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“THE SAINTS OF THE SCOTTISH COUNTRY WILL FIGHT TODAY”: ROBERT THE BRUCE’S ALLIANCE WITH THE SAINTS AT BANNOCKBURN

Mairi Cowan

According to Walter Bower’s Scotichronicon, the Scots who assembled at Bannockburn on 24 June 1314 were hoping for both earthly and heavenly support in battle.¹ And no wonder. Robert the Bruce, King of Scots, was outnumbered and underequipped as he faced an adversary, the English King Edward II, who was so confident of victory that he was already planning how to “subject the entire Scottish land to his rule for ever”. In a meeting with his magnates and commanders, Edward discussed options for the death of the Scottish king, and he spoke of how the English forces should not only root out those Scots who had opposed the English, but also remove the Scots’ very memory from the land.² As the English king sounded trumpets and horns to instil dread in his enemies, the king of Scots took practical measures to counter the opposing force’s threat. He reconnoitered the English troops, for example, and placed sharp stakes in pits as a special precaution against the strong English cavalry. King Robert then turned to efforts aimed at raising the spirits of his troops. He advised his men to make confession and hear masses, and he acknowledged the many hardships that his people had endured during the years of warfare. Robert contrasted

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² A version of this paper was presented at The Battle of Bannockburn: Scotland Then and Now Symposium, St Andrews Society of Toronto, 21 June 2014.
the glory of the opposing force, which was in their wagons and horses, with the hope of the Scots, which was in the name of the Lord. Then, at the climax of this speech, the king of Scots delivered a message of special encouragement and spiritual optimism, saying: “Happy is this day; John the Baptist was born on it; And Saint Andrew and Thomas, his blood being shed, along with the saints of the Scottish country will fight today for the honour of the people, with Christ the Lord going before” (Felix ista dies; natus Baptista Johannes; Sanctus et Andreas ac fuso sanguine Thomas / cum sanctis Scocie patrie pro gentis honore / pugnabunt hodie, Christo Domino preente). The people of medieval Scotland knew the legends of many saints, both native and adopted. What follows is an exploratory survey and speculation about which of these saints might have been called upon to help the Scots at Bannockburn. It is aimed primarily at a general audience of people who are interested in the Battle of Bannockburn or in medieval Scottish religion but who are not accustomed to thinking about the two topics together, and it proposes a way to join a bit of hagiographic detail from a medieval chronicle to one of Scotland’s most famous battles.

Medieval Scots, like other European Christians at the time, believed that saints were heavenly intercessors between the human and the divine, both conduits of supernatural power and models for human behaviour. In his studies of Robert the Bruce’s religious devotions, Michael Penman has built a persuasive case for how devotion to the saints by the king of Scots and his supporters reflected political desires as well as personal preferences. This paper draws from Penman’s findings that devotion to saints could be politically motivated, privately motivated, or both at once, to explore belief in saints at the Battle of Bannockburn. Of course, it is not possible to know exactly what was going through the minds of people who lived 700 years ago. What can be attempted is an informed conjecture. Based on which saints are depicted elsewhere in the Scotichronicon as being helpful to Scots, which are mentioned in other late medieval texts as militarily supportive in a Scottish cause, and which were favoured by Robert the Bruce personally, this approach provides several suggestions for what King Robert and his subjects might have hoped for when they
thought about saints fighting for Scotland at the Battle of Bannockburn.

An important first step in this informed conjecture is an examination of the main source for the call to the saints at Bannockburn. We are not hearing Robert the Bruce directly: we are hearing him mediated through the Scotschronicon. The author of the Scotschronicon, Walter Bower (1385-1449), was born and probably grew up in Haddington. He joined the community of Augustinian canons at St Andrews, and there he earned degrees in law and theology at the newly-founded university. Then, for more than 30 years, he served as abbot at the Abbey of Inchcolm, a small Augustinian house on an island within sight of Edinburgh. In this capacity, he attended the king’s councils and parliaments. Bower was in a good position to understand what was happening with the governance of the realm, therefore, when he was asked by the laird Sir David Stewart of Rosyth to continue the chronicle that had been written and compiled by John of Fordun some eighty years previously. In fulfilling this request, Bower incorporated much of what he found in the earlier chronicle, to which he added additional material. The result of this work was the Scotschronicon. It is a long text in its final form, and a complex one too, described by its modern editor as “the most elaborate work of Latin literature to survive from medieval Scotland.” It also has possibly the best concluding line in Scottish literature from the medieval, or indeed any, period: Non Scotus est Christe cui liber non placet iste (“Christ! He is not a Scot who is not pleased with this book”).

Bower was clearly not lacking in confidence that Scottish readers would enjoy his work, but those looking to the Scotschronicon as a historical source for the Battle of Bannockburn ought to be sure they consider factors beyond simply the author’s enthusiasm. Because it presents an important written account of events, and also because one of its manuscripts contains the earliest known image of the battle, the Scotschronicon does make frequent appearances in discussions of Bannockburn. And yet, a primary concern for researchers using this text must certainly be that the Scotschronicon was written in the mid-fifteenth century, more than a hundred years after the battle itself took place. Although this chronology of composition might at first seem problematic, it
becomes less so upon recognition that Bower as a historian drew upon earlier material. In addition to Fordun’s chronicle, he often made use of John Barbour’s famous poem *Bruce*, composed in the 1370s; he possibly had access to other collections of traditional tales that have since been lost, and he incorporated some sources that were first written very soon after the events they describe. Passages from the *Scotichronicon’s* account of the Battle of Bannockburn belong to this last category of older sources, and Robert the Bruce’s invocation of the saints in particular is actually attributed by Bower to a certain “Abbot Bernard.” This Bernard was a Benedictine monk who was the chancellor to King Robert the Bruce from 1308 and abbot of Arbroath from 1310. He was also—and this is very important to historians weighing the significance of the *Scotichronicon* as a source—an eye-witness to the Battle of Bannockburn with accurate and probably detailed knowledge of the Scottish perspective. So even if Robert the Bruce’s speech in the *Scotichronicon* belongs to the literary tradition of providing, or some would say “inventing,” the speeches of leaders as they go into battle (Robert would not have spoken to his troops in Latin as he does in this source), we are, nevertheless, getting from the *Scotichronicon* a contemporary Scottish perspective on the Battle of Bannockburn. This perspective includes the expectation of saintly help.

As for which specific saints were thought likely to lend their assistance to the Scottish cause, some were named outright. The “happy” day upon which Robert made his speech is identified in the *Scotichronicon* as the feast day of the birth of St. John the Baptist. Falling on 24 June, this day was widely celebrated in medieval Europe as a midsummer festival. In many parts of Britain, its festivities centred around midsummer fires at the point in the year when the sun was at its greatest strength, the days at their longest. Auspicious though this date sounds, perhaps not too much should be made of the naming of the day in the *Scotichronicon* as a way of calling upon saintly help, since dates in chronicles, letters, and other writings were commonly established by using festivals of saints without any further indication of religious significance. For example, the very bureaucratic-sounding “deliverance made by the Inquest appointed under Breve
by the King regarding the Moss of Waltamshope” in Peebles from 1262 was dated “on the day of St. Leonard.” Bower uses saints’ days as dating tools elsewhere in the Scotichronicon, such as in 1171 “on Holy Innocents Day,” in 1181 “on the Sunday next the feast of St. Laurence” and “in 1263 around the time of the feast of St. Peter in Chains.” The fact that the Battle of Bannockburn was happening on the feast day of John the Baptist might have struck King Robert (and later Abbot Bernard and Walter Bower) as being a happy concurrence, but the Scottish king did not suggest in his speech that John the Baptist in particular would assist the Scots in battle. Other saints were selected for that role.

The Scotichronicon names two saints specifically who were invoked to fight on the Scottish side. The first was Andrew, which is probably not a surprising choice to people familiar with Scotland today or with its history. Indeed, Andrew had been considered a patron saint of Scotland by Scots and others in Europe since at least the century before Bannockburn. This position, however, might look less obvious when considering the historical figure of Andrew. He appears in the New Testament as an apostle of Christ and the brother of Simon Peter, and early Christian writings link him with Greece. His cult was widespread in Europe by the sixth century, and his connection to Scotland specifically was established only thanks to efforts made at high political levels and through the vector of his relics. Various Scottish sources, not entirely consistent with one another, say that some of Andrew’s relics were brought from Greece to Scotland in the fourth century by Regulus, also called Rule, who stopped in Fife and built a church at the site of the future city of St Andrews. As the centuries passed, St Andrews became an important pilgrimage site and a destination for people who travelled from near and far to be in the presence of Andrew’s bones, a collection that included three fingers from the right hand, part of an arm, a kneecap, and a tooth. It was for the purpose of transporting pilgrims to St Andrews across the Forth from Lothian to Fife that North and South Queensferry were established by Queen Margaret in the eleventh century. The church built around Andrew’s relics, and the town built around the church, flourished. A major rebuilding of the cathedral of St Andrews was completed in 1318, making it the largest church in
Scotland. Robert the Bruce himself oversaw the consecration ceremony that was attended by great prelates and nobles. According to the *Scotichronicon*, he also gave the very large sum of 100 merks annually to the Cathedral Priory to commemorate St. Andrew’s help at Bannockburn.  

Despite the significance of St. Andrews the site to medieval Scotland, and despite the king of Scots’ acknowledgment of Andrew the saint’s help at Bannockburn, St. Andrew is listed as distinct from the saints of the Scottish country in the *Scotichronicon*. This would seem to be a curious distinction, but while some scholars have found a good deal of popular support and widespread adherence to Andrew as patron of the Scottish people, others have found little interest in St. Andrew reflected through popular culture and art. A search for Andrew in the *Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland* brings up almost 200 records, but most of these are grants by members of the royal family or donations associated with wealthy institutions, and many of the rest are references to his relics or payments being made on his feast day, rather than dedications to the saint by Scots more directly.  

Whatever his popularity among Scots, there is no doubt that the presence of St. Andrew’s bones on Scottish soil was used by medieval leaders in their arguments for the kingdom’s independence. Among the most powerful uses of Andrew’s image was on the great seal created as a symbol of authority for the Guardians of Scotland, the people chosen to care for the country after the death of Alexander III in 1286. This seal ingeniously both met and defied expectations of how political authority was represented. There was no king ruling in Scotland at the time the seal was made, and in the place where one would normally expect to find an image of the king on a seal, one finds instead St. Andrew with his X-shaped cross and the words “Andrew, be the leader of the Scottish compatriots” (*Andrea Scotis dux esto compatriotis*). Andrew stands in for the community of the realm, the political community of Scotland. On the reverse, one finds the royal arms of the lion rampant, symbol of Scottish royalty, and the words “the seal of Scotland appointed to the government of the kingdom” (*sigillum Scocie deputatum regimini regni*). When Scotland was
without a king, it was Andrew who represented royal authority.\textsuperscript{22} The connection between St. Andrew and Scotland’s independence was maintained through the thirteenth century, and into the fourteenth too. In 1299, when the pope condemned Edward’s invasion of Scotland in the bull \textit{Scimus fili}, he said that the realm of Scotland “was converted, and won to the unity of the catholic faith, by the venerable relics of the blessed Apostle Andrew.”\textsuperscript{23} The letter sent to Pope John XXII in 1320, a document better known today as the Declaration of Arbroath, makes it especially clear that the Scots’ connection to St. Andrew could be used to support political independence. It states that Christ called the Scots, “even though settled in the uttermost parts of the earth, almost the first to His most holy faith. Nor did He wish them to be confirmed in that faith by merely anyone but by the first of His Apostles…the most gentle Saint Andrew…and desired him to keep them under his protection as their patron for ever.”\textsuperscript{24} By 1320, therefore, Andrew was regarded not just as Scotland’s patron saint, but also as the country’s own apostle and the first of the apostles, giving the Scottish conversion to Christianity special precedence. Bower highlighted this precedence in the \textit{Scotichronicon}, pointing out that through the relics of St. Andrew, the Scots “first received the Christian faith four hundred years before the Saxons or English.”\textsuperscript{25} Simply put, a connection to St. Andrew gave Scotland a Christian pedigree much longer than that of its invaders.

The identification of St. Andrew with Scottish military forces was not confined to Bannockburn. The \textit{Scotichronicon} relates that after the Battle of Stirling Bridge in 1297, the victorious Scottish army, “dismounting and throwing themselves to the ground… glorified God and St. Andrew and the holy confessor Cuthbert whose memorable passage from this world was being celebrated on this day, because through the energy and care of such a leader the valour and power of their enemies withered away, and both the Scots and Scotland won the distinction of a famous victory with everlasting renown.”\textsuperscript{26} Cuthbert was glorified because it was his feast day, but Andrew was glorified because he was a helper of the Scottish cause. By the end of the fourteenth century, the iconography of St. Andrew was playing a prominent role in the Scottish military identity, so that in 1385 Scottish soldiers and their
French allies were ordered by an Act of Parliament to wear the white cross of St. Andrew on their fronts and backs.\textsuperscript{27} St. Andrew’s images were used again in battle in 1513, when banners of him and of St. Margaret (she who had established a ferry to take pilgrims to visit St Andrews) were assembled just before the start of the Battle of Flodden, and money was paid “to ane man to byde on the standartis to bring thaim with him in haist that nycht” as the king departed from Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{28} In spite of the crushing defeat of the Scots at Flodden, a proclamation was made ten years later that every man taking part in an expedition against the English had to wear a St. Andrew’s cross in white, on his front and back, on pain of death.\textsuperscript{29} Considering Andrew’s associations with Scottish military endeavours both before and after Bannockburn, King Robert’s hope that this saint would support the Scots fighting in 1314 was entirely in keeping with tradition.

Robert’s speech in the \textit{Scotichronicon} also mentions a Thomas who is listed as separate from the “saints of the Scottish country” but as an ally on the Scottish side. He is surely a less obvious selection than Andrew, for this was a distinctly English saint: Thomas Becket of Canterbury, the famous archbishop who had been murdered in 1170.\textsuperscript{30} The language used in the \textit{Scotichronicon} to describe Thomas is about the shedding of blood, a reference to Thomas’ martyrdom. Historical accounts differ as to what exactly the English king Henry II might have said or done to set the violent events in motion, but he probably shouted something like the following in the presence of his knights, who interpreted the king’s words as an order for assassination of the powerful archbishop: “What miserable drones and traitors have I nourished and promoted in my household, who let their lord be treated with such shameful contempt by a low-born clerk!”\textsuperscript{31} Given the circumstances of Thomas’ death, his brains smeared on the floor of his own cathedral by knights serving the English king, perhaps it is not all that surprising that he would be thought amenable to taking the side against the English. A more likely reason for the inclusion of this English saint and martyr in the \textit{Scotichronicon} account, however, is that Bernard’s abbey of Arbroath had been founded in honour of Thomas Becket, meaning that the original transcriber of King Robert’s speech had a direct institutional connection to this...
particular saint. The link between Arbroath and St. Thomas is displayed on the medieval seal of Arbroath Abbey, which showed a scene from the martyrdom of Thomas, and also on the medieval seal for the burgh, which showed Thomas in his archbishop’s robes.

It might not have been just Abbot Bernard who called upon Thomas Becket to help the Scots at Bannockburn, just as Arbroath was not the only site of devotion to St. Thomas in Scotland. Between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries, there were chapels to St. Thomas in Dumfries, in Perth, in Elgin, beside the castle in Crawford, and just to the west of Glasgow; altars in parish churches in Applegarth, Perth, Glasgow, Irvine, Dundee, Glamis, Edinburgh, and in the cathedral at Brechin; and a chantry in St. Nicholas, Aberdeen. Some Scots traveled to England to visit Thomas’ main shrine at Canterbury, as shown by records of miracles performed for Scots at Becket’s tomb and also by two thirteenth-century ampullae of oil from Becket’s shrine found at Perth. Closer to home for many Scots, Glasgow cathedral by the 1430s had among its relics a comb and part of the breastplate of St. Thomas of Canterbury. St. Thomas clearly did have Scots among those devoted to him, even at the very highest political levels. Kings during times of relatively good relations with England like William I (1165-1214), Alexander II (1214-1249), and Alexander III (1249-1286) supported devotion to St. Thomas, as did kings during times of greater tensions such as Robert I (1306-1329) and David II (1329-1371). The connection that Robert the Bruce felt with Thomas was put into liturgical form by Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, who in 1328 gave £24 annually to Elgin Cathedral for five masses with music that were dedicated to St. Thomas Becket and in memory of King Robert.

In the Scotichronicon, Andrew and Thomas are both presumed to be helpful to the Scots although separated from the “saints of the Scottish country”, which raises the question of what the Scottish country was, or at least what it meant to the writer of Robert’s speech. The simplest explanation for the distinction between these named saints and those of the Scottish country is one of basic geography: both Andrew and Thomas lived only outside the fourteenth-century borders of Scotland, which perhaps was
Saints of the Scottish country

enough to separate them from the “saints of the Scottish country” group. Historians have noted that the political community in Scotland was acquiring a distinct sense of Scottishness during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In some ways, this development in nationalism can be seen as being entirely in line with European trends more broadly that were pointing towards a more articulate self-consciousness of nationhood. In other ways, the Scottish development of national consciousness was strongly influenced by particularly local conditions, and especially during prolonged periods of Anglo-Scottish warfare. Significant differences certainly did exist among people living in Scotland, such as linguistic disparities between the largely Gaelic-speaking inhabitants of the Highlands and the largely Scots-speaking inhabitants in the Lowlands, and political divisions between people from Scotland fighting with King Robert and people from Scotland fighting with King Edward at Bannockburn. Transcending these differences, a sense of Scotland as a unified country was emerging toward the end of the thirteenth century when the Guardians were acting in the name of the community of the realm. Scotland may have been a country of many parts, but it was, nonetheless, a single country. The plural “saints of the Scottish country” in Robert’s speech could reflect the diversity of the country itself, since the Scots fighting with Robert the Bruce at Bannockburn came from west, south, east, and north, from both town and countryside, from the nobility and the commoners and the middling. Even though no specific identities for these saints are provided in this passage, other late medieval texts present several good contenders.

One of the saints most often associated with Robert the Bruce at Bannockburn is St. Columba. Columba was born in Ireland in about 521, but he spent most of his time in Scotland, where he founded several monasteries. His most famous monastic foundation was Iona, which later became very influential in the conversion of the Picts and of Northumbria. His life is recorded in several early medieval sources, including Adomnán’s Life of Columba, written around the year 700. Here, Columba is already being portrayed as a saintly warrior with power over the fate of kings. “In the terrifying crashings of wars,” it says, “he has...
obtained from God by the strength of his prayers that some kings
should be defeated and that other kings should be made victors.”45
St. Columba is usually associated with the Battle of Bannockburn
through the presumed presence of his relics there in something
called the “Breccbennach”. Since the nineteenth century, the
Breccbennach has often been identified with the Monymusk
Reliquary that is now part of the National Museum of Scotland’s
collection. Recent scholarship drawing on linguistic and historical
evidence, as well as the provenance of the object in question, has
cast some doubt on the identification of the Monymusk Reliquary
with the Breccbennach, and has suggested instead the possibility
that these were two separate things: the Monymusk Reliquary some
kind of container for saints’ relics, and the Breccbennach perhaps a
banner associated with St. Columba.46 In any case, the
Breccbennach must have been at Arbroath Abbey before the year
1211, when King William I granted to the abbey of Arbroath a
charter confirming the earlier gift of its custody. A condition of this
gift was that when the abbey’s tenants in Forglen would be called
upon to do military service for the king, they were to bring the
Breccbennach with them, and so although no contemporary source
mentions the presence of the Breccbennach in battle, it certainly
might have traveled with Scottish armies. Its role at Bannockburn,
if any, is unclear, however, and rests on the assumption that
Bernard the abbot of Arbroath, rather than the custodians at
Forglen, would have had it with him.47

Whether or not the Monymusk Reliquary is in fact the
Breccbennach of St. Columba, and whether or not the
Breccbennach, whatever it was, was at the Battle of Bannockburn,
Columba himself might well have been invoked by some of the
Scots assembled there. He was undoubtedly one of the most
popular saints in later medieval Scotland, as indicated by the
number of place names and personal names deriving from his, as
well as by the many church dedications and the widespread
celebration of his feast day.48 Moreover, in the Scotichronicon
Columba is associated with fierce retribution, a characteristic that
might have been especially appealing to people at war against an
invader. Bower reports that in 1336, a group of English pirates was
laying waste to the cost near Dollar, whose parish church had
recently been beautifully restored by the abbot of Inchcolm. The frame of the choir in this church had been constructed using great oak beams “carved with wonderful artistry” so that they fit together by means of dovetailing, “which provided a pleasant sight to look at.” The pirates, remarking on this fine woodwork, decided to disassemble it and take away all the beams, ceiling panels, and outer roofing. When they came alongside the abbey of Inchcolm, however, the calm water turned turbulent. The ships carrying the stolen materials “sank into the deep like a stone, and their memory perished with their sound.” Survivors on the remaining ships in the fleet were struck with terror, and, “whether they wanted or not, glorified God in St. Columba because of such unforeseen retribution,” then swore to do no more violence upon him or his servants or their buildings in the future. Bower adds the interesting detail that because of this event, it became a proverb in England that St. Columba would punish and take revenge upon anyone who commits a crime against him, and so Columba might have been considered a likely ally of Scottish forces by both the Scots and the English.

Additional contenders for “saints of the Scottish country” are provided in other medieval texts that speak of saintly help in battles. In the Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, for example, a chronicle written in the early fifteenth century, Andrew of Wyntoun records a sermon delivered to a group of Scots assembled before the Battle of Roslin against the English in 1303. The priest tells his listeners to place their hope in St. Andrew and two other saints: “Gyve God will, owris sall be this day. / In God all yhoure hop e yhe set, / Saynt Andrew, Saynt Nynyane, and Saynt Margret.” Perhaps Ninian and Margaret were also in the thoughts of the Scots at Bannockburn.

We know very little about the historical figure of Ninian. Scholars do not agree on exactly when he lived, where his influence was felt, or even what the correct form of his name should be. He probably flourished at some time in the fifth or sixth century, served as a missionary and bishop, and built the church of Candida Casa at Whithorn, which was said to have been the first stone church in Britain. The most extensive account of his life is that provided in the twelfth-century Vita Niniani by Aelred of Rievaulx.
This account’s wide range of stories about the saint, from support at high levels of politics to culinary assistance at a local monastery, may have helped to establish or reflect Ninian’s popularity widely among Scots. Miracles and accomplishments in this Vita include the healing of a king, the convincing of a one-day-old infant to declare the true identity of its father, and, his best-known activity, the conversion of the Picts. The most amusing of Aelred’s stories about Ninian is possibly the so-called “Miracle among the Leeks.”

Ninian noticed one day that no herbs or vegetables were placed on the table of a monastery’s refectory for dinner. Informed that the garden had not yet produced any food, he ordered the gardener to gather whatever his hand found in the garden. “Then followed a wonder,” the Vita says. “He beheld leeks and other kinds of herbs not only grown, but bearing seed.” With the leeks placed on the table, the guests praised God working in his saints. This would seem to be an excellent testimonial for Ninian’s power, but then Aelred’s text suggests that the witnesses were left in the end feeling somewhat underwhelmed with the miraculous leeks, for they “retired much better refreshed in mind than in body.”

Whatever he thought of the saint’s influence over leeks and other achievements, Bower in the Scotichronicon characterizes Ninian as having been a person of “wonderful virtue and holiness in the eyes of God and man,” adding that “both while he was living and after his passing right up to the present day, he is a magnificent worker of miracles.” Among the miracles attributed to Ninian that may have contributed to his popularity with soldiers were those involving the rescue of captives. Several stories written in Scots between about 1330 and 1440 serve as typical examples of “rescue miracles” in which victims are saved from a violent death during a turbulent age. The centre of Ninian’s cult was at Whithorn in Galloway, where his tomb was located, and by the later Middle Ages Whithorn was an important pilgrimage site. Robert the Bruce’s well-known devotion to Ninian might have been inspired by his mother, Marjorie of Carrick, who came from Ninian’s home region, and Robert’s devotion seems to have been deeply felt: the king made a 250-mile round-trip journey to Ninian’s shrine in 1329, in the midst of a painful illness that would lead to his death in just a few months’ time. Devotion to Ninian extended beyond
Galloway and dedications to him were widely distributed throughout the country. Nor did Scots’ devotions to this saint stop at the kingdom’s borders. Altars to St. Ninian were found in Bruges (Flanders), Copenhagen (Denmark), and Bergen-op-Zoom (Brabant), and a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian was sited at Roscoff (Brittany). Each of these foundations was associated with a Scottish community in the area.

Margaret, another saint invoked by the Scots at Roslin according to the Orygynale Cronykil, was born into the royal Anglo-Saxon family while they were living in exile in Hungary. She arrived in Scotland as a young woman and became Scotland’s queen when she married Malcolm III Canmore in about 1070. In the biography of Margaret written likely by Turgot, her confessor, Margaret comes across as a pious, intelligent and assertive woman. She arranged for church councils to be held, arguing in person at one of them that practises should be brought into closer alignment with European norms. She also purchased from traders clothing of various colours and ornaments, thereby encouraging the adoption of new manners of dress, and she extended this fashionable influence still further by having the royal palace redecorated. In contrast to these rather stylish contributions to medieval Scotland, the only miracle attributed to Margaret during her lifetime is a rather bookish one. She owned a beautifully adorned book of Gospels, decorated with gold and precious stones, now held at the Bodleian Library. Someone carrying it for her let it fall into a stream and left it there for some time. When the book was finally recovered, the only mark left by the water was on the margin of the leaves.

The Scottish royal family maintained its connection to Margaret through succeeding generations. Her children made efforts to establish her cult, which took root at the site of her tomb in Dunfermline Abbey. They and their descendants also secured papal canonization of Margaret in 1250, thereby joining the European trend of creating royal saints who helped legitimize the rule of the royal house descended from the saint. Robert the Bruce supported Dunfermline Abbey during his reign through donations and patronage, and he chose Dunfermline to be his burial place (other than for his heart, which was to be interred at Melrose.
Abbey). After his death, Robert was brought into proximity to Margaret through his funeral and his effigy at Dunfermline. Other Scottish kings and queens also cultivated a connection to their saintly predecessor Margaret, regularly making offerings during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to her chapel at Edinburgh Castle and her altar in St. Giles.

Margaret was obviously an important saint to Scotland’s royal family, but it is difficult to assess the popularity of her cult among Scots more generally. One reason for the difficulty is that there was more than one saint with that name, and it is not always clear if a record refers to St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, or to a different St. Margaret. That medieval Scots themselves sometimes confused or conflated more than one St. Margaret is shown by a collection of St. Margaret of Scotland’s miracles at Dunfermline, preserved in a fifteenth-century copy of a text originally composed in the mid-thirteenth century. It records that “a large body of ordinary faithful folk” were assembled at the Abbey of Dunfermline on the feast day of St. Margaret of Antioch, who was a virgin martyr from the early years of Christianity, and “perhaps because they had the same name, many of those present believed the precious martyr who bore the same name to be our Margaret.” The anonymous scribe was unconcerned with this “devout error,” as he calls it, for “there is no disunity between those who reign jointly in the heavenly place.” The special areas of patronage for the two saints might also have become at times conflated. For example, it is recorded in the Exchequer Roll that in 1451, when Mary of Gueldres was giving birth to the future James III, Margaret’s shirt was brought to her, and it is recorded in the Treasurers’ Accounts for 1512 that when Queen Margaret was giving birth to the future James V, a man named “Luke of the wardrobe” was given eight shillings “to feche Sanct Margarets sark to the Quene.” Calling upon St. Margaret for help with childbirth is also mentioned in Sir David Lyndsay’s poem *Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and an Courteour* when he says that “Sum wyffis sanct Margret doith exhort / In to thare byrth tham e to support.” It was not St. Margaret of Scotland, however, who was popularly believed in medieval Europe to have patronage for childbirth, but rather St. Margaret of Antioch. As Margaret of
Antioch says in a fourteenth-century Scots translation of the popular compilation of saints’ lives known as the *Golden Legend*, whatever woman calls on her at the time of childbirth, both she and the child will be delivered.\(^{71}\)

Help in childbirth was likely not something being sought by the soldiers at Bannockburn while on the field of battle, but St. Margaret of Scotland was also associated with providing aid in other circumstances too. Some historians have found that Margaret was revered widely throughout Scotland, but clear evidence for popular devotion to Margaret is very limited beyond Edinburgh and Dunfermline.\(^{72}\) In 1249, Pope Innocent IV granted an indulgence to anyone visiting the church of Dunfermline on St. Margaret’s feast day,\(^{73}\) and as part of his oration when Margaret was canonized the following year, the pope invited pilgrims on their journey to the shrine of St. Andrew to “find sanctuary and comfort” at the shrine of Margaret, so spiritual incentives for pilgrimage to her shrine were in place. In analyzing the miracles recorded at her shrine in the thirteenth-century collection, the text’s editor Robert Bartlett has determined that St. Margaret’s cult was “a typical regional cult with a strong monastic core” in terms of division between the sexes, ailments, social class, and geographical origin of the forty-four individuals visiting Margaret’s shrine.\(^{74}\) At least two of Margaret’s post-mortem miracles described in the *Scotichronicon* appear to demonstrate her political commitment to Scotland. The first happened during the translation of her remains in 1250. Bishops and abbots were carrying Margaret’s casket to its intended place of reburial in the choir beyond the high altar, but, as they reached the chancel door opposite the body of Margaret’s husband King Malcolm, the arms of the bearers became paralyzed and they could no longer move the casket because of its weight. Other bearers were added, but none could move it. While they were seeking a reason for their failure, a voice called out from among the bystanders telling them that perhaps it was not God’s will that Margaret’s bones should be moved before her husband’s had been honoured in the same way. Approving of this idea, King Alexander and his helpers lifted the casket holding the remains of King Malcolm, at which point the bearers of the casket with the remains of Queen Margaret could lift and move it without any effort.\(^{75}\) The
message here would seem to be that after death, Queen Margaret wished to remain close to her kingly husband, perhaps, therefore, also close to the Scottish royal family by extension. She wished to help Scots in their military endeavours too, as seen in a second miracle recounted in the *Scotichronicon*. In 1263, King Haakon of Norway came to Scotland with 160 ships, asserting that the islands between Scotland and Ireland were his by right of inheritance. A Scottish knight named John Wemyss, courageous in character but worn out by daily fevers, had a vision in which he saw himself standing at the doorway of the church at Dunfermline and a “lady of radiant beauty and resplendent in full royal attire,” attended by four knights in gleaming armour, coming out of the church. The slumbering Wemyss asked the lady who she was and where she and her companions were going, and she answered that she was Margaret, formerly queen of Scots, and that her companions were King Malcolm and their sons, former kings of Scots. She then told him her patriotic purpose: “In company with them I am hurrying to defend our country at Largs, and to win a victory over the usurper who is unjustly trying to make my kingdom subject to his rule.” In explaining the reason behind her determination to offer military assistance, she added, “for you must know that I received this kingdom from God, granted in trust to me and to our heirs for ever.” When Wemyss awoke, he remained very weak, but he journeyed regardless to Dunfermline and told the prior of the monastery about his dream. Held up by his servants’ hands, he kissed the whole area around St. Margaret’s shrine, and as he was moving towards the relics themselves he was cured of his infirmity. At that moment, a servant came in to bring the good news of the Scottish victory at Largs. As this story and others about her attest, Margaret was a foreigner born and raised, but she certainly had a good record of fighting for the Scottish country. She might therefore have been thought willing to do so again at Bannockburn.

Other Scottish sources provide still more contenders for membership among the “saints of the Scottish country.” According to Thomas Walsingham’s *Historia Anglicana*, written in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, when the Scots were preparing to make a raid on northern England during an outbreak of plague in 1379, they prayed to several saints including St. Andrew and St.
Mungo to “scheld us this day for Goddis grace, and the foule deth that Ynglessh men dyene upon.”77 “Mungo” was the affectionate nickname that Scots used for the saint who was also called Kentigern, a bishop of Glasgow in the seventh century. The only near-contemporary source to mention the historic Kentigern is the *Annales Cambriae*, a series of chronicles from Wales, which says that he died in 612, although some scholars think the chronicler was off by a year or two and that Kentigern’s death might better be dated in the year 613 or 614.78 Kentigern maintained a strong presence in Glasgow centuries later through at least three written texts as well as the oral traditions of local Glaswegians themselves.79 He also maintained a physical presence. An inventory of Glasgow Cathedral taken in 1432 mentions an assortment of relics including pieces of the clothing of St. Kentigern, his combs, and his bones.80 His tomb, located in the lower level of the cathedral, was adorned with a great cloth of Arras featuring stories from his life.81 A bell of St. Kentigern was rung during requiem masses of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries,82 perhaps the same “Sanct Mungowis Bell” that was still being rung through Glasgow at the burial of the dead in 1577, and that in 1578 was provided with a new tongue.83

St. Kentigern’s military assistance specifically was recorded in the twelfth-century *Carmen de Morte Somerledi*, where he helped the Scots in repel the Hebridean invader Somerled.84 His reputation reached Bower too, who describes Bishop Kentigern in the *Scotichronicon* as being “a man of amazing sanctity,” whose bones in Glasgow “lie buried in the same place famous for many miracles performed to the glory of God.” According to one of the more fantastic episodes from the *Scotichronicon*, Kentigern even encountered the prophet Merlin, who appeared as “a certain madman naked and hairy and devoid of all worldly comfort” and crossed Kentigern’s path “like a raging wild beast” while the bishop was praying in a thicket. Kentigern ordered the strange figure to explain who he was and why he wandered alone in the wilderness. Merlin identified himself, then said that he was suffering with the beasts because he did not deserve to suffer in the company of men on account of his role in the slaughter of many people. Kentigern, compassionate for the wretchedness of Merlin,
offered communion. Although Merlin died a threefold death shortly thereafter (stoned and beaten by shepherds, impaled by a sharp stake in a fish trap, and drowned in a river), he spent his final day on earth happily, leaping “like a wild goat set free from the hunter’s snare” and singing an exultant song.85

Whatever this curious encounter meant to Robert the Bruce, if he even knew of the story, the king of Scots may have been especially motivated to support devotion to Kentigern because of a political debt. Kentigern’s successor as bishop of Glasgow at the time of the Battle of Bannockburn was Robert Wishart, who had a very large diocese stretching throughout much of western central Scotland right down to the border. Wishart was one of the king’s chief ecclesiastical advisors, and Robert likely felt especially beholden to this episcopal successor of Kentigern because it was Bishop Wishart of Glasgow who had absolved Robert for his murder of John Comyn in 1306.86 Kentigern’s earthly representatives were certainly keen supporters of Scottish independence, so perhaps the Scots fighting at Bannockburn were hoping that Kentigern himself would be as well.

One more saint with a legendary connection to Robert the Bruce and the Scottish army at Bannockburn is St. Fillan. This saint had origins in the sixth century, possibly from four separate clerics all named Fillan who were active in the early Middle Ages. St. Fillan is not mentioned in the *Scotichronicon*, but Hector Boece’s *Scotorum Historia*, published in 1527, relates that on the night before the Battle of Bannockburn, King Robert prayed to this saint for victory and had a vision of the silver case containing St. Fillan’s arm bone opening and closing by itself. A priest inspected the case, not expecting to find the relic within since he had purposely brought an empty case to preserve the relic from loss in battle. This priest found—surely to his astonishment—that the case did indeed contain the arm bone of St. Fillan.87 In this account at least, St. Fillan had a presence with the Scottish forces at the Battle of Bannockburn through his relics. Whether the story of the Scottish king’s vision of St. Fillan at Bannockburn actually dates from the time of the battle itself or from much later, other evidence confirms that Robert the Bruce was devoted to this saint. He enlarged the chapel dedicated to Fillan in Strathearn in 1318,88 and in the year
that he died his natural son Sir Robert Bruce of Liddesdale gave £20 to the church of St. Fillan in Strathfillan.89 These devotions likely had political connections to the people associated with the church of St. Fillan in Strathfillan, who gave Robert vital support upon his seizure of the Scottish throne in 1306.90

In addition to the possible presence of his arm bone on the field and the certainly strong personal devotion of Robert the Bruce, there was yet another reason why St. Fillan might have been popular among the Scots at Bannockburn. His crozier was reputedly able to locate lost goods and cattle, surely a power with wide appeal, and also one that goes back at least to the time of Bannockburn. An inquest held in 1428 before the bailie of Glendochart on the authority and privileges of the crozier of St. Fillan found that the office of carrying the relic had been passed down as an inheritance from the successor of St. Fillan, and that the keeper of the crozier was required to provide a service: if any goods or cattle were stolen or carried off from any dwelling in Glendochart, and if the person from whom the goods or cattle were stolen did not dare to follow his property either because of not knowing the identity of the thief or because of feud, he should send a messenger to the keeper of St. Fillan’s crozier with fourpence, or a pair of shoes, and food for the first night, and then the crozier’s keeper would follow the cattle wherever they were to be found within the kingdom of Scotland.91 A letter signed by the king in 1487 makes a clear link to the time period of the Battle of Bannockburn by speaking of Malice Doire, the current keeper of the crozier, “and his forebearis” who had “ane relic of Sanct Fulane callit the Quarighich in keping” since the time of Robert the Bruce, adding that this Malice Doire did not answer to anyone spiritual or temporal in any matter relating to this relic, and that he was to be assisted and in no way disturbed while passing with this relic through the country.92

St. Fillan’s crozier remained in the family of its keepers for hundreds of years, and even spent some time in Canada during the nineteenth century when its hereditary keepers emigrated to Lanark County, in eastern Ontario. The crozier’s reputation for miraculous properties by this time was much diminished in comparison to centuries earlier and thousands of miles distant, but at least a few
people still knew of its reputed powers. Alexander Dewer, last of the hereditary keepers, said that he had “not been much troubled with it” as a “charm,” but he did recall that the crozier was still sought for curing diseases of cattle, reporting that two men “who had sick cattle, came to get water of it for them.” Mr Dewer seems not to have been especially interested in the result, for he also said that he “never inquired whether it cured them or not.” In 1876, the rights and ownership of the crozier were transferred to the Society of Antiquaries for the National Museum of Scotland, “there to remain in all time to come for the use, benefit, and enjoyment of the Scottish nation.” The negotiations and persuasions for the transfer were largely undertaken by Daniel Wilson, Professor of History and English Literature and President at the University of Toronto. Thus did a relic of one of the saints of the Scottish country join, for a time, the expansive Scottish diaspora, before returning to Scotland with Canadian help.

Walter Bower would not have anticipated such a trans-Atlantic development in the cult of a Scottish saint when he was writing the *Scotichronicon*, and, to be sure, his account does not agree with even all medieval European sources that discuss the Battle of Bannockburn. Some accounts do not mention the saints of the Scottish country, or indeed, any saints at all. In John Barbour’s epic *The Bruce*, when Robert attempts to raise the morale of his troops by telling them why they have the advantage over the English, he provides three reasons, and none of these is concerned with saintly help: the Scots have right on their side and God will always fight for right; the English have come to the battle trusting in their power to seek the Scots even in the Scots’ own land; and the Scots stand in battle for their lives, for their children and wives, for their freedom and lands, while the English stand only for their power. The English *Chronicle of Lanercost* provides another account of the battle without saintly reference. It says that on this “evil, miserable, and calamitous day for the English,” the Scots fell on their knees and said a *pater noster* before the start of battle, commending themselves to God and seeking help from heaven. It says nothing about appeals to saints. This absence of saints is perhaps especially striking when considering that earlier in this chronicle a story is told of a saintly tradition in the family of the
king of Scots. Robert the Bruce’s ancestor, Robert Bruce of Annandale, had deceived St. Malachy, bishop of Armagh, by promising to spare the life of a robber but then having the robber hanged. Malachy “pronounced a heavy sentence” on Robert and his descendants, which led to the untimely deaths of Robert and three of his heirs. Hearing of this, a surviving descendant, grandfather of King Robert, sought pardon from the saint at his tomb and offered the gift of perpetual rents to pay for silver lights there. The Lanercost chronicler was clearly not averse to reporting saintly influence over kings, and yet he refrained from attributing to the saints any inspiration at Bannockburn.

Even the *Scotichronicon* itself, in its assessment of the reasons for the Scottish victory at Bannockburn (as opposed to its reporting of the hopes of the Scots), leaves aside the help of saints in favour of other explanations: the English king’s war against the Scots was unjust, the English king had no fear of God, he despised his peer the king of Scots, he had too much confidence in his own ability and the size of his army, he unjustly attacked an innocent people in a foreign land, and he experienced divine punishment because of his shedding of innocent blood. All these reasons are related to character flaws or mistakes on the part of the English king rather than to good character or decisions by the Scots, and none has any direct connection to the help of saints. Interestingly, the *Scotichronicon* follows this list of reasons with an account of an event that involves some kind of supernatural presence as a sign of God’s punishment for the English shedding of innocent blood. On the eve of John the Baptist’s feast day (which is to say, on the eve of the Battle of Bannockburn), the sacrist at the monastery of Glastonbury in England was finishing his evening tasks and was about to go to bed, when suddenly two armed men on white horses appeared in the courtyard. They asked for hospitality and the sacrist provided them and their horses with food. Impressed by the men’s dignity and eloquence, the sacrist also offered them a bed for the night, but the visitors refused. They thanked the sacrist repeatedly for the refreshment and explained that “on that very same night before sunrise they must of necessity take part in a certain battle at Bannockburn which was to be fought between the kings of Scotland and England, and give help on the side of the Scots” as
revenge for the unjust deaths of Simon Montfort and his followers at the battle of Evesham fifty years previously. After providing this explanation, the visitors “glided from the sight of the listener and were seen there no longer.” The sacrist, “greatly astonished,” considered the matter, and brought it to the attention of the abbot, who was also astonished. It was not until they found an old Scot, hitherto presumed to be English, that they were to discover even where this place called Bannockburn was.99 Nothing in the account suggests that these mysterious visitors were saints, but their strange appearance and even stranger disappearance indicated to the sacrist some kind of supernatural connection between the Battle of Bannockburn and the Scots who fought there.

The Scotichronicon and other sources agree that the saints’ support could benefit the Scots in battle, even though none is clear on exactly what form the support would take. The word used in the Scotichronicon to describe the saints’ assistance, pugnabunt, is from the verb pugnare, which generally meant to fight physically.100 Physical fighting, however, is not what these sources describe as the saints’ contribution. They portray the saints as working through the people on the field rather than as independent agents in combat: the saints were being called upon not to fight in the heat of battle alongside the mortal combatants, but to strengthen the spirit of the Scottish forces. If this hoped-for contribution seems indirect almost to the point of irrelevance, it is worth noting that saints’ cults could strongly encourage a sense of bonding and a raising of morale. Both the Scottish and the English leaders in the Wars of Independence understood this power of saints’ cults well. Edward I demonstrated a conspicuous piety in local centres of devotion after invading Scotland, making offerings to the cult of St. Thomas Becket at Arbroath Abbey, to the shrine of St. Margaret at Dunfermline Abbey, to the shrine of St. Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral, to the shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorn, and to the relics of St. Andrew at St. Andrews.101 Edward also removed an assortment of saintly objects from Scotland and brought them to Westminster. Among these were some personal items belonging to Queen Margaret, an uncertain number of “diverse relics,” as they were recorded by Edward’s officials, and most notably the “Black Rude,” which was either a piece of the true cross or a vessel
containing a piece of the true cross. These items were sufficiently important that their return to Scotland was promised in the 1328 Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton. As both the English king and the king of Scots knew, devotion to saints in heaven could serve very worldly political ends.

Walter Bower understood the political significance of saints too. In this respect he was a writer very much of his own time, but he was also a thinker precociously aware of the future. He shows his appreciation for the mutability of historical interpretation in the Scotichronicon’s concluding chapter, asking that “any courteous reader” not blame him when he has followed inaccurate written texts or oral accounts, “but to correct and change any errors without ill-will in accordance with fuller knowledge.” He adds that he will not be able to deny “that several things may possibly occur to the mind of the reader in a better and even clearer form, and these ought deservedly to be corrected.” In the same spirit of openness, this paper has taken the report of Robert the Bruce’s claim to an alliance with the saints as a starting point from which to launch an exploration of which particular saints might have been in the thoughts of the Scots at the Battle of Bannockburn. By examining Robert the Bruce’s call to the saints as recorded in the Scotichronicon within a larger historical context, it becomes clear that both the literary and the actual troops at Bannockburn could have invoked a variety of saints to help them in their cause, and that King Robert’s confidence in the support of St. Andrew and St. Thomas and the “saints of the Scottish country” was equally an expression of confidence in what his people were about to achieve.

NOTES

2 Bower, Scotichronicon 6, 362-363.
3 Bower, Scotichronicon 6, 362-365. My translation differs somewhat from Watt’s, which has “Happy is this day! John the Baptist was born on it; / and St. Andrew and Thomas who shed his blood / along with the
saints of the Scottish fatherland will fight today / for the honour of the people, with Christ the Lord in the van.”


8 Bower, *Scotichronicon* 8, 340-341.


14 Bower, *Scotichronicon* 4, 293, 339; *Scotichronicon* 5, 336-337.


19 Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland* (St Andrews: St Andrews University Library, 1994), ix, 130; Mairi Cowan, “Lay Piety in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation: Individuals, Communities, and Nation” (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2003), 186-207.

20 *Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*, http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/Research/saints/

21 Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland*, 107-108.


25 Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, 149.


27 Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland*, 127-8.


30 Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, 457.


37 Penman, “‘Sacred Food for the Soul’: In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306-1329”, 1046-1048; Penman, “The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury”, 346-70.


41 Bower, *Scotichronicon* 6, 361.


Legends of Scottish Saints, 339, 343; Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland.

Bower, *Scotichronicon* 7, 118-121. See also pp. 398-403 for an example of Columba taking revenge against English forces who tried to burn the monastery in 1384.


The 238 references in the *Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland* show devotion to Ninian from a wide diversity of people in terms of region and class.

Ninian and Machar, from a Unique MS. in the Scottish Dialect of the
55 Bower, Scotichronicon 2, 24-25.
56 Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century,
Vol. 2, ed. by W. M. Metcalf (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons,
1896), 304-415, ll. 815-1358; Penman, ‘‘Sacred Food for the Soul’: In
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1306-1329”, 1052; Higgitt, “From Bede to Rabelais”, 188; Michael
Goodich, Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief
and Public Salvation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), x, 51-
3, 130-154.
57 Penman, ‘‘Sacred Food for the Soul’: In Search of the Devotions to
Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306-1329”, 1052.
58 Higgitt, “From Bede to Rabelais”, 187; Legends of Scottish Saints, 403.
59 George Hay, “A Scottish Altarpiece in Copenhagen”, Innes Review 7
(1956), 5-10; Alexander W. K. Stevenson, “Notice of an Early Sixteenth-
Century Scottish Colony at Bergen-op-Zoom and an Altar there once
dedicated to St Ninian”, Innes Review 26 (1975), 50-52.
60 Turgot, Life of St Margaret, 37, 43-51.
61 Turgot, Life of St Margaret, 40-41.
62 Turgot, Life of St Margaret, 66-68.
63 Catherine Keene, Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in
Perspective (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 95, 97, 115, 117,
133; Derek Baker, “A nursery of saints’: St Margaret of Scotland
64 Gábor Klaniczay, The Uses of Supernatural Power: The
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Polity Press, 1990), 125; Fiona Watson, “The Enigmatic Lion: Scotland,
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and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages,
ed. by Dauvit Broun, R. J. Finlay, and Michael Lynch (Edinburgh: John
65 Penman, ‘‘Sacred Food for the Soul’: In Search of the Devotions to
Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306-1329”, 1058.
66 Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, I, 64; 368; II, 74, 256,
267; III, 75, 76, 291; IV, 42, 189, 190.
67 Robert Bartlett (ed.), The Miracles of St Aebbe of Coldingham and St
Bartlett, *The Miracles of St Aebbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland*, 91.

69 The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, Vol. 5, 447; Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, IV, 324. Catherine Keene thinks these were the shirts of Queen Margaret. *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 133.


74 Bartlett, *The Miracles of St Aebbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland*, xxxviii-xli.


81 Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis: munimenta ecclesie metropolitan Glasguensis a sede restaurata seculo ineunte XII ad reformatam religionem (Edinburgh: Ballantyne and Hughes, 1843), Vol. II, 329-339
82 Charters and Other Documents relating to the City of Glasgow Vol II A.D. 1649-1707, with Appendix, A.D. 1484-1648, ed. James D. Marwick and Robert Renwick (Glasgow: The Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1906), 441-444; Charters and Other Documents relating to the City of Glasgow A.D. 1175-1649, Part II, ed. James D. Marwick (Glasgow: The Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1894), 101-105.
83 Burgh Records of the City of Glasgow, pp. 87, 104.
85 Bower, Scotichronicon 2, 78-87.
90 Legends of Scottish Saints, 360.
92 NRS GD 112/1/23
94 Wilson, “Notices of the Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan”; Alexander and Archibald Dewer, “Deed of Conveyance of the Quigrich by the Last Hereditary Keeper, with Consent of his Son, to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for the National Museum”, PSAS 12 (1876-78), 132-3; Stuart, “Historical Notices of St Fillan’s Crozier, and the Devotion of Robert the Bruce to St Fillan”, 134-82.
96 The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346, ed. by Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow: J. Maclehose, 1913), 206-207; Michael Penman, Robert the
Bruce: *King of Scots* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 76;

103 Bower, *Scotichronicon* 8, 337 and 339.
PROJECTING DYNASTIC MAJESTY: STATE CEREMONY IN THE REIGN OF ROBERT THE BRUCE

Lucinda H. S. Dean*

Introduction
Robert the Bruce’s inauguration ceremony took place at Scone in late March 1306,¹ in the midst of the crisis incited by the murder of his rival John Comyn by his own hand on 10 February at Greyfriars in Dumfries.² Isabella, countess of Buchan, enthroned and possibly crowned him as the adult representative of the earldom of Fife,³ and the collected “baronage” gave their oath of fealty to the new king. Much about this ceremony is speculative, as is often the case with the early reign of Robert Bruce. However, subsequent retrospective legitimization of the Bruce claims to the royal succession, highlighted by Michael Penman, suggest that all possible means by which Robert’s inauguration could emulate those of his illustrious Canmore predecessors would have been emphasized, particularly

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where they served the common purpose of legitimizing Robert’s highly questioned hold on power. This ceremony may also have witnessed the introduction of ceremonial elements that had previously been missing from earlier Scottish inaugurations, the inclusion of which would have been specifically aimed at emphasizing his right to rule on a level with his contemporaries. His contemporary monarchs included Philip IV, who ruled at the “zenith of Capetian power” in France, and Edward I of England who, following the conquest of Wales, granted his teenage son and heir the new title of the Prince of Wales. These men ruled from positions of dynastic longevity and relative security; a position quite the opposite of Bruce in 1306. While the former cultivated magnificent courts built upon magnanimous patronage, Bruce fought for the very right they deemed naturally their own – the right to rule unchallenged.

The history of fourteenth-century Scotland is inextricably entwined with the Wars of Independence, civil strife and an accelerated struggle for autonomous rule. The historiography of this period is unsurprisingly heavily dominated by themes including famous victories, such as Bannockburn in June 1314, and the conspiracies against Bruce, such as the Soules Conspiracy (1318-1320). Nevertheless, the scope is ever widening, with works exploring subjects such as the tomb of Bruce and the piety of the Bruce dynasty. Furthermore, there has also been a growing focus upon the use of propaganda and visual expressions of royal authority in medieval Scotland, particularly an increasing focus on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a period of crucial development. However, the ceremonial history of this era still requires focused and detailed attention. Robert I may have started his reign in a less than auspicious manner, but he was very much aware of the royal court culture of his main adversary Edward I, having spent time as a bachelor in the English court in the early 1290s. The contentious beginnings of his reign can be argued to have fuelled his subsequent efforts to raise Scottish kingship from its troubled recent past through an engagement with courtly ceremonial practices flourishing elsewhere across Europe. This essay will address three key ceremonies through which a king would, traditionally, make powerful statements of royal authority:
the controversial inauguration or coronation of Bruce, the marriage of his infant son to the English princess Joan of the Tower in 1328, and his extravagant funeral ceremony in 1329. By focusing thus, this essay will act to further illuminate that glory and dynastic majesty were as central to the Scottish monarchy in the early fourteenth century as war and political turbulence.

To Crown the King: Scone, 1306

The removal of the Scottish regalia and the inaugural stone by Edward I in 1296, following the forced abdication of John Balliol from the Scottish throne, clearly left a gaping hole in the ceremonial rite for the king who would next take the throne. Although it has been convincingly argued that the inaugural stone has perhaps achieved an inflated importance through its removal, the circumstances surrounding the accession of Robert I ten years later undoubtedly hindered the provision of high quality replacement regalia. Nonetheless, there were some prominent items presented to Bruce by Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, including a royal mantle. The royal mantle was an item of the Scottish regalia marked out in the famous accounts of the inaugural ceremony of Alexander III in 1249 and can be seen grasped by subsequent generations of Scottish monarchs in the images upon their seals. The provision of this mantle to “enrobe or dress” the new monarch, along with a banner displaying the arms of the king of Scots, is recorded in a document written to the pope by the English expounding the rebellious actions of Bishop Wishart, particularly the hand he played in Robert’s inauguration. Wishart’s involvement, and that of William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, who had trained in part under Wishart at Glasgow in his early ecclesiastical career, should be drawn into the foreground briefly. Both bishops later denied their presence at Robert’s inauguration ceremony to Edward I, but this was likely to have been for their own protection in the face of accusation. The papal bull that granted Scottish kings the right to full coronation with unction was not granted until twenty-three years later in 1329, but it specified these two prominent churchmen as those who “traditionally” invested the monarch. It is possible, therefore, that this bull was retrospective permission for an act already
undertaken. Scottish monarchs had long sought this ultimate recognition of their equal royal status, with both Alexander II and the minority government of Alexander III most recently seeking the right of unction. The crisis of power in 1306 was certainly one of great enough magnitude to have precipitated drastic measures to prove Robert’s legitimacy.

Various accounts refer to the crowning of the king, including the English chronicler Walter of Guisborough and the fifteenth-century Book of Pluscarden, as well as a further English document which records that Englishman Geoffrey de Coigners had concealed “a certain coronet of gold with which Robert de Brus lately caused himself to be crowned in.” A curious and less than patriotic fourteenth-century parody, found embedded in a contemporary Scottish chronicle manuscript, further emphasizes the bishop’s involvement with the following indictment:

And [before] the Abbat of Scone,
John Earl of Atho, Simon Frase, and
his brothers [...] and many [more] was
he crowned first by the abominable
Bishops of Glasgow and St Andrews [...]20

If both bishops were in attendance, as the parody suggests and Barrow has long since posited, they may have gone even further than crowning Robert Bruce on the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin (25 March) in 1306. The king had just committed a heinous crime and he had turned to Wishart for absolution. Wishart may ultimately have pushed for anointing for his own piece of mind, to absolve Robert and cleanse (or re-baptize) him in readiness for receiving the crown, as much as for the aggrandizement of Bruce. This action would have gone against papal restrictions on Scottish royal (and ecclesiastical) power, but papal relations were unlikely to have featured heavily in the mind of a king who had just murdered a man in a church. Penman has recently argued that this baptism and renewal was in fact continued and further emphasised in the subsequent Palm Sunday Mass, which the Bishop of St Andrews admitted to undertaking. Such a ceremony, reflecting Christ’s entry into Jerusalem, would have
been heavily laden with rich symbolism that would have been appreciated by all in attendance.24

John Watt has proposed, when discussing Philip IV of France, that where authority was openly threatened or a king felt “wounded” in this era it often created some of the most absolute statements of royal prerogative.25 What clearer statement could have been made at this juncture? Moreover, Edward I’s reaction to the ceremony was extreme, and all involved felt his wrath with vicious attacks on Bruce’s family and adherents. Scone Abbey was under continued scrutiny until at least 1307, with searches carried out for relics and other valuable items; Henry Mann, abbot of Scone, along with Bishop Lamberton, Bishop Wishart, and Isabella, countess of Buchan, were all imprisoned, the latter infamously placed in a wooden cage at Berwick.26 Sonja Cameron and Alasdair Ross emphasize the fact that, while Lamberton was released relatively quickly, Wishart’s punishment and exile was far more extreme than that of his ecclesiastical colleague and continued well into the reign of his son, Edward II.27 Interestingly, the length of incarceration and severity of punishment was equally harsh for Isabella, countess of Buchan, implying that it was by these two that the English monarchy felt most betrayed. This certainly suggests that they had gone beyond merely assisting Bruce in raising himself to the throne in the manner of his predecessors, rather creating a ceremonial occasion designed to make the Scottish king an equal to his English rival and remove any undertones of subservience that lingered.

**Ambition and Display in the Marriage of David Bruce and Joan of the Tower**

Robert Bruce’s own marriages had occurred long before his succession and there had been few opportunities beyond the battlefield for the Scottish king to demonstrate his royal majesty to a captive audience including foreign guests.28 His second wife, Elizabeth de Burgh, was accorded the title of queen in chronicle accounts, but none of the records of Robert I’s accession in 1306 suggest that his wife was present during the ritual, and she was captured shortly after in the repercussions that befell Bruce’s family and adherents.29 Even following victories against the
English, particularly Bannockburn and the subsequent release of Elizabeth, there are no records that indicate that her return was utilized for ceremonial display or a consort crowning. However, the marriage of Prince David, the infant heir of Robert I, to Joan of the Tower, daughter of the deposed Edward II and sister of Edward III, in 1328 provided a prominent opportunity for Bruce and must be considered primarily as a representation of the royal authority of the father rather than the son.

Heralded by the Treaty of Edinburgh–Northampton agreed in the spring of 1328 with Queen Isabella and Mortimer on behalf of Edward III, this marriage was intended to be the triumphant conclusion to the long drawn-out war between England and Scotland. Crucially for Scotland and Bruce, the treaty led to the English monarchy finally being forced to accept the sovereignty and independence of Robert I as King of Scotland, along with the return of the Black Rood relic. However, the young Edward III was by no means as anxious for peace as his mother and the agreement was a fragile one. Opinions recorded in some of the English chronicles at the time of the match also reveal open hostility, including one which states that the union was an “abaschemente oft alle Raille Blode of Englande.” Such opinions were undoubtedly aggravated by the demonstrations of Scottish confidence that accompanied the marriage and the shift in the balance of power that it represented. The very choice of Berwick as a site for the wedding was provocative: the town had been central to Bruce’s attempts to reclaim Scotland’s former boundaries, it was the last town retaken from the English, and the site from which he had “dictated” his terms in 1327. Even the ability to choose the venue made a distinct departure from the previous Anglo-Scottish marital unions of his Canmore predecessors, for this time the control was placed firmly in the hands of the Scots. The choice of Berwick overtly emphasized the victories Robert had achieved for his dynasty, and this prosperous border burgh – one of the largest in the realm – was able to support ceremonies designed to reflect an image of plenitude and opulence that would rival those of his contemporaries in scale and design.

The details of the betrothal ceremony on 17 July 1328 itself are sparse in surviving descriptive accounts. Despite the latent
animosity which remained between the English and the Scots in 1328, the chroniclers of both realms concur that the marriage was accompanied by rich display, competitive shows of knightly valour and luxurious feasting lasting for several days. Financial records for medieval Scotland are patchy at best and absent at worst, but there are surviving Exchequer Rolls covering the final two years of Robert I’s reign that add valuable insight to the preparations. Even the smallest details can be used to build up a picture of the event, such as the payments made to repair a wall around the cemetery of Saint Trinity church in Berwick after the ceremony, implying that the crowds collected in great volume around the church to see the infant royals enter and exit the church. Moreover, the records suggest a far higher cost than the proposed £1,000 price tag put on the celebrations by Penman, with the three main totals recorded adding up to over £2,300 without the individual smaller entries and additional supplies in livestock and other goods. Supplies were brought in from far and wide. Basics such as grain, flour, malt, barley, oats, beef, mutton and fifty-six casks of wine were brought to Berwick from around the Scottish realm, and the more expensive and exotic purchases arrived from abroad. While such procurement of goods may seem normal, this royal wedding in 1328 marks the first occasion when the Scottish financial sources yield sufficient material to assess the scale of ceremony and feasting found at an extraordinary event.

Two named merchants – Peter the Machinist and Thomas de Carnato – made separate journeys of acquisition specifically to procure items required for the festivities, recording spending of £941, 6d. and £400 respectively. Thomas de Carnato was, unfortunately for historians, royally exempt from providing an itemized list of his purchases, although the limited evidence suggests that his cargo contained exotic silks and precious metals, which will be discussed shortly. No royal exemption existed for Peter the Machinist so a full itemized list remains recording that he purchased a range of items, particularly fine fabrics, food stuffs, and cooking and serving equipment. The food products purchased illustrate the myriad of flavours and exotic aromas found in the feasting that took place, including pepper, cinnamon, honey, nutmeg, olive oil, galangal, mustard, cumin, ginger, saffron and
sugar. All these products were bought in vast quantities; for example, one bale of ginger contained 1,060 pounds of the spice and over forty pounds of saffron were bought for use in this ceremony, which give a clear indication of the scale of the event.

The quantity of food, quality of meat, and variety of exotic flavours would naturally have been used as an indicator of wealth and status. However, there are some purchases made together that particularly stand out: 4,360 pounds of almonds, forty loaves of sugar (equating to around 378 pounds), 2,104 “confections” and eight pounds of “colours for food.” These quantities of sugar, confections, and almonds combined with food colourings suggest some form of decorative marzipan dessert, with the colours possibly used for designs such as coats of arms as were used in the fifteenth century. During the wedding feast of James II and Mary of Guelders in 1449 the two main decorative dishes are found described by a French observer: the first, a savoury dish with a painted stuffed boar’s head surrounded by banners displaying the arms of the king and his nobility; and the second, an exquisitely crafted ship with silver cords carried in by the Admiral of the Scottish fleet, William Sinclair [St Clair] earl of Orkney, and four knights. Considering this marriage treaty signed at Brussels in 1449 was one of mutual military support and trade alliances, the latter display would have made a pointed statement about the nature of the marital union. This event was some hundred years after David’s marriage, when such forms of display were rising in prominence and elaboration. Yet, the financial accounts of the fourteenth-century Scottish court hint at the kind of displays that were the foundations of such later developments and reveal a ready understanding of the opportunities that food offered as a medium for projecting magnificence.

Food was, of course, just one item in an arsenal of display that could be deployed at such an occasion. Coloured cloth costing around £265, with additional vast quantities of fur for lining and trimming, was purchased for the clothing of soldiers, attendants, and men-at-arms for the wedding. The colours of the cloth are not specified; however, the lion rampant had been introduced by William I and rapidly became a prominent royal symbol – featuring on Alexander III’s and Bruce’s seal and later on David’s coinage.
Moreover, Stevenson has emphasized that the use of this powerful symbol of royalty was enhanced by Robert I on his seal as part of his broader project of display and propaganda.\textsuperscript{48} This increases the probability of the symbol’s use on the clothing of these men, as a potent but also relatively cheap way of making a strong royal statement. The expense lavished on the soldiers and attendants suggest that these figures would have been highly visible in the ceremony. They probably formed part of a ceremonial procession leading the couple to and from the church, and played their part in the feasting display by carrying the courses of food, led by the master of the household or another key official, as in fifteenth-century Scottish and European ceremonies.\textsuperscript{49} There was also a significant payment of over £61 made to a group of minstrels for their performances at the wedding celebrations. This was more than double the amount paid for the minstrels for David and Joan at the time of their coronation in 1331, while a group of English minstrels at Dumbarton shortly after the wedding festivities received just £4.\textsuperscript{50} These comparative expenses indicate that there were great numbers of musicians employed for an extended period of time at the wedding, and further amplify historians’ understanding of the scale of the occasion.

Regrettably, despite the relative wealth of material for David II’s marriage ceremony provided in the accounts, they do not allow many conclusions to be drawn with regards to the attire of the royal couple themselves. As previously noted, the merchant Thomas de Carnato appears to have been well-trusted by the crown,\textsuperscript{51} and the records that do exist of his purchases demonstrate that he was definitely purchasing precious metals:

\[\text{[\ldots] Et pro vno sigillo aureo ad opus regis, cum cathena argentea deaurata, et vno sigillo argentaeo, cum cathena argentea, pro domino rege nunc regnante, cvij s.}\textsuperscript{52}\]

\[\text{[\ldots] And for one gold seal for the work of the king, with a silver gilt chain and one silver seal, with a silver chain, for the lord king currently ruling, 108s.}\]
The existence of a specific and full set of royal regalia in Scotland at the start of Robert’s reign was certainly unlikely. However, Robert I’s manner of projecting Scottish magnificence and royal authority through this wedding seemed to spare no expense in creating the kind of image that would promote Scotland’s capacity to compete on the European stage, particularly with England. It is, therefore, highly probable that items of regalia (possibly child-sized) were made or purchased for the young prince for his wedding to Joan, and that Carnato may have been entrusted to acquire items such as a crown. Moreover, it is equally plausible that Robert sought to embellish or acquire new regalia of his own in preparation for the ceremony at Berwick. Alexander Brook has suggested that the cut of the diamonds found in the Scottish crown that remains extant today are of Indian origin, the style of which can be most comfortably dated back to the fourteenth century. Robert would not have been in the position to purchase diamonds and fit them to his crown for his own inaugural ceremony in 1306, but he could have done so at a later date.

Despite all the pleasure and luxuries provided at Berwick, the absence of Robert I himself must have been marked. The king did not accompany his son to Berwick; instead, Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and Sir James Douglas headed the party. Penman has proposed that Bruce’s decision was a conscious reaction to Edward III’s refusal to attend. However, it seems odd that Robert would snub his own son in this manner, particularly when he had laid out such great expense, due to the behaviour of teenaged Edward III who, unlike Robert, had little reason to rejoice in such a union. A more likely reason for his absence can be found in the chronicles and financial accounts of the latter years of Robert’s life, which all emphasise the issues regarding his increasingly ill health. The costs for the wedding are tellingly intermingled with the payments of physicians, for his tomb being fashioned in Paris, and even the preparations for his funeral. Furthermore, Barbour’s account describes a crowning ceremony for David and Joan following their return to Edinburgh in 1328:

He [Robert] has gert set a parliament
And thidder with mony men is went,
For he thoct he wald in his lyff
Croun his young son and his wyff
And at that parliament sua he did.\textsuperscript{58}

Barbour suggests that this parliament also contained an act of succession that officially placed the Steward (Robert Stewart, later Robert II) in line for the throne should the young prince die. This, along with the guardianship of Thomas Randolph and Sir James Douglas, was confirmed through oaths of fealty from the gathered estates. While this reveals Robert I’s confidence to crown the young couple without papal sanction, it also draws the pleasures of the wedding ceremony, and potential stability that the union should have brought, into a sharp contrast with the fear of dynastic insecurity that this infant couple’s accession would bring should Robert die during their infancy. Hindsight should not colour our view here, and it is true that many kings have been found preparing their tombs long before death. However, Robert’s preparations for death and the payments for physicians, found amidst those for the wedding, suggest that the king and those close to him were well aware of the speed with which this bond of peace could be shattered.

**The Final Journey: Bruce’s Funeral, 1329**

When it comes to scale of opulence and extravagance, it is perhaps the closing ceremony of Robert’s life that truly emphasizes his mastery of ceremonial display. The choice of Dunfermline as his place of rest was recorded in a letter to William, bishop of St Andrews, dated 1314, stating that he wished to be buried with honour near the tombs of his kingly predecessors.\textsuperscript{59} Both Boardman and Penman agree that the king’s choice was strongly linked to his attempts to bolster his own fledgling dynasty and firmly unite it with that of the former Canmore kings and St. Margaret.\textsuperscript{60} The provision of an effigy, or remodelling of an existing tomb, for William I at Arbroath and the setting up of perpetual illuminations there further reveal the use of memorial by Robert I, and emphasize his awareness of the potential political power in such representational actions.\textsuperscript{61} The separate burial of Robert’s entrails at
Cardross and his heart at Melrose can be clearly linked to the developments across Europe regarding separate burials of nobility, royalty and prelates.\(^{62}\) The removal of the heart and separate burial had been popular in England and France from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and there is strong evidence to suggest that such a practice had been in use for both Alexander II and Alexander III in thirteenth-century Scotland, if it had not been introduced earlier.\(^{63}\) Separate heart burial has been commonly linked to a desire to increase intercessory prayers for the dead but, as Danielle Westerhoff has argued in regards to English nobility, it was also tied to demonstrations of social status and noble display as embalming was an expensive practice.\(^{64}\)

It was not until 1331 that retrospective absolution for those who carried Bruce’s heart was granted.\(^{65}\) Therefore, the division of Robert’s body for burial was, in true Bruce style, openly flaunting disobedience to papal attempts to curb this practice with the bull *Desterande Feritatis* in 1299. There were many who flouted such rules, but the journey of Robert’s heart on crusade to Jerusalem – around the neck of Sir James Douglas in “a case of fine silver” – was in fact incredibly unusual, as Grant Simpson has discussed.\(^{66}\) While the pilgrimage of Robert’s heart was unusual, it must be considered alongside contemporary thinking regarding the heart as the “most worthy” organ that carried the “most noble” elements of an individual with it.\(^{67}\) Thus by ordering that his heart should make this final pilgrimage, Robert made a public statement that would have resonated with those who heard of it. The king’s heart did not reach its desired destination, due to the death of Douglas. However, on their arrival in the Low Countries, Douglas and his entourage of knights provided rich entertainment for guests on his ship making the journey itself a comprehensive propaganda exercise with Douglas acting as the flagship of Scottish representations of majesty abroad.\(^{68}\)

Robert died at his manor of Cardross near Dumbarton on 7 June 1329 and payments to the Rector of Cardross indicate that the oblations took place at Cardross, where a separate entrails burial took place as the king’s embalmed body lay in state prior to his journey to Dunfermline.\(^{69}\) The journey from Cardross to Dunfermline was between sixty and seventy miles, with at least two
stopping points of the funeral procession indicated by expenses accrued at Donipace and Cambuskenneth to carry out vigils each time Robert rested on his final journey.\textsuperscript{70} The exact route that Robert’s procession took cannot be confirmed, but other stopping points can be proposed extrapolating from what is certain. For example, the distance from Cambuskenneth to Dunfermline is around twenty miles and was perhaps broken by a further stop at Culross, which was central to the cult of St. Serf, mirroring the dedication of Cardross where the procession had begun.\textsuperscript{71}

Robert’s final journey through the realm gave increased time for vigils and was an elaborate manner of publicly announcing the death of the king. In this way it reflected a pattern found in earlier Scottish funerals, which would be continued until the final burial of a Scottish monarch in Scotland in 1543.\textsuperscript{72} It can be argued that Robert’s final journey saw the itinerant nature of the Scottish monarchy shaping the manner in which state ceremonial developed, as much as it affected the management of the realm at a more practical level, as it passed through his familial heartlands and across the central belt of power in the realm. This was a recognizable trait in subsequent early Stewart funerals, such as that of Robert II (d. 1390), which significantly also occurred where there were complexities and uncertainties regarding the succession.

The date of the actual burial at Dunfermline is unclear. It is possible that Robert, with the full awareness of his approaching death, or Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray and guardian, may have orchestrated a specific date for burial to tie it to a significant ceremony or event. It is posited by Ralph Griffiths that the use of regalia in English royal funerals was designed to emulate the pinnacle of the king’s majesty: the unction and coronation.\textsuperscript{73} Perhaps the most significant date for Bruce, rather than his controversial inauguration ceremony, would have been his victory at the battle of Bannockburn on 24 June 1314. Practically, even if this date had not been chosen specifically, his death on 7 June allowed for over two weeks for preparations and the journey from Cardross to Dunfermline if the ceremony had taken place on the memorial day of Bannockburn. Moreover, the route of Robert’s final journey meant that the full procession passed the very site itself. By combining the funeral ceremonial with this victory in
reclaiming Scottish independence, the king’s most glorious moment would be drawn into sharp focus in the memories of those who buried him.

At Dunfermline a painted wooden chapel – a “herse” or “chapelle ardent” – decorated with black material, candles and 2 pounds of gold leaf was erected over the king’s body. This is the first known reference to this kind of structure in a Scottish ceremony. Later structures of this type were central in royal funerals, such as those of James V and his wife Madeleine in the sixteenth century. These two structures in Holyrood Abbey over two centuries later were each aglow with candlelight and richly decorated with hundreds of heraldic escutcheons, and in James’s case additional decoration included clubs, swords, and other paraphernalia of war. Direct evidence of escutcheons or coats of arms on Robert’s “herse” cannot be found; however, the fact it was painted could imply some kind of heraldic or dynastic decoration, particularly when considering the wider European context. Peter Coss has emphasized how the Edwardian era of war across Europe saw a proliferation of heraldic symbolism and chivalric culture, and while the heraldic nature of Robert I’s hearse cannot be confirmed, the presence of knights certainly can.

Three surcoats and two hooded cloaks of black high grade lambskin were purchased for the dule wear (or mourning garments) for three knights, along with black cloth to cover the horse-drawn litter carrying the king. There are also entries relating to pieces of crepe or silk and a further 2,600 leaves of gold – 600 of which appear to have been backed with papyrus paper – the purpose of which is not specified. The Steward is singled out in the accounts as being provided with a piece of cloth, but not one specifically deemed for clothing. These pieces of cloth and gold leaf on papyrus paper may have been given as offerings by the nobility with the Steward leading the way. As David II was just five years old when his father died the Steward, Robert I’s teenage nephew and next in line for the throne, was likely chief mourner by default. Such offerings can be found described in both the English fifteenth-century Liber Regie Capelle, and in the sixteenth-century Scottish heraldic manuscript from John Scrymgeour’s collection, in which the cloth offered is described respectively as gold and black.
Scottish royal funerals of preceding centuries increasingly incorporated heraldic features, including offerings of knightly accoutrements, and the remaining evidence certainly suggests that the roots of these traits were firmly taking hold in the early fourteenth century.

The illuminations at the ceremony must have been staggering: 8,992 pounds of wax were released to John of Linlithgow for use throughout all the liturgy of the funeral and for torches to accompany the procession. The quantity of wax used was not quite as extravagant as that ordered for the funeral of Philip V in 1322 (13,000 pounds), but it was over 1,000 pounds more than that used at the funeral of Louis X in 1316 and more than double the 3,606 pounds used at Henry VII’s funeral in 1509. The volume of the illuminations suggests an elaboration of this ceremonial element to emphasize Robert’s status, but there were also layers of religious meaning – particularly for torches carried in the procession – including the apotropaic powers of the candles and connection to the light of Christ. Such a display would therefore have fit in with Bruce’s other activities to very publicly atone for the sins he had accumulated during his reign. This ceremonial feature was also one that remained prominent in Scottish funerals throughout subsequent centuries indicating the longevity of traditions that permeated the ceremonies of death.

Conclusion
These illuminations provide a fitting place to conclude this analysis of how state ceremonies in the reign of Robert Bruce can be used to cast further light over what were once described as the “dark and drublie days” of fourteenth-century Scotland. In both March 1306 and June 1329 the fragility of the Bruce dynasty was certainly a cause of underlying tensions and the political situations could barely be described as secure. Yet, in both cases ceremonial display was utilized to bolster the image of royal authority. The more that the events of 1306 are reassessed, as Barrow has suggested, the more the layers of stage management by the monarch and prominent men of the realm become visible. Conjecture must be called upon in the analysis of this event due to the nature of the extant source material. However, what is certain, considering the
significant players involved and the risks taken in supporting Bruce in 1306, is the unlikelihood of anything being left to chance. This pivotal moment required a significant statement about Bruce’s right to rule, which the crowning and anointing of the king herein proposed, amidst traditional elements drawn from the inaugurations of his predecessors, would certainly have made.

It is important to remember that Edward I was both an adversary and a model for Bruce, and that Robert was intent upon making a level playing field upon which to compete with his English counterpart. In the closing years of his reign, when the balance of power with England had shifted towards the Scots, the displays of the Bruce dynasty show conscious attempts to engage in the game of medieval one-upmanship with European contemporaries. The opportunity actively to display the power and majesty of the dynasty in direct competition with England came in 1328. The marriage of David and Joan was the first marriage between these two realms undertaken on Scottish soil and on Scotland’s terms. Every sensory display was harnessed and manipulated to illustrate the victory of the Bruce dynasty, however fragile it was in reality. The same dedication to mastering projections of royal authority was equally present in the final ceremony of Robert’s life as he made his way to his elaborate Parisian tomb in Dunfermline Abbey, a monument which was surely designed to mark a clear contrast to the simple tomb of his former rival. Edward I may have been long dead by 1328-9, but Robert’s desire to compete was very much alive.

These are also the first Scottish royal ceremonies for which comprehensive financial sources survive and allow increased insights into the roots of subsequent ceremonies which are unattainable for earlier weddings and funerals. As such these ceremonies are as much a benchmark for the study of royal ceremony as they are for the achievements of Robert Bruce. Simpson has stated that: “to be accepted as a king, one had to behave like a king,” and the ceremonies here discussed demonstrate that Robert I and the Bruce propaganda machine excelled at presenting an image of royal majesty on par with European contemporaries. War and strife were certainly prominent in fourteenth-century Scotland, but they should not be allowed to
disguise the very real abilities of Robert the Bruce in the forging and projecting a refined image of kingship and authority.

NOTES


3 Isobel Comyn, Countess of Buchan, nee MacDuff of Fife: referred to as filia/daughter of the earl of Fife in Guisborough (*The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, 367*) and recorded as sister of the under-aged 8th earl and daughter of the deceased 7th earl in *The Complete Peerage of England*. 
Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant, ed. G.E. Cokayne et al. (rep. in 6 volumes, Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 2000), 2:375. However, Barrow states that this is a mistake and she was in fact sister of 7th earl and aunt of the 8th earl (Barrow, Robert Bruce, 151, fn. 28). The role of the secular earls in the making of Scottish kings had a long and important heritage. The inauguration of Alexander II, for example, in 1214 saw nobles including the earl of Fife plus just one bishop attend the inauguration, while the majority of ecclesiastics stayed with the deceased William I to prepare him for burial. The role of the earl of Fife more specifically was to enthrone the king upon the inaugural stone, an action he is seen undertaking in the extant images of Alexander III’s inauguration in 1249 (in the Scone Seal, c. before 1280, and in an image from Bower’s Scotichronicon, c. 1440). For further on the role of the earls, specifically the role of the earl of Fife see: Archibald A.M. Duncan, “Making a King at Scone in the Thirteenth Century,” in The Stone of Destiny: artefact and icon, ed. Richard Welander, David J. Breeze, and Thomas O. Clancy (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 139-67; Dean, “Crowns, Wedding Rings and Processions,” ch. 2.


Projecting Dynastic Majesty


10 This process has begun in the author’s thesis: Dean, “Crowns, Wedding Rings and Processions.”

11 Gray, *Scalachronica*, 13; Michael Penman, “‘Sacred food for the soul’: in search of the personal piety and devotions to saints of Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, 1306-1329,” *Speculum* 84, no. 4 (Oct. 2013), 1039.


14 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, 5: 295; Walter de Gray Birch, *History of Scottish Seals from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, with upward of
two hundred illustrations derived from the finest and most interesting examples extant (Stirling: Æneas Mackay, 1905), 1: passim.


16 Thanks to Dr. Alasdair Ross and Dr. Sonja Cameron for letting the author read their forthcoming article on Bishop Robert Wishart: “The Bad Bishop: Robert Wishart and the Scottish Wars of Independence” (forthcoming).

17 “Bull of John XXII Concerning the Coronation of the Kings of Scotland” in Facsimile of the National Manuscripts of Scotland, selected under the direction of the Right Hon. Sir William Gibson-Craig, Bart. Lord Clerk Register of Scotland and photzincographed by command of her Majesty Queen Victoria by Sir Henry James (Edinburgh: HM Register House, 1867-72), 2: 24-5.


19 CDS, 2, no. 1914.


Thanks to Dr. Michael Penman for much discussion on this topic, see also comments published during the revision of this article: Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 96-7. For more on the “cleansing functions” of religious ritual see: T.A. Boogaart II, “Our Saviour’s Blood: Procession and Community in Late Medieval Bruges,” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rudopi, 2001), 69-116, esp. 70-72.


Barbour, *Bruce*, 88-9; CDS, 2, nos. 1812-6, 1818, 1824-5, 1827-8, 1903, 1906; CDS, 3, no. 24. Entry 1903 refers to a letter of February 1307 from Clement V to Edward I regarding the “translation” of important documents – including charters dating back to David I – from Scone to the abbey at Reading.

Cameron and Ross, “The Bad Bishop: Robert Wishart.” It is also pertinent to note that Wishart was incarcerated for longer than Bruce’s wife and daughters.

The only other occasion that has been proposed to have possibly included foreign guests (if not, it was attended by vast numbers of Scottish magnates and prelates) was the consecration of St. Andrews in 1318: Penman, “Who is this King of Glory?” Also briefly mentioned in Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 265-6.
The parody poem recording Bruce’s accession hints at Elizabeth’s absence, as it refers to Elizabeth’s comments to Bruce “when he was come home” from his inauguration with no mention that she accompanied him: *Passio Scotorum Perjutatorum*, 172. On her imprisonment: Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 75; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 293; Brown, *Wars of Scotland*, 201-202.

Rare surviving financial material rather than contemporary descriptive accounts allow understanding of David II’s wedding; therefore, it would be wrong to suppose that because there is no extant evidence for a significant ceremony upon the return of Queen Elizabeth to Scotland that no ceremony took place.

The Holy Rood of St. Margaret relic is recorded being returned in a couple of the English chronicles at this time (possibly a point at which other regalia was returned or promised along with the Stone of Destiny): *Old Chronicle or Kalendar or Chronicle of Brute, to the sixth year of Henry V*, Harley MS 4690, fols. 74v-75r, BL; *A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483; written in the fifteenth-century and for the first time printed from MSS. in the British Museum, to which are added numerous contemporary Illustrations, consisting of Royal Letters, Poems, and other articles descriptive of public events, or of the manners and customs of the metropolis*, ed. E. Tyrrel and Sir N. H. Nicholls (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1827), 52-3.


In particular see: *Old Chronicle*, BL Harley MS 4690, fols. 74v-75r, BL.

For more on the ceremonial of these thirteenth-century unions see Dean, “CROWNS, WEDDING RINGS AND PROCESSIONS,” 216-36.


17 July (or Sunday prior to St. Mary Magdalene feast day, 22 July) is recorded in: Fordun, *Chronicle*, 345; Bower, *Scotichronicon*, 7:43;
Chronicle of Lanercost, 260-61. However, some English chronicles state it was on the feast day of St. Mary Magdalene itself including: Old Chronicle, BL Harley MS 4690, f. 75r, BL. Penman states 12 July: David II, 18.

37 Bower, Scotichronicon, 7:43; Barbour, Bruce, 746-9; Monachus de Bridlington, BL Harley MS 688, fols. 316v-317r, BL; Mary Anne Everett Green, Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest (London: Henry Colburn, 1849), 3:105. Everett Green refers to over three hundred and sixty lances or spears provided by Isabella for a mock spear fight and references Wardrobe Fragment, 2 Edward III, Queen's Rembrancer; however, this has not been located in English royal financial material at National Archives (Kew) despite searching all expense rolls and fragments from 1327 to 1330.


39 There are a number of smaller individual entries and incoming livestock and goods recorded for the wedding, but the three “bulk” costs from the accounts total: £2308, 11 s., 4 d. ER, 1:118-19, 149, 185; Penman, David II, 18-19.

40 ER, 1:cxvi-cxvii, 185-92.

41 Ibid., cxiv-cxv, 149-50.

42 Exchequer Records: Exchequer Rolls, E38/7, National Records of Scotland (NRS); ER, 1:cxiii-cxv, 118-19. Spot check undertaken to assess accuracy of edited volume transcription and revealed only very minor discrepancies.

43 Ibid. The almonds and loaves of sugar alone were £53, 18 s. (over a ninth of the cost of Peter’s acquisitions), and were in addition to seventy pounds of cheaper (presumably lower quality) sugar bought separately in a barrel for the kitchen/provisions, which suggests that the loaves of sugar were for a specific purpose.

44 For example, see discussion of the iconography of “soltetes” – “three-dimensional tableaux that were sculpted from sugar paste and then painted” at the coronation banquet of Katherine de Valois, queen of Henry V, in February 1421: Joel F. Burden, “Rituals of Royalty: Prescription, Politics and Practice in English Coronation and Royal Funeral Rituals c. 1327 to c. 1485” (Unpublished Thesis, University of York, 1999), 197-220, quote 220.

46 This kind of display can be found epitomized in the Feast of the Pheasant organized at Lille by Duke Philip of Burgundy in 1454. Olivier de la Marche’s account of the event is translated and discussed in Andrew Brown and Graeme Small, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries, c. 1420-1530* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 36-53.


49 For Scottish examples in regards to James II and James IV see: Dean, “Crowns, Wedding Rings and Processions,” 256-7, 273-4.

50 *ER*, 1:cviii, 210, 398.

51 See above note 42.

52 *ER*, 1:150.


56 It is suggested that on receiving the news of his sister’s marriage to David, Edward III burst into tears: Penman, *David II*, 18.


University Press, 1988), no. 44. Entry states that he wished to be buried: “propter honorem sepulture regum predecessorum nostrum.”

60 Boardman, “Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum,” 144-5; Michael Penman, “A Programme for Royal Tombs in Scotland?” 244-7. For further discussion on the king’s devotional practices see: Penman, “Sacred food for the soul,” 1035-62.


64 Westerhoff, Death and the Noble Body, 76-80.


66 Bower, Scotichronicon, 7:65; J. Froissart, Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries from the latter part of the

67 Westerhoff, Death and the Noble Body, esp. 51, 95.

68 Ibid., 180-82. Simpson uses the detailed contemporary account of Jean le Bel for this event.

69 Exchequer Records: Exchequer Rolls, E38/10, NRS; ER, 1:215.

70 Ibid., 297.


72 The procession was a central aspect of the Scottish funeral from the funeral of William I in 1214 until that of James V in 1542-3 (died December, buried January): Dean, “Crowns, Wedding Rings and Processions,” ch. 1.


74 Exchequer Records: Exchequer Rolls, E38/9, NRS; ER, 1:150, 197, 215. Both terms are used to describe the structure in the accounts.


77 E38/10, NRS; ER, 1:176, 213, 255-6.

78 Ibid, 221; E38/10, NRS.

79 Liber Regie Capelle was written by the Dean of the Chapel Royal, William Say, c. 1448; however, it is an extended version of “Rubrica de Regis Exequitis” from the Liber Regalis seu Ordo Consecrandi Regem

80 Liber Regie Capelle, 113; John Scrymgeour’s heraldic collection: “The maner hou herrauldis and purfevants fould know of oblesquis,” National Library of Scotland (NLS) MS. Adv. 31.5.2 fols. 15r-16v. For transcription of MS, see: Dean, “Crowns, Wedding Rings and Processions,” Appendix A.

81 E38/9-10, NRS; ER, 1:150-51, 193, 232. The funeral liturgy would have extended beyond the immediate ceremony and the wax would have been used across this elongated liturgical performance.


86 Barrow, Robert Bruce, 152.

87 Duffy, Royal Tombs, 96-9.

“WEARY FOR THE Heather AND THE Deer”: R. L. STEVENSON DEPICTS THE SCOTTISH DIASPORIC EXPERIENCE

Christy Danelle Di Frances*

In 1871, Robert Louis Stevenson published “An Old Scots Gardener” in the Edinburgh University Magazine. The central character of this essay can be read as a prototype of the old-fashioned Scot, his “Scottishness”—in a psychological sense—symbolised within Stevenson’s narrative by an inexorable physical correlation with the landscape of his homeland. That is, this individual’s sense of identity is intrinsic to his geographical location:

he stands essentially as a genius loci. It is impossible to separate his spare form and old straw hat from the garden in the lap of the hill, with its rocks overgrown with clematis, its shadowy walks, and the splendid breadth of champaign that one saw from the north-west corner. The garden and gardener seem part and parcel of each other. When I take him from his right surroundings and try to make him appear for me on paper, he looks unreal and phantasmal: the best that I can say may convey some notion to those that never saw him, but to me it will be ever impotent.¹

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Yet Stevenson’s quintessential Scotsman, who appears so “part and parcel” of the unique topography of his homeland is portrayed here as being somehow “unreal and phantasmal,” a vanishing point amidst the fluid migration and emigration patterns which characterized nineteenth-century Scotland. This character, we are informed,

was full of tales of greater situations in his younger days. He spoke of castles and parks with a humbling familiarity. He told of places where under-gardeners had trembled at his looks, where there were meres and swanneries, labyrinths of walk and wildernesses of sad shrubbery in his control, till you could not help feeling that it was condescension on his part to dress your humbler garden plots.2

As is often the case with Walter Scott’s writing, we are meant to feel the contrast between a robust national past and the far more mutable present. However, for Stevenson, writing from a different chronological vantage point than his literary predecessor (in ideological perspective as well as historical distance), Scotland becomes the homeland that is diminishing in an increasingly physical way due to heightened emigration, as a multitude of Scots leave behind “humbler garden plots” for the adventure and opportunity represented by remote destinations.

This paper explores the intensely personal representations of boundary-crossings in Stevenson’s fiction, demonstrating how these narratives can be mapped onto broader cultural and national constructions of a collective diaspora experience. My goal is to reveal how even a cursory examination of Stevenson’s depictions of Caledonian emigrants leads to a distinctive re-imagining of “Scottishness” in terms of cultural identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I use the term diaspora here according to the Oxford English Dictionary’s definition of a “group of people who have spread or become dispersed beyond their traditional homeland or point of origin” to describe Scots who migrated either temporarily or permanently – and in both regional and transnational
Employing several of Stevenson’s novels as touchpoints, I investigate his narrative exploration of the Scottish diasporic experience. In order to do so, I first provide a brief glimpse into his interaction with the idea of diaspora in Scottish cultural and literary tradition, considering this in conjunction with his personal experience of emigration and “exile.” This background material is followed by a consideration of how Stevenson’s employment of adventure narrative offers insights into his construal of the physical and emotional landscapes of diaspora, which for him comprise transnational destinations as well as “foreign” regions of Scotland. Finally, I consider characters from *Kidnapped* (1886) and *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889) as providing enactments of political, economic, and psychological realities of the Scottish emigrant experience.

**Stevenson and the Scottish Diaspora**

Today, more than twenty-five million people of Scottish descent reside beyond the geographical borders of Scotland. The enormity of this number is somewhat less surprising when we recall that Scots have been emigrating in substantial numbers since at least the thirteenth century. Indeed, David Armitage contends that “Scotland’s history is a transnational history because the Scots have been such a prominently international people. In their far-flung wanderings, their diverse settlements, and their well-tended nostalgia, the Scots are a diasporic people.” Perhaps due to the sheer magnitude of this social phenomenon, the collective experience of exile and emigration—whether forced or voluntary, permanent or temporary—has over time become inscribed onto the Scottish cultural psyche as a self-perceived point of identity which, in turn, is demonstrated throughout the nation’s dialogic history. Of course, this is not a phenomenon associated exclusively with Scottish emigration, and it intersects with the realm of postcolonial criticism which has been so usefully employed in considering Stevenson’s South Seas fiction. Indeed, Stuart Hall makes a strong point when—in writing about cultural identity issues involved with the Caribbean diaspora—he observes how, “[t]ar from being grounded in mere ‘recovery’ of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will secure our sense of ourselves
into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.\textsuperscript{7}

For many emigrants, being grounded in the historical past engenders the formation of a strong identity which, in turn, helps to create a more definitive sense of place, or belonging, in the geographical and chronological present. This is certainly true in regards to the Scottish experience—as Catriona Macdonald emphasizes, “at all times and in both overt and subtle ways, nationhood has been a central theme in Scotland’s diaspora story.”\textsuperscript{8}

The conceptualization of a highly nationalized cultural identity is certainly a leitmotif of the Scottish literary tradition. In his 1818 novel, \textit{The Heart of Midlothian}, Scott provides an interesting viewpoint on the cultural bonds which unite his countrymen (and women), whether at home or outwith their native land. He writes:

\begin{quote}
Perhaps one ought to be actually a Scotchman to conceive how ardently, under all distinctions of rank and situation, they feel their mutual connexion with each other as natives of the same country. There are, I believe, more associations common to the inhabitants of a rude and wild, than of a well-cultivated and fertile country; their ancestors have more seldom changed their place of residence; their mutual recollection of remarkable objects is more accurate; the high and the low are more interested in each other’s welfare; the feelings of kindred and relationship are more widely extended, and, in a word, the bonds of patriotic affection, always honourable even when a little too exclusively strained, have more influence on men’s feelings and actions.\textsuperscript{9}
\end{quote}

Scott here appeals to a shared historical experience, and a tempestuous one at that, as an explanation for the sense of kinship which exists amongst Scottish people, and it can certainly be extended to include those residing abroad.\textsuperscript{10}
Stevenson was well acquainted with the nationalistic persuasions of his epic literary predecessor, and in his work ideas of Scottishness extend beyond the home turf, so to speak, and become interlaced with the emigrant experience. An author perennially intrigued by the “foreign lands” about which he penned his eponymous children’s poem, Stevenson’s peripatetic adventures in Europe, America, and finally (as a true emigrant rather than temporary traveler) in the South Seas served to familiarize him with the diasporic experience, as publications such as *The Amateur Emigrant* (1895) certainly demonstrate. Although his experience does not reflect the oft-depicted plight of Scots who departed the shores of their homeland—“Never perhaps to greet old Scotland more!” (in the words of Robert Burns)—neither was his discursive pattern of leaving and return an atypical one. In fact, as Ann C. Colley points out, “Stevenson’s wandering was also part of his conforming to the composite portrait of a Scot. His continual departing and absences identified him with his nation by linking him to the Highland chieftains who fled their homes in fear of their lives and to the ‘Wandering Willies’ of the ballads who carried what is lost within themselves and their memories. Part of being a Scot was to be living in exile, for better or worse.” Certainly, Stevenson embodied this throughout his adult years, and his fiction and essays deal extensively with conceptualizations of geographical and cultural boundary-crossings, thus contributing to a larger discourse surrounding the diasporic experience.

Critics have become increasingly aware of the rich insights to be gained from considering Stevenson’s work through the lens of Scottish Studies, since many of his narratives are steeped in the cultural and historical preoccupations of his homeland. Like most nineteenth-century Scottish authors, Stevenson was keenly aware of his “non-Englishness,” as illustrated by his frequent and self-conscious use of Scots—or at least a textual reconstruction of Scots—in both published works and personal correspondence. One example of many can be observed in the following letter, where he writes rather facetiously to a friend from home:

What’s mair, Sir, it’s Scōtch: no strong, for the sake o’ they pock-puddens, but jist a kitchen o’t, to
leeven the wersh, sapless, fushionless, stotty, stytering South-Scotch they think sae muckle o’. Its name is Kidnaaped; or Memoyers of the Adventyers of Darvid Balfour in the year seventeen hunner and fifty wan.14

This ideological dynamic, in conjunction with Stevenson’s own travels, provides a unique construct for considering his depictions of the emigrant experience. While the diasporic aspects of Stevenson’s travel essays and South Seas writings have been the subject of critical interest in recent years, markedly less attention has been paid to the ways in which his Scottish fiction can be read as performing actualizations of emigrant life.15

In addition to Kidnapped, texts such as The Master of Ballantrae and Catriona (1893) hinge upon extraordinarily significant events in Scottish cultural history, such as the Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the Appin Murder which occurred in Lettermore Wood in 1752. The Appin Murder is perhaps best known as an isolated act of violence which became the catalyst for the subsequent trial, conviction, and execution of James Stewart (“James of the Glens”) by a predominantly Whiggish court—a perversion of justice that left a lingering scar on the Scottish cultural consciousness. Furthermore, Stevenson’s works allude to the Battle of Culloden in 1746 with its ensuing Act of Proscription in 1747, which banned Highland dress and arms. Events such as these contributed to the socio-political expulsion of Scots from their homeland in the eighteenth century. As will be demonstrated in more detail shortly, his writing also takes into consideration the less dramatic but more prevalent economic, cultural and domestic factors that contributed to the nation’s emigration throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Many of Stevenson’s Scottish characters enact various types of temporary or permanent expatriates whose real-life historical counterparts comprise a fascinating cross-section of their nation’s vast diasporic movement. Naturally, we must make allowances for the vast differences in motivation and circumstances of Scots who emigrated due to poverty or dispossession in contrast to those who left their homeland in search of wealth and adventure.
Yet all of these individuals should be viewed as contributors to the collective diasporic experience, and their stories gesture towards the idea of diaspora as a global phenomenon—occurring transnationally as well as internally, across cultural boundaries and borders. Indeed, in this paper I will argue that some of Stevenson’s “diasporic” characters never actually leave Scotland.16

In *Kidnapped*, for example, themes of diaspora are evident from the first chapter, which opens with David Balfour “migrating” from the village of Essendean to Edinburgh in search of his peculated inheritance. Of course, this initial trek evolves into an epic journey which eventually leads him across the Highlands—no insubstantial distance in the eighteenth century! Drawing significantly upon a trope of the adventure genre, the imagery of David’s movements conjures up obvious parallels to the experiences of many Scots who sought to improve their financial circumstances through either domestic or international relocation.17 A darker version of this situation occurs in *The Master of Ballantrae*, in which James Durie epitomizes the adventurous, if morally dubious, emigrant-adventurer on a quest for wealth and fame. So far, then, these protagonists (although diametrically opposed in terms of character) seem to be following similar trajectories in which leaving the familiar landscapes of home is merely one more “twist” in the tropic *bildungsroman*. Upon further investigation, however, we begin to see how political unrest and cultural strife comprise significant factors contributing to their physical movements.

**Diasporic Landscapes**

So how does Stevenson construe the physical and emotional landscapes of diaspora in his fiction? While all (or at least a significant portion) of *Kidnapped, The Master of Ballantrae, Catriona* and *Weir of Hermiston* (1896) are set within Scotland, Stevenson seems at pains to create a sharp distinctions between the “familiarity” of Lowland landscapes and an imaginatively conceptualized “exotic other” represented by Europe, North America, the High Seas and even the geographically-near-but-ideologically-remote Highlands. Why does he do this? Certainly, as Barry Menikoff points out: “Nothing in a Stevenson text is merely
technical, nothing is without meaning [. . .].” One answer can be found by examining nineteenth-century adventures, since by doing so we find that the distinctions of place in Stevenson’s novels are clearly reminiscent of narrative conventions popularized by such fiction. Margaret Bruzelius explains how, in Victorian adventure literature:

the essential constitutive element of fantasy is the exotic landscape, an “elsewhere” that is different from, but close to, the public world. [. . .] This “elsewhere” has to be near enough so that the hero can stumble into it but remains entirely marginal to the public world. It is a space that exists to be left behind: it can never be colonized or acquired by the public patriarchal order, and will never change.

Within the larger exotic landscape the hero traverses a generative space, an enclosed area nearly always containing water, in which he finds some essential piece of information he needs to know to bring his plot to a conclusion. The encounter with this space and the story contained in it propel the hero out of the exotic space back to the public world.19

So, if we read Stevenson’s Scottish texts through the lens of adventure narrative, we can map his characters’ journeys in ways that shed light on his portrayal of the diaspora experience. Sometimes his exotic landscapes are clearly international, while at other points “uncanny” places within Scotland are employed as settings for characters to undergo an emigrant-like experience. Indeed, I contend that works such as Kidnapped and Weir of Hermiston can be viewed as diasporic novels, despite the fact that their protagonists never actually leave Scotland, because they operate within the adventure tradition. Hence, in these novels the binary of “home” and “abroad” is configured not only in terms of transnational journeys but also within the context of leaving one cultural and physical region for another.
Let us recall first an example of the former sort of journey: in *The Master of Ballantrae*, Henry Durie is compelled by ongoing conflict with his brother James to emigrate to that geographic and psychological hinterland which the narrator refers to as the “wilderness” of an unknown New World. Here we have a clearly transnational context for diaspora. Interestingly, rather than flourishing in his new surroundings, Henry only retreats further into his distressed psyche—as evidenced by his increased use of Scots language—in a vain attempt to reclaim the homescape of his lost past.

[Henry] caught Sir William by the coat with a hooked hand. “This man has the name of my brother,” says he, “but it’s well understood that he was never canny.”

“Canny?” says Sir William. “What is that?”

“He’s not of this world,” whispered [Henry], “neither him nor the black deil that serves him. I have struck my sword throughout his vitals,” he cried, “I have felt the hilt dirl on his breastbone, and the hot blood spirt in my very face, time and again, time and again!” he repeated, with a gesture indescribable. “But he was never dead for that,” said he, and I sighed aloud. “Why should I think he was dead now? No, not till I see him rotting,” says he.  

Henry’s use of Scots in this emotional diatribe against his brother demonstrates a fascinating psychological return to the landscapes of his homeland, from which he has become estranged as a parallel repercussion to the psychological and physical breakdown of his family.

In Stevenson’s final, unfinished novel, *Weir of Hermiston*, domestic strife leads to a similar exile narrative—but this one occurs within Scotland when young Archie Weir is banished to the cultural peripheries (represented by regions beyond metropolitan eighteenth-century Edinburgh) after perpetrating an act of public defiance against his father, Lord Hermiston, the Justice-Clerk. Again, we can map such regions onto the international landscapes.
of the historical Scottish diaspora. So, it is in these archetypal “hinterlands” of his adventurous Highlands, the uncanny Bass Rock, Europe, India, and North America that Stevenson weaves a narrative environment which might be read as conceptually akin to the exotic (read unfamiliar) international landscapes encountered by historical emigrants, from the snowy mountains and rugged forests of Canada to balmy Pacific islands to New Zealand glacier-lands and the vast Australian bush—that atmosphere imbued with unfamiliar animals and the fragrance of a thousand eucalypts. Amidst such alien landscapes, many emigrants felt a cultural strangeness which one of Stevenson’s most memorable characters, Alan Breck Stewart, summarizes well: “I weary for my friends and country [. . .] France is a braw place, nae doubt; but I weary for the heather and the deer” of the Scottish Highlands. The following brief case studies of David Balfour and Alan Breck Stewart in *Kidnapped*, as well as *The Master of Ballantrae*’s James Durie, offer a glimpse into how Stevenson’s fiction engages with the historical causes and realities of Scottish emigration.

**Kidnapped and The Master of Ballantrae**

The *bildungsroman* chronicled in *Kidnapped* (and *Catriona*) provides a fascinating example of how Stevenson constructs fictional renditions of individual emigrants and exiles whose journeys resulted from large-scale circumstances of cultural conflict within Scotland. The dual protagonists of these novels, young David (Lowlander by birth, Presbyterian of creed, a thoroughgoing Hanoverian in political allegiance) and Alan Breck Stewart (Highlander, Catholic, Jacobite), represent oppositional victims of political tension who are forced to undergo at least temporary exile from Scotland. Within the historical setting of *Kidnapped* in 1751—half a century after the landmark Act of Union in 1707, but with the massacre at Culloden moor still a fresh memory—David and Alan become caught up in analogous facets of Scottish socio-political strife: the internal cultural discord geographically demarcated by the Highland-Lowland Divide and the Anglo-Scottish tensions that were manifest both in acts of outright violence and through a more subtle, but equally devastating, cultural suppression.
Stevenson’s construction of David and Alan as obviously antithetical characters serves to highlight the diversity of individuals whose familial associations, actions, beliefs, or material holdings contributed to their flights from Scotland. In *Kidnapped*, readers quickly discover that Alan has been exiled for his Jacobite affiliations. David spends much of that novel in flight due to his “guilt by association,” while in *Catriona* he is exiled to the Bass Rock for a staunch refusal to remain silent about his eyewitness account of the Appin Murder. Both characters are fiercely loyal to their visions of what Scotland *should be*; they endure exile because of what the nation *is*, or was, at that moment in its socio-historical progression. Together, then, these curious *doppelgangers* can be read as Stevenson’s amalgamated representation of the many Scots who became unwilling participants in a broader historical diaspora due to civil unrest.23

However, given that fact that all of *Kidnapped*, as well as a great deal of *Catriona*, takes place in Scotland, are we indeed justified in mapping the protagonists’ journeys onto a historical experience of international emigration (and thus diaspora)? I maintain that, if we employ the rubric outlined previously for considering the Highlands and Islands (including the Bass Rock) examples of exotic “elsewhere,” than the answer is affirmative. Moreover, in *Kidnapped*, textual clues alert us to parallels between David’s experiences and those of real-life Scottish emigrants. When Stevenson’s protagonist crosses by ferry from the Isle of Mull to the Scottish mainland, he comes upon the following scene:

> a great seagoing ship at anchor [. . .] and there began to come to our ears a great sound of mourning, the people on board and those on the shore crying and lamenting one to another so as to pierce the heart.

> Then I understood this was an emigrant ship bound for the American colonies.

> We put the ferry-boat alongside, and the exiles leaned over the bulwarks, weeping and reaching out their hands to my fellow-passengers, among whom they counted some near friends. [. . .] the chief singer in our boat struck into a melancholy
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...air, which was presently taken up both by the emigrants and their friends upon the beach, so that it sounded from all sides like a lament for the dying. I saw the tears run down the cheeks of the men and women in the boat, even as they bent at the oars."24

As readers, we seem to be intentionally left wondering about why these families have been compelled to leave their homes. Are they joining fathers and brothers who fled for their lives after the 1745 Rising? Here, as so often in his writing, Stevenson intentionally evades simplistic explanations. Looking to corresponding historical evidence, we may assume that a mixture of social, political, and economic factors may present contributing factors to such a tragic deportation—after all, in addition to tensions surrounding the final Jacobite Rising, the Highlands and Islands were regions marked by extreme poverty throughout the eighteenth century, as described in Edmund Burt’s *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London* (1754, but primarily written in 1727-1728). Like Colin Campbell of Glenure, who Alan refers to as the “Red Fox” in *Kidnapped*, Burt was responsible for collecting rents from lands that had been forfeited after the Jacobite Rising of 1715.25

**Economics of Diaspora**

Unfortunately, the economic situation in the Highlands largely failed to improve with the passage of time—even the 1840s and 1850s were marked by the eviction of poor subsistence farmers to make room for sheep farming, in that much-mythologized but nevertheless real phenomenon known as the Highland Clearances. Hence, we can easily find songs like that of Ian Sinclair, who emigrated to Canada in 1840: “But, alas, my ruin, / what necessitated my coming out [from Scotland] / was seeing that there was no advantage / in my staying there much longer, / since the glens were being filled with sheep / and the folk driven from their homes.”26 Indeed, an account strikingly similar to that of Stevenson’s boat emigrants in *Kidnapped* emerges from the words of Calum Bàn MacMhannain from the Isle of Skye, who emigrated to Prince Edward Island in 1803: “When we set out / from the
Harbour at Portree / there were many sorrowful people on shore; / they gazed across intently / with their eye on the vessel.”

Even the famed Flora MacDonald, much lionized in popular lore for her courageous rescue of Charles Edward Stuart after Culloden, was not immune from economic hardships. In 1772, she wrote about her native Skye as a poor miserable Island, the best of its inhabitance are making ready to follow their friends to America, while they have anything to bring them; and among the rest we are to go, especially as we cannot promise ourselves but poverty and oppression, having last Spring and this time two years lost almost our whole Stock of Cattle and horseis, we lost within there three years, three hundred and twenty seven heads, so that we have hardly what will pay our Creditors which we are to let them have and begin the world again, a newe, in a othere Corner of it.

Two years later, Flora and her husband Allan emigrated to North Carolina. While the drama of the Clearances has captured the popular imagination since the nineteenth century, in reality, the Lowland poor fared little better. Emigration, although rarely forced, was frequently encouraged as a means of relieving the economic pressure caused by unemployment, particularly in dense urban areas.

In *Kidnapped*, David Balfour considers this boat scene to be “melancholy” but makes no overt association between himself and the emigrants, who, though Highlanders, are nevertheless his fellow Scots. For readers, however, there is an ironic parallelism to be found between the emigrants’ experience and David’s “adventure” of undergoing enforced removal from home via a ship bound for the Americas. The imagery of the ship figures into the diaspora in an obviously significant way, since travel by sea was a primary mode of emigration. Additionally, as a geographic and imaginative location, the ocean functions as another “elsewhere” for adventure narrative. Marjory Harper touches upon the
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prevalence of abductions in Scotland, recalling “those unfortunate individuals who fell victim to the kidnapping trade, in which Aberdeen gained a particular notoriety in the mid-eighteenth century.”30 Harper goes on to cite the well-documented case of Peter Williamson, who as a youth was abducted from the harbour at Aberdeen and shipped off to Philadelphia, where he was sold for £16 as an indentured servant.31 The published account of his travails, The Life and Curious Adventures of Peter Williamson, who was Carried Off from Aberdeen and sold for a slave (1801) was popular, and, perhaps unsurprisingly given Stevenson’s avid reading of Scottish historical literature, bears a striking resemblance to the unabbreviated title of his own work: Kidnapped, being Memoirs of the adventures of David Balfour in the year 1751. How he was Kidnapped and cast away; his sufferings in a Desert Isle; his Journey in the Wild Highlands; his acquaintance with Alan Breck Stewart and other notorious Highland Jacobites; with all that he suffered at the hands of his uncle, Ebenezer Balfour of Shaws, falsely so called. Indeed, had it not been for Alan, David Balfour might have undergone a similar fate to that of Williamson:

The ship was bound for the Carolinas; and you must not suppose that I was going to that place merely as an exile. The trade was even then much depressed; since that, and with the rebellion of the colonies and the formation of the United States, it has, of course, come to an end; but in those days of my youth, white men were still sold into slavery on the plantations, and that was the destiny to which my wicked uncle had condemned me.32

This historically accurate summary demonstrates Stevenson’s acute awareness of the context surrounding indentured servitude (whether voluntary or involuntary) as very real experience of some Scottish emigrants in the eighteenth century.

Politics of Diaspora
Interestingly, Stevenson’s young protagonist undergoes a similar ordeal in Catriona, but this time political intrigue, rather than a
greedy relative, is the driving force behind his abduction. In the latter situation, David’s experience mirrors that of Rachel Erskine, Lady Grange, whose estranged husband arranged to have her kidnapped in 1732 as a means of silencing her accusations of his involvement in the Jacobite Rising of 1715. She was taken from Edinburgh and kept in various remote locations on the geographical peripheries of Scotland. The incident acquired a level of notoriety and is referred to more than once in Catriona. Like both Lord Prestongrange in that novel and Ebenezer Balfour in Kidnapped, Rachel Erskine’s husband preferred imprisonment to murder, a sentiment which Stevenson treats rather humorously in Kidnapped:

“Troth, sir,” said Alan [acting in disguise],
“I ask for nothing but plain dealing. In two words: do ye want the lad killed or kept?”
“O sirs!” cried Ebenezer. “O sirs, me! that’s no kind of language!”
“Killed or kept!” repeated Alan.
“O, keepit, keepit!” wailed my uncle. “We’ll have nae bloodshed, if you please.”
“Well,” says Alan, “as ye please; that’ll be the dearer.”
“The dearer?” cries Ebenezer. “Would ye fyle your hands wi’ crime?”
“Hoot!” said Alan, “they’re baith crime, whatever! And the killing’s easier, and quicker, and surer. Keeping the lad’ll be a fashious job, a fashious, kittle business.”
“I’ll have him keepit, though,” returned my uncle. “I never had naething to do with onything morally wrong; and I’m no gaun to begin, to pleasure a wild Hielandman.”
“Ye’re unco scrupulous,” sneered Alan.
“I’m a man o’ principle,” said Ebenezer, simply; “and if I have to pay for it, I’ll have to pay for it. And besides,” says he, “ye forget the lad’s my brother’s son.”
In his fictional kidnapping accounts, Stevenson does two things: first, he focuses on the blend of economic and domestic tension as a motive for enforced exile (as regards the conflict with Ebenezer Balfour in *Kidnapped*), and, second, he reverses the political affiliations of victim and perpetrator (when David is captured and held on the Bass Rock by Whigs rather than Jacobites in *Catriona*).

Interestingly, this twin focus on political and domestic causes for emigration recurs throughout Stevenson’s Scottish oeuvre. In *Weir of Hermiston*, for example, Lord Hermiston can be read as representing an old Scotland: mythic in stature, awe-inspiring if terrible, powerful but cruel. He is the scourge of both criminal and dissenter (whether political or religious), a character wholly incompatible with his more temperate son, who—like so many of Sir Walter Scott’s protagonists—embodies a new and less heroic generation. Stevenson here re-navigates the poetic vision of Scott, formulating a scenario in which, as Ian Duncan observes,

> The hero comes into his own—responds authentically to the revealed force of history—as captive and fugitive. Typically he flies across unknown country, falsely accused of treason, unwittingly sharing the plight of those on the wrong side of historical power: his agency aloof from the meaning of events (yet expressing their essential, deadly truth) as he invests it in the pure motion of escape.\(^{36}\)

This sort of construction is readily apparent in David Balfour, who to some degree perpetuates the national struggle epitomized by characters in Scott’s novels. Perhaps more engagingly than is evidenced by the English protagonists of *Waverley* (1814) and *Rob Roy* (1817), we can ascertain a fascinating presentation of this motif in the amalgamation of those thoroughly Scottish characters Effie and Jeanie Deans in *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), with one sister representing a typical victim of legal injustice whilst the other’s actions serve to realize an archetypal flight in search of exoneration. A similar dynamic is also evidenced in Archie Weir, through whom Stevenson establishes a more granular presentation
of this scenario by transcribing the national struggle onto a primarily domestic one: Archie does not so much physically as emotionally flee from his biological father, and—while their struggle is primarily familial in nature—the strained relationship is perpetually haunted by the overburdening shadow cast by Adam Weir’s judicial authority. The Lord Justice Clerk’s political vocation is inextricably united with domestic discord, thus enacting a situation in which emigration becomes an essential mode of escape for many of Scotland’s “children.” The microcosmic exile experienced by Archie mirrors a far wider diaspora to unknown hinterlands in the furthest corners of the globe.

In *Kidnapped*, while David and Alan do eventually move towards an ideological alignment centered upon their resistance to the English political system, initially they portray civil tensions that, from a historical perspective, extended far beyond the borders of their homeland. As many scholars of Scottish socio-political history have noted, the Highland Lowland Divide marked far more than merely a geographical reference point: it functioned as a cultural symbol delineating radical shifts in language, religion and political affiliations. Not surprisingly, for Scots on both sides of this civil dispute, the polarized identities associated with these two regions carried enough emotional weight to extend beyond national boundaries. Angela McCarthy emphasizes how historical evidence, such as “migrant personal testimonies—private letters, shipboard journals, and diaries—demonstrates that Scottishness was both an overarching identity and one that was inextricably linked to regional, county, and local identities. So, as well as national, Highland, Lowland and Island affiliations, emphasis was also given to county origins and particular places of origin.”

Gaelic, while conscious of the complex and concentric nature of identity, long continued to perceive themselves primarily in collective terms as a specific ethnic group delimited by language, distinct from and often in opposition to Lowlanders whose influence and institutions in North America,
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as in Scotland, worked to the detriment of Gaelic cultural traditions.39

Stevenson highlights this reality in *Kidnapped* when Alan’s shipboard storytelling reveals his belief in the unscrupulousness of Whiggish Campbells: “ye ken very well that I am an Appin Stewart, and the Campbells have long harried and wasted those of my name; ay, and got lands of us by treachery [. . .] and all in the same story: lying words, lying papers, tricks fit for a peddler, and the show of what’s legal over all, to make a man the more angry.”40 This strong condemnation is juxtaposed neatly with a lionising tale about Alan’s father, Duncan Stewart.41 Yet the world which Stevenson presents is far from simplistic: certainly Lowlanders mistreat Highlanders (recall, for example, Captain Hoseason’s behaviour towards Alan, as well as the government’s ruthlessness towards James Stewart and his family after the Appin Murder) and vice versa (David’s conniving Highland guide; the anonymous blind catechist on the Isle of Mull). Avarice and cruelty prove capable of transgressing all geographic and social affinities. Conversely, in these landscapes of adventure, help can come from the least expected places and people, such as a servant lass from the humble clachan of Limekilns, who bravely rows the fugitives across the Firth of Forth to avoid detection by British sentinels.

**Psychology of Diaspora**

Despite its robust depictions of the cultural differences and civil animosities existent amongst Scots residing both at home and abroad, Stevenson’s writing also explores the powerful bond uniting even the most disparate of emigrants. This also reflects historical reality: as Armitage notes, “The ties that bound Scots to Scotland and to one another in the imperial diaspora prevented them from wholly assimilating to Anglo-British norms, and fostered that attachment to a homeland which is so characteristic of diasporic peoples.”42 In his 1882 essay, “The Foreigner at Home,” Stevenson muses on this idea:

A century and a half ago the Highlander wore a different costume, spoke a different language,
worshipped in another church, held different morals, and obeyed a different social constitution from his fellow-countrymen either of the south or north. Even the English, it is recorded, did not loathe the Highlander and the Highland costume as they were loathed by the remainder of the Scots. Yet the Highlander felt himself a Scot. He would willingly raid into the Scottish lowlands; but his courage failed him at the border, and he regarded England as a perilous, unhomely land. [. . .] The fact remains: in spite of the difference of blood and language, the Lowlander feels himself the sentimental countryman of the Highlander. When they meet abroad, they fall upon each other’s necks in spirit; even at home there is a kind of clannish intimacy in their talk.  

As Stevenson observes, a great deal has changed between the mid-eighteenth century and the waning years of the British Empire, when he sailed the South Pacific. Yet in both eras collective memory was a powerful force, reconstructing ways in which, for nineteenth-century Scottish emigrants, “[s]ong-poems, narratives, and other forms of lore perpetuated the memory of contentions between Highlander and Lowlander in Scotland in New World oral tradition.” Like the suddenly-met travelers of his own day, Stevenson’s fictional Scots discover themselves to have as much in common as not. In *Kidnapped*, David and Alan soon realize that helping one another is the key to survival amidst the perilous landscapes of adventure—which are also the unfamiliar places of diaspora. Nevertheless, in the Highlands, David’s limited comprehension of local culture and customs frequently lands him in trouble. It might appear that, as Caroline McCracken-Flesher notes, “no amount of help from others can dislodge David from his role as stranger in a strangely familiar land.” Especially before being reunited with Alan, he seems almost to stumble from location to location, stout-hearted but utterly unequipped for survival in his new surroundings. His experience enacts a common one for many emigrants, whose time abroad often began with utter bewilderment
and only gradually moved towards a general acquisition of cross-cultural and geographical “know-how.”

After the shipwreck of the *Covenant*, David becomes stranded on what he assumes to be an island but in fact turns out to be the tidal islet of Earraid. Moving on from this spot, he proceeds to wander through the Highlands, his needs and intentions frustrated by a lack of Gaelic, which he notes “might have been Greek or Hebrew for me.” This scenario represents a fascinating inversion of many Highlanders’ experiences in the New World. One undated Canadian song by a man identified only as Bard MacLean from Raasay, for example, states: “I am lonely here / in Murray Harbour not knowing English; / it is not what I have been accustomed to, / for I always spoke Gaelic.” In Stevenson’s tale, the “emigrant” protagonist inadvertently insults several Highlanders, most notably Cluny Macpherson, with whom he refuses to play cards (his Presbyterian aversion to gambling fails to impress the Jacobite chieftain). Likewise, David’s inexperience at navigating the rugged terrain makes him an easy target for thieves and ne’er-do-wells—as well as British soldiers hunting for him as a supposed accomplice to the Appin murderer. Luckily for David, he soon rejoins Alan, who subsequently intercedes to extricate his friend from various scrapes. The necessity of such external assistance reinforces the conclusion that David’s “foreignness” leaves him vulnerable in this new world. Older and shrewder, having spent far longer amidst the adventurous terrains of exile, Alan is a keen student in the school of survival. “Play me false,” he tells Captain Hoseason in a tense moment on board the *Covenant*, “and I’ll play you cunning.”

While David’s character can be read as enacting some elements of the emigrants’ dilemma of strangeness and vulnerability abroad, Alan more obviously depicts the propensity of many Scottish emigrants to associate themselves with a reconstructed national identity, even if this identity ends up being largely a mythic one. In fact, the possession of a shared cultural mythology was frequently a rallying point amongst Scots emigrants. In *Kidnapped*, this is immediately evidenced by Alan’s clothing, which David describes upon his first sight of the Highlander:
when he took off his great-coat, he laid a pair of fine silver-mounted pistols on the table, and I saw that he was belted with a great sword. His manners, besides, were elegant, and he pledged the captain handsomely. [...] And to be sure, as soon as he had taken off the great-coat, he showed forth mighty fine for the round-house of a merchant brig: having a hat with feathers, a red waistcoat, breeches of black plush, and a blue coat with silver buttons and handsome silver lace; costly clothes, though somewhat spoiled with the fog and being slept in.53

Despite Alan’s being a poverty-stricken Jacobite exile, he takes great care to dress in regal fashion, thus reinforcing his role as an emissary of Charles Edward Stuart (“Bonnie Prince Charlie”). Yet his elaborate clothing and “elegant” manners are less indicators of royal stature than of his attempt to construct a portrait of the Jacobite cause as splendid, worthwhile, and justly monarchical—notwithstanding the calamitous state of the Prince’s defeated soldiers in 1751, many of whom had been killed or forced into exile. Such identity-forming myths are also evident in Alan’s stories and songs. In Catriona, he recalls to David how, while in hiding from the authorities, he composed songs “about the deer and the heather [...] and about the ancient old chiefs that are all by with it lang syne, and just about what songs are about in general. And then whiles I would make believe I had a set of pipes and I was playing. I played some grand springs, and I thought I played them awful bonny; I vow whiles that I could hear the squeal of them! But the great affair is that it’s done with.”54 A similar combination of myths, stories, and barely-remembered experiences have had such a strong psychological effect on Catriona Drummond that she harbours sentimental dreams of one day going with her father “to France, to be exiles by the side of our chieftain.”55

It can be argued that, for many Scots abroad, the theme of exile often crystallized in the hauntingly distant character of the Prince himself.56 Yet, in David Balfour’s story, this is one character
who, though frequently mentioned, never makes an appearance. This omission, when coupled with Stevenson’s focus on recreating through fiction comparatively “minor” historical characters— including Alan Breck Stewart, James Stewart (“James of the Glens”), and Lord Prestongrange—provides an intriguing hint into his broader conceptualisation of exile. While it may seem far-fetched to conceive of Stevenson’s springing the Prince upon readers from a patch of Highland heather, he might certainly have introduced this character during David and Catriona’s sojourn in Europe. The marked absence of the illusory “Young Chevalier,” who figures so prominently in Scottish history and mythology might be read as a subtle assertion that, ultimately, the drama surrounding this figure is actually less culturally important than the stories of individual emigrants.\(^\text{57}\) In Stevenson’s fiction, the Prince functions as an elaborate pretext, an excuse for endorsing the diasporic journeys of his countrymen and women. An especially salient example of this in his fiction can be found in the character of James Durie, the antiheroic and enigmatical protagonist of *The Master of Ballantrae*.

Julia Reid observes how, in *The Master of Ballantrae*, “as in *Kidnapped*, the divided nation is figured by the motif of exile and emigration.”\(^\text{58}\) The scene is set for such considerations in the novel’s preface, which introduces the story of doomed brothers James and Henry Durie via an imposed authorial presence whose identity is established primarily through a diasporic framework. The Preface begins: “Although an old, consistent exile, the editor of the following pages revisits now and again the city of which he exults to be a native; and there are few things more strange, more painful, or more salutary, than such revisitations.”\(^\text{59}\) This paradoxically “painful” and “salutary” experience of exile is then transferred to the story’s protagonist, the Master of Ballantrae. We find in James Durie a character whose almost perpetual state of self-imposed exile reflects a historical-poetic Scottish urge for adventure which propelled many real-life Scots to emigrate, at least temporarily, in search of the quintessential fame and fortune to be found in the “new worlds” of the Caribbean, North America, and Australasia.\(^\text{60}\) In creating James’ character thus, Stevenson provides an aesthetic enactment of yet another aspect of the diasporic
experience, since Scotland has a centuries-long tradition of supplying capable mercenaries for armies in Europe and further afield as well as furnishing a multitude of adventurers eager to make their fortunes abroad.61

James refers to himself as “another Æneas,” and, tropically speaking, he is the ultimate emigrant-adventurer: profoundly chance-oriented in nature, capable of assessing each new location and reinventing himself to succeed within that context. 62 Fleeing Scotland after his participation with the failed 1745 Rising, he proceeds to fabricate whatever alternative identities his new surroundings necessitate. Malcolm Prentis points out how, historically, “[s]cholar, soldier and merchant were the three traditional overseas avenues of advancement for the adventurous Scot from the Middle Ages to the present.”63 Of these generalized categories, James fits most easily into that of the soldier, particularly given his participation in the Battle of Culloden. In casting him thus, Stevenson employs this character as a uniquely relatable representative of one particular strain of historical Scot.

The Scots have been a famous fighting nation for very many centuries: early in the fifteenth century about one in ten males of fighting age in Scotland enrolled in the service of France to fight the English in the Hundred Years War, and in the seventeenth century the proportion cannot have been less in mercenary armies in the service of Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Russia, Poland and elsewhere. The Union diverted all this talent for aggression to the service of the British empire, and the disproportionate contribution of the Scots to the British armed forces was obvious as recently as the Gulf War. [. . . Indeed,] Scottish social historians and political scientists, not for the most part being very militaristic in their feelings, have tended to underplay the rôle of the martial tradition in national life.64
Yet James is far more than merely a soldier: pirate, explorer, sage, treasure-hunter. Like suits of clothing (of which he is exceptionally fond), the Master dons and discards identities with disconcerting ease because he is drawn to the potential reward that each new circumstance affords. Historically, such versatility has been a noted trait of diasporic Scots. Indeed, Armitage observes how “[t]he distinctiveness of the Scottish experience outside Scotland lies in [. . . the] apparently paradoxical ability of Scots to blend in so completely with their background yet still to maintain sympathetic connections with Scotland itself.” As his letters testify, Stevenson too experienced frequent doses of nostalgia in the South Pacific.

Although James could hardly be accused of sentimentalism, there is a fascinating moment in the novel when we sense genuine wistfulness as James leaves his family home en route to North America. Unbeknownst to him, we can only suppose, after many adventures abroad this will be his final journey to foreign soil. As the House of Durisdeer fades into the distance, he sings an old song which echoes the laments of the traditional roving adventurer, such as the protagonist of the tenth-century Anglo Saxon poem, “The Wanderer.” This scene, recorded by the novel’s principal narrator—Ephraim Mackellar, Steward of the Durisdeer estate—is worth quoting at length:

As we walked side by side in the wet, [. . . James] began first to whistle, and then to sing the saddest of our country tunes, which sets folk weeping in a tavern, Wandering Willie. The set of words he used with it, I have not heard elsewhere, and could never come by any copy; but some of them which were the most appropriate to our departure linger in my memory. One verse began—

Home was home then, my dear, full of kindly faces,  
Home was home then, my dear, happy for the child.
And ended somewhat thus—

“Now, when day dawns on the brow of the moorland,
   Lone stands the house and the chimney-stone is cold.
   Lone let it stand, now the folks are all departed,
   The kind hearts, the true hearts, that loved the place of old.”

I could never be a judge of the merit of these verses; they were so hallowed by the melancholy of the air, and were sung (or rather “soothed”) to me by a master-singer at a time so fitting. He looked in my face when he had done, and saw that my eyes watered.

“Ah! Mackellar,” said he, “do you think I have never a regret?”

“I do not think you could be so bad a man,” said I, “if you had not all the machinery to be a good one.”

“No, not all,” says he: “not all. You are there in error. The malady of not wanting, my evangelist.” But methought he sighed as he mounted again into the chaise.67

For the Master of Ballantrae, this affinity is perhaps most clearly seen in his cyclical pattern of return to his homeland. Despite finding wealth and adventure abroad, he seems drawn back to Scotland by some inexplicable force.68 While typically less romantic in nature, such homecomings were not infrequent among Scots who ventured abroad; indeed, according to Armitage, “[i]t would be a mistake to think that all forms of Scottish migration were permanent, or that all migrants, even the most notorious, were necessarily lost to Scotland forever [. . .] an estimated 27 per cent of the 1,667,300 who migrated between 1853 and 1938 subsequently returned to Scotland.”69
For those Scots who chose to stay in their new homelands, a sense of being psychologically “settled” there often proved elusive. John MacDonald (Iain Sealgair), a native of the Braes of Lochaber who had emigrated in 1834, lamented:

I left my homeland, I left my heritage;
my joy was left behind.
I left the friendly, hospitable land,
and my beloved kinsmen there.
I left comfort and the place where it can be found,
the land of valleys and cairns.
I am now distressed because I did not choose
to remain there forever.70

James Durie’s regretful memories can thus be contextualized quite grittily into historical perspective. Perhaps, in this he resembles Stevenson, who from the South Seas dreamt of a romanticized return to his homeland, despite the impracticality of such a move for his fragile health. In a poem dedicated to S. R. Crockett, he wrote: “Be it granted me to behold you again in dying, / Hills of home! and to hear again the call; / Hear about the graves of the martyrs the peewees crying, / And hear no more at all.”71

Unfortunately, this paper has space to provide only the most cursory glimpse into how Stevenson’s fiction can be read as providing textual representations of the Scottish emigrant experience. His characters provide imaginative enactments of how, in the words of Armitage, “[t]he ties that bound Scots to Scotland and to one another in the imperial diaspora prevented them from wholly assimilating to Anglo-British norms, and fostered that attachment to a homeland which is so characteristic of diasporic peoples.”72 In his writing, Stevenson explores the psychological ramifications of both politically enforced and self-imposed exile, providing fictional extrapolations of the Scottish diaspora. These portrayals, infused the author’s own transnational experience in the Europe, North America, and the South Seas, offer fascinating microcosms which gesture towards the collective experience of a wide-scale network of displaced Scots in a rapidly globalizing world.
NOTES

2 Stevenson, “Old Scots Gardener,” 63-64.
10 Ann C. Colley notes how, in Stevenson’s writing, “[i]n spite of its two languages, many dialects, innumerable forms of piety, and countless local patriotisms and prejudices, Scotland emerged as a unified entity—deep
down it was one nation.” Anne C. Colley, *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1998), 64. In this aspect, Stevenson aligns with a far more chronologically “modern” conception of Scotland. As T. C. Smout puts it: “There are, of course, those who would deny there is any common identity possible in Scotland, a small country of quite exceptional regional and cultural diversity. How can a person in the Outer Hebrides, speaking Gaelic, crofting, a member of the Free Church, have a common identity with a person in Glasgow, speaking a Lowland dialect, working as a software engineer, a follower of no religion save Rangers football club? That is to misunderstand the point, and to assume that we have but one identity.” Smout, “Perspectives on Scottish Identity,” in *Scottish Affairs* 6 (1994): www.scottishaffairs.org.


16 Interestingly, Stevenson’s fictional emigrants often demonstrate a marked inability to fully assimilate into their new settings or even to mentally “settle” within the tangible and emotional landscapes of their adopted homes. Rather, they exhibit restless tendencies and a fervent
longing to return to the old country in at least a psychological, if not a physical, sense.

Matthew Wickman points out that, “[i]n a way—compellingly, in fact—Stevenson created a flâneur-type figure in David Balfour, the callow narrator-protagonist of Kidnapped and Catriona. The “city” in these particular novels is less Edinburgh or Inveraray than Scotland itself, a significant portion of which David absorbs peripatetically even as he describes and symptomatically exhibits multiple ways in which the complexities and corruptions of modernising Scotland bewilder and escape him.” Matthew Wickman, “Stevenson, Benjamin, and the Decay of Experience.” International Journal of Scottish Literature 2 (2007): www.ijsl.stir.ac.uk/issue2/wickman.htm.


“The regional differences of Scots were likewise strikingly apparent, with the most clearly demarcated area being the Highlands.” Angela McCarthy, “Scottish Migrant Ethnic Identities in the British Empire since the Nineteenth Century,” in Scotland and the British Empire, ed. J. M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 134.

Of course, as various historians have noted, this was certainly not the case for all emigrant Scots, many of whom left their homeland quite willingly in search of better lives. Marjory Harper, for example, writes: “A minority of emigrants had no choice whatsoever to send them overseas.” Marjory Harper, Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus (London: Profile, 2003), 33. Likewise, David Armitage states that “most eighteenth-century Scottish migrants to North America departed voluntarily.” Armitage, “Scottish Diaspora,” 293.

Stevenson, Kidnapped, 170-171.
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26 Margaret MacDonell, The Emigrant Experience: Songs of Highland Emigrants in North America (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 127.
27 MacDonell, Emigrant, 107. Naturally, some Scots emigrants expressed a far different sentiment, such as Rory Roy MacKenzie, who emigrated on the same ship as Calum Bàn MacMhannain: “If it be the benign Selkirk / who will grant us a place, / with my children I am eager to sail without delay.” MacDonell, Emigrant, 115.
29 Stevenson, Kidnapped, 170.
30 Harper, Adventurers, 33.
32 Stevenson, Kidnapped, 78.
35 Stevenson, Kidnapped. 331-332.
37 For a more detailed consideration of emigration and the Scottish legal system in Stevenson’s work, see Di Frances, “Hurled gallowsward with Jeers”.
38 McCarthy, “Scottish Migrant,” 133. Likewise, Bill Bell notes that: “Immense diversity can alone be seen in the multiple versions of Scottishness that were transplanted in a myriad of different complexions and intensities across the world, as variations of class, language, and religion to be found at home were time and again replicated overseas, often in exaggerated forms. Whenever we think of the Scottish immigrant
community, therefore, it must always be with the awareness that we are not speaking of a single cultural unit, but a whole range of regional, religious, economic groups with their distinct (though sometimes related) cultural networks.” Bill Bell, “Crusoe’s Books: The Scottish Emigrant Reader in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Across Boundaries: The Book in Culture and Commerce*, eds. Bill Bell, Philip Bennett and Jonqui Bevan (Winchester, Hampshire, UK: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), 122.

39 Michael Newton, “Scotland’s Two Solitudes Abroad: Scottish Gaelic Immigrant Identity in North America,” in *The Shaping of Scottish Identities: Family, Nation, and the Worlds Beyond* (Guelph, ON: Guelph Centre for Scottish Studies, 2011), 216-217. Newton goes on to note how, “[s]uch divisions as existed in pre-emigration Scotland persisted and sometimes even intensified after migration. Into the mid-nineteenth century and often well beyond, Highland emigrants were monolingual Gaelic speakers, some of whom held Lowlanders responsible for their marginalisation and exile. Immigrant Highlanders reflected on their community and called on each other for solidarity by invoking symbols and archetypes of long-standing significance in oral tradition rooted in their experiences in Scotland.”

40 Stevenson, *Kidnapped*, 123.

41 Stevenson, *Kidnapped*, 123-124. Similarly, in *Catriona*, the eponymous heroine at first regards David with suspicion, assuming him to be politically aligned with her father’s persecutors. The blossoming romance between these young people can certainly be read as a gesture towards the visions of Scottish unification tentatively proffered in Walter Scott’s *Waverley* (1814).

42 Armitage, “Scottish Diaspora,” 293.


44 Newton, “Scotland’s Two Solitudes,” 221.

45 Hence, David eschews the prospect of betraying Alan in turn for the substantial reward on his head, while Alan saves his friend’s life during a bout of severe illness and later helps him to procure legal evidence pertaining to his uncle’s crimes.


47 Mid-nineteenth century emigrant Hugh MacCorkindale (Eobhan MacCorcadail) recalled his gradual rise to personal success after more than two decades in North America: “I came over to Canada, / a place twice as
good for me. / I was employed there without discrimination, / and my pay
was not the worst; / from that day to this / there was no obstacle to my
48 Stevenson, *Kidnapped*, 154. See also 161.
50 Stevenson, *Kidnapped*. See, for example, 163-164 and 187-188.
51 Stevenson, *Kidnapped*, 95.
52 For an excellent study on this, see Peter Womack, *Improvement and
Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Houndmills,
Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1989). Of course, it is important to realise
that this cultural mythology was by no means homogeneous. As Michael
Kennedy aptly notes: “When sifting through the historical record of Gaelic
experience, it quickly becomes apparent that we must exercise caution
when attempting to divine any sort of common ‘Highland migration
mythology.’ [. . .] The saga of the Highland migrant has its roots in a
period of intense social change and heavy migration spanning a period of
slightly more than one hundred years from roughly the middle of the
eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. Virtually every
community in the large, disjointed region of the Scottish Highlands was
affected by a massive exodus of people which led to the establishment of
new communities in far-flung, sundry political states and disparate
geographical areas around the world. These facts, in themselves, should
cautions us not to expect the narrative of Highland migration to be a
uniform one.” Michael Kennedy, ‘‘Lochaber no more’: A Critical
Examination of Highland Emigration Mythology,’ in *Myth, Migration and
Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance (Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing
and John Donald Publishers Limited, 1999), 269.
54 Stevenson, *Catriona*, 154.
55 Stevenson, *Catriona*, 289. Catriona recounts fond childhood memories
from the 1745 Rising: “I saw Prince Charlie too, and the blue eyes of him;
his was pretty indeed! I had his hand to kiss in front of the army.” 294.
56 For a fascinating visual study of Charles Edward Stuart as a lynchpin of
Jacobite mythology, see Robin Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the
Making of a Myth: A Study in Portraiture, 1720–1892* (Lewisburg:
Bucknell University Press, 2002).
57 Stevenson’s “Foreign Lands” also reflects the author’s abiding interest
in the encounters of the self abroad; hence the poem’s telescopic focus on
flower-adorned gardens and a river as “the sky’s blue looking-glass.”
64. Smout.
68. Of course, in the broader trajectory of the narrative, an argument might certainly be made for this “inexplicable draw” as being tied to the uncanny symbiosis between the Durie brothers.
70. MacDonell, *Emigrant*, 81.
Review


One of the most innovative developments in medieval and early modern Scottish history in the last decade has been the creation of large-scale open-access online databases, making available to scholars throughout the world material on saints’ dedications, witch-hunts, and many other topics. *The Paradox of Medieval Scotland, 1093 to 1286*, a collaboration between the University of Glasgow and King’s College London, now succeeded by the *Breaking of Britain 1216-1314*, has been at the forefront of developing innovative methodologies and features. It has created an online prosopography, *People of Medieval Scotland* (commonly known as *PoMS*), www.poms.ac.uk/. The original project was based on 6,014 documents, primarily charters, and providing information on 14,726 persons and 495 institutions. The 2012 database has expanded the coverage even further. The significance of *PoMS*, however, goes beyond just medieval Scotland. As Matthew Hammond, the editor of this new volume, and one of the primary researchers on the database, points out, “*PoMS 2010 was the first online prosopographical database to comprise exclusively and exhaustively the corpus of administrative documents of a European kingdom in the central middle ages*” (p.7). *New Perspectives on Medieval Scotland* is based on a conference held on the 2010 version of the database, with chapters by the project’s contributors and members of the International Advisory Board. The projects have already published a number of papers on various aspects online, but this is the first print volume to appear. It is a wonderful guide, not only to how *PoMS* is organised, but to the many diverse uses to which it can be put to examine new aspects of medieval Scotland.
An excellent introduction by Hammond explains how the project was conceived, as well as its underlying principles and structure. Combined with Chapter 8 by John Bradley and Michele Pasin of the Department of Digital Humanities at King’s College London, this section details the database’s structure. It will be of great value to anyone contemplating the design of a large-scale database using medieval sources. The “factoid” model used here seems particularly valuable for such projects. Hammond cautions users about how the bias of coverage of the sources is much greater for the south and east than for the north and west, something to be kept in mind when drawing general conclusions about Scotland for this period. The introduction examines some of the information that can be extrapolated from the database, especially naming practices for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It demonstrates the wide variety of naming pools from which personal names were drawn in the period, highlighting the ethnic and cultural diversity of the kingdom, a theme which many of the other essays also take up.

Many of the articles take on major issues of medieval Scottish historiography. They are concerned with the issue of change, or lack of it, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a period traditionally identified with “Normanization” or “Anglicization.” To what extent did a medieval sense of Scottishness develop during this period and how did older and newer traditions and cultures interact? All of the authors shed new light on these questions and demonstrate the complexity of issues of cultural and linguistic interaction. As a whole, the book presents a valuable and much more nuanced picture of the society of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland, breaking down old conceptual divisions such as “native” and “incomer.”

Keith Stringer’s contribution examines the nature of the “political community” under Alexander II, using the evidence of witness names in royal charters. He argues that the earls appear to have been more politically active under Alexander than under his grandfather William. He disputes the idea of factional politics in the 1240s, and suggests that the colloquia of 1235 and 1248 can be seen as “parliamentary” in character. Alice Taylor’s article opens up a fascinating window on the world of the medieval Scottish peasant, examining questions of legal status as revealed by the use
of the term \textit{ligius} in contemporary charters. She discusses the
historiographical debate over the nature of “feudalism” and the
impact of this on the peasantry, something that is often overlooked.
She argues that changes in status should be seen in the wider
European context and not merely as a result of the incoming of
Anglo-Norman lords. In a skilled use of charter evidence as well as
legal works such as \textit{Regiam Majestatem}, she demonstrates the
importance of the relationship of the individual to his or her
immediate lord, rather than to the land, in determining one’s status
as free or unfree. Her argument that unfreedom and freedom should
be viewed as relational rather than absolute is one that carries wide
implications for future studies of the peasantry.

David Carpenter examines Scottish royal government and
justice in the thirteenth century and compares it to the English
situation, particularly with regard to the use of common law. He
argues against historians who see Scotland as influenced by
England in the wide-scale adoption of common law. Carpenter sees
the spread of common law in Scotland as sporadic and uneven,
made largely unnecessary by the much more decentralised nature of
justice in the kingdom. He makes the intriguing suggestion that this
lack of use of common law contributed to a distinct sense of
Scottishness for the nobility by the end of the thirteenth century.
Cynthia Neville also examines the working of the law, looking at
how the concept of neighbourhood took on new meaning in the
legal arena of the local courts. This is demonstrated by the adoption
of the Anglo-Norman term \textit{visnet} for older practices of relying on
local knowledge to resolve disputes. Like Taylor, Neville sheds
valuable new light on the lives of those at the lower end of the
social scale, while at the same time raising important questions
about relationships between individuals which have ramifications
throughout Scottish society.

Emilia Jamroziak uses the evidence of the \textit{Chronicle of
Melrose} to look at how Melrose perceived its Cistercian identity.
Melrose is a particularly interesting example of a “Scottish”
institution as it remained focused on its motherhouse of Rievaulx
until the mid-thirteenth century, recruiting many of its members
from northern England. The \textit{Chronicle} includes some deeply
unflattering portrayals of the Scots. Finally, Stuart Campbell draws
attention to an often-overlooked source for medieval Scotland, its material culture. Campbell makes a convincing argument for moving beyond the discussion of medieval objects such as coins, seals, finger rings, brooches and heraldic pendants as *objets d’art* and examining them in the context of their actual use as a way to uncover their meaning and purpose. He also makes the important argument that objects should be considered in their wider European context, and not primarily as examples of English influence.

All of the essays make the central point that twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland cannot be viewed primarily in terms of its interaction with Anglo-Norman cultural and linguistic influence. Its society was complex and multicultural, drawing on Gaelic, Scandinavian, British, Anglo-Norman and European traditions. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in examining that complexity and for anyone planning to make use of *PoMS*.

*Elizabeth Ewan*
*University of Guelph*
Rosalind Carr's *Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* is a significant addition to Scottish Enlightenment history and an excellent example of the application of gender as a category of analysis to historical investigation. This balance between direct evaluation of the Scottish Enlightenment and nuanced consideration of gender performance would appeal to those interested in either aspect. The book is divided into four chapters along with a substantial introduction, each approaching aspects of Scottish Enlightenment culture that build upon one another, illustrating the interconnectedness of the social and cultural worlds of mid- to late eighteenth-century Scottish individuals. While focusing on 1750-1790s, the period when the Enlightenment exerted the most pronounced influence on cultures, Carr is careful to acknowledge both the foundations laid within the previous decades and the influence extending beyond this narrow period. Though Edinburgh is dominant throughout, attention is also paid to the differences and similarities between Scottish elite cultures in other cities.

The introduction establishes this volume as emerging through the author’s intimate consideration of gender history and theory and yet does not deviate from the task at hand, exploring specific aspects of eighteenth-century Scottish culture through the lens of gender. Notably, within the introduction, Carr wields analysis of the ‘Frenchified Fop’ as emblematic of alternative constructions of masculinity. While the Fop is exposed as a stereotypical caricature that originated in fears of effeminacy born from excess and superficiality, the analysis extends to critiquing an
understanding of hegemonic masculinity. The Fop stands as a counterpart to the evaluations of masculinity contained within the proceeding body of the text, revealing the failure of a singular ideal, refined gentleman to account for variant masculinities, the contexts of which are as relevant as their individual manifestations.

The body of the text is rife with alternative masculinities, each of which is dominant in its individual space, time and situation despite how they may appear at odds with one another at times. These conflicts, both collectively and individually, are explored thoroughly through the analysis of a rich and diverse variety of textual resources. Examples emerge of contradictory and yet not necessarily subordinated masculinities, which vary in performance and reception, and it is through the measured and attentive analysis of these relative contextual elements that the thesis is best articulated. Attention to the particular spaces and time of day in which individual and collective performances of gender are rehearsed and negotiated is as relevant as considerations of social position and economic means. This attention to detail enables clear delineations between licit and illicit behaviours as allowed by conventions of gender and of social status so that a picture of an ideal as encompassing multiple masculinities and a singular performance of femininity is established and clarified.

The intersections between social cultures are examined thoroughly, with attention paid to their divergences as well as their convergences. Print culture and its connection with intellectual cultures figures prominently, with both familiar and lesser-known writers from the period, such as James Boswell and Jean Marishall, surveyed through their publications and through an inspection of publication as a social mode. This is accomplished with a consistent attention to the influence of gender on the respective social environments, networks, and opportunities available to the historical actors under examination.

This volume excels in recognising the separate national contexts of the European Enlightenment and in showcasing the climates which made Scotland distinct, particularly through conceptions and performances of the feminine and femininity. While examinations of middling and elite masculinities are at the forefront of the majority of the text, dominating chapters one, three,
and four, women and women’s prescriptive roles provide the comparative material necessary to examine Scotland’s Enlightenment as distinct from other European experiences. This is illustrated in the repeated demonstration of the exclusion of Scottish women from full participation in intellectual associational culture and other social and professional networks, such as publication, which are inexorably bound together. While the restrictive nature of a singular ideal femininity is explored frequently throughout the chapters, marginal, and non-elite women are also examined. Carr employs an astute survey of Edinburgh’s Black Books to illuminate previously untapped demographic information regarding individuals arrested for or in connection to prostitution. Overall, Carr’s work continues to enrich contemporary explorations of the Scottish Enlightenment and of eighteenth-century Scotland with an astute eye towards the nuances of influence gender exudes upon the lived experiences of individuals, and the ways in which collectives and individuals influence conceptions, ideals, and performances of gender.

*Theresa Antoff*

*University of Aberdeen*
Due to an editorial oversight, two reviews of this book were commissioned. Both reviews have been published with the permission of the reviewers, to whom the Editor is grateful for their understanding.

In Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland, Rosalind Carr has presented a new view into the way that the philosophies and changing social landscape of the eighteenth century influenced the perception and roles of gender, femininity, masculinity and politeness. In the introduction of the book, Carr draws the reader’s attention to the roles of urbanization, industrialization, and trade, which in turn created a unique atmosphere for social change. Carr states early in her introduction that the purpose of the book is to place the Scottish Enlightenment into the urban culture that was developing at this time (p. 2). In her introduction, Carr is thorough in discussing—and at times refuting—the leading ideas and commentary on gender and Enlightenment culture.

As Carr points out, the Enlightenment in Scotland was different than elsewhere in Europe, primarily due to the influence of the Presbyterian Church. Because of this, women did not participate in public spheres of discourse or learn in Scotland as they did in places such as France. This exclusion of women from some public discourse created different views of the masculine and feminine, the definitions of which Carr examines in detail.

Carr divides her study into four separate parts. In the first chapter, “Homo sociality and Intellectual Culture,” the author looks at the gender norms in academic societies and how those groups not only created spaces for gathering and discussions of intellectual topics, but that they also helped to create the ideal concept of masculinity, identity, and manhood. Because of this, according to Carr, these perceptions of masculinity that emerged from the exclusive intellectual societies and clubs also created a definition of
femininity and also of civility and politeness that defined eighteenth century social interactions.

As the book progresses, Carr goes on to discuss in the second chapter, “Women and Intellectual Culture,” the way that women interacted with these same societies. Like her previous discussion, Carr spends a great deal of time discussing the current theories and perceptions of women’s roles in Enlightenment culture and then digs deeper to apply those ideas to the unique nature of the Scottish Enlightenment. Carr discusses the obstacles that women had to face in education and in gaining access to intellectual discourse in a society in which they had very specific gender roles.

In the third chapter “Urbane and Urban Sociability in Enlightenment Edinburgh,” Carr once again brings together the ideas of politeness, social interactions, culture and gender roles. This time, instead of intellectual societies and clubs, Carr focuses on more public arenas such as the theater, taverns and other forums. She looks at the way that these public venues influenced society, created avenues for social advancement and for networking. In addition to the more refined gathering places, Carr also looks at how drunkenness and prostitution were perceived through lenses of class, wealth and gender.

In the last chapter, “Enlightened Violence, Elite Manhood and the Duel,” Carr also addresses how the ideas of culture, social behavior, gender norms, and status in the Enlightenment have also changed the acceptance and perception of honor and violence. Altogether, Carr has created a detailed examination of the role of the Scottish Enlightenment had on perceptions of gender, class and social interaction. This book is highly recommended for anyone studying the eighteenth century in Scotland, philosophy or gender studies.

Emily Elizabeth Herff
American Public University Systems
REVIEW


In recent years, scholarship about medieval Scottish literature has intensified, increasing our understanding of how Scottish writers engaged with contemporary literary currents and topics. The publication of *The Scots and the Arthurian Legend* (2005), edited by Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan, became the first major study of the relevance of Scotland to the Arthurian Legend and its influence on Scottish romance in general. Emily Wingfield’s *The Trojan Legend in Medieval Scottish Literature* is a much-welcomed addition to this corpus, and it compliments Purdie and Royan’s volume tremendously. The book traces Scottish responses to the Trojan legend, since it was precisely in the Greek hero Gaythelos and the Egyptian princess Scota that Scots placed their national origins. Wingfield’s triumph is to understand that “there is no single legend of Troy” (p.1), recognizing the complexity and ambiguity of the Scottish Trojan legend narratives, at times pervaded by Anglo-Scottish political animosity, but also deeply entrenched in contemporary literary genres and traditions. The book aims to find whether there was a particularly Scottish response to the legend, one that differed from English texts. The book itself is comprised of five chapters with an introduction, a conclusion and an appendix of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Trojan legend manuscripts in Scotland. Additionally, the book includes an extensive bibliography. The author excels at answering the questions posed; her research also poses additional questions about the nature of medieval Scottish literature for others to follow.

The introduction establishes the historical and literary context of the Trojan legend in both Europe and Britain. Scottish writers based their versions of the Trojan legend on Guido de la Colonne’s *Historia destructionis Troiae*, composed in 1287. However, it is Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*, written in the twelfth century, that provided Anglo-
Norman rulers with political legitimacy and cemented the English kings’ claims to overlord Scotland. Edward I used Monmouth’s description of Brutus and his settlement of Britain to prove his claim to the Scottish throne during the Wars of Independence. However, Wingfield’s analysis of the legend is not limited to the impact of politics on the Trojan legend. Writers such as John of Fordun, Walter Bower and Andrew of Wyntoun are the most nationalistic in their narratives, but they also raise questions about the nature of historical truth and fact. This constitutes one of Wingfield’s most compelling arguments: that late medieval Scottish literature differed from its English counterparts by a constant preoccupation with how authors construct historical fact through their narratives.

The first chapter examines Scottish responses to Monmouth’s Historia, where John of Fordun, Walter Bower and Andrew of Wyntoun re appropriated the Trojan legend as a way of asserting Scottish sovereignty. The second chapter is concerned with how the Trojan legend influenced Older Scots narratives. The works examined are John Barbour’s Brus, the Octosyllabic Alexander, Sir Gilbert Hay’s Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour, Golagros and Gawane, Blind Hary’s The Wallace, and Clariodus. The texts are not directly concerned with Troy, but the legend left an indelible mark in their composition and interpretation. Combining propagandistic and advisory purposes, Older Scots romances were also concerned with the nature of historical truth.

The third chapter analyzes the Scottish Troy Book (STB), the only close translation of Guido’s Historia into Older Scots. Major topics in the STB include the representation of kingship and the portrayal of female characters. The poem, written between 1412 and 1420, is contemporary with resumed Anglo-Scottish hostilities between Robert III and Henry IV of England. Yet the poem’s main purpose is not propagandistic. Instead, Wingfield concludes that the STB has an ambivalent attitude towards both the Greeks and the Trojans and this reflected general malcontent with the instability of the political situation in Scotland. Wingfield also argues that the poem takes a “proto-feminist stance” (p.112) because of its favourable representation of Hecuba, Medea and Polyxena, a stance
also noticeable in Henryson’s *Eneados*. Wingfield describes the *STB* as a transitional text between nationalistic literature and the advice-to-princes genre.

The fourth chapter analyzes and compares responses to Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde* in Scotland, particularly Robert Henryson’s *Testament of Cressid*. This is one of the most literary chapters of the book; for Wingfield, Henryson’s *Cressid* is characteristic of Scottish poets’ attention to literary tradition and poetic truth (p.149). Scottish poets had an “interrogatory approach” (p.149) to the act of writing and reading that differs from English poetry of the late medieval period. Wingfield dedicates her last chapter to Gavin Douglas’ *Eneados*, the first translation of the Aeneid into an Anglic language. Douglas’ translation scrutinized the nature of literary authority and its relation to the politics of the time. He also reflected on the difficulty of writing in Scots while adhering to classical literary tradition. Wingfield successfully demonstrates how the divergent versions of the Trojan legend throughout the late medieval period evidence the Scots’ capability to re-appropriate a text that was continually deployed against them.

Religion is barely featured in Wingfield’s analysis of the text, even when the authors were clerics. While in the first chapter Wingfield hints at the connections between the early Stewart kings and the cult of Santiago de Compostela in the first chapter, the reader might question whether there were also more religious motifs in the Scottish chronicles studied. However, this is not a failing of the book; on the contrary, other scholars would benefit from expanding Wingfield’s interpretations to cover religious implications of medieval Scottish texts. The author is to be lauded for an excellent monograph that successfully contextualizes the Trojan legend in Scottish literature.

*Marian Toledo Candelaria*

*University of Guelph*

This collection is dedicated to a seminal female Scottish historian, Jenny Wormald, who boldly broke the boundaries between medieval and early modern by straddling the mid-fifteenth to early-seventeenth century in her work. This trail, which many still shy away from pursuing, is one which this volume pursues by drawing upon the expertise of a chorus of prominent voices in Scottish history from across three centuries.

The volume opens with a double introduction: Boardman and Goodare outline the purpose and content, and former student Keith M. Brown gives a thorough exposition of Wormald’s career and impact. Both emphasise the key areas where Wormald’s impact can be found: kinship and feud; the importance of bonds; reinterpretation of Scottish nobles and Stewart monarchs; the “tone and colour of Renaissance Scotland” (p. 19); and a reassessment of James VI and I. The main body of the work is split into two parts – “Lords and Men” and “Kings and Lords” – and these themes run across both sections.

Boardman opens part one by discussing the kinship networks of Margaret Stewart, countess of Mar and Angus (c.1354–c.1418), casting much needed attention on female bastions of noble power in Scotland. This section also includes Mark Godfrey’s critical analysis and reassessment of ‘the justice of the feud’ (p. 142) – a term coined by Wormald – in the light of subsequent research. While the “Kings and Lords” section considers bloodfeud, and granting of remissions, Alexander Grant places the Scottish situation in the context both of medieval Europe and the modern wider world (including an opening comparison with Saudi Arabia) in a fascinating comparative essay.

The subject of bonds is addressed in part one by Jane Dawson, who considers the development of religious bonds from
mid-sixteenth-century protective bonds, akin to traditional bonds of maintenance, to the National Covenant of 1638. Anna Groundwater assesses the crossover found between private bonds of obligation and public justice through the central case study of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch in the years surrounding 1603. Bonds also feature in part two. Michael Brown offers a reassessment of the “Lanark Bond” (1453) and the “appoyntemente” (1452) to place these misunderstood arrangements in the tradition of the wider culture of bonding between the crown and nobles in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, Goodare analyses the oft brushed aside “Ainslie Bond” (1567) between the earl of Bothwell and members of the Scottish political elite, presenting the evidence of signatories drawn from the various manuscript copies of the bond and parliament attendance in useful tables to support his discussion.

Christine Carpenter and Hector MacQueen reassess relations between “overmighty” nobles and “weak” kings in part one; the former offers a comparative essay on bastard feudalism in fourteenth-century England and the latter discusses the justiciars of Scotland from c.1306 to 1513 (including a useful appendix recording all known Scottish justiciars). In part two Roger Mason discusses Scotland’s conciliar development and constitutional identity from the Declaration of Arbroath to George Buchanan, and what these suggest about relationships between kings and nobles, the “right to resist” and “public consent”.

Mason emphasises the influence of continental European trends, as much as Scottish individualism, in this arena and thus the theme of a vibrant cultural development also features here. John Watt carries the cultural baton in an analysis of the work of English poet, John Skelton (c.1460–1529), particularly his opinions on the nobility. Alasdair A. Macdonald’s discussion of James III’s chapel of Restalrig, royal piety and Scottish Renaissance culture further extends Wormald’s emphasis on such developments being rooted firmly in the fifteenth century.

Felicity Heal and Jamie Reid-Baxter continue along a cultural vein, but the dominant focus is Anglo-Scottish relations in the sixteenth century and reassessments of James VI and I. Heal’s contribution looks at Anglo-Scottish gift-giving across the sixteenth century, forming a comparison between James IV and V, and James
VI (and to an extent Mary); whilst Reid-Baxter offers a new angle of reassessment of James as a Protestant crusader, specifically as seen through the poetry of Thomas Murray.

While offering much of interest, Reid-Baxter’s piece does seem over-populated with lengthy quotes at times (an appendix of essential poems might have been more reader friendly), and another noticeable issue occurs in Macdonald’s piece (fn. 4, p. 247) where it is stated that no Treasurer’s Accounts survive for the reign of James III. In comparison to the fuller records for James IV, those extant for James III are minimal (Aug 1473 – Dec 1474), but to suggest there are none seems misleading. Overall, however, there is little to fault other than minor details; such as inconsistencies in the italicisation of Latin translations in Reid-Baxter’s piece, and typos in the manuscript numbering on two of Goodare’s tables of information (pp. 307–309).

These small matters aside, this collection provides a veritable feast of exciting research developing many of the trails blazed by Wormald. In so doing, it achieves its aim of emphasising the inspirational nature of her vision and its resounding continuing impact on the study of Scottish history.

Lucinda Dean
University of Stirling
As is well known, from the early nineteenth century Dundee began to establish itself as a major coarse textile manufacturing centre, so that by the end the century no other British town of comparable size was so dominated by a single industry: jute. As early as 1863 Dundee had earned the title “Juteopolis” – recognition that it was the world’s major producer of jute cloth, then the universally used bagging material. However, Dundee’s ascendancy was short-lived. Competition from Calcutta – near to the source of the raw material, Bengal – was intense, and within decades Calcutta’s mills and factories were out-producing Dundee. Yet Dundee’s jute firms carried on, albeit in increasingly difficult circumstances. Serious decline was delayed until the 1930s, and checked from the time of the Second World War until the later 1960s. Jim Tomlinson’s book – his second on the subject – examines the rise and century-long decline of jute in Dundee. The framework in which Tomlinson sets Dundee’s experience is the British Empire (which incorporated both rival cities, Dundee and Calcutta), along with “imperial globalization”, a process in which Dundee was in the forefront and a major beneficiary. That is until Dundee and its inhabitants were subject to what Tomlinson calls “the full blast of competition” (p. 5) in its main markets, above all the USA, from the low wage economy of another imperial city, Calcutta: what in other contexts has been termed the race to the bottom.

In a work that draws heavily on cultural and economic theory (“orientalism” is one of these) as applied to other British industries under threat from abroad, classes and regions, one of Tomlinson’s main concerns is the responses of Dundee’s jute employers and jute workers to Indian competition. What was their nature? Were they identical? How deeply entrenched, he asks, was the culture of free trade, and how did attitudes to state intervention alter over time? Tomlinson is alert too to the gender dimension, as women were not only workers but consumers too, mainly of
imported foodstuffs, a situation that might have complicated their response – as (albeit poorly paid) producers – to overseas competition and tariffs. What he concludes is that Dundee’s response was far from uniform. Employer demands for protection fell on deaf ears, with London governments in the 1920s and 1930s being keener to keep India content within the empire than the constituents of parliamentary seats in Dundee, Angus and North Fife. It was only belatedly, from 1945 until 1963, but then too late, that the state intervened to prop up the industry thereby underpinning the industry’s final flourish of prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s.

Although Tomlinson delves into social and cultural history along with politics and economics, this is a book for the specialist. But if it is not popular history it is certainly important history. It is also uncompromising. Tomlinson has no reservations about condemning as “misleading” Tom Devine’s claim that Dundee jute firms cut their own throats by opening mills in India. Tony Cox’s depiction of the “paternal despotism” of Dundee-trained mill overseers who allegedly took their brutal supervisory practices to Calcutta, is rejected in a forensic examination of working practices in the rival cities’ mills and factories.

This then is a significant contribution to our understanding of the politics and even the popular culture of industrial decline in Britain. It is not exhaustive however. Rightly, emphasis is placed on raw material and production costs as the critical elements determining the competitiveness of Dundee jute, and the lack of alternative strategies available to Dundee’s manufacturers in responding to overseas competition. But efforts were made to enhance the quality of the product, and to improve the industry’s machinery (and its productivity), and find alternative uses for jute cloth. Colleges for industrial art and to serve the technical needs of Dundee’s textile industry were established at the end of the nineteenth century. Tomlinson has little to say about the design aspects of jute, so there is an opportunity for an art historian or someone similarly trained to explore this neglected aspect of coarse textile production. For the foreseeable future though, it is unlikely if anyone will better Tomlinson’s work on the industry’s economic history.

*Christopher A Whatley*

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Aimed at addressing a “surprisingly neglected component of the Irish and Scottish diasporas” (p. 3), namely their numerous encounters with Indigenous people in North America and the Antipodes, this publication tackles both the general and the specific with impressive dexterity. While Akenson writes an excellent introductory chapter on the large scale phenomena of the Great European Migration, others go into great detail in their discourses on individual people and localities. One of the main questions at the heart of the volume addresses the extent to which Irishness or Scottishness affected attitudes toward indigenous people. This proves to be a complex subject area, and it becomes apparent that, while some empathized and identified, to varying extents, with the aborigines, others had no misgivings in mistreating aborigines as they themselves had been mistreated in their homelands. The bulk of this book addresses various topics related to Scots and Irish diasporic studies, although with eight chapters Canada is by far the best represented of the four New World countries. Three chapters discuss encounters in the United States, and there are just two chapters related to the Antipodes - one each on Australia and New Zealand.

Akenson opens the volume by discussing the devastating effects of the Great European Migration on indigenous populations, particularly in the Americas. Calling it the “greatest single period of land theft, cultural pillage, and casual genocide in world history”, (p. 25), he explores the reasons for the phenomenon, the mindsets of the migrants, and the huge disjuncture between the immigrant and indigenous experiences. Many other essays take a more specific approach and discuss the careers and motivations of writers, poets, ethnologists, and missionaries, who spent time amongst indigenous populations. O’Siadhail, for example, looks at
the career of nineteenth century Irish-American ethnologist James Mooney while Eastlake presents a similar biographical exploration of ethnologists Jeremiah and Alma Curtin. In contrast, McGowan presents a study of Michael Powers, the first Roman Catholic bishop of Toronto, and his efforts to ally First Nations people to his diocese, and Hinson and Morton extend the study of religious activity by discussing references to indigenous people the writings of Rev. William Bell, a nineteenth century Scots missionary in Upper Canada.

Encounters with indigenous people often inspired romantic notions and political ideologies among writers, and Holmgren presents three Irish writers and poets – Fitzgerald, Moore and Kidd – who embraced the aboriginal communities they visited, painting them in a positive light, and using them to “make implicit criticisms of European life” (p. 184). Newton adds his analysis of Gaelic texts depicting indigenous people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Hutchings presents a study later in the book on the Scots writer, John Buchan, who became a highly influential figure in Canada and drew on his many positive encounters with First Nations people to inform aspects of his ultimate novel, Sick Heart River.

The final four chapters address various cultural aspects of the Hudson’s Bay Company and its influences both on First Nations groups and on the Scots who signed up to work for the company. While McCormack and Harper discuss the fur traders themselves, Soloway and Lederman look into the longer term cultural influences in and around the trade posts. McCormack’s historical study of the fur traders from the early days of the industry contrasts well with Harper’s exploration of the personal narratives of men who had worked for the company during the latter days of the HBC. Soloway presents an interesting discussion of the processes of establishing horticulture at HBC fur trading posts and the ways in which this could create cultural misunderstandings, while Lederman provides a vivid recollection of her introduction to the vast area of Metis fiddle traditions in Manitoba. In her chapter, she discusses the repertoire, tunings, paying styles, and dancing, and draws parallels with related Scottish and North American traditions, particularly the Shetland and Quebecois fiddle traditions.
The two chapters related to the Antipodes provide valuable parallels with the vaster North American research. McGrath’s chapter on “Shamrock Aborigines” gives an insight into the relations between Irish and aborigines in Australia, concepts of “whiteness”, and the racism expressed towards the Irish from other white colonisers. This chapter provides and interesting follow-on from McMahon’s discussion of Irish and aboriginal struggles against British imperialism. Following in the vein of positive cultural meetings, Patterson presents a case study of Turakina, a small settlement in lower North Island, and its background of positive interactions between Highland Scots and Maori.

In conclusion, this is an excellent edition covering a wide range of subjects and perspective related to Scots and Irish encounters with, and attitudes towards, indigenous people. This is an important addition to the field of diasporic studies and would be of great benefit to researchers and students with an interest in Scots and Irish diaspora studies and North American indigenous and cultural history.

Frances Wilkins
University of Aberdeen

It is fitting that a volume on Scotland’s seventeenth-century revolutions begins with a dedication to David Stevenson. Forty years removed from the publication of Stevenson’s *The Scottish Revolution* in 1973, *Scotland in the Age of Two Revolutions* provides renewed inquiry and fresh perspectives on this turbulent epoch. This work departs from the conventional organizing dates of 1603 and 1707 in favour of 1638 and 1689, a conceptual framework that according to the editors focuses “on the history that the Scots themselves made during the seventeenth century.” (p. 1) Indeed, James VI fortuitously acceded to the English throne in 1603, while England largely dictated how and when parliamentary union manifested in 1707. Focus on the 1638 and 1689 revolutions emphasizes Scotland’s own revolutionary impulses that reverberated for generations. Julian Goodare argues that the covenanting revolution satisfied all revolutionary criteria: it was a seizure of power aided by reform ideology and popular mobilization that overcame the resistance of the previous regime to establish a new, restructured political system (p. 80). The 1638 revolution inaugurated decades of armed and ideological conflict on both sides of the Restoration, paving the way for the Revolution of 1689 and the formation of a political system similar to that which the original Covenanters envisaged. This collection thus sheds new light on the origins, nature, and ideas of this revolutionary upheaval.

These essays can be divided into three broader themes. The first focuses on the regional and local. Anna Groundwater explores the pacification of the Scottish Borders, which were central to James VI and I’s desired closer union with England. The failure of the pacification policy and tensions inherent in the region presaged the events of the 1630s. Sherrilynn Theiss argues that the
Highlands were brought increasingly into national political life through annual meetings between Highland chiefs and the privy council from 1616 to 1638, after which the meetings ceased and clans reverted to strictly local interests. The Covenanter’s mistake was not fully understanding that clan self-preservation, a local interest, was essential to fully involving the Highlands. Danielle McCormack then provides much clarity into the nature of Highland lawlessness against Cromwell, which she argues was not indicative of royalism but a way to defend local power. McCormack’s analysis also deepens our understanding of Glencairn’s Rising, which succumbed to tensions between the Highlands’ traditional warrior class and royalist leaders.

A second theme concerns political thought and ideology. Sharon Adams dispels the notion that the Scots were rigid royalists by shifting focus from 1649, when the Scots proclaimed Charles II as king following his father’s execution, to 1641, when Scotland’s parliament fostered a degree of constitutional monarchy in guaranteeing “free” parliaments and general assemblies. Caroline Erskine then eruditely examines the political thought of the small but vocal Restoration Covenanters, arguing that this group represented a radical offshoot of a longer tradition of Scottish resistance theory trumpeted by the likes of Buchanan, Knox and Rutherford.

A final theme focuses on central government. Sally Tuckett highlights the Scottish episcopate’s integration into secular administration, supporting her analysis with useful tables, identifying secular posts held by bishops. She argues that bishops’ personal ambitions and political activity provoked noble and presbyterian enmity, and sealed the episcopate’s fate in 1638. Maurice Lee examines the aftershocks of Cromwell’s victory at Worcester, stating that Worcester veterans who remained loyal to Charles II flooded Scottish government from 1660 to 1680. The Scottish administration after 1660 was assigned to those Charles trusted, but loyalty did not translate to good government. The chosen leaders – Middleton, Rothes, Lauderdale – engendered political mismanagement and faction.

Williamite Scotland witnessed transformations in the nature of state oaths following the Glorious Revolution. According
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to Alasdair Raffe, once-simple statements of obedience were riddled with extensive political clauses and tests that reflected the era’s charged political atmosphere. Next, in a comprehensive look at everyday government, Laura Rayner observes the privy council in Williamite Scotland. She argues that the council struggled to find a place in a new political dynamic after 1689, mirroring Scotland’s own troubled constitutional situation at the close of the seventeenth century. Finally, Douglas Watt considers the relationship between the Company of Scotland and politics during William’s reign. Watt argues that many in the Company had supported the revolution and the Williamite regime, but instead of supplying central government with capital, the Company’s Darien scheme contributed to the demise of the independent Scottish state.

This volume combines the work of seasoned historians and budding newcomers. Both experts and students will find it valuable, and it includes a timeline and guide for further reading. The uniqueness of this work surely lies in the little concern it has with deriving “British” currents during these revolutions; indeed, its Scots-centrism proves valuable. This study has thus breathed new life into the study of seventeenth-century Scotland, a period ripe for further inquiry.

Salvatore Cipriano
Fordham University

There has been some recent scholarly work on St Margaret of Scotland in article form, and there are four existing popular biographies of the saint/queen, but Keene’s work is the first book-length scholarly biography of Margaret. Keene’s book aims to “bridge the gap between what is known about Margaret and what has been surmised” (p. 1). It also aims to form a counterpoint to past scholarship that has either accepted Margaret’s *Vita* as historical without question or sought to downplay her political significance (p. 1). Therefore, Keene introduces the theoretical idea of “hagiographical truth” (p. 4); the idea that hyperbole and exaggeration might not have reflected reality as we understand it, but still communicated the “truth”, in this case of Margaret’s sainthood. As such, Keene provides a scholarly historical biography that uses the hagiographical as well as historical sources on Margaret’s life with nuance and sensitivity in order to provide a new and very productive perspective.

Chapter One deals with Margaret’s lineage, both historical and fictional. Keene deals substantially with the question Margaret’s mother – who is only identified as “Agatha” – and makes the interesting assertion that perhaps it is even the case that Agatha’s family background was humble enough to be purposely elided.

Chapter Two argues that, through growing up under the mix religious traditions in Hungary, Margaret became familiar with religious diversity and reform in a way that aided her reforming work as Queen of Scots.

In Chapter Three Keene suggests that Margaret’s probable education at Wilton Abbey provided her with the necessary models for good queenship, and more specifically that “St. Edith was a textual model for Queen Edith, who in turn was a living model for Margaret” (p. 33). Further work could be done to explore whether it was that Queen Edith’s life influenced Margaret’s own, or the work
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of Edith’s biographer influenced the work of Margaret’s biographer and later chronicle representations.

Chapter Four considers Margaret’s marriage to Malcolm III (Canmore). In this chapter, Keene argues that a political marriage between Malcolm and Margaret may well have been planned prior to Margaret’s arrival in Scotland, challenging the *Vita* and later chronicle accounts of a chance romantic meeting.

Keene builds on this exploration of political tensions in Chapter Five, where she argues that Margaret provided a focus for Scottish resistance to Norman power, both in her role as Anglo-Saxon princess and through her concerted efforts at Church reform, which ensured that the Normans could not obtain papal support in claiming ecclesiastical lordship over Scotland.

Chapter Six suggests a dual purpose to Margaret’s pious deeds. Keene synthesizes an argument that Margaret modelled her life after royal saints such as St. Radegund and Edward the Confessor with the suggestion that her pious actions, which included the founding of the “Queensferry” for pilgrims to St Andrews also had important political “work” to do in bolstering Scottish power.

In Chapter Seven Keene offers a new close-reading of Turgot’s *Vita* in which “Margaret’s general comportment, as described by Turgot, bears striking similarities with Bede’s description of the exemplary abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow” (p. 84).

Chapter Eight deals with the way in which Turgot’s *Vita* was put to varying dynastic use in England and Scotland and how the Dunfermline *Vita* might have developed in order to emphasize both Margaret’s Anglo-Saxon ancestry (in contrast to the Norman focus of Turgot) and to give Malcolm a more prominent role.

In the final chapter, Keene traces the development of Margaret’s cult in order to show how it developed in response to and in tandem with the English cult of Edward the Confessor. One avenue that would certainly benefit from further research is Keene’s focus on localization, and it could be developed to consider how the anchoring of Margaret’s cult at Dunfermline has affected later literary and historical representations of Margaret.
All in all, Keene’s book is an engaging and informative scholarly biography of Margaret and also an invaluable reference resource for any student of Margaret, queenship or sanctity. This is in no small part due to the fact that Keene here produces the first edition of the Dunfermline version of Turgot’s *Vita*, which has not before been edited. More than anything, this book opens up a lot of intriguing and potentially very fertile questions for further research. I very much hope that it will spark further codicological scholarship on the Dunfermline MS and its relation to other accounts of Margaret’s life, and I think a very valuable area of study is opened up by Keene’s intriguing suggestion, after Mary Carruthers, that Margaret had a “self constructed out of bits and pieces of authors and the examples of predecessors” (p. 2). This could very productively be built on in order to examine how models of queenship interacted with both the behavior and the literary patronage of early medieval queens.

*Claire Harrill*

*University of Birmingham*
Review


With *The Culture of Controversy*, Alasdair Raffe has developed an innovative new approach to the study of the Restoration period and beyond. Taking inspiration from the cultural turn in early modern Scottish historiography sparked by Margo Todd’s seminal book *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (2002), Raffe thematically analyses the characteristics of the presbyterian-episcopalian controversy of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century with reference to a wide range of printed and manuscript polemical tracts, as well as sources which relate to lay involvement in controversy such as accounts of sermons and crowd violence. This provides a much-needed cultural perspective on the complex religio-political debates of the tumultuous period and augments the wealth of work undertaken from the high political angle, such as Clare Jackson’s *Restoration Scotland* (2003). By widening the analysis beyond the Restoration and into the Revolution and post-union periods, as Raffe does in his article in the *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (2012), he is able to exemplify the legacy of the ideas and practices fostered by culture of controversy on the social and political spectrums of modern Britain. This approach has proven fruitful in the recent historiography of early modern England, particularly in Mark Knights’ insightful *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain* (2005).

*The Culture of Controversy* benefits from an extended introduction that stretches over two chapters. This allows Raffe to define his terms in chapter one and to set out the key confessional battlegrounds in chapter two. The Habermasian notion of the public sphere steadily emerging throughout the seventeenth century which has been given much credence in English historiography is rejected as teleological and not applicable to early modern Scotland due to the significant differences in the social structures of the two
kingdoms. Controversial culture is presented as an alternative framework for analysis, focusing on the ways in which people from all walks of life expressed their confessional allegiance and grievances. Raffe then goes on to set the scene for the re-establishment of episcopacy at 1662, arguing that episcopalian and presbyterian controversy replaced 1650s protester and resolutioner controversy. The rest of the book analyses presbyterian and episcopalian controversial discourse and practice, arguing that one confessional culture existed at 1660 (presbyterianism) but that two existed by 1714 (presbyterianism and episcopalianism). This argument downplays the significance of the shattered presbyterian unity and bitter debates characteristic of the 1650s. Indeed, the major weakness of this book, and of most work done on the Restoration period, is the lack of acknowledgement of the divisiveness of the interregnum. This leads to an oversimplification of the Restoration settlement and fails to recognise episcopalian polemics pre-1660. Raffe acknowledges the fluidity of presbyterian and episcopalian allegiances in his chapter on nonconformity, but more could be done to emphasise the complex and wide ranging beliefs held throughout this period, which does not always allow for the straightforward label of presbyterian or episcopalian to be applied. It is a legacy which stems from at least as early as 1638.

The book is very successful, however, in outlining the development and divergence of mainstream presbyterian and episcopalian confessional cultures. Part one focuses on controversial discourse, where Raffe succinctly outlines the ever-contentious role of the covenants; the language of persecution, fanaticism and enthusiasm deployed by both confessional groups; and the scrutiny that the clergy received from lay and clerical opponents. This allows Raffe to highlight areas of incongruity between the two cultures that reveal key confessional differences in practical areas such as worship, preaching, and clerical behaviour. The chapter on persecution is particularly enlightening as it reveals that both sides deployed similar language when opposing the established church, thus highlighting the interdependency of the two groups’ evolution. In part two, Raffe turns to controversial action: namely nonconformity and crowd violence. A spectrum of conformity is advocated, which is a welcome addition to an
analysis that can sometimes oversimplify the seventeenth century schisms. Equally welcome is Raffe’s acknowledgement of grassroots motivation for collective violence that established a tradition on which eighteenth century dissenters could build.

*The Culture of Controversy* is very readable piece of academic work which rectifies the absence of cultural analyses of Restoration Scotland. His conclusion that different confessional cultures co-existed and developed in tandem to one another throughout the seventeenth century is convincing. He also outlines that more research is required to uncover the extent to which these cultures existed at the lay level and between localities. The failure to incorporate the 1650s is problematic and leads to some generalisations, but the “culture of controversy” framework in place of a public sphere is a useful and valid approach to studying early modern Scottish religious culture.

*Jamie McDougall*  
*University of Glasgow*

*Conflict, Commerce and Franco-Scottish Relations* offers insight into early modern mercantile networks from the perspective of individuals at the forefront of the exchange during the long seventeenth century. Previous assumptions regarding the commercial relationship between France and Scotland after 1560 are dismantled by Talbott’s convincing use of source material and broad socioeconomic methodology. She argues that Franco-Scottish trade continued despite government treaties, commercial legislation, and acts of war. Though her work focuses on the seventeenth century, her arguments imply that the Franco-Scottish association retained its strength long after 1713. Scholars will welcome this book as a helpful addition to the fields of local trading communities and Scotland’s contributions to overseas commercial networks.

This book is divided into two parts, with a final chapter addressing economic activities within the broader context of the New British History. Part I is thematic and introduces the reader to the Franco-Scottish political and commercial relationships. In chapters one through three, Talbott stresses merchant agency by elevating the commercial activities of individuals and highlighting the nuances of local and regional trade disparities. To do so, she elaborates upon the methodology utilized in traditional economic histories that focus on trade between nations, quantitative analysis, and official government action. While not ignoring the merits of macro-level assessments, Talbott builds upon this framework with a qualitative and social approach utilizing merchants’ personal records. Specifically, she investigates the private records of John Clerk, David Wedderburne, and Archibald Hamilton who are purported to be representative of “non-governmentally controlled commercial networks” (p. 36). Putting a face on those involved in
overseas trade demonstrates the common desire to uphold Franco-
Scottish commercial links despite government legislation to the
contrary.

Part II expands upon the themes established in Part I through an exploration of seventeenth-century warfare. Talbott argues against the notion that a General Crisis had a damaging impact on international commercial exchange, particularly between France and Scotland. Chapters four through six outline the strength of merchant communities and the consistencies in trading activities through an examination of specific conflicts. The chapters are chronological and gradually expand geographically, beginning first with the British Civil Wars and Interregnum and then ending with the War of Spanish Succession. Each chapter expounds similar hindrances to trade, including privateering, embargoes, and financial pressures. Merchants evaded government obstacles by prioritizing business relationships over national and religious loyalties. Adapting to the political environment meant using ships from neutral Scandinavian kingdoms and disbursing goods from approved ports. Talbott illustrates commercial consistencies during periods of strife by examining local port records and personal accounts. For example, she correlates a decrease in French ships and an increase in ships from the Low Countries at Leith as evidence of altered, but not declining, commercial activities.

Chapter seven is the culmination of Talbott’s study. It examines regional patterns of trade after 1688. Similar to previous chapters, Talbott dismisses previous scholarly works that utilize national politics to explain the supposed decline of Franco-British commerce. Instead, she emphasizes the independence of each kingdom beyond English governmental constraints by exploring the flourishing trade of the Scots in Bordeaux and Irish in Nantes. Using parish and family records, she demonstrates the intricacies of business, social links, and trade variations at the local level. England was a senior partner in British commercial ventures, but a partner nonetheless.

This book is a persuasive account of the Franco-Scottish commercial relationship during the seventeenth century. The author successfully expands the scope of the bi-lateral approach to economic history with a thorough discussion of regional and
personal materials. This book gives the reader an in-depth understanding of an early modern commercial relationship between the two kingdoms. The evidence Talbott utilizes demonstrates that these commercial bonds were not necessarily limited to France and Scotland, but were more indicative of a much broader informal network. Devoting her attention primarily to France and Scotland gives the reader insight into their commercial relationship, but only provides a partial picture of the nature of commercial activities. The author also assumes a certain understanding of a “network” without providing an explicit definition. Including the theoretical and historiographical background of this concept, and perhaps a visual example from one of the book’s principle merchants, would have been helpful. Overall, this book provides an invaluable addition on the bookshelf of any scholar interested in early modern Scottish social and commercial developments.

Jenna Schultz
University of Wisconsin-Madison
As is often said, Scotland’s international brand revolves romantically around mountains, lochs, castles, ceilidhs, and kilts. Intimately—and perhaps perversely—connected with all of this imagery is the monumental urban setpiece of Edinburgh, surely one of the great cities: a UNESCO World Heritage Site in two parts, the medieval Old Town and the eighteenth- to twentieth-century New Town. Among many other lucidly elaborated themes, *Painting the Town* considers this pastoral-urban tension. One painting in this beautifully illustrated and produced book, Alexander Nasmyth’s early, dramatic view of Edinburgh Castle (1780), goes as far as almost to deny the castle’s prominent place in the heart of the city, presenting it as a “Highland” fortress on its volcanic rock, complete with the unfeasibly shimmering Nor’ Loch, which was to be drained in the name of urbanist improvement only a year later. Another half century later, Nasmyth’s *Princes Street with the Commencement of the Building of the Royal Institution* (1825), celebrates the new Edinburgh, its precise, square-cut urbanity minutely displayed against the summarised romantic backdrop of the Old Town. We see that Edinburgh’s split personality was celebrated and anatomised from an early date.

*Painting the Town* takes the simple notion of presenting Scotland’s historic townscape through a series of views, maps and plans. But as with estate plans and other self-publicity, what you saw is not always what you got. Artists played with scale, light, colour and topography, even moving mountains to create more—or occasionally less—pleasing compositions. The difficulties of treating the material as a record are well understood and explained by the authors. Hugh Irvine’s Aberdeen view, *Castle Gate*, (1803), for example, with its restored architecture, seems to be an early
example of the ‘lost’ city image, perhaps recalling a pre-improvement golden age.

With all its rugged mountain scenery and Highland identity, Scotland is nevertheless one of the most urbanised countries in the world. As old and new landowners privatised and actively depopulated the country’s vast landscape in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the towns and cities were expanded to bursting point with new inhabitants: dozens of new towns were also created in the name of improvement. Paul Sandby’s *Prospect of Duniquich and Old Castle of Inveraray from the Market Place* (c. 1747) records a disappearing urban scene for posterity. The place-type of the clustered castle-town was destroyed at Inveraray, Fochabers and elsewhere in order to put some distance between the new, commercially-focussed landowner and his tenants. *Painting the Town* clearly charts this shifting identity. Existing, growing towns like Aberdeen, Kilmarnock and Dumfries are carefully presented as models of urban order through a variety of carefully composed paintings.

This is urban history through the mirror of art, graphic in its content and its aspirations. We see towns as they wished to be seen, places of commerce and civility, but we also see their grisly side as theatres of public humiliation, for example, through Paul Sandby’s casual depiction of the execution of the forger, Sergeant John Young (1751). Sandby’s sketches are some of the few visualisations presented with no apparent agenda. At the other end of that scale, the extent of drunkenness and debauchery depicted in William Thomas Reid’s *Leith Races* (1859) seems scarcely possible: it is surely both a titillation and an admonition about the dangers of urban living at a time when cities were beginning to be problematized. Wilkie’s *Pitlessie Fair* (1804) had certainly harkened back to an architecture of charming disarray amid social harmony, and even *Glasgow Fair* (1825) by the cartoonist William Heath seems strangely calm and well-ordered, with the neat and compact town sitting serenely separate but connected to the main subject of the painting. Like many of the book’s themes, artistic and literary representations of fairs in Scotland suggest a rich subject in itself.
We see, of course, what the artist wants us to see. Many of the scenes are formulaic enough, populated with obligatory blind beggars and kilted soldiers, but they can also be biting lampoons. Henry Harwood’s *The Executive* (1821) contrasts the well-built city of Dundee and the new Trades Hall with its governing body, an intimidating in-crowd of solid, well-fed burghers who occupy the foreground of the painting in the casually intimidating stance of a street gang.

This is a superb book that will become a research standard for many years to come for its architectural, artistic, historical, and social context. It is particularly strong on the aspirations for urban space and its use in the growing towns. *Painting the Town* is a rare achievement: analytical, informative and thought-provoking, but also hugely entertaining.

*Ranald MacInnes*

*Historic Scotland*
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