

SCOTTISH TRADITION

ISSN 0703-1580

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Production by Stewart Publishing & Printing
Markham, Ontario
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SCOTLAND'S NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1816-1828

 No one can move east along Edinburgh's Princes Street without catching sight of Scotland's National Monument on Calton Hill. Its silhouette crowns the vista; romantic ruin it may seem, uncompleted building it actually is, but the classical facade that is all that exists imposes itself on the city with picturesque effect, immediately evocative of Edinburgh as the 'Athens of the North'. Contrariwise, the least impression it has made has been on historians. Perhaps this can be regarded as another case of professional myopia, of the way history tends to be written around successes and the successful. Certainly, little or no significance has been attached to the National Monument. Often quoted is the sardonic comment of the resident architect about the time building ground to a halt in 1828, that such an outcome proved the 'pride and poverty of us Scots'. Henry Cockburn is remembered, too, for dismissing it as something dreamt up immediately after Waterloo out of 'the prevailing effervescence of military patriotism'.¹

Yet there is more here than meets the eye. Cockburn was a leading whig, the National Monument coincided with a period of intensifying party politics in Scotland and Cockburn was cocking a snook at what he perceived

to be Tory militarism. The story becomes even more interesting because Cockburn, along with Francis Jeffrey, the editor of the Whig *Edinburgh Review*, can be said to have captured the project from the Tories when they joined the committee of subscribers in 1821 and succeeded in replacing the design (and the architect) favoured by the Tories with one of their own. At one level, it is true, the conflict was over architectural style, or even patronage. C.R. Cockerell, the architect eventually chosen, was at this stage of his career a leading exponent of classical Greek models and the superiority of 'Greek' was strongly argued at the time in the Edinburgh press.

The decision to build a replica of the Parthenon on Calton Hill did, then, represent current fashion; but what has passed unnoticed is that the Monument in this form became a riposte to the Roman, and therefore more militaristic, preferences of the Tories. At the deepest level the Monument project developed into a competition between two different national identities for Scotland: the Tories wished to emphasise Scotland's martial achievements which drew them towards Highlandism and a version of Scottish history making much of the ancientness and long independence of the Scottish kingdom: the Whigs, in contrast, placed more importance on civil achievement, especially the country's progress since the Union.

The immediate setting of the Monument project was the triumphant end of the war with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Scotland had played a conspicuous

part in the struggle particularly through the deeds of the 'national' regiments. But equally in the mind of the Monument's promoters was the fact that, for the first time since the Union, Scots had played a full part in their own defence as militia and volunteers. A proposal early taken up by the committee was for the deposit of muster rolls of all volunteer and yeomanry corps and local militia in recognition of this 'armed nation'.²

There was, however, more to the Monument than commemoration or even nation-making. If the wars had seen Britain prevail against the greatest enemy she had ever encountered and had carried Britain's power and reputation in the world to new heights, it was because a massive mobilisation of home resources, especially manpower, had secured what would otherwise have been a highly vulnerable national base while expanding British armed power abroad.

The much extended empire and European leadership Britain now possessed depended, ultimately, on the army and navy backed by a society organised for its own defence. Tories, at least, took these matters seriously. They had conducted the war and had created the armed nation; they believed that in a new age of mass warfare and empire Britain less than ever could afford to exist only as a 'commercial society'. The encouragement of military service and 'military spirit' thus amounted to policy. Scottish tories were willing to see their country as peculiarly useful to the state with its Highlands-derived warrior tradition. They also held strongly to the view that military patriotism during the

wars had killed off the radicalism of the 1790s and that it would continue to be a powerful prophylactic against popular disorder.³

That the National Monument originated as a tory initiative cannot be doubted. It was Lord Arniston, the Lord Chief Baron, himself a Dundas and second-in-command of the Dundas interest, who put the proposal to the Highland Society in January 1816.⁴ He was responding to the government's intention to seek a parliamentary grant for a 'Waterloo Monument' in London, wanting something similar in Scotland's capital. As it happened, Lord Liverpool's administration, under constant pressure to cut back expenditure and reduce taxation, eventually preferred to allocate public money to church-building. Yet at this later date the tory officeholders behind the project continued to hope for some public funding by including a church in the Monument complete with clerical endowment.

A public meeting in February 1819 heard these plans and embarked on a subscription. The Duke of Atholl was in the chair and the business was introduced by the Lord Justice Clerk and Sir William Rae, soon to be Lord Advocate. From then on tory influence was mobilised in all directions. The General Assembly, on a motion seconded by the Lord Justice Clerk, approved an appeal to parishes, magnates in London were rallied and Indian and colonial governments written to. The Lord Advocate and Michael Linning, a tory lawyer who acted as secretary to the bitter end, organised the committee work.⁵

In 1816 the Highland Society had contemplated the erection of a 'pillar' or 'triumphal arch' in obvious imitation of Roman victory monuments.⁶

Three years later Archibald Elliott was commissioned to produce drawings and came up with a building 'modelled on the Pantheon of Rome, with a church attached', the latter because a government grant was still in contention. Inside the Monument itself were to be inscribed the names and deeds of Scots who had distinguished themselves in the wars, together with the services of the Scottish regiments. As already mentioned, the rolls of the home corps were to be deposited as a permanent record. There also seems to have been the idea of displaying war trophies, Sir John Sinclair in 1820 donating Waterloo memorabilia.⁷ The point about all this is that in tory hands the Monument was entirely conceived as a war monument, inspiring military patriotism (of course, out of commemoration). Linning described it as:

calculated to promote the interests of religion - to uphold the altar and the throne - to cherish the best affections of the people - and to render a just and pious tribute ... [Scotsmen] ought to be gratified with the contemplation of some striking memorial of their country's prowess and glory; something calculated to console the feelings of those to whom our departed warriors were near and dear - to kindle the admiration, and to stimulate the exertions of future heroes.⁸

Yet in a short while the Monument was being touted as the 'Westminster Abbey of the North ... recording the glories, *in every walk of genius, of all our countrymen*' [my italics]:

Where are the monuments that commemorate the services of Duncan, of Abercromby, of Moore? Where those which tell us of the discoveries of Napier, or Gregory, or Maclaurin, or that are to record the celebrity of our lamented contemporary Playfair? And why is the memory of such writers as Smith, Robertson, Ferguson, or of such poets as Thomson, Home, and Burns ... entirely neglected in a land where nationality is so deeply cherished? ⁹

At the same time the Roman Pantheon had given way to the Athenian Parthenon which was to be erected on Calton Hill, a site, it was said, superior to the Acropolis itself. Less was made of the Parthenon as a victory monument than that it represented the best in architecture and that in Edinburgh it would, overlooking the splendours of the New Town, complete the city's transition from provincial outpost to 'northern metropolis of science and art.'¹⁰ What is evident here is the mainstream view of Scottish history held by contemporaries and recently expounded by Colin Kidd.¹¹ This wrote off pre-Union Scotland as economically backward, religiously fanatical, and altogether 'feudal' in its

factionalism, violence and ignorance. The eighteenth century, in contrast, had seen commerce expand, the rule of law properly established, learning flourish and religious contentions subdued. Scots had been brought to a sense of national achievement and therefore national identity, even if it had Anglo-British rather than Celtic sources. Put in such a context, the Parthenon placed in Edinburgh would be totally appropriate. It would stand as a pre-eminent symbol of 'civilised' Scotland: 'If London boasts of St Paul's - Paris of the colonnade of the Louvre - and Rome of St Peter's - were the Caledonian capital to possess the Parthenon restored ... well might she raise her head among these proud cities, and, in one respect at least, surpass the glories of even the Eternal City itself.'¹²

Tory ideas and plans, then, stood athwart powerful intellectual and artistic currents. But the Tories were defeated only because their Whig opponents expertly mobilised opinion against them. Indeed, the decision in favour of the Parthenon was among the first signs of Whig revival in Scotland after the long Dundas ascendancy. The attack on the Lord Advocate and Elliott's 'church' began in the Edinburgh press and ran for over a year before a crucial meeting of subscribers in June 1821. Party politics intruded the more easily into the issue because the debate coincided with all the partisanship excited by Peterloo and Queen Caroline's trial. At the meeting Jeffrey and Cockburn proposed the Parthenon and prevailed, and followed up this success by having Whigs well-represented on a new committee

of management. In the subscription book, which survives, the note 'on condition that the Parthenon be restored' was recorded against about 40 names, almost all of them Edinburgh professional men.¹³ Clearly, these were the troops that Jeffrey and Cockburn marshalled. But the whigs also won because they appealed to an educated elite on grounds of 'art' and further beautification of Scotland's capital, their case much strengthened by the availability of a magnificent site. Their tory adversaries, on the other hand, placed too much emphasis on the need for the monument to include a church which immediately raised questions about where it should go and whether the bulk of Scots would be interested in providing Edinburgh with yet another place of worship. The tories lost the argument which it is important to win on these occasions - the argument for local pride and dignity.

Of course, in one sense nobody won. Though the foundation stone was laid at the time of George IV's visit in 1822 and though architects were appointed the following year, building, begun in 1826, ceased when money ran out towards the end of 1828. The subscriptions collected amounted to well under half the projected cost.¹⁴ The history of the Monument is most interesting for the several chapters it contains: the beginning of the end of the tory ascendancy in Scotland, the far from straightforward process after the Union of 'inventing' a Scottish identity, the 'revival of Greek' in architecture and Edinburgh city-making (the last two not dealt with in this short article). While the Monument ended up a

tory defeat, Scots in the longer term were not loathe to define themselves in ways which its tory champions would have approved. Highlandism, the identification of Scotland with the Highlands, owed much to military Scotland in the early nineteenth century. The famous regiments, tartanry and Highland games, which were key ingredients, were directly related to the tory warfare state of the period and therefore not inseparable from the origins of the National Monument itself.¹⁵

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Endnotes

1. Playfair to C. R. Cockerell, 30 June 1829, National Library of Scotland [NLS], Cockerell MSS, MS 638, ff. 133-4; H. Cockburn, Memorials of His Time, K. F. C. Miller (ed.), (Chicago, 1974), 291.
2. NLS, Minto MSS, Committee on the National Monument of Scotland, printed circular letter, 8 Sep. 1819, MS 11747, ff. 113-15.
3. See J. E. Cookson, The British Armed Nation 1793-1815 (Oxford, 1997).
4. Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland, vol. 4 (Edinburgh, 1820), p. lxi.
5. Edinburgh City Archives [ECA], National Monument [NM] MS minutes, pp. 10-40.

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6. Scottish Record Office [SRO], RH4/188, Highland Society of Scotland, sederunt book, vol. 5 (1814-18), pp. 199-200. William Gillespie, the architect, produced drawings for an arch. See Edinburgh Evening Courant [EEC], 25 June 1821.
7. Ibid., 23 Apr. 1818, 9 Mar., 24 July 1819, 3 Jan. 1820. An engraving of Elliot's Monument was included with a circular of 8 Sep. 1819. See NLS, Minto MSS, MS 11747, f.115.
8. EEC, 9 Mar. 1819.
9. NLS, Airth MSS, circular from the Committee, 25 Dec. 1821, MS 10958, ff. 304-5; 'Restoration of the Parthenon', Edinburgh Magazine, 6 (1820), 104, 312.
10. Ibid., 6 (1820), 99-105, 304-12; 9 (1821), 49-52; Edinburgh Review, 38 (1823), 126-44.
11. C. Kidd, Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity 1689-c.1830 (Cambridge, 1993).
12. Edinburgh Magazine, 9 (1821), 52.
13. ECA, NM minutes, 18 June 1821; EEC, 21 June 1821. The subscription book is in the ECA.
14. ECA, NM minutes, 8 Dec. 1823.
15. Cookson, 'The Napoleonic Wars, Military Scotland and Tory Highlandism in the Early Nineteenth Century'.

NEGLECTED SOURCE MATERIALS
ON THE
JACOBITE RISINGS

 While conducting research for a new biography of John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, I have come across several manuscript collections containing valuable information on the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 - material which seems to have been overlooked in the numerous works on Jacobitism that have appeared in recent years.¹

The purpose of this article is to draw attention to this material and where appropriate, briefly summarize the more important items in the collection in the hope that scholars will be encouraged to undertake a detailed study of the originals either in microfilm format or by personally visiting the holding institution.

The first collection comprises the papers of John Calcraft (1726-1772), on deposit at Dorset County Records Office.² Deputy Paymaster (1745-1757), Calcraft was well known in high political circles, and his correspondence is a rich resource for contemporary events, both domestic and foreign. Of special interest to those engaged in Jacobite studies is Calcraft's out-letter book (1745/46), containing letters and notes from General Thomas Wentworth co-commander of the

government forces mobilized against the Highland army, as well as detailed references to Jacobite military movements. Also important is the out-letter book of Henry Fox (Secretary at War, 1746-1754) which contains much material on various aspects of the '45 and its aftermath, including letters describing the trial of Lord Lovat.

Another important resource is the collection of the papers of Edward Weston (Under-secretary, 1729-46; 1761-4) in the Lewis Walpole Library at Farmington, Connecticut.³ A seasoned professional with extensive connections, Weston devoted much of his correspondence to diplomatic matters, and this material has great value previously because of its confidential and informal nature, because he had access to vital information and because the collection contains letters and dispatches unobtainable elsewhere. Indeed, his papers are an instructive example of how private, political manuscripts can enhance our knowledge of events that Weston and his contemporaries regarded as being of critical importance.

The Farmington collection, which is especially useful for the 1740's and for 1760-1763, is larger than that of the Weston papers held in the British Library⁴ or that still in private hands, owned by a descendant, Dr John Weston-Underwood of Mill St. House, Idem Green, Kent, England.⁵ Below are listed the more important and interesting items relating to the Jacobite movement.

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Vol. I. Papers on the rebellion: two letters from Gen. Ligonier to Weston, concerning the Young Pretender's plan of campaign.

One letter from Gen. Cholmondely to Weston, Jan. 1746 - giving detailed description of the Battle of Falkirk.

A lengthy, exceptionally valuable letter from the Duke of Cumberland describing the Battle of Culloden, dated: Inverness, April 1746.

Assorted correspondence relating to the rebellion with lists of killed, wounded and prisoners.

Vol. II. Three letters to Townshend and Weston, 1726-8, from Sir Robert Walpole describing the Jacobite intrigues of the Duke of Wharton.

Letters from Gen. Sir John Cope describing government counter-measures to Jacobite military plans and manoeuvres.

Vol. III 94 items, including letters from Henry Pelham, 1744-9, Gen. John Ligonier, 1745, Gen. John Campbell, 1746, Andrew Stone, 1745.

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Robert Wightman commenting on rebel movements; divisions within the Jacobite high command, France's position, and the battles of Falkirk and Culloden. Extremely useful.

Vol. IX Intercepted Jacobite correspondence, including papers of the Duke of Ormonde, Oct. 1736-Feb. 1738, concerning his activities on behalf of the Pretender.

112 letters, all original, with a key to the names and places mentioned in the correspondence.

The remaining material is located among the papers of the Campbell family, Earls of Loudoun, on deposit in the Huntington Library, California. Composed by prominent correspondents, including the Countess of Loudoun, the 2nd Earl of Stair, Lord Glenorchy and Colin Lindsay, 3rd Earl of Balcarres among others, the letters in this collection provide perceptive and knowledgeable observations on developments in Scotland during the turbulent period 1715-1717. Specifically the manuscripts illuminate the military aspects of the rebellion and its suppression. They indicate that while Argyll felt confident of dealing with the rebel threat from the North, he declined to advance in that direction partly because his cavalry would be

hampered in the Highlands and partly because he feared the prospect of being attacked from the south. What ultimately proved decisive were Jacobite military blunders - well chronicled here - and the superior military leadership and resources which the royal army enjoyed. The letters also show that the rising 1715, although perhaps triggered by private ambitions - the Earl of Mar's in particular - was given impetus and sustained by more general discontent with the workings of the Union. It also seems clear from the documents that what dealt a decisive blow to the Jacobite cause was the death of Louis XIV in September 1715, an event which, as Bolingbroke himself agreed "rendered vain and fruitless all we had done."⁶ Plunged into the uncertainties of a regency, France could ill afford rash ventures in European politics and hence proved resistant to the Pretender's illusory schemes.

Letters to Hugh, 3rd Earl of Loudoun concerning the rebellion of 1715.

- I. Correspondent: Campbell, Margaret (Dalrymple), Countess Loudoun (47 letters).

LO 7370-7379 (Sept. - Oct. 1715) - Lord Rothes dispatched to secure Perth. The Pretender sailed from Saint Malo. Preston is to command Edinburgh Castle. Scattered references to the Rebellion and interesting reflections on leading participants. Discontent in many sections of Scottish society with the Act of Union.

LO 7380-7382 - Report of disturbances at Alnwick. Occasional references to the insurrection. Failure of rebels to take Newcastle.

LO 7383-7416 (Oct., Nov., Dec., 1715) Family affairs and social matters. Frequent references to the rebellion, as well as the Earl of Mar; account of operations at Preston; Earl of Mar and Loudoun in the battle of Sheriffmuir; Mar's army seriously depleted - government forces reinforced by Dutch contingents; preparations for flight of Pretender to France.

II 24 Letters to the 3rd. Earl of Loudoun from the 2nd. Earl of Stair.⁷

LO 7670-7673 (March 20, 1716 - May 26, 1716) - Activities of the Pretender at Versailles and his relations with the Duke of Orleans. The Earl of Mar's residence in Paris; measures to pacify the Highlands generally a failure.

64 Letters to the 3rd Earl of Loudoun from Charles Cathcart.⁸

LO 7935 (Jan. 3, 1716) - Rebels are in a state of despair, low in supplies; little trust in their leaders.

LO 7905 (March 24, 1716) - On measures to complete the pacification of Scotland. Cadogan has entrusted the North coast (Peterhead to Dundee) to Cathcart with 2000 men.

III. 70 Letters to the 3rd. Earl of Loudoun from General Sir James Campbell.

LO 8092 - Stirling (Jan. 21, 1716) - Artillery being hurried forward/ 26 cannon and 7 mortars. Supply ship has arrived but further artillery expected from London is despaired of for now. Intelligence from Perth that rebels do not number more than 5000-7000 at most. Army is suffering from the cold. The Pretender is at Scone and is reputed to be ill.

LO 8149 (Jan. 10, 1716) - The Pretender has entered Dundee in company with the Earl of Mar. Evidently had a good reception. He will proceed to Perth. Information on strength of royal ordinance. Royal troops have 18 cannons - some 12 and some 8 pounders, altogether 23 pieces of artillery without the train due from London.

LO 8124 (Jan. 31, 1716) - Rebels have left Perth for Dundee and Cadogan has marched to occupy Perth with a detachment of Dragoons. Rebels reported to have left 200 men in Perth with orders to burn the town; must be prevented.

LO 8099 (March 22, 1716) - General Cadogan plans to advance to Inverlochy if the Clans

do not bring in their arms. Lord Balcarres has surrendered to Sir James Campbell; the latter has allowed him to retire to Balcarres because of ill health, but under guard. He will die if put in prison.

LO 8190 (Aug. 17, 1725) - General Wade's reports that Inverness is pacified and the Highlanders have agreed to deliver their army. The town has also submitted to the malt tax.

IV. Sir James Campbell (2nd. Baronet) to the 3rd. Earl of Loudoun, 38 letters.

LO 8188 (Jan. 26, 1716) - On the rebels at Perth.

LO 8200 (Jan. 30, 1716) - The rebels have burned houses from Ochterander to Perth.

V. 3 Letters from John Campbell, Lord Glenarchy to the 3rd. Earl of Loudoun.

LO 8275 (March 29, 1716) Edinburgh Castle - Was surprised to be summoned to Edinburgh when his loyalty to the King's government was so well established. Unable to come because rebels would have seized him on the way. Notice served on him was too late to permit action within the set time limit of 15 days. He has done all he could to encourage

his followers to support the government. He did come the moment the ground was clear and he prevented possible uprising in Caithness and was not responsible for his father's actions.

LO 8274 (Apr. 12, 1716) - Complains that he received a citation to appear in 15 days after the time limit had expired. Could not come because the Highlands were in rebellion and he would have risked capture. He sent a bond of presentation and bail to Edinburgh, but it came too late to be received. He did all he could to keep the peace as Sheriff and Justiciar of Caithness. The Earl of Sutherland has a prejudice against him, hence he has petitioned the King and appealed to the Duke of Argyll for protection. He is not responsible for the rift between his father and Argyll and he wants Loudoun to help him.

LO 8273 (Apr. 12, 1716) - Complains that he is shut up in Edinburgh Castle despite his innocence. He used his influence to stop his father's tenants from joining the rebels at Perth. He wants Loudoun to convince the government of his loyalty and sincerity instead of appealing on his own behalf. He begs Loudoun to prevent his aged father from being taken to London by sea for trial. He is over eighty years of age.

VI. 26 Letters from Lord Berwick Lord Advocate 1713-1718.

Contain important information on rebel troop movements, military strength and strategy. Also provide vital information on Jacobite intrigues in Sweden and Russia.

VII. 42 Letters from Colin Lindsay, 3rd. Earl of Balcarres.

VIII. 2 Letters from John Campbell, Provost of Skipness.

LO 7778 (July 31, 1715) Edinburgh - The Royal army is now marching toward Perth. The Duke (of Argyll) was at Dunblane Sunday night and was to be yesterday at Ardeth and this night at Tullibardine or Gask. They will probably have to leave their artillery at Stirling. The rebels have summoned all their men from Fife and Dundee; their numbers are uncertain but rebel army not near so strong as at the battle of Dunblane; still, they give out that they will venture a battle. They have already burned Auchterarder and Blackford. Rumours of similar happenings elsewhere remain unconfirmed. He thinks that they will burn Perth and then march northward until supplied with more forces from abroad. Last week a ship with about 50 officers landed at Aberdeen.

IX. 9 Letters from Major James Cathcart to the 3rd Earl of Loudoun.

LO 7859 (Dec. 28, 1715) - Colonel Campbell of Ffinale has taken two considerable posts, the Castles of Ffinlarig and Callichorne, which threaten Perth and deprive the rebels of resources and strategic centers. Mar left Perth to go and meet the Pretender. The Duke of Argyll is the best of commanders.

LO 7858 (Jan., 1716) - The state of affairs better at Stirling than when Loudoun left for London. The rebels are drawing together but not in such numbers as was expected from the landing of their king. They have clothing for 3000 and arms in proportion. Our fleet has not prevented one ship from going to them. The Earl of Sutherland has obliged Seaforth to disperse his men and to undertake in writing not to act against the government pending decision at court as to his pardon. Sutherland can prevent the Marquis of Huntlie from joining the rebels as he is superior in numbers. The Duke of Argyll will not make any mistakes at this critical juncture.

LO 7860 (Jan. 28, 1716) Stirling - Even the common soldiers are pleased with the prospects despite the intense cold. The dragoons from Glasgow and the foot from Linlithgow are headed this way. The rebels should be settled within

a week - they have burned all barns within 10 miles of Perth and the town of Achterairdoch. The Duke (Argyll) leaves today and we shall all march from Dunblain on Monday morning. It is reported that the Pretender has gone from Troone to Glamis. The rebel force cannot exceed 5000 men. They have marked out a field of battle to meet us upon the Upper Moore within two miles of Perth.

X. One Letter from William, 1st. Earl of Cowper to the 3rd Earl of Loudoun.

LO 8059 (Jan. 12, 1716) House of Lords - Summons to attend as soon as possible the proceedings now pending in this House against several Lords who stand impeached of High Treason.

XI. One Letter from Adam Cunningham to the 3rd. Earl of Loudoun.

LO 8259 (Jan. 1718) - On the return of arms used in the rebellion.

XII. (1715-1717) - 12 letters from William Boyd of Kilmarnock on military developments in the Highlands.

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Endnotes


- 1 These include but are not limited to: B. Lenman, The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1688-1746 (London, 1980); F. McLynn, The Jacobite Army in England (Edinburgh, 1998); P.K. Monod, Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788 (Cambridge, 1989); Stuart Reid, 1745: A Military History (Glasgow, 1996); M. Lynch, ed.; Jacobitism and the '45 (London, 1995).
- 2 The full address is:
Dorset County Record Office,
Bridgeport Road,
Dorchester,
DT1 1RP
England.
- 3 On Weston see: K.W. Schweizer, "Edward Weston (1703-70): The Papers of an Eighteenth-Century Under Secretary in the Lewis Walpole Library", The Yale University Library Gazette, vol. 71 nos. 1-2 (Oct. 1996) pp. 43-48

and idem; "Edward Weston 1703-70", New Dictionary of National Biography (in press).
- 4 Egerton MSS, 2683-94; Additional MSS. 6808-9, 6823, 6831, 38201-5, 57303-8, 58213, 57927-8.
- 5 For an index to the papers still privately owned see: K.W. Schweizer "A Handlist to the Additional Weston Papers", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 51 (1978), pp. 99-102.

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- 6 Bolingbroke, Works (London, 1844), I, p. 140.
- 7 John Dalrymple, 2nd. Earl of Stair (1673-1747) Scottish general and diplomat; was prominent in the War of the Spanish succession as friend and lieutenant of Marlborough; active promoter of the Union; later became field marshal and governor of Minorca.
- 8 Charles, 8th. Baron Cathcart (1686-1740). Distinguished military officer who played a key role as leader of royal cavalry at Sheriffmuir.
- 9 John Campbell, 1st Earl of Breadalbane, who joined in the rebellion.

**RELIGIOUS STALWARTS:
KNOX'S PRESBYTERIAN HELPS SHAPE
THE CHARACTER OF EARLY GALT**

uring the nineteenth century a number of new communities were formed in south-western Ontario. One of these was Shade's Mills, located in Dumfries Township, and in time renamed Galt. Due to the desires of its founders William Dickson (1769-1846) and Absalom Shade (1793-1862),¹ this town soon became a predominantly Scots presbyterian settlement. During the settlement's first century, the Scots hegemony was well represented by the presence of several presbyterian churches, one of which was Knox's.

Similar to many other Canadian religious houses, this dynamic church reflected its community's character. Generally well-educated, the Scots presbyterians of Upper Canada were attached to their faith. Religion was often a life-sustaining force, the church serving as a nucleus to a rural-minded community. Churches like Knox's Presbyterian provided for their congregations' spiritual and bodily needs by providing necessary social infrastructures.

Taking all these factors into account, little wonder that the congregation of Knox's became involved in issues affecting not only their own beloved church,

but also in larger matters reflecting the interests of the entire kirk in Canada.

The significance of Knox's was initially evident in the very process of its formation. Many presbyterian congregations throughout Canada and the world were the result of a process of constant fragmentation and realignment. Knox's has its origins in the early days of Dumfries Township, Upper Canada. Here was located the tiny settlement of Shade's Mills, a "dreary bush settlement"² with enormous potential for future development, thanks in no small part due to the character of its first settlers. Shade's Mills - renamed Galt for Dickson's friend, the Scottish novelist John Galt³ - was a settlement made up almost entirely of Lowland Scots immigrants.⁴ Around the end of its first year of life, in 1817, Shade's Mills was home to about 163 such persons, belonging to thirty-eight families.⁵

The impact of the Scots upon Upper Canada's development is well known.⁶ Those that settled in Dumfries Township were largely from Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire, Roxboroughshire, and Selkirkshire. Dickson favoured these people because of their reputation for diligence, and reliability; their high level of education,⁷ keen sense of family values, and strong religious background.⁸

The idea seems to have been to attract visionaries possessing a desire for self-sufficiency, and who were loyal to prevailing concepts of morality and social justice. James Young (1835-1913) offers this account of the new arrivals:

The first settlers of Dumfries were generally of a superior class. With few exceptions, they had received a good education at the Parochial Schools of their native land, and many of them brought with them to Canada a thirst for knowledge which even the necessities of bush life could not eradicate. This led to very early endeavours to combine instruction with amusement during their leisure hours ... as early as 1834, when clearings were but few and far between ... a Debating Society was in full blast during the winter evenings ... long and exciting were the discussions which took place.⁹

In such an environment it would not take long before a Scots presbyterian dominance was established in early Galt, in which the congregation of Knox's would play a visible role.

Thus early Galt was for all practical purposes a Scottish town, a fact recognised by one of its earliest residents, David Bryden. A small-hold tenant in Dumfriesshire, Bryden arrived in Upper Canada with his wife and family in 1847. Yet he maintained a correspondence with his brother in Scotland, whom he told:

Go into Galt and you cannot fail to see some old acquaintances [from Scotland] and get a hearty welcome. I went last

week to the home of James Cowan and bred my acquaintance. He is the most influential man in the township, talented, kind and familiar and one of the Councillors for the District.¹⁰

Bryden went on to praise the piety of the Galtonians, as good or better than that of native Scots¹¹ - an essential observation when considering issues raised below. Interestingly, Bryden asserts that Galt often drew immigrants from one community, or several neighbouring communities back in Scotland, and that old relationships were maintained in the new land.

Scottish immigration to Galt seems to fit many of the parameters for Canada as a whole. Initially, immigrants were often drawn from New York State.¹² This undoubtedly followed the pattern of introducing Empire Loyalists to serve as trailblazers in the pioneering process. These people were chosen largely because of their experience and familiarity with their surroundings, while demonstrating the desired qualities of frugality and industriousness.¹³ American immigrants became less desirable after the War of 1812. Also, the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837 was thought to have been chiefly inspired by American radicalism. After these events, Britain became the chief source of new settlers bound for Upper Canada, a trend which filtered down to Dumfries Township.¹⁴

From the very start the earliest arrivals expressed a need for spiritual guidance, provided by the United

Presbyterian Church of North America. However in 1824, serious missionary work had commenced in Dumfries Township. Thanks to Shade's patronage, a presbyterian kirk was erected four years later.¹⁵ The congregation received its first regular minister in 1833, the Rev. James Strang.¹⁶

Knox's story began in 1831-32, when a representative of the Church of Scotland, Rev. William Stewart, began preaching in the "Old Red Store" while awaiting completion of St Andrews Presbyterian in 1833-35. In the year of St Andrews' completion, a new minister was sent directly from Scotland. This man was the Rev. Dr John Bayne (c.1806-59), whose family's ancestral holding was Tulloch.¹⁷ The son of Rev. Kenneth Bayne of Greenock, John entered the University of Glasgow in 1819,¹⁸ before finishing his education at the University of Edinburgh. Bayne, however, was to become a central figure in shaping the character of presbyterianism in Canada.

The period in which Bayne arrived in Canada was marked by controversy within the Kirk itself. This was the time of the so-called Disruption, the causes of which were described in a sermon given by Rev. J. D. Smart, thus:

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the 19th century Presbyterianism was not in a very healthy condition in Scotland. The established church had fallen into very careless ways.

Its leaders were easy-going men, fine cultured men, but not particularly enthusiastic about spiritual things. It did not worry anyone very much that in a city like Glasgow there was only one church often for a district of 10,000 or 15,000 people.¹⁹

Dr Smart's observations illustrate a situation that had its roots when in 1712 the British Parliament effectively legislated against the presbyterian public's former right to select its own congregational ministers.²⁰ The result was the creation of a virtual state church as was already in place in England. Ministers were to be selected by the state, which hoped to utilise this more loyal ministry as a tool for social control. Not only was this form of government patronage considered an affront to free thinking Calvinists, but it opened the door to a less qualified ministry. Ministers might have been selected on the basis of their political, rather than spiritual values.

These developments were challenged by an evangelical movement that was gaining momentum within the Scottish Kirk.²¹ The Evangelical Party, between the years 1810-40, made its bid to institute reform under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers.²² On the issue of patronage and other aspects of church/state relationships, it was Chalmers's contention that "the ecclesiastical ought not to be subjected to the civil power in things spiritual ..."²³ Nevertheless, some concessions

were made to the evangelists - training for ministers was improved, while the people regained some control of the selection of ministers.²⁴ Yet this was too little too late for the majority of Presbyterians in Galt, Canada. While the situations which prompted the outrage in Scotland were not a major factor in Canada,²⁵ religious stalwarts in Galt were set to make it their concern.

Back in Scotland however, Chalmers's party remained unreconciled, and broke away from the kirk in 1843 to form the Free Church of Scotland.²⁶ Though the Presbyterian Church of Canada was only loosely connected to its Scottish parent at best, a large proportion of the Scots presbyterians in Galt wished to follow the lead of the evangelicals. In fact, many of the more recent additions to the Canadian Scots community had been supporters of the evangelicals back home; thus:

If Disruption was good enough for Scotland, it should be good enough for the colonies. To an Evangelical, continued connection with the Church of Scotland constituted guilt by association.²⁷

This burning issue of Disruption became the topic of discussion during a synod held in 1843. The offensive clause, "in connexion with the Church of Scotland" became the main issue of contention for the congregation of St Andrews (soon to be Knox's).²⁸ This issue served to divide the Canadian Kirk. Dr J. Cook of Quebec City, while sympathising with the pro-Free Church

position, held firmly in his belief that the issue was non-existent, that there would be no practical advantage to breaking away.²⁹ This attitude was in direct contrast to the view held by Rev. Bayne.

During the Kingston Synod, July 1844, Dr Cook and his supporters (who were in the majority), successfully presented their case, and it was decided that the stance of the Canadian Presbyterian Church would remain unchanged.³⁰ Perhaps the reason why so many ministers voted in favour of not splitting, is because they were largely recent arrivals to Canada, and still believed themselves obliged to the Church of Scotland.³¹ Not so in the case of Bayne.

When the Disruption had hit the shores of Canada, Dr Bayne was in Edinburgh for health reasons, and on a recruiting mission to coax new ministers to come to the Canadas.³² Undoubtedly it was here that he became fully aware of the issues at hand concerning the schism. Possibly the wishes of the majority of his Canadian congregation helped motivate him as well. Described as a man of conscience,³³ who probably would have preferred a reconciliation between the two sides,³⁴ Bayne nevertheless pushed for separation.

Back in North America, Rev. Bayne, together with twenty-three other ministers from Upper Canada, and most of the presbyterian ministry of the maritimes, presented the situation to their respective congregations. On 23 July 1844, the majority of St Andrews' congregation voted to break away from the kirk.³⁵ With Bayne in the lead, this discontented group formed

a new congregation, the first representative body of the Free Church of Canada.³⁶ The name “Knox’s” was chosen for their new congregation, commemorating that well-known central figure of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox.

Thus on that tragic day of 3 Nov. 1859 when Dr Bayne went to be one again with his God, the local Galt newspaper honoured him thus: “Here, in that narrow house, lies the father of the Free Church of Canada ...”³⁷ Dr Bayne has rightly received much credit for causing the formation of the Free Church, but his congregation also deserves much credit, for without its support, his job would have been much more difficult, if not nearly impossible.

Services for the newly formed congregation were initially held in the so-called “Biggar’s Barn” (owned, appropriately enough, by a Mr Biggar), located along Cedar Street. This was a temporary solution until a more permanent building could be erected.³⁸ That same permanent structure, a rather simple yet functional classically-styled one, was open for service in 1846. It was located near the corner of Ainsle and Dickson Streets, where Galt’s market building now stands. This church served well enough, until the growing popularity of revivalist meetings held there during Rev. James K. Smith’s ministry caused Knox’s ranks to increase (see below).³⁹ A new, larger building seemed in order. A parcel of land was purchased near Queen Square for \$2,000, which was to be the site of a church capable of housing in excess of 1,500 souls.⁴⁰ Construction started in 1868

on the impressive Gothic building that houses Knox's congregation to this day, and the first services took place in October 1870. The construction price was finally set, after some debate, at \$22,000.

Religious life in Galt progressed at a steady pace. In 1875, it was noted that the town possessed eight houses of worship: one Anglican; one Catholic; two Methodist; and four Presbyterian. Clearly, therefore, Presbyterianism was dominant at the time. Figures from 1850-51 indicate a population exceeding 2,000 of which nearly 60% were Presbyterians.⁴¹ In such a community served by a number of religious houses catering to several faiths, an individual church's success may be measured in numerous ways, not the least of which is the size of its congregation. During Rev. Robert E. Knowles's ministry (1898-1915), Knox's achieved notoriety by becoming the largest Presbyterian assembly in Canada, with a membership of 1,314.

In an environment such as Galt, the religious-based community provided an extremely important social safety net for the people. Very important were ties of community and church, based upon those formed back in Scotland, in helping settle Scottish immigrants in other parts of Upper Canada; the same seems to have applied to those coming to Galt. David Bryden's remarks, mentioned above, concerning the familiar faces to be found in Galt, are important to bear in mind. How reassuring it must have been to see a friendly face from the old home, the new arrival knowing there would be friends to help him adjust to his new surroundings.

Thus the religious-based community offered much tangible support to the new settler. The spirit of co-operation manifested itself in the form of bees - which were a form of community assistance providing for those in need. Bees were organised to build temporary lodgings for the new settler and clear his land, or for the rural inhabitant, to help at harvest time. This was also a time for socialising, an important process in integrating the individual into the community. In early Galt (and surely in other places), hard work and socialising went hand-in-hand:

The hard work of chopping, logging and bush-burning seemed to add zest to social gatherings. They were frequent throughout Dumfries, and always lively. Almost every raising 'Bee' terminated in mirth-making of some description. The long winter evenings were often beguiled with dancing, in which all classes and ages united after the Scottish fashion ...

However, not always was it strictly hard work, followed by "fun and games" during a bee. The barn raising and threshing bees organised by Knox's were said to be a time when theological discussions took place.

The importance of the social aspects of a church like Knox's in the lives of the people of nineteenth century Galt cannot be over-emphasised. But the

community also had an intense need for spiritual and moral guidance at this time. The piety of Galt's Scottish community has already been commented upon. Communal standards stood against worldly amusements and public drunkenness, while being an enforcer of morality and strict observation of the Sabbath. Of course this was probably the idealised account of the situation, and it would be naive to think that transgressions did not occur.

Drink was not unknown to Dumfries Township. James Young's commentary upon the subject underscores a double-edged attitude toward the custom. Clearly on the side of temperance, he nevertheless grudgingly admits that in early days "it was regarded as a want of hospitality not to offer visitors something to drink." At all sorts of public gatherings including marriages, christenings, and funerals, "the black bottle regularly made its appearance." Early nineteenth-century fall and spring fairs were especially "bad" for the spread of drink. He went on to lament that workmen, especially during the month-long harvest season, demanded regular doses of the intoxicating liquid.

Young vents his spleen over the subject of public drunkenness among the presbyterian folk of early Dumfries Township and the village of Galt, before boasting that in his own times (later nineteenth century) drink was much rarer, though not totally eradicated. Thus, for a person like Young (and he was undoubtedly not alone in these thoughts), a society's progression is

directly linked to an increasing scarcity of fermented and distilled drink.

Yet a mechanism existed in nineteenth-century Galt to help point the wayward presbyterian back toward the path of righteousness. The Kirk Session governed moral matters, chastising the wayward and revoking delinquents' communion rights. Few excuses were deemed viable for breaking the rule of the church. Chasing down a runaway sheep was not considered reason enough for breaking the peace of the Sabbath. The man caught "hiring out his team on the fast day" was similarly rebuked. Needless to say, the rewards of public drunkenness were also harsh.

In such an environment, the individual often became the greatest critic of his or her own moral standards. Prayer became an integral part in people's lives. In the absence of, or in addition to, a church service, people often held family prayer meetings. Presumably these family prayer meetings aided the soul, but additionally promoted a strong sense of family. This undoubtedly sat well with prevailing official attitudes, and played to the ideology of the Family Compact Government of Upper Canada. The importance of family prayer was so well ingrained that it could take precedence over all else - one Galt family piously continued their prayers, as they listened to a wind-storm blow down their barn.

Presbyterian Galt believed in the values of good family, good community, and good religion. Yet the interpretation of good religion changed somewhat over time. In the early days of Knox's, Dr Bayne's style of

religion reflected values which had helped to establish Calvinism as a world force. Strict interpretation of religious law was what mattered most, and 66% of St Andrews' congregation agreed with Bayne's stance, causing them to follow him on the Free Kirk path.

In keeping with his position of minister to his flock, Rev. Bayne became a true community leader. The reverend's devotion to intellectual development is perhaps well realised in his commitment to establishing Galt's first public library. On Christmas Day 1835, a committee met to discuss the idea, with Rev. Bayne serving as the meeting's chair, though little progress was made. The following 9th of January, however, the Galt Subscription and Circulating Library was mandated, the formative committee once again chaired by the reverend.

Possessing a powerful presence, Rev. Bayne was described as an intellect with excellent oratory capabilities who disliked moral excesses. For him presbyterianism demanded obedience, as perhaps typified by one of the reverend's favourite verses:

Keep silence, all ye sons of men
Attend with reverence due ...

Bayne's oratory skills were realised in his normal three hour services, featuring sermons an hour and a half in length. On other occasions, "his Sabbath services continued without intermission from eleven till after three o'clock in the afternoon!" Yet people thronged

from all around to hear him lecture on the Scriptures. Seemingly Bayne was providing a message many people wanted to hear, perhaps finding these marathon (by today's standards) sermons as being intellectually enlightening. But the person whose stamina was not up to the reverend's standards, who rose to leave through the middle of the sermon, faced Dr Bayne's wrath: "I shall pause for a moment until the chaff blows away", a rebuke he was never under necessity to repeat. Public humiliation, in the true spirit of Calvinism, wielded a good deal of influence.

By mid-century however, after Bayne's death, the interpretation of presbyterianism had changed. During Rev. Smith's time, Knox's experienced the great revivalist movement, the direct consequence of such was the forced construction of the larger Queen Square church. The new message was that of Christian love, rather than the law's terrors, as typified by the verse:

The Great Physician now is near,
The sympathising Jesus ...

Not all approved of this shift in the sermon's posture, resulting in much controversy.

Revivalism was popular in Galt, however. The local newspaper remarked how the revivalist services performed during the ministry of Rev. Smith caused old Knox's on one occasion to become "crowded, the audience numbering 800 or 900, composed of persons of all ages, from the child to the aged ..." These revivals

were largely the work of the evangelists Charles Carroll and Douglas Russell, both of whom received much support from Smith. Russell was a member of the Plymouth Brethren, whereas Carroll was a Baptist. The two often preached in the local Methodist halls as well as at Knox's.

It was not long before the Galt revivals and their evangelical preachers experienced sharp local criticism, led by former mayor Morris C. Lutz. The revivals were said to propagate heretical teachings, being taught by unqualified teachers. The prime objection to Carroll and Russell's sermons, is that they promoted Morrisonianism - a doctrine which supposedly taught that an unbeliever had no right to engage in prayer, since that would be a grave hypocrisy. An equally serious charge was that vital aspects of Calvinist practice had been abandoned, such as the Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. The key culprit here, according to Lutz and his followers, was Smith for allowing these individuals to preach in the first place. Rev. Smith defended himself by contending that all the claims made against himself, Carroll, and Russell were utter nonsense, and that:

none of the errors of Morrisonianism have been inculcated, but that the fundamental doctrines of Grace, in perfect with the standards of our Canada Presbyterian Church, have been set forth in those services been, under God, blessed ...

The truth is that the revivals at Knox's probably provided much spiritual relief for a vast number of people, and these people continued to support the church in ever increasing numbers, thus prompting the construction of the new Queen Square building. For those that remained irreconcilable, the solution was to form yet another new congregation in July 1869, called Bayne Presbyterian. Almost immediately Melville Church joined their ranks. Later, the remnants of old St Andrews joined this congregation, forming the other presbyterian church now located at Queen Square. Directly opposite Knox's, this new church stands today as Central Presbyterian.

It is worth saying that the whole cause of this last schism, revivalism, was experienced back in Scotland:

American evangelists ... introduced the distinctive revival service: short sermon, joyous hymns, and the call to the 'anxious' to come forward ... Preaching of hell-fire and damnation diminished, giving way to the American-style offer of the open gospel ...

During 1859-62, revivals held in Dreghorn and Huntly attracted 15,000 and 10,000 respectively. Such revivals as these attracted the working-class, whose revitalised interest in presbyterianism was linked to the building of new churches in Scotland.

However in time, Knox's began to fulfil more secular

roles within the community. The religious aspects were still important, but the demands of the community had become more complex. Whereas between 1851-71, only 15% of the male workforce could find stable work in Galt, the situation changed during the 1880s, as business and industry stabilised. In 1851 Galt had fifteen businesses, while in 1881 it had twenty-two; but by 1891 it was home to 162 businesses. This stability in employment and business surely must have led to a more stable church population.

The congregation of Knox's responded well to the new situation. A new form of religious piety seemed to emerge. Less likely were people to be reprimanded for breaking the Sabbath; more likely were men and women to be seen giving to the community at large, in the spirit of this new form of Christian charity. This is not to say that Knox's had never displayed charity in the past, only it had now taken centre stage. Indeed, this new defining characteristic might have been connected with the prevalent evangelical message of brotherly love, discussed above. Thus, while Rev. Robert E. Knowles lamented the fact that people were less concerned about observing the Sabbath in the same way as in by-gone days, Hugh McCulloch, a member of Knox's, donated the land upon which the Galt Hospital was built in 1891. Thus, in this new era of property, Knox's became a major source of philanthropy and community service.

The role of the congregation's women was always significant. As far back as 1863, they were giving their time to help the church raise money:

This annual treat came off on New Year's Day, with more distinguished providings and results than on any former occasion. The display of useful and ornamental articles on the tables, was brilliant, and compelled sales on all hands; and the Ladies who superintended these Sales compelled almost as many by their courtesy, affability and skilful management ... The pecuniary result of the Bazaar and Lecture, was the receipt of the very handsome sum of \$380!

The women of Knox's performed much useful community service. As the century progressed, this involvement might have been connected with the growth of the maternal feminist movement, whereby middle class women took a more active role in improving the local and national communities. Thus the female parishioners were associated with such organisations as the King's Daughters - a group devoted to helping the needy - while Mrs Jackson (Rev. A. Jackson's wife) devoted her efforts towards the organisation of youth mission projects. These youth missions were part of the Presbyterian foreign missionary service, through which Knox's sought to impart some of its spirituality upon the world in general. The goal of this work was to spark an interest among young people in the overseas missions. To this end, great success was achieved in 1888, when Rebecca McKenzie became the first young

woman from Knox's to be accepted for missionary work in China. Others would follow her.

It seems the missionary work of the Presbyterian Church was a natural extension of the evangelicalism. It might have had some connection with the North American Social Gospel movement as well. The biggest push for missionary work came after the Union of 1875, when the Free Presbyterian Church of Canada united with several ailing Presbyterian bodies affiliated with Scotland and the United States. By 1925 the overseas missions, most of which were in the Far East, would have three hundred men and women actively engaged in spreading God's message globally. It was fitting that Knox's - a congregation that had matured just like the community of which it was an integral part - would play a vital role in this endeavour of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, an organisation which it had helped to build.

Since its inception in 1844, Knox's has been a focal point in the process of defining the character of its host community. The relationship was not all one-sided, as Knox's was also a product of that same community. This same congregation influenced the nature of the Presbyterian faith in Canada. A single religious body, even one from a "dreary bush settlement", could therefore play an active and important role in defining the religious community both at home and across the nation. Such a religious body was Knox's Presbyterian of Galt, Upper Canada.

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Endnotes

- 1 A licensed solicitor and native of Dumfries, Scotland, William Dickson arrived in Upper Canada in 1792. In 1816 he took possession of the parcel of land that would become Shade's Mill, assuming the land's mortgage from Thomas Clarke, a Stamford merchant. The total cost to Dickson for the parcel of 94,305 acres was £24,000. Dickson enlisted as his agent a Pennsylvanian German named Absalom Shade. (A.W. Taylor, Our Today's and Yesterdays. A History of the Township of North Dumfries and the Town of Ayr (N. Dumfries and Ayr Centennial Committee, 1969), pp. 23-24.)
- 2 The observation of Rev. A.C. Geike, "A Colonial Sketch of Dr John Bayne of Galt" (Cambridge City Archives offprint from the British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. 93 (July 1875), p. 3.) Geike was Rev. Dr John Bayne's assistant minister.
- 3 J. Young, Reminiscences of the Early History of Galt and the Settlement of Dumfries, in the Province of Ontario (Toronto, 1880), pp. 48-50, offers this account of the renaming of the village:

The community was thrown into a pleasurable excitement, in 1827, by the arrival ... of John Galt ... [who] had been a school companion of Mr Dickson's in Edinburgh, and such had been their attachment, that when the village obtained a Post Office, Mr Dickson christened it "Galt," after his friend and schoolmate ...

The visit of Mr Galt settled for ever the question of the name of the village. Prior to this time it continued to be known as Shade's Mills, and notwithstanding the selection of Galt as the name of the Post Office, the people appeared bent on adhering to the old ... name. The pleasing manners

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of Mr Galt, however, made him quite popular with the villagers ... and thereafter the name of Galt met with cordial acceptance.

- 4 Yet by in large, the largest ethnic group in early Ontario was the Germans. By Confederation they numbered 115,189 in a population 158,108, a large number of which lived in Waterloo County. Dumfries Township was vastly different by comparison. It had been “totally cut off from these early [German] settlers. Instead, Dumfries Township became a centre for Scottish immigration, developing in isolation from the German communities [Preston and Hespeler] only three miles away.” (K. McLaughlin, Cambridge (Burlington, 1987), p. 32.)
- 5 Young, Reminiscences, p. 32.
- 6 M. Brander, The Emigrant Scots (London, 1982), p. 117.
- 7 The relatively high levels of literacy possessed by Scots, even before Dickson’s time, is commented upon by I.D. Whyte, Scotland before the Industrial Revolution. An Economic and Social History c.1050-1750 (London, 1995), p. 245. Likewise see D. J. Withrington, “Schooling, Literacy and Society” in T.M. Devine and R. Mitchison (ed.), People and Society in Scotland, 1760-1830 (Edinburgh, 1988), *passim*, who also maintains that even in the Highlands - an area long thought benighted - the level of formal schooling was high.
- 8 McLaughlin, Cambridge, p. 33; Taylor, Our Todays and Yesterdays, p.199. It will be remembered that Dickson was from Dumfriesshire, so it reflected well upon himself to assert that such Lowlanders were upstanding individuals. Nevertheless, during a public occasion honouring his 70th birthday, Dickson remarked upon the qualities he sought in immigrants: “When a newcomer with a family presented himself ... I did not make the enquiry so much for money as I did to ascertain if the party was honest,

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industrious and laborious. Assistance in cattle, provisions and other necessities was given ..." (Quoted in Taylor, Our Todays and Yesterdays, p. 39.)

- 9 Young, Reminiscences, p. 70. Born and educated in Galt, Young represented South Waterloo County in the Canadian parliament, and North Brant in the Ontario legislature.
- 10 Quoted in McLaughlin, Cambridge, p. 35.
- 11 McLaughlin, Cambridge, pp. 35-36.
- 12 Cowan, Knox's, p. 4.
- 13 J.R. Burnet, Ethnic Groups in Upper Canada (Ontario Historical Society, 1972), p. 10.
- 14 Cowan, Knox's, p. 4.
- 15 J.F. Cowan, Knox's 1869-1969 (Centennial Historical Committee, 1969), p. 4.
- 16 McLaughlin, Cambridge, p. 66.
- 17 Geike, "Colonial Sketch", p 10.
- 18 Bayne was not precocious by entering university at age c.13 years. In his time, individuals began higher education at such a young age. In 1737, one of the University of Glasgow's more famous attendees commenced his studies, none other than Adam Smith (1723-90). The later author of An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations began his university career at age 14; see A.L. Brown and M. Moss, The University of Glasgow: 1451-1996 (Edinburgh, 1996), p. 19.
- 19 "Sermon Delivered in Knox's Church by Dr J.D. Smart, Sunday, Dec. 1, 1940: 'The Origins of Knox's Church'" (Cambridge City Archives), p. 1.

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- 20 “Galt minister drawn into debate that would divide church”, Cambridge Evening Reporter (February 18, 1988).
- 21 N. G. Smith, A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto, n.d.), p. 43.
- 22 C.G. Brown, Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707 (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 27, maintains that Chalmers was not the key proponent of the Disruption, being rather forced to back the policies of his evangelical brethren.
- 23 The Opening Address Delivered at the First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland on the 18th of May 1843, by Thomas Chalmers ... (Edinburgh, reprinted 1893), p. 8.
- 24 “Sermon Delivered in Knox’s Church by Dr J. D. Smart”, p. 3.
- 25 Smith, Presbyterian Church in Canada, p. 43; J. S. Moir, “Who Pays the Piper ...”: Canadian Presbyterians and Church-State Relations” in Klempa (ed.), The Burning Bush, p. 72.
- 26 “Galt minister drawn into debate.”
- 27 Moir, “Who Pays the Piper”, p. 72.
- 28 Cowan, Knox’s, p. 6.
- 29 Smith, Presbyterian Church in Canada, p. 46.
- 30 Cowan, Knox’s, p. 6.
- 31 “Galt minister drawn into debate”.
- 32 Young, Reminiscences, p. 188.
- 33 “Galt minister drawn into debate”.

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- 34 Geike, "Colonial Sketch", p. 16.
- 35 McLaughlin, Cambridge, p. 68.
- 36 "Knox's Dates From 1844", Cambridge Daily Reporter (Cambridge City Archives newspaper clipping, n.d.).
- 37 "Memorial to Dr John Bayne", Galt Reporter (November 11, 1859).
- 38 Cowan, Knox's, p. 7.
- 39 "100 Year History is Recalled of Knox's Presbyterian Church", Galt Evening Reporter (June 6, 1969), p. 2.
- 40 Cowan, Knox's, p. 14.
- 41 McLaughlin, Cambridge, p. 65 and Young, Reminiscences, p. 207. McLaughlin (p. 33) indicates that Dumfries Township itself had a population of 4,177 in 1834. Galt itself became an incorporated town 1 January, 1857.
- 42 "Robert E. Knowles", Cambridge Reporter (Cambridge City Archives newspaper clipping, n.d.).
- 43 M. McLean, "Peopling Glengarry County: The Scottish Origins of a Canadian Community" in Historical Essays on Upper Canada (Ottawa, 1989), p. 157.
- 44 E.C. Guillet, Pioneer Days in Upper Canada (Toronto, 1963), pp. 120-21.
- 45 Young, Reminiscences, p. 61.
- 46 Taylor, Todays and Yesterdays, p. 204.
- 47 Taylor, Todays and Yesterdays, p. 191 and p. 202. Presbyterianism's long-term attempts at inculcating strict observance of the Sabbath in Canada - with or without federal or provincial support - is charted in P. Laverdure,

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“Canada’s Sunday: The Presbyterian Contribution 1875-1950” in W. Klempa (ed.), The Burning Bush and a Few Acres of Snow. The Presbyterian Contribution to Canadian Life and Culture (Ottawa, 1994), pp. 83-99. According to Laverdure, p. 84, “What can or cannot be done on the Canadian Sunday has been largely shaped by Presbyterian church-state struggles during the early twentieth century.”

- 48 Young, Reminiscences, p. 68.
- 49 Young, Reminiscences, p. 69.
- 50 “Knox’s Dates From 1844”.
- 51 Taylor, Todays and Yesterdays, p. 204.
- 52 Young, Reminiscences, pp. 123-24.
- 53 Cowan, Knox’s, p. 5; Geike, “Colonial Sketch”, p. 6.
- 54 Taylor, Todays and Yesterdays, p. 204.
- 55 Young, Reminiscences, p. 117.
- 56 “No title given”, Galt Reporter (October 31, 1935).
- 57 Taylor, Todays and Yesterdays, p. 201.
- 58 Taylor, Todays and Yesterdays, p. 204.
- 59 “The Galt Revival Case Again”, Galt Reporter (March 26, 1869).
- 60 “Carroll-Russell vs. Bayne”, Cambridge Evening Reporter (Cambridge City Archives, n.d.).
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- 65 McLaughlin, Cambridge, p. 70.
- 66 "Robert E. Knowles".
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- 68 "Knox's Church Bazaar", The Galt Reporter (January 9, 1863).
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- 71 Smith, Presbyterian Church in Canada, p. 54.
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**“PILLARS OF THE AUTHORITY
OF PRINCES”: REFLECTIONS ON
THE EMPLOYMENT OF BISHOPS
IN THE BRITISH ISLES IN THE
REIGN OF JAMES VI/I**

his I must say for Scotland, and I may truly vaunt it, here I sit and govern it with my pen, I write and it is done, and by a Clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword.”¹ So spoke James I to the English parliament in the spring of 1607, as his hopes for a comprehensive union between England and Scotland began to become hopelessly derailed. For a king whose accession to the English throne had been greeted as the harbinger of “...peace under one king, one law, one religion,...and the true happiness of Britain...”², such a boast seems almost sullen when we realize that it was probably an attempt to calm English fears of being over-run by poor, ignorant Scotsmen, should hostile laws between the two kingdoms be eliminated.³

We know, of course, that James did not get his comprehensive union, and that England and Scotland were not formally joined as one state until 1707.⁴ Still,

the challenge of ruling a “Multiple Kingdom” would entail a degree of executive harmonization, and where possible, the use of representatives or institutions which would be common to all of the king’s dominions.⁵ It is with this in mind that I propose some examples of the crown’s use of the bishops of the established churches as vehicles for extending central authority in several of the more remote regions of the British Isles after 1603. Initially, however, some background information will be required to establish a sense of the political landscape, and the limitations under which the early Stuart regime worked.

Even if he had never succeeded Elizabeth I and become king of England, James VI of Scotland was well aware of the regional challenges presented by the British Isles, and the limited force of government authority in some of its more remote areas. Like his predecessor, James IV, who had suppressed the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, James VI considered the powerful clans of the Highlands and Western Islands throwbacks to a barbaric Gaeldom. More than this, however, the blood feuds, raids, and property losses, to say nothing of the difficulty of collecting taxes in the region, also undermined the authority of the crown. The only semblance of order in these areas was provided by powerful, client nobles like the Earls of Huntly or Argyll, whose own strength posed a threat to the crown. Therefore, James, in the later 1590s, made the infusion of “civilization” into the Highlands a priority.⁶

Attempts to establish a colony of Lowlanders on the

Isle of Lewis in 1599 and 1605 were failures, as was a proposal to relocate Lowlanders on the peninsula of Kintyre.⁷ James himself seems to have contemplated a military solution, but the financial costs, logistical difficulties, and the reputations of the potential adversaries seem to have curtailed him.⁸

Still, the clan politics of the region did provide the crown with some surprising opportunities to assert itself. In one of the most interesting twists in the convoluted histories of Ulster and the Western Islands of Scotland in the late sixteenth century, James, in 1596, was able to strike at the power base of one of his adversaries in the Western Isles, Angus Macdonald of Dunivaig, with the guarantee of support from Angus's Ulster clansman, James MacDonnell of Antrim. The king of Scotland did not forget MacDonnell's complicity when he ascended the English throne in 1603, and showed his gratitude by giving Ranald MacDonnell the securest title to his lands, among all the Ulster chiefs.⁹ Thus, we see something of James' experiences in attempting to govern his geographic fringes.

The next concerted attempt on the part of the crown to assert its authority in the Highlands came in 1608. James, in a pique over his administration's inability to settle the question of rents in the northern Hebrides, and smarting over a revival of Macdonald ambitions in the south west, sought to use his new powers as king of England by dispatching an expedition composed of English troops based in Ireland, which would finally pacify the Highlands, and assist in the planting of

colonists.¹⁰ Before the expedition departed, however, the Scottish Privy Council had sent a representative to London, to urge a more moderate course, and that James appoint a safe lieutenant to the man slated to lead the party, Lord Ochiltree.¹¹

The Council's representative was Andrew Knox, a native of Renfrewshire and a former member of the commission of ministers which had promoted subscription to the confession faith and the covenant in the first years of the 1590s. Despite his early adherence to strict Presbyterianism, Knox had risen in the king's favour in the later 1590s as a commissioner charged with apprehending Catholics, and in April 1606 was appointed titular bishop of the Isles.¹² James' high opinion of Knox was confirmed when he heartily approved of the bishop's participation in Ochiltree's expedition, which sailed in August 1608.

When Knox departed on his mission with Ochiltree, it was difficult to determine whether he went as a minister of the crown, or of the kirk. James had been attempting for most of his adult career as king to bring the kirk under the control of the crown, and limit the power of local ministers and presbyteries. In order to do this, he had long believed that episcopal church government, with its bishops dependent upon the good graces of the sovereign, offered the best chance of achieving his aims.¹³ To this end, he had dragged the institution of episcopacy in Scotland from a position of near dormancy in 1597 to complete control over the kirk, which was eventually achieved at the Glasgow Assembly of 1610.

This had been a multi-staged process in which James had curbed the ministers of the General Assembly to the notion that they were to meet where, and when he determined, and that they would be represented in parliament by bishops chosen by the crown. The earliest appointments in 1600 and 1602 did not include temporalities, but all episcopal appointments after 1604 granted the new bishops significant benefices and lands which had been removed under the **Act of Annexation** of 1587. Further, unlike the situation faced by the bishops and clergy of the Church of England, many of whose incomes were jealously controlled by lay benefactors, the Scottish clerics were given recourse to a joint lay-clerical commission which was struck by parliament to ensure a minimum stipend.¹⁴

Still, as W.R. Foster has pointed out, the episcopal office was largely a civil office before 1610, with the new bishops exercising no real authority over the General Assembly, and having no basis for performing episcopal functions such as visitations or ordinations.¹⁵ Politically, however, they were of great importance to the crown, both in terms of extending its reach over the kirk, and in secular matters, particularly in the parliaments of 1604 and after when James was no longer in the country.

The importance which he attached to the bishops as loyal servants of the crown can be seen in the appointments of Archbishop Spottiswood of Glasgow, and Bishop Gledstones of Caithness to the commission conducting union negotiations with England. Of equal,

or greater importance for the ongoing governance of Scotland was the naming of five bishops to the Lords of the Articles, the executive committee which presented all draft legislation to parliament. This presence would grow to include eight bishops, who together with eight peers would choose eight minor barons and burgh representatives, thus giving the crown the ability to set the parliamentary agenda.¹⁶

As we have seen, the Privy Council was the moving force behind James' decision to place Knox on Ochiltree's commission to the Isles, and the actions of the bishop on this mission indicate his deep political sense. Briefly, Ochiltree's venture into the Highlands and Islands had been toned down significantly by the time it departed in August 1608. No longer charged with pacifying the region by force, instead persuasion and tolerance were to be used to bring about the submission of the Highland chiefs.¹⁷ In the end, however, the best which could be accomplished was to lure nine of the most prominent chiefs aboard Ochiltree's ship, with the promise of dinner, and an opportunity to hear bishop Knox's sermon, after which the whole company set sail for Ayr.

The kidnapping gave the Privy Council the opportunity to ward the Highland chiefs in the Lowlands, and attempt to intimidate them into accepting government terms. One effect of the whole business, however, was Knox's conclusion that the Highlanders could be bargained with, provided the crown's presence in the region did not appear to be coercive. Knox was

clearly uncomfortable with the manner in which the chiefs had been handled, as he made clear in a long report to the king.¹⁸

In light of this report, Knox returned to the Isles the following summer, and on Iona gained the signatures of the leading Highland chiefs to the **Statutes of Icolmkill**, in which the chiefs recognized the king as their sovereign; verified that they were subject to his laws; disclaimed the right to summon personal troops; agreed to present themselves in Edinburgh at least once a year and to send their eldest children to be educated in the Lowlands.¹⁹

The subscription of the chiefs to these demands was naturally a significant victory for the crown in its attempts to assert itself in the region. Knox deserved most of the credit, and was rewarded by James with stewardship over the Isles, control of the castle of Dunivaig on Islay and with the Irish diocese of Raphoe, which he held along with the bishopric of the Isles until resigning the latter in 1619 in favour of his son.²⁰ We should not, however, fall into the trap of drawing two obvious inferences about Knox's triumph for the crown in gaining the chiefs' agreement to the statutes.

First, as the editor of the *Records of the Privy Council of Scotland* reminds us, the chiefs who had been kidnapped by Ochiltree in 1608, and who dealt with Knox the following summer, were not personifications of the contemporary stereotype of the Highlander; "...barbarous and cannibalistic" Gaels.²¹ In fact, they were men with some pretensions to membership in the

wider family of European nobility. Some of them spoke French, traveled to, and maintained connections with the continent, and were justifiably proud of the ancient prestige of their families.²² At the same time, the crown saw them as ambitious, predatorial, and ruthless in using their own kinsmen as fodder in the furtherance of their own designs. Therefore, the agreement reached on Iona was of strategic importance for both sides. The chiefs recognized that the moment called for a compromise with the crown, and that the deal might benefit them. Mackenzie of Kintail, whom Maurice Lee describes as the closest approximation of Machiavelli's prince (creating law and order because it paid him to do so), was perhaps the greatest winner, gaining proprietorship over the north western isles and eventually a peerage.²³ At the same time, the crown, for all intents and purposes, had been able to change the spirit and practice in which it dealt with the Highlands. In a formal sense, crown sovereignty had been recognized but it had also been forced to give tacit acceptance to the clan system.²⁴

The other item of note is that the **Statutes of Iona** did not completely pacify the region. The Macdonalds of Dunivaig made a last attempt to restore their ancient hegemony over the south western isles, and even captured Dunivaig castle in March of 1614. Knox, who was responsible for holding the castle, was captured, along with his son and nephew, in an attempt to re-take it the following September, and was only released so that he could carry the

demands of Angus Oig Macdonald to the Privy Council in Edinburgh.

The solution of this embarrassing situation underscores the difficulty the crown had in extending its authority in the region, and the compromises which were necessary if that authority was to be preserved. The Macdonalds were ousted from Dunivaig, and peace was restored, not by the crown *per se*, but by the old resort to the local authority of the Earl of Argyll and his clansmen. Thus, royal authority would continue to be recognized, but only as long as the chief of clan Campbell was amenable.²⁵

Still, Knox's gaining of **The Statutes of Iona** was an important first step, and the utility of the episcopacy in this instance was mirrored in the part played by James Law, Bishop of Orkney, in bringing the archipelago of Orkney and Shetland under crown control between 1609 and 1615.

In these islands, the king's cousin, Earl Patrick Stewart, controlled a virtual personal fiefdom, financed largely through piracy, tribute, and the largess of his creditors in Edinburgh²⁶. Not only did he hold crown and church lands for his own use; he also exercised a particularly brutal form of personal justice which had caused many Orkadians and Shetlanders to appeal for relief.²⁷ On a more basic level, Orkney and Shetland maintained many legal throwbacks to their Norse heritage which the crown was eager to eliminate in order that the law might be uniform throughout Scotland.²⁸

Shortly after assuming the see of Orkney in 1608, Bishop Law caused a showdown with Earl Patrick over his possession of the church's lands, which included the Earl's use of the Bishop's residence in Kirkwall. By March of 1609, Law had succeeded in obtaining a summons from the Privy Council requiring Patrick to appear before them and answer charges relating to the oppression of his tenants.²⁹

When he finally presented himself in August of 1609, the Earl found that the charges against him had been changed to charges of treason, and that he was to be warded in Dunbarton. James for his part, had shown favour to his kinsman in the early part of the century and seems to have desired a compromise, which might have allowed Earl Patrick to return to Orkney. Notwithstanding, Law and the Privy Council prevailed in their view that the crown must take the opportunity to assert its rights in the Earldom, and accordingly, the bishop was made steward of the archipelago, and charged with affecting legal reforms.³⁰ This was perhaps most apparent in the area of land leases, where the crown and church came to be the two most prominent landlords in Orkney and Shetland after 1611.³¹ At the same time, some of the island gentry remained loyal to Earl Patrick and joined his son, Robert Stewart, in rebellion against the crown in 1614.³² Law, with the assistance of the Earl of Caithness, and several pieces of artillery from Edinburgh Castle eventually suppressed the rebellion, and the two Stewarts and their accomplices were executed for treason.³³

The end of the Earldom of Orkney holds significance for several reasons. First, it completed the abrogation of Norse laws in Orkney and Shetland, and brought the islands under the sphere of crown control. This prevented the development of any sort of home rule in the archipelago such as arose in the crown's relations with the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, or the Danish crown's relations with the Faeroes.³⁴ Secondly, it entrenched the church as both a social and religious force in the islands; one which clearly enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with the crown. Finally, the efforts of Bishop Law, and his role in convincing James that the crown must assume responsibility over the Earldom, reflect again upon the importance of episcopal presence to the crown, and the weight which James placed upon the views of his bishops.³⁵

The other important instance of the crown's preference to assert its presence in a remote region of the British kingdoms, via representatives of the established church, comes from the early years of the Jacobean plantations in Ulster. In 1605, Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, proposed settling Ulster with English and Scottish colonists. The flight of the northern earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell in 1607 expedited plans for Protestant settlement, and in 1608, a committee was appointed in London to formulate plantation policy, and see to the surveying and subdividing of the expropriated lands.³⁶

In monitoring the efforts of this commission, George Montgomery, Bishop of Derry, Raphoe and Clougher,

himself a Scotsman, a zealous harrier of the Earl of Tyrone, and a brother of Hugh Montgomery, the famous colonizer of Antrim and Down, was scrupulous in ensuring that the Church of Ireland received its due in the parceling of land.³⁷ He seems to have garnered more than 25,000 acres of land for the church, above what the English commission had allocated.³⁸ Further, Montgomery won the support of the king in a dispute with the Attorney General, Sir John Davies, over the return to the church of lands, rather than rents, which had been held by temporal lords in Monaghan and Fermanagh.³⁹ In 1609, Montgomery was moved out of Ulster to Meath, and although he continued to hold the see of Clougher as well until 1621, he hereafter concentrated his attentions on wider Irish issues.⁴⁰

That the king may have been seeing the problems facing his established churches in a wider, British dimension, can be inferred from his appointment of Andrew Knox to the see of Raphoe in 1610 and two other Scots, Robert Echlin to Down and Connor and Dromore in 1612, and James Spottiswood, brother of the Scottish primate, to Clougher in 1620. Knox, it was hoped, would be able to achieve the same sort of triumph that he had recently accomplished in the Highlands.⁴¹ Accordingly he undertook extensive reforms within his diocese, and was particularly effective in providing preachers from Scotland who could speak the Irish language, or at the very least, readers who could provide the catechism to the natives. It is estimated that by 1622 every second parish in Raphoe

had some form of preaching minister, compared to a national average of one minister for every six parishes.⁴²

Knox was also active in recruiting new settlers for his diocese, and in 1632 claimed that he had settled some 300 families.⁴³ This in turn benefited the financial health of the established church. When Knox assumed the see in 1610, Raphoe carried an annual income of £30. This had grown to £200 in 1616 and £650 in 1629.⁴⁴ Of the clergy, previously mentioned who were brought over to Raphoe, in 1622 fifteen of them were either Masters or Bachelors of Divinity.⁴⁵

There can be no doubt that Knox was personally dedicated and diligent in his efforts to serve his Irish charge. Chichester himself claimed in 1611 that Knox had accomplished more for his diocese in two years than Montgomery had in five.⁴⁶ He had an advantage, however, in that the church's lands, rents and temporalities had been established by Montgomery's efforts before the land commission. This was not the case for Bishops Echlin of Down and Connor, or Spottiswood of Clougher, who only succeeded to their sees after years of episcopal neglect, and private speculation. In attempting to restore the church's rightful properties they faced the hostility of both English and Scottish undertakers, and made much slower progress in refurbishing their churches and staffing them with able ministers.⁴⁷ Thus, the records of these two clerics are not nearly as impressive as Knox's, although there may be great insight in Professor Perceval-Maxwell's observation that Knox was the only one of the four

Scottish bishops not to have been softened by residence in England.⁴⁸ Echlin, however, does seem to have done well for himself in land speculation, which, coupled with an income of £550 per annum from his see, made him a potent financial force among his neighbours.⁴⁹

What conclusions may we draw about the relationship between episcopal participation and the extension of crown control in the remoter regions of the British Isles in the early seventeenth century? The first thing which seems to be indicated is a willingness on the part of James VI/I to establish a clear connection between church and state in the minds of the citizens or settlers of these regions. While it had been his expressed belief for many years that the church should be seen as a servant of the crown, the foregoing examples mark the first occasions in which the crown had been able to make this connection manifest. Thus, in making James Law steward of Orkney and Shetland, or favouring George Montgomery's interpretation of the responsibility which landowners had to the church in Ulster, James was confirming that where necessary, the state would speak through the church in temporal matters, even if his political councillors were wary of clerical involvement in politics.⁵⁰

The second thing I think the role of the bishops shows us is the degree to which the British Isles as a whole had entered into the formulation of royal policy, and the corresponding extension of royal authority. The reform of the Highlands and Northern and Western Islands of Scotland continued to be a priority for the

crown, even after James had ascended the English throne, and presumably could have turned his attentions to more mainstream problems. Like the resumption of colonization projects in Ulster, with the related assumption that such ventures would help “civilize” the region, the desire to affect legal and social reforms in the remote parts of Scotland indicates a desire to see a level of consistency in all of the crown’s domains. James, as we know, was a passionate exponent of union, and the most formidable opposition to his schemes came from those who feared for their way of life and prosperity, lest they be saddled with the problems of “backward regions.”⁵¹ In bringing legal and social uniformity to these regions, James could hope to lower the barriers between his native land (especially) and southern England. In achieving these reforms, the established church might potentially play an active and effective role in fostering unity and loyalty among his peoples.

Finally, the foregoing examples remind us that even a king who claimed to rule by divine right, and wished others to believe that he ruled his native land with his pen, was often forced to make compromises if royal presence and authority were to be forwarded. The diversity inherent in the British kingdoms could be accommodated by a common institution such as episcopacy, but the characters and efforts of the bishops themselves were of great importance in advancing the policies of the crown.

The reign of James VI/I saw the strengthening of the Court of High Commission in England, and the

introduction of similar institutions into both Scotland and Ireland. James and his English bishops began their long battle with Parliament to secure greater control over church finances, and the Scottish episcopacy was confirmed in its rights to undertake visitations and ordinations consequent with their episcopal powers as confirmed by the General Assembly of Glasgow in 1610. An Irish Convocation met for the first time in 1616, and drew up its own articles of religion; the first post-Reformation canons to emerge from the Church of Ireland. All of these examples indicated a desire for greater uniformity on the part of the crown. They also gave rise to debates over the theological directions of the established churches, and in some quarters caused concern for the national integrity of the Churches of Scotland and Ireland.⁵²

While it is not the purpose of this paper to address those issues, it is clear that James' reign saw a strengthening of ties between the crown and the episcopacy. By 1625, bishops had become recognized, if not always welcomed participants in British politics. In many cases, they were playing an active role in asserting central dictates in the most remote regions of the British kingdoms.

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**COLLECTIONS UPDATE:
HOPE'S MAJOR PRACTICKS
AND THE
STUDY OF SCOTS LAW**

 Item XS1 MS A075 in the archival collection of the University of Guelph is listed as “Papers of Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate of Session, 1631. 339 leaves”. Unfortunately, closer examination of the manuscript reveals that these pages are not in fact papers which belonged to the most famous Scottish jurist of the early seventeenth century. While the catalogue’s assessment of the document contains a kernel of truth, the full story of the manuscript is much more complex and, from the standpoint of Scottish legal history, just as interesting as if the papers had matched the listing.

The source of the error in the catalogue’s description of the manuscript is also the first clue to both the identity and significance of the document. Written on the first page in a hand that appears to be roughly contemporary with the text is the inscription: –

Practiques + decisions of the Lords of Session
with several old lawes and books of Majestie
+ other books bound in the volume
with hes books + of the acts of
Parliament books of Sederunt and other
printed and manuscript books of our law
collected under several heads & titles
by Sr Thomas hope
of Carse second sone to Sir Thomas hope
his majesties advocat & ordiner
advocat admitted 27 of July 1631

The hand which wrote the above description matches that which made some of the marginalia found throughout the work, suggesting that it was not that of the copyists (at least two) who wrote out the text, but rather that of an early owner. This owner, whose possible identity will be discussed below, believed the text to have been compiled by Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, the second son of the Thomas Hope of Craighall to whom the catalogue attributes the manuscript. The date of 27 July 1631, is in fact the date when Hope of Kerse was admitted to the bar to begin a legal career that would see him raised to the College of Justice in 1640 and created Justice-General shortly before his death in 1643.¹

There is no surviving legal work that can be attributed to Thomas Hope of Kerse. Earlier Scottish jurists made reference to a 'Law Repertorie' compiled by him, but the only surviving manuscript bearing this title

turns out to be a copy of what has come to be known as *Hope's Major Practicks*, a significant legal text produced by Kerse's father, Hope of Craighall.² Comparison with the version of these *Practicks* published by the Stair Society confirms that this is also the case with the manuscript in the Guelph archives. While the editor of *Hope's Major Practicks* concedes that the only surviving copies of the work appear to be the result of a transcription by Kerse, internal evidence within the *Practicks* leaves no doubt that the author was in fact Hope of Craighall.³ In this roundabout fashion, while the date is incorrect, the Guelph catalogue's attribution of their manuscript to Hope of Craighall is accurate: it is, in fact, a copy of his *Major Practicks*.

Practicks occupy an important place in Scottish legal history and in the development of Scots law itself, and Hope's *Major Practicks* are especially significant as a key manuscript from the little-studied period at the end of what some have, rather unfairly, termed the 'Dark Age' of Scots law.⁴ *Practicks* were handbooks compiled by prominent jurists and were designed to serve as guides to the various aspects of contemporary legal practice. They were copied and recopied for the use of later generations of advocates because of their convenient references to precedents and acts which were not published before the years around the turn of the eighteenth century.⁵ Hope's *Major Practicks* is the only surviving work of its kind between the work of the jurists Sir Thomas Craig (ca. 1600) and Viscount Stair (1681), and as such, provides unique insight into the

practice and evolution of Scots law over the course of the seventeenth century.⁶

Hope's *Major Practicks* are divided into eight sections which cover the range of Scots law in the early seventeenth century: civil and ecclesiastical law and government, personal rights, real rights, wills and succession, courts and jurisdictions, actions and diligence, process and evidence, and crimes. These 'parts' are divided into 'titles', or subsections. Under each title, reference is made to relevant precedents set by acts of Parliament, decisions of the Privy Council and Court of Session, the Laws of the Four Burghs, books of Sederunt, medieval legal texts, and decisions presided over or noted by the author himself. In the case of Hope's *Major Practicks*, the most interesting section is the *practicae observationes*, which covers the decisions and rulings in a host of cases, most of which involved the author as counsel, between the years 1608 and 1633. These decisions and observations are particularly informative in light of the venues in which Hope exercised his legal talents during these years.

During this period, Hope himself rose from a simple lawyer to become the King's Advocate and a Baronet of Nova Scotia.⁷ His legal career began in earnest in 1606, one year after he was called to the bar, when he defended the Presbyterian ministers accused of usurping the king's authority by calling a General Assembly without royal permission. Although the outcome of the case was a foregone conclusion and the ministers were duly convicted, Hope's brilliant defence attracted attention.

He moved on to occupy the lucrative and influential post of advocate assessor for the burgh of Edinburgh. This wide range of legal offices, coupled with the significance and influence of the posts that he held, gave Hope a unique perspective on the practise of law in early seventeenth-century Scotland. His notes of cases cover an incredibly wide cross-section of Scots law which provide the legal historian with a glimpse at the process of adjudication and the establishment of precedent, and the social historian with a view of who was pursuing what kinds of litigation in the courts during this period.

Despite the fact that it is a copy and not the lost original of a seminal work in the history of Scottish jurisprudence, the manuscript in the Guelph archives is still a valuable source for the historian. Although there is speculation that a relatively large number of copies of Hope's *Major Practicks* must have been in circulation among advocates in the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Stair Society could account for only eight surviving copies by 1937, none of which matched the description of the volume currently in the Guelph archives.⁸ It would appear then, that the University of Guelph is in possession of a previously unknown copy of the *Major Practicks* whose provenance must now be determined.

Initial attempts to trace the history of the manuscript proved difficult. It was purchased for the Scottish Studies Collection at the University of Guelph in 1980 from Alexander Frizell, a rare books dealer in

Peebles-shire, but no indication of its history prior to this purchase was passed on to the collections staff at Guelph.⁹ A plate on the inside of the front cover marks the manuscript as having been the property of Hew Dalrymple (1656-1735), Baronet of North Berwick, whose significance will be discussed later in this paper. There is no record of the book in any auction catalogues recording the sale of items from the Dalrymple estate, so it would seem that the best hope of determining the provenance of this copy of the *Major Practicks* lies within the manuscript itself.

While the hand of the Guelph manuscript suggests a date in the seventeenth century, internal evidence suggests a date later than 1656, the year of completion attributed to the earliest surviving copy of the *Major Practicks* that can be dated with any certainty. This copy, listed in the Advocate's Library in Scotland as Nat.Lib.Adv.MS.24.3.10, was used as the master for the Stair Society's edition of the *Major Practicks*, and can be dated on the basis of the clerk's notations to 1656, some 10 years after the death of Hope of Craighall.¹⁰ The Right Honourable James Clyde, the editor of this publication, notes that in

the folios of the original the greater part of title 24 of part 6 were found to have been torn out, leaving only that part of the relative *practicae observationes* represented in this edition by paragraphs 102 to 130 (inclusive) of the title in question. In order to supply the consequent

defect, a collation was made of the other copies of the 'Major Practicks', and paragraphs 1 to 101 (inclusive) of the title ... are the result.¹¹

The Guelph manuscript seems unaware of the existence of the sections that were 'torn out' of the version used by Clyde, simply placing the title at the top of the page and beginning with the *practica observatio* that forms paragraph 102 of the Stair publication. This confirms that it is a copy of Nat. Lib. Adv. MS 24.3.10 and should therefore be dated after 1656.¹²

As mentioned above, the bookplate on the inside of the front cover indicates that the manuscript was once the property of Sir Hew Dalrymple, Baronet of North Berwick. Dalrymple was a jurist of no small repute, serving as Dean of the Faculty of Advocates and Lord President of the Council of Session. He was also an important figure in the political history of Scotland, sitting as a Scottish MP for eleven years and serving as a commissioner for the Union of 1707.¹³ The plate bears the arms of Dalrymple, and lists him as a Baronet and Lord President of Session in the inscription below the crest, which means that it was placed on the cover after 1698, the year in which he assumed both of these titles.¹⁴ It is possible however, that the manuscript had been in his possession in folio form for some time before it was bound near the turn of the eighteenth century, since Dalrymple had been admitted to the bar in 1677 and the marginalia seem to indicate that the manuscript was being used by a practising advocate.

The possibility also exists that Dalrymple inherited the manuscript from his father, the eminent Scottish jurist and legal scholar Viscount Stair, but questions over previous ownership and the identity of the writer of the marginalia will have to remain, pending the comparison of samples of handwriting from Dalrymple and Stair with the hand in the margins of this copy of the *Major Practicks*.

The most interesting irregularity in the Guelph manuscript is the chart drawn up between pages 177 and 178 of the manuscript written in what appears to be the hand of the copyist. The two page table seems to be an organizational flow chart of various charges and the legal process which follow from them. This chart is not a condensed plan of the layout of the *Major Practicks*, nor is it a direct variant of the divisions used by Stair later in the century. No mention is made by Clyde of a similar chart appearing in any of the other surviving copies of the *Major Practicks*.¹⁵ The chart appears to be a 'crib sheet' or mnemonic aid used to memorize key legal processes. Further research will be necessary to determine both its purpose and significance.

The Guelph copy of Hope's *Major Practicks* is a legal text of considerable historical significance. On the off chance that the annotations and marginalia turn out to be the work of Viscount Stair, the University of Guelph archive is in possession of a document which would provide an invaluable glimpse into the influences that helped shape the legal thought of one of the foremost minds in Scots law. At the very least, it was the property

of a Lord President of Session and Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, and thus shows the importance of this text in contemporary legal practice. In any case, this manuscript represents a rare surviving document from the century in which the system of Scots law began to be codified and regularized. This system of law remained one of the few Scottish institutions to come through the Union of 1707 unchanged, and as such, it forms an essential component of the distinctive Scottish identity that exists today.

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Endnotes

- 1 J. Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, vol 4 (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 490. The date of Hope's admission to the bar is given here as 17 July, 1631.
- 2 James Avon Clyde, ed. Hope's Major Practicks, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1937), pp. xxiv-xxv.
- 3 Ibid. pp. xxv-xxviii.
- 4 Lord Cooper, The Dark Age of Scottish Legal History (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 30.
- 5 Clyde, Hope's Major Practicks, p. xviii.
- 6 Ibid. p. xiii.

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- 7 Scots Peerage, pp. 487-9. Hope remained a practising lawyer until his death on 1 October, 1646, but his legal work was overshadowed by his career as a statesman and trusted advisor of Charles I after 1633, see Clyde, Hope's Major Practicks, p. xi.
- 8 Clyde, pp. xviii-xix. The Guelph MS is bound in a leather binding whose spine bears the title HOP • COLL. On the inside of the front cover is a book plate that will be discussed below. As far as the possibility that the Guelph MS is one of those catalogued by Clyde, Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 24. 3. 10 is ruled out because marginalia and closing inscriptions by the copyist are missing. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 24. 1. 6-7 and Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 6. 2. 20 are eliminated by the latter's identification as the property of Lord Justice-Clerk Erskine of Tinwald and the fact that both are two volume sets. Nat. Lib. Neilson MS., No. 18 and University of Glasgow, BE. 8-y 14 are, unlike the Guelph MS, titled "Sir Charles Hope's Major Practicks of the Law of Scotland" and "Hope's Major Practicks" respectively. The three other copies are in the possession of the University of Edinburgh DC. 1. 56; Hg. 2. 414; Hg. 2. 415. All bear other titles or lack mention of the distinctive book plate and title of the Guelph MS.
- 9 At the time this paper was being written, an attempt was made to contact Mr Frizell in order to trace the origins of the MS. Tim Sauer, the head of acquisitions at the University of Guelph Library had had no contact with Mr Frizell for several years, and had reason to believe that the bookseller may have disposed of many of his records when he moved into a retirement home. Letters sent to Mr Frizell received no response.
- 10 Clyde, Hope's Major Practicks. p. xix.
- 11 Ibid. p. xx.

- 12 Although how far after 1656 remains open to debate pending resolution of whether the copyist failed to notice the 'torn out' pages of the original or was working from a copy that was already lacking them. There is the unlikely possibility that Clyde's copy was made from the Guelph manuscript, but this would imply misuse of the words 'torn out', which suggest that there is evidence of some violence done to the manuscript in the Advocate's Library.
- 13 Scots Peerage, pp. 126-126.
- 14 Ibid. p. 126.
- 15 Examination of the other copies of Hope's Major Practicks in the National Library of Scotland and the Library at Edinburgh University confirmed that the chart was unique to the Guelph MS.

REVIEWS

MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND, THE MAKING OF AN IDENTITY


Bruce Webster, *British History in Perspective*
(London: Macmillan, 1997) pp. xvi, 164.

THE PAPACY, SCOTLAND AND NORTHERN ENGLAND, 1342-1378

A. D. M. Barrell, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life
and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
1995) pp. xxv, 291.

CHANGING VALUES IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND. A STUDY OF PRICES, MONEY, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Elizabeth Gemmill and Nicholas Mayhew, (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 1995) pp. xxi, 419.

he academic study of medieval Scotland in
all its variety is flourishing as these three
new works all demonstrate. Bruce Webster's
Medieval Scotland will probably be of most interest to a

non-specialist audience, but the other two books under review both have important contributions to make to the field. It is heartening too to see that all three works have been published by English presses, suggesting that interest in medieval Scotland has been recognised to go beyond the borders of the realm itself.

Webster's *Medieval Scotland*, part of the Macmillan series British History in Perspective, is not a history of the medieval realm as such, but rather, as his subtitle explains, an examination of "the making of an identity". With the current resurgence of Scottish national feeling, this is a timely book, even though not all modern nationalists may want to agree with his conclusion that Scottish identity "does not depend on political independence or self-government" (p.136). The introduction to this volume was written shortly before the 1997 election brought the promise of Scottish devolution; recent events may have changed the author's impression that "modern Scots have shown no overwhelming enthusiasm for formal self-government" (p.1).

What constitutes Scottish identity? Webster argues that it is not geography, culture or language, but rather a combination of factors which have come together over the centuries, especially in the period since about 1050. As he points out, Scotland is an amalgam of disparate regions and peoples, so different in geography, economy and cultural contacts, that it is something of a wonder that a nation ever resulted at all. Webster divides Scotland into five different regions each with their own histories and economies. That they did

coalesce is largely due to external threats, first from the Vikings, and secondly from the English.

Scandinavian influence looms large in the discussion of the formation of identity before 1050. Webster argues that it was the Viking threat which helped unite the Picts and the Scots under the rule of Kenneth MacAlpin in the 840s. He does not delve deeply into the debate over the nature of this union, although he does suggest that Pictish identity may not have been as completely suppressed as is sometimes suggested. Scandinavian attacks and settlement also had the result of cutting off the Scottish church from developments in England, and leaving it to develop its own particular character. From the sixth century onwards, Christianity was a great unifier of the diverse peoples who inhabited Scotland. Webster sees the church as coming together with the secular power in the ninth century in response to the attacks by the pagan Vikings, to the benefit of both church and monarchy. This unity was symbolised by St Andrews which, Webster argues, became both the political and spiritual centre of the new kingdom of Alba.

The independence of the church is an important aspect in the making of Scottish identity. Webster argues that the church was the first to really assert a national identity, as it struggled for freedom from the claims of Canterbury and York, especially after the Norman Conquest of England in 1066. This development is traced in detail in chapter 3, "The Identity of Faith". With the pope's recognition of its independence of English control in 1192, granting it the status of

“special daughter of the papacy”, the church was free to serve the interests of the emerging national monarchy, without any concerns about the possibly conflicting interests of English ecclesiastical overlords. The role of the church in the creation of a Scottish identity continued to be central throughout the Middle Ages, from ecclesiastical involvement in arguments for Scottish independence during the Wars of Independence, to the creation of a “national breviary” by Bishop Elphinstone in the late fifteenth century to replace English usage.

The monarchy was also an important focus for Scottish identity, although as Webster points out, unlike England this did not result in strongly-centralised government. Despite the beginnings of some centralisation of government institutions in the fifteenth century, Scottish kings were most effective when they maintained a balance of power between the centre and the localities. “Scotland saw much less than England of the blending of local communities and royal centralisation”. (32) Justice remained largely local until and even beyond the end of the Middle Ages. This lack of centralisation has sometimes been seen as a mark of weakness in the Scottish monarchy, but Webster makes a convincing argument for its overall effectiveness. Bringing together the many disparate regions and peoples which made up the new nation required respect for their differences.

The second major external force which helped form Scottish identity was the claim of the English kings to overlordship of the northern realm. Such claims had been made from the days when the Wessex kings first

unified England under their control in the tenth century, but were put forward with greater force after the Norman conquest. Webster traces the history of these claims, leading up to the major attempt to enforce them by Edward I and Edward III in the Wars of Independence. In devoting an entire chapter to the Wars, Webster echoes the general consensus among most Scottish historians that the Wars were the crucible in which a Scottish national identity was firmly established once and for all. As he points out, it was the need to answer English claims to suzerainty that resulted in the production of a national mythical history, shaped to demonstrate Scotland's long-standing status as an independent nation. The two centuries of intermittent warfare with England which followed Edward I's initial invasion in 1296, also ensured that anti-English feeling would become an important part of Scottish national identity, and one which endured beyond the Middle Ages.

One of the strengths of this book is that while its focus is on Scottish identity, the author is always careful to place this identity in a European context. This is best illustrated in chapter 6 "Scotland and Christendom". As Webster points out, the isolation of Scotland can be over-emphasized; historians are not the only ones responsible, for contemporary Scots were quite capable of stressing their isolation "in this poor little Scotland, beyond which there is no dwelling-place at all" (p.113) when it suited their political purposes. In fact, European contacts shaped Scottish culture and identity from the arrival of the first prehistoric peoples. Scottish

rulers, from at least the time of MacBeth onwards, saw themselves as members of a European monarchy; the Stewart kings were especially assiduous in asserting their place in Europe, through marriages, alliances and patronage of the arts. English and European influence helped shape Scottish art, architecture, education, monasticism, and trade. Recent work has shown how quickly Scottish writers, artists, and rulers adopted the new trends associated with the Renaissance; Webster demonstrates how this was possible without the loss of a distinctive Scottish identity.

The author gives good reasons for ending this study in 1513, apart from a brief epilogue, but the reader is left with whetted appetite to know what happens in the rest of the sixteenth century. It is hoped that Macmillan will commission another volume on Scotland to fill the gap in the series between 1513 and 1603 when Keith Brown's *Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603-1715* begins. Webster refers several times to the major impact of the Reformation in shaping Scottish identity; it is to be hoped that any new study will follow his example in giving identity a similarly multi-faceted definition.

In his discussion of the pre-twelfth century Scottish church, Webster makes the point that in many ways it was similar to the church in northern England, in being cut off for long periods from developments in the Anglo-Saxon church to the south. The comparison of the Scottish and Northern English church, although at a later period, is the basis of Andrew Barrell's study,

The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378, a volume in the series Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. While Webster's book is aimed more at the general reader, this is a book which is mainly intended for specialists in the Middle Ages, especially for those interested in the workings of the medieval papacy. It is very detailed and assumes some knowledge of the structure of the medieval church. For those whose work involves research in medieval Scottish church records, it should prove very useful in explaining the origins and purposes of papal documents. It also contains some useful warnings about the surviving printed records. For example, Barrell points out that the later volumes of the printed Calendar of Papal Letters give a misleading impression of the number of papal provisions, as they miss the majority of them.

Barrell has made effective use of the rich collection of Vatican Archives material relating to Scotland which has been assembled over the years by the Scottish History Department at the University of Glasgow with the aid of the Ross Fund. The episcopal registers which form such a rich source for English church history, and which the author uses for his study of the archdiocese of York, do not survive in Scotland, but the Vatican material helps to some extent to make up for this loss.

The author is interested in how the increasing centralisation and bureaucratization of the papacy under the Avignon popes affected the actual workings of the church outside the papal court. Scotland is a particularly interesting case, because of the direct relationship with

the papacy established in 1192. The archdiocese of York was in a different position politically, being part of the English church, but the author argues that in its size and number of parishes it provides a useful comparison with the Scottish church. The impact of the Avignon papacy is assessed through an examination of papal taxation and its collection, provisions to benefices and ecclesiastical office, the issuing of licences, dispensations and favours, the relationship between the pope and the bishops and regular clergy, and the judicial aspects of the papal court. There is also a chapter examining opposition to the papacy.

Perhaps of most interest to the readers of this journal are the differences identified by Barrell between the English and Scottish churches. He is careful to point out that some apparent differences may be due to the different survival of records, but others seem to reflect political and cultural differences between the two countries, several of which are discussed by Webster. For example, in England the collectors of papal taxes were all foreigners, while in Scotland they were mostly local men. Barrell suggests that this may be due to the more centralised power of the English monarch and papal fears of the influence which he could exercise over his own subjects, whereas the decentralised nature of Scottish government meant that individual churchmen had more power in their localities.

The division of the western church into individual collectorates also reflected political realities. Until the 1340s Scotland had been part of a British Isles

collectorate, but in 1345 it became a separate unit, underlining its separate identity from the English church. As Barrell points out, it was unlikely that the Scottish church which had been so actively involved in the Wars of Independence would continue to accept the authority of a collector based in London.

Opposition to papal taxation and other aspects of papal control seems to have been greater in England than in Scotland. In England such opposition centred on Parliament which had less need of papal support than did the monarch. However, Barrell makes a good argument for re-assessing the impact of some of the anti-papal legislation, arguing that some of it was very little used in practice.

In Scotland, there may have been fewer papal provisions, resulting in less resentment of papal interference, although the fifteenth-century increase in provisions resulted in legislation similar to that of England. In one case, papal provision worked in favour of the Scottish church in its relations to England. The one area of Scotland which was not included in the "special daughter" provision of 1192 was Galloway. Barrell traces the relations of Galloway and York which continued until 1359. Papal provision to the see of Whithorn ended the relationship, with the new bishop no longer having to profess to York.

Different patterns of papal dispensations can also be identified. In England, dispensations for illegitimate birth in order to allow a man to enter holy orders were more common than marriage dispensations, while in

Scotland marriage dispensations were more numerous. This may reflect the larger population of England which made available more prospective marriage partners outside the degrees of kinship forbidden to marry by canon law. One of the main reasons put forward in Scotland for requesting marriage dispensations was to allow a marriage to take place to end a feud. Unfortunately, we do not know how successful such marriages were. Barrell also suggests that Scotland had a more lax attitude to ordination, resulting in fewer petitions to dispense with illegitimacy. Such evidence raises interesting questions about differences in marriage and sexual relations between the two countries.

Comparisons between Scotland and England are also made by Elizabeth Gemmill and Nicholas Mayhew in *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland*. Again this is a book for the specialist rather than the general reader; however, the conclusions reached are of great importance for those interested in the fortunes of medieval Scotland. The book should be a basic reference work for all medieval Scottish historians, as it has ramifications far beyond the economic history of the realm.

Gemmill and Mayhew have assembled almost 6000 prices from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries. Although, as the authors point out, this cannot compare with the huge amount of price data available for England for the same period, it does allow them to examine some common ideas about the Scottish medieval economy. In chapter 5, which forms over half of the book, the prices of 24 commodities are examined

in an attempt to discern economic trends. The material presented here in both the discussion and the tables will be of use to anyone doing research on the social and economic history of medieval Scotland.

Three other chapters examine price trends in Scotland, weights and measures, and currency. A further chapter provides an interesting case study, using the best preserved run of records for this period, the council records of the town of Aberdeen which survive almost without break from 1398. Since setting the official price of many of the goods sold in the town market was one of the council's responsibilities, these records provide an excellent look at long-term price trends in one of the largest Scottish towns, and show how medieval governments dealt with economic change.


As a whole, this study supports some older ideas, and questions other ones. In Scotland, cereal grains were relatively more expensive than in England, while livestock were cheaper, reflecting the contrast between Scotland's more pastoral economy and England's more arable one. This price differential seems to have increased in the fifteenth century. The later fourteenth century also began a period of devaluation for Scottish money, which until then had been on par with sterling. This has been taken as a sign of the weakness of the Scottish economy, but the authors point out that devaluation was common in many European countries in this period, and that it is perhaps England which is the exception rather than Scotland.

Probably the most important new insight gained from this study is the state of the Scottish economy in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, discussed in detail in chapter 6. The most striking economic data for this period is the sharply-decreasing volume of exports. This has been assumed to indicate a trade deficit and a declining economy. However, historians have noted the great boom in building and other indicators of a healthy economy at the same period. By re-examining the evidence, along with the new evidence provided by prices, Gemmill and Mayhew make a persuasive argument that the late medieval Scottish domestic economy was not as weak as it is commonly portrayed and shed new light on the period of “the Scottish renaissance”. All three books should dispel any lingering picture of medieval Scotland as a country of “the dark ages.”

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MY WOUND IS DEEP
A HISTORY OF THE LATER
ANGLO-SCOTS WARS, 1380-1560

Raymond Campbell Paterson
Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997 pp. vii-215

he subject of Anglo-Scottish conflict during the period encapsulated by this work has been well-documented, as is evident from a simple glance at its bibliography. Upon closer inspection, however, it is also evident that with respect to recent scholarship, the pickings have been somewhat slim: only thirty percent of Paterson's secondary sources have been produced in the last twenty-five years. Anglo-Scottish military history would appear to be one of those areas of inquiry which has suffered as scholarly interest in matters other than 'high' history has grown; it is apparent that there is much work to be done in order to bring the subject up to date.

With respect to innovation or insight, however, *My Wound is Deep* has nothing to offer us, nor indeed does Paterson make any pretensions to the same. Instead, he has set before himself the task of condensing the substantial weight of aforementioned scholarship into a straightforward, coherent and readable narrative, and in

this Paterson succeeds. The book tells the story of Anglo-Scottish conflict from 1380 to 1560, including such key battles as those of Otterburn, Homildon Hill, and Flodden, but placing a greater emphasis upon the seemingly endless succession of minor encounters which plagued the Border throughout the period. Paterson's particular skill lies in his ability to colour his narrative with relevant and interesting details while ensuring that it pushes steadily forward; he does not allow himself or his narrative to become bogged down by complexities. As a consequence, we hear almost exclusively about the key political and military figures involved in these struggles. To judge from the rear cover of the book, Paterson is particularly proud of his discussion of the Scottish forces that fought for fifteenth-century France, which includes an account of the battle of Verneuil. Throughout, *My Wound is Deep* makes for entertaining reading for those who are interested in the martial achievements and shortcomings of the Scots during this period.

Those who approach Paterson's work from an academic point of view will find much to quibble with. His direct citations occur within the text and consist only of titles, while footnotes and endnotes are not employed; he is not the first writer (and will not be the last) to make use of a 'select' bibliography. The book contains little analysis and contributes little to the scholarship on its subject. More casual readers will still find diagrams of the battles of Otterburn, Homildon Hill, Verneuil, Flodden and Pinkie misplaced at the

front of the book - they would have been more usefully employed within the body of the narrative in the appropriate places. One particularly maddening aspect of Paterson's work is its number of very noticeable and unfortunate errors in spelling ("Parliament passed many statues calling on men to master the longbow" [p. 73]) and grammar ("Close to the Admiral, possibly slightly to the rear, was the Border horsemen from Cumberland" [p.143]), yet another reminder that an electronic proof-reader is no substitute for the older-fashioned variety.


While *My Wound is Deep* is of limited use to the academic, Paterson has nevertheless produced a lively and descriptive overview of the Anglo-Scottish conflicts of the later middle ages. It also reminds us that its subject has been somewhat neglected of late, which may be Paterson's greatest service to the historiographical tradition to which he owes such a great debt.

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UNDER THE HAMMER
EDWARD I AND SCOTLAND
1286-1307

Fiona Watson

East Lothian: Tuckwell, 1998 pp.vii-255

 or a multitude of reasons, the Wars of Independence era has been heavily scrutinized both by historians of Scotland and by popular writers, but a great deal of this material has done little more than to rehash existing works. In *Under the Hammer*, the culmination of many years of work, Fiona Watson has avoided viewing the period as an episode in the larger careers of Edward I or Robert Bruce, while at the same time refusing to focus her attentions upon the career of William Wallace or any other single individual. Instead, she has taken a novel and useful approach to the subject which is both interesting and highly instructive, and for which she should be commended.

The central question of *Under the Hammer* has to do with how, despite obvious military, financial and numerical inferiorities to their enemy, the Scots managed to resist the annexation by the English which had so recently been performed upon Wales. In answer to this question, Dr Watson has considered the nature of

the administrative framework Edward I put into place to govern his new Scottish subjects after 1296, and the difficulties which plagued him thereafter. She has demonstrated the spectacular failure of Edward's initial grandiose, extensive and somewhat naive administrative scheme, and the more guarded, measured and cautious pace of his subsequent plans. According to Watson, Edward was hampered by three problems in particular, the greatest of which by far was extracting from England the necessary money and victuals to pay for and sustain the king's soldiers and administration, especially during times of intense military activity.

Through detailed analyses of the sizes of and provision for the various English garrisons in Scotland during the period, Watson has demonstrated the tremendous cost involved in the slower and more cautious approach to conquest adopted after 1298, the frequency of English mutiny and desertion, and the manner in which these difficulties influenced Edward's priorities and activities as time passed.

While the issue of cost dominates her argument, Dr Watson has pointed out two other significant English problems which were crucial to Scotland's having succeeded where Wales had failed. First, she has shown the extent to which most of Edward's appointees to Scottish administrative posts were thoroughly reluctant to accept, unmotivated and uninspired in their duties, and quick to look for excuses to be relieved and replaced. Second, in discussing how Scotland was dealt with after the submission of 1304, Dr Watson

has illustrated Edward's frustrating difficulties in trying to reward and satisfy his loyal followers on one hand and trying to mollify his enemies on the other. She shows these difficulties to have been particularly evident in Edward's attempts to wrest control of the Scottish legal system away from the Scots themselves while still relying upon their expertise on matters of Scottish law and custom, and his attempts to convey Scottish lands and honours to Englishmen without excessively threatening or offending the Scots. On the whole, Dr Watson's case for the ultimate futility and untenability of the English position, despite Edward's short-term triumphs, is well-constructed, carefully researched and thoroughly convincing.

One of the most satisfying aspects of her work is Dr Watson's having brought to light the efforts of men like Richard Abingdon, Walter Amersham, James Dalilegh and other accomplished English and Scottish administrators whose abilities lay at the heart of Edward's successes in Scotland. Understandably eclipsed by such contemporaries as Edward himself, William Wallace and Robert Bruce, these men of lesser rank have found due recognition in *Under the Hammer*. Perhaps most notable in this regard is Watson's generally favourable treatment of Hugh de Cressingham, Edward's much maligned first treasurer in Scotland. Her description of Cressingham as Edward's most dutiful, able and committed official in Scotland bears little resemblance to the man whose avarice has been seen as a principal cause for Scottish unrest, and who remains

best known for the grisly nature of his death in battle at Stirling Bridge.

Although her work on Edward's Scottish administration is founded firmly in evidence, when considering the nature and activities of the native Scottish government during this period Dr Watson is on significantly less sure ground, sometimes relying upon tiny fragments of evidence. By including these elusive events in *Under the Hammer*, she has rightly recognized the countless actions, whether atrocious or heroic, of hundreds of nameless partisans on both sides of this significant conflict that might otherwise have been forgotten.

The effect of the decision to present these evidentiary fragments is entirely positive: Dr Watson has succeeded in creating the necessary impression of a continued, organized and determined resistance on the part of the Scots, attacking storehouses and supply trains, scorching the earth and launching occasional large-scale raids and sieges. When forced to engage in speculation, she has openly admitted the ultimate unprovability of her ideas and made cautious, well-considered and reasonable conclusions.

Under the Hammer is a well-written and very necessary piece of scholarship, in which the inclusion of tables and graphs in conjunction with statistical information is prudent and helpful. One quibble: for some reason, the secondary title on the front cover is *Edward I and Scotland 1286-1307*, when the interior title page and page headers (in harmony with the content) read *Edward I and Scotland 1286-1306*.

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Dr Watson's tone in dealing with her subject - one which has often aroused strong nationalist passions - is refreshingly sober, and to her credit it is generally unapparent whether she is a "Scottish" or an "English" historian.

James E. Fraser
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**THE MAKING OF THE
CROFTING COMMUNITY**

James Hunter

(Edinburgh: John Donald. New paperback edition, 1995, reprinted 1997), pp. xiii, 309. £12.95.

 The publisher boldly states on the back cover of this work that this is “the book that changed the way that people think about the Scottish Highlands”. For once this is a claim which is more than mere puffery. First published in 1976, reprinted in hardcover in 1982 and 1987, made available in paperback in 1995 and reprinted in that format in 1997, *The Making of the Crofting Community* has become a classic. To be sure, there existed a literature on the Highlands before this book appeared, with some notable works, including A. Youngson’s *After the Forty Five* and Malcolm Gray’s fine study of the Highland economy from 1750 to 1850. There was nothing, however, as comprehensive as this. Hunter analyses the evolution of crofting from its first beginnings in the eighteenth century, tracing its history through the Clearances to the Crofters’ War of the 1880s and the land settlement which followed. The book ends with an assessment of crofting prospects in the “to-day” of the late 1970s. It is a work informed throughout by a passionate

sympathy for the crofters and it has aroused equally passionate feelings in its readers, who may admire or disparage but who are rarely indifferent to its conclusions. In many ways, it has set the agenda for Highland studies in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The introduction clearly indicates the author's approach. He states that the book will deal primarily with "the exploitation of man by man" (p. 2) and that this is "an attempt to write the modern history of the Gaelic Highlands from the crofting community's point of view" (p. 5). For Hunter, the first part of that history has to explain how the bulk of the Highland population became, to use the phrase of the Napier Commission (set up in 1883 to inquire into the condition of crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland), "confined within narrow limits" because of the excessive subdivision of land. The second half of that history, and of the book, is the story of the crofting community's struggle to break free of its confinement (p. 107). In the first five chapters the Highland people are innocent, powerless victims. Then, in a crucial chapter (ch. 6) entitled "The Emergence of the Crofting Community", Hunter attempts to explain both *why* the crofter made little resistance to oppression and exploitation in the grim years of Clearance and famine and also how this passivity ended. He explains the change largely in terms of the impact of popular religion: "Evangelicalism and the emergence of the modern crofting community [by which Hunter means a community capable of gaining control of its own destinies] are inseparable

phenomena..." (pp. 94, 105-6). The scene is thus set for an account of crofter self-assertion in the Highland Land War of the 1880s and 1890s; the Crofters' Act of 1886 and subsequent enactments are seen as a victory, if an incomplete one, for the crofting community, a righting of the wrongs of the Clearances. The final chapter serves as a reminder that "the crofting problem is with us still" (p. 207) and has much to say about the author's belief in the wrongheadedness of a great deal of government policy in the Highlands since World War Two.

While there has been a massive response to this book in the twenty-two years since its original publication, only a few of the many questions raised can be mentioned here. It has been argued that Hunter's picture of the Highlands before the '45 is an oversimplified one and that society was by no means as static as he suggests: see Allan Macinnes's article on the first phase of the Clearances in T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland*, Volume I, (Edinburgh, 1998). It may also be suggested that making the crofter into a hero involves making the landlord into a villain: matters were considerably more complicated than this. (See, for example, Devine's comments on the economic and social differentiation within the crofting community in *Clanship to Crofters' War* (Manchester, 1994), 196, the most recent attempt at a general history of the Highlands in the modern period). Historians have also presented other aspects of population movement than those

provided by Hunter: see, for example, J. M. Bumsted, *The People's Clearance* (Edinburgh, 1982), on emigration and Devine's work on internal migration. I am uneasy at the rôle accorded to popular religion in ch. 6, where the argument seems strained, and disappointed that, although there are tantalising references to rioting crofter women and their subsequent arrest (pp. 139, 168) and to Mary MacPherson, the Skye bard "whose songs, it is said, contributed significantly to the HLLRA's [Highland Land Law Reform Association] success", Hunter's crofting movement is essentially a male affair, despite the obvious opportunities for female action provided by the absence of the menfolk at the fishing, etc. Questions have also been raised about the nature of Hunter's sources; he has been criticised for his concentration on government documents and on the lamentations of the victims of the Clearances and also for his neglect of Highland estate records. The work of Eric Richards and others in this area suggests a more complex picture of events than Hunter provides, although in fairness it must be said that he makes obvious the boundaries of his investigation at the beginning of the work. Clearly, *The Making of the Crofting Community* has stimulated, and continues to stimulate, a great deal of research.

Two final points. One must question why the publisher, John Donald, for whom this book has been a nice little earner over the years, would re-issue the work without removing the odd typographical error or in any way attempting to improve the presentation of the text.

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More serious is the failure to provide an up-to-date introduction which takes account of recent work in the field. Something on the lines of Ewan A. Cameron's historiographical and source survey in the most recent book on Highland land policy, *Land for the People? The British Government and the Scottish Highlands, c.1880-1925* (East Lothian, 1996), would have been immensely useful. Surely all those folk interested in Scotland who, according to the blurb on the back cover, cannot afford to be without this book, deserve such a guide?

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THE JACOBITE CHALLENGE

**THE JACOBITE ARMY IN
ENGLAND, 1745:
THE FINAL CAMPAIGN**

Frank McLynn
(John Donald: Edinburgh, 1998). pp. 210

 This volume is a paperback reprint of a book first published in 1983, reissued here essentially unchanged, without incorporating interim research on the topic or utilizing new manuscript material made available since initial publication. Consequently, McLynn's book represents a missed opportunity: instead of being "new and authoritative", as claimed on the back cover, it is a detailed and within limits useful compendium of information, but also problematic in terms of sources deployed, argumentation and overall conclusions.

The work opens with a brief but meticulous survey of Jacobite and English preparations for invasion and defense after Charles Edward's success at Prestonpans on Sept. 21, 1745. Both sides, as the author appreciates, encountered formidable problems and these are set out

clearly with their causes: for the government, factionalism at Westminster, conflicts between county and local authorities over troop allocations, the usual confusion surrounding the militia, as well as the threat from France; for the Jacobites inter-clan rivalry, disagreements over tactics and priorities and most critically, the uncertainty of attracting much needed French and English Tory support. While in the original edition of this book, the author was able to throw new light on the background to Jacobite strategy and the attitude of the Northern counties towards the rebel advance, this novelty is here significantly diminished by the appearance since then of books by interalia Jeremy Black, Stuart Reid, and Leo Gooch,¹ whose work McLynn has unfortunately failed to consult. These writings have variously demonstrated that the Whig elite experienced appreciably less difficulty in preparing for the defense of England - new regiments being raised weekly by subscriptions or associations - than McLynn would admit, a conclusion with wide implications for the nature and strength of popular Hanoverian support. This point is not sufficiently recognized or developed in the present volume. I would also suggest a closer look at the fiscal problems faced by the Jacobite leadership - an issue mentioned here only in passing, yet one deserving detailed analysis, finances ultimately being a major determinant of the movement's military success or failure. In fact, it was precisely the chronic difficulty of securing adequate funds, as has recently been shown, that made a Jacobite rising, at any time, such an enormous gamble.²

The remainder of the work is devoted to an in-depth account of the campaign itself, a graphic chronicle tracing the progress of the rebel army from the operations at Carlisle, through the southward advance to Manchester and Derby, to the final and decisive return to Scotland. This is an intensely dramatic story and following it in a chronological, actually day to day, fashion provides perspectives that general surveys of the campaign cannot. The taking of Carlisle, the clansmen's adventurous march through Cumberland and Lancashire, the famous Council at Derby and its outcome, local and government reaction in England, the role of personalities, the influences behind strategy decisions - all these themes are explored with admirable narrative and analytical skill, in seven balanced chapters which illuminate and integrate the Scottish and English dimensions of the invasion most effectively. Indeed it is in his able synthesis of this dimension that the author makes his greatest contribution.

Whether his overall conclusions, however, can be accepted is another question. Probably most controversial is his contention that the decision to retreat taken by the Clan Council at Derby was ultimately a strategic error. Against the military arguments for retreat, arguments forcefully presented by Lord George Murray (here dismissed "as a defeatist"), Dr McLynn offers the following considerations: 1) that there was no significant barrier between the Jacobites and London; 2) that there were considerable Jacobite supporters in the Capital, who would have risen en masse had the

rebels pushed on, and 3) that the decision to retreat further weakened the resolve of the French to proceed with the expedition against the English coast. Obviously, the author seriously underates the strength of the forces arrayed against the Highland army at that time and hence over-estimates the chances of a successful dash to London. W. A. Speck's work on Cumberland³ demonstrates convincingly that at Derby, the rebel army, having attracted few adherents but lost many through desertion, was badly outnumbered by Cumberland's advancing forces, mostly seasoned troops numbering over 9,000. Dr McLynn also forgets that the 4,000 regular forces sent to Finchley, to defend the northern approaches to London, were sufficient to delay the unduly slow Jacobite advance, thereby giving Cumberland additional time for interception and enabling Marshal Wade (marching post haste) to cut off all retreat. Moreover, far from welcoming the invaders, Londoners improvised a variety of defensive schemes which together with similar preparations in the shires, suggests that loyal sentiment was more widespread than the Jacobites expected or Dr McLynn would have us believe. Clearly the military obstacles were insuperable and to advance under those conditions would have been to invite disaster. Here the author's failure to consult the Weston Papers - both those in private hands but accessible,⁴ and those at the Lewis Walpole Library⁵ - has proved unfortunate for the manuscripts dealing with the '45, clearly chronicle the scope and effectiveness of government counter measures to Jacobite military plans.

As for the English Jacobites, here the author (influenced by D. Cruickshank's, *The Tories and the '45* 1979) misreads verbal flirtation for active opposition, and promise for performance, forgetting (as B. Lenman, B. W. Hill and others have demonstrated) that apart from a residual but mostly latent hankering for a Stuart restoration on the part of a few malcontents, the Jacobite cause enjoyed little support in England among the Tories or, indeed any other social and political group. Indeed, distrust of English Jacobites was shared by some of Prince Charles Edward's own supporters which partly explains why the initial decision to invade England itself barely passed the Council, being approved by only one vote. In this connection, Dr McLynn seems also unaware of Paul Fritz's work which strongly suggests that it was partly relentless government surveillance and repression, the system elaborated by R. Walpole, that further accelerated the weakening of Jacobitism among English sympathizers by 1745.⁶

With regard to France, whatever the momentary impact of the Highlanders retreat on Richelieu's planned expedition, the ultimate failure of French intervention was, as Dr McLynn himself has shown (*France and the Jacobite Rising of 1745*, 1981) largely due to the unpreparedness and vacillations of Louis XV's ministers of state, not to mention inadequate French financial support.

Also unconvincing, in my opinion, is the author's attempt to portray the march from Scotland to Derby as an outstanding military exploit, calling for the

utmost in discipline, organization and superior tactical and administrative skills within the high command, especially on the part of Lord George Murray and the Prince himself. In all, the invasion was probably more a well-conducted maneuver or diversionary foray than a grand scale campaign, its success - temporary and limited - dependent, mainly on fortuitous factors rather than inspired strategy or design. And while one can agree with the military talents of Lord Murray (particularly when compared with the incompetent Wade and the stolid Cumberland), the author's reassessment of "Bonnie Prince Charlie", transcends the bounds of acceptance. Despite a valiant attempt at rehabilitation, Charles Edward emerges in an essentially familiar light: charismatic and charming but also impetuous, unreliable and irresponsible, definitely not the man with the solid qualities needed for political or military leadership.

Dr McLynn could perhaps have helped his readers by explaining in greater detail why the Prince was never asked, until too late, to authenticate his claims of imminent support, within England and from France. Recent research has shown that it was precisely the Jacobite leadership's eventual disbelief in the Prince's chronic over-optimism, rather than the shady exploits of the double agent Dudley Bradstreet, as McLynn argues, which prompted the Council of War at Derby to decide on retreat. Since it is generally agreed that Jacobitism was a central element in the shaping of English foreign as well as domestic policy, it is also surprising that the author does not bring out more clearly how the

Jacobite threat - not to mention the French preparations - affected Britain's military and diplomatic position abroad. This neglect greatly reduces the book's usefulness for the student of international history and hence makes the essays on this topic contained in E. Cruickshank's, *Ideology and Conspiracy* all the more essential.

The bibliography is serviceable but far from complete. Included are the major manuscript collections - the Stuart Papers at Windsor, the documents in the Public Record Office, British Library, and the French Foreign archives - but not the Cumberland, Calcraft and, as mentioned, The Weston Papers, all of which are essential for the period. Moreover, because neither the text nor the bibliography have been updated since the book's first printing, much new scholarship has remained unassimilated, a weakness that seriously attenuates the author's conclusions in more than one critical instance.

Altogether, Dr McLynn's work, despite undoubted shortcomings, can still be read with profit by specialists in English or Scottish history and it will certainly interest those general readers who want to know more about an important episode and the colorful personalities involved.

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Endnotes


- 1 Jeremy Black, Culloden and the '45 (1990).
Stuart Reid, 1745: A Military History (1996).
Leo Gooch, The Desperate Faction? The Jacobites of North East England, 1688-1745 (1995).
cf Michael Hook and Walter Ross. The '45 (1995).
- 2 Murray, Pittock, Jacobitism (London, 1998) pp. 82-89.
Hook and Ross, op.cit., pp. 10-15.
- 3 W.A. Speck, The Butcher: A Life of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (London, 1983).
- 4 Held by Dr John Weston-Underwood, Mill House, Idem Green, Kent, U.K. For an index to these see: K. W. Schweizer, "A Handlist to the Additional Weston Papers." Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 51 (1978), pp. 99-102.
- 5 See K. W. Schweizer, "The Papers of an 18th Century Under Secretary in the Lewis Walpole Library," Yale University Library Gazette, vol. 71 (nos. 1-2) Oct. 1996, pp. 43-48.
- 6 P. S. Fritz, The English Ministers and Jacobitism between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 (Toronto, 1975).

**AN ENLIGHTENMENT TORY IN
VICTORIAN SCOTLAND: THE CAREER
OF SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON**

Michael Michie

McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal & Kingston. 1997

I am concerned here not to argue for a particular interpretation of the Scottish Enlightenment but rather to see what elements of that eighteenth-century movement Archibald Alison considered useful in constructing a response to the stresses and strains of British society in the early nineteenth century. If we accept that the central concern of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Scottish intellectuals were how to preserve the traditional community while adapting it to new knowledge and commercial pressures, we have a framework for incorporating the range of modern interpretations and for understanding the eclecticism of people such as the Alisons. (7)

uch is the stated purpose of this biographical history of Sir Archibald Alison (1792-1867), a man who lived through the tumultuous years of the French Revolution, as well as the 1830 and 1848

Revolutions, which served to foster a great deal of conservative politics both on the continent and in Britain, as it watched with great concern the events across the channel. Internally, Britain was not unaffected by the working-class push for change. Chartism was prevalent, the excesses of the Industrial Revolution could no longer be ignored, and Parliament was forced to deal with these problems and enact reform or face revolutions on the island, something no one in power wanted to face.

Intellectually and politically, this was, therefore, a time of dramatic change. Classic Liberalism, a conservative approach to government and the economy, which espoused a hands-off method of rule and regulation, was coming into confrontation with a more modern form of liberalism, that which we now associate with heavy government involvement in the economy and in the lives of those upon whom the economy rests, the workers. Michael Michie seeks to place Alison's role within this confusing period and show that he was a part of both ideological worlds through an examination of the environment in which Alison was raised and a subsequent exposition of Alison's writings during the period.

One of the greatest influences on Alison was Adam Smith's writings. Smith provided Alison with a world-view of a largely agricultural world, a free running industrial sector, and one wherein there were bound to be people at the bottom of the ladder as surely there must be those who sat atop the ladder. Of greater

influence, perhaps, was Alison's father, an Episcopalian minister whose grounding was firmly in the Scottish Enlightenment and who had a strong sense of moral duty. Michie draws the picture of a man in whom, then, were combined conservative views and an awareness of the ugliness in society produced by the Industrial Revolution. Consequently, Alison wanted to see the improvement of all sectors of society, but he wanted them maintained within the hierarchical framework of the previous centuries (22). He believed that the social ladder should have as many gradations as possible so as to encourage improvement, a striving to move up the ladder, as well as serving as a deterrent to a boom in population among labourers, for too many mouths would prevent that upward climb (100). According to Alison, his primary goal was "to warn his age of 'the consequences of democratic ascendancy upon the civil condition'" (130). Through an examination of Alison's writings on population, law, and reform, Alison emerges a "transitional figure in a transitional age," as Michie aptly puts it (198).

It is this argument for a transitional figure between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Michie so convincingly presents. Alison is typical of any such figure in such a time of change. Reared on old school values and knowledge, he is thrust into a new set of circumstances and is forced to adapt, but without wanting to completely abandon his beliefs, which in this case were so rooted in a Christian moralist context. Alison seems to have felt bound to his self-appointed

mission by moral obligation. In proving his case, Michie is ever mindful of contextualizing Alison's personal experiences with the greater historical picture. Throughout, Michie presents as many opposing as supporting arguments contemporary with Alison to show just how this particular man fits into the total view. Furthermore, Michie is capable of making an honest evaluation of Alison's character, being the first to point out his failings as well as his achievements (89).

Perhaps because this was not something that Alison did so well, Michie was less apt in the final section of the book where he is trying to prove that Alison's perspective was 'Scottish'. While Michie does well in extracting Alison from the stereotypical label of Country Tory, he does not do so well proving that Alison's experience was a uniquely Scottish one. Anyone familiar with the nineteenth century in Britain would recognize many similarities between Alison and a host of others throughout the island nation caught in this period of rapid change, both economically and politically. For example, many deplored the state of the labouring masses and wanted to see some improvement, yet they were unwilling to let loose the hierarchy which kept these masses where they were.

In the end, Michie calls Alison's contribution to a nationalist viewpoint "frustrating" (197). It comes through more than it ought to in Michie's own presentation. It might have worked better in this otherwise well-argued book to integrate Alison's Scottish nationalism throughout the book, which would have perhaps kept the reader


aware that this was about the effects of the Scottish Enlightenment on Alison.

Ultimately, however, this biography of Archibald Alison is a useful addition to the historiography on early nineteenth-century Britain. Michie presents us with a case study of how these grand ideas of conservatism and liberalism can meet within the same being and how they might be played out in the mind of what was a very human being, Sir Archibald Alison. Furthermore, given the fact that we are in our own period of transition from one century to the next, this is a timely publication with issues of relevance for today about understanding rapid intellectual, political and economic shifts.

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**EMIGRATION FROM SCOTLAND
BETWEEN THE WARS:
OPPORTUNITY OR EXILE?**

Marjory Harper
(Studies in Imperialism)
Manchester University Press, 1999
ISBN: 071904927X; Hardcover, 256 pages

 For some time, the study of migration has searched for a new methodological approach, new research questions, and even new forms of evidence. Thus the publication of Marjory Harper's study within the exciting *Studies in Imperialism* series, is one that whets the appetite for something new and innovative. In this respect, readers will be both delighted and disappointed. They will take delight from the fact that Harper has meticulously researched her topic both in imperial and colonial archives, at the macro-level of policy formation and at the micro-level of individual and family strategies. Further, readers interested in the Scottish context from which emigration occurred, will embrace Harper's geographic awareness of both the Highlands and the Lowlands, the rural and the urban, the inland and the coast. Indeed, Harper shows how complex the historical geography of migration certainly

was. Besides movement out of Scotland, there was movement within. Harper goes into much valuable detail regarding the push and pull factors at work in these movements, how they were perceived through the press, and the individual and familial experiences involved with them.

Yet readers interested in the importance of this inter-war migration as a component of Empire and imperialism will be disappointed by the unwillingness of Harper to pursue new forms of analysis by asking new questions of her massive data base.

For example, the book offers a number of illustrations in the centre of the text that are not incorporated into the analysis. The photographs of the storefront window of the Canadian immigration office and of the two farmer boys, carefully dressed, posing with a sample of the harvest, would have benefited from explicit attention and analysis. Within the context of Empire, what messages did such photographs send? How were they to work as selling points to prospective emigrants?

As Harper points out repeatedly, the propaganda of emigration was the source of debate amongst opponents, and emigrants themselves recalled the impressions made by these materials. Yet, Harper simply points to this as “proof” that there was a tremendous gap between rhetoric and reality, and that contemporaries were aware of it.

The decision to migrate was often based upon an imagined future, and there is little doubt that such

a process was impacted by the cultural productions (posters, advertisements, photographs, storefront displays, literature) that were being used to sell emigration. Harper misses an opportunity to tell us what images were being used in these cultural products, how they sought to communicate to their consumers, and how the consumers reproduced these products in their own imperial imaginations of the colonies. Indeed, the links between emigration and Empire exceeded the demographic profiles of Scots who migrated and the economic changes that acted as a stimulus to migration.

As a strategy of Empire, emigration was predicated on, and represented through, a complex cultural matrix. We need to therefore explore and better understand the meanings embedded in the demographic, political, and economic links of Empire and emigration, and how these meanings were tied to questions of power, identity, and experience. Such a study must, like Harper, pursue these meanings at both the macro- and micro-levels. Yet unlike Harper, such a study must venture into new forms of interpretation and pursue more systematically new forms of evidence.

Readers will learn much from Marjory Harper's text about the structures and networks through which emigration as a historical process unfolded in Scotland. Indeed this is a model study for that type of analysis. However, for readers interested in the cultural connections between Empire and emigration, in population management as a tactic

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of state formation and Empire-building, and in expressions of imperial power through colonization, these readers will have to look elsewhere within the Series of Imperialism.

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WORKS RECEIVED

John Stuart Shaw, *The Political History of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (St Martins, 1999)

John G. Gibson, *Traditional Highland Bagpiping 1745-1945* (McGill-Queens, 1998)

Andrew Hook, *From Goosecreek to Gandercleugh: Studies in Scottish-American Literature and Cultural History* (Tuckwell, 1999)

Eleanor MacDonald and James McCormick, eds., *Environment Scotland: Prospects for Sustainability* (Ashgate, 1999)

Michael Jackson, *A Scottish Life: Sir John Martin, Churchill and the Empire*, edited by Janet Jackson (Radcliffe Press, 1999)

Kenneth J. McKenna, *Highland Paths: Tales of Glengarry* (1998)

John McCarthy and David Newlands, eds., *Governing Scotland: Problems and Prospects. The Economic Impact of Scottish Parliament* (Ashgate, 1999)

T. M. Devine and J. R. Young, eds., *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (Tuckwell, 1999)

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Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland 1830-1860* (Tuckwell, 1999)

Jean Cantile Stewart, *Pine Trees and the Sky* (Scottish Cultural Press, 1998)

John Bannerman, *The Beatons: A Medical Kindred in the Classical Gaelic Tradition* (John Donald, 1998)

A. D. Cameron, *Discover Scotland's History* (updated edition, Scottish Cultural Press, 1998)

Ian Cameron, *The Jimmy Shand Story* (Scottish Cultural Press, 1998)

William S. Marshall, *The Billy Boys: A Concise History of Orangeism in Scotland* (Mercat Press, 1996)

Catriona Macdonald, ed., *Unionist Scotland 1800-1997* (John Donald, 1998)

Stories from South Uist, Told by Angus MacLellan, (Dufour Editions, 1997)

Charles W. J. Withers, *Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture 1700-1900* (Tuckwell, 1998)

James Irvine Robertson, *The First Highlanders: Major-General David Stewart of Garth 1768-1829* (Tuckwell, 1998)

In Memoriam

FRANK WATSON

1911-1999

Many members of the Scottish Studies Foundation and readers of this journal will be familiar with Frank Watson, having met him at the many colloquia and events that he attended throughout the years that he



Frank and Cicely Watson, Carol Edington and Elizabeth Ewan when Carol was awarded the Frank Watson prize.

was involved with the Scottish Studies program at the University of Guelph. Some of you may also know him through the book prize that bears his name. These commitments to the program at Guelph were part of a much broader lifelong interest in the history and culture of the Scottish people and a passionate love of the country itself. We would like to thank Dr Cicely Watson, Frank's wife, for sharing some of the stories of this 'quintessential Englishman's' love of Scotland and 'things Scottish' that led to his patronage and involvement with Scottish history, poetry and literature, and left such an impression on those who knew him.

Frank's interest in Scottish history began at Berkley House School in London, England. After raising an objection that the 'British history' the class was taught was in fact English history, he was invited to do his own research and prepare a presentation to answer the question "If you were a Scot, would you think that the Union was a good development or a bad one?". Frank's presentation argued that English treatment of Scotland had generally been "shameful, exploitative and unfair". The teacher (whom he greatly respected) informed him that if that was what he truly believed, then he needed to learn more about Scotland. Work in the next term doing just that had the unintended effect of providing the roots of Frank's Scottish nationalism. This was part of a larger conviction that he was to carry with him throughout his life, that the world needs to respect and protect small nations and the distinct cultures which they have created and represent.

This interest was evident throughout Frank's life, from his membership in the Sir Walter Scott Society of Toronto, to his support of the Scottish Nationalist Party, to his taking a BA in history with a strong emphasis on Scottish topics later in his life, to his generous bequest of his collection of Scottish historical and literary materials to the University of Guelph libraries.

This love of Scotland was also more than a purely intellectual pursuit. As young men, Frank and a friend made yearly hiking treks across the Scottish countryside, carrying nothing more than a knapsack and some camping gear. In honour of Frank's 80th birthday in 1991, Cicely established the Frank Watson Prize in Scottish History at the University of Guelph. Awarded every second year, this prize recognizes the best new book on Scottish history. Equally important, it brings the author to Guelph to give a public talk that is open to the community at large. The prize is a fitting reflection of the interests and passions of the man who endowed it, recognizing outstanding achievement related to the study of Scotland, and seeking to share it with a wider audience.

Frank Watson will be both remembered and missed by those involved with the Scottish Studies Foundation and the Scottish Studies program at the University of Guelph.

THE FRANK WATSON PRIZE IN SCOTTISH HISTORY

The Scottish Studies Foundation and the Scottish Studies Program at the University of Guelph are pleased to announce that this year's Frank Watson Prize was awarded to Callum Brown for *Up-Helly-Aa: Custom, Culture and Community in Shetland*, published by Manchester University Press. Dr. Brown's work was an exemplary example of the type of work that the Frank Watson Prize was endowed to support, and his presentations at the University of Guelph were enjoyed by both students and those in attendance at the Fall Colloquium. Honourable mention for this year's prize went to Robert Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), and William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest* (Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

Nominations are now being accepted for the 2000 Frank Watson Prize. Consideration will be given to all books published between 1998 and 2000 on a topic concerned with Scotland or Scottish culture. Applications should be directed to:

Frank Watson Prize,
c/o Scottish Studies Office, University of Guelph,
Guelph, ON, Canada N1G 2W1.