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The Database in
Early Modern Scottish History:
Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580-1707

Since October 1995, Alexia Grosjean and I have been involved
in the University of Aberdeen Department of History's
'Scottish-Scandinavia Project'. The project was set up with
the aim of establishing the role of the Scots in Scandinavia in
the post-1603 era, especially through the troubled period
between 1638 and 1660, a subject which has remained largely
undisturbed in many crucial areas. The main thrust of the
project's work focuses on the diplomatic, intellectual and
military relationships between Scotland and the kingdoms of
Denmark-Norway on the one hand and on Sweden, her
colonies and massive sphere of influence in Germany on the
other. In the course of our research, both of us have turned to
the numerous extant works on Scots overseas and both of us
have found the information either to be lacking, spurious, or
presented in a cumbersome way. In a bid to address that
problem we felt it would be constructive to take the available
information from all various sources we had to hand and build
up a database of information as a useful aid to our research.

Apart from the technical side of building the database
itself, there is a range of problems which such an undertaking
incurs. In the variety of sources available, the researcher is
often confronted with duplicate information, incomplete
information and doubtful information which all has to be
evaluated. There was initially also the problem of 'cut-off'
dates at each side of our research period. We eventually
opted for an opening date of 1580 since it considered the
personal rule of James VI and allowed us to include the very
important diplomatic missions of the Scots to Denmark-
Norway in the 1580's. These were undertaken both to secure
better trading relations and the marriage of Anna of

Denmark-Norway to King James VI. That alliance had an effect for the Scottish relations with many other countries in northern Europe and is therefore important for any scholar of seventeenth century Scandinavia. The research parameters for both our research topics focuses on the first half of the seventeenth century, but since many of the individuals involved continued their overseas service until well after that date, it seemed appropriate to use 1707 as an upper marker. As these dates included the whole of the seventeenth century as well as introductory and tail-off periods, the database becomes a useful research tool for anyone studying the seventeenth century, not just ourselves.

Databases of Scots abroad, especially in Northern Europe, have been around for decades, in fact some of the first appeared as early as the turn of the century such as Thomas Fischer's three books *The Scots in Germany, The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* and *The Scots in Sweden.*[1] These were soon followed by A. F. Steuart's *Scottish Influences in Russian History.*[2] In recent years, there have been two more such works including a compilation of Scots in Denmark by Thomas Riis in 1988[3] and an addition to Steuart's work in 1996 of Scots in Russia, *The Caledonian Connection* by Dimitri Fedosov.[4] These are databases in the same way that a phonebook is a database. They are a structured collection of information on a given topic, in this case all the Scots, or people of Scottish ancestry, that the researchers could find that were in, or had a connection with the country of research during the prescribed period of study.

A major problem with the 'hard copy' database is that the information is locked in the form in which it is printed. With a hard copy database there is no way to cross-reference your information other than laboriously trawling through it by hand. The solution is to input the information from hard copy databases into the more useful 'relational database'. When the information is broken down into specific fields and tables, it can be extracted far more easily and efficiently.

Methodology Part 1: What is a Scottish Connection?

Professor Riis, like Fischer, Fedosov and Steuart, has been keen not to miss anyone from his list and includes many people with English, Irish and Scandinavian names as Scots. This has either been because they might have been Scots, or because they might have had some Scottish connection or other deemed important enough for the author to include. Professor Riis's prosopographical study includes all the Danes that were in Scotland during his research period and anyone that might have been Scots or had relations with Scots, like Sir Charles Morgan who is mentioned as he was general for English and Scottish infantry in 1627. Ferdinand Von Spiegel, commissioner for Scottish troops in Danish service in 1627 'and probably a German', is also mentioned as are Heinrich Bawman, possibly a German corporal in a Scottish company, and Peder Posepiber (i.e. Peter Bagpiper) mentioned in Denmark in 1636 for abducting another man's wife.[5] The value of including these individuals seems to me to be limited since Riis does not include the majority of foreigners connected with Scottish regiments or sufficient supporting evidence for many of those with Danish names being either Scots or of Scottish descent. Certainly the fact that Peder Posepiber's name suggests a connection with bagpiping is of little value as there was indigenous bagpiping throughout Europe and Scandinavia at that time.[6]

The degree to which one feels of or not of a nationality is a highly subjective point. Given the sheer volume of individuals the various works deal with, it is easy to find many who, several generations on, cling to the national ties of a family member several generations distant. This is especially the case in seventeenth century Russia where one could not become naturalised without embracing Orthodoxy. Given that many of the Scots in Russia were religious exiles, that process was bound to take several generations in the majority of cases. However, you can find Scottish born individuals, such as Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul, who convert to Orthodoxy making the assimilation process so much

quicker and easier. Some of the individuals listed in the various prosopographical works, however, fall outwith the parameters of any meaningful Scottish connection in our context of political and diplomatic relations. Dr Fedosov, for instance, includes the likes of Ivan Famiston. He is recorded as being the great-grandson of one 'Tobias Thomson, a Scot in Poland'. Fedosov tells us that Ivan moved to Russia in 1681 and that his son Yegor was a major-general and Commandant of St Petersburg fortress.[7] While information such as this is of great value to genealogists and family historians, it could be contended that, as an eighth of your blood stemming from one nation would not get you a passport today, a sixteenth is almost irrelevant, and such an individual is unlikely to be an important element to this project.

The question still remains, then, as to who to include and who to leave out of the database. Should we list everyone with a Scottish name or Scottish ancestor? Should we include everyone who has ever visited one of the targeted countries, or indeed anyone from those countries who has ever visited Scotland. The answer to that question is no, but we are still left with the problem of identification which will be dealt with later.

Methodology Part II: The Comparative Study

It would of course be folly to study any Scoto-Scandinavian relationship without due consideration of England's relationship to the various countries in the region. This area is neglected by all the previously mentioned studies and exposes a major weakness in them. There is little doubt that the works mentioned are highly informative, indeed it must be emphasised that they have been the foundation for our own study; however, they can often fail to place the Scottish connection with the host country into a satisfactory context. The various lists of names of Scots in Scandinavia and Northern Europe on their own do not allow for an accurate estimation of the importance of the Scottish presence since we do not know whether it is a small or a large percentage of the

total numbers involved. A clear perspective is also necessary to establish whether the Scots were more or less important than people from other countries. In an example of this, Dr Fedosov tells us of three Scots individuals who ventured into Russia bearing testimonials from King James VI and I. When the context of their journey is looked at, however, we see that they formed a very small component of a Stuart embassy composed mostly of Englishmen. That information, outside the scope of Dr. Fedosov's research, is vital to understanding the context of the Scoto-Russian relationship.[8]

The majority of works to date also focus on only one contributing country, Scotland, and one recipient country, e.g. Sweden, Russia or Denmark. This means that the works themselves have only a limited application in that they do not facilitate useful comparisons. *The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe*[9] database means that for the first time a reasonably accurate comparison of Scottish involvement will be feasible. This is possibly the most important feature of the database in that it allows for comparison between categories, comparisons of each category within a group of recipient countries, and an extremely useful comparison with Scotland's closest neighbours, England and Ireland. That comparison is all the more useful since the citizens of the three kingdoms were all subjects of the same monarch.

Scrutinising the existing works, it became clear that it was of little value to include all the Scottish names we had available from them for our purposes. We opted therefore not to include all the Scots or individuals that we had details for, but instead to define groups of people we would incorporate and those we would leave out. The selection process was based on the usefulness of the various categories concerned to the project and has produced, we feel, a balanced and manageable selection of individuals for our research.

Categories included

Diplomats and Agents. When investigating the diplomatic and political relations between two countries, the study of the agents and diplomats of those countries is essential. In both the Danish and Swedish national archives there are published lists of the agents of both those countries working abroad.[10] Included in those lists are the names of many prominent Scots who worked either exclusively for Sweden or Denmark-Norway or as combined agents.[11] That is to say, they were sent out as ambassadors or envoys to the Stuart kingdoms, but were given authority to act as Danish or Swedish envoys on their return journeys. The names of the specifically Scottish, English, Stuart, Covenanting and Republican diplomats have been gathered from a variety of other sources including the royal correspondence between the various monarchs, and the letters and diaries of the leading diplomats and agents of the period.[12] During the wars in the three kingdoms from 1638-60 the diplomats have been categorised as to who it was they were representing, where this is known. Junior members of embassies have been listed as civil servants. In addition to the Scottish and English diplomats working in Scandinavia and Russia, we have included, for obvious reasons, the names of the agents and envoys of those countries working in the British Isles.

Army Officers. These individuals played an important role in the complex diplomacy of the seventeenth century. They are also easily traced as, unlike the common soldier, they are comprehensively listed in indexes to the officers in the muster rolls both in Sweden and for Denmark-Norway.[13] The number of army officers is also of a manageable size to work with, numbering only several thousand. They are important to us since they are composed of individuals who for the most part had several options and control over their own future, unlike many of the common soldiery. For that reason they are worthy of study to find out why they chose to serve the countries they did, and what contribution, if any, that had to the overall relationship between their native and host countries.

Naval Officers. Though there have been several studies of Scottish military involvement in the armies of Sweden, Denmark-Norway and Russia in the seventeenth century, there has been little work on the role of the Scots, or indeed the English and Irish, in the Scandinavian navies.[14] However, British Isles names have been extracted from a variety of registers of Scandinavian naval officers.[15] The Russian navy has received more attention, especially in the celebrations of its 300th year in 1996 and its foundation under its first rear admiral, the Scot Patrick Gordon.[16] However, the fact that Russia did not develop a navy until the very last decade of the seventeenth century means that there is little scope for comparison with Denmark-Norway or Sweden throughout the main body of the century. Her officers are included nonetheless.

Nobility. The study of the Scottish, English and Irish nobility in international relations is vital to the understanding of the links between the various nations. This is primarily because it was often the nobility that was responsible for raising troops, conducting diplomatic negotiations and controlling much of the trading interests. More important to this study is the role of the non-noble Scot who became ennobled in a foreign country. The numbers of these in both Denmark-Norway and Russia was small, in Denmark's case only five individuals ever. The same is not true of Sweden, however, where the ennoblement of foreigners, including scores of Scots, became a feature of the seventeenth century.[17] These people in particular were extremely influential, not least since many entered the Swedish government and exercised an influence over Scottish affairs during the Covenanting period which they were unlikely to have done had they never left Scotland.

Students, Academics and the Clergy. The database also includes information relating to students and academics in one group and the clergy in another. This group must be seen as important in the transfer and spread of Scottish intellectual ideas to the continent, and of bringing such ideas home with them when they returned to their native land. The matriculation records of the three Scandinavian universities

of Uppsala, Lund and Copenhagen have been included along with that of the academy of Åbo. Since there is no Russian university until the eighteenth century, the matriculation details of British Isles subjects have been included from several other Baltic universities to facilitate a useful comparison to the Scandinavian ones. These include Kiel, Rostock and Königsberg. The universities of Marburg and Groningen have also been included to give a non-Baltic perspective. Other university matriculations have been included where this information has been found incidentally for individuals listed in other capacities, though they cannot be used for a comparison with those universities which have been systematically researched.

Civil Servants. Two groups of individuals in royal service have been incorporated. The first formed the civil servants such as customs officers, gentlemen of the bedchamber, royal messengers etc. Though this group is small, it is very important in determining the trust placed in a given nation by the use of its subjects in places of trust. This group also includes junior members of diplomatic embassies such as interpreters and secretaries.

Royal Servants. This second group have been included for the proximity of the individual to those in power. They are not so important as civil servants and are quite varied in the variety of capacities they include. This can range from royal gardeners and harpists to bodyguards.

By including this information it is possible to determine the significance of the Scots to their host country by providing useful comparisons with the English and Irish populations.[18] These categories were chosen since information relating to them is virtually complete; more importantly, however, these are the categories which we felt were most relevant to the study of the diplomatic and political links that form the backbone of our studies.

In the same eight categories similar information relating to Sweden-Finland and Russia has been included. In this way the assimilation and position of the subjects of Scotland, Ireland and England can be compared in arguably the three most powerful states in Northern Europe. By doing so we can

draw conclusions on the relationship between each of the countries and in each of the selected categories and dismantle some of the isolationist preconceptions which may exist at present. We can also for the first time get a good indication of the mobility of individuals between these three important northern powers since many of the people we have included serve in all three Northern powers.

Categories excluded

For a variety of reasons it was felt necessary to exclude perhaps the largest groups from the database. The decision as to who to exclude was taken on a variety of grounds. Firstly we felt that there was little merit in including the names of people for whom we were unlikely to be able to find information other than just a name. Such people would be almost impossible to cross-reference with the other information we have assimilated. The people for whom information is available but we have not included in this survey include merchants, peddlers noted at a particular fair, petty criminals, prostitutes and the common soldier. The reasons for each exclusion are varied.

For example, it is possible to find the names of merchants and ships' skippers from a variety of sources, but the process of doing so for each of the locations would be extremely time-consuming and for our purposes hardly worth the reward since figures for the fruits of their labour are available in more practical forms such as customs records. We could have included the names of criminals and beggars from court and burgh records, but their impact on the political and diplomatic relationship between the kingdoms and states concerned is limited in all but a few exceptional cases (these have been filed under miscellaneous).

Similarly, we could have included the names of the common soldier. This is possibly the one category that we could have incorporated of those mentioned, but again there is the question of the time required to collate the information balanced against the reward of the exercise. The names would

be useful in working out which regions or families produced the most soldiers. However, the impact of the common soldier usually comes when he is with his colleagues, and troop numbers, movement and area of recruitment are all types of information that can be more easily collated elsewhere and in this form provide all the information we could require for our study.

There is also the practical consideration that the more information the database contains the more unwieldy it becomes. The particular model we have built our database around is capable of containing some 30,000 entries. That may seem a lot until one considers that it is estimated that some 40,000 Scots fought for the 'Protestant' cause alone during the war.[19] Recent research has also corroborated contemporary accounts of the presence of 30,000 Scots and their families in Poland in 1620 alone, of which the majority were merchants and tradesmen. However, 'close on one-hundred-and-sixty Scotsmen [were] appointed couriers and servitors by the Polish kings' during the course of the seventeenth century.[20] When we consider the numbers of English and Irish merchants, peddlers and soldiers throughout the Baltic region over and above this, it should become clear as to the necessity of the restrictions imposed on the database.

Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580-1707

To facilitate the collation and interpretation of the aforementioned information the SSNE database has been constructed. The database complements the work, amongst others, of Fischer, Steuart, Riis, and Fedosov while incorporating new information as it became available through original archival research. The database also includes the Scots in Norway, who do not form a part of the existing printed databases. These Scots form an integral part of the expatriate group operating in Denmark-Norway in the early modern period, and alternative information is required to complete our case study. On a military level this can be

achieved by meshing Riis's list of Scots in Denmark with Gunner Lind's Database of officers in Danish service, Ovenstad's biography of officers in the Norwegian army and Topsøe-Jensen and Marquard's compilation of officers in the Danish-Norwegian navy.[21] These names have been integrated with those from a host of other similar sources and supplemented with those of their colleagues from England and Ireland. The results give a much clearer indication, not only of the Scottish military presence in the kingdoms of Denmark-Norway during our period of study, but also in Sweden-Finland and Russia.

Construction of the Database: 1. Personal Details

There is a need for a rundown of some of the fields included in the database that may require the briefest explanation for their use. This will hopefully reduce confusion for anyone consulting the database in the future.

Nationality. The question of nationality is very subjective, especially when the people that we are studying have left us with no indication of the way they viewed themselves. This is a particularly complex issue since we cannot simply go by surname evidence alone. If we did so, we would surely miss out many people from our research that had changed their name for some reason such as adoption, ennoblement or hiding from authority. We might also miss out people with Scottish mothers and foreign fathers that were brought up all their lives in Scotland but carried a non-Scottish surname.[22] There is also the possibility of including people that carry Scottish names but are in no way Scottish by birth, or whose last Scottish born ancestor arrived in the recipient country 100 years before. To address these issues we have opted for the following labelling of nationality: somebody born in Scotland or their children have been deemed to be Scottish for the purposes of this study. We have found numerous examples of people born outside Scotland that cling to the nationality of their parents either due to family or national loyalty or the unwillingness of their country of birth to grant them

nationality. Most grandchildren, however, can be assimilated more easily, though not all are. We have categorised the grandchildren of a Scottish born individual as a Scoto-Dane, Scoto-Russian or Scoto-Swede etc., depending on where they were born and/or grew up. Great-grandchildren of a Scottish born migrant have been given the nationality of their country of birth. We have decided to leave them in the database to aid with the identification of individuals occurring in new sources and as an aid to the genealogist and family historian. Obviously, the same criteria have been applied in the case of English and Irish surnames.

It is easy to present the problems associated where an obvious Scottish name is present in a source. There are even more problems where this is not the case and a name is given which only might be Scottish, or indeed might not. In the introduction to his study of the Scots in Denmark, Thomas Riis discusses the problems associated with trying to identify an individual in a foreign country, noting that they seldom appear in the records of both the host and recipient countries. He also notes the difficulty in trying to establish when a name is actually Scottish and corrupted by a foreign scribe and the problems of names common to many countries.[23] Another example of confusion occurs with the misidentification of names from the British Isles. This occurs with names like Smith, Green or, in a Scottish-Irish connection, many of the 'Mac' names. Where we have encountered a name that is from the British Isles, but we have not known if they are Scots, English or Irish, we have labelled them as 'British' in the nationality box. This is intended to act as a holding nationality until evidence comes to light that will establish them as coming from one of the three kingdoms.

Previous studies have tended to include names which 'might' be a rendering of a Scottish (or British) name. We have chosen not to add any new names of this sort to those previously collected unless there is some other supporting documented evidence for doing so. The reason for this is simply that we felt there was more value in producing a work where the categories of 'possible' and 'maybe' have been kept to a minimum rather than one where these groupings were

dominant.

However, if a person had a name that could conceivably be Scottish (or British) and also appeared in a military unit that was known to have been recruited in Scotland or largely composed of Scots, he was included in the 'possible' category. Alternatively, individuals may have been given a nationality with a question mark beside it. The rationale behind these two separate forms of categorisation is as follows. In one case, the individual has a clearly Scottish surname, but a foreign Christian name and therefore might be Swedish, e.g. Hans Forrat. That person is marked as a Scot with a question mark until evidence is found either to remove the question mark or allocate the appropriate nationality. In this case, Hans Forrat turns out to be a Dundonian who served in the Swedish navy as captain for over 40 years. In the other category, a person would have a name that might be Scottish such as Montgomery. He might also have a first name common to Scotland at that time like Jacob. If this person is not in a Scottish regiment, he will only be marked as 'possible' since many French Montgomery's also served in the northern armies and Jacob may simply be the scribes way of writing Jacques.

Surname. The surname given in this field contains a modern standardised spelling of a name where this is known. This has been done for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it gives someone who knows an individual's name, but not the older spellings, the opportunity to find that person more easily. Secondly, surnames are often rendered in a variety of spellings during the seventeenth century, especially as that person moves between countries. By standardising the spellings of surnames, the tracing of such mobile individuals becomes considerably easier. There are a few names where it has been thought politic not to interfere with the spelling, an example being the two main renderings of the name 'Stewart'.

Variant. The variant field contains the surname as it appears on the various documents, with the most popular one coming first. This field facilitates the search for an individual where a specific alternative spelling is known as well as detailing historical accuracy.

First Names. This box contains the first names as they

appear in the texts. We have not standardised them, but have included variant spellings when given.

Title/Rank. This box contains the person's title or rank. If they are from the nobility, their noble rank is given. If they are from the military, their military rank is given. If they are both, their noble title is given as there are other military rank boxes elsewhere.

Education. This box will contain the word university or academy where it is known that an individual has attended such an institution. If both have been attended, only the higher institution will be recorded.

Religion. In the majority of cases of the people we have recorded there has been no indication of their religion. However, given that the recipient countries we are dealing with comprise the major Northern European Protestant powers of the period, it is probable that the majority of them are Protestants. However, we also know of many prominent Roman Catholics from all three kingdoms working in each of our host nations. Since we felt that religion was an important factor, we created a field for it, but have chosen to leave the majority of the fields blank. Instead, we have opted to encourage the user to assume that each individual is of the majority faith in each kingdom – Irish Catholic, English Anglican and Scottish Calvinist – unless there is proof to the contrary. When we have obtained that information, it has been entered into the 'Religion' box. This saves on a lot of guesswork, assumption and memory space, and explains why so many boxes in the religion field are blank for people of a known confession of faith.

Text. The text box is one of the most important since it contains all the information that we have gathered on an individual. It is structured so that Primary sources are given first. That information is followed by major secondary sources which relate to the individual. A third group of sources is given, both primary and secondary. These are contained within brackets which means that we have got the information from a secondary source but have not had the time or opportunity to consult it ourselves. Where an author or source gives contradictory evidence, it may be contained in the

body of the text.

Construction of the Database: 2. Service Record

Country. The field 'Country' is there to show us in which country's service the individual is, not which country he is actually in. If a soldier is in the service of Sweden, this is the country that will be recorded in the box, regardless of whether that is where the soldier physically was. Indeed, in the case of the Scots officers, their service for Sweden usually took place in Germany. In the case of students, we have filled in 'Country' the same as their nationality since they were usually only passing through the recipient nation in pursuit of their studies, and not in that country's service.

Location. This field tells where the person actually was where that information is known. For most soldiers the name of their last known unit is given. For diplomats it tells the name of the location of the diplomatic proceedings. In some cases this is in third country. We have elected to give the name of the nation with whom the diplomat is dealing first, followed by the location of the negotiation in brackets. An example might be Lt. Colonel George Douglas treating with the Swedes at Humsdorf in 1635. Though he did not actually go to Sweden on that mission, it was the primary country of his attention on that occasion. The location of students is given by the name of the university or academy that they were attending.

Arrived and Departed. In these two fields in the majority of cases we do not have exact arrival and departure dates. In these cases we have entered the dates '1st of January' of a given year as the arrival date and '31st of December' as the departure date. These dates make sense if one thinks of them as reading that we know that Johnny X was in Swedish service sometime between this and that date. It must be emphasised that we have usually used the first and last day of the year mentioned. However, in cases where we are told that Johnny X is in service in the 1650s we have put the first and last days of the decade as our dates.

Rank A and Rank B. The ranks given in these two fields are the first recorded rank in the service of a given nation in 'Rank A' and the rank they held when they departed in 'Rank B'. This is not necessarily the highest rank they obtained in the service of that country, many people were demoted, but the highest rank will be recorded in the text box and possibly also in the Title/Rank field.

Capacity. The capacity in which each person is engaged in the given country is recorded in this field. What we have done is simply list the capacity by the person's job. If a person is an officer, ambassador, priest, student or shipwright in the navy, it will say so here. We have tried not to be overly limiting in this field since that allows for a greater understanding of the sorts of roles in which the various migrants engaged.

Purpose. In this field we have been more rigorous in reducing occupations into several distinct groups. This allows us to separate out various targeted occupations at a glance. Priests, pastors, abbots, bishops and chaplains all fall into the category of 'Ecclesiastical'. All non-commissioned officers, officers, governors and commandants fall into the category of 'Military', while shipbuilders, naval officers and marines fall into the category of 'Naval'. The same sort of tight grouping applies to the other categories we have included.

Database Applications and Comparative Examples

The most positive feature of the database is that it allows for the cross-referencing of any field with any other field. The usefulness of this depends on the care taken in designing the database, but in this respect the *SSNE* proves very satisfactory. The interrogation process can reveal almost any information that a historian might desire on an individual or a category. This might range from the numbers of Scottish commandants of fortresses, the most common nationality of Stuart diplomats at given periods or the most popular Scandinavian destinations for the seventeenth century student from the British Isles.

Filing the individuals by date of arrival allows us to see both the movement of Scots into Scandinavia and the possible movement of Scots out of Scotland (caution is exercised here since we cannot always be sure that Scots always came directly from Scotland. Sometimes, in fact, we know for sure that they came from 'third' countries). From these various movements of individuals we can surmise reasons for the migrations by looking at the economic, social and political climates of both native and recipient countries and look for obvious correlations to be backed up by archival research. It is not practical to give an in-depth analysis here of all the possible queries the database is capable of, indeed that would take a publication of several volumes. However, with a few random examples it is possible to show the sort of information that can be extracted.

British Isles Army Officers: Breaking down the numbers of officers in the three northern armies we find that there is an overwhelming presence of Scots in the seventeenth century. To date we have collated information on some 54 Irish officers, 142 English officers but over 2800 Scots. For all these nationalities the numbers given exclude the 'possibles' and those listed as 'British'. They do of course include many officers moving between armies and some returning to the service of a particular army on several occasions, but the majority remain in one service only.

British Isles Students in Scandinavia and the Baltic: Looking to the Scandinavian and Baltic seats of higher learning (Åbo, Uppsala, Lund, Copenhagen, Kiel, Rostock and Königsberg) we find that during our study period we can identify 4 Irish students, 19 Englishmen and some 204 Scots.

Stuart Diplomats in the Reign of James VI, 1603-1625: After James VI gained the English throne there were some 28 major embassies between the Stuart Court and the three northern states. Of these, 21 involved Scandinavia and 7 involved Russia. In all, 19 of the Scandinavian missions were carried out by the Scots, while all the Russian diplomacy from the Stuart court was conducted by the English, though there were additionally two missions by Scots to Russia on behalf of Sweden. There were two embassies by Sir John

Merrick to Sweden which were conducted on an 'in passing' basis on his missions to Russia.

Family History and Genealogy: For those who are more interested in the study of genealogy or family history, the database contains much valuable information. In addition to their names and positions, there is plenty of biographical information on the 21 Mackays, 31 Kerrs, 65 Leslies, 107 Hamiltons or 118 Forbes's or hundreds of other family names contained within the database.

It would seem that in whichever capacity we search we find that the Scots are dominant (with the exception of Russian diplomacy) and that the English and Irish numbers are extremely low. This indicates that the spheres of influence for these nations were located in other parts of Europe and the various English colonies.

Conclusion

There is great value in the building of a relational database for the researcher of early modern history. This particular database will prove interesting and useful for a variety of researchers from other disciplines when it is eventually published (1998). Given the information it contains, it should be of value not only to military and naval historians, but to researchers of diplomatic, political and church history, historical geographers concerned with seventeenth century demographics, and anyone with an interest in family history and genealogy.

It is also my hope that the database will eventually be added to by a similar investigation of the same categories for the Scots in Poland, Prussia, Gourland, Livonia and the North German States. Only once that is done can we truly understand the roles of the Scots, Irish and English in the Baltic region in the seventeenth century.

Notes

1. T. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany* (Edinburgh, 1902), *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* (Edinburgh, 1903) and *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh, 1907).
2. A. F. Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History; From the End of the 16th to the beginning of the 19th Century* (Glasgow, 1913).
3. T. Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot....Scottish-Danish Relations c.1450-1707* (Odense, 1988).
4. D. Fedosov, *The Caledonian Connection: Scotland Russia Ties, Middle Ages to Early Twentieth Century. A concise biographical list* (Aberdeen, 1996).
5. Riis, 1988, vol. II, pp. 115, 264, 116 and 121 respectively.
6. This is beautifully illustrated on a map of Scandinavia from 1539, where a bagpiper is depicted on the Faeroe Islands, part of the kingdom of Denmark-Norway. See Olaus Magnus, *Carta Marina Scandinavia*, 1539.
7. Fedosov, 1996, p. 37.
8. D. Fedosov, 1996; and S. Konovalov, *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. 2, 1951.
9. S. Murdoch and A. Grosjean, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580-1707*. Hereafter referred to as Murdoch/Grosjean, *SSNE*.
10. In Rigsarkivet, Denmark: E. Marquard, *Danske Gesandter og Gesandtskabs Personale indtil 1914* (Copenhagen, 1952). In Riksarkivet, Sweden: *Svenske Sändebud Till Udlandske Hof och Deras Sändebud Till Sverige* (Stockholm, 1841).
11. Examples include Robert Anstruther: Stuart and Dano-Norwegian diplomat; Francis Gordon: Stuart and Dano-Norwegian diplomat; and James Spens: Stuart and Swedish diplomat.
12. A full bibliography of such sources will be published as an appendix to the database.
13. J. C. W. and K. Hirsch, *Fortegnelse over Danske og Norske officerer med flere fra 1648 til 1814*, vol. 1-12 (manuscript in RA, Copenhagen, compiled 1888-1907); O. Ovenstad, *Militærbiografier: den norske hærs officerer* (Oslo 1948);

Svenska Krigsarkivet card index of officers in the
military muster rolls.
14. See for example James A. Fallon, 'Scottish Mercenaries in
the service of Denmark and Sweden 1626-1632',
unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1972.
15. Svenska Riksarkivet, Likvidationer: Flottan I
Kammarkivet; Meritförteckningar. *Svenska Sjöofficerare*,
vol. 2, 'Biografiska anteckningar om officerare vid
örlogsflottan 1600-1699' (Stockholm, 1971 manuscript in
Svenska Riksarkivet). T. Topsøe Jensen and E. Marquard,
*Officerer i den dansk-norske søetat 1616-1814 og den
danske søetat 1814-1932*, 2 vols., (Copenhagen, 1935).
16. D. Fedosov, 1996; and Murdoch/Grosjean, *SSNE*.
17. Murdoch/Grosjean, *SSNE*. H. C. Wolter *Adel og Embede.
Embedsfordeling og Karrieremobilitet hos den Danske-
Norske Adel 1588-1660* (Copenhagen, 1982), pp. 87-103; A.
Fabritius, *Danmarks Riges Adel* (Copenhagen, 1946), pp.
136-145; *Svenska Adelns Attartavlor* (Stockholm, 1925-
1934?), passim.
18. The books by Thomas Fischer and Thomas Riis contain the
names of many Scottish burgesses, mayors and other civic
officers in various cities throughout the Baltic. These
names have been included since the burgess could exercise
a considerable influence in the civil life of the community.
We have not studied any primary sources for this
information and the same information has not been
collated for Englishmen or Irishmen. We would reiterate
that this information is to be considered as additional to
the database, though the study of these people is a useful
one in determining comparative patters of assimilation
into recipient communities.
19. A. I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the making of the
Covenanting movement 1625-1641* (Edinburgh, 1991), p. 31.
20. *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1619-1623,
Chamberlin to Carleton, March 24, 1621, p. 237; William
Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and
Painefull Peregrinations of long Nineteene Yeares
Travayles from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in
Europe, Asia and Affrica* (1906), p. 368; A. Bieganska,

'James Murray a Scot in the making of the Polish navy', in *Scottish-Slavonic Review*, no. 3, autumn 1984, p. 1.

21. Ovenstand; Topsøe-Jensen and Marquard; G. Lind, *Danish Data Archives*, no. 1573.
22. This issue was touched on in a different context in S. Murdoch, *Language Politics in Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1995).
23. Riis, 1988, pp. 11-12.