

It is my opinion that the strength of Mickiewicz's drama, its uniqueness in our literature, consists not only in that Poland's fate is inscribed in it, but also, and primarily, in that Mickiewicz confirms here the existence and operation of the Polish principle: the community of the living and the dead and their experience. Until the time of Karol Wojtyła, no one in Polish culture had presented so courageous and soul-stirring a vision of Polishness.

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How do I know that the vision is true and correct? Obviously what *is* transcends the mere senses and mere human mind. The *being* of the world is deeper than the three-dimensional world. We bear witness to that in Poland when we visit the graves of those who have died, even if these visits sometimes become, like our Faith, a mere tradition and an empty ritual because rituals never fully die. As long as we straighten out candles on the graves and clean the gravestones, we witness to that Polish principle and its compelling nature. Visiting the cemetery on either All Saints' Day or All Souls' Day amounts to a voluntary participation in the ritual of *dziady*. We feel the bond with our ancestors. As we travel to the graves of those who died before us we accept, profess, and confirm that we are not alone; that continuity exists between those who still breathe and those who have entered a reality at this point closed to us; that the possibility exists of communication between these two categories of people; that they can help each other, be related to each other in spite of the gravest trial of all: the trial of invisibility, disappearance, absence in our being here and now.

Adam Mickiewicz's *Dziady Part III* grows out of this soil, it witnesses to this kind of perception. Owing to the power of art, it is also the best articulation of this Polish principle we have inherited. *Dziady Part III* is not only literature, but also a way of witnessing, a sign, a reference point for us. Δ



Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16th-18th Centuries

The Formation and the Disappearance of an Ethnic Group

By Peter Paul Bajer. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012. Series: The Northern World. North Europe and the Baltic, c400-1700 AD. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, vol. 57. Xxviii + 588 pages. Hardcover.

Graeme Morton

There has been increasing scholarly attention on the extent and character of Scottish migration throughout the nation's history. T. M. Devine, who closed his Scotland Trilogy with a wide-ranging examination of Scots travels in *To the Ends of the Earth* (London, 2011), has marked out this trend most clearly. This and attendant work have been driven by an increasingly politicized engagement with the migrants and their descendants who comprise the Scottish diaspora. In 2009 a report commissioned by the Scottish government estimated that between 28 million and 40 million people worldwide claim Scottish descent. Most of these claimants are descendants of the "Great European Migration," when in the period 1815 to 1914 an estimated 55 to 60 million migrants left Europe for the New World nations of South America, North America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Australasia. Around 11 million people left England, Wales and Scotland in this period, with Scotland's share being around 2.3 million. While that number of Scots is not insignificant in raw terms, Scotland's migration history gains its place within international analysis when measured in per capita terms. Taking that measurement, Scotland is in the top three emigrant nations along with Ireland and Norway. If migration into England is factored in, then Scotland makes a case to be considered as Europe's greatest exporter of people in the modern age.

Yet it was to Ireland and mainland Europe that Scots first migrated in any numbers. It is with

Devine's writing from earlier in his career, in collaboration with T. C. Smout and Ned Landsman, that Bajer's research is located ("Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Europeans on the Move: Studies in European Migration*, edited by Nicholas P. Canny, Oxford, 1994). It is not in the significant per capita terms found post 1800, but nevertheless in impressive numbers throughout the two centuries prior to that, that perhaps around 20 percent of Scotland's young men aged fifteen to thirty left their homes to travel east. They did so as mercenaries, traders, and peddlers, and for reasons of (Protestant) religion and loyalty to their monarch. The Scots fought for the Swedish and Danish armies during the 1620s and supported those who stood against the Hapsburg dynasties. Murdoch has estimated that by the middle of the seventeenth century as many as 50,000 Scots could be found across Europe with between 30,000 and 50,000 located in Poland (S. Murdoch, "Scotland, Europe and the English 'Missing Link,'" *History Compass*, 5, 3 (2007), p. 895). Bajer is most conscious of the growing literature to which he contributes when discussing the debate on numbers (p. 82, table 3.1). What he demonstrates most convincingly is that these numbers, if anything, have to be scaled upward to give a more accurate account of the movement of Scots in the preindustrial period, and that more of that migration ended up as permanent than has hitherto been understood to be the case (pp. 1–4, 90–92 (table 3.2), 114–15). His observations derive from a micro analysis of church data (baptism, marriage, and death records) from two Calvinist parishes in Gdańsk, sustaining a database of around 5,000 records for the period 1569–1795 (37–39).

In setting up the motives for this migration, Bajer examines the role of population growth and a small range of push factors distilled from contemporary social conditions. However, he does so in a way that is too dismissive of the established literature. Describing Alexander Webster, who produced his famed account of Scotland's population in 1755, and Sir John Sinclair, instigator of the Statistical Account in the 1790s, as historians in the mold of T. C. Smout, Michael Flinn, and Michael Anderson is

inappropriate; so too is his dismissal of their work as providing "no definite answers" (41) when in fact they are explaining a complex situation through the use of imperfect information. Here and in later chapters there is a general lack of sophistication in Bajer's use of population data, especially in how these data are contextualized in the history of early modern Scotland. Throughout, it is fair to conclude, a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship of demographic pressures to migration is needed in order for the author to convince with his arguments (see, for example, pp. 42–7).

To further his explanation of the "push factors" that resulted in Scots' migration in the early modern period, factors such as religious shifts to Protestantism and the attraction of European trade are given due weight, although one is left with the view that there is some amount of padding here that detracts from the empirical data uncovered. Bajer must be given credit for his close source examination of contemporary accounts, municipal annals, and parish records to estimate the size of the Scottish community in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This painstaking work results in impressive results that include observation of the origin and spread of Scottish names throughout the Commonwealth, although these are inevitably more impressionistic data and a detailed chronology of migration (103–109). As the heart of the research is reached, Bajer brings forth a mound of very impressive data on the socioeconomic background of Scots migrants into Poland-Lithuania and especially the geographical spread of their origins (119–28). This work is the product of some heavy archival lifting and the author is to be commended here, as well as for the much stronger sections on the nondemographic motives for migration, including some very detailed case study evidence on the economic activity and the life experience of migrants upon arrival. The database that underpins so much of the research comes to the fore when examining the role of the Reformed Church in Poland-Lithuania, including its attraction for the Scots, and from that the involvement and spread of Scots in its parishes. This, one might argue, is a closer

measure of Scots' integration into their host society than the few who climbed the social ladder into the Polish nobility (chapter 7), and offers a compelling account of the everyday life of Scots settlers. It must be noted that there is a general lack of gender balance offered here, with little attention given to women.

Undoubtedly this volume is the product of impressive and exhaustive research for which Bajer must take great credit. *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* is an impressive contribution to the literature, and will stand as an important point of citation for those who can work their way through its dense pathways. Where there is weakness is in the historical presentation and conceptualization of the motives for migration, sections that also suffer from comparatively poor use of evidence and unsophisticated engagement with secondary sources. While Bajer claims to be "redefining" the Scottish migration of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, there is insufficient analysis and cogent argument to make his case. This is evidenced by the short concluding chapter that does little to summarize the conclusions of the data-rich chapters, and the extensive use of appendices is simply symptomatic of a tendency to present rather than analyze the evidence. For good or ill, the conceptualization of migration and sojourning are empirically derived rather than theoretically driven.

The language and writing are at times ponderous, with repetition and grammatical slips evident at various points. There are rather descriptive accounts of the secondary literature, some of which is rather dated and some of it rather obscure (which is, though, also a positive). Too often the scholarship of others is presented consecutively rather than concurrently, and this detracts greatly from Bajer's command of the narrative. Indeed, his construction of the current state of scholarship lacks a suitable or coherent synthesis, which at times is not helped by some shoddy phrasing and vagueness (such as "Other Scottish communities of various sizes were mentioned in a variety of publications," p. 21). Yet despite its episodic approach to the scholarship of others and insistence on categorizing sources under

separate headings and then analyzing them separately this remains a useful introduction to a diverse literature for those that can follow its flow. These comments are indicative of a monograph that is impressively researched, but which lacks accessibility and narrative power. It was never Bajer's aim I am sure, but it must be considered unlikely that *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* will provide a historical context to current political debates on the internal movement of Europeans. Δ

Poland's Role in Pan-European Thinking

Towards a United Europe. An Anthology of Twentieth Century Polish Thought on Europe, edited by **Slawomir Lukasiewicz**. Translated by Robert Looby. Warsaw: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland (www.polskawue.gov.pl), 2011. 279 pages. ISBN 978-83-62520-96-1. Hardcover.

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Time is of the essence; this is fundamentally true when considering human history and noting not only the temporality of historical events with its causal implications, but also that history's actors and its chroniclers and commentators are caught up in this inescapable web. They are always looking at the present through the lens of the past and with an eye on the future. When considering the essays on Polish thinking about what a federated or united Europe might mean to Poles, it is wise to keep in mind the dates that these essays were composed and published. Most of them were written between the mid-1930s and 1960.

Given the way the tumultuous and destructive twentieth century in Europe focused the attention of the authors in this collection, their particular advocacies about how to deal with the coming future were often about "things to be avoided" as much as "things to be desired." The recent past was the whip, the prospects for a better future the carrot. For Poland the whip was a scourge with two very large knots: Germany and Russia (or the USSR), each of which