand and settled in Chełmno about 1687.³⁰ He moved there because, most probably, he was related to the Smiths who already resided there from at least the beginning of the seventeenth century.³¹ Forbes, first cousin once removed of George Smith, migrated to Poland about 1696.³² His arrival in Chełmno was not coincidental. Similar assistance offered by the established migrants, often older brothers, nephews, or cousins, to their kin, was widespread among the Scots.

Although the records do not allow a trace of the descendants of the said George Smith, it is feasible that he was related to John Smith who acquired civic rights in Chełmno about 1681. According to Fisher, John Smith left Aberdeen for Poland in 1674 and received a birth brief recorded in the Propinquity Books of Aberdeen between 1679 and 1681. Highly successful and affluent as a merchant, he also joined the city council and served as an alderman, treasurer (1694–1695; 1696–1700) and burgrave (1707–1712).³³ Smith proved to be an exceptionally energetic and resourceful administrator who distinguished himself dealing with the aftermath of the bubonic plague (1708–1711) and the Third Northern War (1700–1721).³⁴ A devout Catholic, together with his wife Hedwig née Konert, Smith committedly supported the Assumption of the Virgin Mary parish church.³⁵ In 1690, the couple donated organs placed in the choir opposite to the Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows. Later on they also financed the construction of the altar dedicated to St Barbara, the restoration of another set of organs located in the left nave and donated a processional banner, adorned with Smith's coat of arms (1698).³⁶

Similar virtues were exhibited by their son John George Smith (1685–1721), referred to in the documents as George Smith. Like his father, George was active in the municipal council as its treasurer (1713–1714) and bailiff (1719).

³⁰ Birth brief issued to George Smith (17 March 1687), [in:] Birth Brieves from the Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1637–1705. In *The Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club*, Vol. 5 [hereafter MSC], Aberdeen 1852, pp. 360–361.

³¹ The first record dates back to 1641 when Michael Smith (Smeth), son of John (Joannis) and Agnes neé unknown, married Anna neé unknown. – Liber copulatorum 1640–1699, AFCh sig. 6, fol. 6. During the period 1667–1690 six children were born in the parish to four different couples bearing the surname Schmit, Schmitt, Szmeth, Szmeth or Szmitt. – Liber natorum 1667–1690, AADDT sig. W 736, fol. 18a, 30, 54a, 64, 71a, 74a, 81a.

³² Birth brief issued to Walter Forbes (13 April 1705), [in:] MSC, p. 367.

³³ T.A. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany: being a contribution towards the history of the Scots abroad*, Edinburgh 1902, p. 246; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 122, 245, 246, 265, 266, 285, 299, 308, 425, 450, 481.

³⁴ J. Nierzwicki, *700 lat parafii chełmińskiej*, Grudziądz 1933, pp. 43–44, 50.

³⁵ L.C. 1640–1699, AFCh, sig. 6, fol. 150.

³⁶ An excerpt from the Letter of St. Paul to the Romans, chapter 16 verse 6: SALVATATE MARIAM LABORAVIT IN NOBIS (Latin: Greet Mary, who bestowed much labour on us) placed at the base of a ballustrade at the choir is a clear sign of Smith's devotion to Blessed Virgin Mary. – M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 236, 265–266, 285, 299, 308.

He was also an elder of the Rooster Brotherhood. Not much is known about his descendants but it is certain, however, that his daughter by Elizabeth Schultz died during the plague and was buried in the family crypt erected by her grandparents in the Assumption of the Virgin Mary church.³⁷ Smith's wall memorial located in the same church features a highly realistic picture of the deceased. His strong features, alert gaze and expensive wardrobe – heavily influenced by the style of clothing worn by the Polish gentry (red *zupan* beneath a indigo fur-lined *szuba* i.e. overcoat) – helps not only to illustrate Smith's relationship with the host community, but provides much information about the deceased himself (see Figure 3). This is an invaluable material, as the painted inscription is now almost illegible.³⁸



Fig. 3. Portrait of John George Smith (1685–1721)

Another Scottish family that came into prominence in Chełmno were the Charters. One of its most eminent members was Peter Charters (Petrus Czater, Czatter) (b. c. 1645, d. after 1694), a longstanding councilman, alderman (1675), fiscal advocate (1676), treasurer (1688–1690) and mayor of Chełmno. Merchant by trade, like the two Smiths, Charters was also involved in the charitable works (for example, he provided for the local St George's hospital) and was a keen supporter of the shooting society. In 1667 and 1668, he was its best marksman

³⁷ M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 24, 122, 282, 447, 450, 455, 456, 468, 469; L.N. 1667–1690, AADDT, sig. W736, fol. 81a.

³⁸ Wall memorial of George Smith of Chełmno (c. 1721), The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Roman Catholic Church, Chełmno. I am indebted to Dr Marek Zieliński for his kind assistance with my queries and providing me with the photos of this and other Scottish memorials from Chełmno. Cf. J. Kruszelnicka, *Portret na ziemi chełmińskiej*, 2 vols., Toruń: Muzeum Okręgowe w Toruniu, 1983, vol. 2, p. 77; J. Nierzwicki, *700 lat parafii...*, pp. 43–44.

and later, was its assessor (1691, 1693–1694). He was also a member of The Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, a religious organisation established in 1636 to strengthen spirituality and devotion of its members, encourage almsgiving and other forms of benefaction, as well as to form closer bonds amid members of the faith community.³⁹

Analogous qualities and interests were displayed by Peter Charters' eldest son John (b. 2.06.1670; d. 22.05.1736).⁴⁰ Charters took over his father's business and since about 1703 was active in the city council. Recorded as bailiff, proconsul (1733) and mayor, Charters was also a member of the Brotherhood of the Rooster and its best marksman (1704, 1711). His benevolence was shown in his support of the hospital of the Holy Ghost, to which he bequeathed 250 florins.⁴¹ Charters married a woman of Scottish extraction, Hedwig née Smith (b. 1685; d. 12.04.1725).⁴² He was also a godfather to children of local Scots, for example in 1727 he presented Hedwig Theresa Gordon, daughter of Robert Gordon and Sophia. Similarly, John Charters' daughter Claire (Clara) was a godmother to Anthony Gordon (1728) and Anthony Lawrence Peterson (1734).⁴³

These examples and numerous other records from the local parish confirm observations made about Scottish communities in other Polish cities: the Scots often married their compatriots and were present as godparents at each another's christenings, often reinforcing the bonds of kinship. What distinguishes the Scots of Chełmno, however, is the fact that non-Scottish names among the spouses, godparents and witnesses appear more readily than in records of Scottish Protestants, where first-generation Scots seldom intermarried with people of other ethnic origins and where the integration was not so rapid. Nevertheless, as some of the documents and artefacts show, maintaining customs, as well as organised and informal links with compatriots, was an important aspect of the Scottish ethnic identity.⁴⁴ There is also no doubt that when assimilation into

³⁹ L.C. 1640–1699, AFCh, sig. 6, fol. 105, 131; L.N. 1667–1690, AADDT, sig. W736; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 122, 125, 207, 210, 229, 452, 462, 482; J. Fankidejski, *Obrazy cudowne i miejsca w dzisiejszej dyczezyi chełmińskiej: podług urzędowych akt kościelnych i miejscowych podań*, Pelplin 1880, p. 51.

⁴⁰ L.N. 1667–1690, AADDT, sig. W736, fol. 34.

⁴¹ L.B. 1727–1734, AADDT, sig. W737, fol. 6; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 24, 145, 245, 268, 282, 442, 447, 462, 469, 481; Z. Nowak, P. Szafran (eds.), *Album uczniów chełmińskiego gimnazjum akademickiego 1692–1816*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1975, p. 108.

⁴² Wall memorial of John Charters and his wife Jadwiga née Smith (c. 1736), The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Roman Catholic Church, Chełmno. Cf. J. Kruszelnicka, *Portret...*, pp. 82–83.

⁴³ L.B. 1727–1734, AADDT, sig. W737, fols. 54.

⁴⁴ Scots from other cities that appear in the local metrical books include: Thomas Leask (Leysker), merchant from Warsaw (*mercator Varsaviensis*), godfather of Thomas Gordon (b. 1672) and Anthony Peterson, councilman of Łowicz and father of Anthony Lawrence (b. 1734) whose godparents were George Smith (*Consul Culmensis*) and Claire Charters (*filia Proconsul*

Polish society occurred, the offspring of the immigrants seemed to be well aware of their origins.

Another Charters that came into prominence was Peter Dominic (also known as Dominic Peter). Educated at the Academy of Chełmno (1729–1733), Charters was the council's treasurer (1748–1751), and later city's burgrave and mayor. Between 1759 and 1766, he was elected president of the butchers' brotherhood of Chełmno. Charters, who traded in grain and meat, owned two tenement houses, as well as a granary. Like the other Scots, he was deeply religious and actively supported the local parish.⁴⁵ According to Bishop Leski's biography of the Blessed John of Łobdów, Charters gave evidence of being twice miraculously saved thanks to the intercession of the Blessed John. According to his testimony, the first miracle occurred during his boat trip to Gdańsk, when he fell overboard and nearly drowned, and the second involved overcoming direful conditions on his ship during a storm.⁴⁶ In 1769, Charters also financed the publication of writings of St Augustine.⁴⁷ Married three times (his third wife was Brygida Wiktoria Forbes), Charters left several children, among them Antoni Faustyn Onufry (b. 1744) and Eufemia Petronella (b. 1747).⁴⁸

Finally, there were the Forbes', the most affluent and influential Scottish family of Chełmno that produced several high ranking city officials. Its ancestor Walter (Bhaltair) or, as he was known in Poland, Balthazar (b. c. 1678; d. 1680) was the son of James Forbes (d. bef. 1705) and Margaret Black, grandson of William Forbes in Balcairn and Christiana Gray of Shives. Originally from Round Lightnot, par. Old Meldrum, in Aberdeenshire, Forbes left Scotland in

Culmensis). – L.B. 1727–1734, AADDT, sig. W737, fol. 83; L.N. 1667–1690, AADDT, sig. W736, fol. 38.

⁴⁵ M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 122, 324, 377, 407; Z. Nowak, P. Szafran, *Album uczniów...*, nos. 1729/38, 1730/29, 1731/46, 1732/7, 1733/18.

⁴⁶ "Sławetny Pan Piotr Czatter Prezydent Miasta Chełmińskiego płynąc do Gdańska wypadł z łodzi y iuż tonął, ale gdy sercem wezwał na ratunek B. Jana, zaraz stanęła łódź iako wryta, z pod której wypłynawszy, nie tak siłami swemi iako protekcyą swego Patrona zdrowo dostał się na łódź y szczęśliwie do łady przyplłynął. Był y drugi raz tenże Sławetny Pan Czatter w tymże nieszczęściu kiedy Statek ze zbożem jego przez wielki wicher iuż iuż rozbić się miał, ale iak tylko w owym nieszczęściu do swego dawnego Patrona nabożnie westchnął, tak się sam Statek bez wszelkicy pracy, od owego niebezpiecznego miejsca cofnął, y pożądanie do zamierzonego portu zapłynął, co zawdzięczając Słudze Boskiemu wziął Imię Jego na Bierzmowaniu." [in:] W.S. Leski, *Życie Błogosławionego X. Jana Lobedawa Frąnciszkana Prowincyi Polskicy, Kraiow Pruskich, y innych wszelkich ludzi ná wodzie żeglujących osobliwego Pátrona, którego Ciało w Chełmie Mieście Biskupim w Prusiech u XX. Frąnciszkanow w Kościele S. Jakuba Apostoła spoczywa Pod Imieniem Jasnje Wielmożnego JMci X. Woyciecha Stanisława Na Leszczu Leskiego Biskupa Chełmińskiego Pomezkańskiego Miłościwego Dobrodzieia Naszego Zakonu Wydane Z pozwoleniem Starszych Przez Xiędza Frąnciszkana, 1752.*

⁴⁷ *Soliloquia albo mowy osobne duszy do Pana Boga s. Augustyna biskupa hipponenckiego dawniey na polski język przełożone a teraz za staraniem y kosztem pewnego Burmistrza y Burgrabiego Miasta Chełmna przedrukowane, Chełmno 1769.*

⁴⁸ L.B. 1738–1755, AADDT, sig. W739, fol. 70; L.B. 1734–1743, AADDT, sig. W738, fol. 119.

1696. Most probably brought to Chełmno by his kinsman George Smith, Forbes quickly acquired civic rights in his new place of settlement. By 1727, he was already working in the city council and later became its treasurer (1730–1732) and *Proconsul* (1736, 1738, 1742). Married to Barbara de Hintze, Forbes left at least eight children.⁴⁹ Of his five sons (all of whom were educated at the local academy), Paul⁵⁰ was a member of the city council and Dominic⁵¹ became a priest. Two of Balthazar's daughters married into the prominent families of Chełmno: Marianna – first married Józef Groszewski, city treasurer and later wed Jan Trzczeński⁵²; and Petronella – married Szymon Danowski, burgrave of Chełmno⁵³.

Of all Balthazar Forbes' children, the most successful was his eldest son George (1704–6.10.1757). Educated at the local college (1715–1724), between 1747 and 1755 Forbes was involved in the city council as bailiff, burgrave and later mayor of Chełmno. By 1756, he was one of the wealthiest residents of the city and certainly its most affluent second-generation Scot. Forbes owned five tenement houses and was also a tenant of similar number of large landed properties nearby the city.⁵⁴ As Patrick Gordon noted in his diary “There are fair lands belonging to the town, which is divided among the burgers, who of beer brewing and buying of cornes for the most part have their livelihood.”⁵⁵ Indeed, from 1599 these land holdings known as *patrimoniums*, were given to the burghers like Forbes for the period of 50 years. The tenants were allowed to let them out and use profits collected in that way, or from other commercial activities, to maintain/upkeep their houses in the city.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Birth brief issued to Walter Forbes (13 April 1705), [in:] MSC, p. 367; T.A. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany...*, p. 247; Epitaph of George Forbes in the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary RC Church, Chełmno; J. Nierzwicki, *700 lat parafii chełmińskiej...*, pp. 42–44 (Nierzwicki erroneously lists Walter son of James as father of Balthazar).

⁵⁰ Paul Forbes studied at the academy between 1717–1725. Later he was a councillor, secretary (1738), treasurer (1745–1748), bailiff of the suburbs (*Judex Suburbanus*) (1744), city bailiff (*Judex Culmensis*) (1746) and finally, a mayor (1746). It is likely that he was the same as Paul Forbes who in 1746 was recorded as a royal secretary. Of his two wives, Forbes left at least three sons and two daughters. – L.B. 1718–1738, AFCh sig. 1143, fol. 226, 250; L.B. 1734–1743, AADDT, sig. W738, fol. 11A, 27A, 67; L.B. 1738–1755, AADDT, sig. W739, fol. 77; Z. Nowak, P. Szafran, *Album uczniów...*, nos. 1717/19, 1718/30, 1719/25; 1720/25; 1722/24; 1724/2, 1725/1; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 122.

⁵¹ In 1737, Dominic was admitted into the Congregation of the Mission. – Z. Nowak, P. Szafran, *Album uczniów...*, nos. 1727/59, 1728/46, 1729/29, 1730/25, 1731/45, 1733/5, 1737/1; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 357.

⁵² L.B. 1727–1734, AADDT sig. W 737, fols. 4, 43A; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 122.

⁵³ L.B. 1734–1743, AFCh sig. 1143, fol. 12; L.B. 1738–1755, AADDT, sig. W739, fol. 174; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno*, p. 99, 403.

⁵⁴ M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 374, 377.

⁵⁵ P. Gordon, *Diary...*, vol. I, pp. 17–18.

⁵⁶ M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 515, 518.



Fig. 4. Wall memorial of George Forbes (1704–1757)

Forbes' prosperity is best represented by his wall memorial erected in the local parish. Its central component is a gold-plated inscription engraved on a tablet of black marble (see Figure 4). A funeral portrait of the deceased surmounts this plaque, decorated with a highly ornamental wooden frame. Below the inscription and the frame is a cartouche displaying Forbes' coat-of-arms. The inscription itself is no less ornate. It lays out Forbes' genealogy, his Scottish predecessors, his siblings and even his brothers-in-law.

The epitaph also contains information about his wife Wiktorja Czechowicz; two of their surviving children: Bridget Victoria (b. 1739), wife of Peter Dominic Charters⁵⁷ and Joseph Longinus (b. 18.03.1742; d.12.01.1785), councillor (1769)

⁵⁷ Wall memorial of George Forbes; L.B. 1734–1743, AADDT, sig. W738, fol. 41; Cf. M.G. Zieliński, *Chelmo...*, p. 218.

and bailiff (1771), who was married to Marianna Lucilla Gwoździewska⁵⁸; as well as, names of the most prominent families of Chełmno to whom he was related: Bornmans, Smiths, Gordons, Proppes, Relikowskis, Czechowicz, Grylewicz and Romanowicz. The next section of the epitaph concentrates on a description of Forbes's career. We learn that his wisdom, prudence and righteousness attracted the attention of the Court. Forbes was appointed a Royal Secretary.⁵⁹

Gordon's contribution was also recognised by his peers. His coat of arms has been included among 22 other heraldic bearings of the most respected city councillors of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries that have been painted in the old court room in the City Hall. The only other councillor of Scottish extraction who was recognised in that way was Peter Charters (b. c. 1645; d. after 1694).⁶⁰

Overall, it can be said that the Scots and their descendants in Chełmno shared several characteristics. Firstly, they seemed to be highly successful in building up their businesses and wealth. Virtually within a generation many were able to amass considerable capital and improve their social standing. Secondly, by and large, they involved themselves in the administrative and spiritual life of the city. A large number were represented on the council and took important offices within it. The Scots became well respected for their organisational skills and work ethic. Many decided to educate their offspring at the Chełmno Academy – between 1692 and 1815 some 60 pupils of Scottish descent enrolled in that college (Figure 5).⁶¹

Fig. 5

Students of Scottish origin enrolled at the Chełmno Academy 1692–1815

Surname	Name	Dates of enrolment/evidence number
Ahorn	Andrew (Andrew)	1713/20, 1714/11, 1715/10, 1716/10, 1718/9, 1719/9
Ahorn	John (Joannes)	1706/78, 1711/8, 1712/8
Charters ? (Czaster)	Augustus	1815/19
Charters (Czatter, Czater)	Calixtus (Callixtus Dominicus)	1772/89, 1773/65, 1774/37, 1775/24
Charters (Czatter, Czater)	Dominic Peter (Dominic, Peter Dominic)	1729/38, 1730/29, 1731/46, 1732/7, 1733/18

⁵⁸ Wall memorial of George Forbes; A. Biegańska, *Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce druga połowa XVI – koniec XVII wieku*, PhD Thesis, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice 1974, Tabl. VII (Rajcy); L.B. 1734–1743, AADDT, sig. W738, fol. 64; L.C. 1761–1776, AFCh, sig. 7, fol. 67; L.C. 1788–1808, AADDT, sig. 751, p. 6; L.M. 1782–1812, AADDT, sig. 754, pp. 16, 38, 39.

⁵⁹ Wall memorial of George Forbes; cf. J. Kruszelnicka, *Portret...*, p. 77.

⁶⁰ Forbes' arms: Gules [sic!] three bear's heads erased Sable [sic!] muzzled Argent. Semrau mistakenly described the heads as boars' heads. Charter's arms: Gules, two arrows in saltire. The coat of arms was surrounded by initial: P-C/S-C i.e. *Petrus Czatter Scabinus Culmensis* – J. Kałdowski, *Ratusz w Chełmnie*, Toruń: Toruńskie Towarzystwo Kultury, 1984, pp. 28–29; A. Semrau, *Symbole und Inschriften im Culmer Rathause*, "Culmer Zeitung" 111–112, 1891.

⁶¹ Z. Nowak, P. Szafran, *Album uczniów...*, passim.

Surname	Name	Dates of enrolment/evidence number
Forbes	Dominic	1727/59, 1728/46, 1729/29, 1730/25, 1731/45, 1733/5, 1737/1
Forbes	Francis	1749/94, 1751/95, 1752/77, 1753/59, 1754/57, 1755/51, 1756/47, 1757/67, 1758/18
Forbes	George	1715/38, 1716/30, 1717/10, 1718/11, 1719/12, 1720/10, 1722/2, 1724/1
Forbes	James (Jacobus)	1717/34, 1718/30, 1719/46, 1720/30, 1721/17, 1722/18, 1724/3, 1725/2
Forbes	John (Joannes)	1779/86, 1780/90, 1781/75, 1782/45, 1783/59, 1784/45, 1786/31, 1788/31, 1789/20, 1790/14, 1791/6
Forbes (Ferbes)	John (Joannes)	1815/29
Forbes	Joseph	1746/65, 1747/166, 1748/160, 1749/116, 1751/58, 1752/56, 1753/44, 1754/33, 1755/35, 1756/42, 1757/44
Forbes	Michael	1753/139, 1754/113, 1755/129, 1756/172, 1756/172, 1757/137, 1758/52, 1760/39, 1761/32, 1762/30, 1763/10, 1764/10, 1765/7
Forbes	Paul	1717/19, 1718/30, 1719/25, 1720/25, 1722/24, 1724/2, 1725/1
Forbes	Silvester	1775/78
Forbes	Silvester	1785/62, 1788/92, 1789/81, 1790/70, 1791/59, 1792/55, 1793/69, 1794/29, 1796/31
Forbes	Vincent	1749/160, 1751/132, 1752/150, 1754/85, 1755/68, 1756/79, 1757/92, 1758/44, 1759/28, 1760/23, 1761/18, 1762/13
Gordon (Gordan)	Albert (Adalbert)	1692/70, 1693/52, 1694/60, 1695/38, 1697/22
Gordon (Gordan)	Anthony	1737/77, 1739/72, 1740/68, 1745/21
Gordon (Gordan)	Fabian	1747/167, 1748/161, 1755/48
Gordon (Gordan)	John (Joannes)	1692/54, 1693/39, 1694/52, 1695/32, 1697/2
Gordon (Gordan)	John (Joannes)	1729/62, 1730/35, 1731/51, 1732/8, 1733/19, 1735/4, 1737/2
Gordon (Gordan)	John (Joannes)	1775/80, 1776/53, 1777/53, 1778/51
Gordon (Gordan)	John (Joannes)	1795/106, 1796/107, 1797/93, 1798/87
Gordon (Gordan)	Joseph	1739/89
Gordon (Gordan)	Joseph	1725/77, 1726/60, 1727/47, 1728/40
Gordon (Gordan)	Peter	1700/63, 1701/49, 1702/53, 1703/13, 1704/17, 1705/18, 1706/13
Gordon (Gordan)	Thomas	1693/49, 1694/41
Harvie (Herwi)	Casper (Gasparus)	1733/50, 1735/28, 1736/18, 1737/26, 1739/15
Harvie (Herwi)	James (Jacobus)	1697/72, 1698/46, 1699/43, 1700/39, 1701/17, 1702/21
Harvie (Herwi)	James (Jacobus)	1735/47, 1739/47
Harvie (Herwi)	John (Joannes)	1711/21, 1712/29, 1713/11
Harvie (Herwi)	Joseph	1753/159, 1754/188, 1755/133, 1759/58, 1760/72, 1761/69

Fig. 5 (cont.)

Surname	Name	Dates of enrolment/evidence number
Harvie (Herwi)	Martin	1705/74, 1706/59, 1711/1
Harvie (Herwi)	Martin	1741/90, 1744/93, 1746/58, 1747/72, 1748/64, 1749/50, 1751/28, 1752/35
Harvie (Herwi)	Stanisław	1696/83
Harvie (Herwi)	Valentine (Valentinus)	1729/80, 1735/22, 1737/37
Harvie (Herwi)	Valentine (Valentinus)	1741/118, 1742/111, 1744/78, 1745/81, 1746/51, 1747/58, 1748/53, 1749/55, 1752/7
Ross	Florian	1773/123
Ross	Casper (Gasparus)	1782/68, 1788/81
Ross	Francis	1773/127, 1779/111
Ross (Ros)	George (Georgius)	1739/79, 1740/76, 1741/66, 1742/65, 1745/65
Ross (Ros)	George (Georgius)	1783/97, 1784/80, 1786/70
Ross	John (Joannes)	1698/25
Ross (Ros)	John (Joannes)	1723/80, 1724/80
Ross	John (Joannes)	1778/94
Ross	Joseph	1717/41
Ross	Joseph	1779/103, 1780/89
Ross	Lawrence	1694/99, 1695/60, 1696/52, 1697/58
Ross	Martin	1746/97, 1749/127, 1751/89, 1752/61, 1753/67, 1755/85
Ross	Stanisław	1804/100, 1807/48
Ross	Thomas	1694/122, 1695/94, 1696/84
Ross	Victor	1759/84, 1760/97, 1761/156, 1762/173
Smith (Schmitt, Schmith, Szmit, Szmyth)	Andrew	1719/42, 1720/45, 1721/42, 1722/27, 1723/29, 1724/44, 1725/42
Smith ? (Schmitt)	Anthony	1717/21, 1718/27
Smith (Szmith)	George	1694/86, 1695/77, 1696/46, 1697/32, 1698/19, 1699/9
Smith ? (Schmidt, Schmitt)	Casimirus	1789/125, 1791/130, 1792/189, 1739/140, 1794/103, 1795/120, 1796/124, 1797/112
Smith ? (Schmidt, Szmit, Szmith, Szmyt, Szmyth)	John (Joannes)	1700/62, 1701/79, 1702/56, 1703/9, 1704/12, 1705/11, 1706/9
Smith ? (Schmidt, Szmyt)	John (Joannes)	1762/111, 1763/109, 1764/83, 1765/61, 1766/75, 1767/91
Smith ? (Schmidt, Szmyt)	John (Joannes)	1765/96
Smith ? (Schmidt)	Valentine (Valentinus)	1762/119, 1763/111, 1765/76, 1766/76, 1767/67, 1768/54

Although it is uncertain if prior to their arrival in Chełmno all of the Scots were Roman Catholics, it is evident that once there, they staunchly supported the doctrine and practices of the Catholic Church. The Scots and their descendants not only actively participated in the life of the local parish, various religious organisations like the Confraternity of Divine Providence⁶² or the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity⁶³, gave financial backing to a diverse range of charitable projects, but also encouraged their sons and daughters towards religious life. This and the fact that Chełmno was such a dynamic centre of Roman Catholicism – as noted by Gordon, it had Dominican and Franciscan monasteries, a religious house of the Congregation of the Mission, Benedictine nuns abbey and a convent of the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Miłosierdzia Służebnic Ubogich*) – has evidently influenced some young men and women of Scottish descent to enter the various religious orders. The Benedictine nuns were joined by: Marianna Ahorn (Achorówna, Arhornówna), a consecrated virgin and mistress of novitiate (1766)⁶⁴; Catherine Gordon (Gordonowska), who took solemn, perpetual vows of poverty, obedience and celibate chastity, and committed herself to the daily recitation of the Liturgy of the Hours⁶⁵; and Augusta Harvie (Herwianka, Herwa), (b. 1722; d. aft. 1803) who entered the novitiate in 1742, became a ‘choir nun’ (*chórowa*) and later, in 1766, a consecrated virgin (*konsekratka*).⁶⁶ In 1737, Dominic Forbes, son of Balthazar and Barbara Hintze, educated at the Chełmno Academy, was admitted into the Congregation of the Mission.⁶⁷ In the same year, Valentin Harvie (Herwi) was admitted into the Order of Friars Minor Conventual (*Ordo Fratrum Minorum Conventualium*).⁶⁸ Finally, Andrew Ahorn (b. 28.11.1703) entered the seminary of the Society of Jesus in Cracow (1721), and was ordained a priest in Lublin (1734). Between 1737 and 1766, he worked in a number of parishes: Piotrków (1737–1748), Łęczycza (1748–1752), Ostróg (1752–1755), Godów (1755–1756),

⁶² Among the known members of this confraternity were: Marianna Arburthnot, Bridget Victoria Charters née Forbes wife of Peter Dominic Charters; Augusta Harvie and Sophia née Gordon – M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 218

⁶³ Apart from the already mentioned Peter Charters (b. c. 1645, d. after 1694), another known member of this brotherhood was John Harvie. – M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 210, Cf. footnote 39.

⁶⁴ M. Borkowska OSB, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej*, vol. I: *Polska Zachodnia i Północna*, Warszawa: DiG, 2004, pp. 247–248; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 179.

⁶⁵ M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich...*, Vol. I, p. 248; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, p. 218.

⁶⁶ W. Szołdrski, *Kronika Benedyktynek Chełmińskich*, Pelplin: Kuria Biskupia, 1937, p. 124; J. Fankidejski, *Klasztory żeńskie w diecezji chełmińskiej*, Pelplin: J.N. Roman, 1883, p. 108; M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich...*, vol. I, p. 249; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 179, 218.

⁶⁷ Z. Nowak, P. Szafran, *Album uczniów...*, nos. 1727/59, 1728/46, 1729/29, 1730/25, 1731/45, 1733/5, 1737/1.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, nos. 1729/80, 1735/22, 1737/37.

Poryck (1756–1763), Okniny (1763–1764) and Owruć (1764–1766). Ahorn became famous for his artistic talents. His best known works are frescoes in St Francis Xavier church in Piotrków. This polychromy is regarded as one of the finest examples of that type of decorations of the late Baroque period in Poland.⁶⁹

Conclusions

The Scottish community in Chełmno was in many respects similar to other Scottish settlements in Poland-Lithuania. The colony was formed in the early seventeenth century and, thanks to the available commercial opportunities, it grew steadily into the next century. Although it is impossible to establish precisely how many migrants resided in the city at any given moment, the research concluded that in the 1680s–1690s the group consisted of some ten families, that is about 30–50 first- and second-generation Scots. It appears that, like elsewhere, the makeup of the group was subject to change over time. In the early seventeenth century, the Scots stayed in Chełmno only temporarily. Gradually, however, especially towards the last quarter of the seventeenth century, some have established their businesses and formed family units. As the example of the Forbes and Smith families demonstrates, the established Scots brought new immigrants from Scotland, more often than not their own kin. Moreover, such more industrious merchants were able not only to amass a considerable wealth and obtain civic rights but steadily worked their way up into the local government and guilds. Members of several families like the Forbes, Chatters or Smith not only occupied the highest offices in the city, but played a significant role in the administration of Chełmno. All the more, some Scots have managed to capture the attention of the Royal Court and, in recognition of their commercial ingenuity and success were elevated to the rank of royal secretaries.

What made this community distinct from any other Scottish settlement in Poland-Lithuania was the fact that it was dominated by Roman Catholics. While it is impossible to determine whether the Scots who arrived there were originally of that conviction, there is also no evidence of forced conversions. The documents demonstrate that the Chełmno Scots made a significant contribution to

⁶⁹ Andrew Ahorn was a son of Kazimierz, baker and gingerbread maker of Chełmno and Rozalia. He was recorded at the Chełmno Academy between 1713 and 1719. – L. Grzebień, ed., *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 1996, p. 3; Z. Nowak, P. Szafran, *Album uczniów...*, nos. 1713/20, 1714/11, 1715/10, 1716/10, 1718/9, 1719/9; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno...*, pp. 281, 357, 504, 518; Z. Rewski, *Zabytki artystyczne Łucka*, “Ziemia” 27/11, 1937, pp. 241–243; *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających*, 2 vols., Wrocław 1971, vol. 1, pp. 10–11.

the local parish and the Catholic Church as a whole. They supported the church both financially, through collections, donations and bequests, and spiritually, by participating in religious confraternities and other organisations. What is more, the devout Scots encouraged their sons and daughters to serve the church as priests and nuns.

Unlike their compatriots of Protestant faith who settled in other cities in Royal Prussia, the Chełmno Scots assimilated much quicker within the local community. This is especially evident in the rate of mixed marriages and a larger presence of locals in religious ceremonies as witnesses or godparents. This assimilation did not stop the offspring of the immigrants to remain aware of their ethnic identity.

What set this community apart from any other Scottish settlement, perhaps with the exception of the colony in Kėdainiai (Kiejdany), was the fact that it peaked both numerically and economically in the last decades of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, so a period when the other communities were well into their decline.

Overall, the Chełmno Scots played a significant role in the life of the city in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. They not only actively participated in improving its economic situation but added much to its political and cultural development.

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ILLUSTRI GENERE EX SCOTIA: SZKOCI W CHEŁMNIE W XVI–XVIII WIEKU

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł przybliży historię kolonii szkockiej w Chełmnie. Z uwagi na dużą ruchliwość Szkotów oraz luki w dokumentach źródłowych trudno jest dokładnie ocenić liczebność grupy. Pewne jest natomiast, że na początku XVII wieku imigranci przebywali w Chełmnie na ogół tylko tymczasowo. Szkoci, którzy stopniowo decydowali się na pobyt stały, nie tylko zakładali

rodziny, gromadzili znaczne majątki, uzyskiwali prawa miejskie, ale odgrywali także znaczącą rolę w administracji miasta. Kilkunastu z nich objęło najwyższe stanowiska we władzach miejskich oraz w organizacjach cechowych. Na podstawie akt metrykalnych oraz innych dokumentów można ustalić, że w latach 1680–1690 grupa ta składała się z około dziesięciu rodzin, czyli 30–50 osób. W odróżnieniu od szeregu innych kolonii szkockich chełmińscy Szkoci byli w większości katolikami. Choć niemożliwe jest ustalenie, czy było to ich pierwotne wyznanie, jednak nie ma dowodów na to, że do konwersji zostali przymuszeni. Co więcej, zachowane dokumenty świadczą o ich znaczącym wkładzie w działalność miejscowej parafii. Szkoci popierali Kościół zarówno finansowo, jak i duchowo, uczestniczyli w bractwach religijnych oraz zachęcali swoich synów i córki do służby kapłańskiej lub zakonnej. W odróżnieniu od swoich współziomków, wyznawców religii ewangelicko-reformowanej osiedlonych w innych miastach Prus Królewskich, chełmińscy Szkoci nie stanowili odizolowanej grupy. O ich szybszej asymilacji świadczą mieszane małżeństwa oraz wyższa niż gdzie indziej obecność rdzennych mieszkańców w charakterze rodziców chrzestnych czy świadków na ich ślubach. W przeciwieństwie do wielu innych osiedli szkockich w Polsce społeczność ta nie tylko nie uległa rozproszeniu po potopie szwedzkim, ale dalej się rozwijała.