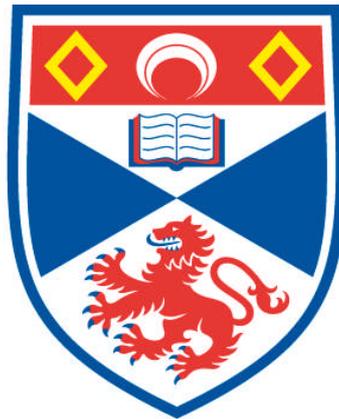


**ACROSS THE GERMAN SEA : SCOTTISH COMMODITY  
EXCHANGE, NETWORK BUILDING AND COMMUNITIES IN  
THE WIDER ELBE-WESER REGION IN THE EARLY  
MODERN PERIOD**

**Kathrin Zickermann**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



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*Across the German Sea:  
Scottish Commodity Exchange, Network Building  
and Communities in the Wider Elbe-Weser Region in  
the Early Modern Period*



**Kathrin Zickermann**  
**University of St Andrews**  
**PhD Thesis**  
**31 August 2009**

## **Abstract**

This thesis analyses the commercial, maritime and military relations between Scotland and the cities and territories in the North Western parts of the Holy Roman Empire during the early modern period; specifically Hamburg, Bremen, the Swedish duchies of Bremen and Verden, Danish Altona and Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Having identified anomalies in the histories of these locations, and bringing a more international dimension to them, my study tackles a remarkable understudied geopolitical location. The core of my research identifies the immigration of Scots and the establishment of commercial networks within a region rather than an individual territory, highlighting contact across political borders. This region differed significantly from other places in Northern Europe in that it did not maintain an ethnically distinct Scottish community enforcing and encouraging interaction with the indigenous German population and other foreigners such as the English Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg. The survey reveals that despite the lack of such a community the region was of commercial significance to Scots as evidenced by the presence of individual Scottish merchants, factors and entrepreneurs whose trade links stretched far beyond their home country. Significantly, these Scots present in mercantile capacities were demonstrably linked to their countrymen who frequented the region as diplomats and soldiers who frequently resided in the neutral cities of Bremen and Hamburg. Some of these Scots within the Swedish army were of importance in the administration of Swedish Bremen-Verden while others fought for Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Their presence encouraged chain migration, particularly offering shelter to Scottish political exiles in the later seventeenth century. Analysing the collective role of these men and the relationships between them, this thesis highlights the overall significance of the wider Elbe-Weser region to the Scots and vice versa, filling a gap in our understanding of the Scottish Diaspora in the early modern period, and broadening our understanding of the region itself.

I, Kathrin Zickermann, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in August 2005 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2005 and 2009.

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## Stylistic Conventions

The names of those individuals which feature in this thesis do often appear in very different and inconsistent forms within the primary sources. This especially applies to Scottish and English names in German sources which have often been adapted to German spelling and pronunciation. Thus a name like Andrew Crawford can appear as 'Andreas Kraffert'. In order to avoid confusion of these individuals, names have generally been standardised (when their origin is unambiguous). For Scottish names Black's compendium on Scottish surnames has been used as a guide.<sup>1</sup> In those cases for which this publication offers several versions the one most commonly used has been chosen. All other names have been standardised to the most common variant.

German place names have been anglicised where there is a commonly accepted English spelling (e.g. Köln/Cologne). A general problem derives from terminology used by contemporaries. The place name 'Bremen' is not always specified and it is thus impossible to say if the relevant author refers to the city or to the archbishopric/duchy. To avoid the latter problem in the modern literature this thesis makes this distinction clear by clearly referring to the territory when confusion is likely. Dates feature another potential source of confusion. It is often unclear if a particular contemporary author employed the Gregorian or Julian calendar. Other writers use both dates side by side. In order not to complicate matters dates have been left unchanged. Similarly, weights and currencies have not been standardized as a conversion would not always be possible.

Footnotes feature the most relevant and informative file names before the specific reference number. These file names follow the terminology of the archives and have been left untranslated. This means that in some cases different terms apply to the same type of document. For example, council records in Bremen are called 'Wittheitsprotokolle' and in Hamburg 'Senatsprotokolle' whereas in Lüneburg the Latin version 'Protocoll Curiae' is used. Clearly the reference systems of individual archives differ greatly from one another. To make this thesis as user friendly as possible the files of the German archives have been divided in their subdivisions within the bibliography.

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<sup>1</sup> George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning and History* (Edinburgh, 2007, first published in 1946).

## Abbreviations

APC	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i>
CSPD	<i>Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
DRA	Danish Rigsarkiv, Copenhagen
fol.	Folio
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission
HP	Hartlib Papers
KCFB	C.F.Bricka and J.A. Fredericia et.al. (eds.), <i>Kong Christian den Fjerdes egenhaendige Breve</i> (8 vols., Copenhagen, 1878-1947)
SKRA	Swedish Krigsarkivet, Stockholm
MVHG	<i>Mitteilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte</i>
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
RAOSB	<i>Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas Skrifter och Brefvexling</i> (15 vols., Stockholm, 1888 – 1898).
RPCS	<i>Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland</i>
RPS	Brown, Keith M. et. al. (eds.), <i>The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707</i> (online publication, St Andrews, 2007-2009).
SP	State Papers
SRA	Swedish Riksarkiv, Stockholm
StAB	Staatsarchiv Bremen
StadtB	Stadtarchiv Buxtehude
StadtL	Stadtarchiv Lüneburg
StAH	Staatsarchiv Hamburg
StAO	Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Oldenburg
StAS	Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Stade
TKUA	Tyske Kancellis Udenrigske Afdeling
TNA	The National Archives, London
ZVHG	Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte

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## **Introduction**

### **Aims and Objectives**

In 1682 and 1683 Margreta More, a local woman of the small town of Buxtehude at the lower part of the river Elbe, bestowed a sum of 50 Imperial dollars to the poor of Perth according to the will of her late husband, the Scot Patrick More.<sup>1</sup> During his service of around half a century with the Swedish army, More developed several interests within the duchy of Bremen and surrounding territories in Northwest Germany. He established meaningful contacts with Scots, Swedes and other foreigners but also with the indigenous population in military and private capacities. Despite his long absence from his home country, More's testament holds proof that he did not lose his attachment to Scotland. His case also highlights that Scots resident in Northwest Germany did not necessarily arrive directly from Scotland, but sometimes through service for another power. Further, though originally a soldier, More ended his days as a resident of a German town in a Swedish province. To the Scots he was a Scot, to the Swedes he was a Swede and to the Germans he was a German or a Swede. But to understand his historical place, one must understand the histories of several countries.

Patrick More is just one of many examples of Scots settling in or establishing close contacts with Northwest Germany as merchants, officers, ministers and exiles during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The analysis of their networks forms the core of this thesis. Specifically, this survey focuses on the Scottish presence in and contact with those territories situated along the lower parts of the rivers Elbe and Weser and their tributaries including Aller, Alster and Ilmenau. These politically, commercially and culturally diverse entities included the Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg, the duchy of Holstein, the county of Holstein-Pinneberg, the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden (duchies after 1648), the county of Oldenburg and the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. It cannot be emphasised enough that this survey of Scottish networks and community building is not like others previously undertaken. Usually the emphasis is on Scots involvement with one city, kingdom or country. What makes the present survey novel is that it is not confined by the political boundaries of princes or provinces. Rather it looks to a region defined by its topography and fluvial systems in

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<sup>1</sup> Perth&Kinross Council Archive, Records of Perth Burgh, B59/24/2/1-3, Margreta More to Perth Town Council, Buxtehude, 20 September 1682 and 9 June 1683.

spite of artificial points of demarcation. The requirement for a chapter given over to the description of settlements, culture, society and politics (as in chapter 1) would be superfluous to similar studies pertaining to England, France or Denmark where national, cultural or political demarcation (though illusory) negates the need for such detailed coverage. One can talk of Denmark, and Scots within Denmark, without the same explanatory discussion required for the wider Elbe-Weser region.<sup>2</sup>

This region is of special interest for the analysis of Scottish networks abroad for several reasons. In the context of the growing corpus of research on Scottish migration, network and community building in the wider Elbe-Weser region has received hardly any substantial research and as such represents a considerable gap in our knowledge in this field. This lack of detailed research is very surprising, as the commercial and diplomatic hubs of the region, Bremen and Hamburg, were amongst the closest seaborne destinations from Scotland outside the British Isles. Existing research has established that the North Sea acted as a crossroads for Scottish merchants, officers, soldiers and exiles to and from the continent. Notably, this crossing was called the German Sea in Scots – signifying a clear connection with the Northwest German territories. The Lower Elbe and Lower Weser and their tributaries acted as natural extensions of the sea providing links of transport and communication into the region.

The potential reasons for Scottish contact with the area are manifold and complex. The ‘gateway communities’ of Bremen and especially Hamburg formed entrances to and economic centres within the region and in Europe and – importantly – were open to foreigners in principal. Indeed, Scottish commercial links were in existence and we can trace individual Scottish merchants settled within both cities (chapter 2). Furthermore, Hamburg formed a diplomatic hub within the area and in Northern Europe as a whole attracting Scottish diplomats and officers in foreign service. Their activity was not always confined to the concerns of their employers but also by their continued interests in the political situation in Scotland and in Britain as a whole (chapter 3). In addition, Bremen as a Calvinist city offered the possibility of religious

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot...Scottish-Danish Relations c.1450-1707*, (2 vols., Odense, 1988); Studies on Scots within the Netherlands or in Poland are two other examples. Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c.1600-1700* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2002); Waldemar Kowalski, ‘The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005), 53-103.

refuge for Presbyterians driven out of Scotland in times of internal dissent; e.g. in the 1630s during the reign of Charles I and after the ascension of Charles II in 1660 (chapter 4).

However, the Scottish presence in and contact with the region was not confined to its centres. The rivers Elbe and Weser and their tributary systems created links into adjacent territories enhancing and facilitating migration and ‘networking’ between different individuals, including Scots, within a region straddling political borders. Importantly, these links also existed in times of conflict, which frequently broke out due to the strategic and commercial importance of the rivers in bringing foreign and neighbouring troops into the area, taking control of parts of the region at various times. These networks could not be appreciated if this thesis was to focus on one single territory. As O’Connor/Sogner/van Voss put it ‘people have always been on the move, deflected, filtered but rarely bowed by borders, real or imaginary. (...) when looking for the determinants of migration, it is futile to distinguish between internal migration and migration across ‘national’ borders.’<sup>3</sup>

The aim of the thesis is to establish the significance of the wider Elbe-Weser region to Scottish merchants, officers and exiles in comparison to other places in Europe – and vice versa. In order to achieve this, this thesis identifies and analyses the Scottish presence in and contact with the region focusing on Scottish networks. These however did not exclusively consist of Scots and their countrymen but were also spun between Scots and the indigenous population, including merchants and local authorities, and between Scots and other foreigners. Although each Scot (or indeed any other person) formed the centre of their very own network, each individual participated in multiple networks of those connected to them.<sup>4</sup> On the one hand these links were determined by profession or by location. For example, as a high-ranking officer in Buxtehude Patrick More was necessarily linked to various members of the Swedish military elite and had dealings with the indigenous population. Some of these links would have mattered to More in a professional sense only. However, his marriage into the local society signifies that More’s links with Buxtehude went beyond his military role. Furthermore, reaching and maintaining his position as commandant required

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas O’Connor, Solvi Sogner and Lex Heerma van Voss, ‘Scottish Communities Abroad: Some Concluding Remarks’, in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 376.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 387-391.

trusted relationships with other officers who could recommend him to the monarch and further his career. In addition, More forged links with fellow Scots which were determined by common political interest in Scotland, common origin and/or family relations. Scholars like Douglas Catterall and Steve Murdoch have proven beyond doubt that such connections formed by bonds of 'kith' and 'kin', mutual origin or common interest in the home country were by no means uncommon when it came to establishing meaningful and trusted relationships abroad.<sup>5</sup> The analysis of these trusted and often voluntary connections and their significance to individual Scots will highlight Scottish activity in the region and complement previous research on Scottish network formation abroad. At the same time the thesis examines the contribution of Scots to existing networks, revealing their impact on the region.

Communities could be said to be a special form of a closely knit network. When arriving in the smaller or larger centres of the region Scots often had to engage with the local authorities and societies by officially registering their presence. However, these host communities were by no means homogenous but made up of smaller groups and communities of locals or foreigners which were either formed on an institutional or an unofficial basis. This thesis establishes to what extent migrant Scots integrated into these groups as well as into their host communities as a whole. At the same time it examines whether Scots formed a coherent group which we can meaningfully term a Scottish community like those which existed in places elsewhere in Europe (see below). In the case of Hamburg, this is a particularly interesting aim as it was here that the English Company of Merchant Adventurers held their court. As such, it is important to see whether Scots present in the city formed links with the English traders and even participated in their company, periodically creating a community of a 'British' mindset – especially after the regal union between Scotland and England in 1603. Certainly it has been demonstrated that some Stuart subjects did buy into this concept and Hamburg is one of the few places from where this was overtly stated.<sup>6</sup>

It is however important to bear in mind that Scottish-Northwest German interaction was not confined to the Northwestern parts of the Holy Roman Empire or

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<sup>5</sup> Douglas Catterall, 'At Home Abroad: Ethnicity and Enclave in the World of Scots Traders in Northern Europe, c.1600-1800', 319-357; Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kith, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Leiden, 2006), 13-83.

<sup>6</sup> Kathrin Zickermann, 'Briteannia ist mein patria': Scotsmen and the 'British' Community in Hamburg', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 249-276; Murdoch, *Network North*, 63-73.

Southern Scandinavia. Contact also occurred in Scotland or indeed in other places abroad. The thesis thus analyses personal links between Scots and inhabitants of the region (including the indigenous population as well as foreigners) regardless of where they took place in order to gain a fuller picture of the significance of the region to Scots – either abroad or at home.

This analysis of Scottish presence in and contact with the wider Elbe-Weser region will undoubtedly contribute to our knowledge of the Scottish diaspora. At the same time the examination of questions like integration into and impact of Scots within existing networks will reveal new research on the region itself as well as on its controlling powers such as Denmark or Sweden. The significance of this thesis will thus reach beyond the understanding of Scottish networks and migration and contribute to aspects of Northwest German and Scandinavian history.

### **Sources and State of Research**

For sure, the same questions asked here about Scots could have been posed in relation to a number of foreign groups. But, as recently mentioned by a panel of distinguished scholars, the history of Scottish migration is at the cutting edge of European scholarship on the field of migration history.<sup>7</sup> Thus the story of the Scots here fits into a wider scholarship and facilitates an alternative perspective on the phenomenon. The examination of specifically Scottish communities abroad has received intensive scholarly interest in recent years. This research focuses on analysis of the significance of these communities for its participants as well as their interaction with local authorities and integration into the receiving communities and reveals various types of communities defined by different criteria. Douglas Catterall, for example, has examined the Scottish community in Rotterdam, whose importance and influence within the city's society manifested itself in the foundation of a Scottish church in 1643 by a contract between the Scots and the city authorities. According to Catterall, this institution contributed significantly to a clearer definition of the Scottish expatriate community within Rotterdam's wider society. This was especially so as the Kirk was given responsibility for poor relief of Scottish-born Scots (apart from those serving in the

Dutch forces) thereby binding the relief to ethnicity rather than confession. The close attachment of the Scottish community to this religious institution was even reflected in the settlement of Scots around the church building in the district which was then known as the *Schotse dijk* (Scottish dike).<sup>8</sup>

It is in Poland that we find Scottish institutions of a different type. These were Scottish brotherhoods which were set up in the sixteenth century with seats in Polish cities like Krakow, Danzig and Poznan. However, according to Waldemar Kowalski, their attempts to control the affairs of Scottish residents through tax collections for Evangelical congregations and the execution of judicial courts were only of limited success.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that the brotherhoods were established indicates defined Scottish communities. The same can be said of other particular Scottish establishments like the hospital or workhouse at Westminster which was founded after 1665 in order to relieve Scots poor and orphans.<sup>10</sup> However, the existence of specific institutions was not essential for the construction and maintenance of Scottish communities abroad.

Scottish migration to Bergen was supported by the Danish-Norwegian kings Hans (1483-1513) and Christian II (1513-1523) in order to introduce economic competitors into the city to counteract the established powerful Hansa merchants and German artisans who had dominated Bergen's trade during the Middle Ages. The Scottish immigrants must have been successful as they were subject to a violent attack by their German rivals in 1523 which resulted in the temporary removal of the Scots. The fact that Scots had been specifically targeted as a group proves that they formed a recognisable community within the city's wider society – at least in the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The Scottish community in Bergen was strengthened by further Scottish migrants who were attracted by friendly Stuart-Oldenburg relations (which in 1589 led to a reciprocal agreement giving Scots, Danes and Norwegians equal status in each other's nations) and favourable trade conditions. However, marriage patterns and

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<sup>7</sup> Lex Heerma van Voss, Solvi Sogner and Thomas O'Connor, 'Scottish Communities Abroad: Some Concluding Remarks', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 377.

<sup>8</sup> Douglas Catterall, 'Scots along the Maas', c.1570-1750', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.) *Scottish Communities*, 169-190. See also Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic c.1600-1700* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> Waldemar Kowalski, 'The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.) *Scottish Communities*, 80.

<sup>10</sup> Steve Murdoch, 'Scotland, Europe and the English 'Missing Link'', in *History Compass*, 5/3 (2007), 902.

business connections suggest an integration process into Bergen's society during the seventeenth century which – according to Nina Pedersen – can be explained by the declining power of the Hansa merchants and the subsequent opening up of Bergen's wider community to Scots and other foreigners.<sup>12</sup>

As in Bergen, Scottish immigration was encouraged by the ruling elite in the private Lithuanian town of Kedainiai. From the early 1630s onwards Scots formed a privileged group under the protection of Duke Krystof Radziwill as contributors to the town's economic life and supporters of the Calvinist church.<sup>13</sup> The cohesion of the Scottish individuals – who were highly influential within the city – is testified by Scottish services held in the Reformed church as well as by Scottish self-descriptions. In fact Scottish links became so strong that church officials encouraged communication between Scots and the local population. From the 1640s onwards Scots started to integrate into the local community by marrying into the Protestant elite and by accepting a minister who held services in Polish. From the 1660s onwards the Scottish presence in Kedainiai increased and in 1679 some 96 Scots or members of their families were listed as members of the Reformed Church, equivalent to 37.9% of the total number of parishioners. However, despite their partial integration, Scots remained attached to their origins (or at least remembered them in times of crisis) and sought support from their home country when their economic success declined at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Thus, compared to the community in Rotterdam which centred around institutional support of the kirk, Scottish communities in Bergen and Kedainiai were based on significant numbers of Scottish immigrants and their social connections among each other. The same can be said for Gothenburg, where a total of 50 Scots became burgesses during the seventeenth century and various church registers – particularly those of the German Christina Church – demonstrate social links between

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<sup>11</sup> Nina Pedersen, 'Scottish Immigration to Bergen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.) *Scottish Communities*, 135-143.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 162-163.

<sup>13</sup> Linas Eriksonas, 'The Lost Colony of Scots': Unravelling Overseas Connections in a Lithuanian Town', in Allan I Macinnes, Thomas Riis and Frederik Pedersen (eds.), *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and Baltic States c.1350-1700* (East Linton, 2001), 173-187; Steve Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Kedainiai (Kiejdany) in its Scandinavian and Baltic Context', *Almanach Historyczny*, 9 (2007), 47-61; Rimantas Zirgulis, 'The Scottish Community in Kedainiai', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 225-245.

<sup>14</sup> Zirgulis, 'The Scottish Community in Kedainiai', 232-240.

Scots who intermarried or acted as godparents to each other's offspring.<sup>15</sup> Scottish migration to this city was encouraged by the presence of other Scots who had established themselves in the area from the late sixteenth century onwards, particularly in Gothenburg's forerunners Älvsborg and Lödöse. The establishment of a defined Scottish community was also helped by a decree of Gustav II Adolf (1611-1632) which accredited two seats at the town council to Scots.<sup>16</sup>

The example of the Scottish exile community in the Netherlands shows on the other hand that Scottish communities did not necessarily have to be attached to one particular place but could be held together within a larger geographical area by common ideas and experience. A number of Scottish Calvinists who were forced into exile after the ascension of Charles II turned to various places in the Netherlands, mainly Rotterdam, Utrecht and Leiden, where they were supported by their expatriate fellow countrymen.<sup>17</sup> Common exile experience as well as their aim to return to their home country connected the members of this Scottish community which consisted of a relatively small, clergy-dominated society in the 1660s and transformed into a larger, more diverse community by the 1680s. The fact that cooperation between some exiles continued even after they had returned to Scotland in 1690 confirms the endurance of their links.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, in the last decade a number of scholars have researched Scottish mercantile, military and cultural migration to and contact with the Baltic, France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Russia as well as the Habsburg lands. These include Steve Murdoch's groundbreaking research on the nature, development and maintenance of Scottish networks in Northern Europe<sup>19</sup>, Alexia Grosjean's study of mercantile and military Scottish migration to Sweden<sup>20</sup> as well as David Worthington's publication on

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<sup>15</sup> Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 194, 211-214.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 191-197.

<sup>17</sup> Ginny Gardner, *Scottish Exiles in the Netherlands, 1660-1690* (East Linton, 2004).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 277-298. However, there are places in which we cannot meaningfully speak of the existence of Scottish communities. In Russia for example the ruling elite forced Scottish officers who had refused to convert to Orthodoxy to live apart from each other. Murdoch, *Network North*, 93.

<sup>19</sup> Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kith, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Leiden, 2006). For the significance of this research see the following reviews. Leos Müller, *Scottish Historical Review*, 223 (2008); Tom Devine, *The Herald*, 2 December 2006.

<sup>20</sup> Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654* (Leiden, 2003).

Scottish migration to and contact with the Spanish and Austrian Habsburg territories.<sup>21</sup> Most recently, Almut Hillebrand has analysed British activity in and contact with Danzig during the eighteenth century.<sup>22</sup>

The research conducted by Grosjean and Murdoch clearly indicates the potential of research on Scottish activity within the wider Elbe-Weser region. The same is true for their SSNE database which identifies the presence of well over a hundred Scots in military and other capacities.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Philipp Rössner has intensively analysed Scottish-German trade relations in the eighteenth century based on a statistical analysis of extant trade records revealing the mercantile interest of Scots in the ports of Bremen and Hamburg.<sup>24</sup> Older research demonstrated economic relations between these cities and the Shetland Islands.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, Kurt Schwebel highlighted the significance of Bremen's market for Scottish salt and specifically examined the activities of a Scottish merchant and a Scottish skipper and some of their networks within and outside the city.<sup>26</sup> In addition to these, Thomas Fischer's publications of the early twentieth century (*The Scots in Germany* and *The Scots in Sweden*) contain snippets of information on Scots in Northwest Germany.<sup>27</sup> So far however, a comprehensive study which analyses commercial, military and cultural Scottish activity within the wider Elbe-Weser region during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century has not appeared, and this present survey is the first attempt to do so. This thesis takes the existing studies conducted by the above scholars and contextualises them in a wider perspective while contributing new information to give a fuller picture. This new research derives from Danish,

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<sup>21</sup> David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618-1648* (Leiden, 2004). Other recent works include Steve Murdoch, 'The French Connection: Bordeaux's 'Scottish' Networks in Context, c.1670-1720, in Gilles Leydier, *Scotland and Europe, Scotland in Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), 26-55.

<sup>22</sup> Almut Hillebrand, *Danzig und die Kaufmannschaft großbritannischer Nation: Rahmenbedingungen, Formen und Medien eines englischen Kulturtransfers im Ostseeraum des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 2009).

<sup>23</sup> Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe 1580 – 1707* (Aberdeen, 1998, published online at [www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne](http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne).)

<sup>24</sup> Philipp Robinson Rössner, *Scottish Trade in the Wake of Union (1700-1760) : The Rise of a Warehouse Economy* (Stuttgart, 2008); Philipp Robinson Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports: A Sketch of the North Sea Trades and the Atlantic Economy on Ground Level* (Stuttgart, 2008).

<sup>25</sup> Klaus Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants and their Trade with Shetland', in Donald J. Withrington (ed.), *Shetland and the Outside World 1469 – 1969*, (Oxford 1983), 86-95; Liv Kjorsvik Schei, *The Shetland Story* (London, 1988); Hance D. Smith, *Shetland Life and Trade* (Edinburgh, 1984).

<sup>26</sup> Kurt Schwebel, *Salz im Alten Bremen* (Bremen, 1988).

<sup>27</sup> Thomas A. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany* (Edinburgh, 1902); Thomas A. Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh, 1907).

German, Swedish and Scottish repositories as well as The National Archives in London.<sup>28</sup>

The material gathered in these collections reveals information on the activity of individual Scots within the region and enables us to come to meaningful conclusions on particular individuals and their personal relations. In this sense the thesis delivers a microstructure of segments of certain networks. By focussing on several of these connections between Scots and the population of an entire and relatively large geopolitical region this survey at the same time delivers a macrostructure of networks and their impact on the individuals involved and on political, commercial and cultural developments over a comparatively long time period. This period starts with the personal union of Scotland and England under James VI/I in 1603 and ends roughly in the third decade of the eighteenth century. This end point has been chosen to briefly discuss whether parliamentary union of 1707 had a short-term impact on Scottish relations with the region. It is debatable however if it was this or other more local events such as the end of Swedish control of Bremen-Verden in 1712 which had a more significant influence on Scots in the area. The thesis thus refers also to the impact of these political events at the beginning of the eighteenth century and highlights their meaning for the Scottish presence in Northwest Germany.

Framing this study on such a broad basis offers the advantage of giving a comprehensive survey of Scottish activity. At the same time however this approach poses the problem of having to deal with a vast amount of archival material from the aforementioned archives.<sup>29</sup> It goes without saying that for what was initially a three-year project not all available documents could be consulted. That said, the material selected for this thesis reveals important and representative information on Scottish networks which will undoubtedly enhance our knowledge in this field.

### **Methodological Approach and Problems**

In recent years various scholars have recognised the value of network analysis when examining historical economic relations. Stephan Selzer and Ulf Christian Ewert for example state the necessity for an analysis of the network organisation of Hanseatic

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<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of sources see bibliography.

<sup>29</sup> In addition to these archives further relevant documents are undoubtedly held by the Statearchives in Hanover and Braunschweig as well as by local archives within the region.

relations in order to highlight informal and familial connections based on trust as a means of co-operation and co-ordination.<sup>30</sup> This is in line with historians like Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, Steve Murdoch or Leos Müller who all point out that trade relations could and often did occur outside and next to formal institutions, with merchants forging informal networks which were multifaceted and often subject to change.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, historians have used network analysis when examining political relations and the impact of individual diplomats. Heiko Droste for example has examined the network of the Swedish resident Johan Adler Salvius at Hamburg and its significance for his activity within the city.<sup>32</sup>

However, as with every approach to historical phenomena, network analysis contains a number of methodological difficulties. Most significant are those related to the available documentary evidence which has – of course – not survived in its entirety not least due to the contemporary instances of destruction of letters of dangerous and compromising or unimportant content.<sup>33</sup> But even if a complete corpus of contemporary letters of a particular Scot had survived it would still be impossible to trace all of his or her personal contacts and to evaluate their significance. As has been pointed out, this is simply due to the fact that not all communication occurs in written form in the first place – especially amongst those who live close to each other and thus perhaps form the most important relationships of all.<sup>34</sup> Hence we have to be careful to evaluate the quality of personal links rather than the quantity of letters exchanged between individuals. This

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<sup>30</sup> Stephan Selzer and Ulf Christian Ewert, 'Verhandeln und Verkaufen, Vernetzen und Vertrauen: Über die Netzwerkstruktur des Hansischen Handels', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 119 (2001), 135-161.

<sup>31</sup> Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung (1660-1818)* (Düsseldorf, 2006), 17; Leos Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm c.1640-1800: A Comparative Study of Early-Modern Entrepreneurial Behaviour* (Uppsala, 1998), 33-34; Murdoch, *Network North*, 3, 169.

<sup>32</sup> Heiko Droste, 'Johan Adler Salvius i Hamburg: Ett nätverksbygge i 1600-talets Sverige', in Kersten Abukhanfusa (ed.), *Mare Nostrum: Om Westfaliska freden och Östersjön som ett svenskt maktcentrum* (Västervik, 1999), 243-255. See also Heiko Droste, 'Hamburg – ein Zentrum schwedischer Außenbeziehungen im 17. Jahrhundert', in Ivo Asmus, Heiko Droste and Jens E. Olesen (eds.), *Gemeinsame Bekannte: Schweden und Deutschland in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin/Hamburg/Münster, 2003), 65-82.

<sup>33</sup> Moreover, some of the relevant archives have experienced considerable damage by war and other catastrophes. For example, part of the collections in Hamburg's state archives were destroyed by a fire in the nineteenth century. Thus, only three volumes of the council records survive for the seventeenth century. The author considers herself lucky though, that her work does not rely on documents in Cologne's city archives.

<sup>34</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 7-8.

can most effectively be done in times of personal crisis when the strength of networks become most visible.<sup>35</sup>

Another problem of network analysis is however the absence of comprehensive theories which could help underpin the practical examination of personal links. Since the second half of the twentieth century, analysis of social networks and communities has become an established scientific method not only in a historical context but also in other disciplines such as cultural anthropology, sociology and business theory. Scholars from these disciplines have engaged with theoretical concepts of networks and communities and have contributed their own models.<sup>36</sup> However, in general these have either helped to create a ‘terminological jungle’ or blatantly state the obvious.<sup>37</sup> An example for the latter is Donald Broady’s ingenuous description of a network as personal relationships between individuals who are connected to each other.<sup>38</sup> The approach taken by historians to the debates on the use of the term network and community varies, with some scholars choosing not to give the theoretical discussion any closer attention. David Dickson, for example, does not define the term network at all in his introduction to a collection of essays on Irish and Scottish mercantile networks, whereas Angela McCarthy limits herself to a short description and differentiation between ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ networks which does not reflect the

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid. These points have for example been missed by Klara Deecke and Ingrid Gabel who attempted to create an analysis of Samuel Hartlib’s networks based on the correspondence published by Sheffield University. Their work is largely based on a count of letters sent by different authors (divided in two contact zones) and by a list of information exchanged. However these presumably painstaking and time consuming examinations give hardly any valuable information on the quality of Hartlib’s personal links. Klara Deecke and Ingrid Gabel, ‘Der Hartlib-Kreis im südlichen Ostseeraum’, in Martin Krieger and Michael North (eds.), *Land und Meer. Kultureller Austausch zwischen Westeuropa und dem Ostseeraum in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne/Weimar, 2004), 221-252.

<sup>36</sup> Examples include: Hakan Gunnerison (ed.), *Sociala Nätverk och Fält* (Uppsala, 2002); Joseph R. Gusfield, *Community. A Critical Response* (Oxford, 1975); Rene König, *The Community* (London, 1968); A. Macfarlane, *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge, 1977); Wolfgang Reinhard, *Freunde und Kreaturen. ‘Verflechtung’ als Konzept zur Erforschung historischer Führungsgruppen* (München, 1979); Ylva Hasselberg, Leos Müller and Niklas Stenlås, *History from a Network Perspective* (Uppsala, 1997).

<sup>37</sup> Bob Eccles and Nitán Nohria (of the Harvard Business School) rightly observed that ‘network literature’ equals a ‘terminological jungle in which any newcomer may plant a tree’. Quoted in David Hancock, ‘Combining Success and Failure: Scottish Networks in the Atlantic Wine Trade’, in David Dickson, Jan Parmentier and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Gent, 2007), 5.

<sup>38</sup> Donald Broady, ‘Nätverk och Fält’, in Hakan Gunnerison (ed.), *Sociala Nätverk och Fält* (Uppsala, 2002), 55.

deeper debates of network theory and ultimately remains vague.<sup>39</sup> Other examples of historians who do not occupy themselves with theoretical approaches are Ginny Gardiner and Thomas O'Connor/Mary Ann Lyons.<sup>40</sup> The latter's case is particularly unfortunate as they introduce a collection of essays on Irish communities of which some deal with individuals rather than coherent groups.<sup>41</sup>

Other historians acknowledge the definitional problems of the terms community or network and engage with the works of theorists. However, they come to the conclusion that network and community analysis cannot be separated from empirical evidence. David Hancock, for example, argues that the nature of networks can only be understood by focussing on the difficulties and challenges suffered by particular networks.<sup>42</sup> Thus they do not aim to contribute new theoretical definitions but focus on the analysis of networks or communities in practice.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, some of these scholars do not deny the value of theoretical concepts but state that they can be of use to the historian as complementary points of reference.<sup>44</sup> In accordance with such historians this thesis does not aim to add to the theoretical discussion of networks or communities but concentrates on the practical analysis of their construction, maintenance and difficulties, while still recognising the differences between the actions of an individual, a network or a community.

## Structure

Importantly, this thesis does not limit itself to a certain aspect of Scottish presence in and contact with the region and thus differs from works such as Rössner's study of Scottish trade or Catterall's research on Scottish communities. The three major chapters are roughly divided according to the Scots in their different roles as merchants and skippers (chapter 2), diplomats and officers (chapter 3) as well as ministers and exiles

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<sup>39</sup> David Dickson, 'Introduction', in Dickson, Parmentier and Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks*, 1-4; Angela McCarthy (ed.), *A Global Clan. Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century* (London/ New York, 2006), 7.

<sup>40</sup> Ginny Gardner, *Scottish Exiles in the Netherlands, 1660-1690* (East Linton, 2004); Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds.) *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006).

<sup>41</sup> For example Thomas Byrne, 'Nathaniel Hooke (1664-1738) and the French embassy to Saxony, 1711-12', in O'Connor and Lyons (eds.), *Irish Communities*, 408-428 or Pierre Joannon, 'Andrew MacDonagh: the Irish Monte Christo' in O'Connor and Lyons (eds.), *Irish Communities*, 145-159.

<sup>42</sup> David Hancock, 'Combining Success and Failure', 5.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Grosjean and Murdoch, 'Introduction', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 2-3; Murdoch, *Network North*, 3-4.

(chapter 4). However, it is important to note that some Scots in contact with or present in the area held multiple interests and often acted in more than one capacity. Furthermore, significant links existed between these different groups of Scots which will be highlighted throughout the thesis.

The first chapter sets the scene for Scottish activity within the region by highlighting some of the complex connections between its political entities. Furthermore, it examines the commercial links and conditions of foreign settlement within the economic hubs of Bremen and Hamburg. The following chapter reveals how Scottish mercantile activity within the region related to these economic connections and how Scottish merchants and skippers fitted into their host communities. As Scottish traders were necessarily determined by market conditions the first part of this section concentrates on economic links evolving around trade with certain Scottish commodities such as fish, salt and coal in order to establish how they adapted to patterns of supply and demand. The second part closes in on Scottish merchants present in the region and their connections with places outside Scotland capturing another important aspect of Scottish commercial activity in and contact with the region. This chapter necessarily concentrates on the economic centres of Bremen and Hamburg. As will be demonstrated, Scottish mercantile networks and settlement did however also affect other territories, sometimes taking their starting points in the cities under scrutiny.

The third chapter focuses on diplomatic, military and politically motivated networks. This analysis starts with an examination of Anglo-Scottish co-operation in Hamburg during the Thirty Years' War in order to test the theory that a 'British' mindset existed or whether the two nations should be seen as simple allies. In addition the chapter examines the role of Scottish officers in Swedish service after 1648 and establishes the significance of their roles in the administration of the then Swedish territories of Bremen and Verden, and the importance of nationality and family concepts for their networks. At the same time several of these Scots present in the region became involved in the conflict in the British Isles by choosing to be part of a Royalist, Covenanter or Republican network, further testing the concept of Britishness in a variety of guises. However, Scots also played a role in the service of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. One of them, Andrew Melville, achieved high status not only within the

army but also within the local society in which he lived. From this position he was often able to assist fellow countrymen in a variety of ways as described below.

The fourth chapter deals with the presence of Scots in a number of religious capacities. These include members of the clergy in Bremen and ministers of the Adventurers' church in Hamburg. Among them was John Durie, whose impact on secular and religious local powers when trying to convince them of his unifying religious ideas has been closely examined. Furthermore, it analyses the migration of Scottish religious and political exiles into the wider Elbe-Weser region during the early 1680s which occurred in co-operation with English counterparts, such as William Waller (the son of the former Cromwellian officer of the same name) who shared their beliefs. After their failure to establish a community in Bremen in 1684, leading members of this group moved to Lüneburg forming links with fellow Scots and Englishmen, instigating the migration of Dutch workers and forming links with French religious exiles. The chapter analyses whether a community was founded under a truly international mindset including Scots and other nationals. Among those who followed Waller to Lüneburg was the Scot Robert Hog who established a cloth factory in the city. This enterprise will also be under scrutiny adding to our understanding of commercial activity in the region and reminding us that Scots acted in a variety of capacities. All these activities occurred in a region so far undefined by scholars, and it is natural therefore to describe the region before proceeding to the sections discussed above.

## Chapter 1

### 1.1 Understanding the Wider Elbe-Weser Region

This thesis focusses on a number of territories which held possessions along the Lower Elbe and Lower Weser as well as their various tributaries including Aller, Alster and Ilmenau, extending into an area which has become known as the Elbe-Weser region (see map). The area under scrutiny, which in this and subsequent chapters will be referred to as the ‘wider Elbe-Weser region’, comprises not only the cities of Hamburg and Bremen as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden (bishoprics until 1648). It also consists of the duchy of Holstein, the county of Holstein-Pinneberg, the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, the county of Oldenburg as well as other territories with peripheral interests in the region, such as Sachsen-Lauenburg, some of which were permanently or temporarily under Danish (Holstein, Holstein-Pinneberg, Oldenburg) or Swedish (Bremen-Verden) control. These territories neither covered an individual political entity nor were they identical with the Lower Saxon Circle (*Niedersächsischer Reichskreis*), a political subdivision of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup>

Importantly, the above political entities are seldom contextualised together even in German history but often studied in isolation, thus complicating the history of foreign migration within and across their borders. For example, a multitude of historical works exist on the cities of Altona, Bremen, Glückstadt, Hamburg, Lüneburg and Stade, on the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, on the duchies of Bremen and Verden or on the county of Oldenburg.<sup>2</sup> However, there are also a few studies which consider more than

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<sup>1</sup> The Lower Saxon Circle consisted of the Welfenian territories, the archbishoprics Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Halberstadt and Hildesheim as well as the bishoprics of Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Schwering and Schleswig. The Hanseatic cities of Hamburg and Lübeck and the Imperial cities of Nordhausen and Mühlhausen were also included, the latter two as enclaves within the Upper Saxonian Circle. The bishopric of Verden did not belong to the Lower Saxonian Circle. Winfried Dotzauer, *Die deutschen Reichskreise* (Stuttgart, 1998), 334.

<sup>2</sup> Examples include: Altona: Heinz Ramm, ‘Altona, Wandsbek und die südholsteinischen Randgebiete’, in Erich Lehe, Heinz Ramm and Dietrich Kausche (eds.), *Heimatchronik der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg* (Cologne, 1967), 263-351; Bremen: Wilhelm von Bippin, *Geschichte der Stadt Bremen* (Bremen, 1904); Konrad Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens* (München, 2007); Schwarzwälder, Herbert, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen* (4 vols., Hamburg, 1985); Kurt Schwebel, *Salz im Alten Bremen* (Bremen, 1988); Glückstadt: Frithjof Löding, ‘Die Gründung von Friedrichstadt und Glückstadt’, in Antoni Maczak and Christopher Smout (eds.), *Gründung und Bedeutung kleinerer Städte im nördlichen Europa der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1991), 175-180; Hamburg: Eckart Klessmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1981); Martin Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs* (München, 2006); Loose, Hans-Dieter (ed.), *Hamburg: Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner* (2 vols., Hamburg, 1982); Joachim Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg 1529 – 1819* (Cambridge/London/ New York, 1985); Lüneburg: Horst Heuer, *Lüneburg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine*

one territory. Some publications research the ‘country’ between Elbe and Weser (sometimes also referred to as the Elbe-Weser triangle) usually including the bishoprics or duchies of Bremen and Verden variously complemented by the district of Hadeln, the district of Ritzebüttel and/or the district of Harburg.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Hermann Kellenbenz examined migration and activity of Portuguese Jews between the sixteenth and eighteenth century at the Lower Elbe.<sup>4</sup> A few historians also define their research area by modern borders and focus thus on more than one historical political entity.<sup>5</sup>

The term region is not used unequivocally. However, it generally refers to economic, cultural or political cohesions and contacts which cross political borders.<sup>6</sup> The present thesis proceeds from the assumption that multiple connections linked the political entities to an area which we can justifiably call a region. As trade and communication links the rivers Lower Elbe, Lower Weser and their tributaries provided the most important of these connectors, offering points of contact and enhancing cross-border foreign migration and ‘networking’ which could not be fully appreciated if this

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*Eingliederung in den Fürstenstaat* (Hamburg, 1969); Wilhelm Reinecke, *Geschichte der Stadt Lüneburg* (2 vols., Lüneburg, 1933); Uta Reinhardt, ‘Die Wirtschaftskrise des 16. Jahrhunderts und die Aufrechterhaltung der Autonomie Lüneburgs bis zum 30-jährigen Krieg’, in Jürgen Bohmbach (ed.), *Fernhandel und Stadtentwicklung im Nord- und Ostseeraum in der hansischen Spätzeit (1550-1630)* (Stade, 1995), 86-105; Stade: W.H. Jobelmann and W. Wittpenning, *Geschichte der Stadt Stade*, (Stade, 1897); Stefan Kroll, *Stadtgesellschaft und Krieg. Sozialstruktur, Bevölkerung und Wirtschaft in Stralsund und Stade* (Stuttgart, 1997); Hans Wohltmann, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Stade an der Niederelbe* (Stade, 1956); Braunschweig-Lüneburg: Wilhelm Havemann, *Geschichte der Lande Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (2 vols., Göttingen, 1853); Bremen-Verden: Klaus-Richard Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen* (Uppsala, 1967); Beate-Christine Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung der Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden in der Schwedenzeit 1652 – 1712: Organisation und Wesen der Verwaltung* (Stade, 1987); Oldenburg: Rolf Schäfer (ed.), *Oldenburgische Kirchengeschichte* (Oldenburg, 1999). Research on Holstein (if not focussed on a particular place like Glückstadt or Altona) is usually integrated into studies on Schleswig-Holstein’s history. Ulrich Lange (ed.), *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* (Neumünster, 2003); Jan Markus Witt and Heiko Vosgerau (eds.), *Schleswig – Holstein von den Ursprüngen bis zur Gegenwart: Eine Landesgeschichte* (Hamburg, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Hans Eckhard Dannenberg and Heinz-Joachim Schulze (eds.), *Geschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser*, (3 vols., Stade, 2003-2008); Johannes Göhler, *Wege des Glaubens: Beiträge zu einer Kirchengeschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser* (Stade, 2006); Heinz-Joachim Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität: Beiträge der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden und des Landes Hadeln* (Stade, 1989); Brage bei der Wieden and Jan Lokers (eds.), *Lebensläufe zwischen Elbe und Weser: Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Stade, 2002).

<sup>4</sup> Kellenbenz, Hermann, *Sephardim an der Unteren Elbe: Ihre wirtschaftliche und politische Bedeutung vom Ende des 16. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1958).

<sup>5</sup> Kurt Brüning, *Niedersachsen und Bremen* (Stuttgart, 1960); Gerd van den Heuvel, ‘Niedersachsen im 17. Jahrhundert (1618-1714)’, in Christine van den Heuvel and Manfred Boetticher (eds.), *Geschichte Niedersachsens* (Hannover, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Erhard Stölting, ‘Die soziale Definition historischer Räume und Grenzen’, in Dieter Holtmann and Peter Riemer (eds.), *Europa: Einheit und Vielfalt* (Münster/Hamburg/London, 2001), 164.

thesis was to focus on one particular territory in Northwest Germany.<sup>7</sup> Importantly, these connections existed not only in times of peace but also during conflict, as such activity brought new arrivals to the region in their capacities as diplomats or military officers and common soldiers. Understanding the factors which provoked tensions, rivalry and conflict between the different entities is therefore as important as understanding their economic and political coherence when analysing trade, settlement and network-building by Scots and other ethnic groups in the area.

The ruling elites of the territories in question were bound together in as much as they all valued the significance of the Elbe and Weser as vital trade routes and arteries of strategic importance. Lorenzen-Schmidt revealed the significance of the Lower Elbe and its tributaries in linking the adjacent towns and territories to one coherent commercial area.<sup>8</sup> This region featured towns which had developed on the tributaries of the Elbe between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. On the Northern side of the river these were Krempe at the Kremperau, Itzehoe at the Stör and Wilster at the Wilsterau. On the Southern banks the town of Buxtehude developed at the river Este, Stade at the Schwinge and Freiburg and Otterndorf directly at the Elbe.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the river Oste connected Bremervörde, situated further inland within the territory of Bremen, with the larger waterway.<sup>10</sup> The towns and rural areas on both sides of the Elbe were not only connected by shipping traffic but also by a ford at Wedel where herds of oxen could be driven across the stream.<sup>11</sup> The river also linked the urban settlements and their surrounding areas with the metropolis of Hamburg – itself situated where the river Alster joined the Elbe.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Regions have previously been defined by seas and waterways. Works include Braudel's study of the Mediterranean or Lucien Febvre's publication on the river Rhine which perceived the river as a trade and communication link rather than a natural dividing line. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (2 vols., Los Angeles/London, 1995; originally published in French in 1949); Peter Schöller (ed.), Lucien Febvre, *Der Rhein und seine Geschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994; originally published in French in 1935).

<sup>8</sup> Lorenzen-Schmidt, Klaus-Joachim, 'Verbindendes und Trennendes: Einige Gedanken zur historischen Funktion der Unterelbe als Grenze', in Martin Rheinheimer (ed.), *Grenzen in der Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins und Dänemarks* (Neumünster, 2006), 295-306.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 299.

<sup>10</sup> Elfriede Bachmann, 'Bremervörde und die Oste', in August Heinrich von Brook and Gisela Tiedemann (eds.), *Die Oste: Lebensader zwischen Elbe und Weser* (Bremerhaven, 2003), 47.

<sup>11</sup> Lorenzen-Schmidt, 'Verbindendes und Trennendes', 305. Another ford was located further east at Zollenspieker.

<sup>12</sup> Whaley, *Religious Toleration*, 9.

During the seventeenth century Hamburg became a financial centre and significant entrepôt in the commercial exchange with the Mediterranean region, first and foremost Spain and Portugal, and with the Baltic as well as with England, rising to become the third most important trading centre in Europe, behind Amsterdam and London.<sup>13</sup> This ascent, which began in the sixteenth century, led to an increased population, estimated at 45,000 to 50,000 inhabitants by 1620, which made Hamburg the second largest city within the Holy Roman Empire after Cologne.<sup>14</sup> The city depended on the agrarian products of the Lower Elbe region in order to provide resources for its inhabitants; at the same time however, Hamburg merchants profited from the trade with these rural areas and smaller towns which they invested into long-distance trade. This prompted the senate of Hamburg to secure the river as a vital trade route not only towards the North Sea but also as an important link into the Lower Elbe region.<sup>15</sup>

In order to do so, the city's senate acquired two Imperial privileges in 1468 and 1482 which granted the Hamburgers jurisdiction on the Elbe and a staple at their city.<sup>16</sup> In addition to this, Hamburg gained the district of Ritzebüttel situated at the Southern mouth of the river (today Cuxhaven) and the island of Neuwerk at the end of the fourteenth century. However, due to its distance from the inner city area Ritzebüttel proved hard to defend and during the fifteenth century the town officials had to settle border issues with their neighbours, the district of Hadeln, in the possession of the duke of Lauenburg and the district of Wursten, belonging to the archbishopric of Bremen.<sup>17</sup> During the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), which brought troops of the various participating powers into the Northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, Ritzebüttel was occupied and pillaged several times by the troops of Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg (1626) as well as Imperial (1628) and Swedish forces (1644). It is important to note that they all – as well as the dukes of Sachsen-Lauenburg who in the 1630s tried to bring the

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<sup>13</sup> Erik Lindberg, 'The Rise of Hamburg as a Global Marketplace in the Seventeenth Century: A Comparative Political Economic Perspective', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 50/3 (2008), 654.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Busch, 'Die Landung der Schweden: Entlastung oder Bedrohung für Hamburg?', in Martin Knauer and Sven Tode (eds.), *Der Krieg vor den Toren. Hamburg im Dreißigjährigen Krieg 1616-1648* (Hamburg, 2000), 132.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs*, 28.

<sup>17</sup> Sven Tode, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren: Das Hamburger Umland im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Knauer and Tode (eds.), *Der Krieg vor den Toren*, 153.

district under their jurisdiction in a court case – recognised the strategic importance of the mouth of the Elbe.<sup>18</sup> In addition to Ritzebüttel, the senate of Hamburg jointly with the senate of Lübeck acquired control over the trade route between their cities during the fifteenth century including the districts Vierlande, Geesthacht, and Bergedorf where a toll station at Eßlingen was erected.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the city owned the small district of Moorburg on the southern banks of the river. However, these territories were also subject to pillaging and temporary occupation by Imperial and Swedish troops in the 1630s.<sup>20</sup> Despite these difficulties, the senate managed to hold onto the rural possessions outside the city walls, protecting an important connection between the city and its surrounding areas.

Hamburg's strongest enemies during the seventeenth century proved to be the monarchs of Denmark-Norway, whose territories – as dukes of Holstein, and since 1640 as the rulers of Holstein-Pinneberg – bordered the city to the north and northwest. King Christian IV (1588-1648) aimed for supremacy in the Baltic. This interest was linked with his goal of establishing suzerainty in Northern Germany in his position as Duke of Holstein. This was especially so as his rival, Sweden, gathered possessions in the Eastern Baltic which Christian IV sought to counterbalance.<sup>21</sup> In particular the Danish-Norwegian king aimed for control over the Elbe and Hamburg which, in his view, was legally under his jurisdiction as ruler of Holstein. This conflict between the city – which aimed to secure status as an independent entity within the Holy Roman Empire – and the Danish monarchs, stemmed from the fifteenth century when Christian I had acquired rule over Holstein after the death of Adolph VIII, the Duke of Schauenburg. The dukes of this house had been the legal overlords of Hamburg, but had not interfered with the city's domestic affairs since the late Middle Ages.<sup>22</sup> The Danish monarchs, however, pursued a different policy and actively sought to bring Hamburg under their control. In 1603 the city was forced to pay tribute to Christian IV, although the Hamburgers were

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 154-164.

<sup>19</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs*, 29; F. Voigt, 'Der Städte Lübeck und Hamburg ehemalige Zoll- und Fährstelle bei Esslingen an der Elbe', *MVHG*, 4 (1887-9), 218-240.

<sup>20</sup> Tode, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren', 162.

<sup>21</sup> Martin Bellamy, *Christian IV and His Navy: A Political and Administrative History of the Danish Navy 1596-1648* (Leiden/Boston, 2006), 34; Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Denmark in the Thirty Years' War 1618-1648: King Christian and the Decline of the Oldenburg State* (London, 1963), 71-74.

<sup>22</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs*, 36.

effectively allowed to remain independent.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, tensions increased in the 1610s and 1620s particularly when the senate of Hamburg and the Danish king clashed over the issue of the predominantly English company of Merchant Adventurers who had settled in Hamburg between 1567 and 1577, effectively in breach of the rules of the Hansa. Due to the pressure of its own citizens and other Hansa towns, the senate had been forced to forego the renewal of their contract with the profitable company which then relocated to Emden and then to Stade.<sup>24</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century Christian IV aimed to draw the Merchant Adventurers to Krempe in Holstein, but was ultimately unsuccessful when they settled once again in Hamburg in 1611.<sup>25</sup>

Since effective control over the city had proven difficult and since Christian IV sought not only political but also economic supremacy in Northwest Germany he exerted measures to hinder Hamburg's trade. First of all, he abolished free shipping through the Sound for Hamburg's ships and did not renew the concession of Hamburg's merchants to trade with Iceland which expired in 1601. Furthermore, the king acquired the district of Wandsbek in 1614, in the Northeast of Hamburg, and founded the town of Glückstadt in 1616 on the upper Elbe to which he granted city privileges the following year.<sup>26</sup> In order to attract new citizens to Glückstadt, Christian IV granted tax and religious privileges, successfully drawing a number of exiles from the Netherlands and exiled Jews from Portugal to the town. However, the king forbade enemies of the political ruler of the United Provinces and the king of Spain to settle there in order to keep a neutral position and to take advantage of the political conflict between Spain and the Netherlands which had flared up in 1621 after the end of a 12-year truce. In doing so he hoped to secure unhindered trade from the new Dutch citizens under the Danish flag.<sup>27</sup> Despite these measures Christian IV's wish that 'with God's help Glückstadt will become a city and Hamburg a village' was not fulfilled, as merchants preferred the

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<sup>23</sup> Hans-Dieter Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV. von Dänemark während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Reichsunmittelbarkeit* (Hamburg, 1963), 3.

<sup>24</sup> Franklin Kopitzsch, 'Minderheiten und Fremde in norddeutschen Städten in der Frühen Neuzeit', in *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 69 (1997), 47; W.E. Lingelbach, 'The Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg', *American Historical Review*, 4 (1904), 265.

<sup>25</sup> *KCFB*, I, 70-71, Christian IV to Duke Henrik Julius of Brunswick, Fredericksborg, 22 December 1611; SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E724, Jakob Spens to Axel Oxenstierna, London, 25 July 1614; Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603 – 1660* (East Linton, 2003, first published 2000), 31.

<sup>26</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs*, 46; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 7-8.

<sup>27</sup> Löding, 'Die Gründung', 177; Heinz Ramm, 'Altona', 345. Wandsbek was under Danish control between 1614 and 1641.

well-established facilities of the larger metropolis.<sup>28</sup> This was not least since Glückstadt was more vulnerable during the ensuing conflicts of the seventeenth century than its larger neighbour.<sup>29</sup>

However, Glückstadt was not only meant to pose an economic threat to Hamburg but also functioned to secure a gateway crossing over the river into the Elbe-Weser area, which Christian IV sought to bring under his control as well. For this purpose Glückstadt was fortified and temporarily garrisoned by more than 4,000 men.<sup>30</sup> Christian's goal to broaden his influence south of the Elbe was temporarily achieved when Danish troops occupied the area around Stade in the archbishopric of Bremen in 1619. This territory, as well as the adjacent bishopric of Verden, was of significance to any political power seeking to dominate the Northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire as by controlling them he effectively gained influence over the mouth of the Elbe as well as the Weser and thus over the trade of both the cities of Hamburg and Bremen.<sup>31</sup> The Danish hostilities led the senate to seek help from the Emperor, whose interest it was to protect Hamburg's position within the Holy Roman Empire, and in 1618 the Imperial court (*Reichskammergericht*) confirmed Hamburg's status as a free city (*Freie Reichsstadt*). However, Christian IV contested this judgement and sought to increase his pressure on Hamburg.<sup>32</sup> Christian IV's occupation of Stade and the march of Danish troops into Holstein-Pinneberg in 1621 forced the senate of Hamburg to consent to his *de facto* overlordship (Treaty of Steinburg).<sup>33</sup> In addition to these temporary successes Christian IV became the Lieutenant-General of the Lower Saxon Circle and initiated the election of his son Frederik as coadjutor in Bremen (1621) and administrator in Verden (1623) with the right of succession to the archbishop's seat.<sup>34</sup> These acquisitions were acknowledged by the Swedish representative in the United Provinces, Jan Rutgers, who

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<sup>28</sup> *KCFB*, IV, 356, Christian IV to Corfitz Ulfeldt, Glückstadt, 17 June 1640, '...Som det med Gudtz hiielp uell gor, daa bliiffuer Glyckstadt En Bye och Hamborg En landsbye...'; Bellamy, *Danish Navy*, 36.

<sup>29</sup> Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 62-70. In 1627/28 Glückstadt was besieged by Imperial troops.

<sup>30</sup> Löding, 'Die Gründung', 178.

<sup>31</sup> Brüning, *Niedersachsen*, 35.

<sup>32</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs*, 46; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 7-8.

<sup>33</sup> Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 18-20.

<sup>34</sup> Heinz-Joachim Schulze, 'Der Regierungsbezirk Stade: Verwaltungsbezirk und historische Landschaftsbildung', in Carl Haase (ed.), *Niedersachsen: Territorien – Verwaltungseinheiten – geschichtliche Landschaften*, (Göttingen, 1971), 219-220.

reported from Hamburg to the Swedish chancellor Axel Oxenstierna that Christian IV had now made himself master over Elbe and Weser.<sup>35</sup>

In 1625 Danish troops occupied several fortifications at the Weser. However, the Swedish commissioner in The Hague, Ludwig Camerarius, noted the threat of the Emperor and Philip IV taking control over the Elbe and Weser, including a possible occupation of Hamburg and Bremen, which would make both the Danish and the Swedish monarchs vulnerable, revealing the profound security interests connected to the control over both rivers.<sup>36</sup> During the same year Danish ships conducted strip and search missions of Hamburg vessels in order to obstruct supplies of armaments to Spain. They were joined by English and Dutch ships the following year.<sup>37</sup>

After the battle at Lutter (1626), which proved to be disastrous for Denmark-Norway, Imperial troops occupied the newly acquired Danish territories. Two years later an Imperial siege was laid on Glückstadt which temporarily worsened the situation of Hamburg merchants as further Danish ships were brought into the Elbe. However, the blockade of the river eased during the same year when Christian IV had to withdraw most of his ships.<sup>38</sup> Further humiliation to the Danish monarch followed when the Danish king was forced to give up Bremen and Verden under the Treaty of Lübeck (1629). Imperial forces held the territories but were driven out by Swedish troops with the help of archbishop Johann Friedrich, duke of Holstein-Gottorf.<sup>39</sup>

Despite the loss of Bremen and Verden, the Treaty of Lübeck enabled Christian IV to increase his authority on the Elbe by granting him permission to impose tolls at Glückstadt, despite the fact that the Emperor had granted full control over the river to Hamburg only the previous year, including free trade from the city to the mouth of the Elbe (*Elbprivileg*, 1628).<sup>40</sup> The introduction of the new toll by Christian IV led to Danish ships being attacked and a blockade of Glückstadt by the Hamburgers who were, however, defeated by the strong Danish fleet. Christian IV himself dismissed the complaints of the Hamburgers in a letter to his foreign secretary, Frederik Günther, explaining that without the consent of the Emperor the citizens could not abolish the

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<sup>35</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E702, Jan Rutgers to Oxenstierna, Hamburg, 27 September 1621.

<sup>36</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E577, Ludwig Camerarius to Oxenstierna, without place, 23 September 1625.

<sup>37</sup> Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 24-25.

<sup>38</sup> Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 235.

<sup>39</sup> Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 19-20.

toll. Furthermore, they had been exempted from the Sound toll ‘for many years’, but had instead charged his own subjects tolls in Hamburg. Thus, he argued, he was just claiming back ‘borrowed money’.<sup>41</sup> The following years saw a continuation of the conflict on a diplomatic level with further complaints from the Hamburg officials against the toll and attempts from both sides to gain support from various rulers such as the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony.<sup>42</sup> Protests were however not only raised by Hamburgers but also by the United Provinces and England whose merchants held strong interests in Hamburg and frequently had to pass the toll station on the Elbe.<sup>43</sup> Although the agreement for levying a toll on the Elbe was withdrawn by the Emperor in 1637 the conflict between Hamburg and Christian IV continued.<sup>44</sup>

In 1634 Christian IV’s influence in Northwest Germany had strengthened once again when his son Frederik was elected archbishop of Bremen. This event, in conjunction with a payment of a sum of money, suspended Swedish official control over the archbishopric. Nevertheless, the estates of Bremen and Verden remained closely related to the Swedish crown allowing the recruitment and mustering of troops within the territories.<sup>45</sup> Just one example of how these developments affected Scots in the region derives from the Scottish Colonel Francis Ruthven who had recruited troops in Scotland who were destined for the Swedish muster point at Buxtehude. Some of these soldiers had arrived with him on the Weser and were stationed in small villages along the banks of the river. However, while Ruthven went to the bishop of Bremen and to Hamburg to collect his orders, the city of Bremen forced these troops back onto the ship where they had to remain for three weeks causing the death of several soldiers. Two additional companies arrived on the river Elbe after almost losing their lives at sea. The count of Schauenburg granted Ruthven and the Swedish resident at Hamburg, Johan Adler Salvius, permission for them to camp beside the river within the county of Holstein-Pinneberg. However, some inhabitants – who must have been associated with

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<sup>40</sup> Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 32-33.

<sup>41</sup> *KCFB*, II, 252, Christian IV to Frederik Günther, Glückstadt, 19 March 1630; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV*, 39.

<sup>42</sup> *KCFB*, III, 158-159, Christian IV to Frederik Günther, Glückstadt, 28 August 1633; *KCFB*, III, 160-162, Christian IV to Frederik Günther, Glückstadt, 29 August 1633; *KCFB*, III, 168-9, Christian IV to Frederik Günther, Glückstadt, 21 September 1633; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 43-57.

<sup>43</sup> *KCFB*, III, 50, 53, Instructions to Reimar Dorn, without place, 9-11 October 1632 and 13-14 October 1632.

<sup>44</sup> Bellamy, *Christian IV and His Navy*, 35.

the Danes – marched the soldiers further inland to a village where the farmers refused them access forcing them to camp in the fields. Again, this march and the behaviour of the locals caused several of the troops to die of cold. Meanwhile the muster point at Buxtehude (which had apparently been given to the archbishop) was denied to Ruthven who thus had to march his troops from village to village within the territory waiting for new orders.<sup>46</sup> While this example clearly highlights the importance of both the river Elbe and Weser for landing troops it also reminds us of the mobility of troops and officers crossing political borders within the region.

In 1640 Christian IV managed to secure the territory of Holstein-Pinneberg including the towns and villages of Altona, Ottensen, Wedel, Lokstedt, Niendorf, Schnelsen and Hummelsbüttel, with the extinction of the dukes of Schauenburg.<sup>47</sup> Altona, situated just a few miles west of Hamburg on the Elbe, had developed into an economic rival to Hamburg from the beginning of the seventeenth century when duke Ernst of Schauenburg bestowed newly arrived Dutch exiles from the Southern Netherlands with economic and religious privileges.<sup>48</sup> The Dutch Reformed church community in Altona affiliated itself to the Synod of Holland and enticed inhabitants of Hamburg of the same faith to commute and worship in the town – an invitation which was especially attractive to some, as the reformed church in Stade had been abolished in 1619.<sup>49</sup> This church was where the Reformed Hamburgers and inhabitants of Altona had previously both attended services.<sup>50</sup> However, Mennonites, Catholics and Portuguese Jews also benefited from religious toleration and Altona's population increased to around 1,500 inhabitants by 1620. Christian IV confirmed the religious and economic privileges when he took control over the town and sought to enforce Altona's rival position to Hamburg by developing its harbour.<sup>51</sup> However, it was not only the territory of Holstein-Pinneberg but also Schauenburger possessions within the city walls of Hamburg, including the Schauenburger court in the church district of St Jacobi, which

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<sup>45</sup> Beate Christine Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden als schwedische Provinz (1633/45-1712)', in Dannenberg and Schulze (eds.), *Geschichte des Landes*, 177.

<sup>46</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E703, Francis Ruthven to Axel Oxenstierna, Hamburg, 9 December 1636.

<sup>47</sup> Tode, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren', 149.

<sup>48</sup> Ramm, 'Altona', 282-283.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. The Reformed Church in Stade belonged to a small community of Vallons whose members moved to the more secure cities of Altona and Hamburg in 1619 due to the growing tensions with Denmark-Norway and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Jobelmann and Wittpenning, *Stade*, 14.

<sup>50</sup> Ramm, 'Altona', 282-283.

were now under Christian IV's control. Moreover, the king set up a Danish military camp at Fuhlsbüttel at a crossing over the river Alster in 1641 and 1642, threatening Hamburg's trade route to Segeberg.<sup>52</sup> In addition, Christian IV repeatedly declared that the Hamburgers were 'rebels' acting against him and his officials in order to gather support from various rulers, whilst continuously describing Hamburg as 'his' city.<sup>53</sup> This was followed by a blockade of Hamburg on the Elbe in 1643 which, together with Christian's other acquisitions, effectively encircled the city with Danish forces with the result that Hamburg's senate eventually succumbed to the pressure and accepted Danish overlordship as well as his suzerainty and toll on the Elbe.<sup>54</sup>

During the Danish-Swedish War (1643-1645) – which broke out due to the two powers' rivalry in North Germany among other reasons – Hamburg managed to abolish the toll with the support of Swedish forces.<sup>55</sup> At the same time this conflict resulted in Swedish troops under Christopher von Königsmarck regaining the archbishopric of Bremen and the bishopric of Verden. Under the Treaty of Westphalia which ended the Thirty Years' War in 1648 both territories were secularised and given to the Swedish crown whose governor-general resided in Stade.<sup>56</sup> However, Christian IV's successor Frederik III (1648-1670) sought to continue his father's policies and attacked the duchies in 1656, but could not dislodge the Swedish troops.<sup>57</sup> In the conflict with Hamburg, Frederik III was actually less ambitious than his father and offered to sell Altona together with Ottensen and the small islands in the Elbe to Hamburg.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately for them, the citizens of Hamburg decided to refuse the offer. In 1664 Frederik III officially granted Altona city status, releasing it from the control of the county of Pinneberg.<sup>59</sup> The city's privileges included not only a confirmation of religious and trade rights but also saw the abolition of tolls on goods being shipped

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 291.

<sup>52</sup> Tode, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren', 170-173.

<sup>53</sup> *KCFB*, IV, 304-305, Christian IV to the Rigsråd, Copenhagen, 22 February 1643; *KCFB*, IV, 315-316, Christian IV to Frederik Günther, without place, 9 March 1643; *KCFB*, IV, 316-317, Christian IV to Frederik Günther, without place, 12 March 1643; *KCFB*, IV, 317-318, Christian IV to Frederik Günther, without place, 22 March 1643.

<sup>54</sup> Bellamy, *Christian IV and His Navy*, 36; Tode, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren', 172-173.

<sup>55</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs*, 47.

<sup>56</sup> Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 178-191.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 191-194.

<sup>58</sup> Ramm, 'Altona', 291.

<sup>59</sup> Rathjen, 'Die geteilte Einheit – Schleswig-Holstein zwischen König und Herzog 1490-1721', Witt and Vorgerau (eds.), *Schleswig-Holstein*, 191.

down the river as well as on all goods brought to Altona by Danish-Norwegian or Holstein merchants, effectively creating a free harbour. The economic success of these measures was reflected in a population increase from approximately 3,000 inhabitants in 1664 to about 12,000 inhabitants in 1710 – making Altona the second largest city within the Danish-Norwegian empire.<sup>60</sup>

Moreover, Denmark-Norway's influence extended to the southern banks of the Weser when the duchy of Oldenburg fell under Frederik's control in 1667.<sup>61</sup> His successor Christian V (1670-1699) also sought to strengthen his position in Northwest Germany. In 1675 he resumed Danish activity in Bremen and Verden when he involved himself in the Imperial war (*Reichskrieg*) against Sweden when troops of the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Münster, Denmark and Brandenburg took on the Imperial execution (*Reichsexekution*) against the ally of Louis XIV.<sup>62</sup> The forces eventually occupied Bremen and Verden, which fell under the control of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. However, due to the pressure of France, Bremen and Verden were again in Swedish possession after the peace of Nimwegen.<sup>63</sup> Christian V also attacked Hamburg in 1679 but was prevented from taking the city by the support of the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. The conflict ended with the treaty of Pinneberg (*Pinneberger Rezess*, 1 November 1679) which determined that Hamburg's status was not to be changed until a judicial verdict or an amicable agreement had been reached. After another hostile phase between Christian V and Hamburg this compact was confirmed by the treaty of Copenhagen (*Kopenhagener Rezess*, 16 August 1692) which finally relaxed the relationship between the city and its northern neighbour. However, it was not until 1768 that the Danish monarch recognised Hamburg's status as a free city in the treaty of Gottorp (*Gottorper Vergleich*).<sup>64</sup> In 1712, during the events of the Nordic War, Danish troops entered Bremen and Verden for the last time, jointly with troops of the Electorate of Hanover. Thus, the Swedish government in Bremen and Verden ended and both

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<sup>60</sup> Ramm, 'Altona', 292-295.

<sup>61</sup> Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert: Glanz und Elend einer alten Hansestadt* (Bremen, 1996), 9.

<sup>62</sup> Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 194-196.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Loose, Hans-Dieter, 'Das Zeitalter der Bürgerunruhen und der großen europäischen Kriege 1618 – 1712', in Loose (ed.), *Hamburg*, vol. 1, 301-303.

territories were eventually given to the Hanoverian Electorate in the peace of Stockholm on the 20th November 1719.<sup>65</sup>

From the above it becomes evident that Danish, Swedish, Imperial and Hamburger interests – and even those of the houses of Gottorp and Sachsen-Lauenburg – all clashed in the militarily and economically important Elbe-Weser area during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. However, they were not the only power players with interests and influence within this region. The military involvement of the Welfenian dukes of Braunschweig-Lüneburg in this area has already been indicated. Their aim was to secure trade routes from the economic centre of Lüneburg into the region and to the North Sea. Nevertheless, their control over the town, which since the late Middle Ages had followed its own independent policy, could only be secured in the late 1630s after Lüneburg had to surrender to Swedish troops during the Thirty Years' War.<sup>66</sup> In 1637 the sovereignty of the dukes of Braunschweig-Lüneburg was re-established and a treaty in 1639 fully placed the town within their control.<sup>67</sup> However, the interests of Lüneburg and its official overlords in the region overlapped even before this period. Lüneburg was strategically situated at the river Ilmenau which runs into the Elbe and at the crossroads of several important overland trade routes. Goods being transported between the North Sea and the Lower Elbe region and inner parts of the Empire were brought to the staple in Lüneburg.<sup>68</sup> Salt – Lüneburg's most important export product – was mainly transported on the Elbe to Stade, Buxtehude, the district of Hadeln, Holstein and Hamburg as well as to the Baltic via Lübeck.<sup>69</sup> From the Lower Elbe region the merchants shipped corn and other agrarian products back to the town whose supply of these products depended, like Hamburg, on this area.<sup>70</sup> However, Lüneburg's free trade on the southern arm of the Elbe was challenged by the senate of Hamburg who insisted on its staple right as granted by the Emperor in 1482.<sup>71</sup> This conflict was further complicated by the toll station at Eßlingen and dragged on for decades. In 1620 Duke Christian of Braunschweig-Lüneburg invaded part of the

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<sup>65</sup> Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 196-197.

<sup>66</sup> Reinhardt, 'Die Wirtschaftskrise', 97-98.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 91.

<sup>69</sup> Georg Matthaei, 'Die Lage der Lüneburger Elbschiffahrt im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Lüneburger Blätter*, 6 (1955), 70.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Reinhardt, 'Die Wirtschaftskrise', 92.

Vierlande, presumably with the intention of securing the toll station. However, a few months afterwards a contract between him and Lübeck and Hamburg re-established the city's control over the toll.<sup>72</sup>

A junior branch of the House of Braunschweig-Lüneburg also governed the territory of Harburg until 1642. The territory was situated at the southern banks of the Elbe opposite Hamburg and played a role in the aforementioned dispute. It comprised the small districts of Moorburg and Moorwerder which were under Hamburg's control and was under the government of Duke Wilhelm who owed large sums of money to the senate and other citizens of Hamburg.<sup>73</sup> Because of this and his military weakness the inhabitants of Harburg did not pose a threat to Hamburg during this period. This was especially so as the territory was frequently occupied by Danish (1625), Imperial (1626) and Swedish (1632) troops.<sup>74</sup> Harburg could not compete economically with Hamburg, although some efforts were made to establish a market on the southern side of the Elbe. However, the skippers of Harburg were successful in dominating the traffic between their own territory and Hamburg and in transporting corn from the Upper Elbe region. They also competed with their counterparts from Hamburg, Lüneburg and Winsen on the river Ilmenau. Furthermore, some inhabitants became successful as carters by transporting goods belonging to Hamburgers over land into the Empire via Harburg.<sup>75</sup> In 1642 the territory fell to the dukes of Braunschweig-Lüneburg who fortified the town of Harburg, which was used as a base for an attack on the Hamburg's rural territories, including the Vierlande in 1684-6.<sup>76</sup> In order to direct trade away from their rival, the dukes aimed to develop a harbour at Harburg but were only temporarily successful when the Elector of Brandenburg used the town as a market for his corn and timber trade. Harburg was therefore not a real threat to Hamburg's pre-eminence in the region during the early modern period. In fact the relationship between the city and Braunschweig-Lüneburg fluctuated as can be seen from the latter's support for Hamburg against Denmark-Norway in 1679.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Voigt, 'Der Städte Lübeck und Hamburg ehemalige Zoll- und Fährstelle', 220.

<sup>73</sup> Dietrich Kausche, 'Harburg und der süderelbische Raum', in Lehe, Ramm, Kausche (eds.), *Heimatchronik*, 404-405.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 423.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 430.

<sup>77</sup> Loose, 'Das Zeitalter der Bürgerunruhen', 298; Kausche, 'Harburg', 426-437.

It should be emphasised that the interests of the rulers of Braunschweig-Lüneburg not only lay at the Elbe. A number of important overland trade routes into the duchy and to Lüneburg ran through the bishopric/duchy of Verden and it was a matter of some interest exactly which power controlled this territory.<sup>78</sup> Even more importantly, the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg with its main residency at Celle was linked with the Lower Weser region and the North Sea through the river Aller which runs through Verden and joins the Weser in the territory of Bremen. In this area the dukes vied mainly with the city of Bremen.

In many ways Bremen's situation mirrored that of Hamburg. The city's economy depended on free access to the North Sea and the Lower Weser region. The city had developed into a regional power and commercial centre during the fourteenth century under the overlordship of the archbishop of Bremen.<sup>79</sup> However, after the Reformation, which led the citizens to turn first to the Lutheran and then to the Calvinist confession, the city distanced itself from the now Lutheran archbishop, and started to act effectively as an independent city within the Holy Roman Empire. It was not until 1646 that this status was officially recognised by the Emperor in the Diploma of Linz (*Linzer Diplom*).<sup>80</sup> In the intervening period Bremen received a series of Imperial privileges. For example, in 1541 which granted suzerainty on the Lower Weser, a staple for wine, beer and corn as well as judicial rights and a confirmation of the power of the senate.<sup>81</sup> In order to secure its trade artery Bremen acquired a number of territories on the banks of the Weser during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including the district of Bederska as well as the church district (*Kirchspiel*) of Lehe. The districts (*Gerichte*) of Borgfeld, Neuenkirchen and Blumenthal also belonged to Bremen as well as the newly formed districts (*Gerichte*, formerly *Gohe*) of Obervieland, Niedervieland, Werderland (with Walle and Gröpelingen) and Blockland/ Halland.<sup>82</sup> In addition to this the senate of Bremen managed to eliminate the corn staple at Celle, forcing all barley produced in Braunschweig-Lüneburg to be brought through the Aller and Weser or even through the Elbe and via overland routes into the city.<sup>83</sup> Conversely, the transport and sale of

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<sup>78</sup> Brüning, *Niedersachsen*, 35.

<sup>79</sup> Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 37.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>82</sup> Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 279-281.

<sup>83</sup> Witzendorf, 'Bremens Handel', 137.

Scottish or English salt from the city of Bremen – which had developed into an important entrepôt for this commodity – became forbidden in some of the Welfenian territories.<sup>84</sup>

In the Lower Weser region the city of Bremen and the counts of Oldenburg competed against each other for suzerainty until the middle of the seventeenth century. However, after a series of conflicts between the city and Anton Günther, the Count of Oldenburg (since 1603) and Delmenhorst (after 1647), Anton Günther received an Imperial privilege in 1623 which granted him the right to introduce a toll on the river.<sup>85</sup> This privilege was ratified by the Electors who exempted themselves and their subjects from the fees. The toll was contested by the city of Bremen which kept a warship in front of the toll station of Harrierbake, which had been erected in 1623 and another in front of the toll station at Elsfleth which succeeded the one at Harrierbake the following year. Thus, Bremen hindered the taking of the tolls considerably through the threat of maritime violence.<sup>86</sup>

The insecure political status of the city meant that the senate of Bremen was involved in further conflicts with other powers. When Christian IV's son Frederik became archbishop in 1634 the city was forced to accept his formal overlordship and entered into a dispute when Frederik opened the cathedral within Bremen's city walls – which officially belonged to the archbishopric – for Lutheran worship.<sup>87</sup> Bremen's resistance to the Weser toll led to further pressure on the city. In the treaty of Westphalia the count of Oldenburg's right to claim fees on the river had been confirmed and Bremen was condemned in the name of the Emperor (*Verhängung der Reichsacht*) for the non-payment of the toll. The city therefore had to agree to pay retribution to the count and to accept the Weser toll which was levied without disturbances after 1653.<sup>88</sup> A dispute pertaining to Bremen's relationship with the archbishopric arose after Sweden had gained the duchies of Bremen and Verden. The Swedish monarch contested the city's free status and attacked it in March 1654.<sup>89</sup> In November the same year both parties agreed to a peace treaty which forced Bremen to pay reparations and to cede the

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 153.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 58; Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 334.

<sup>88</sup> Mammen, 'Schiffahrt auf der Weser', 75.

<sup>89</sup> Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 236-237.

districts of Bederska and Lehe to the Swedish crown but left the question of the city's status undecided (*Stader Vergleich*).<sup>90</sup>

The dispute with Sweden resumed when Bremen paid homage to the Emperor in December 1660 as a free Imperial city. Tensions created from this action eventually resulted in a second Bremen-Swedish war (1665-1666) in which Swedish forces occupied Bremen's remaining rural territory.<sup>91</sup> However, the city was able to defend itself due to the support of foreign powers, including Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Brandenburg, Denmark and the Netherlands. In the peace treaty of Habenhausen (1666) Bremen agreed to give up its status as a free city after the conclusion of the Reichstag session. As this session in fact ran until the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 this clause was, however, irrelevant. Nevertheless, the loss of all former Bremen territories north of the city and at the Lower Weser to Sweden was confirmed within the treaty.<sup>92</sup>

The following year Bremen's position had worsened further when Oldenburg and Delmenhorst fell under the official control of Frederik III of Denmark and Duke Christian of Holstein-Gottorf who designated Anton Günther's son as governor.<sup>93</sup> In 1675 this dual governance of Oldenburg-Delmenhorst fell apart as the Danish monarch continued to control the area through administrators whilst acquiring further smaller territories which had been given to Anton Günther's relatives after his death.<sup>94</sup> For example, after his son Anton von Aldenburg died in 1680 his inheritors had to concede the districts (*Vogteien*) of Jade and Schwei as well as the third part of the incomes from the Weser toll which Anton Günther had bequeathed to his son. Furthermore, the districts Varel, Jeverland, Kniphausen, Garms and Wesermarsch fell to Denmark, strengthening the city's neighbour.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, in 1672 the Swedish governor Henrik Horn built the fortification of Carlsburg (or Carlsstadt) at the mouth of the Geest into the Lower Weser in order to attract and control trade on the river.<sup>96</sup> In order to entice migrants, citizens were to be exempted from taxes for 20 years and religious toleration of all Christian faiths was granted.<sup>97</sup> However, the town capitulated during the course of

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 237-239; Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 59.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 9.

<sup>94</sup> van den Heuvel, 'Niedersachsen', 140-141.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 220;

<sup>97</sup> Göhler, *Wege des Glaubens*, 260.

the Imperial war against Sweden (1675-1679) and the project was eventually given up during the Great Northern War (1700-1721).<sup>98</sup> In the meantime however, Carlsburg and the strong Danish neighbour impacted on Bremen's trade.<sup>99</sup>

The above has served to highlight some of the relations between different political territories within the wider Elbe-Weser-region, particularly those of a religious, political and/or economic nature. What is self-evident is that the control over both rivers and the adjacent territories was constantly contested between the various smaller and larger powers in the Northwest of the Holy Roman Empire. The conflicts between the powers certainly enforced and raised borders in one sense. However, they also brought a number of foreign soldiers but also military and diplomatic officials into the region, enhancing communication and 'networking' between the various forces who, as will be determined, were frequently crossing political borders and interacting with the indigenous population. This exchange interaction was concentrated in the cities of Hamburg and Bremen. Indeed, in order to fully understand the significance of these commercial hubs they actually require much closer scrutiny.

## **1.2 Gateway Communities: Hamburg and Bremen**

The Lower Elbe and Lower Weser and their tributaries formed extensions to the North Sea (or German Sea in Scots) linking the region with the wider world, including Scotland. At the same time they connected the region with territories and markets further inland. As commercial and diplomatic centres and staples Bremen and Hamburg, situated at these important waterways, acted as gateway communities attracting most transit traffic into and out of the region.

Economically, Hamburg had thrived since the second half of the sixteenth century, not least because the city managed to profit from various ensuing European conflicts. The favourable situation on the land bridge between North Sea and Baltic as well as at the Elbe and at the crossing of major roads into the Netherlands, Denmark-Norway and the Holy Roman Empire meant that Hamburg became a significant entrepôt, especially for the commercial exchange between the Atlantic and the Baltic

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<sup>98</sup> Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 393-394.

<sup>99</sup> Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 9.

trade zones.<sup>100</sup> This was not least as the city profited from trade disruptions caused by the conflict between the Netherlands and the Spanish Habsburgs (1568-1648). The need for armaments enabled Hamburg merchants to become important suppliers of raw materials such as copper, saltpetre and timber from the Baltic to both powers. In the United Provinces these were processed to weapons and ammunition and re-exported to Hamburg which in turn supplied the Dutch enemies with these finished articles.<sup>101</sup>

However, Hamburg benefited from more than just the weapons trade with these locations. The city's merchants re-exported vital commodities such as corn and other victuals to the Iberian Peninsula which derived from areas within the wider Elbe-Weser region including Holstein, the bishopric of Bremen and the district of Kehdingen. Furthermore, textiles purchased at Augsburg, Memmingen, Nuremberg and Leipzig as well as English cloth reached the Spanish and Portuguese ports via Hamburg.<sup>102</sup> In turn, Hamburg merchants purchased local produces like lemons, oil, olives, raisins, salt, wine and wool and colonial products such as indigo, spices or tropical wood. These commodities were re-exported to the Baltic as well as to the Elbe-Weser region and places further afield within the Empire.<sup>103</sup> The Dutch cities – first and foremost Amsterdam – provided a second market for colonial products as well as for commodities from the Rhineland and the Mediterranean.<sup>104</sup> In addition, Hamburg developed into one of the most important outlets for Dutch herring.<sup>105</sup>

However, Hamburg's trade links did not derive exclusively from the city's location. Hamburg's constitution of 1529 created a political system in which the merchants – organised in a new corporation called *Der Gemeine Kaufmann* – and the senate shared powers. This system – unique in comparison to other Hanseatic cities – made it unnecessary for merchants to act collectively against the senate.<sup>106</sup> At the same time Hamburg's merchants guilds lost their influence not least due to the foundation of

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<sup>100</sup> Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 215-218.

<sup>101</sup> Julia Zunckel, *Rüstungsgeschäfte im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Unternehmerkräfte, Militärgüter und Marktstrategien im Handel zwischen Genua, Amsterdam und Hamburg* (Berlin, 1997), 68-76. See also Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 221-223.

<sup>102</sup> Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte*, 68-78; Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 220-223.

<sup>103</sup> Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte*, 88-90.

<sup>104</sup> Baasch, 'Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt', 309-310.

<sup>105</sup> Hans Jürgen von Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, 44 (1955), 140.

<sup>106</sup> Lindberg, 'The Rise of Hamburg', 654-656; Rainer Postel, *Versammlung eines Ehrbaren Kaufmanns: Kaufmännische Selbstverwaltung in Geschichte und Gegenwart 1517-1992* (Hamburg, 1992), 14-16.

the Hamburg Exchange in 1558 as a marketplace for foreign merchants and commissioners as well as local traders which effectively negated the guilds' old privileges.<sup>107</sup> These developments contributed to a new policy which welcomed foreigners who positively influenced Hamburg's trade and industry.

By opening their city Hamburg's merchants and officials created a society similar to cities like Amsterdam and London and significantly different to places like Lübeck where local traders successfully curbed the influx of foreign merchants in order to eliminate competition – ironically to their own long-term economic disadvantage.<sup>108</sup> Hamburg became attractive to foreigners as they could acquire citizen rights provided that they adhered to the city's official Lutheran faith. Non-Lutherans were however able to acquire lesser citizen rights (*Schutzverwandtschaft*), allowing them to be economically active but excluding them from political participation.<sup>109</sup> Reißmann has estimated that 50 to 60 per cent of Hamburg's citizens throughout the seventeenth century consisted of migrants.<sup>110</sup>

Portuguese migrants formed one out of the three communities of foreigners who entered into group contracts with the city. Sephardic Jews had left Portugal for the Southern Netherlands since the late sixteenth century to avoid religious persecution. After the outbreak of the Dutch-Spanish conflict, which caused serious disruptions of trade, a group of Portuguese moved to Hamburg. They were joined by further migrants who arrived directly from Portugal or via places like Rouen, boosting the community to around 110 members by 1610 and to around 500 in 1649.<sup>111</sup> From 1612 several contracts were closed between the community and Hamburg's authorities which

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<sup>107</sup> Lindberg, 'The Rise of Hamburg', 656.

By the seventeenth century most of the guilds (Englandfahrer, Flandernfahrer et. al. ) had social functions only. However, the Scandic company (Schonenfahrergesellschaft) was able to claim the monopoly of the herring trade. (See chapter 2); Martin Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Hamburg, 1975), 152-210.

<sup>108</sup> Lindberg, 'The Rise of Hamburg', 649-652.

<sup>109</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs*, 55-56; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 129.

<sup>110</sup> Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 214. Inhabitants of Hamburg (including sons of citizens) had to pay a smaller fee when acquiring full citizen rights. Hence it is possible to come to a fairly accurate result when estimating the proportion of foreigners among Hamburgs citizens. This regulation did not apply to those who purchased lesser citizen rights and thus it is impossible to come to conclusion on the proportion of foreigners among them. However, it has to be assumed that a large group among them did not originate in Hamburg.

<sup>111</sup> Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 25-36, 41. During the second half of the seventeenth century the Hamburg community dropped in size not least due to protests from parts of Hamburg's society against the (unofficial) exercise of their religious practices. A special tax introduced in 1697 and several articles curtailing their liberties prompted a great number of Portuguese Jews to leave the city. *Ibid.*, 45-54.

primarily regulated financial issues like taxation.<sup>112</sup> Although the acquisition of houses and Jewish worship remained prohibited, three private synagogues were temporarily in existence within the city. The community – which featured its own poor box – consisted not only of merchants but also of intellectuals and maintained close contacts with the Sephardic community at Amsterdam.<sup>113</sup> Close links also existed with the Sephardic Jews who settled at Glückstadt attracted by Christian IV's invitation of 1622 and privileges issued in 1629 and 1630 which allowed for public worship. However, the community at Glückstadt remained on a small scale not least due to the trade disruptions caused by the Thirty Years' War and the Danish-Swedish conflict.<sup>114</sup>

The second and largest group of foreigners consisted of Lutheran and Calvinist Dutch exiles and migrants who had likewise left the Southern Netherlands and who settled in Hamburg from the 1580s. In 1605 they entered into a contract with the city which regulated matters of taxation and freed the Dutch from military duties.<sup>115</sup> Although the contract had covered adherents of both Protestant faiths Lutheran Dutch migrants usually acquired full citizen rights, achieving influential positions within Hamburg's society. Reformed services remained prohibited and Calvinists commuted first to Stade (until 1619) and then to Altona to worship.<sup>116</sup> The foreign merchants contributed significantly to the economic development of the city. For example, Portuguese and Dutch migrants were involved in the foundation of Hamburg's bank in 1619 which strengthened the city's importance as a European financial market.<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, they brought capital and commercial networks to Hamburg stimulating the exchange by Hamburg's merchants with the Iberian peninsula and the United Provinces.<sup>118</sup>

The company of Merchant Adventurers who relocated to the city in 1611 formed a third foreign community within the city. As the Adventurers were officially an English company previous research has studied their presence from a distinct English

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 33-37, 43.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 62-70.

<sup>115</sup> Whaley, *Religious Toleration*, 112, 119. This contract was renewed in 1615 and 1639.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. It was only from 1645 that reformed services were allowed in the house of the Dutch resident at Hamburg.

<sup>117</sup> Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte*, 253-259.

<sup>118</sup> Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 218.

angle.<sup>119</sup> There is however ample evidence that Scots were among its members and that the company was a centre of Anglo-Scottish co-operation within the region throughout the seventeenth century. This interaction will be scrutinised in detail in the following chapters and it is here sufficient to briefly analyse the conditions of the company's presence in Hamburg. Compared to the Portuguese and Dutch (Calvinist) migrants, the company received extensive privileges which were regulated in a final contract in 1618.<sup>120</sup> The merchants received toll privileges which allowed them cheaper rates than the citizens of Hamburg.<sup>121</sup> In addition they were granted the rights of free trade within the city without having to perform guard duties. Importantly, the contract stated that only members of the company were allowed to transport goods belonging to the Adventurers or any other English merchants to or from England into the city. In order to prevent the illegal import of goods belonging to Englishmen all incoming skippers on ships from England and belonging to Hamburgers or foreigners were to show the manifest of their registered goods at the toll first to the city's magistrates and then to the courtmaster. This condition mainly affected the trade with English cloth on which the Adventurers held the monopoly.

However, some exceptions to the free exchange of goods applied in order to guarantee the provision of Hamburg with corn and to protect the local industry and trade. Thus, the Adventurers had to observe the staple for wine, corn, cloth and timber and were not allowed to export corn which was grown on the banks of the Lower Elbe, which instead had to be brought to either Hamburg, Bremen, Stade, Buxtehude or Holstein. In addition they were only allowed to refine or dye cloth in the city according

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<sup>119</sup> Wolf-Rüdiger Baumann, *The Merchant Adventurers and the Continental Cloth-trade (1560s-1620s)* (Berlin/New York 1990); Maria Möring, 'Die Englische Kirche in Hamburg und die Merchant Adventurers', *Hamburgische Geschichts- und Heimatblätter*, 20 (1963), 91-112; Heinrich Hitzigrath, *Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Hamburg und England von 1611 bis 1660* (Hamburg, 1912); C. Brinkmann, 'England and the Hanse under Charles II', *The English Historical Review*, 23/92 (1908), 683-708; Heinrich Hitzigrath, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Hamburg und England zur Zeit Jakobs I, Karls I und der Republik 1611 – 1660* (Hamburg, 1907); Heinrich Hitzigrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers und die englische Kirchengemeinde in Hamburg 1611 – 1835* (Hamburg, 1904); Lingelbach, 'The Merchant Adventurers', 265-287; Heinrich Hitzigrath, 'Das englische Haus in der Gröningerstraße und der Boselhof an der englischen Planke', *Hamburgischer Correspondent*, 460 (1901), 1-3.

<sup>120</sup> StAH, Senat, III-I CL. VI Nr. 2 Vol. 5 Fasc. 1 Inv. 1b, Contract, Hamburg/Merchant Adventurers, 1618. The contract was closed specifically between English subjects belonging to the company, represented by Richard Gore (Courtmaster), William Bruen (Treasurer), G. Baldwin, Thomas Baylie and Joseph Avery (Secretary) and the city, represented by three senators.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. The Adventurers were also exempted from the admiralty toll which was introduced in 1623. Hitzigrath, *Die Handelsbeziehungen*, 20.

to the methods used in Frankfurt and Upper Germany. Cloth which had been processed in the city was not to be sold to foreigners in Hamburg but had to be exported to Upper Germany, Leipzig or Frankfurt. Furthermore, the merchants were only to sell arms and munitions during times of peace and not to the enemies of the Empire. In addition to this the company was permitted to elect its own representatives (a courtmaster, a deputy and several assistants) who were granted judicial rights as they could dispense justice in disputes among the company's merchants and between Adventurers and other Englishmen (even if they did not belong to the company) in accordance with the provisions of the royal charters to the company.<sup>122</sup>

Furthermore, the company received a house, which was to be maintained at the cost of the city, where it could hold court and conduct business. The Adventurers were also permitted to hold private religious services in the building. Notably, the denomination of these services was not specified in the contract. The services were only subject to the obligation that they had to be held in the English language without causing any public stir.<sup>123</sup> Thus, the company's church was – at least in theory – able to house a vast spectrum of Anglicanism which might encompass all from Low-church puritans to high Anglo-Catholics. Its minister would have been permitted to conduct Reformed services.<sup>124</sup>

Although the Adventurers' favourable trade privileges restricted their activities, Hamburg's merchants continued to engage themselves in trade with England. They imported commodities from London and Dover including hosiery, leather, skins, wool and colonial products, as well as stone coal (from Newcastle). In turn Hamburg's traders supplied English ports with beer, corn, honey and metals as well as products from the Iberian market.<sup>125</sup> Although the commercial exchange of (unfinished) cloth remained in the hands of the Adventurers, Hamburg's industry profited from the

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<sup>122</sup> StAH, Senat, III-I CL. VI Nr. 2 Vol.5 Fasc.1 Inv. 1b., Contract, Hamburg/Merchant Adventurers, 1618. However, in the case of an accusation of a citizen, inhabitant or foreigner by an English merchant the defendant was to be allowed to choose between the court of the Adventurers and the court of the city. If on the other hand an English merchant was accused by a citizen, inhabitant or foreigner he was to be tried in front of the city's magistrates.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. In addition the company was granted the permission to bury its dead in Hamburg's churches and graveyards and no minister of Hamburg was allowed to attack the Adventurers on the basis of their faith. For further analysis of the contract see Hitzgrath, *Die Handelsbeziehungen*, 16-21.

<sup>124</sup> A point missed by Möring. Möring, 'Die Englische Kirche', 96.

<sup>125</sup> Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 55-56, 156. Hamburg's society of merchants trading with England (*Englandfahrer*) was exclusively of social function during the seventeenth century. Only eight of the 144 merchants trading with England between 1644 and 1646 were its members.

presence of the company and their supplies.<sup>126</sup> The Adventurers also attracted trade with Bremen merchants who re-exported English cloth to Bremen's hinterland.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, the company supplied Bremen traders with stone coals enabling them to engage in an entrepôt trade with this commodity to Flanders. In exchange, Bremen's merchants supplied the Adventurers with Italian silk, Nuremberg goods as well as canvas and wool.<sup>128</sup> Apart from their trade with the company, traders from Bremen also sold vital produces to Hamburg's dyers as well as commodities from the Dutch markets while purchasing Baltic products at Hamburg.<sup>129</sup>

During the events of the Thirty Years' War Hamburg's shipping on the Elbe was hindered by Christian IV and his ambitions to control the river. However, the Danish monarch was not the only one to affect Hamburg's trade. Overland trade routes became more insecure throughout the conflict and thus disrupted supplies.<sup>130</sup> In addition, Dunkirk capers threatened Hamburg ships on their route to the Iberian Peninsula – after the 12-year Spanish-Dutch truce ended in 1621 – who could only be evaded by taking the longer but safer route around Scotland rather than sailings through the channel.<sup>131</sup> The risks at sea led to the foundation of the Admiralty in 1623 – an institution responsible for the protection of ships.<sup>132</sup> However, the course of the Thirty Years' War did not simply have an overall negative impact on the city. Hamburg's senate pursued a neutral position and avoided destruction or even being attacked. This was not least due to strong defensive fortifications which were constructed between 1616 and 1626. Furthermore, Hamburg provided such an essential market for armaments and information that all belligerent parties abstained from involving the city in the conflict. Hamburg played a crucial role, particularly for Sweden, in the financing of war and as an entrepôt for weapons.<sup>133</sup> The city thus evolved as a pivotal crossroads in Northwest Germany attracting officers, diplomats and envoys from all sides who sought to

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<sup>126</sup> Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 198-199.

<sup>127</sup> Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 138-139.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 146. It is not known if Hamburg merchants also participated in the entrepôt trade of English cloth to Flanders or other territories. See Ernst Baasch, 'Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt und Waarenhandel vom Ende des 16. bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *ZVHG*, 9 (1894), 295-420, 373.

<sup>129</sup> Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 138-139.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 223-230.

<sup>131</sup> Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte*, 34; Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 239.

<sup>132</sup> Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 232.

<sup>133</sup> Busch, 'Die Landung der Schweden', 127-143; Stephan Michael Schröder, 'Hamburg und Schweden im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Vom potentiellen Bündnispartner zum Zentrum der Kriegsfinanzierung', *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 76 (1989), 305-331.

purchase arms and to acquire information. The significance of Hamburg in international diplomacy becomes evident in the fact that it was in this city that the preliminary peace (*Hamburger Präliminarfriede*) was negotiated between 1636 and 1641 which eventually led into the Peace of Westfalia (1648).<sup>134</sup>

Thereafter, Hamburg's senate continued to pursue a neutral policy. However, some of the ensuing conflicts had a bearing on her trade. During the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654) several Dutch skippers became Hamburg citizens entitling them to acquire neutral sea passes. This provoked the English Parliamentarian Navy to the arrest of at least 25 Hamburg ships (including vessels belonging genuinely to Hamburg merchants) by the spring of 1653.<sup>135</sup> The war was also waged on the Elbe leading to severe disruptions of Hamburg's trade with England and the United Provinces alike.<sup>136</sup> The importance of the trade was not lost on the British authorities who looked for ways to improve commercial relations. Thus in 1663 Charles II exempted Hamburg merchants from the Navigation Acts strengthening the trade links between England and the city.<sup>137</sup> However, the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667) again hindered trade on the river Elbe and disrupted Anglo-German commerce.<sup>138</sup> Due to the city's close relations with the Dutch Republic the senate's neutrality in the conflict was once again under suspicion. The Stuart resident in Hamburg, William Swann, not only warned that large quantities of Dutch commodities were transported in Hamburg ships. He further complained that the Elbe had become 'a nest of Holland's capers' to the disadvantage of the Merchant Adventurers and that Hamburg merchants continually perpetrated violations of their neutrality.<sup>139</sup> These accusations continued when two Dutch men-of-war and two smaller escorts en route from Glückstadt captured seven ships at Neumühlen on 24 August/ 3 September 1666. Four of these belonged to English merchants, of which they burned three and kept the fourth as prize.<sup>140</sup> This incident provoked further suspicion in Britain about the neutrality of the city. The Hamburg envoys, Daniel von Campe and Johann Eckhoff, brought assurances from the senate that

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<sup>134</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs*, 47-48.

<sup>135</sup> Hitzgrath, 'Die politischen Beziehungen', 30-34.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-35.

<sup>137</sup> Brinkmann, 'England and the Hanse', 691.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 697.

<sup>139</sup> TNA, SP82/10 fol. 247, William Swann to Joseph Williamson, Hamburg, 8/18 July 1665; TNA, SP82/10, fol. 270, William Swann to (Joseph Williamson), Hamburg, 18/28 November 1665.

they had protected eleven other vessels caught in the attack (which had retreated under their cannon shot). They also argued that it would have been impossible to assist the exposed English vessels militarily without breaching the city's neutrality (as the attack had taken place in Danish waters). Furthermore, warnings had been given about the Dutch men-of-war at Glückstadt several weeks in advance, but the English remained distrustful.<sup>141</sup> However, despite these political tensions Hamburg's economy grew in the second half of the seventeenth century with England, the Iberian Peninsula and the United Provinces remaining significant partners in the city's commercial exchange.<sup>142</sup>

The city of Bremen formed a second but – compared to Hamburg – smaller commercial centre within the region. The population was estimated at 20,000 during the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>143</sup> The river Weser linked Bremen both with the North Sea as well as with the city's hinterland. During the 1540s Imperial privileges granted the city a staple for commodities like corn, beer and flour. This was enforced in 1612 when further produce including cheese, herring, butter, train, fish and malt were added to the staple.<sup>144</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century Bremen merchants maintained close trading links with its closest neighbours along the rivers Weser and Aller, including Braunschweig-Lüneburg and, by both water and land-routes, with Hamburg.<sup>145</sup> Bremen's location on the Weser created some difficulties as the low tide in the river made it impossible for bigger ships to reach the city at certain times. Thus, in 1619 the senate commissioned the construction of a harbour at Vegesack, fifteen kilometres south of the city. Even there most loaded ships were prevented from landing due to the low water level, forcing the merchants to load their goods onto smaller ships on the Weser in order to bring them into Bremen.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> TNA, SP82/10 fol. 35, Daniel von Campe and Johann Eckhoff to Charles II, Hamburg, 27 September/7 October 1666.

<sup>141</sup> TNA, SP82/10, fol. 35, Daniel von Campe and Johann Eckhoff to Charles II, Hamburg, 27 September/7 October 1666; TNA, SP82/11 fol. 40, Hamburg Senate to Charles II, Hamburg, 9 October 1666. For more information on this issue see Brinkmann, 'England and the Hanse', 697-703.

<sup>142</sup> Karin Newman, 'Hamburg in the European Economy, 1660-1750', *The Journal of European Economic History* 14/1 (1985), 80, 86-93.

<sup>143</sup> Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 307.

<sup>144</sup> Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 133.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>146</sup> Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 60. See also Ulrich Weidinger, 'Strukturprobleme und Zäsuren in der Hafenentwicklung Bremens', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 70 (1998), 49.

Despite the problems of berthing ships, trade continued from Bremen's various ports. Imports from Bremen's hinterland – first and foremost corn – were sent to the central staple at Amsterdam.<sup>147</sup> In return, Bremen's merchants bought products from the Levant coast and England at the Dutch markets, which were sold on to the hinterland and parts of the Holy Roman Empire. Furthermore, Bremen became the most important market for Dutch herring next to Hamburg. In addition, Dutch merchants often commissioned Bremen ships when trading with the Baltic or other destinations.<sup>148</sup> However, Bremen merchants also traded on their own account with ports like Danzig or Riga and occasionally shipped Baltic commodities such as corn and timber directly to England or the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>149</sup> Until the 1620s, Bergen formed another significant trade destination for Bremen merchants who maintained the biggest fleet trading with this Norwegian port (incidentally bringing them into contact with one of Scotland's larger overseas communities).<sup>150</sup>

Like Hamburg, Bremen received a large influx of Dutch migrants who arrived in several waves after 1566/67 and who impacted positively on the city's economy. These incomers were admitted individually in order to facilitate their integration.<sup>151</sup> This was also eased by the fact that the majority of the Dutch migrants were Calvinist and thus conformed to Bremen's official confession.<sup>152</sup> They clearly influenced the city's cultural development as the city's clerics affiliated themselves with the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619.<sup>153</sup> However, formal admission to the city was open to all foreigners in principle, including non-Calvinists.<sup>154</sup> This was especially so after 1623 when the senate attempted to populate the new town. From then onwards Bremen's citizen rights were divided into three different categories – those of the old town, the new town or those of the parts of the town which lay just outside the city walls.<sup>155</sup> The acquisition of these

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<sup>147</sup> Witzendorf, 'Bremens Handel', 132.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 142.

<sup>151</sup> Anne E., Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste, den Joden und den Fremden: Zur Ethnographie von Immigration, Rezeption und Exkludierung Fremder am Beispiel der Stadt Bremen vom Mittelalter bis 1848* (Berlin/Hamburg/Münster, 2001), 88.

<sup>152</sup> Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 47-48. Bremen had become Calvinist by 1577 under the leadership of its provost Daniel v. Büren.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Catholics could purchase citizen rights until 1677. Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste*, 125.

<sup>155</sup> This area of Bremen's territory was fortified between 1623 and 1627. Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 55.

rights allowed for membership of Bremen's mercantile and political institutions, including the senate and the *Collegium Seniorum* which represented the combined interests of all merchants in public and against the senate. However, Ruth Prange has demonstrated that Lutherans were effectively excluded from membership in the senate from the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>156</sup> In addition to the Dutch exiles Bremen attracted further migrants who mainly originated from places within the Empire.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore, a smaller number of foreigners from farther afield settled in the city. These included a group of French Huguenots who migrated to Bremen in the 1680s who likewise received citizen rights.<sup>158</sup> As will become apparent, these migrations would have implications for Scots in the city.

The disposition of Bremen's senate during the Thirty Years' War paralleled that of Hamburg's. The insecurity of inland trade routes hindered the distribution of commodities from the city and further trade disruptions occurred when the Weser was blockaded by the Dutch in 1622 and by the Danes in 1626 and 1629.<sup>159</sup> However, Bremen was protected by its strong fortifications and the senate's neutral policy created a market for war supplies and information which made the city indispensable for all contesting factions.<sup>160</sup> It was only after the Peace of Westfalia that Bremen's economy faced serious problems. The lost dispute concerning the Weser toll, as well as the first Anglo-Dutch war (1652-1654) meant that Bremen lost out on the transport of goods between the Netherlands and England as well as on direct trade with the Dutch harbours.<sup>161</sup> Thus, Bremen's merchants focussed on imports of cloth and coal from England which had grown since the 1640s and was allowed despite the Navigation Acts of 1651. In 1661 the senate of Bremen sent a letter to Charles II in which they stressed their economic potential by referring to the favourable location of their city on the Weser, as opposed to the Elbe, asking for an exemption from the Navigation Laws.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Ruth Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Bremen, 1963), 79.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 184-233.

<sup>158</sup> Ruth Prange has identified 45 Huguenots at Bremen. Furthermore, she located nine Englishmen and a few other foreigners from Italy and other locations in the city. Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft*, 237-245. For French migration to Bremen see also Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste*, 138-141; Otto Veeck, *Geschichte der Reformierten Kirche Bremens* (Bremen, 1909), 238-241. For Scottish migration to Bremen see subsequent chapters.

<sup>159</sup> Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 134.

<sup>160</sup> Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 9.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 132-133.

<sup>162</sup> TNA, SP82/10, Bremen Senate to Charles II, Bremen, 31 August 1661.

This was granted in 1669 and in return trade with England increased even further.<sup>163</sup> In the meantime further trade disruptions occurred during the second war with Sweden which resulted in the loss of part of Bremen's trading fleet at Lesum in 1666.<sup>164</sup> However, despite these disruptions the Bremen's economy flourished in the second half of the century not least as the neutral city was able to supply both factions of the third Anglo-Dutch war (1672-1674) with arms, ammunitions and victuals. By 1676 Bremen's fleet actually became too small for the city's volume of trade resulting in the commissioning of ships from England, Scotland, Lübeck and Danzig.<sup>165</sup> Thereafter Bremen's trade gradually declined. However, trade relations with England remained strong as is evidenced by the foundation of an English company in 1686, consisting of 40 Bremen merchants.<sup>166</sup> There were also some notable Scottish traders who are dealt with in detail in chapter 2.

### 1.3 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that multiple connections existed between the different territories of the wider Elbe-Weser region which could be said to have been of a religious, commercial or political nature. These established points of contact between the different entities which in turn enhanced networking across political borders. These connections were mainly established due to the rivers Elbe and Weser as well as the smaller waterways of Aller and Ilmenau in two different ways. Firstly, the rivers provided vital communication links between and within the territories, permitting economic exchange and facilitating the creation of the centres of Bremen and Hamburg which acted as staples and gateways into the region. At the same time, the Elbe and Weser connected the area with the wider world establishing links with important commercial areas such as the Netherlands, the British Isles and the Iberian Peninsula. Secondly, due to their strategic importance, as recognised by various powers, control over the rivers Elbe and Weser caused a number of conflicts bringing foreign troops and administrators into the region thus enhancing migration and cross-border networking, particularly among those seeking to circumnavigate obstacles to commerce.

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<sup>163</sup> Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 147; Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft*, 37.

<sup>164</sup> Karl Löbe, *Seeschiffahrt in Bremen: Das Schiff gestaltete Hafen und Stadt* (Bremen, 1989), 142-143.

<sup>165</sup> Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 135. In fact, Bremen's intake from excise tax was highest in 1673 and sank considerably in 1675 after the Anglo-Dutch war.

<sup>166</sup> Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 296, 402.

However, it was not only the rivers which created links between the political entities. It is notable that some of those discussed were not politically confined by one coherent geographical area. Examples include the district of Ritzebüttel and Moorburg in Hamburg's possession or the district of Hadeln under the control of Sachsen-Lauenburg. Furthermore, districts within the cities of Bremen and Hamburg themselves, e.g. the cathedral district in Bremen and the court of Schauenburg, belonged to foreign powers. These sprinkled possessions within specific territories certainly blurred the distinct borders between city and rural areas and more importantly facilitated exchange between the territories. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the Scots were sometimes instrumental in this process.

Another important point which has to be raised in this context is that of perspective. From Christian IV's (and his successors) point of view Hamburg was very much a part of Holstein and thus part of the Danish realm whereas the Hamburgers and the Emperor disagreed with this interpretation. A similar scenario applies for Bremen which in the opinion of Bremen's archbishop or Sweden's government was to be seen as their legal possession. These different views not only created further conflict with the described consequences for social interaction but also challenge our own perspectives on the confinement and distinctiveness of political territories within the wider Elbe-Weser region. In each of the territories described and in each particular sphere, Scots could be found in a variety of capacities demonstrably aiding commodity exchange and communication across political frontiers. Their activities and networks will be analysed in the following chapters.



(Germania Militaria, Around 1580, Print in Private Collection)



(The Lower Elbe, Joan Blaeu, Atlas Maior, 1665, published by Taschen)

## Chapter 2

### Commercial Links and Mercantile Networks c.1590-1730

*A constant trade hither from Scotland may certainly be beneficial  
for a rolling stone never gathers moss.*  
(Robert Jolly, Hamburg, 1683)<sup>1</sup>

Interest in Scottish-German commercial relations is a subject presently attracting significant scholarly attention. Philipp Rössner has recently analysed trade relations between Scotland and German ports in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> While his work certainly casts interesting new light on an important aspect of Scottish history within the framework of the post-1707 British Union, there is considerable scope to review the origins of the trade Rössner studies, and ask questions as to why it has previously been overlooked or ignored. There were some very significant commodities exchanged between the Elbe-Weser Region and Scotland in this period and, more importantly perhaps, a number of important individuals around whom such commercial connections were formed. For example, in the autumn of 1678 the Scottish merchant Robert Jolly settled in Hamburg after a career as master of the ship *George*.<sup>3</sup> Over the next 23 years – interrupted by a short stay in the Scottish colony at Darien – he not only traded with the east coast of Scotland and Shetland but also maintained economic links with Bremen as well as with England, France, Norway and the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>4</sup> These consisted of English, German and other foreign merchants as well as fellow Scottish traders. The latter included several family members such as his brothers George and Alexander, his father James Jolly as well as the family of Isobel Touch (his sister-in-law).<sup>5</sup> His closest business contact at Hamburg in the first years after his arrival in 1678 was the fellow Scot William Grison who settled in the city from the early 1640s.<sup>6</sup> Grison traded with Scotland and England, the Netherlands as well as the the Iberian Peninsula and, crucially, maintained contacts with Scottish, English and German traders

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<sup>1</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 11 March 1683.

<sup>2</sup> Philipp Robinson Rössner, *Scottish Trade in the Wake of Union (1700-1760): The Rise of a Warehouse Economy* (Stuttgart, 2008); Philipp Robinson Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports 1700-1770: A Sketch of the North Sea Trades and the Atlantic Economy of Ground Level* (Stuttgart, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC7/4, William Anderson (Edinburgh) vs. Robert Jolly (Skipper of Prestonpans) and George and William Foulter (Skippers of Cockenzie).

<sup>4</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140. Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nation* (Edinburgh, 2007), 126.

<sup>5</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140.

<sup>6</sup> StAH, Genealogische Sammlungen, 741-2, Die Fremden in den Rechnungsbüchern der Wedde und Kämmerei.

at Bremen.<sup>7</sup> His estimated turnover in the mid-1640s placed him as a businessman of medium size in Hamburg's mercantile community.<sup>8</sup> In addition, Grison tried to break into the transatlantic trade with the Caribbean from the early 1650s.<sup>9</sup> Apart from Jolly and Grison we find a small number of permanently settled Scottish traders and skippers within the wider Elbe-Weser region.

While we can prove interaction between some of these individuals, we lack concrete information on others. For example, in 1669 Isaac Simonson moved from Scotland to Hamburg, employing the Edinburgh merchant Robert Sandilands to look after his Scottish business affairs.<sup>10</sup> Thereafter we lose trace of him. He thus appears as an isolated individual although he must have had meaningful contacts within and outwith his host community.<sup>11</sup> We are hindered because the extant demographic registers simply do not allow us to pinpoint a large number of permanently settled Scottish traders, skippers or artisans within the region.<sup>12</sup> The only notable exception to this is the church book of the (English) Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg. Out of more than 800 adults listed between 1620 and 1707, over 40 men and women carry an identifiable Scottish names, such as George and Jane Stewart (1620), Thomas Meldrum (1623), James Hume (1623), James Murray (1626), John Durie (1646) or John Gordon (1655).<sup>13</sup> Some of these individuals, like Stewart, were Scottish merchants active within the company. Others, like Meldrum, were in Hamburg on military or diplomatic missions, whereas a few others like Durie were present in a religious capacity.<sup>14</sup> James Hume (of Godscroft) belonged to the academic spectrum and published a Hebrew grammar in the city which he dedicated to Hamburg's provost, Johann Brandt. Like

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<sup>7</sup> Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 57-58.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* These numbers are based on the entries of the admiralty toll records.

<sup>9</sup> *CSPD*, 1651, 53, Council of State to the Generals of the Fleet, without place, 19 February 1651.

<sup>10</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD14/9/1851, Bond, Isaac Simonson/ Robert Sandilands, Edinburgh, 16 January 1669.

<sup>11</sup> In addition to these men we also find the occasional Germanised form of a Scottish name within Hamburg and Bremen's official registers but without any further information we are unable to say conclusively whether these individuals were indeed ethnically Scottish or other foreigners or Germans whose names appear Scottish to us. For example, a man called Johan Andreaß Kampell acquired citizen rights at Hamburg in 1647. His name could be a German version of John Andrew Campbell. StAH, *Genealogische Sammlungen*, 741-2, Register zum Bürgerbuch 1629-1663, 11 June 1647.

<sup>12</sup> For an analysis of the relevant demographic records see bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6; Franz Schubert (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs* (14 vols., Göttingen, 1997), vol. 6d, 94-96. For a list of identified and possible Scots listed in the church book of the Merchant Adventurers see appendix.

<sup>14</sup> For information on Thomas Meldrum see Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark – Norway and the House of Stuart 1603 – 1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton, 2003, first published in 2000), 246-247. For John Durie see chapter 4.

Durie he styled himself as ‘Scoto-Britannus’ hinting at associations with the wider British community.<sup>15</sup> We can perhaps add to them some of the 40 or so individuals whose names could indicate either an English or Scottish origin.<sup>16</sup> Although this Anglo-Scottish interaction was not uncommon, it deserves further investigation in this and following chapters.<sup>17</sup> However, since not all of these Scots were present in a mercantile capacity, and as Scottish activity within the company was dispersed over the whole period, we are still not faced with a large cluster of Scottish traders at any one time. This absence of a permanently settled, but ethnically distinctive Scottish merchant community in the Elbe-Weser region is in itself a significant finding. The lack of such a community appears puzzling when contrasted with other commercial centres across Northern Europe in the same period. Many of these boasted a considerable, but idiosyncratically ‘Scottish’ commercial presence. In fact if we look at the map of previously researched ‘located’ Scottish communities in cities with access to the North Sea, such as Rotterdam, Bergen or Gothenburg or in Baltic ports like Copenhagen, Danzig, Elbing or Stockholm, the absence of a similarly organised group of permanently settled Scottish merchants at Hamburg, Bremen, Stade, Glückstadt or Altona is remarkable. This is surprising given that the potential host communities were certainly open to accepting foreigners in their midst, with options to facilitate ethnic and cultural institutions. Rather, what we find in the Elbe-Weser region is an unsurprisingly high number of Scots utilising the ethnic advantage afforded by claiming to be English (Jolly), Dutch (Grison) or masking their Scottishness by the ambiguity afforded by the term ‘British’ (Hume of Godscroft, Durie).

Obviously the non-Scottish guise of Scottish merchants does not mean that the region was unimportant to Scottish merchants and Scottish trade, merely that they exploited a variety of advantages. The examples of Jolly and Grison reveal that this geopolitical area was of importance to a number of individual Scots. Trade links existed not only between fellow Scots, but also with German merchants and other nationals in a variety of locations across Europe (and even further). These did not always occur in

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<sup>15</sup> James Hume of Godscroft, *Rhadiometheia Linguae Hebraeae: hoc est grammatica Haebrae opera Iacobi Humii Theagridis Scoto-Britanni* (Hamburg, 1624). I would like to thank Professor Arthur Williamson for this information.

<sup>16</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6; Franz Schubert (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs*, vol. 6d, 94-96. Examples include Peter and Katherine Clark (1620), Joshua Cooper (1622) or Nicolas and Jane Andrew (1657).

<sup>17</sup> For more on such interaction see Murdoch, *Network North*, 209.

straightforward bilateral transactions. For example, in 1682 the skipper Alexander Jolly freighted a consignment of coals from Scotland to Hamburg. From there he continued with a consignment of potashes to Norway from where he shipped a cargo of timber to Orkney.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, merchants situated in the financial centres of Amsterdam and London became involved in the financial transactions of Scottish and German merchants highlighting the importance of scrutinizing primary sources beyond the limited demographic registers.<sup>19</sup> We can also use other printed sources to our advantage.

The activities of some Scotto-German business transactions in Northwest Germany have previously been analysed by British, German and Scandinavian historians who first and foremost examined commercial exchange between the Scottish Northern Isles, Bremen and Hamburg.<sup>20</sup> These studies predominantly focussed on German activity within Shetland, while mainland Scottish commercial connections have either largely been ignored or overly centred on a particular product in a given location rather than a more holistic evaluation of the commercial networks behind such trade. For example, Kurt Schwebel devoted a considerable part of his monograph on Bremen's role as a salt market to imports of Scottish salt and the Scots-Bremen commercial networks which derived from this trade.<sup>21</sup> His work is a valuable starting point for analysing the commercial exchange of Scottish salt in the region, especially as Schwebel has evaluated the available statistical material in the state archives of Bremen and Oldenburg. Schwebel's research is, however, limited in that it does not consider Scottish records and only focusses on one particular commodity in a single location within a much larger region. In addition, commercial links between the Scottish mainland and Northwest Germany are only touched upon in publications concentrating on Scottish trade in general or on the commercial exchange with individual Scottish commodities or not mentioned at all.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, works on trade relations of the

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<sup>18</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, Alexander Jolly, 1682.

<sup>19</sup> For an example for the involvement of a German merchant in London in Scottish-Bremen trade relations see NAS, Campbell Papers, RH15/14/74, Berend Gloysten to George Clark, Bremen, 8 February and 19 April 1699. See also below.

<sup>20</sup> E.V.K. Brill, 'Whalsey and the Bremen Connection', *Shetland Life*, 17 (March 1982), 10-17; E.V.K. Brill, 'More Bremen Connections with Shetland', *Shetland Life*, 30 (April 1983), 34-45; Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 86-95; Liv Kjorsvik Schei, *The Shetland Story* (London, 1988); Hance D. Smith, *Shetland Life and Trade, 1550-1914* (Edinburgh, 1984); Frances J. Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland: Their Economy and Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1981).

<sup>21</sup> Kurt Schwebel, *Salz im Alten Bremen*, (Bremen, 1988).

<sup>22</sup> For publications which only touch upon Scottish-Northwest German trade relations see for example Michael Lynch and David Ditchburn, 'Scottish Trade in the Seventeenth Century', in Peter G.B. McNeill

commercial centres of the wider Elbe-Weser region do not extensively examine Scottish links. From a German perspective there is an endemic confusion over the political situation within the British Isles resulting in the identification of Scots as Englishmen or other nationals which occurs in some studies stemming, in part, from the devices utilised by the Scots to conceal their identity discussed above.<sup>23</sup>

This chapter does not suggest that Scottish-Northwest German trade relations matched the Scottish-Norwegian timber or Scottish-Dutch trade in volume or significance, but it certainly points to more significant connections than previously uncovered.<sup>24</sup> It draws the results of the extant studies together and adds to them from numerous streams of previously untapped primary source material. By doing so it reveals Scottish-German links deriving from commercial exchange in a number of commodities were not unimportant, not least key Scottish export goods like fish.

## 2.1 Scottish Fish Exports: Whitefish

Previous research has established that Hamburg and Bremen provided the most important outlet for whitefish like cod and ling caught in the inshore waters off Shetland.<sup>25</sup> Whereas Bremen merchants started to visit the islands from as early as the fifteenth century Hamburg traders began to travel to Shetland on a regular basis from

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and Hector L. MacQueen (eds.), *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), 266-283; John Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal Industry* (4 vols., Oxford, 1993); S.G.E. Lythe, 'Early Modern Trade, c.1550 to 1707', in S.G.E. Lythe and Gordon Jackson (eds.), *The Port of Montrose* (Tayport, 1993), 87-101; S.G.E. Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European setting, 1550-1625* (Edinburgh/London, 1960), 46-51; T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union 1660-1707* (Edinburgh/London, 1963), 224-232; Christopher Whatley, *The Scottish Salt Industry 1570-1850: An Economic and Social History* (Aberdeen, 1987). See also Chapter 5 'Fishing and Overseas Trade' in S.G.E. Lythe and J. Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland, 1100-1939* (Glasgow/London, 1975).

<sup>23</sup> Witzendorff for example subsumes aspects of Scottish trade under the headline 'England'. Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 145-147. Reißmann does likewise. In addition he identifies William Grison as a Dutchman probably due to the fact that he originated in Veere. This is technically not wrong as Scots born in this town – which housed the Scottish staple – were perceived as fellow Dutchmen by the inhabitants and some of them acquired citizen rights. However, by referring to Grison as Dutch, Reißmann misses his Scottish connections. Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 55-58, 380. For information on Scots in Veere see Victor Enthoven, 'Thomas Cunningham (1604-1669): Conservator of the Scottish Court at Veere', in Dickson, Parmentier and Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks*, 44-45.

<sup>24</sup> For the Scottish-Norwegian timber trade see for example chapter 15 'Hollendertid och Skottetid' in Erik Opsahl/ Sølvi Sogner, *Norsk Invandringshistorie* (Oslo, 2003), vol.1, 297-315; A. Lillehammer, 'The Scottish-Norwegian Timber Trade in the Stavanger Area in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in T.C.Smout (ed.), *Scotland and Europe 1200-1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), 97-111; Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, vol. 1, 39-80 and vol. 2, 148-277. For Scottish-Dutch trade relations see Enthoven, 'Thomas Cunningham', 39-66.

<sup>25</sup> Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 180.

1547.<sup>26</sup> The Hamburg merchants had previously focussed on economic exchange with Faroe but regulations imposed by the Danish crown in 1553 had affected this trade and directed Hamburg's merchants towards Shetland.<sup>27</sup> After Christian IV prohibited Bremen's and Hamburg's trade with Iceland in 1602 trade with the islands increased even further.<sup>28</sup> From then on a distinctive trade pattern emerged, with German ships sailing to Shetland in early spring before returning in late August or early September.<sup>29</sup> The merchants, who were either acting as individuals or were organised in companies, exchanged goods directly from their ship or set up booths on the shore where they offered commodities consisting of fishing equipment, household items, essential foodstuffs like meal and wheat as well as non-essentials such as beer and tobacco. Some merchants also arrived with bullion. Shetland exports of white and other sea fish were complemented by hides, skins, tallow and feathers, or butter and fish oil which had been paid in kind by the Shetlanders to the landowners.<sup>30</sup> Coarse woollen cloth (wadmel) which was paid as rent (replaced by a cash payment sometime after 1628) was also exported.<sup>31</sup> Bremen and Hamburg merchants also engaged in the inshore fisheries for cod and ling as well as in the herring fisheries further offshore.<sup>32</sup> Their trading activities received limited competition from English and Scottish traders as well as from the Dutch who exchanged commodities like tobacco or brandy at the fairs in Bressay

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<sup>26</sup> Trade relations pre-date the transfer of Shetland to the Scottish crown from the Norwegian kingdom in 1469 as part of the marriage contract between James III and Margaret, Christian I's daughter. These initially occurred via the staple port of Bergen. For more information on this early commercial exchange see Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 87-89; For the transfer of Shetland see Murdoch, *Britain*, 22; Smith, *Shetland*, 10. Two gravestones of Bremen merchants give evidence of their early presence in Shetland. One of them, which dates from 1573, belongs to Segebad Detjen and records that the Bremen merchants had traded with the islands for 52 years. Smith, *Shetland*, 10-11; Schei, *The Shetland Story*, 125.

<sup>27</sup> Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 90-91; Smith, *Shetland*, 12.

<sup>28</sup> Baasch, 'Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt', 312; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 181-182.

<sup>29</sup> Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 91; Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands*, 173; Smith, *Shetland*, 15-17. For a contemporary description of this trading pattern see John Brand, *A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland Firth & Caithness* (Edinburgh, 1701), 131-133 or Thomas Gifford of Busta, *Historical Description of the Zetland Islands in the year 1733* (Edinburgh, 1879), 25-26.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Smith, *Shetland*, 17; Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands*, 173. Some German merchants sold commodities at Orkney on their way to Shetland. Orkney Archives, Commissioners of Supply, C01/1/1, Adolph Westerman vs. Patrick Craigie, Kirkwall, 17 November 1666.

<sup>32</sup> In 1540 James V imposed a strict territorial limit around the Scottish coast following an incident in which Dutch and Bremen fishermen ran down several Scottish fishing boats drowning over 20 men. From then on armed ships patrolled the sea, making trade the best legal way to get fish for Bremen merchants. In 1632 a 14-mile fishing limit for foreign ships was introduced by an Act of the Scottish Parliament. However, despite these regulations German merchants were partaking in the fisheries off Shetland, at least for their own consumption. *RPCS, Third Series, 1662*, 182, Supplication by the Earl of Morton, 4 March 1662; Smith, *Shetland*, 21. For details on the herring fisheries see below.

Sound, Gulberwick and Levenwick.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, merchants from the Baltic ports of Danzig (from 1487), Lübeck (from 1562), Rostock (from 1599) and Stralsund (from 1601) also traded with the Shetland Isles. However, most of their trade links ceased to exist by 1645 due in part to the ongoing civil wars in the British Isles.<sup>34</sup>

Information on market conditions for whitefish in Hamburg and Bremen is limited. Cod was the most important fish species imported to Bremen in the first half of the seventeenth century. However, it not only arrived from Shetland but also from Bergen and – until 1602 – from Iceland.<sup>35</sup> Bergen cod was considered to be of premium quality and thus must have represented strong competition to the Northern Isles.<sup>36</sup> As the extant excise registers do not normally record the origin of fish imports it is however impossible to come to a conclusion on the significance of Shetland fish compared to that from other destinations.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, it is unknown which quantities of fish were consumed within the city. Contemporary documents suggest that Shetland fish was sometimes re-exported into Bremen's hinterland. In 1619 the senate ordered quality checks on cod and shellfish which was due to be sent from the city following complaints about the quality of Shetland fish.<sup>38</sup> The exact number of Bremen merchants trading with Shetland is also unclear. The analysis of sample years of the Weser toll registers however reveals that in 1654, 1656, 1664 and 1673 two to three Bremen ships engaged annually in the Shetland trade.<sup>39</sup> In each of these years Hermann Detjen was skipper and merchant on one of these ships.<sup>40</sup> He also owned commodities imported by Jasper Büsing who was the only other skipper to return to the Weser from Shetland in 1656 and thus appears as the dominant Bremen merchant in this period.<sup>41</sup> His

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<sup>33</sup> Smith, *Shetland*, 21-22 and 27-28.

<sup>34</sup> Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 90. Lübeck's trade relations continued until the 1660s. *RPCS, Third Series, 1662*, 182, Supplication by the Earl of Morton, 4 March 1662.

<sup>35</sup> Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 154.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> An exception is the (almost complete) excise toll register of 1539 which reveals that 78,199 pounds 1 last and 1 'Packen' fish arrived at Bremen from Iceland as against to 40,400 pounds from Shetland. (According to Witzendorff's analysis.) Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 167. A comprehensive analysis of the Weser toll registers (1653/4 – 1679) in regard to fish imports is so far missing.

<sup>38</sup> StAB, Hitlandfahrer, R.11.kk., Instruction, Bremen Senate, 30 September 1619.

<sup>39</sup> StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20-AB-D2, Elsfleth, 22 May, 8 June, 5 November 1654; Best. 20-AB-D3, Elsfleth, 19, 23 May, 23 September, 21 October 1656; Best.20-AB-D10, Elsfleth, 24 July, 17, 23 October 1664; Best. 20-AB-D18, Elsfleth, 2, 3 and 8 May 1673.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20-AB-D3, Elsfleth, 21 October 1656. In 1661 six Bremen merchants appear to have traded with Shetland. Apart from Hermann Detjen these were Dirich Kuning, Lueder

engagement in Shetland was meant to be long-term as can be seen from the fact that he acquired a piece of land at Haroldswick in Unst which was granted to him and his heirs for three generations.<sup>42</sup> Hermann Detjen's relative Heinrich also engaged in Shetland trade during the 1670s. After 1678 he and Hermann Detjen retired and transferred their business to Frederick Detjen, clearly the son of one of them.<sup>43</sup> Bremen's Shetland trade thus seems to have been confined to a relatively small group of merchants – at least for most part of the seventeenth century. This may have contributed to the fact that they – unlike their Hamburg counterparts – were not organised in a mercantile society, although Bremen's merchants trading with Shetland made united requests to the senate for specific purposes.<sup>44</sup>

Like their counterparts in Bremen, Hamburg's merchants depended more strongly on imports of whitefish from the Northern Isles after trade with Iceland became prohibited. Between 1604 and 1624, three to eight ships returned annually from the islands as opposed to one to two in previous years.<sup>45</sup> Between 1644 and 1646 no fewer than 21 Hamburg merchants engaged in Shetland trade (eleven of whom sailed their own ships to the islands) and in 1647 fourteen others were recorded as leaving Hamburg with Shetland stated as their destination.<sup>46</sup> The vast majority of these merchants – who achieved moderate profits compared to some of their counterparts trading with other destinations – specialised in trade with the islands. Some Hamburg skippers sailed to Shetland on behalf of other traders, and thus only profited in a contractual manner as opposed to reaping the full profit available.<sup>47</sup>

Hamburg's merchants trading with Shetland (*Hitlandfahrer*) were organised within the society of merchants trading with Iceland (*Islandfahrer*) which after 1602 had lost its original purpose. During the seventeenth century this organisation (which was merged with the mariners' poor house in 1657) was purely concerned with poor relief of its members, financed by contributions of merchants and crew members

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Loesekanne, Hinrich Lanckenow, Jasper Hackmann and Lür Pewe. See StAB, Korrespondenz, 2-W.9.b.10, Bremen Senate to Jacob Jacobsen in London, Several Documents, Bremen, 1661-1662.

<sup>42</sup> Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 174.

<sup>43</sup> Brill, 'Whalsey', 11.

<sup>44</sup> Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft*, 39.

<sup>45</sup> Baasch, 'Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt', 312.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 72-73.

engaged in the Shetland trade.<sup>48</sup> Its records reveal that contact between Hamburg traders and Shetland merchants did not solely occur within the islands and exceeded simple commercial exchange. Some of the Hamburg ships sailing between the city and the islands were partly crewed by Scots like Laurence Sinclair who sailed with the Hamburg skipper Hans Meier in 1593 and paid a small sum to the society's poor box.<sup>49</sup> Given the trading pattern with Shetland such men would most likely have spent the winter months in Hamburg. Going by their comparatively large payments to the poor box, Andrew and James Mowat engaged themselves to a larger scale than their fellow countrymen and even several Hamburgers, indicating that their role went beyond that of mere sailors.<sup>50</sup>

The contributions to the poor box signify the involvement of several Scots with what was essentially a Hamburg institution.<sup>51</sup> It is however unclear whether they – as non-citizens – qualified for poor relief or whether their payments were simply a compulsory fee. However, James Mowatt's engagement at Hamburg went further than his payments to this organisation. On 7 May 1631 he received communion in the church of the Merchant Adventurers signifying a close connection to the company.<sup>52</sup> The engagement of Scots in the maritime labour market, occasioned by fishing, may have led to further limited permanent migration to the Elbe-Weser region. For example, in 1624 Peter Sinclair, almost certainly a relative of Laurence, Andrew and Thomas Sinclair, acquired citizen rights in Hamburg, though which profession he took up and how long he stayed is unclear.<sup>53</sup> Two years later, James Murray married Margaret Davidson (almost certainly also a Scot) within the Adventurers' church. Although he was not among the contributors to the poor box, his relatives Angus Murray

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 182-183.

<sup>49</sup> StAH, Genealogische Sammlungen, 741-2, Verzeichnis der Hamburger Hitland-Fahrer 1547-1646. The same source reveals that over a dozen other Scots have similarly been identified as crew on Hamburg ships. Laurence Sinclair's relative Andrew Sinclair sailed on several Hamburg ships between 1607 and 1616. Other Scots sailing on Hamburg ships to Shetland included Angus Murray (1617, 1618, 1624, 1625), John Murray (1624, 1625), Gilbert Harde (1625), Thomas Sinclair (1626). Other individuals such as Henrich Manneken (1630, 1632), his relative Hans Manneken (1630), Andrew and James Mowat (1628, 1630, 1631) as well as another unidentified Shetlander (1643) were on the other specifically registered as Shetlandic although the name Mowat clearly indicates a Scottish origin. In addition the Hamburg registers list further individuals who are likely to have been Scots such as Andreas Kraffert (Andrew Crawford) (1635). For a list of these individuals see appendix.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 182-183.

<sup>52</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 7 May 1631.

<sup>53</sup> StAH, Genealogische Sammlungen, 741-2, Register zum Bürgerbuch 1618-1628, 8 July 1624.

(contributing in 1617, 1618, 1624 and 1625) and John Murray (1624, 1625) were.<sup>54</sup> We can thus assume that James Murray arrived, like them, on board a ship from Shetland, and his marriage indicates that he was planning to stay in Hamburg. Another Shetlander, Andrew Spence, also acquired citizenship in Bremen in 1636 and remained in the city at least until the mid-1640s when he twice paid taxes as a pearl embroiderer in the guard district called *Unserer Lieben Frauen*.<sup>55</sup> Migration from Shetland to the wider Elbe-Weser region, albeit very limited especially when compared with Bergen, thus occurred nevertheless.<sup>56</sup>

German merchants trading in Shetland participated in financial transactions *between* Scottish merchants as well as *with* them. In November 1639 the Bremen citizen Court Warnke reported that he had received 500 Imperial dollars from John Sinclair of Rapnes (in Orkney) in Shetland which he had paid to the secretary of the Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg, Joseph Averie, on behalf of Sinclair and a merchant called Andrew Smith.<sup>57</sup> Averie was to transfer this sum to William Stirling in Scotland who was then to pay it to the Edinburgh merchant, William Dick, or to another trader Peter Smith, Andrew Smith's brother.<sup>58</sup> It is not entirely clear why the money had to take this circuitous route to Scotland though the instabilities of financial exchange during the Covenanting Revolution cannot be ruled out. It is most likely Warnke had sold commodities on behalf of John Sinclair and Andrew Smith and was thus in possession of the 500 Imperial dollars at Bremen. This transaction is clearly an example of Scottish-English-German commercial interaction. The sale of commodities in itself required a certain degree of trust in the Bremen merchant. Furthermore, Warnke addressed Stirling as his 'unknown friend' indicating that their connection was not based on personal contact but almost certainly by recommendation of trusted business

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<sup>54</sup> StAH, Genealogische Sammlungen, 741-2, Verzeichnis der Hamburger Hitland-Fahrer 1547 – 1646.

<sup>55</sup> StAB, Bürgerbuch der Altstadt 1622-1642, 2-P.8.A.19.a.2.c., 17 November 1636. Although named after Bremen's churches the military districts were not quite identical with the parishes. Spence's son Jacob Spence received his citizen rights in 1669 having been a cord maker's apprentice in 1656 and living in 1668 in the district of St Stephani. StAB, Bürgerbuch der Altstadt 1643-1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 13 April 1669.

<sup>56</sup> Pedersen, 'Scottish Immigration to Bergen', 147.

<sup>57</sup> NAS, Smythe Papers, GD190/3/151/3, Averie to Warnke, Hamburg, 29 November 1639; GD190/3/234/3, Warnke to William Stirling, Bremen, 18 March 1640.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

partners and factors.<sup>59</sup> Thus he was drawing on a recommendation or ‘network linkage’ of ‘auld acquaintance’ used extensively by Scots abroad in this period.<sup>60</sup>

From the beginning of the Restoration Period (1660) several acts were enforced in Britain which seriously affected the operations of Bremen and Hamburg merchants in or with Shetland. These have to be seen in a wider context of policies issued to establish Charles II’s attempts to strengthen the English and Scottish fisheries and trade at the expense of foreigners.<sup>61</sup> This included a heavy increase in excise duties on imports resulting in a petition by Bremen merchants to their senate to intervene on their behalf. They doubted that the policies had been issued by the Scottish Privy Council or by the Scottish Parliament, asking the senators to approach these institutions, helpfully attaching a short description of the Scottish political system to their letter.<sup>62</sup> The presumption that the increased duties were a Royal rather than a Scottish policy resulted from the merchants’ knowledge that Shetland’s inhabitants depended on their imports – a point raised in their petition.<sup>63</sup> If the senators became involved they were not successful. Taxes increased further during the 1670s and 1680s leading to expressed concerns from Shetlanders that they could lose this vital trade link.<sup>64</sup> This apprehension resulted in assistance from Shetland merchants and officials in the form of short term credits. For example, David Murray of Clarden (Commissioner of the Customs of Shetland), lent four sums of money ranging from 150 to 350 Imperial dollars to Hamburg merchants between 1676 and 1682.<sup>65</sup> These were credited in either July or August and to be repaid in October or November during the same year after the merchants sold their exports at Hamburg. Similar credits were granted by Captain Andrew Dick (Stewart Principal and Chamberlain of Orkney and Shetland), to Bremen

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<sup>59</sup> NAS, Smythe Papers, GD190/3/234/3, Warnke to William Stirling, Bremen, 18 March 1640.

<sup>60</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 73-77.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Weymss Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea: A Historical Account of the Claims of England to the Dominion of the British Seas* (Edinburgh/London, 1911), 441-445. For details on fishery policies see below.

<sup>62</sup> StAB, Hitlandfahrer, 2-R.11.kk, Merchants Trading with Shetland to Bremen Senate, Bremen, 26 October 1671; 2-R.11.kk, Memorial, 1671.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 180-181. According to Shaw the estimated tolls paid by German merchants in 1657 was £800. Between 1669 and 1673 the annual sum paid was over £1,600 and £2,750 in 1681.

<sup>65</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD3/42, 138, Bond, Bartle Hinsche/Clarden, (Walls?), 12 July 1676; RD4/47, 322-3, Bond, Claus Coster/Clarden, Scalloway, 30 July 1677; RD4/47, 841, Bond, Joachim Hinsche/Clarden, (Walls?), 26 July 1680; NAS, RD3/55, 183-184, Bond, Catherine Coster/Clarden, Scalloway, 5 August 1682.

trader Frederick Detjen and Hamburg merchants Just Vanverbeke and Peter Coup in 1681.<sup>66</sup> The bond referring to the latter transaction stated that the 200 Imperial dollars owed were in ‘contentione and satisfacione of the duty of the goods imported and exported (..) in Zetland’ suggesting that custom payments were suspended or disbursed until the traders had made a profit.<sup>67</sup> Initially the credits were to be repaid in either Edinburgh or London.<sup>68</sup> However, the loans granted by Dick in 1681 and by Clarden in 1682 were to be reimbursed in Hamburg, signifying that they obviously maintained active financial contacts within the city.<sup>69</sup>

By this period the Scottish merchant Robert Jolly had settled in Hamburg and perhaps engaged in Clarden’s and Dick’s transactions. From 1685 he and his brother Alexander Jolly, then skipper of the ship *Alison* of Prestonpans, took part in the Shetland trade. The latter spent the summer of 1685 at Burravoe in Yell from where he traded with Andrew Bruce of Muness and Andrew Mowat of Garth, exchanging tobacco and other commodities for fish.<sup>70</sup> Members of the Jolly family had previously purchased tobacco from Richard Glover and Sarah Broadbent, merchants and tobacconists in London. Moreover, Broadbent had been a part owner of Alexander Jolly’s first ship, the *James and Margaret*, and the skipper frequently resided with her when in London.<sup>71</sup> Trade links with Broadbent continued throughout the 1680s and it is probable that tobacco sold at Shetland had been bought from her.<sup>72</sup> However, Robert Jolly also established links with Glasgow merchants who traded in this commodity.<sup>73</sup> Like the aforementioned Hamburg merchants Alexander Jolly became indebted to Clarden for fish exports although his credit of 23 Imperial dollars was considerably smaller.<sup>74</sup> This

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<sup>66</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/58, 334-335, Bond, Just Vanverbeke/Andrew Dick, Whalsey, 9 July 1681; NAS, RD3/52, 184, Bond, Frederick Detjen/Andrew Dick, Uyeasound, 12 August 1681.

<sup>67</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/58, 334-335, Bond, Just Vanverbeke/Andrew Dick, Whalsey, 9 July 1681.

<sup>68</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD4/47, 322-323, Bond, Claus Coster/Clarden, Scalloway, 26 July 1677; RD4/47, 841, Bond, Joachim Hinsche/Clarden, (Walls?), 26 July 1677.

<sup>69</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD3/52, 184, Bond, Frederick Detjen/Andrew Dick, Uyeasound, 12 August 1681; RD3/55, 183-4, Bond, Catherine Coster/Clarden, Scalloway, 5 August 1682.

<sup>70</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Muness to Alexander Jolly, without place, 2 September 1685.

<sup>71</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Contract, 7 December 1672; RH15/140, George Jolly to Alexander Jolly (four letters 1676-1680); RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Isobel Touch, 17 February 1688.

<sup>72</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, 10 December 1677; RH15/140, George Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Prestonpans, 3 April 1680.

<sup>73</sup> See below. For the involvement of Glasgow merchants in the tobacco trade see T.M. Devine, ‘The Golden Age of Tobacco’, in T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson, *Glasgow*, (2 vols., Manchester/New York, 1995), vol. 1, 140.

<sup>74</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Bond, Alexander Jolly/Clarden, Burravoe, 3 July 1685.

could signify that Jolly considered this voyage as an initial test run in which he exported few commodities. Jolly's credit was to be reimbursed in August the following year to either Clarden or Andrew Mowat in Shetland, revealing that he was expected to return.<sup>75</sup> The skipper undertook two further journeys to Burravoe in 1686 and 1687 where he exchanged commodities with a merchant called Stewart and again Andrew Bruce of Muness.<sup>76</sup> These transactions also involved Robert Jolly in Hamburg. Two thirds of the goods shipped to Shetland by Alexander Jolly in 1687 belonged to his brother as did two thirds of the freight from Shetland to Hamburg.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, Alexander Jolly transported goods on behalf of the Hamburg merchant Adolph Westermann (or his relative), the fees of which Robert Jolly kept on behalf of his brother.<sup>78</sup> Robert Jolly also received freight costs from William Bruce suggesting that the latter was present in the region or else financially connected to him.<sup>79</sup> The Shetland network of Robert and Alexander Jolly had a branch in Scotland. Muness and his brother Gilbert traded with Alexander Jolly's brother-in-law, the skipper Stephen Touch junior. Alexander Jolly became involved in their financial transactions when in Burravoe.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, Muness exchanged correspondence with Robert Jolly transferred by the Edinburgh merchant William Dick and George Jolly at Prestonpans.<sup>81</sup> It was either Alexander Jolly or Stephen Touch who facilitated this communication channel from Hamburg to Shetland via Scotland which differed significantly from the usual bilateral exchanges between the islands and the wider Elbe-Weser region.<sup>82</sup>

Sending commodities to and from Shetland in Hamburg or Bremen ships proved to be risky during the Nine Years' War (1688-1697) in which several Hamburg vessels

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid. Smith states that only two Hamburg merchants seem to have visited Shetland in 1683-4 (based on records of bonds granted to German merchants for butter & oil duty). Smith, *Shetland*, 12. This could signify that the Jollys entered the market during a time of decreased competition. However, the same records signify that a comparatively high number of nine Bremen merchants were active in Shetland during these years. The temporary increase of Bremen merchants during this period has yet to be explained.

<sup>76</sup> 'Stewart' was probably Laurence Stewart of Bigtoun. See Grant, *The County Families*, 295; NAS, Jolly Family, RH15/140, Stewart to Alexander Jolly, without place, 12 August 1686; RH15/140, Bruce to Stephen Touch junior, Ulsta, 18 November 1687.

<sup>77</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, September 1687.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Probably William Bruce of Urie. See Grant, *The County Families*, 26; NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, September 1687.

<sup>80</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Muness to Stephen Touch junior, Ulsta, 18 November 1687.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Alexander Jolly however died in January 1688 leaving his brother to arrange alternative transport. NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Isobel Touch, Hamburg, 17 February 1688.

were lost to French capers off Shetland.<sup>83</sup> Sweden and Denmark remained neutral in this conflict and sealed a treaty of mutual defence on 10 March 1691 (renewed in 1693).<sup>84</sup> Thus, Hamburg skippers turned to Altona and Glückstadt to receive Danish passes and flags of convenience. This required them to find Danish citizens who were willing to become, officially at least, owners of part of their vessels.<sup>85</sup> In 1693, Robert Jolly sent the ship *Resolution* of Altona under the Scottish captain James Bruce with a Royal Danish pass to Shetland.<sup>86</sup> Bruce was without doubt a relative of Jolly's business partner Andrew Bruce of Muness.<sup>87</sup> His Danish flag did not prevent attack by a French privateer on his voyage to Shetland and a costly ransom of 1,000 Imperial dollars. Worse, his ship sank on its return journey on 22 August, only half a mile away from Shetland.<sup>88</sup> Jolly had insured the *Resolution* at Bremen but experienced difficulties in retrieving his money despite being assisted by the Williamite resident at Hamburg, Sir Paul Rycout.<sup>89</sup> Despite this loss Bruce continued to engage himself in the Shetland trade as evidenced by ongoing factoring duties on behalf of Robert Jolly in 1698 just prior to Jolly's departure to Darien.<sup>90</sup>

Despite initially accepting the protection of Danish passes, the Hamburg and Bremen skippers relocated to Swedish Stade after 1692 in search of alternative protection.<sup>91</sup> Christian V of Denmark had attempted to force them to become citizens for ten years and to unload their imports on Danish territory once they had acquired Danish protection. Hamburg's senate had to free their citizens from this requirement by

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<sup>83</sup> Smith, *Shetland*, 38-39.

<sup>84</sup> Claus Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt des Herzogtums Bremen zur Schwedenzeit (1645-1712)* (Stade, 1970), 35.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>86</sup> StAB, Hitlandfahrer, 2-R.11.kk., Robert Jolly to Bremen Senate, without date/place; Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 92. A vessel from Altona, also called *Resolution*, had sailed between Altona and Leith or Kircaldy respectively in 1690 and 1691 under the skipper Dirk Jansen. See NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/15/44, Leith, 29 December 1690; E72/9/32, Fife, 13 February 1691; E72/15/44, Leith, 7 July 1691; E72/15/48, Leith, 2 September 1691.

<sup>87</sup> Andrew Bruce had a brother called James. This was possibly the same man. Grant, *The County Families*, 23.

<sup>88</sup> StAB, Hitlandfahrer, 2-R.11.kk., Robert Jolly to Bremen Senate, without date/place.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*; StAB, Wittheitsprotokoll 1696-1698, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.19, 127, 23 January 1697.

<sup>90</sup> One task included retrieving outstanding debts from various business partners in Orkney and Shetland, including James Mitchell of Girlesta, Hugh Sinclair of Brugh, Andrew Bruce of Muness and William Craige. See NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/81/1, Bond, Robert Jolly/ James Bruce, Edinburgh, 22 February 1698.

<sup>91</sup> Swedish Stade had long been used as a flag of convenience port. See A.D.M. Forte, E.M. Furgol and Steve Murdoch, 'The *Burgh of Stade* and the Maryland Court of Admiralty of 1672', *Forum Navale*, no. 60 (2004), 94-112.

paying a heavy ransom.<sup>92</sup> Thereafter the Hamburg skipper Claus Fasche received a Swedish pass (12 November 1694) to travel to Shetland which required some negotiations as the Stade authorities knew that he had previously sailed under a Danish flag.<sup>93</sup> However, it was only during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) that sailing under a Swedish flag became safer than under an Imperial one. The greater number of Hamburg and Bremen skippers trading with Shetland became citizens of Stade from 1703, which was the precondition for receiving a Swedish sea pass.<sup>94</sup> In most cases this citizenship was only a token, with the acquiescence of Stade's senate (and the Swedish government) who profited from the presence of the skippers.<sup>95</sup> Between March 1704 and July 1707 no fewer than 26 ships left Stade for Shetland.<sup>96</sup> Six of these were under the command of Hermann Bardewisch (1704, 1706), Hinrich Goosmann (1704, 1705) and Helmke Hartmann (1706, 1707) of Bremen.<sup>97</sup> The other twenty journeys were undertaken on behalf of the Stade registered merchants Fredrick and Johann Otto Bossow, Nicolaus and Joachim Sauke as well as Daniel Thomsen who all originated in Hamburg.<sup>98</sup> Contrary to their Bremen counterparts, Hamburg traders thus did not sail the ships which carried their commodities to and from Shetland during this period. However, Johann Otto Bossow (1703, 1704, 1705) and Nicolaus Sauke (1704, 1705, 1706, 1707) frequently accompanied the vessels.<sup>99</sup>

By 1701 Robert Jolly had returned to Hamburg. In January the same year – before the outbreak of war – he suggested the establishment of a Scottish company trading with Shetland to his business partner, the Edinburgh merchant Alexander Pyper. This company was to gain an estimated profit of 40 per cent per voyage.<sup>100</sup> Jolly reported

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<sup>92</sup> Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 36, 160. As a non-citizen of Hamburg Jolly was almost certainly exempted from Christian V's demands, explaining his use of Altona as a port of origin in 1693.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-41.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-46.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 166-193. Based on Tiedemann's analysis of sea passes issued by the city of Stade.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 166-189. Half of the freights carried by Hartmann belonged to Goosmann.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 41, 166-189.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 166-189. Interestingly, Frederick and Johann Otto Bossow did not simply specialise in trade with Shetland but also traded with France and – to a far greater extent – with Portugal probably re-exporting Scottish fish to this destination. *Ibid.*, 164-203. Between 1703 and 1708 11 skippers applied at least 26 times for sea passes to Portugal (23) or France (3) whose ships were owned by either Frederick or Johann Otto Bossow. Although none of the passes register fish exports it is inconceivable that the Bossow family did not integrate their Shetland link into their trade pattern with the Iberian Peninsula.

<sup>100</sup> NAS, Pyper Papers, RH15/101/15, Robert Jolly to Alexander Pyper, Hamburg, 10 January 1701; T.C. Smout, 'An Old Scheme for Shetland: Opposition to the Hansa', *Shetland News*, 11 November 1958; Smith, *Shetland*, 19.

that his 'friends' in the city were prepared to invest. However, as analysed below, Jolly held various contacts in Hamburg, and thus it is not clear if he exclusively referred to Hamburg merchants or English or Scots. The subsequent move of Hamburg traders to Stade and their continued independent activity in Shetland reveals that Jolly's project did not materialise, possibly leading to his departure from the city. Nonetheless other Scots arrived: the Lerwick merchant Arthur Nicolson of Bullister and Lochend visited the city after having traded with Hamburg since 1699.<sup>101</sup> He and Charles Mitchell of Uresland (writer in Edinburgh), had jointly sent a ship to the city using Frederick Bossow as their local contact.<sup>102</sup> In 1705 Nicolson corresponded with Charles Mitchell, for whom he was to sort out problems which had occurred when Joachim Sauke protested against two bills Mitchell had drawn on him on behalf of his brother James Mitchell of Girlesta (Jolly's former business partner).<sup>103</sup> According to Mitchell, Bremen and Hamburg's trade with Shetland had become threatened by the fact that German merchants had not bought the expected quantity of butter and oil in the previous year. The Chamberlain of Orkney and Shetland, George Robertson of Newbigging, resolved to set up a trade connection with Leith instead. In order to prevent this, Nicolson was to persuade Hamburg merchants to buy the commodities on their return to the islands.<sup>104</sup> Nicolson replied that Joachim and Nicolaus Sauke as well as two Bremen merchants called Bardiens and Helmke Lachmann (almost certainly Bardewisch and Hackmann) were the only traders resolved to trade with Shetland during this year but that he hoped to convince Mrs Thomsen (a relative of Daniel Thomsen) and Frederick Bossow to send ships as well.<sup>105</sup> The latter traded with Robert Hamilton (brother of George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney) whom his relative, Johann Otto Bossow, described as his acquaintance.<sup>106</sup> Unfortunately we do not know how many ships sailed from Hamburg and Bremen or from Glückstadt and Altona to Shetland throughout the time in question and are thus unable to gauge the complete number of merchants engaged in the trade

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<sup>101</sup> NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16, Charles Mitchell to Arthur Nicolson, without place, 2 January 1705; RH15/93/16, Arthur Nicolson to Charles Mitchell, Hamburg 19/30 January 1705.

<sup>102</sup> NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/14, Charles Mitchell to Johann Otto Bossow, 12 December 1699.

<sup>103</sup> NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16/13, Charles Mitchell to Arthur Nicolson, Edinburgh, 2 January 1705.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16, Arthur Nicolson to Charles Mitchell, Hamburg, 19/30 January 1705.

<sup>106</sup> Orkney Archives, Earldom of Orkney (Morton), D38/2544, Johann Otto Bossow to George Hamilton, Hamburg, 4 and 5 October 1712 (two letters of identical content but different wording).

during this period. Nevertheless, the Stade records reveal that several Bremen and Hamburg merchants were commercially active in Shetland and in contact with a Scottish merchant in Hamburg at the beginning of the eighteenth century dealing in whitefish, though other contacts emerge through scrutiny of other commodities.

## 2.2 Scottish Fish Exports: Herring

Apart from whitefish, herring also played a significant role as an export commodity from Shetland to Bremen and Hamburg. For example, one of the three ships which returned from the islands to Bremen in 1664 was almost exclusively freighted with herring.<sup>107</sup> The Scottish herring fishery was not only situated around Shetland but also around the Scottish mainland, predominantly around the Clyde and Forth.<sup>108</sup> Boats set out from the Forth to fish near Shetland between June and July before returning to the fishing grounds of the Forth in August and early September.<sup>109</sup> Anstruther and Crail in Fife, Dunbar in East Lothian and Greenock on the Clyde all were centres where herring was salted and packed for export.<sup>110</sup> However, Dutch merchants dominated the continental trade despite the endeavours of the Scots. They sustained a technologically more advanced fishing fleet gutting, salting and packing their catches on board their boats (known as busses).<sup>111</sup> Dutch fishing commenced in June in Shetland waters from where the fleet worked its way southwards fishing off the Scottish and English coast off Dunbar and Yorkshire in August and off coast of Yarmouth between September and November. Following this pattern the Dutch busses made use of three different herring seasons featuring different populations of fish.<sup>112</sup> Bremen and Hamburg provided the most important outlets for Dutch herring and therefore Scottish herring faced difficult market conditions within the wider Elbe-Weser region.<sup>113</sup> This was especially the case in Hamburg where the herring trade was monopolised by the Scandic company

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<sup>107</sup> StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20-AB-D10, Elsfleth, 24 July 1664.

<sup>108</sup> James R. Coull, *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland: A Historical Geography* (Edinburgh, 1996), 60-62.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-68.

<sup>110</sup> Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 6.

<sup>111</sup> Richard W. Unger, 'Dutch Herring, Technology, and International Trade in the Seventeenth Century', *The Journal of Economic History*, 40/2 (1980), 256-262.

<sup>112</sup> Fulton, *The Sovereignty*, 131-133; A.R. Michell, 'The European Fisheries in Early Modern History', in E.E. Rich (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (London/New York/Melbourne, 1977), vol. 5, 139.

<sup>113</sup> Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 140.

(*Schonenfahrergesellschaft*).<sup>114</sup> The latter had an agreement with the port of Enkhuizen, the largest base of the Dutch herring fleet, that herring imported to Hamburg was to be exclusively delivered to the company. With the support of the senate, the company maintained close quality checks over herring re-exported inland into the Empire making its members desired business partners without serious competition. Membership of the company was only open to Hamburg citizens, excluding all foreigners from trade with Dutch herring.<sup>115</sup> The strong position of Scandic merchants within the city and of the Dutch commodity meant that the vast majority of herring sold within the city derived from this destination.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, small amounts of herring were also sold by Hamburg merchants trading with Bergen and by the inhabitants of Helgoland (belonging to Holstein) who fished off Shetland ‘from tyme out of mind’.<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, some quantities arrived on the ships of Hamburg merchants returning from Shetland.<sup>118</sup> The Hamburg fishery itself which had tried to emulate the Dutch had been forced out of the market by the latter’s competition during the late sixteenth century – although a limited number of vessels fished off Shetland.<sup>119</sup> In 1661 and 1662, Hamburg’s representative, Vincent Garmers, sought licences for members of the Scandic Company to fish for herring in English seas in exchange for a duty recognising Charles II’s sovereignty. Furthermore he asked for assurances of protection against the Dutch, revealing his ambition of reviving the city’s fishery.<sup>120</sup> Shortly before Garmers pursued his endeavours the Scottish Parliament issued an act which encouraged the establishment of Scottish fishing companies which were granted the monopoly of fish exports and were solely to consist of Scottish partners (to be called councillors).<sup>121</sup> The act was also partially aimed against the German merchants in Shetland as it banned

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<sup>114</sup> Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 164.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 164-166.

<sup>116</sup> Ernst Baasch, ‘Zur Geschichte des hamburgischen Heringhandels’, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 12 (1906), 70. See also Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 164.

<sup>117</sup> SRA, *Anglica*, VII, 542, Inhabitants of Helgoland to Duke of Holstein, without place/date; Baasch, ‘Zur Geschichte des hamburgischen Heringshandels’, 70.

<sup>118</sup> StAH, Admiralitätskollegium, 371-2, F4, vols. 13-14, 1644-1646.

<sup>119</sup> Michell, ‘The European Fisheries’, 155.

<sup>120</sup> TNA, SP82/10 fol. 83, Vincent Garmers to Joseph Williamson, Hamburg, 15 November 1661; SP82/10, fol. 95, Vincent Garmers to Joseph Williamson, Hamburg, 12 February 1662; SP82/10, fol. 98, Vincent Garmers to Joseph Williamson, Hamburg, 20 February/2 March 1662; SP82/10, fol. 111, Vincent Garmers to Williamson, Hamburg, 25 April 1662; SP82/10, fol. 117, Vincent Garmers to Joseph Williamson, Hamburg, 8 May 1662.

<sup>121</sup> RPS, Act for Fishing and Erecting of Companies for Promoting the Same, Edinburgh, 12 June 1661; Fulton, *The Sovereignty*, 444-445.

foreigners from curing fish onshore and from erecting booths for this purpose.<sup>122</sup> This was in line with further laws which ordered preferential treatment for the inhabitants of some Scottish towns and individual Scottish merchants over Hamburgers and other foreigners when fish was sold at Shetland. Furthermore, these Scots were allowed to fish from and between the islands of Shetland – a privilege taken away from the foreign merchants.<sup>123</sup> Due to the dependency of Shetland’s inhabitants on vital imports from German traders, the latter regulation was revoked following a petition from the Earl of Morton.<sup>124</sup>

In light of these acts aimed at discouraging foreigners from the Shetland fish trade and at the establishment of a strong Scottish fishery, it is perhaps surprising that Hamburg and Scottish merchants jointly founded a fishing company in 1668 which was intended to come into existence the following year.<sup>125</sup> The establishment of this enterprise made perfect economic sense – at least in theory. The partners were the Scots James Tailfer (Edinburgh) and his son, Duncan Forbes (Inverness) and John Davidson (Portree) and the Hamburgers Hans Backhausen, Francis Boyton, Henry Colmus and Jasper Wagenfeld. They were to equally own one of seven parts of three ships called the *Green Yager*, the *Milk Maid* and the *Falcone* (one part being shared by James Tailfer and his son). In order to equip the vessels and to initiate their commerce they set up a stock of £60,000 Scots. The company was to be automatically renewed each year and accounts to be settled every January in Edinburgh when gains and losses were to be split equally.<sup>126</sup> The allocation of tasks between the partners – who were united in their goal of setting up a substantial competition to the Dutch fishery – is easily apparent. The Hamburg merchants (almost certainly members of the Scandic Company) had to be responsible for selling the fish in their city and its hinterland whereas the Scottish traders were allowed to fish in Scottish waters, negating the need for the Hamburgers to apply for a licence. The company was almost certainly initiated by James Tailfer senior

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> *RPCS, Third Series*, 1662, 182, Supplication by the Earl of Morton, 4 March 1662; *RPS*, Act for Gideon Murray, Edinburgh, 15 March 1661; *RPS*, Act in favour of the Burghs of Crails and Kilrenny, Edinburgh, 22 March 1661; *RPS*, Act in favour of Anstruther Easter and Pittenweem, Edinburgh, 22 March 1661; *RPS*, Act for Robert Rollo and John Wilson, Edinburgh, 3 April 1661; Smith, *Shetland*, 23.

<sup>124</sup> *RPCS, Third Series*, 1662, 182, Supplication by the Earl of Morton, 4 March 1662; Smith, *Shetland*, 39.

<sup>125</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/26, 100-101 and RD4/26, 756-758, Bond, Tailfer/Tailfer/Forbes/Davidson/Wagenfeld, 20 March 1668. (Two documents of same content but slightly different wording.)

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

who first established contact with the city in 1649 and returned in 1653 as factor on behalf of the Edinburgh merchant John Clerk.<sup>127</sup> His contacts with Hamburg continued throughout the 1660s.<sup>128</sup> Tailfer's contacts must have resulted in close commercial contacts and a trusted relationship with the Hamburg merchants, not least as he vouched that Backhaus, Boytoun and Colmus (who did not sign the contract in person) would provide their share of the company's stock.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, Tailfer certainly maintained a link with either the Adventurer John Banks, the Scot John Beck or the German merchant Jacob Delbow as they were the joint pre-owners of the ship the *Milk Maid* revealing another example of Anglo-Scottish-German co-operation.<sup>130</sup> Tailfer also traded with Bremen and maintained a contact with the Bremen skipper Helmke Detjen, a relative to Hermann and Heinrich Detjen.<sup>131</sup> It is thus possible that he had also approached Bremen merchants to realise his scheme as their city provided an important market for herring similar to Hamburg. There is as yet no further evidence on the duration and success of the Scottish-Hamburg fishing company. Tailfer senior died a few years after its establishment and it possible that the enterprise then ceased to exist. His son continued to trade with Hamburg in the 1670s using the Hamburg merchants Joost Litterbroodt and John Beck – almost certainly the same person as the former Scottish owner of the *Milk Maid* – as factor.<sup>132</sup> However, Tailfer had to pursue the latter for debts owed to him and it is unclear if he continued his commercial contacts with the city after 1676.<sup>133</sup> The establishment of the company coincided with a general increased interest from Hamburg merchants in the Scottish offshore fisheries.

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<sup>127</sup> *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, 1642 – 1655, 184, Agreement, James Tailfer/Burgh Committee, 3 January 1649; NAS, Clerk Papers, GD18/2524/2, James Tailfer to John Clerk, Hamburg, 30 August 1653. In 1649 Tailfer and artisan Thomas Haliday were sent to the city by the officials of Edinburgh. Haliday was to inspect Hamburg's churches and to inform himself of their roofing technique so that he would be able to furnish the Tron church with a new roof on his return. Tailfer was to accompany him and to purchase the copper necessary for the project.

<sup>128</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/15/2, Leith, 12 May and 14 September 1666; E72/15/5, Leith, 25 May 1667.

<sup>129</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/26, 100-101 and RD4/26, 756-758, Bond, Tailfer/Tailfer/Forbes/Davidson/Wagenfeld, 20 March 1668.

<sup>130</sup> TNA, SP82/10, fol. 263, William Swann to Arlington, Hamburg, 26 September/6 October 1665.

<sup>131</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/15/5, Leith, 24 September 1667; StAO, Weserzollregister, Best.20-AB-D10, Elsfleth, 29 September 1664. Tailfer acted as cautioner on Detjen's behalf when the latter was to appear at the Admiralty Court in 1667. NAS, Register of Deeds, RD3/33, 721-723, Discharge, James Tailfer/Hutchinson, 18 July 1673.

<sup>132</sup> NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC 7/4, Tailfer vs. Beyk and Litterbroodt, Edinburgh, 4 July 1676.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

From 1673 we can trace individual Scottish merchants who ventured into the herring trade with Bremen and Hamburg at a time when Dutch supplies decreased due to the Third Anglo Dutch War (1672-1774) and (to a greater extent) by the continued war with France after 1674.<sup>134</sup> For example, in December 1673, the Scot Gilbert Spence then resident in Bremen received 53 lasts of herring from the Ostend skipper Johan van Dam who arrived on the Weser from Glasgow.<sup>135</sup> His business associate for this transaction had been John Spreull who had received commodities from Bremen while living in Bo'ness earlier the same year.<sup>136</sup> Spreull visited Bremen two years later.<sup>137</sup> From there he continued to Hamburg where he anxiously awaited the arrival of a ship with the skipper and/or merchant Archibald Stewart carrying herring.<sup>138</sup> Another consignment of inferior quality had been sold the previous week for a good price of 70 Imperial dollars making Spreull believe a sizeable profit was imminent. He thus asked the Scottish factor at Rotterdam, Andrew Russell, to hasten and facilitate Stewart's departure by sending a pilot directed to a man called James Gilchrist at the Dutch port of Brielle.<sup>139</sup> Spreull stated that of any cargo only herring was likely to sell well in the city.<sup>140</sup> One of Spreull's contacts in Hamburg was the local merchant Mr Arklemann (possibly a member of the Scandic Company) for whom Spreull acted as factor in Glasgow the following year.<sup>141</sup> Further connections between the Clyde and Hamburg were attempted when the Glasgow merchant John Barns freighted a ship with herring to the city in 1677 although the ship never made it to Hamburg due to various setbacks.<sup>142</sup> The fact that Barns dispatched his cargo to Hamburg nonetheless signifies that he had

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<sup>134</sup> J.I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford, 1990), 306; Unger, 'Dutch Herring', 279.

<sup>135</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 64. Spence does not seem to have received another cargo from Glasgow. Another venture to the West was however made in 1675 when Spence received leather, meat and butter from Dublin to where he exported 540 clap boards in return.

<sup>136</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/6, Bo'ness, 23 May, 24 July and 9 August 1673. The commodities consisted of soap, oil, iron and aniseeds. Bo'ness was comparatively well connected with Glasgow through the Kilsyth road on which smaller goods could be transported on horseback. Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 15.

<sup>137</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/199/1, John Spreull to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 8 December 1675.

<sup>138</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/199/2, John Spreull to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 10 December 1675; RH15/106/199/4, John Spreull to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 16 December 1675.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.* It is not clear why the ship departed from the Dutch Republic as Stewart's freight consisted of Scottish commodities.

<sup>140</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/199/3, John Spreull to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 13 December 1675.

<sup>141</sup> NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC7/6, Matthew Cumming snr. et. al., Merchants of Glasgow vs. William Boick, Merchant of Glasgow, Edinburgh, 1 April 1684.

<sup>142</sup> NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC7/4, John Barns, Merchant of Glasgow vs. Arthur White, Mariner of Greenock, Edinburgh, 5 June 1677.

identified the city as a suitable market. Furthermore, the Englishman William Willet sold Scottish herring on behalf of Alexander and Robert Jolly at Bremen in 1679.<sup>143</sup> However, Dutch herring merchants continued to provide an overbearing competition. For example, in July 1684 Robert Jolly observed that it was too late for the catch of the Lewis fishery to fetch a reasonable price at the Hamburg market as the first (presumably Dutch) herring had already been sold, decreasing the demand for the product.<sup>144</sup> Timing issues also negatively affected the Dunbar merchant Robert Kellie who lamented that his cargo of herring sent to Hamburg in 1687 had sold for a poor price as it had arrived simultaneously with 300 lasts of Dutch herring.<sup>145</sup>

Conditions improved during the 1690s when the Dutch fishery was increasingly disturbed by French privateers during the Nine Years' War. At the same time, Scottish herring could no longer officially be sold on the French market, enhancing exports into the Baltic and presumably reinforcing the search for alternative outlets.<sup>146</sup> In 1702 Robert Jolly reported a low supply of herring at Hamburg as the Dutch had few busses at sea due to the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession. Therefore he was 'daily importuned by the herring mongers to write to my friends in Scotland to send hither the first herrings'.<sup>147</sup> Although he admitted that the market had often been disappointing for Scottish herring merchants he was convinced that there had never been a better opportunity to make a profit with this commodity at Hamburg. This was especially so as the catches were supposed to be more plentiful during this season as the herring schools had not been broken by the Dutch busses.<sup>148</sup> These favourable conditions were to improve further in 1711 when Great Britain and Hamburg closed a contract regarding the herring trade and the monopoly of the Scandic Company was broken (see below).

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<sup>143</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, William Willet to Alexander Jolly, 22 June 1679.

<sup>144</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 18 July 1684. Jolly stated that the first herring were sold for 250s. per last whereas the present price was almost half between 130 and 140s. per last.

<sup>145</sup> St Andrews University Library, Special Collections, Watson Papers, MS 38527/3b/10/3, Robert Kellie to Andrew Watson, Dunbar, 2 December 1687.

<sup>146</sup> Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 222-223.

<sup>147</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Baird, Hamburg, 28 July 1702.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

### 2.3 Scottish Salt Exports

The preservation of Scottish fish exports required a continuous and sufficient supply of salt. Scottish salt was produced in coal fired pans from evaporated sea water and was marked by a low degree of purity therefore making it unsuitable for curing purposes.<sup>149</sup> Thus, merchants dealing with Scottish fish relied on imports of Iberian and French Boy salt which was extracted by evaporating sea water by natural sunlight.<sup>150</sup> This was provided by Bremen and Hamburg merchants sailing to Shetland who carried the commodity with them.<sup>151</sup> There is evidence of some Bremen merchants trading with Shetland purchasing Scottish salt when supply from the Iberian Peninsula and France was scarce.<sup>152</sup> Surprisingly, they were not the only Bremen traders to deal with the commodity. Scottish salt became a highly successful export on the Northwest German market from the last quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>153</sup> Bremen's surviving trade registers reveal that Scottish salt was the dominant type of salt sold within the city in 1617 and 1626 from where it was partially re-exported into the city's hinterland.<sup>154</sup> The commodity thus asserted itself against strong competition of Boy salt and Lüneburg salt, the latter of which was evaporated from brine resulting in a higher quality than either Boy and Scottish salt. The inferior quality of Scottish salt had a price reducing effect which made it affordable to the lower strata of the population, explaining its success on the market.<sup>155</sup> Although aimed at a different target group, trade with Scottish salt provoked severe complaints from Lüneburg's senate to Bremen concerning some

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<sup>149</sup> Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 125.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> StAH, Admiraltätskollegium, 371-2, F4, vol. 13-14, 1644-1646; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 73. Robert and Alexander Jolly were in possession of 20 barrels of Lisbon salt in 1687 which had initially been destined for Shetland but had been left in Scotland for unknown reasons. NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, September 1687.

<sup>152</sup> StAO, Weserzollregister, Best.20-AB-D3, Elsfleth, 13 and 26 April 1655.

<sup>153</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 39.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-37. According to Schwebel's analysis of Bremen's excise toll register of 1617 (the only one to survive in its entirety stating different origins of salt imports) 42.5 lasts, 1.300 tons and 47 bushels of Scottish salt out of a total amount of 121 lasts, 2.796 tons, 402 bushels, 432,75 and 358 pounds of salt were handled in the city as imports or re-exports by over 100 Bremen merchants. The entries of Bremen's convoy tax register of 1626 (the only one to survive in its entirety before the 1660s) demonstrate the continued strong position of Scottish salt whose imports consisted of 185 lasts, 1 ton and 30 bushels out of a total of 484 lasts, 15 tons and 30 bushels of total salt imports. However, as with all statistics, these numbers have to be studied with care as the excise toll registers for example do not differentiate between imports and re-exports so that the same freight of Scottish salt might have been recorded twice when entering and upon leaving Bremen.

<sup>155</sup> Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 126.

fraudulent behaviour by their merchants.<sup>156</sup> These complaints eventually led to an agreement in 1611 that barrels filled with the Scottish product were to be marked with the symbol 'S.S.' whereas salt refined from French or Iberian Boy salt ('Solt von Solte' or 'salt upon salt') was to be marked with the letters 'S.V.S'.<sup>157</sup>

Bremen's merchants faced competition from the Dutch when purchasing salt in Scotland. This was especially so after the end of a twelve-year truce between Spain and the United Provinces in 1621 which caused disruptions in supplies of Iberian Boy salt to the Dutch market and consequently increased demand for the Scottish product.<sup>158</sup> By this time, close mercantile relations had been developed by the Bremen salt merchant Arend Meier and a supplier in Scotland (almost certainly the Earl of Kincardine) who was prepared to favour the Bremen merchants over the Dutch provided they paid with bullion.<sup>159</sup> By the 1630s Kincardine and the city of Bremen established even closer commercial links when his factor, Archibald Mercer, negotiated various prices for salt deliveries from Culross with the Bremen senate for a planned salt monopoly within the city (a project which failed miserably).<sup>160</sup> Apart from Mercer there is as yet no evidence for the presence of Scottish factors in Bremen before the 1670s. By the mid-1650s the position of factor for Scottish salt trade was in the hands of Arend Meier who facilitated business on behalf of Edward Bruce, the new Earl of Kincardine, and his brother, Alexander Bruce and organised salt imports for fellow Bremen merchants.<sup>161</sup> He worked closely with the Scottish skipper Magnus Wilson who settled in the city from

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<sup>156</sup> StAB, Salz, 2-Ss.2.b.S.2., Lüneburg Senate to Bremen Senate, Lüneburg, 17 March 1590; Schwebel, *Salz*, 33, 41.

<sup>157</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 12, 33 and 44.

<sup>158</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 44.

<sup>159</sup> StAB, Salz, 2-Ss.2.b.S.2, Arend Meier to Bremen Senate, Bremen, 2 February and 12 May 1628; Schwebel, *Salz*, 44-45.

<sup>160</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 44-48. It is unclear how long Mercer resided in the city but between 1639 and 1641 and between 1644 and 1645 he was listed as MP for the Royal Burgh of Culross signifying his presence in Scotland. Kai Drewes, 'The Scottish Civil War Refugee Archibald Mercer and His Family' (published online at [www.kai-drewes.de/merc-main](http://www.kai-drewes.de/merc-main)); Friedrich Lucae (ed.), *Der Chronist Friedrich Lucae. Ein Zeit- und Sittenbild* (Frankfurt, 1854), 200.

<sup>161</sup> NLS, Bruce Papers, Acc.12868, Arend Meier to Alexander Bruce, Bremen, 26 February 1656; Acc.12868, Arend Meier to the Earl of Kincardine, Bremen, 20 April 1656. Edward Bruce became earl in 1643. Due to his emotional instability his brother Alexander was considered the de facto head of the family. David Stevenson, 'Introduction: The Life of Sir Robert Moray', in David Stevenson (ed.), *Letters of Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Kincardine, 1657-73* (Ashgate, 2007), 18.

1651 and frequently returned from Culross with salt on behalf of Meier and other Bremen salt merchants.<sup>162</sup>

Until the 1670s Scottish salt exports to Northwest Germany were exclusively transported in Bremen ships revealing that a special agreement must have been in place, albeit documentation to prove this remains elusive.<sup>163</sup> Between 1658 and 1675 the Weser toll registers record one hundred imported ship freights of Scottish salt from Culross, Torryburn and Kincardine and it has to be assumed that several of these freights belonged to Alexander Bruce (Earl of Kincardine since 1661) who personally visited Bremen in 1657/58.<sup>164</sup> The Weser toll registers suggest an increased use of the port of Bo'ness for this trade from 1661 onwards.<sup>165</sup> A comparison with the extant export registers of this harbour reveals that out of the eleven Bremen ships which left the toll precinct laden with salt in 1666 only four arrived on the Weser.<sup>166</sup> The same applies for the year 1673 when two out of the seven Bremen ships leaving Bo'ness arrived at Elsfleth signifying the use of Bremen ships as neutral carriers during the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars.<sup>167</sup> The comparison of the Scottish and German trade registers further reveals that Robert Mylne and James Hamilton traded with Bremen in 1666 and 1673 respectively.<sup>168</sup>

James Graham was one of the most frequent users of Bremen ships for salt exports, though not all of these necessarily went to Bremen. Graham also maintained a close business connection with the Hamburg merchant Cornelio van Weed. In 1674 the latter was ordered by Graham and his business associate Henry Stewart to pay a

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<sup>162</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 54-59. Between 1653 and 1668 Wilson returned seven times from Culross, five times from Kincardine, twice from Bo'ness and once from Torryburn. For three additional journeys from Scotland in this period the toll precinct is not stated. After 1668 Wilson exchanged his ship for a bigger vessel but continued to travel to Scotland.

<sup>163</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 41-43.

<sup>164</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 51. As the registers are incomplete the number of ships is probably higher. Interestingly, the number of ships arriving from Culross seems to have dropped significantly after 1663 with 1-2 ships arriving annually thereafter compared to 2-6 ships sailing from the port annually between 1654 and the early 1660s. However, the use of Torryburn increased slightly during this period suggesting that this port was then more accessible.

<sup>165</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 51. Between 1661 and 1673 two to seven ships returned annually from Bo'ness to the Weser.

<sup>166</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/1, Bo'ness, 2, 3, 10, 11 and 23 April, 6 and 14 June, 6 and 20 August 1666; Schwebel, *Salz*, 51.

<sup>167</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/7, Bo'ness, 15 April, 5 and 23 May, 2 and 18 June, 21 July 1673; Schwebel, *Salz*, 51. Unfortunately the extant German and Scottish trade records do not allow for further cross references.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.* Commercial engagement of Scottish merchants including James Cockburne, the Earl of Kincardine, James Riddell (Leith) and Walter Seton can also be confirmed from the Weser toll registers and other Bremen and Scottish documents. See Schwebel, *Salz*, 63, 66.

substantial sum of 1196 Imperial dollars to their servant James Brown who was then in the city.<sup>169</sup> It is unclear if this related to the salt trade although Graham's commercial activities hint in this direction. Van Weed's involvement in Scottish trade must have been considerable as he became a burgher and guildbrother in Edinburgh in 1679.<sup>170</sup> Although Hamburg was less of a distribution centre for Scottish salt than Bremen, the Scottish trade registers indicate that some exports were delivered to the city.<sup>171</sup> Certainly some of the bills for salt bought at Scotland were remitted to the Scottish factor John Beck in Hamburg during the early 1670s.<sup>172</sup>

Scottish merchants resident in Northwest Germany also participated in the salt trade from the 1670s onwards. Gilbert Spence had moved to Bremen by 1672 when he represented the Royal salt commissioner Robert Mylne in a court case against the heirs of the Bremen merchant and senator Arnold Havemann alongside the advocate Dr Paul Coch.<sup>173</sup> Havemann had acted as representative for several other Scottish traders in the early 1670s, including Kincardine but had left significant debts to them after his death.<sup>174</sup> The court case, which was initiated to retrieve these debts from the inheritors, was finally put to rest in 1676 with a settlement.<sup>175</sup> Spence complained to one of his business partners, William Bruce of Balcaskie, that the Mylne brothers had put 'reproach and scandal' on his reputation, presumably referring to their behaviour in the proceedings against Havemann's heirs.<sup>176</sup> He then feared that they would prejudice his business associate James Cockburne against him. This was not without reason as the latter had sent the Scot David Gudey to Bremen to inform Cockburne of the state of affairs and received consignments of Scottish goods in the city which almost certainly

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<sup>169</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/63, 484-485, Bond, James Graham/Cornelio van Weed, 7 October 1679.

<sup>170</sup> *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, 1665-1680, 379, Admission, Cornelio van Weed, Edinburgh, 10 October 1679.

<sup>171</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/9/4, Fife, 25 July 1670; E72/9/6, Fife, 7 August 1672.

<sup>172</sup> NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC7/4, Supplication, Robert Mylne, Edinburgh, 27 October 1675.

<sup>173</sup> StAB, Forderung Robert und Alexander Mylne an Arnold Havemann, 2-W.9.b.14, 1674-1675; Schwebel, *Salz*, 65-68.

<sup>174</sup> StAB, Hitlandfahrer, 2-R.11.kk, Memorial, without date or place; Schwebel, *Salz*, 65-68.

<sup>175</sup> Due to the involvement of the Royal commissioner, Charles II showed a close interest in the outcome of the case. *CSPD*, 1673-1675, 348, Charles II to Bremen Senate, Whitehall, 9 September 1674; TNA, SP82/12 fol.160, Bremen Senate to Charles II, Bremen, 3 October 1674; For further details on the court case see Schwebel, *Salz*, 65-68.

<sup>175</sup> NAS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/1906, Gilbert Spence to Balcaskie, Bremen, 19 April 1676.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

belonged to Cockburn.<sup>177</sup> However, despite these difficulties their business relations continued.<sup>178</sup> His link with the aforementioned salt merchants and some of the entries in Bremen's trade records signify that Spence acted as factor for several Scottish traders. The Scot also received several freights consisting of Scottish salt in his own account between 1672 and 1690.<sup>179</sup> These included two consignments from Amsterdam which Spence obtained on 21 March 1673 reminding us again that Scottish-Bremen trade could sometimes take indirect routes.<sup>180</sup>

A close associate of Spence in Bremen was the Englishman William Willet who also acted as factor for the Jolly family.<sup>181</sup> For sure this shared connection brought Spence in contact with Alexander and Robert Jolly who engaged in the Scottish salt trade themselves. Their network included Jolly's Hamburg-based partner, William Grison. In 1678 Grison was to sell part of a load of Scottish salt at Bremen and Robert Jolly ordered Willet to send a bill to George Jolly at Prestonpans covering the value of this cargo.<sup>182</sup> The fact that Grison was to close the deal reveals that he must have had contacts in the city which had perhaps been initiated by Alexander Bruce who had visited Grison in Hamburg in 1658.<sup>183</sup> As previously mentioned, neutral Bremen ships were in high demand during the Third Anglo-Dutch War and Bremen's trade volume increased significantly.<sup>184</sup> This resulted in a shortage of Bremen vessels and in a subsequent relaxation of the prohibition of salt transports to the city in Scottish ships. Alexander Jolly was one of the skippers who profited from the relaxed regulations as he freighted Scottish salt on behalf of the Earl of Weymss to Bremen in 1679.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid.; Schwebel, *Salz*, 59. On 4 July 1676 Magnus Wilson paid tolls on Gudey's behalf for 30 lasts of salt. In addition, Gudey received two further consignments of goods in Bremen the same day.

<sup>178</sup> This can be gauged from the fact that Alexander and Robert Mylne were prepared to lend Spence a sum of £100 Sterling in 1676 (guaranteed by the Leith merchant George Riddell). NAS, RD2/48, 648, Bond, Spence/Alexander and Robert Mylne, Leith, 1676. He was also credited a sum of £300 Sterling by Cockburne (guaranteed by James and George Riddell). NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/47, 745-746, Bond, Spence/Cockburne, Leith, 20 July 1677.

<sup>179</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/31, Bo'ness, 13 November 1689; Schwebel, *Salz*, 64.

<sup>180</sup> StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20-AB-D18, Elsfleth, 21 March 1673.

<sup>181</sup> See above.

<sup>182</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 27 November 1678.

<sup>183</sup> Stevenson (ed.), *Letters of Sir Robert Moray*, 195, Robert Moray to Alexander Bruce, Maastricht, 19/29 April 1658.

<sup>184</sup> Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 135. Despite the fact that Bremen's intake from excise tax sank considerably in 1675 after a peak in 1673 no less than fourteen English ships were needed to transport Scottish salt to Bremen in 1678. Bremen as well as Hamburg ships engaged as carriers for Scottish trade with France in 1673. NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/15/14, Leith, 20 February and 15 July 1673; E72/15/15, Leith, 22 January and 25 June 1673.

<sup>185</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Charter Party, Weymss/Alexander Jolly, 31 March 1679.

Furthermore, in March 1681 he left Fife carrying 45 ‘great chalders’ of salt from Dysart.<sup>186</sup> After his arrival in Bremen he met the merchant Hans Jacob Meier, a relative of Arend Meier, to whom he presumably sold his cargo.<sup>187</sup> On this occasion Alexander Jolly was also supposed to meet with his brother and Grison at Bremen but they were delayed due to Grison falling ill.<sup>188</sup> Nevertheless, Robert Jolly used his brother’s visit to Bremen to establish the current salt price in the city, confirming his continued interest in this lucrative trade.<sup>189</sup> Furthermore, the Jollys maintained contacts with the Jacobs family who were known to have engaged in the Scottish salt trade since the 1650s.<sup>190</sup> As with their counterparts in the fish trade, Bremen and Hamburg ships sailing to Scotland in the 1690s were exposed to the dangers of French privateers. Thus, several cargoes consisting of salt were transported in ships re-registered at Danish Altona and Oldenburg as well as Swedish Stade.<sup>191</sup>

Around the turn of the century a new Bremen-Scottish link was set up between Berend Gloysten and George Clark in Leith. Interestingly, the latter was expressly referred to by Gloysten as an Englishman, suggesting that the Scottish salt trade did not always involve Scottish merchants or indicating another mis-identification.<sup>192</sup> Gloysten’s correspondence exemplifies the pattern of salt trade during this period. He had sent the Bremen skipper Dirk Holthusen to Leith with 1,000 clapboards, 5 casks of Westphalian hams, 20 barrels of mum beer and 1,200 barrels of blacking which Clark was to sell on his behalf. From the profit of these sales he was to purchase a cargo of salt which was to be sent back to Bremen. However, the profits were not sufficient to fund the return freight and thus Clark drew £100 Sterling on Johan Martens Elking,

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<sup>186</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/9/10, Fife, 17 March 1681. The toll register was signed for by John Cowan who belonged to Jolly’s crew.

<sup>187</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 22 April 1681.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 11 March 1683; RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Isobel Touch, Hamburg, 5 June 1688. The Jacobs family held a number of commercial contacts in Scotland. One of them was the Earl of Wintoun from whom Dirich Jacobs received 46 chalders of salt in 1687. NAS, Miscellaneous Papers, RH9/1/176, Account, Captain Collinson, Seton, 1687.

<sup>191</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/9/10, Fife, 17 March 1681; E72/5/12, Bo’ness, 8 August 1681; E72/5/35, Bo’ness, 8 August 1690; E72/9/28, Fife, 9 October 1690; E72/5/37, Bo’ness, 4 August 1691.

<sup>192</sup> NAS, Campbell Papers, RH15/14/74, Berend Gloysten to George Clark, Three Letters, Bremen, 8 February, 13 March and 19 April 1699. Curiously, a merchant with the same name who has been identified as an ethnic Scot traded in Leith at the same period. This could indicate that Gloysten simply made a mistake in his address. However, Clark did apparently nothing to correct him.

Gloysten's contact in London.<sup>193</sup> This commercial exchange was meant as a trial run which must have gone well as Gloysten's brother visited Scotland the following month with another cargo of the above commodities in order to 'see the country'.<sup>194</sup> These also included a gift consisting of two Westfalian hams and a barrel of beer for Clark, revealing that Gloysten intended to continue his commercial activity in Scotland.<sup>195</sup> However, a month later he decided to change his order from salt to coal and salmon as salt was 'not for the present here to be sold, because there are several ship loads com(sic), from other countrys.'<sup>196</sup> Gloysten referred almost certainly not only to Iberian or Lüneburg but also to Newcastle salt which arrived increasingly on Bremen's market due to the city's exemption from the Navigation Acts in 1669 which strengthened commercial links with England.<sup>197</sup> The intake of Newcastle salt led to complaints by some Bremen merchants in the 1670s that the English commodity – which was perceived as being of poorest quality – was sold as Scottish salt.<sup>198</sup> Although some measures were undertaken to hinder this fraudulent behaviour, Newcastle salt still posed some form of competition in 1701 when Robert Jolly complained that it sold cheaper than the Scottish commodity in both Bremen and Hamburg.<sup>199</sup> Bremen's salt merchants faced more difficulties from protective measures by the Elector of Hanover, George Louis. From the late 1660s several edicts and toll regulations had prohibited or limited the sale of Scottish salt in certain Welfenian territories such as the county of Hoyer.<sup>200</sup> In 1702 these culminated in a complete prohibition of Scottish salt imports into the whole Electorate of Hanover which remained in place even after George Louis ascended to the British throne leading to complaints from Scottish merchants and conflict with the city of Bremen in 1718.<sup>201</sup> However, recent research has proven that despite these restrictions Scottish salt played a significant role on the Bremen and Northwest German

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<sup>193</sup> NAS, Campbell Papers, RH15/14/74, Berend Gloysten to George Clark, Bremen, 8 February and 19 April 1699.

<sup>194</sup> NAS, Campbell Papers, RH15/14/74, Berend Gloysten to George Clark, Bremen, 13 March 1699.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> NAS, Campbell Papers, RH15/14/74, Berend Gloysten to George Clark, Bremen, 19 April 1699.

<sup>197</sup> Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 147.

<sup>198</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 79-81.

<sup>199</sup> NAS, Pyper Papers, RH15/101/15, Robert Jolly to Alexander Pyper, Hamburg, 10 January 1701; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 231.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 68.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 68-70.

market (excluding Hanoverian territories) until the 1760s/70s which can be attributed to its continued price competitiveness and sufficient quality.<sup>202</sup>

## 2.4 Scottish Coal Exports

Continuing the theme of related industries, the operation of the Scottish salt works was closely linked to the mining of coal. However, Scottish coal was not only used as fuel for salt pans but also exported to the continent. Scottish traders dealing with this commodity found particularly favourable market conditions in Rotterdam where Scottish brokers were employed to regulate and manage coal imports.<sup>203</sup> By the 1620s these were in high demand as fuel for Rotterdam's and other nearby Dutch industries. The employment of Scots helped a steady supply of coal but also encouraged 'insider' dealing between the Scottish brokers and their countrymen.<sup>204</sup> The presence of fellow Scots in official positions must have affected a move in favour of Rotterdam as a destination for Scottish coal merchants over the cities of Bremen and Hamburg. Nevertheless, surpluses of Scottish coal on the Dutch market were re-exported to Bremen and there is ample evidence of direct imports of the commodity from Scotland as well.<sup>205</sup> In the mid-1640s Arend Meier facilitated coal imports on behalf of Bremen merchants from his business correspondents, the Earl of Kincardine and Alexander Bruce.<sup>206</sup> Given the role the Bruce family played in the coal trade, a commercial connection with William Grison is not only plausible, but likely especially as Bruce visited Grison in Hamburg in 1658.<sup>207</sup> The Admiralty toll registers also record imports

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<sup>202</sup> Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 137-138.

<sup>203</sup> Catterall, 'Scots along the Maas', 184-185.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20-16, No. 298. For example on 9 May 1637 the Bremen skipper Johan Vedeken passed the toll station at Elsfleth coming from Scotland with a load of stone coal; Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 146.

<sup>206</sup> NLS, Bruce Papers, Acc.12868, Arend Meier to Alexander Bruce, Bremen, 26 February 1656; Acc.12868, Arend Meier to the Earl of Kincardine, Bremen, 20 April 1656.

<sup>207</sup> StAH, Admiraltätskollegium, 371-2, F4, vols. 13-14, 1644-1646; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 57-58. Earlier imports of Scottish coal which reached Hamburg between 1644 and 1646 undoubtedly belonged to William Grison. Only the toll registers between 1644 and 1646 reveal the destination of ships leaving Hamburg for Scotland and Shetland. They only record the names of merchants exporting commodities to these destinations. Grison sent at least six freights of goods consisting of train oil, honey, stones, timber, raisins and copper to Scotland and it has to be assumed that some of the stone coal sent from Scotland to Hamburg (the only recorded imported commodity arriving from thence) belonged to this merchant. For Bruce's visit to Hamburg see below.

of Newcastle coal during this period.<sup>208</sup> Interestingly, the coal fields at Newcastle were then occupied by the Scottish Covenanters (1644-1647) who thus presumably controlled the sales to Hamburg.<sup>209</sup> But this was not necessarily the only Anglo-Scottish connection with the coal trade. One Gilbert Marshall is recorded as a Merchant Adventurer in the early 1640s and it may be more than coincidence that the Scottish coal merchant Gavin Marshall exported coal on a Hamburg ship from Bo'ness in 1666.<sup>210</sup> Furthermore, Alexander Jolly had commercial interests in Scottish coal since the late 1670s when he sold the commodity at Rotterdam.<sup>211</sup> However, from the early 1680s he and his brothers Robert and George traded with both English and Scottish coal in Hamburg as part of a triangular trade which also included Norwegian timber.<sup>212</sup> Interestingly, one of the cargoes Alexander Jolly delivered to Hamburg was declared as 'English goods' at one of Hamburg's toll stations and a payment was made which featured as 'English company impositions' in Alexander Jolly's account.<sup>213</sup> This confirms that the Jollys made illegal use of the trade advantages granted to the English Adventurers in Hamburg. Some members of the company must have complained to the senate as Robert Jolly experienced difficulties with the city authorities the following year. On 5 July Jolly sent a report to the convention of the Royal burghs, stating that

'...he having exported from Scotland several goods of the product of this kingdom to the city of Hamburg he wes impeded to make seal thereof, he not being a member of the English societie, who by the 42 article of the contract betuixt the senators of the said citie and them, dated in anno 1618, are alleged to be debarred as being subjects of the King of England, wheras the contract cannot debarre the merchants of Scotland from making seal of their goods at Hamburg of the product of this kingdom, they not being subjects of England...'<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> StAH, Admiraltätskollegium, 371-2, F4, vols. 13-14, 1644-1646.; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 57-58.

<sup>209</sup> A.I. Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629-1660* (Basingstoke, 2004), 156-157.

<sup>210</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 27 November 1642; NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/7, Bo'ness, 6 June 1666.

<sup>211</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Alexander Jolly, 24 October 1679.

<sup>212</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/21/4, Prestonpans, 27 May, 31 July 1682; NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Alexander Jolly to Robert Jolly, 25 February 1682; NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, Alexander Jolly, 1682; RH15/140, Account Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, 11 March 1684.

<sup>213</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Alexander Jolly to Robert Jolly, 25 February 1682.

<sup>214</sup> *Extracts from the Record of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, 1677-1711*, 4, Report, Robert Jolly to the Covention, Hamburg, 5 July 1683.

From this document it becomes evident that the senate of Hamburg was confused about Jolly's nationality, aiming to protect the Adventurers' trade from illegal transactions of Englishmen in their city. The Scottish Convention answered with a petition to Hamburg's authorities to grant Scots free trade in the city and to discharge those company members who were troubling Scottish merchants.<sup>215</sup> In 1684 Robert Jolly informed his brother Alexander that Newcastle and Scottish coal fetched good prices in Hamburg provided that not more than two ships arrived at the same time, revealing that he was able to continue this trade in the city.<sup>216</sup> After Jolly's successful precedent, the Edinburgh merchant Robert Douglas also engaged himself in the coal trade, though he may have been active earlier. His contact with the city can first be gauged from business correspondence between Andrew Russell and the Hamburg merchant Eliaß Bädeken in 1680. Bädeken informed Russell about an order by Douglas to his brother-in-law Georg Coopman (who worked at the local sugar bakery) which was to be sent with the next available ship to Scotland.<sup>217</sup> In 1694 Douglas again sold coal to the Hamburg trader P. Meyer who appears to have been his regular correspondent.<sup>218</sup> But from then on we have little surviving information on the Scottish-German coal trade until those records utilised by Philipp Rössner which date from the middle eighteenth century. This break in the record seam may indicate the end of the trade, or the loss of records. Whatever the case it allows for a more detailed review of those individuals who facilitated the trade discussed above, particularly those who directed their business from within Northwest Germany.

## **2.5 The Scottish Commercial Network in Bremen and Hamburg**

Given the engagement of Scots and Germans in a variety of industries, it is of little surprise that some of the fish, salt and coal merchants settled in the region, and even established their commercial bases in the cities of Bremen and Hamburg. In this section we review a number of these individuals and attempt to reconstruct their business networks.

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<sup>215</sup> Ibid., Convention to Hamburg Senate, Edinburgh, 4 July 1684.

<sup>216</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 18 July 1684.

<sup>217</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/387/4, Eliaß Bädeken to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 28 March 1680.

<sup>218</sup> Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 152-153.

In the aftermath of the British Civil Wars, Kincardine's former salt factor, Archibald Mercer, and his family returned to Bremen. However, Mercer died in 1650 and was buried in the St Stephani church survived by his wife Elizabeth (nee Kennedy) and six children.<sup>219</sup> Shortly after Mercer's death, the Scottish skipper Magnus Wilson appears in Bremen records (from 1651) and the time of his arrival hints that he too was a refugee.<sup>220</sup> Wilson became a member of the society of skippers (*Seefahrer-Brüderschaft*) in 1656 and acquired citizen rights two years later.<sup>221</sup> His formal integration into the local society allowed him to register his ship, the *Alexander Carl*, as a Bremen vessel and to carry salt to the city.<sup>222</sup> His profession acquainted Wilson with the Bremen-Shetland merchant Hermann Detjen who acted as godfather and namesake to Wilson's firstborn son on 11 November 1656.<sup>223</sup> Interestingly, Elizabeth Mercer was the second godparent, proving a meaningful connection between herself and the Wilson family.<sup>224</sup> It is possible that she and Wilson were also in communication with the Scots William Strachan, Joris Bart and John More (Leith) who likewise moved to Bremen in the aftermath of the Civil Wars or during the Cromwellian Usurpation and who acquired Bremen citizen rights in 1649, 1653 and 1656 respectively.<sup>225</sup> However, we have no further information on these men and thus cannot prove if they were acquainted with each other or with the Mercer family. A definite link existed between Elizabeth Mercer and the aforementioned Scottish merchant William Grison in Hamburg. Grison had been born in the Scottish staple town of Veere in the Dutch Republic and married in the reformed church in Danish Altona, thus confirming a familiar pattern for non-Lutherans being resident in Hamburg but crossing into Danish Holstein for their confessional

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<sup>219</sup> Drewes, 'The Scottish Civil War Refugee' (online publication). His extravagant funeral costs suggest that Mercer possessed some considerable wealth despite his exile.

<sup>220</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 55. Magnus Wilson was probably a relative of John Wilson who employed the Bremen merchant Dietrich Schorffmann in 1626 to oversee the purchase of 25 muskets which had been shipped to the Weser on the ship *Admiral*. StAB, Waffen, SS.2.b.w.4, Export of Danish Muskets to Edinburgh, 1626.

<sup>221</sup> StAB, Bürgerbuch der Altstadt 1643-1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 4 February 1658; Schwebel, *Salz*, 55.

<sup>222</sup> NLS, Bruce Papers, Acc.12868, Arend Meier to Alexander Bruce, Bremen, 26 February 1656. For a comprehensive overview over Wilson's journeys between 1653 and 1681 see Schwebel, *Salz*, 56-60.

<sup>223</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 55.

<sup>224</sup> This was a lifelong link as can be seen from the fact that Wilson changed the name of a grave in the St Stephani church in 1678 – where both Archibald and Elizabeth Mercer had been buried in 1650 and 1660 respectively – first to the latter's and then to his own name. It was here that Wilson was eventually buried in 1681. Schwebel, *Salz*, 55.

<sup>225</sup> StAB, Bürgerbuch der Altstadt 1643-1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 28 April 1649, 31 January 1653; 8 May 1656; Schwebel, *Salz*, 55. They are registered as William Stachman, Joris Bart and Johan Möhr.

needs.<sup>226</sup> During the 1650s Grison received 1,000 Imperial dollars from Elizabeth Mercer although it is unclear if this loan was commercially or politically motivated.<sup>227</sup> Mercer's link with Grison certainly facilitated the stay of Alexander Bruce with Grison in Hamburg in 1658. Mercer maintained close relations with Bruce which become visible in the fact that he chose the pseudonym 'John Mercer' shortly before his departure to the continent in 1657.<sup>228</sup> Bruce's journey was certainly motivated by his commercial connections with the city although Royalist sympathies probably also played a role.<sup>229</sup> Furthermore, the connection between Elizabeth Mercer and Grison may have facilitated a business link between the latter and John Mercer, a Scot based in Gothenburg who sent at least three consignments from his home port to Hamburg between 1638 and 1653, possibly using Grison as his factor.<sup>230</sup>

In addition to his contacts with Mercer and Bruce, and his extended European trade links, Grison was connected to the Merchant Adventurers although he cannot be proven to have been a member of their company. Between May 1651 and April 1652 the Scot Alexander Garden, a major in Swedish service, lent various sums of money ranging between 500 and 2,000 Imperial dollars to Grison and several company members, including Leonard Scott, James Harrington, John Ward and John Gilbert.<sup>231</sup> When looking for a conduit to the company it is possible that Grison had initiated the transactions between Garden and the English as he was the first to receive a sum of 1,200 Imperial dollars from Garden. Further Anglo-Scottish connections also emerge. Leonard Scott and Daniel Crawford, another debtor to Garden, were also ethnic Scots and in contact with Grison. Crawford, like Grison, cannot positively be proven to have been a company member. However, he received his loan through the Adventurer

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<sup>226</sup> Schubert, *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs*, vol. 6d, 31 October 1641.

<sup>227</sup> Drewes, 'The Scottish Civil War Refugee' (online publication). See chapter 3 for a discussion of political networks in the region.

<sup>228</sup> Stevenson, 'The Life of Sir Robert Moray', 19.

<sup>229</sup> A. J. Youngson states that it was first and foremost commercial interests which brought Alexander Bruce to the continent rather than political exile. A. J. Youngson, 'Alexander Bruce, Second Earl of Kincardine (1629-1681), Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London, 15 (1960), 252. David Stevenson generally agrees but also notes Alexander Bruce's involvement in the Royalist cause. Stevenson, 'The Life of Sir Robert Moray', 18-19. See chapter 3.

<sup>230</sup> Christina Dalhede, *Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad* (3 vols., Stockholm, 2001), vol. 3 (CDRom Database); Grosjean and Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg', 191-223.

<sup>231</sup> NAS, Burnett and Reid Records, GD57/1/336/10, Notarial Copy of Obligations, May 1651 – April 1652; StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 7 January 1638, 13 December 1635, 5 December 1647, 29 October 1654.

Wilhelm Atwood. Moreover, he was almost certainly a relative of John Crawford who was listed as a communicant in the English church in Hamburg on 4 May 1650.<sup>232</sup> Interestingly on the same day the English Republican resident Richard Bradshaw also received communion along with one Mr ‘Jollye’.<sup>233</sup> The entry may thus be an indication of a cross-ethnic connection between the merchants via the Adventurer Crawford. It is possibly also the first mention of the presence of a member of the Jolly family in Hamburg.<sup>234</sup>

Alexander Garden did not limit his financial lending to Scots or Englishmen. The Hamburg merchant Paul Paulsen also received a sum of 2,000 Imperial dollars from him in 1652 through Wilhelm Atwood, further demonstrating links between locals, the Scot and the company.<sup>235</sup> Altogether the evidence suggests that regardless of the civil conflict in Britain or even the occupation of Scotland by Cromwell’s forces, Anglo-Scottish commercial concerns could develop with Grison and Garden at the centre of these. They also link the military network to the commercial, again reiterating the importance of not confining people to any one capacity when researching them.

Evidence for a Scottish mercantile presence within the region during the late 1650s and 1660s is limited although we can trace a few probable Scots among the Adventurers, including William Poppel, probably the same person as the Scottish merchant active at Bordeaux in the 1670s.<sup>236</sup> Furthermore, the skipper John Thomason was involved in an incident at sea with his hoy (a coastal fishing and trading vessel) in September 1662, being described by Sir Thomas Allen as ‘a Scot belonging to Hamburg’.<sup>237</sup> Another Scot, John Williamson from Dundee, acquired citizen rights of Bremen in 1665 and became skipper of the city’s biggest sea ship, the *Kaufmann von Bremen*.<sup>238</sup> Magnus Wilson’s presence can be traced throughout the same period. He

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<sup>232</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 4 May 1650.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid. Unfortunately the name is hardly readable but it could refer to the Jolly family who were to hold significant links with Bremen and Hamburg from the late 1670s and were to become business partners of William Grison.

<sup>234</sup> See below.

<sup>235</sup> NAS, Burnett and Reid Records, GD57/1/336/10, Notarial Copy of Obligations, May 1651 – April 1652.

<sup>236</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 3 July 1657; Murdoch, ‘The French Connection’, 30.

<sup>237</sup> R.C. Anderson (ed.), *Journals of Sir Thomas Allen* (London, 1939), 102. He was possibly identical to a namesake who had married in the German Reformed Church in Altona in 1636. Schubert (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs*, vol. 6d, 61, 31 January 1636.

<sup>238</sup> StAB, Bürgerbuch der Altstadt 1643-1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 23 October 1665; Schwebel, *Salz*, 55. As the ship was tall enough to carry 160 lasts it is unlikely that it was used to freight goods from the small Scottish East coast ports. Scottish-German links also facilitated the arrival of a prominent Scot, Sir

and Grison maintained links with fellow countrymen who moved to the region from the 1670s. Gilbert Spence acquired citizen rights of Bremen in January 1672<sup>239</sup> and became a part-owner of Wilson's new ship called variously the *Gräfin of Bremen* or the *Countess (Gräfin) of Kincardine*.<sup>240</sup> The skipper continued to sail to the Scottish east coast complemented by additional trips to the Baltic.<sup>241</sup> His journeys to the Firth of Forth provided an important link for his relative John Wilson, a soldier in Braunschweig-Lüneburg service stationed at Winsen. Magnus Wilson carried letters on his behalf to Scotland and was meant to return with some small purchases for his relative.<sup>242</sup> In 1676 Spence sent a cargo of horses which he had bought on behalf of William Bruce of Balcaskie to Scotland with Wilson's ship.<sup>243</sup> The cost of transport caused a dispute adding to previous frictions which had existed between the skipper and his owners who were resolved to sell the ship.<sup>244</sup> This conflict led to a court case between Spence and Wilson whose outcome is unclear.<sup>245</sup> Wilson was listed as paying fees for barks on four different voyages after 1679 indicating that he worked as skipper until his death in 1681 though on which ship is not certain.<sup>246</sup> In addition to Wilson, Spence was acquainted with the local skipper Jochen Annes who in 1675 was ordered to purchase a ship in Holland on behalf of Spence's brother John Spence of Blair as well as John Haliday, James Mackie and John Kennewie (all officials or merchants in Culross).<sup>247</sup> Annes had undertaken at least one previous trip to Scotland and it is likely

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William Davidson of Curriehill, in Hamburg in 1666. Curriehill had been the conservator of the Scottish staple at Veere since 1662 but had been forced to leave the Netherlands due to the Second Anglo-Dutch War. After a brief stay in Copenhagen in January he visited Hamburg en route to Antwerp. It was here that he received a considerable sum of 1,250 Imperial dollars from the senate on a bill of exchange of Paul Paulsen indicating an existing business link with this merchant. It is possible that Davidson met with Grison while in Hamburg, albeit there is no evidence that the Scottish merchant was present during this period, although he re-emerges in the extant documents in the late 1670s. TNA, SP82/11 fol. 18, Hamburg, 3/13 April 1666; Murdoch, *Network North*, 149.

<sup>239</sup> StAB, Bürgerbuch der Altstadt 1643-1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 16 January 1672; Schwebel, *Salz*, 56.

<sup>240</sup> NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC7/4, Document Relating to Wilson's Ship, May 1676; Schwebel, *Salz*, 56. Wilson exchanged his old vessel, the *Alexander Carl*, for the *Gräfin* during the 1660s. This ship was considerably bigger (80 lasts) forcing the skipper to depart from the deeper Weser harbour of Brake.

<sup>241</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 56.

<sup>242</sup> NAS, Kirkpatrick Family Papers, GD19/2152, John Wilson to Mrs Mitchell, Winsen, 26 May 1672.

<sup>243</sup> NAS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/1906, Gilbert Spence to Balcaskie, Bremen, 19 April 1676; GD29/1906, Gilbert Spence to Balcaskie, Bremen, 9 August 1676.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>245</sup> StAB, Obergerichtsprotokolle 1673-1677, 2-Qq.10.4.b., 193-195, Gilbert Spence vs. Magnus Wilson.

<sup>246</sup> NAS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/1906, Gilbert Spence to Balcaskie, Bremen, 19 April 1676; GD29/1906, Gilbert Spence to Balcaskie, 9 August 1676. Schwebel, *Salz*, 60.

<sup>247</sup> NAS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/1864, Back-Bond, Jochen Annes/Blair, Edinburgh, 2 January 1675. The purchase of ships in Holland by Scottish traders was common. Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 49.

that he was meant to become skipper on the new ship engaging in Scottish-Bremen trade.<sup>248</sup>

As previously mentioned, Spence maintained a business link with John Spreull who visited the region in 1675 from where he corresponded with the Scottish factor at Rotterdam, Andrew Russell, linking Spence to this important figure.<sup>249</sup> From Hamburg, Spreull passed on correspondence together with enclosures from Russell to a Mr Clark, a Scot in Gothenburg, under the cover of a letter to another friend whom he ordered to return the documents in the case that Clark had left the city. For extra security he also delivered the same letters under cover of another letter to Sir John Paul, the Scottish and British resident at Elsinore.<sup>250</sup> What is certain is that Spreull must have trusted this individual to have passed on the apparently sensitive letters to them.<sup>251</sup> The unnamed 'friend' could have been one of the Scots at Gothenburg who continued their commercial contact with Hamburg in the 1670s. Although their commercial relations with the city do not prove any contact with Spreull, they must have used a factor in the city. This could have been John Beck whose connections with Scottish merchants has already been proven. Another possible candidate for this role was Nathaniel Watson who was closely associated with the Merchant Adventurers in whose church he received communion on 9 April 1664.<sup>252</sup> Watson also had commercial dealings with the Scottish merchant in Stockholm, Alexander Waddell, in 1672<sup>253</sup> and had a proven business link with Sir John Paul in 1674.<sup>254</sup> Watson and Spreull were thus both linked to Paul, and it is very probable that Watson assisted Spreull during his stay in Hamburg, perhaps acquainting him with other Adventurers.

Gilbert Spence's commercial links with Amsterdam have already been mentioned above. In 1672 the merchant went on a business trip to the United Provinces on behalf of Balcaskie accompanied by a fellow countryman called John Gordon. The latter was a merchant at Veere and a relative of James Gordon, a Scottish agent in Rotterdam. John

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<sup>248</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/7, Bo'ness, 3 September 1673.

<sup>249</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/199/2, John Spreull to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 10 December 1675; RH15/106/199/4, John Spreull to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 16 December 1675.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> For issues of trust implied and stated by handling correspondence see Murdoch, *Network North*, 80-81.

<sup>252</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 9 April 1664.

<sup>253</sup> H. Roseveare (ed.), *Markets and Merchants of the Late Seventeenth Century: The Marscoe-David Letters, 1668-1680* (Oxford, 1987), 353-354, Alexander Waddell to Leonora Marscoe and Peter Joye, Stockholm, 24 July 1672; Murdoch, *Network North*, 163.

<sup>254</sup> DRA, TKUA, England, A II 17, 'English' merchants to John Paul, 25 September 1674.

Gordon certainly knew Andrew Russell through his relative, linking Spence once again to this influential figure.<sup>255</sup> A connection between Spence and the United Provinces furthermore derived from his acquaintance, the Englishman William Willet, who had acquired Bremen citizen rights in 1669. Willet acted as sponsor for Spence's application for citizenship three years later indicating that both men had already formed some sort of relationship by this point.<sup>256</sup> And this association paid dividends for the Englishmen. In 1707/8 Spence assisted Willet's bankrupt cousin William Colclough. Their business involved intensive correspondence with the Rotterdam merchant Patrick Harper, possibly a Scot and former associate of Spence who also assisted Colclough.<sup>257</sup> Willet himself maintained a commercial connection with Amsterdam which had possibly been facilitated by Spence or vice versa. Furthermore, both merchants traded with London and Rouen, further broadening the geographic spread of their network.<sup>258</sup> Their contact in the French port was almost certainly Willet's relative, Daniel Willet, who was based in Rouen in 1689.<sup>259</sup> Another English contact of Spence at Bremen was William Rives who resided in Spence's house until 1691.<sup>260</sup> In addition, Spence engaged himself in trade with Hamburg from where he received various commodities like bleach and candied lemon peel in 1673 which he intended for re-export to Scotland.<sup>261</sup>

In the late 1670s and early 1680s Willet's and Spence's network expanded with the commencement of the commercial activity of the Jolly family and the move of the Scottish merchant William Dunbar to Bremen.<sup>262</sup> Willet's engagement as factor on behalf of Alexander and Robert Jolly has already been revealed. Furthermore, it has

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<sup>255</sup> Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 77. There is only proof of Spence corresponding with the Scottish factor from September 1689 but it is probable that their connection had been established in the previous decades.

<sup>256</sup> StAB, Bürgerbuch Altstadt 1643-1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 16 January 1672. Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft*, 238.

<sup>257</sup> StAB, Gilbert Spence, 2-Ss.2.a.2.f.2.s., Patrick Harper to Gilbert Spence, Rotterdam, 16 December 1707.

<sup>258</sup> StAO, Weserzollregister, Best.20-AB-D18, 11 March, 15 April, 3, 19, 27 May 1673.

<sup>259</sup> Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft*, 243. According to Prange, Daniel Willet swore his Bremen citizenship oath on 16 September 1689 sponsored by William Willet and Johann Medehurst another English merchant resident in Bremen.

<sup>260</sup> StAB, England, 2-W.9.b.1, Bremen Senate to (Jacobsen), Bremen, 11 February 1691. Spence's and Rives's relations came to an abrupt end when the latter fled the city after he had impregnated Spence's stepdaughter.

<sup>261</sup> StAO, Weserzollregister, Best.20-AB-D18, Elsfleth, 15 June 1673.

<sup>262</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 11 March 1683; RH15/140, Account, 11 March 1684. Robert Jolly acted as factor for William Dunbar in Hamburg. The latter was partially trading with textiles. Dunbar's business partners in Scotland were probably a group of Montrose merchants who sent cloth to the region during this period. NAS, E72/16/7, Montrose, 21 September 1682.

been demonstrated that a link existed between Robert Jolly and William Dunbar. From this information we can safely gauge that a small 'British' mercantile network existed within the region during the late 1670s and 1680s. This was temporarily bolstered by sojourning Scottish merchants and skippers. For example, in November 1678 the Glasgow trader William Bogle was present in Hamburg informing Andrew Russell at Rotterdam that he had arrived from Bergen and asking for advice as to where he should sail with his goods from the city.<sup>263</sup> His brother James Bogle was also trading with Hamburg. He was part owner of James Campbell's vessel which was lost with its cargo at the island of Helgoland on a journey from Amsterdam to Hamburg in November 1680.<sup>264</sup> Having continued from the island to Hamburg, Campbell received assistance from John Gordon who was then present in the city.<sup>265</sup> However, the English resident, William Swann, forced him to spend this financial aid to relieve his crew. Thus Campbell requested Russell's help to establish another contact for him to raise more money in the city, although he was not sure if Russell had another correspondent there.<sup>266</sup> Gordon was a business acquaintance of Alexander Jolly and it is inconceivable that he did not meet with Robert Jolly while in Hamburg.<sup>267</sup> Through his connection to Gordon it is highly likely that Jolly was also in contact with Andrew Russell at this time. However, we do not know if Russell recommended Campbell to Jolly or to one of his other contacts (including Eliaß Bädeken) within the city only that he was connected enough to be able to find the help he required.

This is not the last we hear of Bogle, or of Russell in a Hamburg context. In 1687 Bogle instructed Jolly to remit a sum of money to Russell, revealing another commercial link between these Scottish merchants.<sup>268</sup> Two years later the connection between Jolly and Russell was of some advantage to a Scottish travelling party consisting of a Mr Eliot, Mr Hume and Mr Mungo English who arrived in Hamburg

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<sup>263</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/305/6, William Bogle to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 11 November 1678.

<sup>264</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/387/6, James Campbell to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 23 November 1680.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, John Gordon to Alexander Jolly, Veere, 18 October 1681.

<sup>268</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/637/11, Robert Jolly to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 28 October 1687.

before continuing their journey to Bremen.<sup>269</sup> English informed Russell that Jolly had provided them with 240 Dutch gilders after he had learned that they were acquainted to him. This sum the factor was to repay to Alexander Pyper who was then in Rotterdam.<sup>270</sup> After their stay in Hamburg the Scots continued to Bremen where they resided with Gilbert Spence who likewise assisted them financially on Russell's behalf.<sup>271</sup> It is highly likely that further business relations existed between Robert Jolly and Andrew Russell and the latter's business associates. Russell was partner in a joint-stock company consisting of himself, Patrick Thomson (Stockholm) and Robert Turnbull (Edinburgh) which was set up in 1684 and later joined by James Thomson (Norrköping) and Alexander Baird (Stirling).<sup>272</sup> This company employed John Gibb as skipper who was related to James and Patrick Thomson.<sup>273</sup> It appears that family relations existed between some of these company members and the Jolly family. Whereas John Jolly (a fourth brother to Alexander, George and Robert Jolly) got married to Annis Turnbull in 1639, his nephew George Jolly (son to George Jolly senior) wed a woman called Margaret Gibb in 1690.<sup>274</sup> Furthermore, Alexander Jolly (also son to George Jolly senior) married Isobel Thomson in 1700.<sup>275</sup> Moreover, a skipper called John Thomson of Prestonpans was recorded as transporting salt to Bremen in 1670 and 1686 presumably meeting with Jolly's business partners in the city.<sup>276</sup> Robert Jolly also received coal from a skipper called James Thomson in Hamburg in 1682 who was possibly related to the Scottish merchants in Sweden.<sup>277</sup> As it has been proven that blood relations mattered considerably in forming trusted business links it has to be assumed that the Jollys played a role for the company and that its members sent commodities to Robert Jolly in Hamburg provided that the market was

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<sup>269</sup> During their stay in Bremen the Scottish travellers lodged with Spence. NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689, Several Bills and Letters, Gilbert Spence/Mungo English to Andrew Russell, 23 November – 18 December 1689.

<sup>270</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689/17, Mungo English to Andrew Russell, Hamburg 26 October 1689; Murdoch, *Network North*, 137.

<sup>271</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689/10, Mungo English to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 24 November 1689.

<sup>272</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 144-145.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>274</sup> NAS, Old Parish Registers, Prestonpans, John Jolly/ Annis Turnbull, 7 February 1639; George Jolly/ Margaret Gibb, 26 September 1690 (accessed online at [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk)).

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, Alexander Jolly/ Isobel Thomson, 19 March 1700.

<sup>276</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/9/4, Fife, 29 March 1670; E72/21/10, Prestonpans, 19 March 1686.

<sup>277</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, Robert Jolly, 25 February 1682.

favourable.<sup>278</sup> Jolly maintained a commercial link with Stockholm and in 1683 he had received commodities from there on behalf of David Madder in Montrose.<sup>279</sup> As he refused to pay for these, Jolly could not answer Madder's bills from Stockholm, offending his business partners. These were described by Jolly as the 'North people' and 'subtle foxes' indicating that if he was linked to Thomson he had additional contacts in Sweden.<sup>280</sup> However, Jolly's commercial network stretched beyond Scotland, the United Provinces or Scandinavia. In 1681 he complained to his brother about a decay of maritime trade except in France.<sup>281</sup> This was not only through the loss of ships (due to the ongoing French-Dutch war) but also through a wave of bankruptcies in Antwerp, France and London as well as in Hamburg. Jolly was affected by these as several merchants in difficulties were his acquaintances and Jolly observed that 'one depends upon another as links upon a chain.'<sup>282</sup> In light of Jolly's statement it is not surprising that he and his family continued their business links with France. Jolly's contacts in Bordeaux included a relative, Henry Jolly, who had engaged himself in the wine trade since the late 1660s.<sup>283</sup> Furthermore, in 1682 Alexander Jolly was chartered by the Hamburg merchant Otto Danke to freight commodities to Cadiz, Alicante or Marseilles. Robert Jolly's accounts reveal that his brother had sailed to France on this occasion returning with wine.<sup>284</sup> The following year Alexander Jolly set out to Marseilles again but was shipwrecked en route. His freight consisted of linen, fish, tar, hemp, stockfish, whalebone, copper and white iron.<sup>285</sup> As typical Scandinavian exports the latter two commodities indicate further business links between the Jolly family and Sweden. On his trip to Marseilles, Jolly was accompanied by his cousin John Cowan who had previously engaged in small commercial activities and seemed to be part of Alexander Jolly's regular crew, broadening their family network.<sup>286</sup> With Alexander

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<sup>278</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 145, 166-168.

<sup>279</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 11 March 1683.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 22 April 1681.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, without place, 11 November 1668; Murdoch, 'French Connection', 32.

<sup>284</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Charter Party, Alexander Jolly/ Otto Danke, 20 October 1682; RH15/140, Account, Robert Jolly, 1682; RH15/140, Account, Robert Jolly, 1683.

<sup>285</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Alexander Jolly to George Jolly, 23 May 1683; RH15/140, Account, Alexander Jolly, May 1683.

<sup>286</sup> NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, George Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Edinburgh, 27 November 1677; RH15/140, Account, 1682; RH15/140, Alexander Jolly to George Jolly, Marseilles, 23 May 1683.

Jolly's death in 1688 this network lost one of its key players. Furthermore, William Grison disappears from records after the early 1680s. Given that he was active in Hamburg from the 1640s he must by then have reached a fairly old age and it is likely that he had either retired or died by this time.<sup>287</sup> But this death did not end Scottish networking in the region.

In the late 1690s Robert Jolly met with Scots who homed in on the region with other, grander, commercial ideas. The attempts of the directors of the Company of Scotland to persuade foreign investors in Hamburg to join their scheme has been extensively analysed by G.P. Insh and Douglas Watt.<sup>288</sup> Thus it is here sufficient to briefly summarise their activities. William Patterson and John Erskine arrived in the city in February 1697 meeting with the English Adventurers Francis Stratford and his son, also Francis. They had been appointed factors of the company but later withdrew their support not least due to their large investment in English government bonds.<sup>289</sup> Their nomination was perhaps not too surprising as Stratford senior maintained connections with Scottish merchants like Andrew Russell and Alexander Ross in Copenhagen.<sup>290</sup> Paterson's and Erskine's endeavours to find investors in Hamburg, Lübeck, Altona, Glückstadt and Tönning were only of very moderate success due to the resistance of Sir Paul Rycout, William and Mary's resident at Hamburg. Initially there had been some interest within Hamburg's mercantile community as the Scottish Company would have offered an opportunity to circumnavigate the Dutch and English companies from whom Hamburg's merchants purchased East Indian commodities. However, after Rycout threatened diplomatic action if the city's authorities were to support subscriptions only a few investments were made.<sup>291</sup> One of the subscribers at Hamburg was the local merchant Andreas Tomloo, whose investment his heirs were still trying to retrieve in 1730.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> Robert Jolly maintained a link with Grison's daughter Anna, perhaps assisting her after her father's death. NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, 11 March 1684.

<sup>288</sup> G.P. Insh, *The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies* (London, 1932); Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, 91-103, 123-125.

<sup>289</sup> Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, 97-100.

<sup>290</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/759/4, Francis Stratford to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 6 and 21 July 1693.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>292</sup> NAS, Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/93, Will, Andreas Tomloo, 31 December 1730. The heirs calculated that they were owed a sum of £3880 and 4pence Scots.

In addition to the search for investors the company directors commissioned the building of four ships in Hamburg. Their construction and equipment was supervised by Edinburgh merchant Alexander Stevenson who was present in the city from July 1696. In March 1697 the *Caledonia* and the *Instauration* were launched and were transferred to the Firth of Forth by November the same year.<sup>293</sup> Robert Jolly was appointed to accompany the ships, which left Edinburgh for Central America in July 1698, as one of seven governors who were to administer the Scottish colony to be founded at Darien.<sup>294</sup> Nothing is known about Jolly's motivation to leave Hamburg, or if he saw his departure as permanent, although the enticement of wealth and influence surely played a part. Shortly before his departure from Edinburgh Jolly not only employed James Bruce as factor for his trade links with Shetland but also mandated Robert Cunningham as representative for his other businesses.<sup>295</sup> The outcome of the Darien project is well known. However, even before the Scots were forced to give up their colony for the first time, Robert Jolly and his fellow governor James Montgomerie left Darien due to internal conflicts among the settlers. When they returned to Edinburgh in August 1699 their departure was perceived with suspicion and later interpreted as desertion.<sup>296</sup> This may have been an incentive for Jolly to return to Hamburg where we can trace him in both 1701 and 1702 when he engaged himself as factor on behalf of Alexander Baird in 1702 revealing further links between him and members of the Russell, Thomson, Baird consortium.<sup>297</sup>

On Jolly's return to Hamburg, Alexander Stevenson was present in the city, from where he traded with Adam Montgomerie in Glasgow and was in contact with John Spreull.<sup>298</sup> Adam Montgomerie, almost certainly a relative of James Montgomerie, also maintained trade links with the English Adventurers Francis Stratford and Samuel Free,

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<sup>293</sup> James Grant, *The Old Scots Navy from 1689 to 1710* (London, 1914), 216-217; Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, 118-119.

<sup>294</sup> Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, 126.

<sup>295</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/81/1, Bond, Robert Jolly/ James Bruce, Edinburgh, 22 February 1698; RD2/81/2, 434-435, Bond, Robert Jolly/ Robert Cunningham, Edinburgh, 16 July 1698.

<sup>296</sup> NAS, Hamilton Papers, GD406/1/4427, Frances Scott to ?, Greenock, 12 August 1699; John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster* (Pimlico, 2002, first published in 1968), 193, 231-2.

<sup>297</sup> NAS, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Baird, Hamburg 1702.

<sup>298</sup> Mitchell Library, Montgomerie Letterbook, B325799, Adam Montgomerie to Alexander Stevenson, Glasgow, 12 March 1702.

a contact which had been initiated by Stevenson.<sup>299</sup> There is as yet no evidence that Jolly was in contact with Stevenson or the Adventurers on his return. However, it is likely that he continued some of his former business links with Spence and Willet who were still in Bremen in the 1700s. Spence had broadened his business by opening a coffee house in 1697 which he ran until 1704 – the second of its kind within the city.<sup>300</sup> Furthermore, Robert Dunbar had replaced his brother William in the city by 1703.<sup>301</sup> Thus, Scottish merchants appear to have continually remained active within the region in the years immediately before the Anglo-Scottish parliamentary union, continuously forming mercantile networks with their countrymen, indigenous Germans and with their English counterparts. These latter connections may have had a significant bearing in the post-1707 period.

## 2.6 Postscript to Union

On 1 May 1707 the parliamentary Union between Scotland and England came into effect.<sup>302</sup> Commercially, the articles of the union treaty offered Scottish merchants official access to the English domestic and colonial markets (article IV) and classified Scottish-owned vessels as British ships (article V). In addition, the English custom and taxation system was applied to Scotland including duties on imports of foreign salt (articles VI, VIII).<sup>303</sup> Scholars agree that the short-term impacts of the conditions imposed on the Scottish economy were complex and entailed advantages as well as disadvantages.<sup>304</sup> Furthermore, some concede that a sound evaluation of the influence of the Union is a difficult undertaking and not in all cases possible due to the absence of

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<sup>299</sup> Mitchell Library, Montgomerie Letterbook, B325799, Adam Montgomerie to Samuel Free and Francis Stratford, Glasgow, 26 January 1701; B325799, Adam Montgomerie to Francis Stratford, Glasgow, 16 March 1701.

<sup>300</sup> Petra Seling-Biehusen, *Kaffee-Handel und Kaffee-Genuss in der Stadt Bremen im 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Bremen, 2001), 146-155.

<sup>301</sup> NAS, Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/82, Will, William Dunbar, 13 July 1703.

<sup>302</sup> For the latest research on the causes of the Anglo-Scottish Union see A. I. Macinnes, *Empire and Union: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007); Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006).

<sup>303</sup> RPS, Act Ratifying and Approving the Treaty of Union of the Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England, 16 January 1707. However, trade with the East Indies remained a monopoly of the London based merging East India Companies. Macinnes, *Empire and Union*, 317.

<sup>304</sup> T. M. Devine, 'The Modern Economy: Scotland and the Act of Union', in T.M. Devine, Clive Howard Lee, G.C. Peden (eds.), *The Transformation of Scotland: the Economy since 1700* (Edinburgh, 2005), 22; A. I. Macinnes, *Empire and Union*, 317-319; Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation* (Manchester, 2000), 53-58.

reliable sources.<sup>305</sup> As noted above, the Scottish and German documentary evidence for the first two decades after the Union does not allow for a comprehensive analysis of the immediate impact of the treaty on Scottish trade relations with the region. However, some historians have claimed that this political event influenced commercial links between Scotland and Germany, and most specifically with Shetland.

According to contemporary opinion, increased import and export duties introduced by the treaty of 1707 discouraged Bremen and Hamburg merchants from trading in the islands.<sup>306</sup> However, Hance D. Smith argues that the real reason for the cessation of trade shortly after 1707 ‘was rooted in the assertion of the navigation laws which forbade the import of foreign salt in foreign bottoms.’<sup>307</sup> Shaw agrees that it was the application of the English Navigation Acts which led to the cessation of the German mercantile activity within the islands.<sup>308</sup> Both scholars also refer to the complicating factor of the ongoing War of the Spanish Succession and point out that the imposition of higher duties and the discouragement of foreign merchants from trade had been ongoing since the 1660s.<sup>309</sup> While Smith and Shaw are largely right in their observations, the situation of Bremen and Hamburg traders after 1707 requires some further clarification.

In 1707 and 1708 no less than fifteen skippers acquired Swedish passes at Stade to Shetland on behalf of the Bremen and Hamburg merchants Hermann Bardewisch, Johan Otto Bossow, Joachim and Nicolaus Sauke and Daniel Thomsen in order to avoid French privateers.<sup>310</sup> However, from the following year onwards the acquisition of these certificates was no longer an option for most of these traders. In 1708, the Portuguese authorities expressed massive doubts over the real origin of ‘Swedish’ vessels calling at their ports, causing the Swedish government to demand more scrutiny from the Stade officials when issuing sea passes.<sup>311</sup> This led to a drastic decline in Swedish passes for Bremen and Hamburg merchants, including those trading with Shetland. Accordingly, only two of these certificates appear to have been granted to skippers and merchants

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<sup>305</sup> Devine, ‘The Modern Economy’, 23; Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 52.

<sup>306</sup> NAS, Earls of Morton Papers, RH4/137, George Robertson to the Earl of Morton, Lerwick, 21 June 1709; *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1709*, 195-196, Representation by the Justices of Peace in Shetland to the Edinburgh Custom Commissioners, 26 October 1708. According to Rössner non-British denizens were liable to an additional Petty Custom on imports. Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 120.

<sup>307</sup> Smith, *Shetland*, 40. Smith bases this on a report by the treasurer Sidney Godolphin to Queen Anne.

<sup>308</sup> Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 181; Smith, *Shetland*, 38-39.

<sup>309</sup> Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 180-181.

<sup>310</sup> Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 189-203. Nine ships left Stade for Shetland in 1707 and six ships in 1708.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-45.

travelling to the islands in the following years. These were given to the Bremen trader Helmke Hartmann (who must have escaped the scrutiny of the authorities) and to a man called H. Pragemann who cannot be proven to have previously traded with Shetland.<sup>312</sup> Another Hamburg trader, John du Burgh, and several of his (unnamed) counterparts registered their ship the *St Peter* at 'Schleswig in Holstein'.<sup>313</sup> In 1709 they sent a petition to the British monarch to allow them to purchase fish in Shetland which they were to salt and cask on board their vessel thus circumnavigating both duties on salt imports and the Navigation Laws.<sup>314</sup> The overall tone of the British response stated that giving permission to the Hamburgers to trade would discourage the development of the national fishery.<sup>315</sup> It appears however that most of the regular Bremen and Hamburg traders returned to their cities after 1708 anyway with Shetland merchants taking over the marketing of their commodities over the next few years.<sup>316</sup> One of the Germans, Johann Otto Bossow, complained in 1712 to George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney and Lord of Shetland, that he had to abandon the Shetland trade due to Shetland traders taking up the commercial exchange with England.<sup>317</sup> Bossow asked to be allowed to resume his trade with Hillswick, referring to the trusted business links he had established with Shetland merchants and the Earl's brother, Robert Hamilton, whom Bossow styled as his acquaintance. Furthermore, Bossow offered his expertise as representative in Shetland and in Hamburg as he had heard that trade with England was not going well due to the inexperience of the Shetland factors.<sup>318</sup> Bossow was thus obviously keen to continue his trade links with Shetland despite the increased duties and the danger posed by the war at sea to Hamburg ships. This not only signifies the profitability of this trade

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<sup>312</sup> NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16/19, Account, Arthur Nicolson, 22 September 1709; Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 208-209. It is possible that Pragemann was a genuine resident of Stade attempting to exploit the difficulties of the established merchants.

<sup>313</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1709*, 195, Report Sidney Godolphin to Queen Anne, 1 June 1709. The document refers to the small duchy of Holstein-Gottorf whose rulers derived from a side branch of the House of Oldenburg. For more information on this territory see for example Dieter Lohmeier, *Kleiner Staat ganz groß: Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf* (Heide, 1997). The skipper of the *St Peter*, Claus Ehlers, had acquired two sea passes at Stade in 1708 one of which had been issued for a journey to Scotland and Ireland. Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 204-205.

<sup>314</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1709*, 152, Petition, John du Burgh, 30 April 1709.

<sup>315</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1709*, 195, Report, Sidney Godolphin to Queen Anne, 1 June 1709; For the Act see *RPS*, Act for Advancing the Fishing Trade, 21 September 1705.

<sup>316</sup> The removal of the Germans and the reallocation of their role is deduced from NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16/19, Account, Arthur Nicolson, 22 September 1709. Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 51, 176-177, 184-185, 192-193, 200-201.

<sup>317</sup> Orkney Archives, Earldom of Orkney (Morton), D38/2544, Johann Otto Bossow to Hamilton, Hamburg, 4/5 October 1712 (Two letters with identical content but different wording).

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*

but also indicates Bossow's difficulties in replacing his commercial links with Shetland caused by the disruption to his Portugal trade due to the the denial of Swedish sea passes. At the same time the petition by Shetland's Justices of Peace, including Thomas Gifford, William Henderson, William Dick and Andrew Bruce reveals that at least part of Shetland's society sought to assist the German merchants and to maintain the old trade pattern, not least to the cultural and financial connections across the German Sea.<sup>319</sup> For a cultural example, the Shetland merchant Magnus Henderson of Gardie (son-in-law to James Mitchell of Girlsta), had received a mercantile education in Hamburg.<sup>320</sup> Furthermore the Hamburg merchant Joachim Sauke remained involved in the financial transactions of some of the Shetland traders long after 1710 while interethnic factoring on both sides of the German trade continued well into the 1720s.<sup>321</sup>

Thus, although the Anglo-Scottish Union opened the English market to Scottish merchants, Bremen and especially Hamburg remained Shetland's main market for fish exports at least until the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>322</sup> This was due to a contract closed between Hamburg and Great Britain in 1711 which granted British merchants favourable conditions for the sale of herring. This treaty had been initiated by the British resident John Wich who exploited a situation in which Hamburg officials and merchants sought to break the monopoly of the trade of the Scandic Company with Dutch herring – mainly to enforce free access of Bergen fish.<sup>323</sup> The treaty granted British merchants access to the Hamburg market on equal terms to the Dutch which effectively meant an exemption from the admiralty toll.<sup>324</sup> Importantly, it further determined that British herring had to be sold either by the merchants themselves or by

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<sup>319</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1709*, 195-196, Representation by the Justices of Peace in Shetland to the Edinburgh Custom Commissioners, 26 October 1708.

<sup>320</sup> Brian Smith, 'Lairds' and 'Improvement in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Shetland', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Lairds and Improvement in the Scotland of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1978), 14.

<sup>321</sup> NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16/33, Gifford of Busta vs. Stewart of Bigtoun, Lerwick, 13 September 1715. Hermann Bardewisch acted as factor for Charles Mitchell in Bremen in the 1720s although it is not entirely clear if his tasks related to trade with Shetland or commercial exchange with the Scottish mainland. See NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/18/13, Charles Mitchell to Hermann Bardewisch, without place, 1716; RH15/93/18/12, Hermann Bardewisch to Charles Mitchell, Kinghorn, 4 March 1723; RH15/93/18/14, Account Hermann Bardewisch to Charles Mitchell, 1723; RH15/93/13, Account Hermann Bardewisch to Charles Mitchell, 5 August 1723. Bardewisch remitted money to Mitchell via the Bremen merchants George and Martin Berchem at Amsterdam and met the Edinburgh merchant at least once in person during a journey to the Scottish mainland.

<sup>322</sup> Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 120-121.

<sup>323</sup> Baasch, 'Zur Geschichte des hamburgischen Heringshandels', 77-82; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 170.

<sup>324</sup> NLS, 1.22 (6), Copy of the Agreement concerning the Herring Trade; Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 123.

factors who had to be Hamburg citizens or Merchant Adventurers and ensured severe quality checks.<sup>325</sup> This treaty (renewed in 1719) stimulated the intake of Scottish herring into the city not only from Shetland merchants but also from traders operating from the Scottish mainland.<sup>326</sup> In the 1710s and 1720s a group of Inverness merchants including John Steuart, Alexander Macintosh and Hugh Monro engaged in the herring trade with Hamburg initially using the Englishman and Adventurer Bartholomew Bludworth as their factor.<sup>327</sup> However, the Dutch maintained a strong competition. In the winter of 1715/16 Bludworth reported that the Hamburg market had a glut of Dutch herring. This provoked him to complain about the British inferior fishing and curing techniques as well as the inexperience of other Scottish supercargoes who mishandled earlier sales in the city.<sup>328</sup> Nevertheless, Scottish merchants like James Macintosh – cousin of Alexander Macintosh – remained active in the city in similar capacities to those they maintained before, and with similar networks in place.<sup>329</sup> To exemplify this point, part of the profits obtained by Alexander Macintosh were remitted to the former Adventurer Nathaniel Cambridge in London whereas Steuart kept an account with the Scottish merchant Alexander Andrew in Rotterdam.<sup>330</sup> Both Macintosh and Steuart were connected to Alexander Arbuthnott in Edinburgh who also received a share of their money, while funds could also be sent through this network in the opposite direction.<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> NLS, 1.22 (96), Copy of the Agreement Concerning the Herring Trade.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid., 89. Baasch has estimated that in 1717 one sixth of the imported herring originated from Scotland although it is unclear if this assessment included Shetland herring. Baasch, 'Zur Geschichte des hamburgischen Heringshandels', 93.

<sup>327</sup> NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/16/23, Various Letters between Bartholomew Bludworth and Alexander Macintosh, 1 November 1715 – 1 April 1718 and Alexander Macintosh ; William Mackay (ed.), *The Letter-Book of Bailie John Steuart of Inverness 1715-1752* (Edinburgh, 1915), 25, 27, 34, 36, Various Letters, John Steuart to Bartholomew Bludworth, 19 September – 13 October 1716; Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 123. Rössner states that Bludworth was a Scot. However, Bludworth's will signifies that he was in fact English. TNA, prob/11/565/466, Will, Bartholomew Bludworth, Hamburg, 4 August 1718.

<sup>328</sup> NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/6/33/2, Bartholomew Bludworth to Alexander Macintosh, 1, 29 November 1715 and 10 December 1716; Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 123-124. As Rössner points out these difficult conditions curiously occurred at the same time when Scottish merchants temporarily became the most important herring suppliers of the Baltic region.

<sup>329</sup> NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/16/23, Alexander Macintosh to Bartholomew Bludworth, 24 September 1716.

<sup>330</sup> NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/6/23, Bartholomew Bludworth to Alexander Macintosh, 3 April 1716; Mackay (ed.), *The Letter-Book*, 25-26, Bartholomew Bludworth to John Steuart, 19 September 1716.

<sup>331</sup> NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/6/23, Bartholomew Bludworth to Alexander Macintosh, 3 April 1716 and Bartholomew Bludworth to Alexander Macintosh, 30 July 1717; Mackay (ed.), *The Letter-Book*, 253-254, Robert Barclay to John Steuart, 8 April 1726.

John Steuart also briefly employed Robert Barclay as a factor when he travelled to Hamburg accompanied by his relative David Barclay in 1715.<sup>332</sup> Robert Barclay remained in Hamburg at least until 1732 where he joined the company of Merchant Adventurers.<sup>333</sup> During this time he also acted as representative for the Shetland merchants Thomas Gifford of Busta, Magnus Henderson of Gardie, Arthur Nicolson of Bullister and Lochend and James Mitchell of Girlsta. These links necessitated intensive correspondence between Barclay and Charles Mitchell, who remained involved in the commercial exchange of these traders and several other Shetland merchants including James Craigie and Charles Neven of Windhouse.<sup>334</sup> Barclay thus acted as the central hinge-pin for a large part of the Scottish fish trade in Hamburg, but also organised imports of hemp commissioned by Charles Mitchell and some of his 'friends' involved in a ropery at Leith.<sup>335</sup> Furthermore, Barclay maintained a link with the Glasgow merchants Adam and John Hay who engaged in the tobacco trade with Hamburg.<sup>336</sup> It is apparent therefore, that despite the lack of records which formed the core of Rössner's study of Scottish German trade in the mid-eighteenth century, a comparison of the composition of commercial networks through the movement of people in the two decades after Union is certainly suggestive of commercial contacts comparable to those preceding Union and conducted by individuals like Jolly and Grison.

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<sup>332</sup> Mackay (ed.), *The Letter-Book*, 45, John Steuart to David Barclay, 22 June 1717. Bludworth mentions the arrival of a man called Barclay in 1715 from Danzig. NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/16/23, Bartholomew Bludworth to Alexander Macintosh, 29 November 1715.

<sup>333</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 16 December 1726, 13 May 1728, 23 March 1730 and 10 January 1732.

<sup>334</sup> NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/17/20, Charles Mitchell to Robert Barclay, Edinburgh, 8 October 1720; RH15/93/17/21, Robert Barclay to Charles Mitchell, 13 September 1720; RH15/93/18/34, Charles Mitchell to Robert Barclay, Edinburgh, 20 March 1725. James Craigie had previously worked as skipper of the ship *William Bressay* which he had sailed to Hamburg in 1713 (and undoubtedly in other years) on behalf of Henderson, Nicolson and Mitchell. NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16/34, Bill, James Craigie, 9 June 1713.

<sup>335</sup> NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/17/ 20, Charles Mitchell to Robert Barclay, Edinburgh, 8 October 1720.

<sup>336</sup> NAS, Court of Session Records, CS228/M.2.87/2, Peter Murdoch vs. Robert Barclay, 13 February 1731.

## 2.7 Conclusion

Despite serious competition and difficult market conditions, Scottish and Northwest German merchants established a range of consistent and significant commercial links circulating mainly around exchange with Shetland and the Scottish salt trade. However, co-operation between them went beyond simple commercial exchanges. The establishment of a Scottish-Hamburg fishing company ambitiously aimed to challenge the supremacy of the Dutch fishery. Furthermore, commercial relations facilitated limited migration of Scottish merchants and skippers to the region and (in at least one case) of a Hamburg merchant to Edinburgh. Within the region Scots formed meaningful commercial relationships with their German counterparts as the example of Wilson's connection with the Detjen family reveals. Furthermore, Scots became members of official institutions within their host communities such as Bremen's society of skippers. However, while Scots like Spence can be proven to have acquired citizen rights in Bremen, Grison and Jolly remained legally foreigners in Hamburg.<sup>337</sup> This can be explained by the fact that Hamburg offered foreigners the possibility to trade from their city while Bremen did not. Nevertheless, given the long-term stay of Jolly and Grison it is notable that they do not appear to have formally integrated into Hamburg's society though it is hard to believe they did not do so socially.

Co-operation between the company of English Merchant Adventurers and autonomous Scottish traders (as well as with independent English merchants) has been a recurring theme throughout this chapter. The Adventurers formed a community of their own complementary to Hamburg institutions. However, James Mowat is an example of a Scot bridging the gap by being involved with the Adventurers as well as belonging to the society of Hamburg merchants trading with Iceland (including Shetland). Several Scottish merchants were either closely attached to or members of the company. Some Adventurers like Watson (almost certainly a Scot himself) maintained links with Scottish merchants elsewhere in Europe. However, despite these examples of co-operation the presence of the English company also sometimes detracted from Scottish trade through overwhelmingly superior competition, particularly during periods of Anglo-Scottish hostility. For example, James Tailfer informed his business partner

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<sup>337</sup> StAH, Genealogische Sammlungen, 741-2, Die Fremden in den Rechnungsbüchern der Wedde und Kämmerei. Grison and Jolly managed to avoid the tax authorities for most of their stay. Grison is recorded as paying taxes as a foreigner in 1641 and Jolly in 1693 and 1694.

Clerk in 1653 of the activities of English merchants who had freighted fifteen ships to Hamburg in four convoys resulting in an increase in prices of commodities available on the city's market.<sup>338</sup> Furthermore, Robert Jolly experienced difficulties with the company although these resulted from his own infringement of their rights. Like the company the residents of the Hansa towns William Swann (on behalf of Charles II) and Paul Rycaut (on behalf of William/Anne) played an ambiguous role. As described above Swann became involved in the affairs of the stranded skipper James Campbell. While it was his official position which prompted him to intervene he left the skipper in a dismal situation in Hamburg although Campbell's crew certainly profited from his orders. Furthermore, as we have seen, Rycaut's behaviour in Hamburg seriously damaged the endeavours of the directors of the Company of Scotland. At the same time however he supported Jolly's case against his Bremen insurers, suggesting he dealt with the Scots on an issue by issue basis. Apart from interaction with the Adventurers and the involvement of official residents in Scottish trading affairs, Scots maintained close links with English merchants in Bremen like William Willet who acted as factor on behalf of Jolly and was a business partner of Gilbert Spence. Unsurprisingly, we find a number of meaningful contacts between Scots and their counterparts within the region and abroad in addition to the above example of Anglo-Scottish co-operation. Scottish factors operated in both Bremen and Hamburg although German merchants could also be proven to have taken this role on board, when required. These Scottish networks were however not always durable as the court case of Spence against Wilson demonstrates.

The question of why only a few Scottish merchants and skippers settled within the region remains a difficult one to answer. It is most likely that the comparatively low scale of Scottish-German trade relations and the difficulties of some Scottish exports on the Northwest German market offered a low motivation to move to either Hamburg or Bremen. Grison's, Jolly's and Spence's highly diversified trading activities in Hamburg support this argument. At least their commercial behaviour signifies that focussing on one particular trade was not sufficient to sustain their presence in the region. However, the commercial activities of Scottish merchants elsewhere – such as those of William Davidson of Rotterdam and Daniel Young Leijonancker of Stockholm – reveal that the

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<sup>338</sup> NAS, Clerk Family Papers, GD18/2524/2, James Tailfeir to John Clerk, Hamburg, 30 August 1653.

most successful entrepreneurs seldom stuck to any one industry.<sup>339</sup> Jolly's and Grison's long-term presence indicates that Bremen and Hamburg could offer Scottish merchants a base from which they could successfully be engaged in lucrative commercial endeavours. It should be emphasised that some of the Scots who can be traced within in the 1640s and 1650s almost certainly did not solely arrive due to mercantile but also due to political reasons. Archibald and Elizabeth Mercer as well as Alexander Bruce were in contact with a Royalist network which operated in the region. At the same time Scottish officers in foreign service outside the region maintained contacts with local merchants. These political, diplomatic and military networks were robust and complex as the following chapter reveals.

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<sup>339</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 174-177, 194-203.

## Chapter 3

### Political and Military Networks c.1630 – 1707

*'Briteannia ist mein patria, darin ich geboren sey'*  
(James King, Hamburg, 1641)<sup>1</sup>

Research of Scottish diplomacy whether in domestic or foreign affairs has been a recent phenomenon. Steve Murdoch's article and subsequent monograph on Stuart-British diplomacy (both published in 2000) have been the first studies in this field.<sup>2</sup> This scholarship has been further developed by Alexia Grosjean's study on Scottish-Swedish relations (2003)<sup>3</sup> and by David Worthington's publication on Scots in Habsburg Service during the Thirty Years' War (2004).<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* now engages with individual Scottish diplomats previously omitted,<sup>5</sup> as does the Swedish database of Axel Oxenstierna's correspondence.<sup>6</sup> Over the past decade new research has also re-evaluated the significant role played by Scottish officers and soldiers within the Swedish or Danish-Norwegian army during the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> This recent interest in the activity of Scots in foreign armies (beyond their

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<sup>1</sup> RAOSB, vol. 9, 959, James King to Axel Oxenstierna, Hamburg, July 1641; Steve Murdoch, 'Diplomacy in Transition: Stuart-British Diplomacy in Northern Europe, 1603-1618', in Macinnes, Riis and Pedersen (eds.), *Ships, Guns and Bibles*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Murdoch, 'Diplomacy in Transition', 93-114; Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark – Norway and the House of Stuart 1603 – 1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton, 2003, first published in 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654* (Leiden, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618-1648* (Leiden, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> See for example articles on Robert Anstruther and James Spens of Wormiston. Steve Murdoch, 'Robert Anstruther (1578/9-1644/5)', *DNB* (online publication); Richard Zygmunt Brzezinski, 'James Spens of Wormiston (d.1632)', *DNB* (online publication).

<sup>6</sup> H. Backhausen et. al. (eds.), *Oxenstiernaregistret, Del B, Brev till Axel Oxenstierna fran Jan Rutgers, Jakob Spens, Carl Marinus, Johann Adler Salvius och drottning Kristina*, published online at [www.62.20.57.212/ra/ao/startside](http://www.62.20.57.212/ra/ao/startside).

<sup>7</sup> For Scottish officers and soldiers within the Swedish army see Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654* (Leiden, 2003); Alexia Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship in the Swedish Empire, 1574-1700', in A. Mackillop and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600-1800* (Leiden, 2003), 53-77; Alexia Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies? The Cranstoun Regiment in Sweden 1656 –1658', in Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c.1550-1900* (Leiden, 2002), 61-82; Alexia Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's closest ally?', in Steve Murdoch (ed.), *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden, 2001), 143-172. For Scottish activity within the Danish-Norwegian army see Steve Murdoch, 'Scotsmen on the Danish-Norwegian Frontiers c.1580-1680', in Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c.1550-1900* (Leiden, 2003), 1-28; Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark – Norway and the House of Stuart 1603 – 1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton, 2003, first published in 2000). Older research relating to involvement of

presence as simple mercenaries) is also evidenced by the publication of new editions of diaries of Scottish officers such as Robert Monro and Patrick Gordon.<sup>8</sup> Whereas some of these works touch upon the activity of Scottish military officials, mentioning only that they were present within the wider Elbe-Weser region, a study which focusses on the Scottish diplomatic and military activity within the various armies within this area is so far missing.<sup>9</sup> This chapter bridges this gap by analysing Scottish diplomatic and military involvement within the various powers and armies active within the region, thus significantly contributing to existing research. At the same time it examines the tasks taken on by Scots within the Swedish administration of Bremen-Verden which has only partially been analysed by previous research relating to this topic.<sup>10</sup>

### 3.1 Stuart Diplomats and Scottish officers in Hamburg

As the 1603 regal union had brought the three kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland under the rule of the same monarch, Scottish and English diplomats found themselves engaged on the same side on the wider political stage. This saw the evolution of a particularly Scottish-Stuart diplomatic corps operating in Northern Europe.<sup>11</sup> It is debatable whether all the Stuart diplomats working for King James VI/I evolved a 'British' consciousness and allowed their Scottish or English nationality to be subsumed by a common identity.<sup>12</sup> However, there is evidence that in Hamburg some Scots and Englishmen appear to have done just that.

Hamburg's role as a hub for intelligence was certainly recognised by King James and his successors and it was the English company of Merchant Adventurers which was to play a major role in the Stuarts' diplomatic network. This role obviously involved the

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Scots within the Northern European armies includes Thomas Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh, 1907) and Jonas Berg and Bo Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1962).

<sup>8</sup> William Brockington (ed.), *Monro, Robert: His Expedition with a worthy Scots Regiment called Mac – Keyes*, (Conneticut/London, 1999); Dmitry Fedosov (ed.), *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635 – 1699* (2 vols., Aberdeen, 2009). The second volume of this edition is forthcoming. Thus for the years after 1659 we still rely on an older edition published by Botfield. B. Botfield (ed.), *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries A.D. 1635 – A.D.1699* (Aberdeen, 1859).

<sup>9</sup> Peter Burschel who researched the role of mercenaries in Northwest Germany during the sixteenth and seventeenth century mentions Scots only in passing. Peter Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1994), 153-154.

<sup>10</sup> Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 173-254; Beate-Christine Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung der Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden in der Schwedenzeit 1652 – 1712: Organisation und Wesen der Verwaltung* (Stade, 1987).

<sup>11</sup> Steve Murdoch, 'Diplomacy in Transition', 93-114.

<sup>12</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 63-73.

accommodation of ambassadors and envoys and the furtherance of their duties through financial support and accommodation. Members of the company themselves also took on a diplomatic role at certain times, either when there was no ambassador present or when the diplomacy to be undertaken required a merchant consul rather than a high profile diplomat. In 1612 the Englishman Joseph Averie was elected secretary of the company – an office which served as main point of contact between the Stuart Crown and Hamburg’s senate. Furthermore, it included communication with British diplomats and officers inside and outside the city. One of these was the Scot Sir Robert Anstruther, who served as senior British diplomat to Denmark-Norway and to the Hanseatic towns for both James VI/I and Charles I. Anstruther and his English wife (Catherine Swift) frequently visited Hamburg during the late 1620s and kept in close contact with the Merchant Adventurers. It was in their congregation that their sycophantically named son Christianus was baptised on 12 July 1627.<sup>13</sup> Anstruther mentioned the presence of his wife and family in January 1628 and in March 1629 when Catherine Swift was again due to give birth. This led Anstruther to send a representative – a Scot called Pinckney Stewart – to England so that he could remain in the city to attend his wife.<sup>14</sup> It appears that Catherine Swift permanently resided in Hamburg while her husband attended court in Copenhagen. Her servants Clemat Messerve, George Rivers and Thomas Jones as well as another servant and a nanny had received passes to travel to Hamburg with furniture in February and April 1627 indicating that Catherine’s household intended to settle in the city on a long-term basis.<sup>15</sup> A reason for her decision to reside in Hamburg may have been that she found an amiable social network among the Merchant Adventurers and their families. It is even possible that some of her relatives already lived there, or were drawn to Hamburg because of her. Certainly a man called James Swift was registered as a communicant of the ‘English’ church in 1631.<sup>16</sup> By this time Catherine Swift may have temporarily moved on. The child she bore in 1629 is not listed among the christenings of the company’s church, possibly indicating that she had left the city before giving birth or

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<sup>13</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 12 July 1627.

<sup>14</sup> TNA, SP75/9 fol. 13, Anstruther to Count of Schwartzenberg, Hamburg, January 1628; TNA, SP75/9 f. (smudged), Robert Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 14 March 1629.

<sup>15</sup> Catherine Swift, her son William and 18 servants had received passes in 1626 to travel to the Netherlands. It has to be assumed that they continued from there to Hamburg, APC, June - December 1626, 30, Pass for Catherine Swift, 26 June 1626; APC, January - August 1627, 65, Passes for Clemant Messerve, George Rivers, Thomas Jones, 16 February 1627; APC, 1627, 198, Pass for a servant/nanny, 5 April 1627.

<sup>16</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 3 July 1631.

that the child was christened elsewhere. However, in 1630 she was certainly back in Hamburg waiting for a ship to take her to England.<sup>17</sup>

During this year Anstruther moved to Hamburg on a more permanent basis – a step prompted by the signing of the 1629 Treaty of Lübeck between Christian IV of Denmark-Norway and Ferdinand II of Austria. Anstruther's mistrust of the Danes was aroused by the generous terms of the treaty and the reserved behaviour of the Danish envoys toward him, as he viewed the treaty as signalling a convergence between Denmark and the Habsburg Empire.<sup>18</sup> He therefore left the Danish court for Hamburg, where he continued to take care of diplomatic affairs between Charles I and Christian IV. Hamburg proved an excellent base, allowing Anstruther to emphasise the now frosty Stuart-Oldenburg relationship by withdrawing from the Danish capital but remaining in close proximity to the Danish court in a city which Christian IV officially claimed to be his.

Anstruther's move to Hamburg signalled the start of a crucial period of network building within the city in the diplomatic, military and political spheres. His presence certainly brought more Scots and Englishmen into the city – among them his Scottish chaplain Sampson Johnson and his English secretary Richard Hurst who even lived under his roof.<sup>19</sup> The activity of a senior Stuart ambassador in Hamburg introduced a new dimension to the power politics among the British subjects resident in the city. Anstruther established a trustworthy relationship with the Adventurers in 1628 when he was accredited with 13,000 Imperial dollars for the relief of Charles Morgan's English and Welsh troops who were stationed in Glückstadt simultaneously with a number of Scottish officers.<sup>20</sup> In addition, English merchants were directed to Anstruther for advice, including the likes of Rowland Pittes, Charles I's 'Purveyor of Sea Fish' whom Anstruther helped to source sturgeon in Hamburg in April 1629.<sup>21</sup>

Anstruther's presence in the city affected Joseph Averie's position and he initially proved suspicious of the Stuart diplomat, even before the latter's permanent move to Hamburg. In his correspondence Averie reported Anstruther's jealousies towards him and

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<sup>17</sup> TNA, SP75/10 fol. 130, Robert Anstruther to Thomas Roe, 6 May 1631.

<sup>18</sup> Murdoch, *Britain*, 70.

<sup>19</sup> APC, June 1630 – June 1631, 263, Passes for Sampson Johnson and Richard Hurst, 19 March 1631; TNA, SP 75/10, fol. 130, Robert Anstruther to Thomas Roe, 6 May 1631.

<sup>20</sup> TNA, SP75/9, fol. 4, Robert Anstruther to Viscount Conway, 5 January 1628. G. Köhn, *Die Bevölkerung der Gründungs-, Residenz-, Garnison- und Exulantenstadt Glückstadt von 1616-1652* (Hamburg, 1970).

<sup>21</sup> APC, July 1628 - April 1629, 93-94, 413-414; Murdoch, *Network North*, 155.

hinted that the diplomat's service would be much more useful in Denmark than in Hamburg – a clear sign that Averie was not free of that sentiment himself.<sup>22</sup> However, Averie certainly profited from Anstruther's presence. Since he was meant to represent the Stuart Crown during his absence, Anstruther introduced and recommended Averie to other diplomats as well as to the Danish king.<sup>23</sup> Anstruther noted in April or May 1631 that the latter had '...taken his (Averie's) person and worth into very good esteme ...'<sup>24</sup> In 1633 both men met with Christian IV again, with Anstruther leading negotiations in which he sought to persuade Christian IV to abolish the toll at Glückstadt for the Merchant Adventurers arguing that it was in the Danish King's very own interest to protect the company's trade advantages on the Elbe.<sup>25</sup> Thus, from a frosty start, both men appear to have developed a trusting relationship which did much for Anglo-Scottish relations in the city.

Thereafter, Anstruther was not the only Scot Averie dealt with. A number of high-ranking Scottish officers who were employed by the Danish and Swedish armies came to Hamburg in the 1620s and 1630s. Scots had served the Swedish Crown since the sixteenth century as common soldiers and officers, the latter often profiting from the policy of rewarding the military elite in the form of land donations and ennoblement.<sup>26</sup> The employment of Scots by the Swedish monarchs had reached its peak after Sweden's entry into the Thirty Years' War when the Swedish army provided an outlet for Scots motivated to serve the cause of the Stuart Princess Elizabeth who had married the 'Winter King' Frederick V.<sup>27</sup> The Scottish officers and envoys in Swedish service who passed

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<sup>22</sup> TNA, SP75/9, unfoliated letter, Joseph Averie to Henry Vane, Hamburg 11/21 December 1630 and fol.50, Averie to ?, without date and place. This letter was probably sent in 1627 or 1628 as a reference to Charles Morgan who was then stationed in Glückstadt.

<sup>23</sup> DRA, TKUA, A II 7, Robert Anstruther to Christian IV, Hamburg, 2 February 1627.

<sup>24</sup> TNA, SP75/9 fol. 124, Robert Anstruther to (Dorchester), Hamburg, 3 May 1631.

<sup>25</sup> TNA, SP75/9 fol. 82, Robert Anstruther to (John Coke), Hamburg, 14/24 September 1633; TNA, SP75/9 fol. 114, Robert Anstruther to (John Coke), Hamburg, 25 October 1633. These negotiations were partially successful when the English diplomat Thomas Roe obtained a reduction of the toll for the Merchant Adventurers, provided that they did not transport any commodities belonging to Hamburg merchants. Hitzigrath, *Die politischen Beziehungen*, 13.

<sup>26</sup> See for example Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654* (Leiden, 2003); Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 53-77; Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 61-82.

<sup>27</sup> Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally?', 148-151; Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 76; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 74-111.

through Hamburg included a Mr Rankin who was present within the city in 1630.<sup>28</sup> Colonel Alexander Leslie (later Earl of Leven) corresponded with the Marquis of Hamilton from Hamburg in 1631 and 1632.<sup>29</sup> It was from here that Leslie moved on to the bishopric of Bremen where he was made commandant of the Swedish army which besieged Buxtehude in February 1632.<sup>30</sup> Thereafter he received the rank of field marshal of the Army of the Weser.<sup>31</sup> During another visit to Hamburg, in 1634, Averie reported that Leslie was accompanied by General Patrick Ruthven and several other Scottish officers.<sup>32</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Monro was in Hamburg along with Alexander Cunningham the same year, and returned intermittently until 1635 when he was present at the death of Hector Monro of Fowlis who died in the city.<sup>33</sup> Many of these Scottish officers and envoys called into Hamburg on their own military business (recruiting and buying provisions) while others arrived expressly to exchange information with Anstruther. In 1631 the Scot William Elphinstone reported to the Marquis of Hamilton that he had met Sir Robert Anstruther and the Swedish diplomat Johann Adler Salvius in the city.<sup>34</sup> Such meetings led in turn to increased contact with Adventurers like Joseph Averie. He himself received a considerable amount of intelligence from Scottish officers such as General Alexander Leslie, Colonel George Douglas, Colonel John and General Patrick Ruthven, Major David Drummond, and Major-General James King during their visits to Hamburg or through their correspondence.<sup>35</sup> These men, already shown to have

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<sup>28</sup> TNA, SP75/9, unfoliated letter, Joseph Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 27 September/7 October 1630; TNA, SP75/9 fol. 268, Joseph Averie to Thomas Roe, Hamburg, 10/20 November 1630. He was very probably Archibald Rankin of the James Spens spy network. Murdoch, *Network North*, 272-6.

<sup>29</sup> NAS, Hamilton Papers, GD406/1/9322, Alexander Leslie to the Marquis of Hamilton, Hamburg, 12 May 1631; NAS, Hamilton Papers, GD406/1/277, Alexander Leslie to the Marquis of Hamilton, Hamburg, 9 August 1632.

<sup>30</sup> Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 89.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 100-101.

<sup>32</sup> TNA, SP 75/13 fol. 210, Joseph Averie to (John Coke), Hamburg, 15/25 July 1634.

<sup>33</sup> SKRA, 0035:0418:, unfoliated letter, signed Robert Monro and Alexander Cunningham, Hamburg, 23 January 1634; C.T. Macinnes (ed.), *Calendar of Writs of Monro of Fowlis, 1299-1823* (Edinburgh, 1940), 57-59.

<sup>34</sup> NAS, Hamilton Papers, GD406/1/9305. W. Elphinstone to Marquis of Hamilton, Hamburg, 27 March 1631.

<sup>35</sup> TNA, SP75/13 fol. 259, Joseph Averie to John Coke, Hamburg 10/20 October 1635; TNA, SP 75/13 fol. 285, Averie to Coke, Hamburg, 31 December 1635. These Scots feature frequently in Averie's correspondence since 1634. Together with the English Colonel Ashton they were Averie's main suppliers of intelligence. However, he also received singular information from Major Forbes whom he met in Hamburg in December 1632. TNA, SP75/9 fol. 454, Joseph Averie to (John Coke), Hamburg, 18 December 1632.

been proactive in the formation of a pan-British military identity while serving in the Swedish army, would have influenced Averie's own views on concepts of 'Britishness'.<sup>36</sup>

Averie's correspondence from 1629 and 1631 reveals that he initially made a clear distinction between Englishmen and Scots. For example in one of his letters he referred to himself as an Englishman as opposed to Anstruther and 'his countrymen' (i.e. the Scots).<sup>37</sup> In this situation the distinction had a negative connotation as Averie was not on good terms with Anstruther at this particular moment. However this was not always the case. In 1631 Averie stated that he had received a highly sensitive document from 'a Scottish gentleman' in the service of the Danish court (not Anstruther) who was 'a former acquaintance'.<sup>38</sup> The latter term signifies a strong bond between the men as does the trust the Scot put in Averie by providing him with the secret correspondence.<sup>39</sup> However, there are indications that three years later Averie had adopted a more 'British' identity. In December of 1634 Averie had become the main intermediary in a dispute between a group of Scottish privateers and the city of Hamburg, as a very hostile relationship had developed between Scotland and Hamburg after 1629.<sup>40</sup> One of the main protagonists in the dispute, Captain David Robertson, arrived in Hamburg and found an ally in Averie, who wrote 'A Scots gent arrived here lately and I will not fail to assist him with his business in the senate with al diligence and endeavour.'<sup>41</sup> As has been noted elsewhere, Averie proceeded to act 'on behalf of a Scottish Privateer, Captain Robertson, via an envoy of the Scottish Privy Council, Mr Colville, on the orders of the English Secretary of State' in a thoroughly British encounter.<sup>42</sup> Here Averie's change from simply being an 'Englishman' to displaying a concentric British identity is evident, probably as a result of contact with Anstruther, Colville and the numerous Scottish officers. This change is also

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<sup>36</sup> For a full argument on British identity see Steve Murdoch, 'James VI and the Formation of a Scottish-British Military Identity' in Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c. 1550-1900* (Leiden, 2002), 3-31.

<sup>37</sup> TNA, SP75/10 fol. 346, Joseph Averie to ?, Hamburg, 25 November/5 December 1629. He also referred to the support of Calandrini for Charles Morgans troops as furnishing 'our English hopes'. TNA, SP 75/9 fol. 143, Averie to ?, Hamburg, 20/30 April 1629.

<sup>38</sup> TNA, SP75/9 fol. 171, Joseph Averie to Secretary of State, Hamburg, 18/28 July 1631.

<sup>39</sup> For the use of 'auld acquaintance' as a trust marker see Murdoch, *Network North*, 73-77.

<sup>40</sup> This episode has been written up in Steve Murdoch, *Scotland, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1998, 302-305, Appendix A 'Scotland and Hamburg in Stuart-Oldenburg Diplomacy'.

<sup>41</sup> TNA, SP75/13 fol. 233-235, Joseph Averie to John Coke, Hamburg, 2/12 December 1634; See also StAH, Senat, 111-1 Cl. VI no. 2, vol. 1, fasc. 1a, in vol. 5. Documents relating to David Robertson, c.1632-1633. The file has recently been lost within the archives.

<sup>42</sup> Murdoch, *Britain*, 19.

marked by references in Averie's correspondence of the following year. For example in a letter to Secretary John Coke he wrote that 'two Colonells of our Nation, namely Colonell Aston, and Colonell Lumsden' had been wounded.<sup>43</sup> Since Lumsden was a Scot and Aston an Englishman Averie was almost certainly referring to a 'British' nation in this context.

Subsequently to his British epiphany, Averie acted as a contact in financial transactions and personal business for Scots in the city. For example, when George Douglas died in a skirmish close to Hamburg, his body was brought into the city in 1636 by several British officers, among them some of his relatives. After the corpse had been laid in state in one of the churches, Averie took care of Douglas's estate, deciding among other things to send his servants home to either England or Scotland in order to avoid mounting costs which Averie was obliged to cover. Furthermore, Averie instructed Douglas's secretary, a man called Fowler, to send Douglas's remaining papers and letters to England.<sup>44</sup> Averie dealt with the payment of some of the Scottish officers in Swedish service, including Lieutenant-General Alexander Forbes and John R. Munro as well as providing conscription money to Scottish officers.<sup>45</sup> As previously mentioned Averie also assisted in at least one financial transaction involving Scottish merchants.<sup>46</sup> The above details reveal that Averie and (by implication) the English Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg, had been drawn into close contact with a number of Scots from the financial, mercantile, military and diplomatic spheres. They were dealing with a Scot who was also a British and Danish ambassador with an English wife and with Scots fighting in the Swedish army for a British princess – and all in an Imperial city, claimed by Denmark. The permeability of political boundaries is obvious.

Furthermore, Scottish officers and officials maintained close links with Hamburg merchants and officials. For example, Peter Forbes who was factor of the armoury of the

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<sup>43</sup> TNA, SP75/9 fol. 259, Joseph Averie to John Coke, Hamburg, 10/20 October 1635; Murdoch, *Britain*, 19.

<sup>44</sup> TNA, SP75/13 fol. 315, Joseph Averie to (John Coke), Hamburg, 8/18 April 1636; TNA, SP75/13 fol. 323, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 28 April/8 May 1636. Fowler is described as the 'Dutch secretary' of Georg Douglas indicating his role as interpreter or scribe for the German language. Douglas's secretary, Fowler, could have been identical to or a relative of Robert Fowler who received communion in the English church at Hamburg. StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 1 July 1626.

<sup>45</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E588, Thomas Dishington to Axel Oxenstierna, without date or place; E661, John R. Munro to Oxenstierna, London, 26 April 1637; E601, Alexander Forbes to Axel Oxenstierna, 6 April 1637.

<sup>46</sup> NAS, Smythe Family Papers, GD190/3/151/3, Averie to ?, Hamburg, 29 November 1639; GD190/3/234/3, Court Warnke to William Stirling, Bremen, 18 March 1640.

Swedish army and based at Elbing received credits from several Hamburg traders in the early 1630s. In addition he had a factor in the city who administered his trade relations with Italy.<sup>47</sup> When Forbes sojourned in Hamburg in 1633 he probably met with these merchants as well as with Averie and Anstruther.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the Scottish colonel Patrick Hay married Dorothy Pleizin, a Dutch citizen at Hamburg, who was closely related to the Hamburg senator, Albert van Eitzen.<sup>49</sup> Hay had deposited his estate worth 46,000 Imperial dollars in the latter's hands by the time of his death in April 1639. Thereafter, his widow and Eitzen took possession of this money – an action they tried to justify under the false pretence of Pleizin being pregnant and by drawing up a false will. This resulted in a legal battle between the city of Hamburg and Patrick Hay's brother James and two of his seven daughters Christian and Elizabeth which dragged on at least until the 1680s.<sup>50</sup> There were also more significant problems, not least as a result of the political divisions arising from the British Civil Wars (1639-1660).

### 3.2 Royalists and Covenanters

In the late 1630s tensions arose between the Scottish Covenanters and Charles I, eventually leading to the Bishops' Wars (1639-1641), in which the British monarch received a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Scottish Covenanters. The Bishops' Wars contributed to the destabilisation of the Stuart Kingdoms, sparking a series of civil wars throughout the three kingdoms.<sup>51</sup> These events in the British Isles impacted significantly on Scottish interest in the Elbe-Weser region, through the movement of troops and supplies home, the search for weapons and the diplomatic discussions occasioned by the Hamburg congress.

During this time of turmoil, Hamburg continued to play an important role as a transit point for Scots, many of whom were quitting service in the European armies to participate on their chosen side at home. For example, we know that Captain James Lumsden, Captain David Leslie, Captain George Monro and twenty other Scottish

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<sup>47</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E601, Peter Forbes to Axel Oxenstierna, Elbing, October 1628.

<sup>48</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E601, Peter Forbes to Axel Oxenstierna, Hamburg, 20 March 1633.

<sup>49</sup> CSPD, 1676-1677, 511, John Dickson to Joseph Williamson, without place, 17 January 1677.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.; CSPD, 1677-1678, 492, Order in Council, Whitehall, 5 December 1677; *RPCS, Third Series*, 1681-1682, 289, Supplication by Elisabeth Hay, without place/date. For more information on this case see Hitzgrath, *Die politischen Beziehungen*, 41-42.

<sup>51</sup> Macinnes, *The British Revolution*, 111-193; David Scott, 'The Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1642-1649', in Barry Coward (ed.), *A Companion to Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 2003), 311-330.

officers (whose names are unknown) embarked at Hamburg to sail to Britain in order to fight for the Covenanters in 1640.<sup>52</sup> Not all the Scottish officers involved in the military affairs on the continent returned to Scotland, though they often participated in the conflict at some level. As a known weapons entrepôt, Hamburg obviously attracted those in search of arms. In 1638 Major-General James King arrived in Hamburg with his wife. He stayed for two years ostensibly to gather political support and war supplies for Charles I from the city and neighbouring territories.<sup>53</sup> King and a group of other Scottish officers signed a document in 1639 in Hamburg, which confirmed that arms bought by Sir Thomas Roe were ready for the service of Charles I.<sup>54</sup> It was here that he declared in 1641 that 'Briteannia ist mein patria, darin ich geboren sey', i.e. 'Britain is my fatherland, where I was born' and appeared to be signalling his absolute loyalty to Charles I's cause.<sup>55</sup>

It was not only the Royalists who were trying to purchase arms in Hamburg; the Scottish Covenanters also attempted to secure munitions in the city. This led the Marquis of Hamilton to write to Charles I, making it clear that action should be taken to prevent any supplies reaching the king's enemies from the city.<sup>56</sup> Perhaps more interestingly, both Scottish Covenanters and Royalists were in the city at the same time without any obvious sign of animosity between them. Some of these relations can perhaps be explained by an 'alliance' between the Royalist general and diplomat James King and the Covenanter Alexander Leslie which left King's mission at Hamburg suspiciously unsuccessful.<sup>57</sup> There is no evidence that the contesting groups of Scottish officers noted above actually met in the streets in the winter months of 1639-40. But it is known that important figures from both camps did meet and discuss the political situation at length. For example, the

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<sup>52</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, William Wimes to Axel Oxenstierna, without date/place. Captain James Lumsden even asked for his Swedish pension to be paid to him through Salvius, the Swedish resident in Hamburg. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 182.

<sup>53</sup> James King's wife gave birth to a daughter in Hamburg in 1640. *CSPD, 1640-1641*, 344, John Durie to Thomas Roe, Hamburg, 3 July 1640.

<sup>54</sup> TNA, SP 81/47 fol. 102, Certificate of General King upon arms sent to England, Hamburg, 28 June 1639. The other officers included Colonel Francis Ruthven, Lieutenant Colonel James King (a relative of the general), Colonel John Leslie, Lieutenant Colonel John Chamberlain, Colonel Henry Gladstone (Gladstein), Captain William Ogilvie, Captain Richard Shorland and Captain Bryan Stapleton. These may be some of the arms Roe bought in Hamburg from Albert Bernes including 1500 pikemen's arms, 700 arms for horsemen, 1500 muskets and bandoliers, 700 pistols and holsters and ammunition. See TNA, SP81/45, Manifest of Arms, Hamburg, 13 April 1639.

<sup>55</sup> *RAOSB*, vol. 9, 959, James King to Axel Oxenstierna, Hamburg, July 1641; Murdoch, 'James VI and the Formation of a Scottish-British Military Identity', 5.

<sup>56</sup> NAS, Hamilton Papers, GD406/1/10491, Marquis of Hamilton to Charles I, Dalkeith, 24 June 1638.

<sup>57</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 43-48.

man who had done most to promote the cause of the Scottish Covenanters among the Northern potentates and city-states was Colonel John Cochrane.<sup>58</sup> On 24 October 1640 James King wrote of Cochrane:

‘Since my arrival heir at Hambourrie it was my fortune to encounter with a gentellman, a countryman and auld acquaintance of mine, callit Colonell Cochrone a Gentellman who heath ben imployit by the Scotts to Establishe ther intelligence in the nichtbouring nations and to whom the wholl secreits of ther designs are committit.’<sup>59</sup>

It is clear that this meeting had serious implications for future relations between the Royalists and the erstwhile Covenanter ambassador. Indeed it has been argued that it was during this meeting in Hamburg that Cochrane ‘turned’ to the Stuart cause, albeit he kept this a secret until the following year.<sup>60</sup> But it does open the question of whether Hamburg was deliberately chosen as the place to meet, being regarded as some kind of neutral venue. On the other hand it is possible that officers and soldiers on both sides were able to avoid each other within the city simply due to its vast size but with the exception of Cochrane and King we cannot yet say for certain.

After the conflict between Charles I and the English Parliament broke out, Hamburg was still targeted by contesting British factions as a source of supplies and a place of retreat for exiles. In 1644, following the defeat of Royalist troops at the battle of Marston Moor, a group consisting of up to 180 Scottish and English Royalists arrived in Hamburg, among them Lieutenant-General James King and Captain Sir William Vavasour.<sup>61</sup> Those who remained in the city were joined in 1646 by Sir John Cochrane, now firmly in the Royalist camp as an envoy to Denmark-Norway and various Imperial duchies since 1643. The aim of his visit to Hamburg was once more to gather troops and arms for Charles I. Apart from organising canons through Bernard Frise, the factor of Duke James of Courland,<sup>62</sup> and after negotiations with Christian IV, Cochrane received

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<sup>58</sup> Alexia Grosjean, ‘General Alexander Leslie, the Scottish Covenanters and the Riksråd Debates, 1638-1640’, in MacInnes, Riis and Pedersen (eds.), *Ships, Guns and Bibles*, 115-130.

<sup>59</sup> TNA, SP75/15 fol. 475, James King to Charles I, Hamburg, 24 October 1640; Murdoch, *Britain*, 117-118.

<sup>60</sup> Murdoch, *Britain*, 118-120.

<sup>61</sup> HP3/2/45A-46B, John Durie to Samuel Hartlib, 28 July 1644; Peter Young, *Marston Moor 1644: The Campaign and the Battle* (Kineton, 1970), 176.

<sup>62</sup> Morlund-Simpson (ed.), *Civil War Papers 1643-1650*, 160-165, John Cochrane to Duke James, Hamburg, 4 February 1646 and Copenhagen, 2/12 May 1646.

arms and ammunition from the Danish arsenal in Glückstadt. These were worth 29,300 Imperial dollars, and organised via the Berns & Marselis consortium.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, Cochrane was mustering troops and organising ships for their transport with the assistance of his old confederate, General James King.<sup>64</sup>

After the execution of Charles I in 1649, Cochrane returned again to Hamburg, where the atmosphere among the Merchant Adventurers had become violent due to the splitting of company members into factions supporting either the Royalist cause or the English Parliament.<sup>65</sup> As Steve Murdoch has pointed out, Cochrane became embroiled in clashes with the merchants, infamously beating up some English republicans in the streets.<sup>66</sup> At the same time Cochrane sought to win the senate of Hamburg for his cause, not least to support and protect the Royalist merchants among the Adventurers. To this end he demanded and was granted a public audience but the senate decided to remain neutral in the conflict.<sup>67</sup> Cochrane also initiated an incident in which some Merchant Adventurers who supported the English parliament were kidnapped with the help of Danish officers and soldiers at Pinneberg, and kept in a ship on the river Elbe.<sup>68</sup> They were eventually freed by fellow company members and some of the kidnappers were imprisoned at Hamburg. Cochrane mentioned that his brother had been in Pinneberg and assisted in the event but had been killed when the Adventurers retrieved the ship.<sup>69</sup> Although his potential involvement may be another example of Scottish networking over political borders within the wider Elbe-Weser region it is also conceivable that Cochrane embellished this part in order to emphasise the personal injury he received or simply to dramatise his story. Also, surviving reports on the degree of assistance given to the

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<sup>63</sup> John T. Lauridsen, *Marselis Konsortiet* (Århus, 1987), 88, 132; H.W. Meikle (ed.), *Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London 1644-1646* (Edinburgh, 1917), 199, Scots Commissioners to the Committee of Estates in Edinburgh, 9 July 1646.

<sup>64</sup> H.W. Meikle (ed.), *Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London*, 198, Scots Commissioners to the Committee of Estates in Edinburgh, 7 July 1646.

<sup>65</sup> Joseph Averie wrote to Thomas Roe that although the majority of the merchants were loyal to the king they had been forced to join the Parliamentarians. See TNA, SP 75/16, fol. 178, Joseph Averie to Thomas Roe, Hamburg, 10/20 November 1643.

<sup>66</sup> J.N.M. Maclean, 'Montrose's preparations for the invasion of Scotland, and Royalist mission to Sweden, 1649-1651', in R. Hutton and M. Anderson (eds.), *Studies of Diplomatic History* (London, 1970), 14; Thomas Ollive Mabbott (ed.), *The State Papers of John Milton* (New York, 1937), 4-9, Parliament to Hamburg Senate, Westminster, 10 August 1649; Murdoch, *Britain*, 148.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Morland-Simpson (ed.), *Civil War Papers 1643-1650* (Edinburgh, 1893), 183, 'Sir John Cochrane's relations of the particulars that have occurred in his negotiation since his coming to Hamborgh', 1649; Murdoch, *Britain*, 148.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* This reference seems odd as Cochrane refers to his brother only on this occasion and in passing.

liberators of the ship by Hamburg's officials contain conflicting information. Whereas Cochrane stated that the authorities had helped the 'rebels' to man two vessels with two hundred musketeers, the council of state complained that they had not given any assistance at all and expressed fears that the prisoners would be released due to pressure exerted by Cochrane, termed by them as a 'pest to human society'.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps this was because Cochrane recommended that the king should demand the release of the prisoners and declare war against Hamburg to frighten the Hamburgers and make them pay a ransom to the king.<sup>71</sup> The above events and statements reveal the desperation of both parties to win control over the situation at Hamburg highlighting the strategic significance of the city. As the latter's interest was mainly concerned with the security of public order and with being on the right side at the end of the conflict, the authorities appear to have maintained a neutral stance trying not to offend any party – yet obviously allowing the presence of both factions within their territory.<sup>72</sup> Both sets of belligerents were able to continue their activities in Hamburg despite the claims and counter claims. In November 1649 Colonel James Turner arrived in Hamburg where he found a number of 'Scottish gentlemen, who either had served the late King, or intended to serve the present one'.<sup>73</sup> According to Turner, the Scotsmen were under the command of the Marquis of Montrose, awaiting their transport to Scotland from Hamburg.<sup>74</sup> The results of that shambolic enterprise are well known, and the ensuing destruction of the Royalist force left many of the Scottish participants of the Montrosian Expedition destitute.<sup>75</sup>

The poor treatment of Montrose drove many Royalists, including John Cochrane, James King and Patrick Ruthven, away from Charles II due to his perceived treachery towards his loyal subject.<sup>76</sup> This, coupled with the occupation of Scotland, saw the once tense situation quieten at Hamburg. However, some Scots in Swedish service still frequented the city including the cavalry captain John Gordon who persuaded his 'countryman' and relative Patrick Gordon to join the army in 1655.<sup>77</sup> John Gordon's

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<sup>70</sup> CSPD, 1649-1650, 270-271, Council of State to (Hamburg Senate), Whitehall, 9 August 1649.

<sup>71</sup> DRA, TKUA, AII 16, John Cochrane to Frederick III, Hamburg, 28 July 1649.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. See also Hitzigraht, *Die politischen Beziehungen*, 16-24.

<sup>73</sup> Sir James Turner, *Memoirs of His Own Life and Times* (Edinburgh, 1829), 91.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Murdoch, *Britain*, 149-151; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 221-227.

<sup>76</sup> Murdoch, *Britain*, 156-159.

<sup>77</sup> Fedosov (ed.), *Diary*, 22-24. A John Gordon received communion within the English church in Hamburg during this year and he was most likely identical to the cavalry captain whose name was however explicitly stated as 'Gardin'. For John Gordon's communion see StAH, Kirche der English

incentive to remain on the continent lay in the hopelessness of the current situation in Scotland which by this time was under English occupation.<sup>78</sup> Ironically, however, the Swedish monarch Charles X Gustav had become a Cromwellian ally creating a dilemma for Royalist soldiers and officers within the Swedish army including William Cranstoun. As Alexia Grosjean has observed, he and other members of his regiment were Scottish Royalists who joined the service of the Swedish monarch. Motivation to serve in Sweden probably derived from the wish to leave the British Isles under Cromwell's rule although the possibility of transfer into service for a power ambivalent to the Stuarts may have played a role too.<sup>79</sup> Cranstoun sent a letter to the Swedish diplomat Peter Julius Coyet from London, informing him that Charles II had promised him a payment through a diplomat in Hamburg called Mr Cambro, who denied ever receiving such an order.<sup>80</sup> Without doubt Cambro was the Merchant Adventurer Nathaniel Cambridge, but it is unclear why he denied Cranstoun his assistance. It may have reflected an individual response and was certainly not the last time the company were approached by Royalists for support.

In January 1657 Alexander Leslie (the Earl of Leven) – Cranstoun's father-in-law – visited Hamburg where he was also in contact with the company.<sup>81</sup> It is probable that he sorted out another contact among the Adventurers. A few months later, in October 1657, Cranstoun himself was present in city, where he told Coyet of his huge financial problems, and asked him to send money to secure his passage to England.<sup>82</sup> Ten days later, however, Cranstoun informed Coyet that he had found another source of money in the city, and now had to travel as fast as possible from Hamburg to Scotland to sell his estates there in order to pay his officers, some of whom were apparently intimidating his wife at home.<sup>83</sup> William Grison is most likely to have been this financial source; his

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Court, 512-6, 30 March 1655. Captain John Gordon was probably also identical to a Colonel Gordon who was present in Hamburg in 1647 lending 30,000 Mark banko to the city of Bremen. StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1647 - 1648, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.6, 60-63, 18-25 June 1647.

<sup>78</sup> Fedosov (ed.), *Diary*, 23.

<sup>79</sup> Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 72-77.

<sup>80</sup> SRA, Coyetska Samlingen, E 3398, vol. 2, William Cranstoun to Peter Julius Coyet, London, 3 July (1656?).

<sup>81</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 3 January 1657.

<sup>82</sup> SRA, Coyetska Samlingen, E 3398, vol. 2, William Cranstoun to Peter Julius Coyet, Hamburg, 17 October 1657. Cranstoun's financial difficulties resulted from his regiment being besieged at Thorn/Torun.

<sup>83</sup> SRA, Coyetska Samlingen, E 3398, vol. 2, William Cranstoun to Peter Julius Coyet, Hamburg, 28 October 1657.

connections with the Adventurers and Major Alexander Garden (who was also a Royalist sympathiser) have already been mentioned.<sup>84</sup> Grison was also in contact with other officers of Cranstoun's regiment such as Major James Mercer and it is possible that the 1,000 Imperial dollars Elizabeth Mercer had sent to Hamburg were meant to be transferred to her relative.<sup>85</sup> Other Scots present in Hamburg who may have assisted Cranstoun were Major Cunningham and his wife or John Lorimer who was possibly a relative of the Elsinor merchant and tax assessor Robert Lorimer.<sup>86</sup>

For such a high-profile Royalist as Cranstoun, Hamburg proved to be a safe place in which to contemplate his future after his regiment was driven out of Thorn in Poland in 1657. In the city he found like-minded fellow Scots and Englishmen and, crucially, financial support. The involvement of Alexander Bruce, who resided with Grison in April 1658, in the Royalist cause has been speculated about but so far concrete evidence for active support is missing.<sup>87</sup> David Stevenson has pointed out that his pass to Northern Germany allowed for a return journey proving that he was not a Royalist exile – at least not a political one.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, his connection to the Mercer family and his stay in Hamburg may indicate that he was at least a sympathiser. In Bremen, Bruce met with the Scottish commandant, William Bonar of Rossie, who may also have supported the cause of the exiled Stuarts. Bonar had joined Swedish service in 1634 and was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel the following year.<sup>89</sup> However, having lost his left leg at the siege of Augsburg he was forced to leave active service and was made governor, first of Großglogau in Silesia and then of Vechta in Westphalia, a mere 60 kilometres southwest of Bremen.<sup>90</sup> Through his great-grandmother Margaretha Mercer, Bonar was related to Balthasar and Elizabeth Mercer and it is probable that he saw his relative during his stay at Vechta and this connection initiated a meeting with Alexander Bruce.<sup>91</sup> However, according to Bruce's correspondent Robert Moray, Bonar had not been overtly kind to

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<sup>84</sup> See chapter 2. NAS, Burnett and Reid Records, GD57/1/336/10, Notarial Copy of Obligations, May 1651 – April 1652.

<sup>85</sup> Drewes, 'The Scottish Civil War Refugee' (online publication); Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 77.

<sup>86</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 3 October 1657. The three Scots were registered as communicants.

<sup>87</sup> Stevenson (ed.), *Letters of Sir Robert Moray*, 18.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, CS61 No. 3, 'Der Frommen Auffrichtigen köstliches und endliches Kleynodt'.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

Bruce although he does not state a reason for this.<sup>92</sup> Bonar would certainly have been wealthy enough to support Bruce or the Royalists financially as he had been in a position to lend the city of Bremen 6,000 Imperial dollars in 1650.<sup>93</sup> While it has been possible to identify Royalist exiles in the region, there were many other military men who remained either outwith the conflict or in post on behalf of various powers.

### 3.3 Scottish Administration in the Elbe-Weser Region

William Bonar is of interest not only for his connection to Bruce and Mercer or his potential Royalist sympathies. As commandant he was actively involved in the Swedish administration of territories in Northwest Germany which had been acquired under the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) including the duchies of Bremen and Verden.<sup>94</sup> If we look at these political entities it becomes obvious that Scots – whose numeric involvement in Swedish service was markedly reduced after 1648 – played a significant role in securing and governing these political territories. They served in various functions and some of them can certainly be proven to have sympathised with or participated in the Royalist network operating in the duchy of Bremen and Hamburg as well as in Sweden itself.

One of the four commissioners responsible for working out a new administrative order for Bremen-Verden after Sweden had formally taken control in 1648 was Alexander von Erskine (1598-1656) who was the son of a Scottish merchant based in Greifswald in Pommerania.<sup>95</sup> Despite his Swedish ennoblement in 1643 and long lasting service for the Swedish Crown, or the fact that Erskine had never set foot in Scotland himself, there is evidence that he felt attached to his father's country. Not only did he change his name from Eschen to the more Scottish form Erskine after 1637 but he also specifically referred to himself as being Scottish in 1653.<sup>96</sup> Indeed even his eldest son – a

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<sup>92</sup> Stevenson (ed.), *Letters of Sir Robert Moray*, 116, Robert Moray to Alexander Bruce, Maastricht, 11/21 January 1658.

<sup>93</sup> StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1648-1651, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.7, 305, 1 November 1650. As studies of Scottish exiles elsewhere reveal, such expenses could draw the reserve of a sympathising resident merchant and cause them distress. See the case of the merchant factors in Bordeaux in the wake of the 1715 uprising. Murdoch, 'The French Connection', 40.

<sup>94</sup> With the transfer into Swedish power, the former archbishopric and bishopric of Bremen and Verden became secular duchies. We have to remind ourselves here that the duchy of Bremen is easily confused with the city (especially as contemporary documents do not always clearly differentiate between the two). Thus references to the duchy of Bremen are clearly marked as such in this chapter.

<sup>95</sup> NLS, AP.4.89.5, 'Hertz-Erquickendes Trost-Urtheil'; Beate Christine Fiedler, 'Alexander von Erskine (Esken)' in bei der Wieden and Lokers (eds.), *Lebensläufe*, 96-7; Bengt Hildebrand, 'Alexander Erskine', *Svenskt Biographiskt Lexicon*, vol. 14, 462-476.

<sup>96</sup> Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 151; Hildebrand, 'Alexander Erskine', 464.

third generation Scot abroad – described Erskine as ‘a Scot in Swedish service’ in a letter to the Earl of Mar in 1681 which acknowledged the earl as head of the Swedish branch of the Erskine family.<sup>97</sup>

After having entered Swedish service in 1628 Erskine had embarked on a remarkable career resulting in his participation in the peace talks in Osnabrück in 1646 and 1647 as well as in additional negotiations in 1649 (*Nürnberger Exekutionstag*) in his capacity as *Krigspräsident* (President of War).<sup>98</sup> Being one of four high-profile commissioners – the other three being *Rigsråd* Schering Rosenhane, General Governor Hans Christopher von Königsmarck and chancellor Johann Stucke – Erskine played a major role in the establishment of formal Swedish control over Bremen-Verden. However, although the commissioners were officially on equal terms, Rosenhane was considered to be their chairman. According to Böhme, Erskine himself was deemed to be the expert on financial issues as well as on questions relating to the political situation in Pommerania.<sup>99</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that Erskine also participated in a second commission in 1652 which was set up to deal with the funding of the Swedish administration in Bremen-Verden consisting only of himself and Königsmarck.<sup>100</sup>

On 22 September 1653, Erskine was made president (*Präsident*) of the new government of Stade – a new kind of office which involved his attendance of meetings of the governing council. Erskine represented the governor in this institution during his many absences as well as being expected to read and sign any official records as co-signatory along with the chancellor.<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, the president was to preside over the highest judicial institution (*Justizkollegium*) and to inspect the other courts as well as to undertake diplomatic duties on behalf of the Swedish monarch. A stipulation of the Bremen-Verden government insisted that the president had to live in the city of Bremen, in order to ensure that Swedish rights over the cathedral district were maintained within the city walls. Thus, due to his office Erskine united a number of significant tasks in his person demonstrating not only his importance for the administration but also the trust

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<sup>97</sup> NAS, Mar and Kellie Papers, GD124/15/171, Alexander Erskine to Earl of Mar, written at sea, 19 September 1681; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 151; Murdoch, *Network North*, 24.

<sup>98</sup> Fiedler, ‘Alexander von Erskine’, 96-97; Hildebrand, ‘Alexander Erskine’, 463.

<sup>99</sup> Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 84, 89; Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 53.

<sup>100</sup> Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 122.

<sup>101</sup> Fiedler, ‘Alexander von Erskine’, 97.

which was placed in him and his skills by the Swedish government.<sup>102</sup> His rank was underlined by the fact that Erskine could build his very own castle on the river Schwinge, which presumably led to his commuting between this place, his residence in the city of Bremen and Stade in Swedish Bremen. In addition to these houses, Erskine owned a number of other estates and gained revenues in Pommerania and within the duchy of Bremen, including incomes from the title of Bremervörde as well as the estate at Schölisch.<sup>103</sup> Due to his personal wealth Erskine became a creditor to the Swedish crown, who owed his inheritors a sum of 30,000 Imperial dollars (which had only been reduced to an amount of 18,672 Imperial dollars by 1662).<sup>104</sup> However, it was not only within the duchy that Erskine maintained land and possessions nor simply in places of Swedish control. In 1650 he had established contact with the city of Bremen where his wife gave birth to a son the same year to which the senate (collectively) acted as godparents and it was within the territory of this city that Erskine had bought further estates and rented a house for his wife.<sup>105</sup> This relationship between Erskine and the senate of Bremen (who made a donation of 1,000 ducats to him) is certainly a curious one considering the tensions between the city and Sweden, and it has to be assumed that the favours bestowed on Erskine were designed to ensure the city had a sympathetic voice in the neighbouring Swedish government.<sup>106</sup>

The status of Erskine in Bremen-Verden is important in itself, but the way he linked up with other Scots should also not go unnoticed. We know that he communicated with a number of fellow countrymen in Swedish service, among them Field Marshal Alexander Leslie, whom he met in person at Stralsund as early as 1628 when Erskine had taken on the role of Swedish agent.<sup>107</sup> Other Scottish contacts included Major-General Patrick Ruthven as well as Lieutenant-General (later Field-Marshal) Robert Douglas with whom

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<sup>102</sup> Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 91.

<sup>103</sup> Fiedler, 'Alexander von Erskine', 97; Jürgen Bohmbach (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Stade* (Hildesheim/Stade, 1981), 245-8, Deed, Bremen Senate/Alexander von Erskine, 8 November 1651; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 543. Erskine kept his large archival collection which he had taken from various places – especially Prague – during his time as War President at Schwinge. This collection is today kept in the State archives at Stade. Heinz-Joachim Schulze (ed.), *Findbuch zum Bestand 32: Erskinesche Aktensammlung (Stader Reichsarchiv) (1431-1655)* (Göttingen, 1982).

<sup>104</sup> Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 424.

<sup>105</sup> StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1648-1651, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.7, 236, 19 March 1650 and 271, 9 July 1650; SRA, Bremensia No. 54, Alexander Erskine to ?, without place/date.

<sup>106</sup> StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1648-1651, 2- P.6.a.9.c.3.b.7, 282, 11 August 1650.

<sup>107</sup> SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3586, Alexander Leslie to Alexander Erskine, Hademühlen, 31 March 1636; Hildebrandt, 'Alexander Erskine', 465. It is possible that Leslie was even his relative through Erskine's grandmother Elisabeth Leslie.

he was in frequent correspondence.<sup>108</sup> Ruthven contacted Erskine in 1649 from Hamburg asking him for help with the payment of money he was owed by the Swedish Crown to Colonel William Barclay, and in passing referring to the fact that he and Erskine had known each other for such a long time.<sup>109</sup> In doing so he was calling on the previously described ‘network linkage’ of auld acquaintance indicating a significant bond between these two men.<sup>110</sup> Both Barclay and Ruthven had been engaging themselves in a Royalist mission in Hamburg and there is proof that Erskine himself was not unsympathetic to the cause of the Stuart King, as he was among those Scots in Swedish service who were directly approached for assistance by Charles II in 1653.<sup>111</sup> This was at a time when official support from the Swedish government had become unlikely due to the events in Scotland (English occupation), and Sweden developed closer relations with England.<sup>112</sup> It is thus likely that Ruthven not only approached Erskine due to his position but also because he knew that he could rely on him due to their common political goals and interest in the plight of their ancestral homeland.

As with Ruthven, Robert Douglas also requested assistance from Erskine albeit in variety of different matters. Not only did he ask him to intervene and excuse him to the Elector Palatinate (Charles Louis) for not having sent a certain amount of money to him on time, he also begged Erskine to mind his interest as well as that of his brother-in-law, *Rigsråd* Axel Lillie. This was in regard to the land donation policy of Queen Christina (1632-1654).<sup>113</sup> The Swedish monarch was notoriously short of cash and thus rewarded military and civic officials with donations of land allowing them to collect the subsequent revenues it produced.<sup>114</sup> However, Douglas feared that he would not receive remuneration to the value of the debt owed to him and was particularly concerned with the incomes of the nunnery at Zeven – a secularised estate in the duchy of Bremen, which he had already received as a donation on 10 July 1647 in lieu of salary. He had heard that

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<sup>108</sup> SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3586, Several Letters, Robert Douglas to Alexander Erskine, Nürnberg and Ulm, 20 March 1638 – 13 November 1649; SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3588, Patrick Ruthven to Alexander Erskine, Schaffstedt, 11 February 1636 and Hamburg, 3 July 1649.

<sup>109</sup> SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3588, Patrick Ruthven to Alexander Erskine, Hamburg, 3 July 1649; Murdoch, *Britain*, 152-154.

<sup>110</sup> Network linkages of ‘auld acquaintance’ are discussed in Murdoch, *Network North*, 73-77.

<sup>111</sup> Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 245.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3586, Robert Douglas to Alexander Erskine, Ulm, 15 August and 20 October 1649; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 245.

<sup>114</sup> Robert Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558-1721* (Harlow, 2000), 202; Murdoch, *Network North*, 232-233 and Appendix, 362-363.

the nuns – who were allowed to remain on the property – were to keep the revenues for themselves.<sup>115</sup> As with Ruthven, Douglas referred to their friendship (and acquaintance) in his letters to Erskine, which may have been cemented when both men – along with several other Swedish officers – joined the German cultural society the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* in the autumn of 1644 in Anhalt.<sup>116</sup> However, Robert Douglas was also known to have been part of a Scottish Royalist network in Sweden and he was among those Scots who were contacted by Charles II for financial assistance in 1653.<sup>117</sup> Thus, he could draw on their common support for the Stuart King when dealing with Erskine. Although their political goals were not mentioned in their correspondence, Douglas and Ruthven's letters demonstrate that neither of them hesitated to approach Erskine for assistance and that they assumed that he would comply with their requests and thus reveal part of Erskine's networks which were certainly in existence before and after he acquired his civic positions in Bremen-Verden.

Another Scot in Swedish Bremen who was in personal and written contact with Alexander Erskine and who was also attached to the Royalist side was Colonel William Forbes. Forbes had embarked on a career within the Swedish army when he enlisted in Alexander Leslie's infantry regiment in 1635 after having followed his brother Alexander, the 11<sup>th</sup> Lord Forbes, to the continent.<sup>118</sup> In 1645 he received the rank of colonel but was wounded two years afterwards. While recovering in Nuremberg, Forbes – like Erskine and Douglas – joined the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* which underlined his significant standing both within the Swedish army and an important German cultural and literary movement.<sup>119</sup> In October 1649 Colonel Forbes and his regiment arrived in

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<sup>115</sup> SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3586, Robert Douglas to Alexander Erskine, 20 October 1649; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 535; Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 47.

<sup>116</sup> Klaus Conerman, *Die Mitglieder der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft 1617-1650* (Weinheim, 1985), 502-505; Murdoch, *Network North*, 367-373.

<sup>117</sup> Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 245. Although he only promised private support on this occasion due to the attitude of the Swedish government in this matter this of course still proves his sympathy for the Royalist cause.

<sup>118</sup> William Forbes wrote a detailed report of his service within the Swedish army shortly before his death in 1654 which probably had the purpose of convincing the Swedish monarch to pay outstanding salaries to the officer. The report which was written in German and his kept in the University Library at Lund has been published by Pleiss. Detlev Pleiss, 'Das Kriegsfahrtenbuch des schwedischen Offiziers William Forbes. Von seiner Landung and der Unterebbe im Sommer 1634 bis zu seiner Rückkehr nach Stade im Winter 1649/50', *Stader Jahrbuch*, 85 (1995), 133-153.

<sup>119</sup> Conermann, *Die Mitglieder*, 504-505.

Bremen, where Forbes took up his residence in Stade, apparently in a poorly equipped house.<sup>120</sup>

In addition to his duties as Colonel over the regiment Forbes also took over the role as commandant of Stade for which he apparently did not receive his full salary. However, in May 1653, he received three land donations from Queen Christina although he did not seem to have received any revenues from them.<sup>121</sup> We know from Forbes's correspondence with the governor-general of Swedish Pommerania, Carl Gustav Wrangel, that Forbes had either met or communicated in writing with Alexander Erskine at the regional diet (*Landtag*) in Basdahl in December 1653. William Forbes had attended this gathering in order to represent Wrangel as his proxy, indicating quite a measure of trust between the two men.<sup>122</sup> The meeting mainly dealt with the question of the local secular estates – whose privileges had been guaranteed in Westphalia – and their relationship with those mainly foreign individuals who had received donations from the Swedish Crown within the territories. It was the express wish of Queen Christina of Sweden to merge these two groups in order to limit the power of the Swedish landowners, including Douglas and Forbes.<sup>123</sup> William Forbes informed Wrangel of difficulties with the old estates and promised to confer with the other beneficiaries of land donations in this matter. Furthermore, he referred to a dispute between Wrangel and other Swedish landowners in Bremen-Verden, particularly with Robert Douglas – a question which was, according to Forbes, likely to be discussed at Basdahl. However, Forbes promised to retain a neutral position regarding this conflict.<sup>124</sup> This statement demonstrates two things: firstly that a connection between Forbes and Douglas existed which was known to Wrangel. Indeed, we know that Forbes had inspected Douglas's estate in Zeven in 1650 after difficulties had arisen with the local nuns who protested

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<sup>120</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E601, William Forbes to Axel Oxenstierna, Stade, 18 November 1653; SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustaf Wrangels Arkiv, E8359, William Forbes to Wrangel, Stade, 22 November 1649; Fritz Danner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stader Garnison* (Stade, 1987), 7.

<sup>121</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E1048, Alexander Forbes to Erik Oxenstierna, without place, 16 August 1653; E601, William Forbes to Axel Oxenstierna, 18 November 1653; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 537.

<sup>122</sup> SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Personarkiv, E8195, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Basdahl, 8 December 1653.

<sup>123</sup> Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 192-194.

<sup>124</sup> SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Personarkiv, E8195, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Basdahl, 8 December 1653.

vigorously against its secularisation.<sup>125</sup> Although it is not clear if Douglas met Forbes in Bremen it is likely that the colonel tried to take care of Douglas's property and to resolve the dispute with his visit to the nunnery.<sup>126</sup> Given the link between Douglas and Erskine it is probable that the latter was involved in this matter at some level too. Secondly, his apparent decision to remain neutral in the issue between Wrangel and Douglas shows that Forbes did not overtly value his link with one of them over the other, although it is of course possible that he just pretended to assist neither of the men but secretly furthered Douglas's interests. However, Forbes acted in a variety of capacities for Wrangel – among other things he supervised the building of a yacht for him, and nothing suggests that he and the Swede did not form a close and significant link with each other.<sup>127</sup>

Another important contact of William Forbes in the region was undoubtedly his brother Alexander and his family. Alexander Forbes had started his career in the Swedish army in 1630 and had risen to the rank of lieutenant general. Between March and July 1651 he was present in Stade where one of his daughters, Marie, was born.<sup>128</sup> Although we do not know exactly in which capacity Alexander Forbes had arrived in the duchy, it was during his stay in Stade that a letter was sent to the *Rigsråd* Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna urging support for Alexander Forbes and his brother until their outstanding demands could be completely satisfied. This assistance was to include a guarantee of William's position as colonel as well as the conferring of the position as commandant of Stade for five additional years. Alexander Forbes was to receive a grant from the chamber at Stade of 4,000 Imperial dollars as well as a grant from the admiralty including ropes and salvage rights to 'old ships'.<sup>129</sup> It is not clear if this suggestion ever materialised. However, the same year Alexander Forbes received permission from Queen Christina to raise sunken ships in Sweden, including the *Vasa*, in order to collect money

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<sup>125</sup> SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustaf Wrangels Arkiv, E8359, William Forbes to Wrangel, Stade, 12 June 1650; Archibald Douglas, *Robert Douglas: En Krigargestalt från vår Storhetstid* (Stockholm, 1957), 142-144; Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 44. Allegedly they had refused to provide Douglas with necessary food and other necessary provisions during his visit – an issue Forbes was dismayed about.

<sup>126</sup> Douglas and his heirs kept Zeven and its revenues until 1681 when it was returned to the abdicated Queen Christina. Herbert Schwarzwälder, 'Inventare des 17. Jahrhunderts für Rotenburg, Ottersberg und Zeven als Quellen für die Bau-, Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte', in Heinz-Joachim Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität: Beiträge zur Geschichte der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden und des Landes Hadeln* (Stade, 1989), 150.

<sup>127</sup> SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustaf Wrangels Arkiv, E8359, Various Letters, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 12 June 1650 – 10 August 1650.

<sup>128</sup> A. and H. Tayler, *The House of Forbes* (Bruceton Mills, 1987), 184.

<sup>129</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E1048, ? to Erik Axelsson Oxentierna, without place or date.

for Charles II. The latter must have known of this support as he asked both Alexander and William Forbes for their help after the defeat of his troops at Worcester (3 September 1651). Among other specifics were requests to raise further troops in order to support the remaining Royalist forces in Scotland.<sup>130</sup> This link between the Forbes brothers and the Stuart King makes a connection between them and other Royalists like Erskine or Ruthven in Bremen or the surrounding areas highly likely, though frustratingly unproven.

Due to his position in Stade, William Forbes was in contact with the commandants of the seven main fortifications in Bremen-Verden, two of whom also happened to be Scots before 1654, though there may be more to their appointment than coincidence. The governor of Bremervörde, James Lundie, only appears as a lieutenant in Swedish records from 1647 onwards, but it is clear that he must have acquired experience in Swedish service for a considerable time before being assigned this responsible task.<sup>131</sup> In fact, Lundie himself referred to his lengthy service in the field, but added this was a service of which he felt no longer capable – probably due to an injury. According to his correspondence, it was Carl Gustav Wrangel who had recommended Lundie for the position in Bremervörde.<sup>132</sup> Since Wrangel had received a considerable land donation in Bremervörde this demonstrates his trust in the skills of the Scottish officer, but unfortunately we do not know if the men had met before or if Lundie had been recommended to Wrangel by somebody else.<sup>133</sup> However, it is possible that it was William Forbes who had suggested Lundie to him as he was to work closely with the governor and was one of Wrangel's confidants.

The second fortification guarded by a Scottish governor was Buxtehude, located just a few miles from the commercial hub of Hamburg. Here, the Adjutant-General Patrick More took over the command in the later 1640s.<sup>134</sup> He had entered Swedish service in either 1626 or 1629 and had been listed as a cavalry captain in G. M. Witzleben's regiment in 1642 becoming part of the regiment of Arvid Wittenberg in

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<sup>130</sup> Tayler, *The House of Forbes*, 184.

<sup>131</sup> SKRA, Muster Roll, 1647/21; Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 70, 77. According to Alexia Grosjean it was usual for a Scot to have acquired the rank of colonel before becoming appointed to be a governor. His position would have consisted primarily of military tasks. It is unknown if Lundie was also responsible for any civilian tasks. Lundie took over the governorship of Bremervörde in August 1648. From then onwards he maintained a regular correspondence with Carl Gustav Wrangel. SRA, Rydboholmsamlingen, E7943, 18 Letters, Stade and Bremervörde, 28 August 1648 – 8 May 1651.

<sup>132</sup> SRA, Rydboholmsamlingen, E7943, James Lundie to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 28 August 1648.

<sup>133</sup> Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 47.

<sup>133</sup> Hildebrandt, 'Alexander Erskine', 476.

<sup>134</sup> Grojean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 59.

1646.<sup>135</sup> Like Forbes he received a land donation in lieu of pay, in his case of the island of Krautsand in 1646, which he was, however, to transfer to General Königsmarck after ten years of gathering revenues. Nevertheless, Königsmarck opted to pay More 10,400 Imperial dollars in August 1648 in return for his rights over the island.<sup>136</sup> This payment probably functioned as seed capital for a money lending business in which More engaged himself from the 1650s onwards. For example, in January 1655, he lent a sum of 10,000 Imperial dollars to Arvid Wittenberg von Debern under whom he had previously served in the Swedish army. Including interest, this sum increased to 13,568 Imperial dollars in 1658 by which point Wittenberger had died leaving his inheritors unable to repay More. The commandant thus extended the credit and received interest as well as an amount of 1,600 Imperial dollars from Wittenberger's estate (Thedinghausen).<sup>137</sup> These financial transactions involved further business contacts in the commercial centres of Bremen and Hamburg as well as Swedish-Bremen thus spanning three key political entities in the Elbe-Weser region.<sup>138</sup>

Apart from his commercial links and contact with Wittenberg, More was also in touch with Robert Douglas as well as with his cousin Patrick Ruthven who – as mentioned previously – was present in Hamburg in 1649 in order to further the cause of the House of Stuart, together with a number of other Scottish officers like William Barclay.<sup>139</sup> Although there is no proof that More and Ruthven met in Hamburg it is hard to believe that they did not get in touch given their close proximity of 25 kilometres. Indeed, in February 1652 Ruthven, along with the Englishman William Swann (later the official Stuart resident in the Hansa towns) and Colonel Barclay, visited More in Buxtehude on their way from Hamburg to the Netherlands. As Swann had his own horses he stayed overnight in the governor's house whereas the other two had to take a coach leaving the governor after just one hour. Patrick Ruthven died the following night just a few miles outside Buxtehude, his body being brought to Altenkloster where Patrick More

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<sup>135</sup> Steve Murdoch and Kathrin Zickermann, 'Major-General Patrick More of Buxtehude: A Scottish Officer in 'Swedish Bremen'', *Newsletter: Friends of Perth & Kinross Council Archives*, No. 21 (2007).

<sup>136</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E661, Patrick More to Axel Oxenstierna, Buxtehude, 18 September 1646 and 30 October 1646; SRA, de la Gardiesamlingen, E1501, Patrick More to Magnus de la Gardie, Jägerdorf, 19 June 1648 and Camp outside Prague, 9 October 1648; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 256, 540, 543.

<sup>137</sup> SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustaf Wrangels Arkiv, E8423, Arvid Wittenberger to Carl Gustaf Wrangel, Stockholm, 8 January 1655 and Patrick More to Carl Gustaf Wrangel, Oldesloe, 12 July 1658 (includes contract More/Wittenberger, 1655).

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> Turner, *Memoirs*, 91; Murdoch, *Britain*, 152-154.

arranged for the remains to be sent back to Scotland, but not without asking Count and then High Treasurer (*Riksskattmästare*) Magnus de la Gardie to help with the costs involved.<sup>140</sup> The fact that the travelling party went to the trouble of visiting More, and that Swann found accommodation with him, highlights the close connection between these men and indicates More's sympathy for the Royalist side during the resistance to the Cromwellian occupation, linking him further with Erskine and the Forbes brothers as well as to Douglas. In fact we know that the latter was in correspondence with Patrick More in 1646 and it is possible that both men met during Douglas's brief visit to Zeven, given the close geographical proximity of the nunnery to Buxtehude.<sup>141</sup> While we can be cautiously optimistic about the strength of these networks, we can be more certain of further Scottish links maintained by the Buxtehude Scot. Interestingly, Patrick More also held a link with the Mercer family. His original testimonial, provided as part of his application for a Scottish birth brief in 1663, was signed by a Laurence Mercer and it is thus probable that More and Elizabeth Mercer had met or corresponded with each other during the 1650s due to their shared Royalist sympathies, ethnic affiliation or simple geographic proximity.<sup>142</sup> This connection as well as his military duties also linked More to William Bonar. With the end of the Thirty Years' War, it may have seemed that these men could retire in their various estates and settle in peace after years of conflict – but it was not to be.

The first Swedish-Bremen War of 1654 had an effect on the presence of Scots in the duchies due to the loss of William Forbes who died in an attack whilst defending the fortification of Burg, of which he was in charge.<sup>143</sup> According to the last sentences added to his memorial, two different monarchs – who must have been the Swedish king Charles X Gustav (1654-1660) and the Stuart king Charles II (1660-1685) – wept over his death

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<sup>140</sup> SRA, de la Gardiesamlingen, E1501, Patrick More to Magnus de la Gardie, Buxtehude, 26 February 1652.

<sup>141</sup> SRA, Stegeborgsamlingen II, Arvprinsen Carl Gustafs Arkiv, E128, Robert Douglas to Carl Gustav, Ilmen, 7 April 1646 and Swedish Camp, 10 November 1646.

<sup>142</sup> *RPCS, Third Series*, 1661-1664, 355-356, Supplication, Patrick More, Edinburgh, 14 April 1663. The request of a Scottish Birth Brief as proof of legal birth was not unusual as such documentation was often necessary to acquire citizenship or other privileges. Waldemar Kowalski, 'Certificates of Legitimate Birth (Birth-Briefs) in the Practice of the City Councils of Aberdeen and Krakow at the close of the Sixteenth Century and during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', in *Przgmaticke pisemnosti kontextu pravrim a spzavnim* (Prague, 2008), 187-201; Steve Murdoch, 'Fabricating Nobility? Genealogy and Social Mobility among Franco-Scottish Families in the Early Modern Period', *Culture Savante, Culture Populaire en Ecosse*, 40 (2007), 37-51.

<sup>143</sup> Tayler, *The House of Forbes*, 201; Henning Eichberg, *Militär und Technik: Schwedenfestungen des 17. Jahrhunderts in den Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden* (Düsseldorf, 1976), 36.

revealing once again Forbes's integration into the Swedish military elite as well as his sympathy for the cause of the exiled British monarch.<sup>144</sup> Forbes was replaced in his position as commandant by another Scot, Alexander Irving, who had entered Swedish service in 1614 and then served in various forces such as the Mackay and Kalmar regiments going through the usual ranks until being made colonel in 1645.<sup>145</sup> On 16 May 1642, Irving received a birth brief from Scotland in support of his application for his Swedish ennoblement. His stay in Stade was relatively short as he left in 1656 to retire to Sweden.<sup>146</sup> Nevertheless, when in Bremen, Irving almost certainly met with Alexander Forbes. The latter had returned to the duchies in order to retrieve outstanding debts to him as well as to his brother, particularly for the latter's services as commandant. In addition to this he stated that he felt obliged to satisfy William Forbes's creditors.<sup>147</sup> Alexander Forbes remained in Bremen until at least 1657 although it is not quite clear in which capacity. The recurring themes of his correspondence are the financial difficulties which he attempted to settle by requesting the aforementioned money, as well as a serious illness which he seemed to have contracted in 1655.<sup>148</sup> It is entirely possible that it was delays in the attempts to sort out his affairs which kept Forbes in the duchies for three years. However, given his previous position within the Swedish army it would not be surprising if he did not also take on military capacities, specifically when the duchies were attacked by the Danish king Frederick III (1648-1670) who managed to temporarily occupy Bremervörde in 1657, ending Lundie's governorship over the fortification.<sup>149</sup> After 1657 there is no proof for the presence of either James Lundie or Alexander Forbes in the duchies and it has to be assumed that they had left the same year or shortly thereafter.<sup>150</sup> In addition to them, Alexander von Erskine had moved on to Poland in his capacity as *Kriegspräsident* in 1655 where Charles X Gustav – who had succeeded

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<sup>144</sup> Pleiss, 'Das Kriegsfahrtenbuch', 153; Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 128; Tayler, *The House of Forbes*, 201. The author of the memorial's last lines is unknown.

<sup>145</sup> Grojean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 70.

<sup>146</sup> NAS, Genealogies, RH16/207/2-3, Copy of Birth-Brief of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Irving, 16 May 1647; Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 70.

<sup>147</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E1048, Alexander Forbes to Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna, Stade, 20 April 1655.

<sup>148</sup> SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E1048, Alexander Forbes to Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna, Stade, 16 August 1653, 17 November 1654, 27 March and 20 April 1655; SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Personarkiv, E8195, Alexander Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 14 March 1657 and Burg, 12 May 1657.

<sup>149</sup> Danner, *Beiträge*, 37-39.

<sup>150</sup> A Captain James Lundie was enlisted in Colonel Dietrich von Düring's regiment in 1660 but due to his rank it is more likely that he was the son of the commandant. Danner, *Beiträge*, 38.

Christina – engaged himself in another military conflict. There, Erskine was captured at the battle of Warsaw (28-30 July 1656) and died shortly thereafter at Zamosc.<sup>151</sup>

After Alexander von Erskine's death his cousin, Archibald Erskine, who was also in Swedish service, arrived in Hamburg in order to take care of the deceased's estate.<sup>152</sup> He experienced difficulties with Erskine's widow, Lucia Christina (nee von Wartensleben), whom he feared was more powerful than himself due to the fact that he was unaccustomed with the laws of the land. Erskine was especially anxious that his cousin's relict would wear him out with a long and expensive court case at the chancery at Stade. Erskine thus asked the English Cromwellian envoy to Sweden, William Jephson, to support his petition to the Swedish king to influence the judges to grant him a fast and impartial verdict.<sup>153</sup> The fact that Erskine banked on assistance from him indicates that he did not support the Royalist side in the British conflict – at least not openly. At the same time his petition to Jephson is another example for presumed Anglo-Scottish co-operation within the wider Elbe-Weser region.

Thus, the various conflicts in which Sweden participated after 1654 ended a period in Bremen-Verden in which we could find a number of Scots in significant military and civic positions who stayed in the territories for a considerable time. What followed was a new phase of Scottish presence which took on a more transient character. For example, in October 1656 a troop of newly recruited Scottish soldiers robbed the administrator of the toll and excise tax in Brunshausen, attempting to kill him while destroying his house.<sup>154</sup> These soldiers were probably part of the second wave of the Cranstoun regiment which had been employed in order to fight in the war against Poland and it is possible that they belonged to the group of Royalist soldiers known to have deserted from Swedish service due to the alliance between the Swedish monarch and Cromwell.<sup>155</sup> Some of these deserters took up Danish-Norwegian service a few miles away at Glückstadt placing Scots in contesting armies within a few kilometres of each other.<sup>156</sup> Other examples of

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<sup>151</sup> NLS, AP.4.89.5, 'Hertz-Erquickendes Trost-Urtheil'; Frost, *The Northern Wars*, 166-177; Hildebrandt, 'Alexander Erskine', 476. Erskine was buried in the Lutheran Cathedral in Bremen on 6 May 1658.

<sup>152</sup> SRA, Coyetska Samlingen, E3389, vol. 2, Alexander Erskine to Peter Julius Coyet, Hamburg, 30 December 1657.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> StAS, Schwedisches Regierungsarchiv, Rep. 5a, Fach 178 No. 1, Report Relating to the Attack of the Toll and Excise Tax Administrator in Brunshausen, 1656.

<sup>155</sup> Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 76.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

transient Scottish military officials included William Lundie, a relative of James Lundie, or Lieutenant Robert Davidson who fought in the aforementioned conflict between Denmark and Sweden at a fort at Belum in 1658 but of them, their impact on the region or their political or military networks, little is known although of some new arrivals we know more.<sup>157</sup>

Andrew Melville, then a major in the Swedish army and Royalist exile, also arrived in Stade via Hamburg in 1658 in order to raise a regiment of dragoons in the duchy of Bremen.<sup>158</sup> According to his own records this task took six months in which he was assisted by the Count of Dohna who governed the duchy in the absence of the imprisoned General Königsmarck. After this period Melville – by then a lieutenant-colonel – remained at Neuhausen at the Elbe with half of the regiment in order to hinder the Danish army's attempt to cross into the territory. However, he was accused by the local commandant of committing violence within his jurisdiction and thus had to justify himself to Königsmarck who had returned to Stade in the meantime and put Melville under arrest. Having been released shortly thereafter and with his former regiment disbanded after the death of the Swedish King followed by the peace of Oliva, Melville was apparently asked to continue to serve in Bremen with a company of dragoons but decided to leave the duchy to seek his fortune elsewhere.<sup>159</sup> However, one of the Scots present in Bremen since the late 1640s – Patrick More – remained in the duchy until his death in 1680.

More is an interesting case as he did not confine himself to a Scottish or Swedish social network but became linked with the indigenous population of Buxtehude by marrying the mayor's stepdaughter with whom he had at least one child. After taking over as commandant, More became resident in the town and had his own pew installed in the local church thus symbolising his intention to remain in Germany (for a while at least). During the 1660s, More took the town officials to court over a sum he was apparently owed by them – revealing that the relationship between the commandant and the indigenous population was not always a positive one.<sup>160</sup> More probably decided to

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<sup>157</sup> Danner, *Beiträge*, 37.

<sup>158</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 177-180. Through Erskine's grandmother, Elisabeth Melville, both men were related to each other and it is thus likely that they met in the duchy. NLS, AP.4.89.5, 'Hertz-Erquickendes Trost-Urtheil'.

<sup>159</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 177-180.

<sup>160</sup> StadtB, Patrick More, StH.38.M1, Colonel Patrick Mohr vs. Provost and Senate of Buxtehude.

retire to private life in 1663 when he applied for a Scottish birth brief in order to prove his good social standing.<sup>161</sup> However, he did not withdraw from Swedish service completely as he gained the rank *Krigsråd* (military councillor) on 23 April 1671 in Stade and of Major General in 1675.<sup>162</sup> It is possible that he was re-commissioned in times of conflict, for example when the second war between the city of Bremen and Sweden ensued in 1665. This conflict also saw Andrew Melville's return to the duchy albeit this time in the services of the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg whom he had joined the previous year and who came to the city's aid against Sweden.<sup>163</sup> In this expedition Melville was joined by Colonel John Mollison who was likewise among the duke's troops.<sup>164</sup> The appearance of Melville and Mollison in the Bremen-Swedish war makes it likely that Scots faced each other on opposing sides of the battlefield. This potentially created a dilemma for them although the situation was not uncommon in the various European conflicts in which Scottish officers and soldiers participated.<sup>165</sup> In March the following year Mollison was recovering from an illness in Hamburg where he met with Patrick Gordon who passed through the city offering him the use of his servants and coach for the duration of his stay.<sup>166</sup>

The aforementioned itinerant soldier Patrick Gordon also returned to Northwest Germany in 1667 and communicated with Patrick More at Buxtehude.<sup>167</sup> However, his network in Hamburg was far more extensive. Gordon had already been present in Hamburg in 1666 where he was assisted by the Adventurer Nathaniel Cambridge and the local merchant Henry van Poorten, both of whom he was introduced to by letters of recommendation.<sup>168</sup> On returning to the city in 1667, he continued his links with these men. Cambridge took care of Gordon's post and furnished him with 100 Imperial dollars on a bill to Hermann Beck, a fellow Scot and merchant at Hamburg. Gordon also received eight Imperial dollars from Henry van Poorten on a bill of exchange from Sir

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<sup>161</sup> *RPCS, Third Series*, 1661-1664, 355-356, Supplication, Patrick More, Edinburgh, 14 April 1663.

<sup>162</sup> StAS, Schwedisches Regierungsarchiv, Rep. 5a, Vol. 1, Fach 132, No. 17, File relating to the appointment of *Krigsråd* Patrick More at Stade, May 1674.

<sup>163</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 197-198.

<sup>164</sup> StadtL, Militaria, M2a2 Nr. 4, Memorial, Lüneburg Senate, 15 November 1666.

<sup>165</sup> For Scots facing each other see the interesting case study of Scots in Polish and Swedish service (Cranstoun's Regiment in Thorn) communicating with each other see Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 76-82.

<sup>166</sup> Botfield (ed.), *Passages from the Diary*, 98-101.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>168</sup> Botfield (ed.), *Passages from the Diary*, 69-70. Gordon also met a fellow Scot, a Mr Kennedy during his stay in Hamburg in 1666, whom he had previously met in Moscow.

John Hebdon, the Russian resident at London and stayed with his relative in Lübeck.<sup>169</sup> Furthermore, Gordon was entertained by the company of Merchant Adventurers and met with the abdicated Swedish Queen Christina. Gordon and the latter shared the Roman Catholic faith and Gordon commuted to Altona on several occasions in 1666 and 1667 to hear mass.<sup>170</sup> His contacts in Hamburg also included a relative, Colonel Gordon ‘Steelhand’, and Paul Würtz, who had recently served as a Danish field-marshal. Patrick Gordon left the city for the service of the Romanov Tsars, and for those Scots who remained like Patrick More, conflict again brings them into the historical record.<sup>171</sup>

In 1675 an Imperial attack (*Reichsexekution*) was launched against Sweden, now an ally of the French king Louis XIV. This conflict saw troops of the Danish king Christian V, the dukes of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Brandenburg (as well as the bishop of Münster) enter the duchies and lay siege to Buxtehude in 1675 and to Stade the following year.<sup>172</sup> By this time Patrick More had been released from his duties as governor of Buxtehude by another Scot in Swedish service, Colonel Archibald Hamilton.<sup>173</sup> However, his position in Buxtehude was short-lived when he was forced to surrender the town on 16 April 1675, an action for which he was tried and executed in Stade in November the same year by General-Governor Henrik Horn.<sup>174</sup> It is possible that Mollison had been among the forces laying siege to Buxtehude as he was certainly part of the contingent of troops of Braunschweig-Lüneburg at Stade the following year, where he was killed by grapeshot.<sup>175</sup> Whether Mollison was a participant or not, the allied forces finally forced the Swedish troops to leave the duchies in August 1676 and the territories remained effectively under the control of the allies until 1680.<sup>176</sup> It is not clear what happened to Patrick More after the Swedish forces left in 1676 although it seems that he

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 101.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 69, 99, 101.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid. Paul Würtz served in various armies. For example, between 1661 and 1664 he was Swedish vice general governor of Pommerania. It is highly likely that Gordon and Würtz had met previously although Gordon does not record such a meeting.

<sup>172</sup> Matthias Nisdahl, ‘Die Reichsexekution gegen Schweden in Bremen-Verden’, in Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität*, 97-106.

<sup>173</sup> SRA, de la Gardiesamlingen, E1428, Archibald Hamilton to Magnus de la Gardie, Buxtehude, 1 July 1675.

<sup>174</sup> Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 457-460; Eichberg, *Militär und Technik*, 52; Frost, *The Northern Wars*, 209-212; Pauli, *Det Svenska Tyskland*, 18.

<sup>175</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 212.

<sup>176</sup> Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 457-460; Eichberg, *Militär und Technik*, 52; Frost, *The Northern Wars*, 209-12; Nisdahl, ‘Die Reichsexekution’, 106-114; Ulf Pauli, *Det Svenska Tyskland: Sveriges tyska besittningar 1648-1815* (Stockholm, 1989), 18.

stayed in Buxtehude during this time. In 1679 he sent a petition from the town to Braunschweig-Lüneburg regarding interest payments from a credit he had given to the Neukloster which seems to have been successfully redeemed.<sup>177</sup> Interestingly, in August 1680, the re-established Swedish government in Stade intervened in a case against Colonel Hay's heirs in Hamburg on More's behalf, who demanded a payment from the latter.<sup>178</sup> It is unclear how the Major General had become involved in this affair but Hamburg's officials decided to correspond with the English resident on this matter and to answer the Swedish letter according to a contract they had closed with Hay's inheritors.<sup>179</sup> However, More died in Buxtehude the same year, after residing there for more than thirty years as a Scot, a Swede and a German. Despite this lengthy absence from Scotland he kept a lifelong attachment to his home country as can be seen from a bequest paid by his wife Margareta to the poor of his home town of Perth in 1682 and 1683.<sup>180</sup>

From the above mention of the wars it is clear that Sweden was not the only power in the wider Elbe-Weser region to employ Scottish officers and footsoldiers. In 1665 the government of the Welfenian territories was restructured following the death of Duke Christian Ludwig. His brother Georg Wilhelm then had to cede the duchy of Calenberg with its capital Hanover to a third brother, Johann Friedrich, who had so far controlled the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. This territory was now given to Georg Wilhelm who governed from its capital Celle.<sup>181</sup> Due to the fact that the majority of officers had followed Johann Friedrich to Hanover, Georg Wilhelm's military strength relied on an intake of foreigners.<sup>182</sup> The Lutheran duke had taken the Huguenot Eléonore Desmier d'Olbreuse as his partner. Initially he had refrained from marrying her due to his earlier promise to his third brother Ernst August to remain childless in order to guarantee his or his inheritor's succession in the duchy. However, in 1676 the couple officially wed.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> StAS, Celler Akten, Rep. 5, Fach 376, Petition, Patrick More, Buxtehude, 1679.

<sup>178</sup> For the case relating to Patrick Hay see above.

<sup>179</sup> StAH, Senat, III-I Cl.VIII No. xa, 1680, 130, 16 August 1680.

<sup>180</sup> Perth & Kinross Council Archive, Records of Perth Burgh, B59/24/2/1-3, Bequest paid by Margareta More, Buxtehude, 9 June 1683.

<sup>181</sup> Van den Heuvel, 'Niedersachsen', 156-159.

<sup>182</sup> Andreas Flick, 'Der Celler Hof ist ganz verfranzt': Hugenotten und französische Katholiken am Hof und beim Militär Herzog Georg Wilhelms von Braunschweig-Lüneburg', *Hugenotten*, 72/3 (2008), 102-106.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 92; Andreas Flick, 'Hugenotten am Hof der 'Prinzessin von Ahlden'', *Geschichtsblätter der Deutschen Hugenotten-Gesellschaft*, 43 (2008), 123; Georg Schnath, 'Georg Wilhelm', *Neue Deutsche*

The influence and favour of Eleonore d'Olbreuse drew a number of her fellow-believers to Georg Wilhelm's court in Celle who were allowed to hold reformed services in her private rooms in the castle.<sup>184</sup> At the same time a number of Huguenot officers found employment in Braunschweig-Lüneburg's army. Nevertheless, the French reformed officers were not the only foreigners to enlist. A smaller number of Catholic Frenchmen also found their way into the army, as did some Scottish officers and soldiers albeit on a smaller scale than in their previous service to Sweden. However, some of them took over highly responsible positions and became respected members of the French-reformed community in Celle.<sup>185</sup>

Andrew Melville was one of these Scots whose military role has already been noted. He joined Georg Wilhelm's service in 1665 after a career in various European armies. Melville had fought at Worcester for Charles II, after which he returned to the continent to serve in the army of the Duke of Lorraine, in a Dragoon regiment of the Elector of Brandenburg under Count Waldeck and within the Swedish army. It was here that he met John Mollison, whom he described as 'a Scottish comrade of mine' in his war memorial, revealing an important link between the two men.<sup>186</sup> After the peace of Oliva in 1660 which saw Melville's Swedish regiment reduced, he travelled to Charles II, now restored to the thrones of England and Scotland, in the hope of reward for his earlier service but was, disappointed. Left without income, Melville took service under Count Waldeck who had been ordered by the Elector of Cologne to raise an infantry regiment against the Turks. However, when the Count became field-marshal in Braunschweig-Lüneburg in 1665 he recommended Melville – then a lieutenant-colonel in the army of the Elector of Cologne – to Georg Wilhelm's service.<sup>187</sup> Subsequently Melville was appointed as commandant of Celle, which heralded the start of a successful and stable

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*Biographie*, vol. 6, 208; Henri Tollin, 'Geschichte der hugenottischen Gemeinde von Celle', *Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins*, 7/8 (1893), 4.

<sup>184</sup> Flick, 'Der Celler Hof', 91; Henri Tollin, 'Geschichte der hugenottischen Gemeinde in Celle', *Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins*, 7/8 (1893), 5; Walter Mogk, 'Zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten in Lüneburg vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 55 (1983), 384. See also chapter 5.

<sup>185</sup> Wilhelm Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen* (Hildesheim, 1960), 180; Flick, 'Der Celler Hof', 102.

<sup>186</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 153-154.

<sup>187</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 197; Bernhard R. Kroener, 'Der Krieg hat ein Loch...'. Überlegungen zum Schicksal demobilisierter Söldner nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Heinz Duchhardt (ed.), *Der Westfälische Friede: Diplomatie Zäsur, kulturelles Umfeld, Rezeptionsgeschichte* (München, 1998), 600-603.

career for him in the Elbe-Weser region. In 1672 Melville was promoted to colonel of a regiment which was garrisoned in Harburg. This position led to some co-operation with Hamburg's authorities who, for example, arrested a deserter from Melville's troops in the city in 1674.<sup>188</sup> Melville fought in various expeditions of the duke's army during the Imperial war against France in Alsace (1674-1675) and in Bremen against Louis XIV's ally Sweden as mentioned above.<sup>189</sup> After peace was concluded at Nimwegen, Melville was made High Bailiff (*Droste*) in the county of Gifhorn in addition to his rank of brigadier, thus acquiring a civic in addition to a military office.<sup>190</sup> Following his retirement from active service in 1680 Melville accompanied George Louis of Hanover to England where he met Charles II before returning to Braunschweig-Lüneburg where he received the (honorary) rank of Major-General.<sup>191</sup>

There is evidence that Melville owed his social advancement not only to his military skills but also to his Calvinist confession of faith which brought the officer into contact with Eleonore d'Olbreuse and the court at Celle.<sup>192</sup> Sophia of Hanover, Georg Wilhelm's sister-in-law and daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, noted that it had been Eleonore d'Olbreuse herself who had proposed a marriage between Melville and her close friend and fellow Huguenot, Nymphe de la Motte-Chevalerie.<sup>193</sup> This marriage linked Melville even more closely to the reformed community at Celle where he acquired a respected position among the congregation.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, his wife linked Melville to the English envoy James Cresset who was present in Celle between 1693 and 1703. The latter also became a member of the French reformed community and married Louise

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<sup>188</sup> StAH, Senat, III-I Cl.VIII No. xa, 1674, 53, 16 February 1674. It is possible that another Scot, William Leslie, who was employed as a captain by Hamburg's senate, assisted in this arrest. For information on this man see Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, vol. 2, 91.

<sup>189</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 203-211; Felix Schütz von Brandis, *Übersicht der Geschichte der Hannoverschen Armee von 1617 bis 1866* (Hanover, 1903), 80; Kroener, 'Überlegungen zum Schicksal demobilisierter Söldner', 603.

<sup>190</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 215; Kroener, 'Überlegungen zum Schicksal demobilisierter Söldner', 603. It was in Gifhorn that Melville concluded his memoir which he dedicated to the duchess, confirming their personal relationship.

<sup>191</sup> *RPCS, Third Series*, 1683-1684, 114-115, Supplication, Andrew Melville, without date/place; Andreas Flick, 'Als zwölfjähriger Junge durfte Georg Ernest de Melvill König Karl II. von England die Hand küssen', *Der Deutsche Hugenott*, 58/1 (1994), 18.

<sup>192</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 67-69.

<sup>193</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 6-7. The current location of the original letter could not be traced. The reference in Ali-Ameer reads 'Briefwechsel der Herzogin von Sophie von Hannover mit ihrem Bruder', Preuss. Staatsarchiv, vol. 26.

<sup>194</sup> Flick, 'Der Celler Hof', 93. A visible sign of Melville's standing is provided by the seating order of the first official *temple* in 1700 which reserved the first bench left of the chancel to 'the old General-Major v. Melville' and his family.

Marie de la Motte who was in turn a relative of both Eleonore d'Olbreuse and Melville's wife.<sup>195</sup> Yet another small Anglo-Scottish (or British) network was thus formed in Northwest Germany. And it was added to by other Caledonians.

Andrew Melville was certainly not the only favoured Scot of reformed faith at Celle. Robert Scott enlisted in Georg Wilhelm's service during the 1670s as personal physician to the duke and his troops after having acquired a medical degree in Angers on 9 July 1673.<sup>196</sup> When the first Presbytery (*Consistoire*) of the French reformed church was formed in 1688 Scott was invited along with four Huguenots, Etienne de Maxuel de la Fortière, Gabriel de Villars-Malortie, Daniel Ceaulier and J. de Lestoc, to become one of the Elders (*Ancien*) according to the wishes of the duchess.<sup>197</sup> Andreas Flick has pointed out that Scott was thus the only non-French individual in a leading position in the solitary existing reformed church in Celle.<sup>198</sup> This certainly reveals his status and authority in religious matters, emphasised by the fact that the physician participated as a delegate in the Synod of the Lower Saxon Confederation (*Niedersächsische Konföderation*) in 1705, which was a union of several French and German reformed communities within the three Welfenian duchies and the county of Schaumburg-Lippe.<sup>199</sup> Furthermore, Scott was married to the Huguenot Marthe Lafleur who died sometime before 1689 when Scott took Rosie Sophie von Reinbeck, the daughter of Lüneburg's provost, as his second wife. Between both women Scott fathered 16 children of whom the latter six are listed among the christenings in the church book of the French-reformed community in Celle. To one of these daughters Eleonora d'Olbreuse became godmother in 1697.<sup>200</sup> The above clearly demonstrates Scott's integration into the French-reformed community and his significant standing within this institution. Scott was also linked to the German-reformed community which was founded in Celle in 1709, probably through his second wife. The German reformed church book lists the confirmation of his son Wilhelm Benjamin Scott in 1710. Furthermore, although his death was only recorded in

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<sup>195</sup> L. Bittner and L. Gross (eds.), *Reportorium der diplomatischen Vetreter aller Länder* (3 vols., Oldenburg and Berlin, 1936), vol. 1, 181-184; Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 117; Flick, 'Hugenotten und französische Katholiken', 93.

<sup>196</sup> Andreas Flick, 'Der Ancien Dr. med. Robert Scott wurde 'zuweilen wegen seiner besonderen Fömmigkeit...hinterrucks verspottet und verhöhnet', *Der Deutsche Hugenott*, 56 (1992), 104; Tollin, 'Geschichte der hugenottischen Gemeinde in Celle', 3.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Flick, 'Der Ancien Dr. med. Robert Scott', 105.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 130; Flick 'Der Ancien Dr. med. Robert Scott', 104.

the church book of the French reformed community, it was the minister of the German-reformed church, Johann Heinrich Schmucker, who read the eulogy on Robert Scott on 11 February 1714.<sup>201</sup>

Both Melville and Scott had adhered to the reformed faith prior to their arrival at Celle. Although differences existed between the Scottish Presbyterian and the French reformed confessions, both churches were Calvinist so that both Scots probably did not find it difficult to worship in a Huguenot congregation. Moreover, it has been shown elsewhere that most Scots abroad easily adapted to the local religious circumstances and one might speculate that at least Melville could have easily attended Lutheran services, or even converted if there had been no private church in existence.<sup>202</sup> Scott on the other hand took on a more sophisticated religious role within the congregation and was described by contemporaries as being particularly pious. Thus for him conversion would have been more difficult and it is possible that he chose service in Braunschweig-Lüneburg particularly for the fact that the duke and duchess were sympathetic of his religion which he could not freely practice in his native country at the time of his arrival in Celle – a subject dealt with in more detail in the following chapter.<sup>203</sup>

Although Melville and Scott met in the French reformed community nothing is known about their relationship. However, information exists on Melville's link to John Mollison, who had entered Georg Wilhelm's army shortly after Melville. According to his memoir, Melville persuaded Mollison to accept the rank of lieutenant-colonel which Mollison initially considered as being beneath him. However, shortly after taking up this rank he was promoted to colonel – a position Melville thought should have been his. Nevertheless, the commandant noted that 'the friendship that existed between us induced me to suffer the injustice without complaint'.<sup>204</sup> With his new position Mollison became commandant of the Lutheran city of Lüneburg. This office, which he held until 1672, demonstrates once again the trust put into Scottish military skills by European leaders.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> According to Flick the reason for this lay in the fact that these kind of tributes were less unusual for this congregation than for the Huguenot community whose church order forbade eulogies at funerals.

<sup>202</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 84-123.

<sup>203</sup> Flick, 'Der Ancien Dr. med. Robert Scott', 104.

<sup>204</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 199.

<sup>205</sup> StadtL, Militaria, Johan de Mollison, M2 a 2, No. 4; Hartwig Notbohm, *Geschichte der Französisch-reformierten Gemeinde – Hugenotten – in Lüneburg 1684-1839* (Lüneburg, 2001), 45; For further examples see Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 61-82; Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 53-77; Steve Murdoch, 'Scotsmen on the Danish-Norwegian Frontiers c1580-

Like Melville and Scott, Mollison adhered to the reformed faith. In either 1666 or early 1667 he asked the duke for permission to employ a Calvinist minister for his regiment and to establish a private Calvinist church – a request which caused protests from Lüneburg’s Lutheran ministry.<sup>206</sup> Although he was probably not unsympathetic it appears that Georg Wilhelm did not consent to this petition – at least we do not have any information on the existence on such a church in the surviving documents. However, on 26 May 1673, Mollison caused more offence to local authorities when he initiated a public service in the garden of Lüneburg’s former mayor Hieronymus von Laffert outside the city walls.<sup>207</sup> Again, there is no information on complaints by the ministry but it is likely that he was not inclined to accept a public demonstration of reformed faith. The implied participation of a former town official demonstrates that there was a demand for reformed services among the local population. Despite his commitment to the reformed faith Mollison does not seem to have become attached to the French reformed community in Celle. This is indicated by the way he was described to Eleonore d’Olbreuse in a way which makes clear that she was not acquainted with him. This could be an indication that Melville and Mollison were not on best terms, or simply that Melville kept separate social and socio-political networks.

Apart from Melville, Mollison and Scott other Scottish officers and soldiers served in Georg Wilhelm’s army but it is impossible to gauge their number or influence. However one excellent example of their continued interaction with each other is provided by Sir James Johnstone of Elphinstone who lamented on 24 April 1677 that he had ‘lost a number of good friends both Dutch and other nations especially Collonel Bonar, Collonel Mollison, Major Crichton and others all dead and killed...’<sup>208</sup> It is not clear if he had served with Bonar and Mollison in the Swedish army before his transfer to Braunschweig-Lüneburg nor is it known where Crichton served. Of interest is the fact that he does not name the Dutch, German or other foreigners. Nevertheless, the fact that Johnstone termed these Scots as his friends reveals the existence of a Scottish network which outlasted active military service as Bonar had long retired before his death in 1674.

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1680’, in Andrew Mackillop and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c.1550-1900*, (Leiden, 2003), 1-28; Grosjean, ‘Scotland: Sweden’s Closest Ally?’, 143-171.

<sup>206</sup> Mogk, *Zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten*, 385; Notbohm, *Geschichte der Französisch-reformierten Gemeinde*, 1.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> NAS, Smythe Family Papers, GD190/3/195, James Johnstone to his Brother-In-Law, 24 April 1677.

It is probable that several Scots served under Johnstone like the aforementioned John Wilson who was based at Winsen in May 1672 noting that his captain was a fellow countryman though not naming him.<sup>209</sup> Moreover, Johnstone was in contact with Scottish merchants who had met him at Hamburg but unfortunately we do not know their names or how long they stayed in the city.<sup>210</sup> Nonetheless, the strength of his military associations with Scots in numerous service is once again testament to those permeable political frontiers while his dealings with the commercial community remind us of the human associations across boundaries which are often too rigidly applied by historians to networks. Another, final, example of Scots in Braunschweig-Lüneburg service is Thomas Erskine<sup>211</sup> who was promoted to colonel of the cavalry of the Lower Saxon circle in 1683 after having served in Georg Wilhelm's army.<sup>212</sup> As Sweden held the directorship of the circle (with the duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg serving as co-director) the promotion came from the Swedish monarch and necessitated correspondence with the Swedish governor at Stade, Henrick Horn.<sup>213</sup> Despite his change in position Erskine remained in Lüneburg until 1686 where he assisted a 'young Scottish gentleman' in finding employment at the local militia and in Swedish service – demonstrating his connections to both Braunschweig-Lüneburg and Swedish officials and confirming the importance of Scottish ethnicity to many arriving in the region.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> NAS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/2152, John Wilson to Mrs Mitchell, Winsen, 26 May 1672.

<sup>210</sup> NAS, Smythe Family Papers, GD190/3/195, James Johnstone to his Brother-In-Law, 24 April 1677.

<sup>211</sup> Thomas Erskine was almost certainly Archibald Erskine's son and Alexander von Erskine's nephew. He was in contact with a cousin who was in Swedish service. This was probably either Alexander or Carl Gustav Erskine, both of whom were Alexander Erskine's sons.

<sup>212</sup> SRA, Bremensia No. 81, Thomas Erskine to Henrik Horn, Lüneburg, 12 March 1683, 9 April 1683, 21 August 1683 and Celle, 24 May 1683.

<sup>213</sup> Dotzauer, *Die deutschen Reichskreise*, 335.

<sup>214</sup> SRA, Bremensia Nr. 81, Thomas Erskine to Henrik Horn, Lüneburg, 1 June 1686. The grandfather of the young Scot was described as 'famous colonel' in Swedish service and as commandant of Osnabrück. The latter part of the description fits best with James Lumsden of Invergally, who was governor of Osnabrück between 1633 and 1639 or with Matthias Forbes who was governor of the same place in 1635. Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 61.

### 3.4 Conclusion

Undoubtedly, Hamburg was a special place for the observance of Anglo-Scottish political and diplomatic co-operation due to the presence of a large group of English merchants and high profile English and Scottish diplomats and officers – and, of course, the city's neutrality. Unhindered by pro-Covenanter Swedish immigration or pro-Royalist Habsburg pressures, the city remained neutral even despite the continued claims of the King of Denmark to overlordship (made again in 1640). Hamburg demonstrably served as a meeting point throughout the century, with the English Merchant Adventurers offering support to Scottish officers or English refugees alike. Some of these links were enduring. For example, when Patrick Gordon returned to the city in 1686 he resumed his old connections with Nathaniel Cambridge. Furthermore, he was again entertained by other Merchant Adventurers some of whom he had probably met during previous visits to the city.<sup>215</sup> However, General Gordon also met with Robert Jolly with whom he travelled to Bremen via Harburg, Buxtehude and Zeven. Before continuing to Rotterdam via Oldenburg and Leer, Gordon was taken to Bremen's wine cellar by fellow Scot, Gilbert Spence.<sup>216</sup> To a certain extent the Scottish travelling party consisting of Mr Eliot, Mr Hume and Mr Mungo English replicated this journey three years later, meeting many of the same 'hosts'.<sup>217</sup>

Beyond Hamburg and Bremen, the significance of Scots for the Swedish administration of Bremen-Verden is surely apparent. It is possible to identify over fifty Scottish individuals throughout the period of Swedish administration of Bremen and Verden, most of them, however, in a sojourning capacity. The presence of Scottish officers and soldiers from the start of Swedish control over the duchies in 1645 is not surprising given their well-known role within the Swedish army. Alexander von Erskine was of utmost importance due to his roles as commissioner and president. In addition to him, out of the nine highest military positions – consisting of a major general, a commandant of the Swedish regiment and seven governors of the fortifications – four were in the hands of Scots when the first Bremen-Swedish war broke out in 1654. Two of

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<sup>215</sup> Botfield (ed.), *Passages from the Diary*, 122-125. For example, Gordon attended the christening of Edward Foster's daughter Grace on 28 March 1686. StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6, 28 March 1686.

<sup>216</sup> Botfield (ed.), *Passages from the Diary*, 122-125. It is unclear how far Jolly accompanied Gordon on this journey.

<sup>217</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689/17, Mungo English to Andrew Russell, Hamburg 26 October 1689; Murdoch, *Network North*, 137.

these roles, i.e. the command over the regiment as well as the governorship of Stade, were united in the person of William Forbes. This proportionately high number of Scots in responsible positions reflects the situation in the Swedish army as a whole, particularly in regard to the ninety Scottish governors identified in various territories along the Swedish borders with Denmark-Norway, Poland-Lithuania, Russia and the German territories between 1574 and 1700 by Alexia Grosjean.<sup>218</sup> However, the fact that Scots formed such a substantial group within the officer corps in Bremen-Verden demonstrates once again the amount of trust put into their skills by the Swedish government in a militarily vulnerable territory. Furthermore, some of the Scottish officials in Bremen-Verden took over multiple tasks as can be seen from the examples of William Forbes who in addition to his military duties represented Wrangel in a political capacity at the regional diet at Basdahl and Patrick More who engaged in money lending businesses to the indigenous German community in Swedish Buxtehude and autonomous Hamburg.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that significant links existed among most of the permanently present high-ranking Scots in Bremen-Verden as well as between them and sojourning Scots with some of them – like Patrick Ruthven – drawing on well-known concepts of network linkages such as ‘auld acquaintance’ and kith and kin. Almost all of these Scots were known to support the exiled Stuart king and it is likely that this political leaning was one of the driving forces behind the Scottish network within the duchies – similar to and part of the one which could be proven to have been in existence in Sweden.<sup>219</sup>

However, after the first Swedish-Bremen War the presence of Scots took on a more transient character with almost all of the aforementioned Scots in permanent positions either having left or died. An exception to this was Patrick More. Apart from More and his successor as commandant of Buxtehude, Hamilton, it is possible to find a range of other ‘Scottish’ military officials in Swedish Bremen-Verden some of whom were the offspring or relatives of those Scots in more permanent positions within the duchies. Examples include the sons of Alexander von Erskine, Baron and Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Erskine, who was present in Bremen in the early 1670s, and Lieutenant-Colonel Carl Gustav Erskine who was part of the regiment of Major-General Bernhard

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<sup>218</sup> Grosjean, ‘A Century of Scottish Governorship’, 53.

<sup>219</sup> For the Swedish network see Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 239-257.

Christian Wangelin in Stade in 1680.<sup>220</sup> Some of them can be proven to have held connections to the commercial and social hubs of Hamburg and Bremen and to Britons elsewhere in regions outwith Swedish control. For example in 1686 James Johnston, who was part of the garrison of Stade, asked to be pardoned from a period of confinement as he was ill and wanted to travel to the city of Bremen in order to be cured by his English doctor.<sup>221</sup> While not studied in depth here, other Scots continued to engage themselves in the civic administration after the 1650s. For example, a man called Johan Kinnaird acted as master of supplies (*Proviandmästare*) in Stade during the 1670s and the Swedish-born Scot Georg Guthrie became state commissioner (*Stats Kommissar*) in 1682. He was an example of a Scot for whom engagement in Bremen-Verden proved to be a negative experience when his over ambitious behaviour caused him to fall out with the governor-general Henrik Horn and other officials, a dispute which left him effectively ruined.<sup>222</sup> Another Scot involved in the Swedish administration of Bremen-Verden was John Drummond who was responsible for the maintenance of old and the planning of new fortifications within the duchies.<sup>223</sup> However, there is no proof for these individuals being active within the duchies after the mid-1650s in any capacity other than in a Swedish one or for them forming a network with a particular ‘Scottish’ angle.

To a certain extent the role of Scots in Swedish Bremen-Verden was replicated in Braunschweig-Lüneburg, although we find less of an obvious Scottish presence there. Nevertheless, Andrew Melville was clearly a significant military official and a respected member of the local society. However, Melville’s career was certainly helped by the fact that he was of reformed religion – as was Scott’s. These men can both be linked to Scottish and English Presbyterian exiles whose arrival in Braunschweig-Lüneburg they almost certainly facilitated.<sup>224</sup> Despite integrating into the local society and despite his long term absence from Scotland Melville, along with his son Georg Ernest, remained attached to his home country. The latter had been born in Celle on 8 November 1668 and acquired a respected position through a successful military career in Braunschweig-

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<sup>220</sup> Danner, *Beiträge*, 31, 46.

<sup>221</sup> SRA, Bremensia No. 83, Johnston to ?, Stade 14 February 1686.

<sup>222</sup> Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 104, 106-7, 278; Sam. Hedar, ‘Georg Guthrie’, in *Svenskt Biographiskt Lexicon*, vol. 17, 494-497; Murdoch, *Network North*, 53-77.

<sup>223</sup> Eichberg, *Militär und Technik*, 39, 45, 62.

<sup>224</sup> Moreover, Melville engaged himself in a network including his kinsmen George and David Melville who had escaped to the continent in the aftermath of the discovery of the Rye House Plot. These important network linkages will be analysed in chapter 4.

Lüneburg. This started in the infantry regiment of Celle under his relative La Motte in 1685. After several campaigns he was promoted first to lieutenant-colonel, commandant of the regiment (1705) and Major-General receiving an estate in Habighorst as reward. This presumably became the residency of his wife Lucia Anna Dorothea von Staffhorst and their four children, two of whom were registered among the christenings of the French-reformed church in Celle.<sup>225</sup> Although Melville was to become an elder in this community he also requested a church pew in the Lutheran St Annen garrison church in Celle which had been established in 1706<sup>226</sup> revealing some religious flexibility. In 1698 Melville intended to travel to ‘his native country’ i.e. Scotland.<sup>227</sup> His Scottish roots certainly played a role for him throughout his life as can be seen from a plaque in the Lutheran ‘Johannes Church’ where he was buried in January 1742. The plaque shows Melville’s coat of arms as well as those of his Scottish ancestors, including the families of Balfour, Douglas, Durie, Lauders, Kelly, Marjoribanks and Swinton.<sup>228</sup> This home country link led to an interesting twist for Scots in the duchies. Swedish governance of Bremen-Verden ended during the events of the Great Northern War (1700-1721) when Danish troops occupied the duchy of Bremen and Hanoverian troops entered Verden in 1712. Both duchies were eventually given to the Hanoverian Electorate in the peace of Stockholm on 20 November 1719.<sup>229</sup> Ironically, any Scots still within the duchies would therefore have found themselves working for their own king, George I (1714-1727), the son of the half-Scottish Electress Sophia - whether they recognised his sovereignty or not.

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<sup>225</sup> Flick, ‘Als zwölfjähriger Junge’, 18-22.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> See chapter 4; NAS, Leven and Melville Papers, GD26/13/450, Andrew Melville to George Melville, Celle, February 1698.

<sup>228</sup> Flick, ‘Als zwölfjähriger Junge’, 23.

<sup>229</sup> Schulze, ‘Der Regierungsbezirk Stade’, 220.

## Chapter 4

### Building a Reformed Community? Exiles on the Elbe, 1630-1730

*...he (William Waller) has promised to send for a minister...  
for any Scots or English that shall come.  
(Adam Freer, Bremen, 14 December 1683)<sup>1</sup>*

In the previous chapter we discussed military and political networks in Northwest Germany, and it is apparent that it can be quite hard to separate out a political agenda from a confessional motivation for some of the individuals identified. Throughout the period under consideration there were several occasions when some exiles emphasised their religious ambitions over their political ones, and even sought to build a reformed community. Other exiles harboured alternative confessions, but were found in the region nonetheless. Although the territories of the wider Elbe-Weser region officially adhered either to Calvinist or Lutheran faith, confessional alternatives existed for their inhabitants whether within or outwith their cities or home areas. However, not all of these churches were open to everyone sharing their religious beliefs, albeit some allowed limited access to other foreign groups. For example, the French-reformed community in Celle was only accessible to those closely associated with Georg Wilhelm's court. As demonstrated in chapter 3, Scots like Robert Scott and Andrew Melville (who both derived from a military background) were not only among those who gained access to this community but also played a significant role. Scott's work as a church elder and religious authority clearly signifies Scottish religious activity, albeit within a French Huguenot framework. To him we can add further examples of Scottish ministers conducting Calvinist services in the region whether within the Merchant Adventurers' church in Hamburg or local churches in Bremen whose presence will be analysed in this chapter. Like Scott, these ministers acted within larger communities which only partially consisted of fellow Scots including the church of the English Merchant Adventures and local German churches at Bremen. The status of these clerics ranged from ministerial trainees to high profile theologians like John Durie. Importantly however, it was not only individual ministers who arrived with a religious agenda. The presence of a Scottish Calvinist religious community within the United Provinces following the restoration of Episcopal church government in Scotland after 1661 has

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<sup>1</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/494, Adam Freer to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 14 December 1683.

been intensively studied by historians like Douglas Catterall and Ginny Gardner.<sup>2</sup> What has so far remained obscure is that several of the religious and political exiles initially found in places like Amsterdam or Rotterdam were subsequently attracted to the wider Elbe-Weser region during the 1680s. Analysing the reasons of their presence, their activities and interaction with other nationals will undoubtedly contribute to our understanding of the building and maintenance of exile communities. After the Williamite Revoltion (1688/89) most of these exiles returned home. This was when another group of exiles – the Jacobites – went to the continent, their preferred destinations in Northern Europe being Russia and Sweden, or France and Italy in the South.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, in the eighteenth century we find a limited sojourning Jacobitean presence within the wider Elbe-Weser region which will be briefly highlighted in order to contrast the support mechanisms available to contesting groups of Scottish exiles.

#### **4.1 Scottish Ministers in Hamburg**

The contract of 1618 between Hamburg's senate and the Merchant Adventurers expressly allowed for private religious services within the company's house provided that the congregation was not causing any public stir. The agreement specified that services were to be held in the English language but did not prescribe any denomination.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in theory, the Adventurers' church was able to house a vast spectrum of Anglicanism which might encompass all worshippers from Low-church puritans to high Anglo-Catholics or even to conduct Presbyterian services if required. Hamburg's Lutheran ministry had anticipated that the Adventurers' services would follow the Anglican liturgy. According to Heinrich Hitzgrath, a resolution of their

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<sup>2</sup> Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic c.1600-1700* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2002); Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands 1660-1690* (East Linton, 2004). For the religious situation in Scotland after the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy see Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660-88* (London, 1976); Walter Roland Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland 1661-1688* (London, 1958).

<sup>3</sup> Research on Jacobites in these destinations includes Edward Corp et. al. (eds.), *A Court in Exile; The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge, 2004); Edward Corp, 'The Jacobite Presence in Toulouse during the Eighteenth Century', *Genealogies Reveals*, 5 (2004), 124-145; Murdoch, *Network North*, 313-354 (chapter 9 'Jacobite Networks in the North 1715-1750'); E. H. Tayler (ed.), *The Jacobite Court At Rome in 1719. From the original documents at Fettercairn House and at Windsor Castle* (Edinburgh, 1938); Rebecca Wills, *The Jacobites and Russia 1715-1750* (East Linton, 2002).

<sup>4</sup> StAH, Senat, III-I CL. VI No. 2 vol. 5 Fasc.1 Inv. 1b, Contract Hamburg/Merchant Adventurers, 1618.

governing body in 1617 stated that the English were not adhering to Calvinist practice and that they should thus be tolerated.<sup>5</sup> However, until the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy, services in the Adventurers' church were almost exclusively held by Calvinist ministers.<sup>6</sup>

One of the earliest British ministers resident in Hamburg was the Scot Thomas Young who held the post of clergyman in the Adventurers' congregation between 1620 and 1627.<sup>7</sup> Young had graduated from the University of St Andrews in 1606 before completing his studies abroad and working as tutor for John Milton in England and it is likely that he held Presbyterian services at the Adventurers' church.<sup>8</sup> Young's ministry is another obvious example of Anglo-Scottish confessional co-operation in Hamburg adding to the commercial and political networks previously discussed. However, the appointment of a Scottish minister over an English or British congregation was not unusual. It was through such interaction that a further breaking of ethnic, even confessional barriers had been achieved. For example, the Scot William Spang acted as minister of the English Reformed Church at Middelburg between 1652 and 1654.<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere, the Scottish theologian and Irenicist John Durie became minister of the Scottish and English Presbyterian congregation in Elbing in 1624.<sup>10</sup>

While pursuing his ultimate goal of unity between the Protestant religions Durie had established a widespread Scottish and international network which included

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<sup>5</sup> Hitzgrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers*, 3-4.

<sup>6</sup> Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven/London, 2004) p.210; Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism. A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982), 256-7. This was with the exception of William Loe, an Anglican, who performed services at Hamburg between 1619 and 1620. He had been a cleric in Gloucester but had apparently decided to leave this post due to difficulties with Laud who had been made Dean at Gloucester in 1616. Möring refers to the Anglican church in Hamburg, although she recognises the Presbyterian background of two of its ministers. Maria Möring, 'Die Englische Kirche in Hamburg und die Merchant Adventurers', *Hamburgische Geschichts-und Heimatblätter*, 20 (1963), 93-112.

<sup>7</sup> Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 256. Young was the minister who christened Anstruther's son in 1627.

<sup>8</sup> David Laine, *Biographical Notices of Thomas Young* (Edinburgh, 1870), 4. Thomas Young was the son of William Young, minister in Perthshire who was among the 42 ministers who signed a protestation to Parliament against the introduction of Episcopacy to Scotland in 1606. Lappenberg's short essay on Young does not reveal any significant information on his stay at Hamburg. J.M. Lappenberg, 'Thomas Young. Cappellan der Court der Merchant Adventurers zu Hamburg' in *ZVHG*, 1 (1841), 309-312.

<sup>9</sup> Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 440.

<sup>10</sup> Steve Murdoch, 'Kith and Kin: John Durie and the Scottish Community in Scandinavia and the Baltic, 1624-34, in Patrick Salmon and Tony Barrow (eds), *Britain and the Baltic. Studies in Commercial, Political and Cultural Relations 1500-2000* (Sunderland, 2003), 21-46; Murdoch, *Network North*, 108-9, 280-311.

relatives in Swedish service such as Sir James Ramsay and Sir James Spens.<sup>11</sup> His contacts also included Spens's step-brother, Sir Robert Anstruther, and it was almost certainly through him that the Scottish theologian set up a link with the English Adventurers in Hamburg. As far as we can ascertain, Durie first passed through the city in 1632 on a voyage from Amsterdam to the Baltic. Although his stay was short he met with Joseph Averie as well as with the minister of the Adventurers' church, Jeremiah Elborough who had replaced Young in 1629 after having held the post of minister of the English church at Utrecht.<sup>12</sup> However, even when addressing Christian IV of Denmark-Norway it is interesting that Durie did so from Glückstadt, Bremen and Hamburg as well as through his Danish contacts such as Holger Rosencrantz.<sup>13</sup> Two years later Durie returned to Hamburg where he contacted the city's ministry and senate assisted by a Mr Müller. Apparently Hamburg's clerics showed some interest in Durie's work and promised to draw in their neighbours of Lübeck and Lüneburg. In August 1634, the English diplomat Thomas Roe reported that the divines of Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen had promised their co-operation to the Scot.<sup>14</sup> According to Roe, Durie had been encouraged to present a proposition to the States at the Diet at Frankfurt which had been privately approved by them, demonstrating intensive contact between the clerics, the Scottish theologian, and a vast theological patchwork of states in Northwest Germany – Calvinist and Lutheran alike.<sup>15</sup> By 1640 Durie returned to Hamburg which he preferred to Bremen as a residence for several reasons. He argued the city supported a superior communications infrastructure and was a better location for printing.<sup>16</sup> However, according to some sources the authorities of the Calvinist city of Bremen were more susceptible to Durie's ideas than Hamburg's clerics.<sup>17</sup> Bremen's theologians

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<sup>11</sup> John Durie's networking in Sweden and Denmark has been extensively discussed by Steve Murdoch. See Murdoch, *Network North*, 280-312.

<sup>12</sup> HP60/5/1A-8B, John Durie to Samuel Hartlib, Narrative of his German Travels, 1632; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 257.

<sup>13</sup> HP19/10/3A-6B, John Durie to Christian IV, Glückstadt, 17 October 1639. For information on Durie's contact with Rosencrantz see Murdoch, *Network North*, 293.

<sup>14</sup> CSPD, 1634-35, 55, John Durie to Thomas Roe, Hamburg, 1 June 1634; CSPD, 1634-35, 179, Roe to Laud, Bulwick, 4 August 1634.

<sup>15</sup> CSPD, 1634-1635, 179, Thomas Roe to Laud, Bulwick, 4 August 1634.

<sup>16</sup> CSPD, 1640-1641, 318-320, John Durie to Thomas Roe, Hamburg, 19 June 1640.

<sup>17</sup> Karl Brauer, *Die Unionstätigkeit John Duries unter dem Protektorat Cromwells: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Marburg, 1907), 4; Stephen Clucas, 'In Search of 'The True Logick': Methodological Eclecticism among the 'Baconian Reformers'', in Mark Greengrass et al. (eds.), *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge, 2002), 69-70; Veeck, *Geschichte der Reformierten Kirche*, 153-154.

were in close correspondence with Durie's friend Samuel Hartlib and Durie himself was apparently closely involved with the city's religious community and corresponded with the (Lutheran) archbishop as well as with the Calvinist clerics.<sup>18</sup>

From his base in Hamburg Durie travelled not only to Bremen or to Glückstadt, where he discussed his work with the Danish chancellor Reventlow and local clerics of the Danish church,<sup>19</sup> but also to the divines of Stade and Buxtehude.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, he continued his talks with Hamburg's ministry who were not always as positively inclined to his work as he had hoped.<sup>21</sup> In order to be able to subsist himself, Durie found some work as Elborough's assistant.<sup>22</sup> Naturally, this office intensified Durie's relationship with the Adventurers such as Joseph Averie. Furthermore, during his stay in Hamburg he was also in contact with several Scottish officers in Swedish service like Colonel David Leslie, Colonel William Lumsden as well as Lieutenant General James King and the latter's family.<sup>23</sup> Thus Hamburg offered Durie a base from where he could maintain significant private and official contacts within the wider Elbe-Weser region and further afield including Scotland.<sup>24</sup> Durie himself recognised the city's importance commenting that 'seeing my drift in this matter was only to have subsistence here (at Hamburg), where I think the centre of my work lies...'.<sup>25</sup> However, although some of the religious authorities of the wider Elbe-Weser region seemed susceptible to his theological ideas it is evident that Durie was not successful in bringing any substantial change or even religious unity to the area. Thus his impact is debatable, although he may have influenced the thinking of some of the Calvinist and Lutheran clerics, and certainly many among the confessionally diverse Adventurers.

John Durie continued his link with the wider Elbe-Weser region after his departure in 1642 and it is possible that he had established a contact between the Archbishop of Cashel in Ireland, Archibald Hamilton, and the city of Bremen. Hamilton had been forced into exile by the Irish rebellion of 1641. He petitioned Bremen's authorities from

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<sup>17</sup> Clucas, 'In Search of 'The True Logick'', 69-70.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *CSPD*, 1640-1641, 510-512, John Durie to Thomas Roe, Hamburg, 24 July 1640.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 183-186, John Durie to Thomas Roe, Hamburg, 20 October 1640.

<sup>21</sup> HP6/4/133A, John Durie to Joseph Averie, 4 April 1642 (no place).

<sup>22</sup> *CSPD*, 1640-1641, 443-444, John Durie to Thomas Roe, Hamburg, 3 July 1640; HP2/2/22A-23B, Durie to Hartlib, 12 June 1640.

<sup>23</sup> HP2/2/11A-B, John Durie to Samuel Hartlib, 14 April 1640; HP7/11/3A, King to Hartlib, 6 May 1642.

<sup>24</sup> HP6/4/83A-84B, John Durie to Andrew Ramsay, Alexander Henderson and Archibald Johnstone, Bremen, 30 September 1640.

<sup>25</sup> *CSPD*, 1640-1641, John Durie to Thomas Roe, 183-186, Hamburg, 20 October 1640.

the Dutch Republic in 1647 to sponsor him with a sum of money. This did indeed lead to a transfer of 40 Imperial dollars from the senate after some initial hesitation – a curious donation from the Calvinist city to an Episcopal office holder albeit Hamilton's Episcopal beliefs were, in his own word, firmly Calvinist.<sup>26</sup> We do know for certain that Durie was connected to Hamilton, who had been recommended to him by Durie's uncle Sir David Ramsay.<sup>27</sup> As Durie was also acquainted with some of Bremen's officials it could have been him who created this link which could thus signify a minor network building victory of his work at Bremen even if his irenicist plans came to naught.

Due to the aforementioned conflicts between Royalists and Parliamentarians in the British Isles and in Hamburg, the Adventurers' congregation split during the 1640s with supporters of the Stuart monarchy physically attacking Elborough.<sup>28</sup> They also elected their own minister who, according to Hitzigrath, had arrived along with Sir John Cochrane.<sup>29</sup> This could have been a Mr David Foulis, who had been forced to leave the British Isles for not taking the Covenant after 1639. In 1654 he had allegedly preached a sermon at Hamburg in which he denounced Cromwell, leading to his expulsion from the city after quite a protracted stay.<sup>30</sup> It is questionable if his liturgy differed significantly from Elborough's as the company's members seemed previously to have been content with Calvinist services. Though later an established Royalist, Cochrane was himself also a confirmed Presbyterian so by association the new minister most probably followed the reformed faith too.

After the Restoration, Elborough received orders to conform to Anglican church rites which he initially refused to execute. Nevertheless due to increasing pressure he superficially conformed to Anglicanism but left no doubt about his true convictions.<sup>31</sup> He had met with English non-conformists such as the wife of Sir Archibald Johnstone of Wariston, Elisabeth, who travelled to Hamburg in the early 1660s. During this meeting she and Elborough, as well as several English and Scottish merchants, apparently discussed the difficulties nonconformists faced after the Restoration of the

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<sup>26</sup> StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1647-1648, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.6, 58, 15 June 1647; 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.6, 93, 12 November 1647. For information on Hamilton see Murdoch, *Network North*, 105-107.

<sup>27</sup> Murdoch, 'Kith and Kin', 34.

<sup>28</sup> Hitzigrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers*, 17.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *RPS*, Petition, 8 July 1662. Foulis sent a petition for financial assistance to the Scottish Parliament and was granted £100 Sterling.

<sup>31</sup> TNA, SP 82/10 fol. 126, ? to David Foulis, Hamburg, 6 September 1662.

Stuart monarchy.<sup>32</sup> Due to Elborough's nominal conformity to Anglican liturgy a small group of Congregationalists split from the larger church community in the early 1660s and retired to the home of the Adventurer Samuel Richardson to hear services by a cleric called Hammon who had arrived from Newcastle.<sup>33</sup> Their children were educated in Hamburg by Hammon's wife and by a Scottish couple, but it remains unclear who the latter were.<sup>34</sup> However, this confessional community was short-lived as it was suppressed after the arrival of the new resident at Hamburg, William Swann in October 1663.<sup>35</sup> Within two years Elborough was discharged from his duties for his neglect of the official liturgy and he was thereafter replaced by Thomas Griffin, an Anglican minister (1665-1682) more aligned to Canterbury.<sup>36</sup> Thus ended a brief, but not insignificant British Calvinist community in Hamburg, albeit elsewhere in the region there were ongoing attempts to establish a more robust society of British religious exiles.

#### **4.2 William Waller and the Reformed Community at Lüneburg**

Although individual confessional migrants were discussed in the previous section, it was only from November 1683 that the wider Elbe-Weser region received intensive attention from larger groups of English and Scottish political and religious exiles. Until that point the main host nation for such confessional refugees had been the Dutch Republic.<sup>37</sup> The arrival in Bremen of the Englishman Sir William Waller and of the Scot Sir George Melville represented a new phase of their exile experience. As Ginny Gardner has shown, these nonconformists received assistance in the Netherlands from existing expatriate communities centring around the Scots and 'English' churches which provided aid for fellow countrymen, not least through poor relief.<sup>38</sup> The core of the Scottish exile community in the Netherlands consisted of a group of ministers who in some cases became incumbents of these Scottish churches. They were joined by a group

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<sup>32</sup> Richard L. Greaves, *Deliver us from Evil. The Radical Underground in Britain 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1986), 126. Unfortunately Greaves does not reveal the names of these merchants.

<sup>33</sup> Hitzgrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers*, 19; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 260.

<sup>34</sup> Hitzgrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers*, 19.

<sup>35</sup> Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 260.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands 1660-1690* (East Linton, 2004); Murdoch, *Network North*, 111-112.

<sup>38</sup> Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 1-2, 29-30. Although being called 'English' the congregations of these churches were often predominantly Scottish.

of approximately 170 laymen as well as by a number of expatriates associated and sympathising with them, including the Scottish factor at Rotterdam, Andrew Russell.<sup>39</sup> Although the group of lay exiles was attached to the Presbyterian faith their motivation to leave the British Isles was not always rooted in their religion but sometimes in political intrigue – albeit the two can be hard to separate. Some men were suspected to have been involved in the Bothwell Bridge rising or in the alleged Rye House Plot conspiracy to kill Charles II and his brother in 1683.<sup>40</sup> The latter group included George Melville (the future 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Melville) who attached himself to the court of the Prince of Orange and who was accompanied into exile by his son David Melville.<sup>41</sup> The Melvilles certainly met with other exiles in the Netherlands and, moreover, George Melville had been or became acquainted with the Englishman and Presbyterian Sir William Waller. The latter had been a London JP (1678-1681) and Westminster MP (1679-1681) showing a demonstrably anti-Catholic behaviour. Waller was temporarily arrested for debts in 1681 and left the British Isles shortly after his release in the hostile climate of the Stuart Britain.<sup>42</sup> Both men were connected to the Duke of Monmouth – Melville through his wife’s younger stepsister, the countess of Buccleuch, and Waller through his sister Elizabeth who had produced an illegitimate child with the duke.<sup>43</sup> It may have been this connection which facilitated their meeting in Bremen in the winter of 1683/84.

For the religious exiles the Netherlands had provided a relatively safe environment since the Restoration of 1660. However, the Treaty of Breda (1667) between Charles II and the Dutch government stated that those Britons accused of regicide could be extradited without formal demand from London and that political exiles were to be banished on the request of the Stuart Court.<sup>44</sup> Although the Dutch authorities tended to be slow to comply with demands, the climate in the United Provinces became more insecure in the aftermath of the Rye House Plot, as the capture and subsequent

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-24.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

<sup>41</sup> Margaret D. Sankey, ‘David Melville, Third Earl of Leven and Second Earl of Melville (1660-1728)’, *DNB* (online publication); John R. Young, ‘George Melville, Fourth Lord Melville and First Earl of Melville (1636-1707)’, *DNB* (online publication).

<sup>42</sup> Alan Marshall, ‘Sir William Waller (c.1639-1699)’, *DNB*, (online publication).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, John R. Young, ‘George Melville, Fourth Lord Melville and First Earl of Melville (1636-1707)’, *DNB* (online publication).

<sup>44</sup> Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 104-106.

execution of the suspect Thomas Armstrong in 1684 demonstrated.<sup>45</sup> With the Dutch now complying with British requests to target the more radical exiles, some began to look for safer refuge.

From November 1683 we find William Waller, George Melville and Dr Adam Freer in the city of Bremen.<sup>46</sup> Waller took the lead in negotiations with the senate regarding the settlement of English and Scottish families of 'true reformed religion'.<sup>47</sup> On 14 December 1683, Freer informed Andrew Russell that 'any person that thinks themselves not secure in Holland may come here to Bremen, where they will be assured of all protection which this state is capable to give'<sup>48</sup> revealing that personal safety was one reason for the talks with the Bremen authorities and British exiles. Furthermore, he stated that Waller had promised to send for a minister for 'any Scots or English' who would settle in Bremen indicating that a considerable number of exiles were expected and that the establishment of a British reformed church community was envisaged.

It is perhaps not too surprising that Waller chose Bremen for his project rather than another location. The local authorities had for many years previously been open to individuals of the reformed faith coming into the city.<sup>49</sup> For example, in 1620 they had negotiated for the re-settlement of English Adventurers from Hamburg.<sup>50</sup> They had also seriously considered the application by a group of English Puritans who were willing to migrate to the city in 1635 as the senate came to the conclusion that their religion conformed to that of their own citizens.<sup>51</sup> Although the settlement of these Englishmen eventually failed, the latter statement shows that religion was not the reason for this.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Bremen's confession had attracted some Scottish ministers and students who may or may not have been religious exiles themselves. For example, in August 1668 a

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<sup>45</sup> Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 105; Richard L. Greaves, 'Sir Thomas Armstrong', *DNB* (online publication). Armstrong was captured by agents en route to Amsterdam in June 1684.

<sup>46</sup> Their presence is briefly noted in Murdoch, *Network North*, 111-112.

<sup>47</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/494, Adam Freer to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 14 December 1684; StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Privileges granted to the English Manufacturers by the City of Bremen (copy), Bremen, 1 December 1683.

<sup>48</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/494, Adam Freer to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 14 December 1684.

<sup>49</sup> Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste*, 132-133.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>51</sup> StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1635-1640, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.5, 9, 11 September 1635; Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste*, 134-135.

<sup>52</sup> The plantation of co-religionists to bolster confessional coherence was common practice throughout the seventeenth century as the Scots migration to Kedainiai demonstrates. Eriksonas, 'The Lost Colony of Scots', 173-187; Zirculis, 'The Scottish Community in Kedainiai', 231. See also Grosjean and Murdoch, 'Introduction', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 8.

Scot called John Ruthven sat his divinity exam in the city.<sup>53</sup> Also, a D. Niclas Rolandus, who was styled Scoto-Britannus, conducted a service on behalf of a local minister on 29 September 1682.<sup>54</sup> It may have been him who liased with Robert Hamilton, the Scottish agent of the United Societies, a union of various radical Cameronian groups with bases in Leuwarden and Groningen, who received a sum of eighty ‘ducatons’ from Bremen’s ministry.<sup>55</sup>

Although there is no ‘smoking gun’, it is inconceivable that Rolandus did not help with Waller’s negotiations in 1683. The latter’s requests to the senate included the foundation of a church with two ministers to be paid by the city as well as the permission for the congregation to have its ‘own discipline’ in church matters. In addition, he demanded citizen rights and privileges for the migrants as well as admission to the guilds for half of the usual payment. Furthermore, he planned to encourage the opening of a wool factory, requesting the right to employ poor people for a duration of seven years. As if he had not sought enough, Waller asked for an exemption from excise and consumption taxes for a duration of thirty years as well as for the granting of building sites for houses which the incomers were to keep tax free for forty years.<sup>56</sup> Thus Waller attempted to create a community big enough to justify and sustain its own congregation and elders, probably based on the model of the Scots and English churches in the Netherlands. In terms of economic and political advantages, however, he aspired to an integration of the incomers with the indigenous population through the acquisition of citizen rights with long-term economic privileges. For his own benefit and to secure a livelihood Waller asked to be made commandant, and the community would certainly have benefited from Waller’s employment in this capacity bringing one of their own into a powerful position within the city.<sup>57</sup> On 1 December 1683 Waller was indeed employed by the city for a salary of 1,000 Imperial dollars by a contract which made him commander-in-chief of the local militia.<sup>58</sup> Waller’s demands reveal that commercial

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<sup>53</sup> StAB, Acta Venerandi Ministerii 1667-1707, 2-T.2.b.4.c., 6, 2 August 1686.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 86, 14 and 29 September 1682.

<sup>55</sup> I would like to thank Mark Jardine for providing this information. Michael Shields, *Faithful Contendings Displayed* (Glasgow, 1780), 207-208; Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 58. The donation of this sum is not listed in the records of the ministry in Bremen. StAB, Acta Venerandi Ministerii 1667-1707, 2-T.2.b.4.c.

<sup>56</sup> StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1683-1684, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.14, 473-474, 23 November 1683.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 481, 30 November 1683.

<sup>58</sup> StAB, Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs, 2-R.5.d.13.a.19, Appointment, William Waller, 1 December 1683; Murdoch, *Network North*, 111-112.

opportunities were crucial to him. This is confirmed by Freer's appraisal of the excellent opportunities the city offered such as citizen rights, cheap houses and food.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, he also stated that the city housed a college with thirteen or fourteen ministers, indicating that the place would also be attractive to students. Waller thus probably attempted to attract a larger group of profitable exiles and expatriates to Bremen who would be beneficial to the city and who would be able to shelter a smaller group of political exiles whose presence alone would presumably not have been acceptable to the authorities.

Waller's requests to the senate were successful to a certain extent. Bremen's officials approved the use of a local church (*Klosterkirche*) at certain times as well as the employment of two ministers who were to be paid by the congregation.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, they granted free citizen rights to those arriving within the following three years as well as the exemption from direct taxes for twenty years. Moreover, the incomers were offered building sites for houses and were said to be allowed to keep their houses tax free for a period of ten years. However, they were expected to pay consumption taxes. In order to facilitate the establishment of factories, the privileges stated further that both male and female children in the poor houses would be urged to work in factories for seven years in return for board and lodgings. In addition, the admission of craftsmen was permitted in principle (and for a fee) but only if it did not violate the rights of the local guilds.<sup>61</sup> Notably, these privileges were given to 'families of the true reformed religion' thus subsuming not only Scots and Englishmen but also other nationals. This probably met Waller's approval as the attraction of a large number of profitable migrants would support his goal of sheltering political exiles. In fact, it was probably Waller himself who tried to attract a French entrepreneur to the city. The latter (who has not yet been identified) had arrived in Amsterdam from France and aimed to open a wool and silk factory in Bremen to which end he was accompanied by twenty skilled employees.<sup>62</sup> His request was entered into the council's minute book under the headline 'English families' indicating Waller's involvement. Waller had

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<sup>59</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/494, Adam Freer to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 14 December 1684.

<sup>60</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Privileges, Bremen City to the English Manufacturers (copy), Bremen, 1 December 1683.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. Dünzelmann has transcribed (another version of) this document and mentions Waller's negotiations. However, she fails to identify him or to contextualise his discussions with the senate. Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste*, 135-136.

<sup>62</sup> StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1683-1684, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.14, 501, 25 January 1684.

established contact with a number of French Huguenots in the Netherlands, some of whom were in contact with Scottish and English exiles who met at the court of the Duke of Orange and it is possible that our Frenchman was one of them.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless his presence raises the point of terminology used in the minute book which exclusively refers to the reception of the 'English nation' or 'English families' contrary to terms of the agreement.<sup>64</sup> This can partly be explained by the fact that it was an Englishman leading the negotiations and that it may have been primarily English individuals who were expected.<sup>65</sup> What is certain is that Waller's community was envisaged as multi-ethnic from the outset.

Waller's negotiations provoked a strong reaction by the English resident at Hamburg, Bevil Skelton, who informed Charles II and other Stuart diplomats about the events. Sir Richard Bulstrode passed on the following information from Skelton to Lord Preston:

'Sir William Waller plays the devill at Bremen, which is like to be the nest of all those persons accused of the last conspiracy, that my Lord Melvin (Melville) and many more of that stamp, are there, as also Armstrong<sup>66</sup> and Ferguson<sup>67</sup>, and that they expect the Duke of Monmouth there very speedily; they speak most scandalously of the King and Duke and style Waller a second Cromwell.'<sup>68</sup>

It was also probably Skelton who advised Charles II in March 1684 that Waller was 'drawing to him all the disaffected persons he can under pretence of setting up a woollen manufacture' trying to ship whole families from Yarmouth to Bremen – an action which was to be hindered at all costs.<sup>69</sup> This direct linking of groups of Scottish and English exiles and the attempts to take still more Englishmen directly out of England again confirms the pan-British nature of the Bremen exiles and their projected

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<sup>63</sup> Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 2. For Waller's contacts with French Huguenots see below.

<sup>64</sup> StA Bremen, Wittheitsprotokolle 1683-1684, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.14, 471-491, 19 November 1683 – 2 January 1684.

<sup>65</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>66</sup> Thomas Armstrong who – as previously stated – was captured and executed in 1684. Greaves, 'Sir Thomas Armstrong', *DNB* (online publication).

<sup>67</sup> Robert Ferguson, son of William Ferguson of Badifurrow in Aberdeenshire, moved to London in the 1650s where he became active in Whig politics by the late 1670s. After becoming a suspect he fled to the continent, initially to Amsterdam. He was one of Monmouth's main advisors and took part in the invasion. Thereafter he managed to escape once again to the continent. Melinda Zook, 'Robert Ferguson (d.1714)', *DNB* (online publication).

<sup>68</sup> *HMC, Seventh Report* (London, 1879), 386, Richard Bulstrode to Lord Preston, Brussels, 13 March 1684.

<sup>69</sup> *CSPD*, 1684, 327, Secretary Jenkins to the Earl of Yarmouth, Whitehall, 15 March 1684.

community. In order to gather support from Bremen's neighbours, Skelton was also keen to highlight the economic disadvantages of the potential settlement of Scots and Englishmen in the city. Almost certainly following his reports, Hamburg's authorities wondered if Bremen aimed to establish a second English company – a suspicion Bremen's senate was keen to refute.<sup>70</sup> It is unclear if the factory was ever established as it certainly fails to appear in Bremen's surviving records. However, a Bremen senator, Dithmar Wachmann reported on 24 December 1683 that the first English families destined to work in this enterprise had arrived in the city.<sup>71</sup>

Nevertheless, a British community envisaged by Waller did not materialise due to pressure exerted by Charles II and Bevil Skelton, who probably had an informant at Bremen. This was almost certainly Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes who tried to ruin Waller's reputation – an action not popular with the senate who discussed evicting the officer.<sup>72</sup> From subsequent actions it appears that Charles II successfully forced the Bremen senate to decommission Waller in order not to jeopardise trade relations with the British Isles.<sup>73</sup> The city's magistrates were eager to declare that only three Englishmen had arrived after December 1683 of whom two had married in the city and one had died, indicating that they had not welcomed a large group of dissenting individuals.<sup>74</sup> However, Skelton's accusations of Waller attracting suspected conspirators to Bremen were not unfounded. We know that George Melville and Adam Freer were present in the city along with Melville's son David (the Earl of Leven). Leven was certainly in Bremen in January 1684 from where he communicated with Russell under the pseudonym David Barclay.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore the Scot Major George Low, who was later to support the cause of the Duke of Orange, resided in the city until his death in 1699 where he commanded the local infantry thus working closely with

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<sup>70</sup> StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1683-1684, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.14, 489, 26 December 1683.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 517, 5 March 1684 and 488, 24 December 1683.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 507, 8 February 1684. The provenance of this man is unknown. It is likely that he was a descendant of the Forbes family who had proven to be Royalists in the decades prior to the Restoration and had established contact with the Elbe-Weser region during the 1650s.

<sup>73</sup> StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1683-1684, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.14, 543-544, 2 and 7 May 1684; StAB, Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs, 2-R.5.d.13.a.19, Charles II to Bremen Senate, Windsor, 7 April 1684; 2-R.5.d.13.a.19, Release of William Waller, 2 May 1684; 2-R.5.d.13.a.19, Bremen Senate to Charles II, Bremen, 2 May 1684.

<sup>74</sup> StAB, Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs, R.5.d.13.a.19, Bremen Senate to Charles II, Bremen, 18 January 1684.

<sup>75</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/532/9, David Barclay alias Leven to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 26 January 1684; Margaret D. Sankey, 'David Melville, Third Earl of Leven and Second Earl of Melville (1660 – 1728)', *DNB* (online publication).

Waller as commandant.<sup>76</sup> He certainly accommodated the dissident Adam Freer in his house and it is likely that George Melville and his son also found shelter there. The latter was certainly in communication with Low in 1689 and it is probable that both men had either established contact in Bremen or before their stay there.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, George Melville was financially supported by a 'friend' whom he expected to arrive in Holland soon in order to receive repayment for what he had spent on Melville. It is likely that this acquaintance was the merchant Gilbert Spence whose contact with Freer can be proven as he sent his regards to Andrew Russell in one of his letters. The merchant's contacts with and occasional business trips to the Netherlands make this connection all the more likely particularly given the known link with the Bremen exiles.<sup>78</sup> That we cannot identify Spence for sure is not surprising given that he would have wanted any assistance to the exiles be kept a secret due to his ongoing business links with the British Isles.<sup>79</sup> If Spence was the benefactor, he was only one of several sources of income for Melville. Russell himself took care of some of Melville's business transactions which also involved the second Scottish agent in Rotterdam, James Gordon and, after his death in early 1684, the latter's son.<sup>80</sup> Also, a Mr Dick frequently appears in Freer's and Leven's correspondence as being present in Bremen but it is highly likely that this name was used as a false identity for George Melville himself.<sup>81</sup> There is no further proof that Melville's fellow conspirators Thomas Armstrong and Robert Ferguson or indeed the Duke of Monmouth moved to Bremen during the months before Waller's eviction although Skelton seems emphatic they were there. In any case the presence of Waller and the Scottish exiles proves that a small but significant Anglo-Scottish network operated in the city and maintained important links to sympathisers in the Netherlands.

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<sup>76</sup> StAB, Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs, R.5.d.13.a.12, Petition, Ilsa Sprado to Bremen Senate, Bremen, without date. Ilsa Sprado petitioned the Bremen senate to continue payment of her late husband's salary for another two or three months to cover his funeral costs. Low had died in April 1699.

<sup>77</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689, George Low to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 3 August 1689.

<sup>78</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 152.

<sup>79</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>80</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/532/8, Adam Freer to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 11/21 January 1684; Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 77.

<sup>81</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/532/8, Adam Freer to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 11/21 January 1684. This is further confirmed by a letter from George Low who asked Russell in May 1685 about Mr Dick's well-being. As George Melville was likely to be in the Netherlands at this point it is probable that the name was continuously used as his pseudonym. NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/576/10, George Low to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 13 May 1685.

After Waller's dismissal from Bremen, the focus of his network changed leaving only the two Scots, Low and Spence, in the city. Nevertheless, the network continued to operate as it was not a location specific association. Low maintained his contact with George Melville via Andrew Russell to whom he directed letters which the factor was to pass on to Low's 'friend' – who was almost certainly Melville.<sup>82</sup> As previously stated Low also kept links to the Earl of Leven.<sup>83</sup> It was either him or Spence who assisted in the purchase of arms for the Earl of Argyll which were suspected to have been bought in Bremen, Hamburg and the Netherlands in 1684.<sup>84</sup> Thus the city remained important to some of the exiles in that it continued to accommodate at least two of their supporters. But Bremen was no longer the hub of the exile community in Northwest Germany.

In 1684 Waller was put in charge of the settlement of foreigners at the Lutheran town of Lüneburg where he acquired the position of governor with an annual salary of 1,500 Imperial dollars.<sup>85</sup> This town lay in the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg which was under the control of duke Georg Wilhelm. However, Waller did not take over the actual command of the militia which was to remain under the control of the local commandant. Instead he was granted the same rights as if he was serving actively and was to receive employment as colonel in one of the duke's regiments as soon as a place became vacant. This offer was conditional and only made provided that Waller was successful in attracting profitable migrants to the duchy.<sup>86</sup> Georg Wilhelm granted a privilege on 9 August 1684 to foreign families and individuals of reformed faith who were willing to settle in Lüneburg regardless of their nationality. By so doing he hoped to populate his territory and enhance his economy.<sup>87</sup> In this edict the duke gave extensive rights to the foreigners in religious, economic and political terms. He permitted both public and private reformed worship promising the establishment of a

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<sup>82</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/637/5, George Low to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 26 February 1687; RH15/106/637/6, George Low to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 13 August 1687.

<sup>83</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689, George Low to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 3 August 1689; Murdoch, *Network North*, 111.

<sup>84</sup> *RPCS, Third Series*, 1683-1684, 118.

<sup>85</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Appointment, William Waller, Celle, 30 July 1684; Reinecke, *Geschichte der Stadt Lüneburg*, vol. 2, 345.

<sup>86</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Appointment, William Waller, Celle, 30 July 1684.

<sup>87</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Privileges Issued by Georg Wilhelm, Celle, 9 August 1684. Various copies of this document exist, including a French translation. The privilege has been printed in several secondary studies, for example in Thomas Klingebiel, *Die Hugenotten in den welfischen Landen. Eine Privilegiensammlung* (Bad Karlshafen, 1994), 47-52.

church in the event that the reformed community was to increase in size.<sup>88</sup> The migrants were to be allowed to propose two ministers who were to be paid by the duke for the first two years and, additionally, a reformed school was to be established. The incomers were to receive citizen rights free of charge under the condition that they swore the usual oath of citizenship after which they would be allowed to trade, to open factories or to work as craftsmen without any hindrance from the local guilds. Additionally, if the foreigners wished they were to be received into the guilds for a small fee. Moreover, the new entrepreneurs were to be assisted in the establishment of factory houses. They were also allowed to employ poor children for the duration of seven years in return for the provision of clothes and victuals or other conditions which the entrepreneurs were to negotiate with the children's relatives. In order to promote the sales of products from the factories their goods were to be given preference within the duchy, especially at court and in supplying the militia. Furthermore, the foreigners were exempted from tolls on imported and exported goods transported by land or water to or from Lüneburg (with the exception of the Elbe tolls at Hitzacker and Schnackenburg) as well as from consumption taxes for the following twenty years. However, they were to pay excise as well as some other minor local taxes. As a further incentive, the foreigners were exempted from quarters and other citizen duties as well as from direct taxes for twenty years. Nevertheless, in order to avoid complaints from the local citizens they were to pay a voluntary contribution in relation to their standing and income.<sup>89</sup> The similarity of this deal to the one previously negotiated at Bremen clearly has the hallmarks of William Waller all over it.

As previously noted, Georg Wilhelm and his Huguenot wife were sympathetic to French reformed exiles who gathered in a significant number at the court in Celle where they were allowed to attend private reformed services. A number of Huguenots were also enlisted into the duke's army. It is in this context that the ducal edict has previously been interpreted. Historians like Andreas Flick, Walter Mogk, Hartwig Notbohm or Arnulf Siebeneicker assumed that Georg Wilhelm aimed to establish a Huguenot colony in Lüneburg and that the freedoms granted on 9 August 1684 must thus be seen as privileges primarily or exclusively granted to French reformed exiles

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

(*Hugenottenprivileg*).<sup>90</sup> These scholars conclude that Georg Wilhelm had been informed of the deteriorating situation for adherents of the reformed faith in France in the years prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). The orthodox argument states that the duke thus issued his privilege in order to attract rich and skilled Huguenots from France. This would enhance his economy thus pre-empting other German rulers like Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Prussia who published his famous Edict of Potsdam, in order to invite Huguenots into his territory, on 29 October 1685.<sup>91</sup>

This position has been challenged by Thomas Klingebiel who has stated that the privilege did not primarily aim to attract French religious exiles but to draw reformed entrepreneurs regardless of their origin to the city, who could be found in the Netherlands, England, the Hanseatic cities and Altona.<sup>92</sup> Klingebiel argues that due to the suppression of members of the reformed religion in England (and his close connections to the Netherlands), Georg Wilhelm expected refugees primarily from these locations. He also points out that the general superintendent of Celle specifically protested against religious privileges for the foreigners from England. He thinks that it is possible that the French version of the privilege was only written when the French-reformed community was founded at Lüneburg in March 1685. Furthermore, the Lüneburg privilege did not play a role in discussions between the councillors of Celle and the former director of the Huguenot colony at Hameln relating to a privilege for the establishment of such a colony at Lüneburg in 1691.<sup>93</sup> Thus, Klingebiel concludes that the first Huguenot privilege within the Welfanian territories was a document by Georg Wilhelm's brother Ernst August, bishop of Osnabrück and duke of Hanover – which dated from 21 November/1 December 1685, shortly after the release of the Edict of Potsdam.<sup>94</sup>

Klingebiel's analysis has been critically analysed by Andreas Flick who doubts the later date of the French translation of Georg Wilhelm's privilege and initially stated that a larger group of exiles could only be expected to come from France but not from

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<sup>90</sup> Flick, 'Der Celler Hof', 95; Walter Mogk, 'Zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten', 382-384; Notbohm, *Geschichte der Französisch-reformierten Gemeinde*, 6-8; Arnulf Siebeneicker, 'Das Lüneburger Privileg', in Sabine Beneke and Hans Ottomeyer (eds.), *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland: Die Hugenotten* (Berlin, 2005), 252-253.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Klingebiel, *Die Hugenotten*, 11.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

England. He concedes that the privilege was perhaps deliberately formulated without naming a particular nationality in order to allow reformed Scottish, English or Dutch individuals in addition to the French into the city.<sup>95</sup> However, after reflecting on the subject for a decade he later concluded that it was apparently ‘Englishmen’ and not Frenchmen who were primarily expected in Lüneburg.<sup>96</sup> But in all of this analysis there is a serious omission. None of the above historians take Waller’s previous negotiations with the senate of Bremen into account as they are narrowly focussed on activities in only one of several key political entities in the region. The timing of the issuing of the privilege a few months after his departure from the city and the similarity between the freedoms granted by Bremen and Georg Wilhelm leave no doubt that it was Waller who initiated the ducal edict. Furthermore, the freedoms granted on 9 August 1684 were frequently described by contemporaries as the ‘English privileges’ and the foreigners were at least in one case said to have been under the protection of the ‘English nation’. This confirms (similarly to the terminology used in the minute book of Bremen’s senate) that it was the Englishman Waller (variously mistaken as a Scot or as a French Huguenot by some historians) who had negotiated the deal with the duke.<sup>97</sup> Thus the alleged ‘French’ privilege has to be interpreted in the context of Waller’s intention of providing a safe environment for a group of British political dissidents. Waller – as in Bremen – intended to settle a larger group of confessional migrants in Lüneburg to meet the duke’s expectations of economic advantages in order to protect the smaller group of political exiles. Notably, his own position in the duchy also depended on the successful settlement of profitable individuals. Thus we have to assume that he again welcomed the duke’s decision not to exclude any nationalities from his privilege. William Waller was most likely informed of Georg Wilhelm’s lenience towards adherents of the reformed faith and the Huguenot community at his court by Andrew Melville, who as previously noted, had acquired a respected position in its congregation. This is especially so as Melville was a kinsman of George Melville whose acquaintance he had made perhaps as early as 1651 when he received help from a relative of that name in

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<sup>95</sup> Andreas Flick, ‘Muß das ‚Lüneburger Hugenottenprivileg‘ neu bewertet werden?’, *Der Deutsche Hugenott*, 59 (1995), 54-55.

<sup>96</sup> Andreas Flick, ‘Hugenotten in Norddeutschland’, in Evangelisch-Reformierte Gemeinde Braunschweig (ed.), *Öffentlich und Ungehindert: 300 Jahre Ev.-reformierte Gemeinde Braunschweig* (Braunschweig, 2004), 80.

<sup>97</sup> Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 137; Mogk, ‘Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten’, 387.

London as a refugee after the battle of Worcester.<sup>98</sup> Andrew Melville and Leven were also almost certainly previously in contact with each other, possibly through Georg Melville as Leven assisted Andrew Melville in acquiring his Scottish birth brief in 1683.<sup>99</sup> The co-operation between George Melville and Waller in Bremen provided a link between the Englishmen and Andrew Melville who may have even initiated the talks between Waller and the duke. It has already been indicated that Georg Wilhelm himself primarily pursued economic interests with his edict in addition to secondary confessional ones. However these may have been complemented by political motivations. On 23 November 1684 it was reported that Georg Wilhelm was resolved to protect Waller and his adherents regardless of Skelton and any pressure he might attempt to bring to bear. The Duke reported that, unlike Bremen's officials, he was not to be intimidated by English envoys.<sup>100</sup> This indicates that Georg Wilhelm was fully aware of the fact that he was welcoming individuals to his duchy who were seen as political dissidents in Britain. Georg Wilhelm's rhetoric against Skelton is easier to make sense of than the stance of the senate of Bremen. Direct trade connections with the British Isles were barely developed, and so English threats were of limited importance. Commodities going to or from the British Isles from his duchy passed through the staples of Bremen and Hamburg, creating a suitable commercial buffer to impotent Stuart posturing.

Georg Wilhelm personally communicated with the city of Bremen to demand payment of Waller's outstanding salary providing both a sweetener to Waller and revealing the Duke's esteem for the Englishman.<sup>101</sup> This was also reflected in the ducal council (the highest administrative institution in Braunschweig-Lüneburg). As early as 25 July 1684 the ducal council informed the senate of Lüneburg that several foreign individuals, predominantly Englishmen persecuted at home, were willing to settle, trade and open factories in their city provided that they were given the previously mentioned freedoms.<sup>102</sup> The first of these Englishmen arrived before October 1684 when the ducal council reported their difficulties in receiving personal goods and merchandise from

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<sup>98</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 135; Murdoch, *Network North*, 25.

<sup>99</sup> *RPCS, Third Series*, 1683-84, 114-115, Supplication, Sir Andrew Melville, without date/place.

<sup>100</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Journal Article, 'Nouvelles Choisis et Veritables', 23 November 1684.

<sup>101</sup> StAB, Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs, R.5.d.13.a.19, Georg Wilhelm to Bremen Senate, Celle, 16 February 1685.

<sup>102</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Ducal Councillors to Lüneburg Senate, Celle, 25 July 1684.

England due to the resistance of the Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg.<sup>103</sup> Although the Adventurers did not hold any authority over Braunschweig-Lüneburg they could influence the Hamburg authorities and hinder the transport of goods through their city to and from the sea. In order to assist the English incomers the ducal councillors thus resolved to re-address their goods from England as though they belonged to a senator of Lüneburg called Johan von Cölln. They could then be shipped through Hamburg via a straw man there.<sup>104</sup> On the surface this seems to confirm Klingebiel's and (to a certain extent) Flick's hesitant statements that it was indeed mainly 'Englishmen' who were expected in the city. Furthermore, contemporary reports mention an 'English' assembly house in the market place and the presence of an 'English' company in Lüneburg.<sup>105</sup> However, due to the lack of demographic registers such as the lists of new citizens – which are lost for the vital years between 1674 and 1700 – it is unfortunately impossible to establish the number and nationality of foreigners arriving at Lüneburg after 9 August 1684.<sup>106</sup> The only English individual we can positively identify (apart from Waller) is the dyer Paul Hearne whose business in the duchy caused some complaints to the local authorities.<sup>107</sup> Yet while only these two Englishmen can be definitely identified, other foreigners were certainly attracted to the duchy. Among them were several enterprising Scots. For example, Joseph Moseson was reported as one of the first foreigners to arrive in Lüneburg after the edict. He opened a small business selling tobacco, pipes and 'distilled water' and was variously described as a Scot or as an English national. Notably he applied for citizen rights as an 'Englishman'.<sup>108</sup> This was probably due to the fact that he aimed to make full use of Waller's growing influence in the city,

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<sup>103</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Ducal Councillors to Lüneburg Senate, Celle, 21 October 1684.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Heinrich Meyer to Lüneburg Senate, Harburg, 18 March 1685. Meyer, an inhabitant of Harburg, petitioned the Senate of Lüneburg to omit his son, who was to settle as a nail smith in their city, from citizen duties referring to the privileges Georg Wilhelm had granted to the 'English company'.

<sup>106</sup> In addition a file of applications for citizen rights does not contain any entries for the years between 1683 and 1685. However a handful of applications for citizenship survive in the files relating to the settlement of foreigners in Lüneburg. StadtL, Acta von Bürgerschaften 1652-1699, B4 No. 71; Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Acta betr. die fremden Nationen.

<sup>107</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Report of Complaints, Lüneburg Senate, Celle, 28 July 1685.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.; G3e No. 2, Confirmation of Privileges applying to Joseph Moseson, 24 October 1684; G3e No.2, Complaints, Lüneburg Senate to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 29 August 1685.

revealing that the familiar problem of Scots being erroneously labelled as English nationals may be especially true for Lüneburg.<sup>109</sup>

Steve Murdoch anticipated that systematic research into previously unexplored areas of Europe would probably reveal the same sort of entrepreneurial activity he discovered Scots were undertaking in Scandinavia – and it appears he was right.<sup>110</sup> Another Scot drawn to the city by Waller was the entrepreneur Robert Hog who had left Scotland in the early 1660s with his father, the exiled minister John Hog who had become an incumbent of the Scots church in Rotterdam.<sup>111</sup> Waller and Hog established contact in Amsterdam where they were located before their move to Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Both men visited the ducal council in Celle in September 1684 in order to negotiate the establishment of a cloth factory in Lüneburg with a plan to produce fine cloth worth 40,000 Imperial dollars annually.<sup>112</sup> He was to be given a copy of the privileges the citizens of Lüneburg enjoyed on the southern arm of the Elbe so that he could make use of these as well.<sup>113</sup> Hog opened this business later the same year in co-operation with his Dutch business partner Anton de Pau. The enterprise was located in the so-called *Wandhaus* (cloth house) and included a mill as well as a place where finished cloth could be dyed. Soon after their arrival Hog and Pau sought to expand into other buildings and the senate discussed offering them the *Marstall* (city stables) or the House of a Mr Elwer situated in *Große Bäckerstraße* for their enterprise.<sup>114</sup> In addition to this, both entrepreneurs successfully urged the senate to provide a hall for the sale of cloth and to employ a number of trustworthy citizens to monitor the quantity and quality of cloth brought into this building in accordance with rules established by the Dutch town of Leiden.<sup>115</sup> The production depended largely on the use of child labour and the senate had obliged itself to find at least 150 young male and female workers aged

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<sup>109</sup> However, there are also cases in which English were mistaken to have been Scots. For example, the Englishman and officer George Fleetwood was mistaken as a Scotsman by the Swedes as he commanded Scottish troops. For information on Fleetwood see Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 146.

<sup>110</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 248.

<sup>111</sup> NAS, Leven and Melville Papers, GD26/13/492, Robert Hog to the Earl of Leven, Lüneburg, 20 January 1709; Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 31.

<sup>112</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Minutes of the Ducal Chamberlain Albrecht Ramdohr's Proposition concerning Hog's Factory, Celle, 26 September 1684; Reinecke, *Lüneburg*, 346-347. Reinecke erroneously states that Hog gave up his Lüneburg factory in 1687.

<sup>113</sup> StadtL, Protocoll Curiae 1684-85, P7 No. 17, 160, 26 March 1685.

<sup>114</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Memorial, Robert Hog/Anton Pau to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 12 June 1685; G3e No. 22, Robert Hog and Anton Pau to Lüneburg Senate, 7 September 1685.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

between 12 and 14 who were to stay in the factory for seven years to be replaced thereafter.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, Hog and Pau also employed a number of skilled adult workers from the Netherlands. For example at least four Dutchmen were working as chief servants (*Meisterknechte*) in the factory, their tasks lying mainly with the supervision of the work of the children.<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, the entrepreneurs drew at least seven cloth processors (*Tuchbereiter*) to the city who were to receive their own guild roll in 1686 and who in turn employed a number of apprentices from the Netherlands, Lübeck, Bremen and other neighbouring places.<sup>118</sup> Another person in a trusted position was Paul Berenberg who was to administer the business and to act as master of the sales hall from October 1685 but it is unclear where he originated from.<sup>119</sup> The establishment of Hog's and Pau's enterprise at Lüneburg clearly exhibits parallels with the manufacture and cloth trade of the Stockholm-based Scottish merchant, Daniel Young (Leijonancker), whose business contributed significantly to the city's economy in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>120</sup> However, compared to Young's successful complex which included a textile mill, a glove factory and two dye-colouring works as well as a considerable workforce of around 1,200; Hog's and Pau's factory was of a smaller (but not inconsiderable) scale.<sup>121</sup> Like Hog and Pau, Leijonancker employed a specialised foreign workforce including technical supervisors from the Netherlands and weavers from Hamburg thus encouraging migration to Sweden.<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, Young's workforce consisted partially of children. They were provided by Stockholm's orphanages and it was a fellow-Scot and fellow-councillor (*Rådsman*) Jacob Clerck who was in charge of these institutions as well as of the prisons from where additional workers were recruited. As Murdoch points out, it is probable that both men furthered

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<sup>116</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Minutes of Ducal Chamberlain Albrecht Ramdohr's Proposition concerning Hog's Factory, Celle, 26 September 1684; G3e No. 2, Lüneburg Senate to Georg Wilhelm, Lüneburg, 29 September 1684; G3e No. 22, Record of the Ducal Council Concerning Robert Hog, Celle, 10 October 1684; G3e No. 22, Memorial, Robert Hog and Anton Pau to Ducal Council, Celle, 12 June 1685.

<sup>117</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 36, *Meisterknechte* to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 27 March 1686.

<sup>118</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 36, Lübeck Senat to Lüneburg Senate, Lübeck, 20 January 1686; G3e No. 36, List of Cloth Processors, without place/date.

<sup>119</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Robert Hog to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 7 October 1685.

<sup>120</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 176-177; Steve Murdoch, 'Community and Commerce: The Stockholm-Scots in the Seventeenth Century', in D. Worthington (ed.), *Emigrants and Exiles from the Three Kingdoms in Europe, 1603-1688* (forthcoming, Leiden, 2009).

<sup>121</sup> For Young's operation see Murdoch, 'Community and Commerce' (forthcoming).

<sup>122</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 176-177.

each others' interests based on their common Scottish ethnicity.<sup>123</sup> Contrary to these favourable conditions the provision and maintenance of children as employees in Lüneburg evolved into a continuous problem for Hog and Pau. The low number of available workers and the disappearance of trained children from work (whose parents supported their absence) became a recurring theme in the correspondence between the entrepreneurs and the senate.<sup>124</sup>

Hog certainly planned to establish his business permanently in Lüneburg as he agreed with the senate that with the expiry of the privilege after 20 years the *Wandhaus* was either to be sold to him cheaply or rented out for free for several additional years.<sup>125</sup> In November 1684 Hog's sister arrived in Lüneburg and was supposed to run the business side of the factory. Her brother planned to direct his business from Amsterdam and to base himself there in the long term.<sup>126</sup> The latter confirms that Hog was in no immediate danger in the Netherlands and that his move to Lüneburg was due to the economic opportunities offered by Waller and Georg Wilhelm's edict. Nevertheless, his exile background made Hog sympathetic to the Scottish religious exiles' cause and he became involved in one of their financial networks on at least one occasion. On 2 November 1685 the Scottish exiled minister James Brown – who had almost certainly established contact with Hog through his father in the Netherlands – asked Andrew Russell to remit money via Robert Hog to the Scottish merchant in Königsberg, Mr Andrew Marshall, showing his trust in the entrepreneur.<sup>127</sup>

Hog and Pau separated as business partners in early 1686 but both entrepreneurs continued their cloth production in Lüneburg.<sup>128</sup> Whereas the Scot's business was to

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> See for example StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Robert Hog to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 30 May 1685; G3e No. 22, Memorial, Robert Hog and Anton Pau to Lüneburg Senate, 12 June 1685; G3e No. 22, Anton Pau to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 19 April 1687; G3e No. 22, Anton Pau to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 24 July 1687.

<sup>125</sup> StadtL, Protocoll Curiae 1684-1685, P7 No.17, 68, 2 December 1684.

<sup>126</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Ducal Council to Lüneburg Senate, Celle, 24 November 1684.

<sup>127</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/576, James Brown to Andrew Russell, Danzig, 2 November 1685; Murdoch, *Network North*, 113.

<sup>128</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 23, Acta betr. Robert Hog and Anton Pau dissolvirter Societat 1686 – 1688; The reason for the separation is unclear although Pau later accused Hog of deceit on several occasions claiming that Hog had persuaded him shortly before their departure from Amsterdam to sign a bill of exchange to be remitted by his mother for their factory. The Scottish entrepreneur had apparently passed on this bill to one of his personal creditors causing financial loss to Pau's relative. Hog on the other hand stated that Pau had invested a smaller sum than he had promised into their factory. StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 20, Robert Hog to Georg Wilhelm, Gornieden, 6 April 1688; G3e No. 22, Anton Pau to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 6 May 1689.

remain in the *Wandhaus*, Pau was given *Elwer's* House as well as the adjacent buildings, with the original tools and child labourers being divided between these locations. The mill, as well as the tools belonging to the dye-works, were to be used interchangeably by both ex-partners. Besides this unusually helpful arrangement, some of Hog's capital was to remain in Pau's factory for which the latter was to pay him 12 percent of his annual financial gain until the expiry of Georg Wilhelm's privileges.<sup>129</sup> By April the same year Hog had left for the Netherlands leaving Paul Berenberg as his representative to resolve conflicts with Pau, though it is not certain whether Hog's sister remained in charge of the business.<sup>130</sup>

Pau had taken the Hanoverian Jew Isaac Ahrens as a new business partner and had been granted a concession to trade with English and other foreign cloth in bulk in addition to producing his own cloth. According to Berenberg the dying and sale of this English, Dutch and Silesia cloth damaged Hog's factory considerably.<sup>131</sup> In addition, Pau's workers had apparently occupied the upper parts of the *Wandhaus* contrary to the agreed conditions and the repayment of creditors caused severe problems for both Pau and Hog.<sup>132</sup> The Hog-Pau split created the need to replace some of the skilled workers who had been previously working for Hog. The French entrepreneur Vincent du Bois reported in April 1686 that the Scot was travelling from Amsterdam to Frisia in order to hasten the voyage of several English workers to Celle to work in his factory.<sup>133</sup> Further difficulties were also created by the Merchant Adventurers who threatened to ruin both Hog's and Pau's cloth enterprise warning that they would sell their own products at rock-bottom prices to do so.<sup>134</sup> Despite such threats, Hog's Lüneburg factory was able to successfully continue its production for many years. Others were not so lucky and the resistance of the English company may partially explain why all other factories which were aimed to be established in the city ultimately failed. More importantly, however, Hog and Pau appear to have been the only entrepreneurs to have secured external

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<sup>129</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, Hogs und Paus Separatio Societas bei der hiesigen Lakenmanufaktur betreffend 1686-1687, G3e No. 23.

<sup>130</sup> It is unclear if Hog's sister was in Lüneburg at this time.

<sup>131</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No.23, Paul Berenberg to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 26 January 1687.

<sup>132</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 20, Robert Hog to Thomas Erskine, Amsterdam, 7 June 1687; G3e No. 20; Anton Pau to Robert Hog, Lüneburg, 5/15 June 1687; G3e No. 20, Paul Berenberg to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 2 November 1687.

<sup>133</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Ducal Council to Johann Reinbeck (Provost of Lüneburg), Celle, 23 April 1686.

<sup>134</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Lüneburg Senate to Ducal Councillors, Lüneburg, 2 July 1685.

investment.<sup>135</sup> Their main creditor was Colonel Thomas Erskine who then resided in Lüneburg and lent the company a considerable sum of 4,000 Imperial dollars.<sup>136</sup> Erskine's investment is certainly another significant example of the importance of kith and kin connections demonstrated elsewhere and played a decisive role in Hog and Pau's economic success.<sup>137</sup>

From the above it becomes clear that a number of foreigners of different nationalities were either directly or indirectly attracted to Lüneburg. Although they all adhered to the reformed faith, differences existed in their confessions and it is thus not clear if they worshipped together or if several separate private churches were established. Fortunately there is clear evidence that Waller aimed to set up a private church in his own house.<sup>138</sup> An estimate of the costs of church furniture by a local craftsman allows for some conclusions to be drawn on the size and social structure of the reformed congregation he envisaged for Lüneburg. The church furniture was to include a special seat for Waller himself with a baldachin (*Himmel*) as well as benches which could seat 55 members of the gentry and nobility as well as 21 additional ordinary benches reserved for common people.<sup>139</sup> This suggests that the congregation was to accommodate well over 100 individuals with Waller himself taking a prominent position within it. Nevertheless, we do not know who exactly was to worship within this church nor does the cost estimate prove that the church ever materialised in this form. However, in 1686 Waller requested half of the salary offered by the duke for the two reformed ministers to be paid to a Scot, William Douglas, indicating the presence of a British congregation similar to the ones which can be found in other places like

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<sup>135</sup> The Frenchman Jean de Rossiere for example had initially promised to open a lace factory but started instead to trade with French wine on a small scale signifying that he lacked the capital to open a more complex business. StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 8, Acta betr. Jean de Rossier Sorans Spitzen – Manufaktur und Weinschank, 1685.

<sup>136</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 19, Thomas Erskine to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 19 July 1686; G3e No.19, Thomas Erskine to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 3 May 1687. The credit was given in either 1684 or early 1685. Its repayment caused considerable problems in 1686/1687.

<sup>137</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, chapters 3-6.

<sup>138</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Bill Relating to Church Pews, Lüneburg, 4 November 1684; Protocoll Curiae 1684-85, P7 No.17, 65, 18 November 1684.

<sup>139</sup> Stadt L, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Bill relating to Church Pews, Lüneburg 4 November 1684. The German text does not differentiate between gentry and nobility but uses the term *Adlige*. However, it has to be assumed that Waller anticipated attracting members of the gentry primarily. The senate was prepared to give Waller some chairs for the nobles/members of the gentry. StadtL, Protocoll Curiae 1684-85, P7 No.17, 65, 18 November 1684.

Elbing.<sup>140</sup> In another Anglo-Scottish twist, Hog expressed the thankfulness of his 'countrymen' to the duke in April 1688 stating that he had heard his 'good friends' in the English parliament say that they would assist the duke's causes and that they would be pleased to hear if the duke encouraged Hog's business as he was their 'countryman'.<sup>141</sup> Thus Hog opportunistically identified himself as an Englishman or at least exploited his Britishness in this particular situation to make full use of his influential English contacts. This clearly shows parallels to Joseph Averie's use of similar terminology in previous decades.<sup>142</sup>

By a process of elimination we can demonstrate that these Britons worshiped almost exclusively in their own church rather than with the other foreigners. On 16 March 1685 a French reformed church was established under the guidance of the French minister Joseph de Casaucau who arrived from Copenhagen.<sup>143</sup> It was almost certainly he who was to receive the other half of the minister's salary provided by the duke. The church book of the French congregation partially survives and has been analysed by Beuleke who – in correlation with other documents – identified 33 men and 30 women as belonging to the French Huguenot community between 1685 and the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>144</sup> There is proof for some interaction between the French and other foreigners. For example Waller's daughter Catherine married the Frenchman Richard de Courtenay on 19 November 1685. Furthermore Mary Taylor from London married Jean le Hay from Calais on 15 August 1685. However, apart from seven other women who originated from Lüneburg, Celle, Lübeck, Altona or Gent all other members listed by Beuleke were positively French.<sup>145</sup> As we do not find any other English, Scottish or Dutch names in the church book we can conclude that they continued to worship in their own private church giving credit to the notion that Waller's was built. It is not clear who the 55 members of the nobility and gentry were whom Waller hoped to draw to Lüneburg. It is possible that they included the entrepreneurs who all carried the prefix

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<sup>140</sup> Henri Tollin, 'Geschichte der hugenottischen Gemeinde in Celle', 5 (1899), 6. Tollin got this information from a document in the state archives in Hanover which could so far not be localised. (The old reference states Staatsarchiv Hanover, Celle Br. Arch. Des. 55, Lüneburg No. 682.)

<sup>141</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 20, Robert Hog to Georg Wilhelm, Gornieden, 6 April 1688.

<sup>142</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>143</sup> Flick, 'Hugenotten in Norddeutschland', 80; Mogk, 'Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten', 389.

<sup>144</sup> Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 134-137;

<sup>145</sup> Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 134-137; Notbohm, *Geschichte der Französisch-reformierten Gemeinde*, 21-37.

‘de’ in their name indicating their high ranking status.<sup>146</sup> However, as argued previously, Waller’s main target lay less in the establishment of a reformed exile community but rather in the creation of a safe haven for political dissidents who were in immediate danger in the Netherlands. These were mainly members of the nobility and gentry and they were probably meant to form the majority in the group of high ranking individuals in Waller’s church.

One of these exiles, the Scot Sir John Cochrane (not the same one previously mentioned), arrived in Lüneburg in October 1684 together with his son as well as several other unnamed adherents.<sup>147</sup> After having established links with the earl of Argyll and the inner circle of the duke of Monmouth in early 1683, Cochrane had become suspected of involvement in the conspiracy to overthrow Charles II – an accusation of which he was found guilty in May 1685 with the result his estates were forfeited. In addition, the Scottish Privy Council had directed the king’s advocate on 16 August 1683 to charge Cochrane with treason for his involvement in the Bothwell Bridge rising. Thus Cochrane had been forced to escape to the Netherlands from where he moved on to the duchy of Cleves and then on to Lüneburg via Hanover. However, his stay was only short as he played an active part in the Argyll Rebellion in 1685 and it is likely that the individuals he had brought to Lüneburg followed him to the British Isles.<sup>148</sup> Whether any of them escaped from the ill-fated incident remains unclear.

Apart from Cochrane (and Waller) it is not possible to identify other exiles or suspected anti-Stuart conspirators in the city. The reason for the absence of a large group of political dissidents could be rooted in the imminent insurrections in 1685, preparations for which were made in the Netherlands where a group of dissidents (including Monmouth) gathered despite the apparent risk of arrest.<sup>149</sup> The proposed small scale invasions and hoped for spontaneous insurrections led to an overtly optimistic presumption of political and religious change in the British Isles. However, the Argyll/Monmouth attempts were viewed with suspicion by many of the exiles in Europe leading only the foolhardy and clients of the two nobles to participate. It is

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<sup>146</sup> For evidence that Scots used this device to highlight their status abroad see Steve Murdoch, ‘The Pearl Fisher Robert Buchan ‘de Portlethin’ in Sweden’, *Northern Studies* (2007), 51-70.

<sup>147</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Johan Halfe to Lüneburg Senate, Celle, 11 October 1684.

<sup>148</sup> Richard L. Greaves, ‘Sir John Cochrane (1662-1695)’, *DNB* (online publication). Not identical but possibly related to James King’s acquaintance.

<sup>149</sup> Tim Harris, ‘James Scott (Crofts), Duke of Monmouth and First Duke of Buccleugh (1649-1685)’, *DNB* (online publication).

possible that a number of political suspects such as the Melvilles were present in Lüneburg without appearing in the surviving records. However, compared to Bremen there was less of a need to conceal their identities. As stated previously Georg Wilhelm had promised to safeguard Waller and his associates against arrest and Cochrane openly applied for permission to settle in Lüneburg. Furthermore, in a letter written on 23 April 1685 he put his ‘humble service’ to Georg Wihelm, stating his thankfulness to the duke and adding that he was willing to create amicable relations between Great Britain and the duke after the Argyll expedition, confirming the duke’s political interests in the exiles as well as the fact that he knew exactly whom he accommodated.<sup>150</sup>

We know for sure that Andrew Melville remained in contact with some of the political exiles on the continent throughout this period. By way of example, John Cochrane informed Melville from Amsterdam on 23 April 1685 about the preparations for the planned insurrections inviting him to ‘acquaint all our countrie men, who are in ani foraigne service to cume and take imployment in their own countrie’.<sup>151</sup> This reveals that Cochrane knew of Melville’s links to fellow Scottish officers in foreign service, which he hoped to exploit. The same letter also reveals that Cochrane had also been in touch with the Huguenot officers in Georg Wilhelm’s service, such as General Shavott or Colonell Lamott and his family who were in turn related to Melville through the latter’s wife.<sup>152</sup> Melville himself refused Cochrane’s invitation to join the expeditions due to his advanced age. Neither George Melville nor his son took part in the invasions. At the time the former can be traced residing in the Netherlands and transiting various German localities as an itinerant exile. For his part the Earl of Leven started to travel the Northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire before eventually joining the service of the Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia through the patronage of Sophia, Electress of Hanover – herself half Scottish by parentage.<sup>153</sup> As previously stated, she was the daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, Georg Wilhelm’s sister-in-law, and in contact with Andrew Melville.<sup>154</sup> It is thus likely that it was she who had recommended David Melville to Sophia in order to assist him in finding a permanent refuge. In February 1686 Leven

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<sup>150</sup> Fraser, *The Melvilles*, vol. 2, 101, John Cochrane to Andrew Melville, Amsterdam, 23 April 1685.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> Sankey, ‘David Melville’, *DNB* (online publication).

<sup>154</sup> Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 6-7; The current location of the original letter could not be traced. (The reference in Ali-Ameer reads ‘Briefwechsel der Herzogin von Sophie von Hannover mit ihrem Bruder’, Preuss. Staatsarchiv, Vol. 26.)

was certainly in Celle where his kinsman resided and where he made contact with other Scots.<sup>155</sup>

During his stay in Celle Leven stayed with a Mr Chartres. This man was possibly identical to or related to the Scottish merchant John Chartres who widely travelled in the North Sea and Baltic countries and was in contact with Leven in September/October the same year as well as with Andrew Russell.<sup>156</sup> Leven was also connected to Andrew Melville when the commandant assisted him in one of his financial transactions.<sup>157</sup> David Melville also became involved with a merchant in Celle called Mr Drossard Stikenelle who received money on his behalf after it had been remitted by one of Andrew Russell's factors in Amsterdam following a request from George Melville. This sum was then to be paid to a Mr Chartres at Andrew Melville's house in Gifhorn.<sup>158</sup> This help was reciprocated when David Melville met Andrew Melville's son George Ernest in either Cleve or the Hague where the latter visited the local academy. The Earl of Leven recommended him to Andrew Russell and asked the factor to give Melville two hundred dollars drawn from his account. He also showed some concern for him by asking Russell to look out for his interests in case he was not to collect the money personally 'for yow know young folk knowes not the ways of drawing of money.'<sup>159</sup> The contact between George and Andrew Melville continued when the former had returned to Scotland in the wake of the Williamite Revolution. In 1698 Andrew Melville reported from Celle that a gentleman called Seton had arrived in town whom he hoped he could assist in entering Georg Wilhelm's service. Furthermore he stated that his son planned to visit his father's 'native contry and relationes' including George Melville whom he hoped would assist him.<sup>160</sup> The Melville network included contacts in Hamburg where David Melville found shelter in the house of the Merchant Adventurer Mr Borick Taylor during his travels in 1686.<sup>161</sup> In addition Melville

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<sup>155</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/609/11, David Melville to Andrew Russell, Celle, 9 February 1686.

<sup>156</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/609/8, John Chartres to Andrew Russell, Wesel, 28 September/8 October 1686.

<sup>157</sup> Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 80.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81.

<sup>159</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/609/12, David Melville to Andrew Russell, Cleve, 7 August 1686.

<sup>160</sup> NAS, Leven and Melville Papers, GD26/13/450, Andrew Melville to George Melville, Celle, February 1698.

<sup>161</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/609/16, David Melville to Andrew Russell, Helmstadt, 30 August 1686; RH15/106/609/22, David Melville to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 24 September 1686; Murdoch, *Network North*, 112. It is possible that Borick Taylor was a relative of Mary Taylor who married in the French-reformed church in Lüneburg the previous year. Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 135.

required Andrew Russell to find a friend in the city who would vouch for him and so enable him to borrow 100 Imperial dollars.<sup>162</sup> It is probable that David Melville had already been present in Hamburg 1685 communicating under his usual pseudonym which was in fact his servant's name of John Edward.<sup>163</sup> The city certainly offered shelter to the Scottish exile George Baillie of Jerwiswood in 1683 who sent a letter from Hamburg to his relative James Baillie in Edinburgh, promising to mind the recipient's business in the city.<sup>164</sup> Thus we can conclude that a Scottish exile kith and kin network operated partially in Braunschweig-Lüneburg, across the wider Elbe-Weser region and even beyond Germany to include the Netherlands and Scotland.

For the reasons discussed above, neither Hog nor Waller took part in the failed expeditions of Argyll and Monmouth but remained in Lüneburg.<sup>165</sup> It was at the end of 1685 and the beginning of 1686 that the latter attempted to establish a second factory of serge in the city. To this end he as well as an (unnamed) Englishman – who was to be the 'most noble *ouvrier*' of the enterprise – inspected possible locations in the city. Apart from 500 local children, a considerable number of 100 to 200 skilled workers from England and other places were to be employed in this factory.<sup>166</sup> However, negotiations with the senate proved difficult and Waller threatened that the entrepreneurs had already received a better offer in East Frisia.<sup>167</sup> It is not clear who the English entrepreneurs or the 'English' workers were. It is possible that some of them were identical to the workers brought to Celle/Lüneburg by Robert Hog from Frisia.<sup>168</sup> The ducal council eventually granted extensive privileges for the set-up of the factory including the use of *Scharnbeck's* house.<sup>169</sup> However, as there are no further records on the enterprise in the Lüneburg archives it is doubtful if it was ever established.

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<sup>162</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/609/16, David Melville to Andrew Russell, Helmstadt, 30 August 1686; RH15/106/609/22, David Melville to Andrew Russell, Hamburg, 24 September 1686.

<sup>163</sup> NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/576/4, Jo. Edward to Andrew Russell, Hamburg 10 November 1685.

<sup>164</sup> NAS, James Baillie Papers, RH15/49/7, George Baillie to James Baillie, Hamburg, 31 May 1683. It was probably this man who sent another letter to the same noting that only small quantities of herring were to be sold in Hamburg, but that apart from that, only fine stockings were in demand. NAS, RH15/49/7, (George Baillie?) to James Baillie, Hamburg, 31 May 1683. Unfortunately the signature beneath the letter is destroyed and therefore we do not know the identity of the sender.

<sup>165</sup> NAS, Leven and Melville Papers, GD26/13/492, Robert Hog to the Earl of Leven, Lüneburg, 20 January 1709.

<sup>166</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 7, Privileges Demanded by the Manufacturers, 11 December 1685; G3e No. 7, Lüneburg Senate to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 26 January 1686.

<sup>167</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 7, William Waller to Georg Wilhelm, Celle, 3 February 1686.

<sup>168</sup> See above.

<sup>169</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 7, Lüneburg Senate to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 26 January 1686.

Furthermore, Waller took his leave from Lüneburg on 15 June 1686 apparently to return to Bremen where he was to receive another military command and it is highly unlikely that the English factory ever materialised, though Robert Hog's remained in production into the eighteenth century.<sup>170</sup>

Hog remained on the continent after the Williamite Revolution despite his 'exile' background. Political change within the British Isles had seen the majority of Protestant exiles return to their own or their parents' homeland.<sup>171</sup> The fact that he decided to stay in Lüneburg perhaps confirms that Hog was primarily concerned with economic matters and not overtly emotionally attached to the exiles' cause. Alternatively, he may have simply found the financial gains of his enterprises abroad too rewarding to give up at that juncture. Furthermore, he may have integrated into Lüneburg's society through marriage or other links which he was perhaps not prepared to surrender. Nevertheless, Hog – like Patrick More in Buxtehude – maintained an interest in his home country despite his long-term absence. This was expressed in 1709 when Hog recommended his son John to the Earl of Leven stating that he had sent him to his native country to learn the language.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, Hog – as a 'true Scot' – praised the effects which the Union could potentially have on Scotland if people knew how to make use of the liberty of freely using Irish and English wool. He described his comfortable life in Lüneburg but stated that he was willing to return to Scotland after his 46 years abroad provided that the monarch could allow him a small pension. He further implied that he would then use his expertise to the benefit of the country's economy stating that he 'brogt the Lunenburg manufactory to perfection' and that 'al my countrymen in Scotland know there could be no better man to give directions that way then I am'.<sup>173</sup> It is not clear why Hog waited for almost two years after the Union in sending this letter. It is possible that he wanted to confirm that the Union was secure as evidenced by the failure of the 1708 Jacobite uprising.<sup>174</sup> His revived interest in Scotland may have partially been financially motivated. However, his position in Lüneburg (unless exaggerated in his letter) suggests that Hog felt genuinely attached to Scotland, perhaps simply wishing to retire there.

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<sup>170</sup> Beuleke, *Die Hugonotten in Niedersachsen*, 137.

<sup>171</sup> Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 201-206.

<sup>172</sup> NAS, Leven and Melville Papers, GD26/13/492, Robert Hog to the Earl of Leven, Lüneburg, 20 January 1709.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester, 1994), 56-57.

The success of the Calvinist-dominated British network in Northwest Germany as evidenced in the preceding section is apparent. The benefits derived from compatible confessions of faith allowed for exiles to integrate in several locations at various times. Without the Williamite Revolution which removed the need for such an exile community it may have flourished and formed another Kedainiai style Calvinist community in Europe. But the opportunity to return to Britain after 1688 was compelling for most and in turn resulted in an exile of their political opponents on an even larger scale from the British Isles. These were the Jacobites.

### 4.3 The Jacobite Presence

What scrutiny of the Calvinist exile network reveals to us is the importance of an empathetic government or suitably sympathetic friends for exiles looking for refuge. For the Presbyterians they had both already in the Elbe-Weser region. Even after the Treaty of Union there were still Scots in Northwest Germany who, if not Jacobites, still might see across political or religious division in order to support a fellow countryman in distress. One such Scot still present in the region was Gilbert Spence.<sup>175</sup> His assistance to William Willet's cousin, William Colclough, in 1707/08 has already been mentioned.<sup>176</sup> However, he was not the only one who offered help to the bankrupt English merchant with Jacobite sympathies. As a way out of his dismal situation, an individual identified only as 'Mi. Crane', a 'friend' located in Utrecht, suggested Colclough should travel to Lille where a cousin of his father was prepared to either employ him or to provide him with some means which would allow him to travel to the West Indies.<sup>177</sup> Another rescue plan for Colclough was outlined by a man called Henry Norris from London who was in contact with his aunt. His letter explained a safe travel route via Antwerp to Paris where Colclough was to join the court of the exiled Stuart monarch at St-Germain-en-Laye.<sup>178</sup> Although this plan derived from Colclough's desperate financial situation and serious threats from his creditors, this connection indicates that the English merchant (who was also a Catholic) and some of his friends

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<sup>175</sup> Spence remained in Bremen until his death in 1715. Selig-Biehusen, *Kaffee-Handel*, 155.

<sup>176</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>177</sup> StAB, William Colclough, 'Mi. Crane' to William Colclough, without place/date. Lille is suggestive of a Jacobite connection given the establishment of a Jacobite army there. See Matthew Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King* (Leiden, 2004), 231-249.

<sup>178</sup> StAB, William Colclough, Ss.2.a.2.f.2.b., Henry Norris to William Colclough, without date/place.

were attached to the Jacobite cause. This makes Spence's assistance to Colclough all the more interesting as he had previously been attached to the Calvinist religious and political exiles escaping from Stuart Britain in the mid-1680s. It certainly indicates that his mercantile connection to Willet was more important than potential political divisions with Colclough, and reconfirms again that friendship could often transcend ideological differences.<sup>179</sup>

That said, and for obvious reasons, the wider Elbe-Weser region did not entertain a large Jacobite presence especially when compared to other countries such as France, Italy or Russia.<sup>180</sup> The absence of a large Scottish and/or English community (apart from the Merchant Adventurers) mitigated against a large Jacobite gathering and was not helped by the proximity of Hanover.<sup>181</sup> However, the political developments within the region during the events of the Great Northern War were of some concern to the Jacobite cause. They observed and commented on the loss of Swedish control over Bremen-Verden in favour of Denmark and Hanover from 1712.<sup>182</sup> The exiled Stuart monarch himself condemned the taking of the territories by Hanover and offered assistance in their retrieval in order to win support of Sweden for his own cause.<sup>183</sup> This was in no small part due to the fact that Queen Anne's named successor, George, was the Elector of Hanover thus making it obvious that he and his followers would be belligerently anti-Jacobite.

For sure, after the failed 1715 uprising, we find sojourning Jacobites in Bremen and Hamburg. However, these cities were obvious transient places on the route between Scandinavia and France or other nations sympathetic to the Jacobites. For example, in 1716 William Gordon received a letter from Sir Henry Crawford from Bremen in which

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<sup>179</sup> Murdoch, *Network North*, 119-124.

<sup>180</sup> Edward Corp et. al. (eds.), *A Court in Exile; The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge, 2004); E. H. Tayler (ed.), *The Jacobite Court At Rome in 1719. From the original documents at Fettercairn House and at Windsor Castle* (Edinburgh, 1938); Rebecca Wills, *The Jacobites and Russia 1715-1750* (East Linton, 2002). See also Christoph von Ehrenstein, 'Jakobiten in Europa 1688-1788', in Klaus J. Bade et. al. (eds.), *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa: Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (München, 2007), 707-710.

<sup>181</sup> The support of a Jacobite community was difficult even in places which featured a comparatively large Scottish mercantile and pro-Jacobite presence. Steve Murdoch, 'The French Connection: Bordeaux's 'Scottish' Networks in Context, c.1670-1720, in Gilles Leydier, *Scotland and Europe, Scotland in Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), 39-41.

<sup>182</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, V, 532, Memoir, 26 January 1717; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, VI, pp.152-158, M. Stiernhock to Duke of Mar, 16 March 1718; Jan Lokers, Axel Behne and Dirk Hempel, 'Das Elbe-Weser Dreieck im 18. Jahrhundert (1712/15-1803), in Hans Eckhard Dannenberg and Heinz-Joachim Schulze (eds.), *Geschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser* (Stade, 2008), 293-298.

<sup>183</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 288, Avignon, James III to John Erskine, 17 July 1716.

the latter reported that he had left Bergen a few days earlier. He was accompanied by Colonel Clephan and both men continued their journey to Paris via Leiden a few days later.<sup>184</sup> Furthermore, in June 1716 a group of Scots including John Carnegy of Boisack, his brothers-in-law John Fullarton and Charles Forbes of Balgowan escaped from Inverness to Hamburg.<sup>185</sup> However, it is unclear whether they deliberately chose the city as their destination or whether Hamburg was simply the first place they could get a ship to. Carnegy stayed three weeks in the city where he met the Comte of Croissy several times who supported him financially but who had continued his journey to The Hague on his return to France.<sup>186</sup> After his stay in Hamburg, Carnegy continued to Rouen leaving the other three Scots in the city, but they too intended to travel to the Netherlands.<sup>187</sup> Another Scot to go to Hamburg was Sir John Erskine who was instructed by the exiled Stuart king to contact General Hugo Hamilton in Swedish service after his arrival at the city.<sup>188</sup> Erskine was to inform Hamilton that he was to wait on the King of Sweden but that he had been ordered to stop at Hamburg in order to hear from Hamilton if the King was willing to enter into talks with James and his followers on a memorial sent to him from Paris.<sup>189</sup> Furthermore, Erskine was to gather information on affairs within Hanoverian territory. However he later reported that there was such a lack of communication between the city and Hanover to the point that he was resolved to send somebody to the place in order to improve the flow of information if he had stayed in the city.<sup>190</sup> Hamburg turned out to be an insecure place for Jacobites. In August 1716 the Duke of Mar expressed his concerns about John Erskine after he had heard that something serious had happened to an (unnamed) friend at Hamburg.<sup>191</sup> In order to protect himself Erskine thus chose to stay at Lübeck stopping at Hamburg only

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<sup>184</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 157, William Gordon to John Paterson, Paris, 16 May 1716 (It is unclear whether Crawford referred to the city or the duchy of Bremen although the former is more likely); HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, Hugh Paterson to Mar, Leiden, 28 May 1716.

<sup>185</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 270-271, John Fullarton to Mar, 10 July 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, John Carnegy to Mar, Rouen, 15 July 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 313, Charles Forbes to Mar, Amsterdam, 28 July 1716. John Carnegy of Boisack was a former MP for Forfarshire and a client of the Earl of Mar. See for example *RPS*, Act Anent Supply, 6 July 1704. See also Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (Yale, 2006), 43.

<sup>186</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, Carnegy to Mar, Rouen, 15 July 1716. The Comte of Croissy (Louis-Francois-Henri Colbert) was the French ambassador to the Swedish monarch.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 288, James III to John Erskine, Avignon, 17 July 1716. NN on Hugo Hamilton

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 502-503, John Erskine to Mar, Amsterdam, 30 September 1716.

<sup>191</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 328, Mar to John Erskine, 6 August 1716.

briefly on his return journey to the Netherlands.<sup>192</sup> Travelling through the wider Elbe-Weser region did not prove to be the best experience. Erskine reported that he was forced to stay in a ‘nasty little village’ 40 English miles northwest of Hamburg where he saw ‘hundreds of everlastingly smoking and swallowing very bad beer and brandy’ with whom communication was impossible.<sup>193</sup> After three days he was brought to a place in the duchy of Bremen which was apparently even worse from where Erskine set out to sea but was forced to return to the Weser by a storm. Setting out again Erskine experienced another three heavy storms in 36 hours before coming ashore at Groningen where he ‘made my skipper a low bow’ indicating his gratitude at land-fall.<sup>194</sup> Although some of this report may have been exaggerated to amuse Erskine’s correspondent it nevertheless proves that Scots continued to cross political borders of the wider Elbe-Weser region, and occasionally find a politically sympathetic countryman.<sup>195</sup> Scottish Jacobite activity within the wider Elbe-Weser region continued on a very limited scale in subsequent years. For example, in 1717 Charles Forbes returned to Hamburg (despite the dangers Erskine had faced in the previous year) on an errand for which he spent £157 and 12 shillings.<sup>196</sup>

Thus the wider Elbe-Weser region was of some limited significance to Jacobite activity. Bremen and Hamburg were important transit places although personal safety could not always be guaranteed. Furthermore, the geographical proximity to Scandinavia made Hamburg an excellent place from where to communicate with the King of Sweden and with Scottish officers close to the monarch who could support the cause of the exiled Stuart monarch. Interestingly, so far we cannot prove any links between the Jacobite agents and Scottish (and English) merchants present at Hamburg comparable to those which existed in Bordeaux.<sup>197</sup> According to John Carnegie of

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<sup>192</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 366-368, John Erskine to Mar, Lübeck, 23 August 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 370-371, John Erskine to Mar, Lübeck, 26 August 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 414, John Erskine to Lieutenant-General Dillon, 8 September 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 422-3, John Erskine to Mar, 11 September 1716.

<sup>193</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, 499-502, John Erskine to Mar, Stoere on Elbe, 15 September 1716. Going by the despatch address of this letter Erskine probably referred to the village Stör situated approximately 12 kilometres west of Itzehoe in Holstein.

<sup>194</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, 502-503, John Erskine to Mar, Amsterdam, 30 September 1716.

<sup>195</sup> It has been argued that many Scots abroad were simply ambivalent to the Jacobite cause. Murdoch, ‘The French Connection’, 39; Siobhan Talbott, ‘Jacobites, Anti-Jacobites and the Ambivalent: Scottish Identities in France, 1680-1720’ in B. Sellin, A. Thiec and P. Carboni (eds.), *Ecosse: l’identite nationale en question* (Nantes, 2009), 73-87.

<sup>196</sup> HMC, *Stuart Papers*, IV, 362, William Gordon to Mar, Paris, 16 June 1717.

<sup>197</sup> Murdoch, ‘The French Connection’, 39-41.

Boisack it had been the French Comte of Croissy who supported him and his fellow travellers rather than British Jacobites.<sup>198</sup> From the documents analysed for the purpose of this thesis it is impossible to say whether the Merchant Adventurers or independent 'British' traders were hostile or sympathetic to the Jacobites or simply indifferent. But given the nature of the migration patterns of the later seventeenth century it is easy to conclude that Jacobite exiles had more chance of securing assistance in places with communities sympathetic to the exiled House of Stuart. The Elbe-Weser region was not such a place.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

There were numerous reasons for Scottish ministers, religious groups and political exiles to move into the wider Elbe-Weser region. Where there were merchants, such as at Hamburg, there was a need to minister to their families. The presence of a minister such as Young was thus to be expected. A second group had higher ambitions than simple ministry; John Durie and Sampson Johnson were part of an itinerant Scottish clergy on an Irenicist mission. Thirdly, there was an exile community, therefore adding another layer building on these other two groups. Like them, they held links across ethnic boundaries with English, French, Dutch and Germans. In many cases the mercantile activity of the exiles is hard to separate from the political or cultural. Whereas some of the individuals who were expected in Bremen and Lüneburg were looking for shelter from prosecution and economic security others – like Hog – were apparently more focussed on commercial opportunities. However, the attempt to build, reform and maintain a reformed community 'in God' rather than 'by nation' was quite apparent in the Elbe-Weser region. Both communities envisaged by Waller in Bremen and Lüneburg faced difficulties. In Bremen these seemed to come from outside. It was the pressure from Charles II and Bevil Skelton in Hamburg which forced the Bremen authorities to release Waller and to give up the proposed 'British' community. In Lüneburg incomers faced complaints and resistance from the local population who feared their competition. This was especially so as the decision to attract foreigners had

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<sup>198</sup> After his stays in Hamburg and Rouen Carnegy intended to travel to Paris to meet the Comte of Croissy again. In 1717 we find Carnegy in Rome. His role and activities on the continent are yet to be established. HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, John Carnegy to Mar, Rouen, 15 July 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, IV, 461, John Carnegy to John Paterson, Rome, 21 July 1717.

not been made by the city's authorities but by the ducal authorities at Celle. However, pressure also came from the Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg. This was perhaps one of the reasons why only Robert Hog's factory was successful in the long term (although he also faced severe difficulties). This chapter has contributed to the important study of reformed exile communities by adding to results of Gardner and Murdoch. However, it also shows how the exiles tried to build a livelihood in new locations in Europe where they could not rely on an established expatriate community. Clearly mercantile considerations were just as important as spiritual concerns in their negotiations with the local authorities. This chapter brings to light entrepreneurial activities previously overlooked and gives an additional strand to results on Scottish commercial activity within the wider Elbe-Weser region demonstrated in chapter 2. But with the Glorious Revolution in England in 1688 and the deposition of James VII in Scotland the following year, the need for building a reformed community had diminished. A new wave of exiles – the Jacobites – headed for the continent, but the Elbe-Weser region was a long way from their preferred destinations in France, Spain and Rome. While agents were sent to the region on information gathering exercises, there simply was not the weight of numbers of individuals with similar political or confessional ambitions to support them as there were for the earlier Calvinist refugees. Thus their stays were short-lived and probably contributed little to the Jacobite cause. And through all the political intrigues discussed there remained those for whom making a living, if not a huge profit, came before the aspiration of the Kirk of Scotland or the House of Stuart. This gives us pause for reflection to the salt traders, coal merchants, soldiers and ministers who ended up in the region through economic circumstance or vocational opportunity. A chance indeed to review the impact or otherwise of the networking and attempts at community building that is at the core of this thesis.

## Conclusion

Looking at an imaginary map of those places which have received intensive scholarly attention in regard to the Scottish Diaspora or Scottish contacts with the wider world previous studies have tended to overlook the Northwest German territories as either a significant trading destination, or recipient region for Scottish migration. The lack of any kind of systematic research of the region as a whole has left a clear gap in our knowledge of this field prompting scholars to make assumptions about the importance or otherwise of the region to Scotland, or of Scots to the region. Scotland's Historiographer Royal, Professor Christopher Smout, simply wrote the region off as being of peripheral value to Scotland which, when reviewing his work stems from a lack of opportunity to review German archives.<sup>1</sup> In a similar vein, German historians of particular areas within the Elbe-Weser region have sometimes observed an occasional Scot or even, like Kurt Schwebel, done a detailed survey of a particular commodity (salt), the importance of which was discussed in chapter 2. However, fundamentally all previous scholarship has been marred by two main problems: Scholars of Scottish history dealing with the early modern period have largely been content to view the entire region in a singular context with the Hanseatic towns of Bremen and Hamburg often mentioned together, with little obvious understanding of the differences between them, particularly in confessional terms. The importance of other urban centres and duchies which make up the Elbe-Weser region are often also completely overlooked. In missing out an encompassing understanding of crucial places such as Glückstadt, Altona, Buxtehude, Lüneburg or Stade, scholars have effectively hamstrung their own research.

The problem is not confined to British historians as we have seen from the histories reviewed in this thesis that German (and Scandinavian) scholars are largely content to produce studies of their own chosen study areas (Andreas Flick for Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Kurt Schwebel for Bremen or Beate-Christine Fiedler for Bremen-Verden). Some of these understate or ignore the inter-connectedness of neighbouring territories even in a purely German context, let alone through the study of Scottish, English, French or Dutch migration into them. One need only reflect on the intense debates of several scholars prevaricating over the influx of the French and

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<sup>1</sup> Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 166.

English reformed community in Lüneburg or Bremen to realise that locking neighbouring areas together adds significant substance to arguments deployed by them and illuminates the complexities of the region itself as described in the opening chapter. How else might we have found the true importance of William Waller and his Scottish supporters Major George Low and George Melville.

The histories of the individual territories have certainly provided valuable insights into aspects of the region. But their demonstrable limitations are compounded by scholars of the region who confuse and conflate Scots with Englishmen (or other foreigners) as with the Waller case above. This reflects a genuine confusion in some cases (particularly where it has taken archival sources from beyond Germany to identify a particular individual Scot). It also exposes the problems posed by those academics to whom England and Britain are erroneously interchangeable terminologies and who think that Scotland is somehow a part of the former rather than the latter.<sup>2</sup> However to some degree the ethnic confusion itself can be traced to the success of commercial and integration strategies which saw Scots deliberately obscure their identities in order to seek some advantage by calling themselves English, British or Dutch. Men such as Robert Jolly, Robert Hog or William Grison. Having opened this thesis with a definition of the Elbe-Weser region it has been possible to construct a more complete appraisal of the role of Scots within the area than previous scholarship or methodologies has allowed for. By paying close attention to the methods used in a variety of projects with similar aims to this one (mentioned throughout the text), it has been possible to emphatically detail the importance of both Scots *and* inadvertently Englishmen in a variety of capacities which more often saw members of the two nations working together rather than apart.

The conclusions pertaining to each type of network discussed in this thesis have been vigorously made at the end of the chapters themselves, but it is worth reconsidering each finding in its own right and in connection with the other chapters. It has surely become apparent that no member of any of the networks discussed solely confined themselves to a strictly commercial, confessional, political or military capacity. Indeed it is only when taken together that the real substance of their networking achievements can be fully understood or the reasons for their failures clarified. From the commercial standpoint it has been easy to demonstrate that rather

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<sup>2</sup> Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 55-58; Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 145-147.

than being of little significance to Scotland or Germany, economic activity was fundamentally important to several types of merchants, be they Shetland fish dealers, Bremen salt merchants, Fife salt pan operators or Culross coal merchants. Scottish merchants dealing with salt, whitefish and coal maintained significant commercial links with the ports of Bremen and Hamburg evidenced by the strategic placement of family members in both cities (Robert Dunbar, Robert Jolly). Furthermore, Scots attempted to claim a bigger market share for herring exports despite fierce competition with the Dutch. The foundation of a Scottish-Hamburg fishing company does not only evidence commercial flexibility demonstrated by Scottish traders but also the existence of meaningful connections between Scottish and German merchants. Furthermore the presence of permanently settled traders and factors like Robert Barclay, John Beck, William Grison, Robert Jolly, Archibald Mercer or Gilbert Spence clearly signifies that the region offered business opportunities to these men. As we have seen, the business links of Alexander and Robert Jolly were highly diversified. They traded not only with Scotland but also with the Baltic, England, France and the United Provinces, engaging in Hamburg's entrepôt trade between these destinations. This necessitated their operation within complex commercial networks. The same is true for the business operations of William Grison and Gilbert Spence which stretched far beyond Scotland. These connections have to be factored in when evaluating Scottish trade in the early modern period which was evidently not confined to simple bilateral exchanges. At the same time previous scholarship has underestimated the outside contacts of merchants settled within Scotland, particularly in Shetland. While the orthodox view has usually stated that it was exclusively German merchants who visited the islands in the pre-Union period there is clear evidence that Shetland merchants traded within the region from the early seventeenth century in addition to those inhabitants who crewed Hamburg ships. Moreover, from the mid-1680s the Scottish merchant Robert Jolly and his brother, the skipper Alexander Jolly took over part of the city's trade links with the islands while the Shetland merchant Arthur Nicolson visited Hamburg in 1705. What we have shown in this thesis is that these commercial facets were of older vintage than previously thought; they were of greater value as evidenced by the competition posed to the Dutch in terms of fish, the French in terms of salt and the English in terms of coal.

It has to be emphasised that it is impossible to gauge the number of Scottish merchants active within the region at any one time, but they were certainly more

significant than the one factor Professor Smout identified in his *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*.<sup>3</sup> However, the frequent notion of the presence of (often unnamed) Scottish traders in Scottish documents signifies that Scottish commercial activity was not confined to the examples of Scots used in this thesis and we are frustratingly left with evidence of the presence of many Scottish traders for whom the record base does not inform us of any actual trade. Furthermore, Scottish commercial activity within the region was not limited to Scottish merchants, but also included the employment of indigenous factors like Arnold Havemann and Arend Meier in Germany and the arrival of the Germans themselves in Scotland. Add to this the role Bremen and Hamburg played supplying the various factions of the British Civil Wars or Stade, Altona and Glükstadt had in commercial deceptions such as supplying flags of convenience and we can be left in no doubt that the region was of significant commercial importance, albeit a quantification of that will have to await a further study.

In addition to the above, we can for the first time add to these findings research demonstrating the importance of textiles to the region – not just the importation of cloth as may have made it into a footnote, but the founding of a textile complex by Robert Hog which outlasted its English, French and even German competitors and bridged the period from the reign of James VII/II to the post-Union reign of Queen Anne. The example of Hog is important for a number of reasons, not least because he exemplifies indirect migration into Northwest Germany from the Netherlands rather than Scotland, and did so on the back of a mixed political, military and exile network. This was not uncommon. While scrutiny of port registers and customs books provide specific detail about the arrival and departure of goods, they have not been able to flesh out the detail of cargo ownership, triangular trade patterns or the commercial operations of the individuals involved in complex transactions. Thus a study based solely on them would miss interesting facts about the funding of the commercial operations. It is examples such as the Scottish major in Swedish service, Alexander Garden, and his funding of Scotsmen and Englishmen in Hamburg that again emphasize the porous nature of political boundaries to capital flow, and the folly of looking only to entrepreneurs when trying to establish the funding of commercial operations. Furthermore, the obvious ethnic connection Garden held with his fellow

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<sup>3</sup> Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 166.

Scots which even benefitted English Adventurers is apparent. And on a different level, the transaction of the recipients of these loans had an unquantifiable impact on the local German economy.

That ethnic connections were important to the Scots studied is apparent by their actions if rarely mentioned in surviving correspondence. Nonetheless, we are often afforded insightful glimpses. Robert Jolly for example maintained significant commercial links with family members or fellow Scottish merchants either within the region, in Scotland or abroad. Furthermore, the cases of Robert Hog or George Ernest Melville positively confirm that their Scottish origin mattered to them even if they spent most or all of their life abroad or, in Patrick More's case, even died in his adopted land. The existence of Scottish links based on kith and kin and common origin have been copiously described particularly those in Sweden, Denmark, Poland-Lithuania and the Netherlands. To these we can now meaningfully describe a variety of networks and social connections in Northwest Germany to further develop our understanding of how and where these developed, as well as demonstrate how the Elbe-Weser region fitted into the wider Scottish networks which linked Scotland, Scandinavia, France, the Netherlands and even the transatlantic world.

It is true that in many cases the devices used by the Scots to pursue their goals in Northwest Germany often mirrored the activities of countrymen elsewhere; there were also noticeable differences from compatriots in places like Rotterdam, Bergen or Kracow. The absence of an identifiable but exclusive Scottish mercantile community is revealing – and can be explained by a combination of factors including the presence of the English Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg or a greater willingness to facilitate full integration in locations like the city of Bremen, Swedish Bremen, or Celle. These prompted (or perhaps forced) Scots to embrace links with the indigenous population and other foreigners more strongly than in those places where Scottish institutions or organised support networks existed.<sup>4</sup> The Elbe-Weser region having no such distinctively Scottish structures thus provides us with an interesting geo-political region in which to scrutinise how the Scots operated in such an environment.

A recurring theme of this thesis has been Anglo-Scottish interaction and the disguise of Scottish identities as 'English' or 'British'. The Scottish dimension to the activities of the English Adventurers was fully teased out in previous chapters. The

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<sup>4</sup> For a wider discussion on interaction with host communities and other foreigners see Grosjean and Murdoch, 'Introduction', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities*, 3-15.

company of Merchant Adventurers was undoubtedly pivotal to Anglo-Scottish co-operation. Scottish merchants maintained close links with the company and were among its members profiting from the extensive privileges granted by the Hamburg authorities. However, men like Robert Jolly were happy to abuse the English privilege when it suited them, protest their Scottishness when things did not go their way and apparently live out a successful entrepreneurial life in Germany effectively as a local merchant, occasionally paying taxes as a foreigner. Anglo-Scottish interaction was however not confined to mercantile activity but also occurred in the religious as well as in the diplomatic and military sphere. It is here that we find evidence for Scots like John Durie and James King and Englishmen like Averie buying into or at least overtly expressing a 'British' identity. This can be attributed to a variety of factors. In the early days it was undoubtedly a reaction to the British policies of James VI/I and his Scoto-British diplomatic corps. It survived the British Civil Wars with pro-Royalists and Anti-Royalists each continuing to associate with supporters of their position from whichever ethnic background they came from. It found perhaps its greatest expression in Northwest Germany firstly though the commercial co-operation we see in the Merchant Adventurers. Another incarnation of Britishness in Germany manifested itself in the attempted establishment of the reformed communities at Bremen and Lüneburg. They were conceived within a multi-ethnic framework housing English, Scottish as well as other nationals, albeit to the locals they were collectively usually referred to as English or when Scots, like Robert Hog, were prepared to describe themselves as such.

The complications of ethnic identification reached a new height when non-British or German powers become involved. For example Altona and Glückstadt were Danish towns, thus in theory Scots living there had equal citizen rights to any Dane as reconfirmed under the 1589 Stuart-Oldenburg alliance.<sup>5</sup> But of course culturally these towns were German (geographically and linguistically), situated within the Holy Roman Empire (Holstein) and with large foreign communities. Scots, like others, went there from Hamburg for religious purposes, but also to trade (Patrick Gordon, Robert Jolly). Once again, commerce and confession were mixed up leading to the importance of one town being emphasised due to its proximity to another. The arrival of the Swedes also creates an interesting dimension and brought many more Scots

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<sup>5</sup> Murdoch, *Britain*, 23.

into the region than would otherwise have been there. It is doubtful that Stade or Buxtehude would have seen the arrival of anyone other than a transient Scot had not the Swedish duchies established administrative and commercial alternatives to neighbouring Bremen and Hamburg. It was Scots arriving in their capacity as Swedish soldiers who perhaps made most use of the ambiguous relationships which connected the two main hubs. For sure the most important role came initially as military conquerors, such as when Alexander Leslie led the siege of Buxtehude in 1632. However, when the Swedes formed the Army of the Weser, Leslie became its field marshal placing him and numerous other Scots in command of Northwest German troops on behalf of Sweden. Thereafter, administration of the region itself devolved partly to Scots with Alexander Erskine taking a chief role. But crucially the presence of the Swedish-Scots also led to Scottish land ownership (Alexander Erskine, Robert Douglas), commercial exchanges (Alexander Garden), and settlement (Patrick More), as well as the bridging of political gaps through the relations forged between Erskine, Bremen city and her neighbouring Swedish duchy. Having once served the Swedes in Bremen Stift, some of these officers moved elsewhere in the region, often using Hamburg as a military base to purchase arms, conspire, obtain men or simply meet in a neutral environment with fellow countrymen of opposite political persuasions (Cochrane and King). Others like Melville and Mollison preferred the Calvinist comfort afforded by the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. They in turn were responsible for the support of Calvinist exiles coming from Scotland, England and the Netherlands and ultimately still more commercial exchange through the support of entrepreneur exiles like Robert Hog. Thus the final chapter of the thesis serves to return us to the earlier chapters on both commerce and military and political networks. In each chapter the importance of the Scots in both Scottish and non-Scottish communities and networks has been amply demonstrated, finally filling one of the last lacunae in our understanding of Scotland and the wider world.

## Appendix

### 1. Scottish Artisans, Merchants, Skippers and Ship Crews<sup>1</sup>

Name <sup>2</sup>	Date(s)	Place	Profession	Sources <sup>3</sup>
Laurence Sinclair *Shetland	1593	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
Andrew Sinclair *Shetland	1607, 1615, 1616	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
Alexander Stevenson *St Andrews	2 February 1608	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
David Iansen	17 October 1609	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
Steven Baillie	1 January 1616	Altona	Merchant	Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
Angus Murray *Shetland	1617, 1618, 1624, 1625	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
John Murray *Shetland	1624, 1625	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
Peter Sinclair	1624	Hamburg	Citizen	StAH, 741-2.
Gilbert Harde *Shetland	1625	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
Thomas Sinclair *Shetland	1626	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
Andrew Mowat *Shetland	1628, 1630, 1631	Hamburg	Crew/ Merchant	StAH, 741-2.
James Mowat *Shetland	1628, 1630, 1631	Hamburg	Crew/ Merchant	StAH, 741-2.
Hans Manneken *Shetland	1630	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
Henrich Manneken *Shetland	1630, 1632	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
Archibald Mercer	1630s late 1640s - 1650	Bremen	Factor	Schwebel, 44-48.
Andrew Crawford *Shetland	1635	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
John Andrew	15 September 1635	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
Andrew Spence *Shetland	1636	Bremen	Citizen/ Pearl Embroiderer	StAB, 2- P.8.A.19.a.2.c.
John Thomason	31 January 1636	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
Hans Schilde *Dalkeith	17 January 1637	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
John Stuart	19 February 1637	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, SH-H, vol. 14.
William Grison	1640s – 1680s	Hamburg	Merchant	Reißmann, 57-58.

<sup>1</sup> Ordered according to their first recorded appearance in the region.

<sup>2</sup> \* Refers to the place where the individual originated from or was closely associated with.

<sup>3</sup> Due to constraints of space references have to be kept to a minimum. For full references see bibliography. (HH = Hamburg, SH-H = Schleswig-Holstein).

*Veere				Schubert, Trauregister, H, vol. 6d. NAS, RH15/140.
John Bruce *Shetland		Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
N.N. *Shetland	1643	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741-2.
Elizabeth Mercer	Late 1640s	Bremen	Merchant	Schwebel, 55.
William Strachan	1649	Bremen		StAB, 2- P.8.A.19.a.3.d. Schwebel, 55.
Magnus Wilson	1651	Bremen	Skipper	Schwebel, 54-59.
Daniel Crawford	1652	Hamburg		NAS, GD57/1/336/10.
Joris Bart	1653-1661	Bremen		StAB, 2- P.8.A.19.a.3.d. Schwebel, 55.
John More *Leith	1656	Bremen		StAB, 2- P.8.A.19.a.3.d. Schwebel, 55.
Alexander Bruce	1657 – Apr.1658	Bremen Hamburg	Merchant	Schwebel, 40-53.
Wilhelm Wieda	Aug. 1660	Tönning		Schubert, Trauregister, SH-H, vol. 7.
Freyer (Freiherr?) John Scot *Hamilton	Sep. 1660	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 7.
John Thomason	1662	Hamburg	Skipper	Anderson, 102.
Ludwig Leslie	Nov 1664	Stormarn	Cordmaker Apprentice	Schubert, Trauregister, SH-H, vol. 2.
John Beck	1665, 1675	Hamburg	Factor	TNA, SP82/10, fol.263.
John Williamson *Dundee	1665	Bremen	Skipper	StAB, 2- P.8.A.19.a.3.d. Schwebel, 55.
James Spence	1669	Bremen	Citizen/ Cordmaker Apprentice	StAB, 2- P.8.A.19.a.3.d.
Isaac Simonson	1669	Hamburg	Merchant	NAS, RD14/9/1851.
Gilbert Spence	1672	Bremen	Merchant Factor	Schwebel, 65-70.
James Brown	1674	Hamburg	Factor	NAS, RD2/63, 484-5.
David Gudey	1676	Bremen	Factor	NAS, GD29/1906.
Robert Jolly *Prestonpans	1678 - 1697 1701 – 1702	Hamburg	Merchant Factor	NAS, RH15/140.
Robert Murray *ex Hibernia	Oct. 1680	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, SH-H, vol. 14.
William Dunbar	1683	Bremen	Merchant	NAS, RH15/140.
James Bruce *Shetland	1693	Glückstadt	Skipper	StAB, 2-R.11.kk.
Alexander Stevenson	1696 1702	Hamburg	Commissioner Merchant	Watt, 118-119. Mitchell Library, B325799.
Robert Dunbar	1703	Bremen	Merchant	NAS, CC8/8/82.
Arthur Nicolson *Shetland	1705	Hamburg	Merchant	NAS, RH15/93/13- 14.

## 2. The Church Book of the Merchant Adventurers : Identified and Possible Scots.<sup>4</sup>

<b>Name</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Identity/ Profession</b>
Thomas Young	1620	Scottish Minister.
Henry Brown	1620	Servant.
Thomas Wood	1620	Servant.
Humphry Clark	1620	
Anne Clark		
Thomas Baillie	1620	Elder.
? Baillie		
Thomas Nicol	1620	
Peter Clark	1620	
Katherine Clark		
Steven Baillie	1620	
Anne Baillie		
George Stewart	1620	
Jane Stewart		
Gilbert Marshall	1620 27 November 1642	
Thomas Mitchell	1620	
Richard Clark	1620	
William Wood	1620	
Benjamin More	1620	
John Clark	1620	
George Pierson	1620	
Kiliphret Russell	1620	
William Ballantine	1620	
Thomas Shepherd	1620	
Archibald Mickemord	1621	
Joshua Cooper	1622	
James Hume (of Godscroft)	3 May 1623	
Nathaniel Jackson	5 July 1623	
Thomas Meldrum	1 November 1623	Scottish Officer.
Henry English	1 November 1623	
Anne Young	13 April 1623	
James Harper	4 September 1624	
Tobias Hume	4 September 1624	
Edward Little	5 November 1624	
? Stewart	3 September 1625	
James Murray	3 January 1626	Shetland Crew.
Margaret Davidson		
Richard Thomson	7 May 1626	
Robert Ballantine	7 May 1626	
John More	1 July 1626	
Robert Fowler	1 July 1626	
Frances Mitchell	2 September 1626	
Nathaniel Fleming	2 September 1626	
Robert Anstruther	12 July 1627	Stuart Diplomat.
Anne Baillie	4 December 1627	
John Gardiner	6 September 1629	
Thomas Jordan	6 September 1629	

<sup>4</sup> StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512-6; For marriages until 1704 see also Schubert, *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs*, vol. 6d, 94-96.

Edward Massie	5 September 1630	
James Mowat	7 May 1631	Shetland Crew/ Scottish Merchant.
George Watson	2 November 1632 23 November 1641	
Richard Jackson	6 January 1633	
John Bogett	9 September 1633	
Richard Bogett	9 September 1633	
Daniel Elder	2 March 1634	
Elizabeth Baillie	4 January 1635	
Mary Baillie	4 January 1635	
John Geddes	18 October 1635	
William Jackson	25 March 1638	
John Andrews	5 August 1638	
Roger Jackson	9 January 1642	
Richard Young	5 June 1642	
Margaret Massie	31 December 1645	
Stephen Marshall	29 April 1646	
Leonard Scott	21 July 1646	
John Durie	30 December 1646	Scottish Theologian.
Peter Watson	30 December 1646	
James Stewart	7 November 1647	
Richard More	3 November 1649	
Sibylla Shaw	2 March 1650	
John Crawford	4 May 1650	
Mr Jollye	4 May 1650	
Richard Lawton	27 May 1651	
Thomas Young	31 July 1653	
John Gordon	30 March 1655	Scottish Officer.
Alexander Leslie	3 January 1657	Scottish Officer.
Nicolas Andrew	3 January 1657	
Jane Andrew		
William Poppel	3 July 1657	Possibly identical to a Scottish merchant in Bordeaux.
Major Cunningham	3 October 1657	Scottish Officer.
John Lorimer	3 October 1657	
John Gilbert	2 January 1658	
Robert Bute	1 January 1659	
Lieutenant Anderson	7 October 1660	
James Coutts	28 September 1663	
Hannah Baillie		
Nathaniel Watson	9 April 1664	
Elizabeth Watson	31 December 1668	
Alexander Hamilton	16 February 1682	
? Stevenson	3 April 1687	
Thomas Matterson (Matheson?)	15 January 1701	
James Reid	12 December 1715	
Robert Barclay	16 December 1726	Scottish Merchant.
Rebecca Stuart	9 August 1731	
John Ouchterlony	2 November 1733	
William Murray	23 August 1737	Scottish Minister.

## Bibliography

### Manuscript and Printed Sources

The following provides a brief overview of manuscript and printed sources analysed for this thesis. As the material used is diverse and drawn from a variety of repositories in Denmark, England, Germany, Scotland and Sweden not all of the documents used can be discussed here. However, a full list of the material used can be found below. In order to identify the presence of Scots within the region a number of demographic and genealogical records have been accessed. These include citizen registers as well as church records provided by Bremen and Hamburg state archives. Unfortunately, the entries within these registers do not always state the origin of persons listed. This is especially problematic in the case of Hamburg as the lists of new citizens and foreigners hardly ever mention their nationality or place of birth. Furthermore, church books do not survive for the entire seventeenth century nor across the variety of locations researched. However, several other registers exist which provide information on the presence of Scots or otherwise. These include genealogical search books on foreigners paying taxes in Hamburg<sup>1</sup> and lists of Hamburg merchants trading with Scania or Shetland.<sup>2</sup> In addition, Franz Schubert has published marriage records of Christian churches in Hamburg, Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein which have likewise been consulted.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, some Bremen documents such as the tax payer register and sea passes have been published as online databases.<sup>4</sup> A range of secondary studies have previously utilised the available citizen registers and additional demographic registers in order to analyse the structure of Bremen, Glückstadt and Hamburg's society.<sup>5</sup> These

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<sup>1</sup> StAH, Die Fremden in den Rechnungsbüchern der Wedde und Kämmerei, Wedde I, Nr. 18.

<sup>2</sup> StAH, Verzeichnis der Hamburger Hitland-Fahrer 1547-1646; Verzeichnis der Hamburger Schonen-Fahrer.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Schubert (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Schleswig-Holsteins* (18 vols., Göttingen, 1985-2000); Franz Schubert (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs* (14 vols., Göttingen, 1994-2000); Franz Schubert (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern im nördlichen Niedersachsen* (6 vols., Göttingen, 1997-1999). A consultation of additional church registers (which are usually kept decentralised within the relevant communities) would have been too time consuming for this project.

<sup>4</sup> Published online at [www.genealogy.net/vereine/maus/datenbanken](http://www.genealogy.net/vereine/maus/datenbanken). These databases are provided by the Bremen genealogical association 'Die Maus'.

<sup>5</sup> These include G. Köhn, *Die Bevölkerung der Gründungs-, Residenz-, Garnison- und Exulantenstadt Glückstadt von 1616-1652* (2 vols., Hamburg, 1970); Ruth Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Betrachtung* (Bremen, 1963); Martin Reißmann *Die*

have been used in order to back up the findings in the archival registers and manuscripts and original documents.

In order to analyse mercantile activity, extant German and Scottish trade registers have been consulted. The use of these records in a statistical manner is problematic for obvious reasons. Nevertheless, some valuable information can be gauged from some of the extant documents. The Weser toll registers for example provide information on ships passing the toll station at Elsfleth between 1653/54 and 1679, recording the names of the vessels, their origins and destinations, the name of the skipper as well as the commodities on board. The name of the merchant is not always recorded. These records give an indication of overall trade patterns. Kurt Schwebel has evaluated all of the available volumes in regard to Scottish salt imports and compared them to Bremen's convoy money records which list the name of the skipper, the merchant as well as the commodities traded but not their origin.<sup>6</sup> The results of Schwebel's analysis of these and other trade records have been taken into account within this thesis. In addition, sample volumes of the Weser toll registers have been consulted (1653/54-1656, 1664, 1673) in order to add information to Schwebel's results, especially with regard to Bremen's trade with Shetland.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the relevant volumes of Hamburg's admiralty toll registers<sup>8</sup> as well as the extant Scottish Exchequer Records have been examined.<sup>9</sup> Additional trade records have been evaluated by Baasch<sup>10</sup>, Tiedemann<sup>11</sup> and Witzendorff<sup>12</sup>, whose results have likewise been taken into account.

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*hamburgische Kaufmannschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Hamburg, 1975); Klaus Schwarz, *Kompanien, Kirchspiele und Konvent in Bremen 1605-1814* (Bremen, 1969).

<sup>6</sup> Schwebel, *Salz*, 50. Bremen's convoy records survive for the year 1626 and the years after 1660.

<sup>7</sup> StAO, Weserzollregister, Best.20-AB-D2, D3, D10, D18. A project launched to create a database from a selection of the available volumes has so far not materialised. Timo Mammen, 'Schiffahrt auf der Weser in der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, vol. 70 (1998), 73-92.

<sup>8</sup> StAH, Admiralitätskollegium 371-2, F4, vols. 13-14. Only the volumes covering 1644-46 which refer to commercial exchange list ships arriving from or departing to Scotland. It is notable that the registrar differentiated between Scotland and Shetland. The registers also list the name of the skipper, commodities and the name of the merchants importing and exporting goods to and from Shetland. However, only those merchants exporting commodities from Hamburg to Scotland are mentioned whereas it remains unclear to whom goods imported from Scotland belonged.

<sup>9</sup> NAS, Exchequer Records: Customs Books (Second Series: 1668-1696). The Scottish Import and Export Books survive for a number of years – mainly for the 1680s – for most toll precincts.

<sup>10</sup> Baasch analysed Hamburg's trade based on ship records (*Schifferbücher*) which survive for some years between 1590 and 1647. They are however heavily fragmented and do not always list the ships' destinations or origins. Ernst Baasch, 'Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt und Waarenhandel vom Ende des 16. bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *ZVHG*, 9 (1894), 295-420.

However, the most valuable information on Scottish mercantile activity derives from a variety of merchant letters and letterbooks kept within Scottish repositories. Most importantly these include the Charles Mitchell Papers, the Jolly Family Papers as well as the Andrew Russell Papers.<sup>13</sup> In addition, significant information could be gathered from the Registers of Deeds.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, various files in the city archives of Lüneburg provide detailed information on the activities of the Englishman William Waller and the Scottish entrepreneur Robert Hog.<sup>15</sup>

The analysis of Scottish diplomatic and military activity has been based on State Papers kept in the National Archives in London and a variety of diplomatic and personal correspondence kept in the Swedish Riksarkiv. Due to the political nature of the region it was necessary to consult documents relating to Denmark, Germany, the Hanseatic Cities and Sweden within these collections.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the TKUA (Foreign Chancery) collection in the Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen holds important information on Scottish diplomats in Hamburg.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the Domestic Series of the Calendars of State Papers<sup>18</sup> as well as the Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland<sup>19</sup> have been examined. Furthermore, the Swedish Riksarkiv houses a vast collection of correspondence from Scottish officers and members of the civic administration of Stade, a large part of which has been analysed for this project.<sup>20</sup> Information on Scottish activity within the region also derives from local council records in Bremen, Hamburg

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<sup>11</sup> Tiedemann examined various documents such as sea passes and ship lists in order to analyse shipping to and from the duchy of Bremen (mainly Stade). Claus Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt des Herzogtums Bremen zur Schwedenzeit (1645-1712)* (Stade, 1970).

<sup>12</sup> Witzendorff examined Bremen's excise toll registers which survive in fragmented form for the years between 1532 to 1586 and 1609 to 1650. They are complete for the years between 1651 and 1699. Hans Jürgen v. Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, Vol.44 (1955), 128-174. In addition, Schwebel has analysed the excise toll register of 1617 as it differentiates between different origins of salt imports. (This register is also available as an online database at [www.genealogy.net/vereine/maus/datenbanken/akzise](http://www.genealogy.net/vereine/maus/datenbanken/akzise)).

<sup>13</sup> NAS, Jolly Family Papers, RH15/140; Mitchell Papers, RH15/93; Russell Papers, RH15/106.

<sup>14</sup> NAS, Register of Deeds, RD.

<sup>15</sup> StadtL, Gewerbesachen, in spec. Fabrik- und Manufactur-Sachen, G3e.

<sup>16</sup> TNA, State Papers 75 (Denmark), State Papers 81 (Germany), State Papers 95 (Sweden), State Papers 103/31 (Hanse Towns: Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen, 1586-1724).

<sup>17</sup> DRA, TKUA. England.

<sup>18</sup> *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series, First – Seventh Series, 1547-1705* (London, 1856-2005).

<sup>19</sup> *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland, First – Third Series, 1545 – 1691* (Edinburgh, 1877 – 1970).

<sup>20</sup> See for example the Oxenstiernska Samlingen, which has partly been published. SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E556-1048; *Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas Skrifter och Brefvexling* (15 vols., Stockholm, 1888-1977).

and Lüneburg, the relevant volumes of which have likewise been examined.<sup>21</sup> Thus what follows is a concise biography of sources consulted, though there are other omitted which were scrutinised but yielded no results.

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### **Britain**

#### **Mitchell Library, Glasgow**

B 325799 Letterbook of Adam Montgomerie, 1699 – 1702.

#### **National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh**

AC	High Court of Admiralty.
CC8	Edinburgh Commissary Court.
CS	Court of Session Records.
E72	Exchequer Records: Customs Books (Second Series: 1668-1696).
GD18	Clerk Family Papers.
GD19	Kirkpatrick Family Papers.
GD23	Warrant of Bught.
GD26	Leven and Melville Papers.
GD29	Kinross House Papers.
GD57	Burnett and Reid Records.
GD124	Mar and Kellie Papers.
GD190	Smythe Family Papers.
GD406	Hamilton Papers.
RD	Register of Deeds.
RH4/137	Papers of the Earls of Morton.
RH9	Miscellaneous Papers.
RH15/14	Alexander Campbell Papers.
RH15/49	James Baillie Papers.
RH15/93	Charles Mitchell Papers.
RH15/101	Alexander Pyper Papers.
RH15/106	Andrew Russell Papers.
RH15/140	Jolly Family Papers.
RH16	Genealogies.

Old Parish Registers, Prestonpans (accessed online at [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk)).

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<sup>21</sup> StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1613 – 1698, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.1-19; StAH, Senat, 111-1, Cl. VIII No. xa, Stadtbücher und Protokolle; StadtL, P7 No.17 Protocoll Curiae 1684-85. Due to a fire in the Hamburg state archives during the nineteenth century only three volumes of these records survive for this city.

### **National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh**

Acc.12868 Bruce Family Papers.

AP.4.89.5 'Hertz-Erquickendes Trost-Urtheil'.

1.22 (6) Pamphlet Series, Copy of the Agreement concerning the Herring Trade, 1711.

### **Orkney Archives, Kirkwall**

CO1 Commissioners of Supply.

D38 Earldom of Orkney (Morton).

*I would like to thank Dr Steve Murdoch for providing documents from these collections.*

### **Perth&Kinross Council Archive**

B59 Records of Perth Burgh

B59/24/2/1-3 Bequest paid by Margareta More

### **St Andrews University Library, Special Collections**

MS 38527/3b/10/3 Watson Papers.

### **The National Archives, London**

State Papers 75 (Denmark)

State Papers 81 (Germany)

State Papers 82 (Secretaries of State: Hamburg and Hanse Towns)

State Papers 95 (Sweden)

State Papers 103/31 (Hanse Towns: Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen, 1586-1724).

prob/11/565/466 Will, Bartholomew Blutworth.

*State Papers 75, 81, 95 and 103/31 were accessed on microfilm in the Queen Mother Library, Aberdeen or in the state archives in Hamburg. State Papers 82 were accessed online at the homepage of the TNA.*

## **Denmark**

### **Rigsarkiv, Copenhagen**

TKUA. England.

A II 7 Akter og Dokumenter vedr. det politiske Forhold til England, 1588-1664.

A II 16 Akter og Dokumenter vedr. det politiske Forhold til England, 1649-1659.

A II 17 Akter og Dokumenter vedr. det politiske Forhold til England, 1660-71.

## **Germany**

### **Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Oldenburg**

Best. 20 Grafschaft Oldenburg

No. 298 Weserzoll 1637

AB-D2 - D29 Weserzollregister 1653/1654 – 1679.

## **Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Stade**

- Rep. 5 Celler Akten der braunschweigisch-lüneburgischen Besetzung 1675-1680.  
Fach 376 Gesuch des Generalmajors Patrick More zu Buxtehude wegen zugelegter Einquartierung und um Zinszahlungen aus einem an das Neukloster gegebenen Kredit, 1679.
- Rep. 5a Schwedisches Regierungsarchiv  
Vol.1, Fach 132, No. 17 Acta betr. die Bestallung des Kriegsraths P.More zu Stade, May 1674.  
Vol. 3, Fach 178, No. 1 Acta betr. den Überfall des Zoll- und Acciseverwalters in Brunshausen von schottischen Völkern, 1656.

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- 2-P.6. Rat/Senat.  
Wittheitsprotokolle. 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.1.-19, 1613-1698.
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Bürgerbücher Altstadt. 2-P.8.A.19.a.2.a.-f., 1586 – 1720.
- 2-Qq. Justiz und Gerichte.  
2-Qq.10.4.b. Obergerichtsprotokolle 1673-1677.
- 2-R.5 Militärwesen vornehmlich vor 1813.  
2-R.5.d.13.a. Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs.
- 2-R.11. Schiffahrt zur See.  
2-R.11.kk. Hitlandfahrer.
- 2-Ss.2. Handel und Banken.  
2-Ss.2.a.2.f.2.s. Akte betreffend Gilbert Spence, Kaufmann.  
2-Ss.2.a.2.f.2.b. Bremische Firmen/ William Colclough.  
2-Ss.2.b.S.2. Salz.  
2-Ss.2.b.w.4. Waffen.
- 2-T.2. Venerandum Ministerium.  
2-T.2.b.4.c. Acta Venerandi Ministerii 1667-1707.
- 2-W. Verhältnis Bremens zu einzelnen Ländern und Städten.  
2-W.9.b.1 England. Verschiedenes.  
2-W.9.b.10. Korrespondenz mit dem hans. Hausmeister in London wegen der Beschwerde der Bremer Hitlandfahrer 1661-1662.  
2-W.9.b.14. Forderung der königlichen Salzverkäufer in Schottland Robert und Alexander Mylne an den Brem. Ratsherrn Arnold Havemann und dessen Erben aus Salzverkäufen 1674-1675.  
2-W.9.b.17. Ernennung William Wallers zum Befehlshaber des bremischen Stadtmilitärs.

Findbuch zum Bestand Kirchengemeinden, Kirchenbücher 1581-1943 (Marietta Schiele-Veltl and Karl Schulz eds., Bremen, 1997).

Akziseregister 1617.

Bürgeranträge 1608-1811.

Trauungskollekten ab 1656.

Steuerzahlerregister 1638-1668.

Seepässe 1592-1621.

Accessed online at [www.genealogy.net/vereine/maus/datenbanken/akzise/index](http://www.genealogy.net/vereine/maus/datenbanken/akzise/index).

### **Staatsarchiv Hamburg**

111-1 Senat.

Cl. VI Hanseatica; auswärtige Angelegenheiten.

Cl. VIII Stadtbücher und Protokolle.

No. Xa 1674, 1680, 1693.

371-2 Admiralitätskollegium.

F4, vol. 13-14, 1644-1646.

512-6 Kirche der English Court.

741-2 Genealogische Sammlungen.

Die Fremden in den Rechnungsbüchern der Wedde und Kämmerei, Wedde I, Nr. 18.

Register zu den Bürgerbüchern 1596-1732.

Verzeichnis der Hamburger Hitland-Fahrer 1547-1646.

Verzeichnis der Hamburger Schonen-Fahrer.

### **Stadtarchiv Buxtehude**

StH. 38. M1-3 Obrist Patrick More.

*I would like to thank Dr Steve Murdoch for providing these documents.*

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B4 No. 71 Acta von Bürgerschaften 1652 – 1699.

G3e Gewerbesachen in spec. Fabrik- und Manufactur-Sachen.

No. 2 Acta betr. die fremden Nationen, so allhier der Fabriken wegen sich niedergelassen haben.

No. 7 Sarges – Manufaktur von H. Obristen Waller vorgeschlagen.

No. 8 Acta betr. Jean de Rossier Sorans Spitzen – Manufaktur und Weinschank, 1685.

No. 19 Acta in Sachen verschiedener Creditoren: Anton de Pau, Robert Hog und Hofrat Heyland, 1686-1691.

No. 20 Acta wegen Robert Hog und Anton Pau dissolvierter Societet 1686-1688.

No. 22 Acta betr. Robert Hog und Anton Pau Tuchfabrik 1684-1690.

No. 23 Hogs und Paus Separatio Societas bei der hiesigen Lakenmanufaktur betreffend 1686-1687.

No. 36 Acta betr. der Engländer Angefangenes Tuchbereiter-Amt 1685-1686.

M2a2 Militaria in specie den Commandanten und Garnison betr.

No. 4 Acta betr. die hiesigen H. Commandanten und deren Gehalt.

P7 No.17 Protocoll Curiae 1684-1685.

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CS61 Nr.3 'Der Frommen Auffrichtigen köstliches und endliches Kleynodt'.

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Karl Viggo Keys Samlingen.

0035:0418:

Muster Roll, 1647/21 James Lundie.

*I would like to thank Dr Alexia Grosjean and Dr Steve Murdoch for providing this information.*

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Alexander Erskines Samlingen.

E3586 Robert Douglas, Alexander Leslie.

E3588 Patrick Ruthven.

Anglica VII, 542.

Bremensia.

No. 1 Alexander Erskine.

No. 48 D. Hamilton.

No. 54 Alexander Erskine.

No. 55 Johannes Kynnairdt.

No. 79 J.W. Broun.

No. 81 James Forbes, Carl Gustav Erskine, Thomas Erskine.

No. 82 George Guthrie.

No. 83 James Johnston.

No. 85 Jacob Lindsay, P. Macklier.

No. 88 John Ruthven.

No. 92 Robert Bruce, John Drummond.

No. 93 John Drummond.

No. 98 ? Spence.

No.117 George Guthrie.

No.120 John Drummond.

No. 147 Georg Guthrie.

Coyetska Samlingen

Vol.2 E3398 William Cranstoun.

Vol. 5 E3401 Bengt Skytte, Lo. Leslie, Archibald Erskine, William Swann.

de la Gardie Samlingen

E1399 Alexander Erskine.

E1409 Alexander Forbes.

E1428 Archibald Hamilton, Hugo Hamilton.

E1501 Patrick More.

E1574 William Swann.

E1590 John Urquart.

Depositio Skytteana

E5412 John Beaton, James Stewart, Urquart.

Erik Dahlbergs Samling

B 6 a: E3491 John Drummond.

Oxenstiernska Samlingen

E556 Robert Anstruther, Joseph Averie.

E588 Thomas Dischington.

- E589 John Durie.  
 E593 Alexander Erskine.  
 E601 Alexander Forbes, Peter Forbes, William Forbes.  
 E604 Herbert Gladstone.  
 E661 John R. Monro, Patrick More.  
 E695 Thomas Roe.  
 E703 Frances Ruthven.  
 E 718 James Seton.  
 E957 Alexander Forbes.  
 E1048 George Fleetwood, Alexander Forbes.
- Rydboholmsamlingen.  
 E7905 Alexander Erskine, Carl Gustav Erskine.  
 E7943 James Lundie.
- Skoklostersamlingen Personarkiv.  
 E8195 Alexander Forbes, William Forbes.  
 E8359 William Forbes.
- Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustaf Wrangels Arkiv.  
 E8336 Richard Clerk.  
 E8423 Patrick More.  
 E8355 Alexander Erskine.  
 E8359 William Forbes.  
 E8423 Patrick More.  
 E8558 Patrick More.
- Stegeborgsamlingen, Johan Casimirs Skrivelser.  
 E35 James King.  
 E37 Alexander Leslie.
- Stegeborgsamlingen II, Arvprinsen Carl Gustafs Arkiv.  
 E128 Robert Douglas.  
 E146 James King.  
 E151 William Lindsay, James Lundie.  
 E155 Patrick More.  
 E174 Patrick Ruthven.  
 E275 Alexander Forbes.
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