# NETWORK NORTH

*Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746*

BY

STEVE MURDOCH

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

# INTRODUCTION

> *Each person has a number of friends, and these friends have their own friends; some of any one person's friends know each other, others do not. I find it convenient to talk of a social field of this kind as a network.*[1]

A Scot once had the temerity to walk up to a Swedish king he had never met as that monarch moved down a corridor on his way to supper. This Scot was neither royal nor noble, but many strata below his quarry in the social hierarchy. The king 'looked earnestly upon him'. The Scot knew for sure that he would be unmolested by the king's escorts; one of them was his cousin, the other also a relative and his former employer. Indeed these men had primed him as to when best to make his move toward the king. When John Durie stepped in front of Gustav II Adolf in Wittenberg in 1631 it was the culmination of three years of network building in Sweden, Britain and northern Germany. He had expertly utilised his social networks to be able to stand before of one of the most powerful men in Europe—and he got from him exactly what he wanted.

The example of John Durie's network building is only one of the many cases examined in this volume. During many years of researching in British and Scandinavian archives it became obvious to me that a large number of Scots had succeeded in integrating into and forging close links with a variety of early modern foreign states.[2] This book presents a selection of these Scots who made their careers outside Scotland, covering a wide class spectrum which ranged from pedlars through ambassadors to clergymen and large-scale factory owners. Indeed the timeframe concerned spans the late sixteenth through the mid-eighteenth centuries as required to illustrate the

---

[1] J. Barnes (1954) quoted in A. Macfarlane, *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge: 1977), 19.

[2] A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003); S. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton: 2003); D. Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden: 2004); M. Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King: Nursery for Men of Honour* (Leiden: 2004).

ongoing and fluid development of social networks. If the scope of material appears broad this is simply because it reflects the distribution, diversity and depth of the networks under examination. The evolution of the overseas communities and the higher political alliances engaged in by Scots in northern Europe has received noteworthy scholarly attention over the years.[3] Very often these Scottish communities are looked at in isolation, narrowing the focus to just one group of Scots in a particular town or region, which is sometimes a necessary function of bringing their existence to light. However, this also skews our view of their wider significance. The sister collection to this volume, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, goes someway to locating Scottish communities in a more global context.[4] From that collection it is apparent that individuals at one side of the world could (and very often did) have relatives on the other side who were willing to aid them in their social advancement or peregrinations. Consider Robert Livingston who moved from Rotterdam to Boston in 1672. As Douglas Catterall noted, 'Along with many other Scots of his day, he was extending the centuries old Scots tradition of network-driven, enclave-based migration beyond Europe'.[5] By 1674 he was in Albany and four years later he married Alida Schuyler in New York, linking him to a powerful Dutch merchant family and a new set of opportunities.[6] Whether in Boston,

---

[3] A.F. Steuart, ed., *Papers relating to the Scots in Poland, 1576–1793* (Edinburgh: 1915); J. Dow, '*Skotter* in Sixteenth-Century Scania' in *Scottish Historical Review*, 44 (1965), 34–51; Von Ilse von Wechmar and R. Biederstedt, 'Die schottische Einwanderung in Vorpommern im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert' in *Greifswald-Stralsunder Jahrbuch*, Band 5 (1965), 7–28; T.L. Christensen, 'Scots in Denmark in the sixteenth century' in *Scottish Historical Review*, 49:2 (1970), 125–145; A. Biegańska, 'Scottish merchants and traders in seventeenth and eighteenth century Warsaw', *Scottish Slavonic Review*, no. 5, (Autumn 1985); A. Biegańska, 'A note on the Scots in Poland, 1550–1800' in T.C. Smout, ed., *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh, 1986); A. Biegańska, 'Andrew Davidson, (1591–1660) and his descendants', *Scottish Slavonic Review*, no. 10, (Spring 1988), 15–16; A. Biegańska, 'In Search of Tolerance: Scottish Catholics and Presbyterians in Poland', *Scottish Slavonic Review*, no. 17, (Autumn 1991).

[4] A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005).

[5] D. Catterall, *Community Without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Leiden: 2002), 344–5.

[6] NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/494/ff. 30–31, 23 and 25 July 1683. The death of his father-in-law caused Livingston some concern as he noted 'such a cloud of Popery hangs over our heads'. Robert also added that he was left £75 more than Mr Schuyler's own children who were then to share equally in the estate of £3000. He signed off wishing respects to Russell 'and my dear sister your bedfellow'.

Stockholm, Moscow or Danzig, Scots abroad maintained communication with each other and offered support when it was required—be it for a military operation, a seditious act, a commercial venture or such like. The success or failure of any enterprise was largely dependent on the nature of the individual's personal or social networks.

Ever since J. Barnes completed his study *Class and Community in a Norwegian Island Parish* in 1954, 'social network theory' has become an accepted tool in trying to understand aspects of the past. Various interpretations of the social network theory continue to be contributed by scholars from a number of fields, including historians.[7] Most of the theorists concur that networks can take a number of shapes and, indeed, almost any social structure can be considered as a network, including hierarchical pyramids with a symbolic pinnacle (monarch), a ruling elite (nobility), the middling-sort (gentry) and the rest of the populace (peasantry). In contrast, 'social network' relationships are considered horizontal structures quite different to hierarchies. They describe human relationships that are voluntary, usually informal, often lacking hierarchical structure and, most importantly, place each individual at the centre of his or her own social-network.[8] Everyone, from a cottar to a clergyman to a commercial entrepreneur, developed social networks through which they sought to improve their lives, and those of their families and friends if they had it in their power to do so. These did not reflect the pure model networks theorists talk about—as Donald Harreld observed, models seldom fit well into historical situations.[9] The networks described below were neither neat horizontal structures nor vertical hierarchies, but rather contained elements of both.

---

[7] The surveys from the first four years of the twenty first century on the subject alone include J. Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (London: 2000); J.A.G.M. van Dijk, 'Netwerken als Zenuwstelsel van onze Maatschappij' in *Tidschrift voor Communicatienwetenschap*, 30 (2001), 37–54; H. Gunneriusson, ed., *Sociala Nätverk och Fält* (Uppsala: 2002); P.R. Monge and N.S. Contractor, *Theories of Communication Networks* (Oxford: 2003); E. Hreinsson, *Nätverk som social resurs. Historiska exempel* (Gothenburg: 2003).

[8] Y. Hasselberg, L. Müller and N. Stenlås, *History from a Network Perspective* (Uppsala: 1997), 3; Gunneriusson, 'Introduktion', 5 and 'Fält och sociala nätverk—så förhåller de sig till varandra', 32–48; Y. Hasselberg, L. Müller and N. Stenlås, 'Åter till historiens nätverk', 9–14; D. Broady, 'Nätverk och fält', 51–52; N. Stenlås, 'Varför nätverk spelar roll: om nätverksbergreppets otillåtenhet och epistemologiska särart', 114—all these are chapters in Gunneriusson, *Sociala Nätverk och Fält*. See also E. Hreinsson, *Nätverk och Nepotism: Den regionala förvaltningen på Island, 1770–1870* (Gothenburg: 2003), 21–23.

[9] D.J. Harreld, *High Germans in the Low Countries: German Merchants and Commerce in Golden Age Antwerp* (Leiden: 2004), 95–97.

It is not the intention here to build a new theory relating to a personal interpretation of 'social-networks'. This work is not about social network *theory*, it is about social networks in practise. The book is divided into three sections. In the first the linkages that proved to be the important adhesive in the networks are examined. These chapters consider concepts of family structure, attachments to place, and religious affiliation, and ask what role they played in network building for the early modern Scot. Each section is presented in such a way as to find an understanding of the particular association through a number of case studies where the strengths, weaknesses and implementation of the mechanisms in building the networks are highlighted. These chapters are less theoretical in presentation than other authors may prefer, simply because the weight of empirical evidence does not necessitate a theoretical diversion.

The second section asks questions relating to the employment of social networks among the various levels of Scottish commercial migrants. This offers a refreshing interpretation of Scotland's experience of seventeenth century mercantilism, where hitherto we have so often encountered a dark picture of backwardness and commercial ineptitude. Building on T.C. Smout's classic *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*, Scottish mercantile and entrepreneurial structures are investigated here using previously untapped archival resources with which the Scandinavian archives are replete. Smout was the first to seriously consider the role of official commercial factors in Scandinavia, and by adding to his foundational work, no less than five distinct tiers of merchant factor and consul who operated in the Baltic have been discovered. The second chapter in this section deals with the previously unexplored development of manufactures in Scandinavia by Scots. Here we follow the success of a number of Scottish super-capitalists in areas generally considered the preserve of Dutch and German entrepreneurs. The Scots often saw off foreign and indigenous Scandinavian competitors alike in their quest to produce iron, copper and cloth in factory complexes that grew to accommodate as many as 1200 individuals by the late 1680s. The implications this has for the accounts of pre-industrial Scottish history become clear in the third chapter of this section when the degree of the integration of the merchants' and manufacturers' networks is fully brought home. This chapter exposes the hidden, often covert commercial structures that not only benefited the region hosting the industry, but also the structure deployed to move commodities and repatriate

capital to the mother country in a way that the mere scrutiny of the Danish Sound Toll registers, for example, simply cannot do. Many Scottish commercial heavyweights operating in Scandinavia, such as John Kinnemond, William Davidson and Daniel Young, are here made known to the Scottish historian, and their significance to whichever country allowed them to operate is addressed.

The third section of the book describes a different kind of social network. The focus is on informal networks deployed to undermine a particular orthodoxy, be it political or ecclesiastical. These are in many ways more aptly termed as counter-networks where the understood aim of the given structure was destructive rather than constructive, though sometimes both. The first chapter in this section reconstructs the spy-network that Sir James Spens of Wormiston operated on behalf of the Swedes. Spens populated it with Scots and deployed it against Poland-Lithuania. This collective operated on a subtle level within several strata of society, penetrating the British Court, the Polish army and even a strikingly similar organ established by the Poles to attack the Swedes. These spies never crowed about their success, but did their job so well that it is an episode not even remembered by Swedish historians. This chapter reinserts this interesting affair in its rightful place in Scandinavian-Polish relations. The second chapter in this section returns us to John Durie and fully investigates the process that led to his meeting with Gustav II Adolf. As in the previous chapter, Durie relied on a subversive confederation of disparate Protestants in seeking to undermine the process of confessionalisation in order to bring Christians together rather than keep them apart. The friendship that the cleric developed with Axel Oxenstierna, enabling him to operate across Europe and launch his career in international irenicism, is also discussed. The study does not end with Durie's departure from Sweden in 1638, but follows the network-building process through to 1654, a year that radically changed his relationship with the Swedish regime due, not least, to the death of his old friend Oxenstierna. The final chapter in the book looks at a variety of networks established by the Jacobites in Russia and Sweden. These too are subversive-networks in that they sought to remove and replace the Hanoverian dynasty in Britain with the exiled House of Stuart. To do so, a number of network mechanisms were tried, some more successful than others. Too often the Jacobites are looked at in the context of only one European country: the Jacobites in France or Spain. Reflecting on the slightly

better known linkages with Sweden, this chapter blends in the equally, if not more important, Jacobite network in Russia to show that the exiles in these locations were in a much stronger position than previously understood. They bolstered their networks in northern Europe with formal initiate structures like Freemasonry and the Order del Toboso. The chapter concludes with a review of Jacobite networking structures as seen through the eyes of one Archibald Cameron from Moy, a man immersed in the hierarchical kin structure of Scottish clanship. The book thus opens and closes with an emphasis on the strength of kith and kin association, albeit of contrasting composition.

All the networks under scrutiny concern a unified group seeking some advantage, usually in competition with other groups or individuals but always based on reciprocity and trust.[10] Theorists argue that trust was built up through 'exchange', either of capital, commodity or information—what they call social and symbolic capital. Of course a problem arises as to how we can gauge the actual importance of such subjective concepts among network participants. From the examples discussed it is clear that there were some fundamental relationships on which people could draw when seeking to establish trust. The first of these was the simple and timeless bond of kinship, a network linkage that seemed to require no formal exchange of gift, while the complement of symbolic kinship is also discussed. It appears that the simple expectation of the early modern Scot was that you should be able to trust your kinsmen. They might be your superior, equal or inferior in the social hierarchy, but if they were kin they could be trusted. For example, information was often verbally passed from diplomats to their kinsmen in order to be related to a monarch thousands of miles away. Thus Sir James Spens sent James Ramsay from London to Sweden with sensitive diplomatic information. It was not written down but, Spens assured Axel Oxenstierna, every word Ramsay spoke should be treated as if it came from Spens' own mouth. Oxenstierna could believe that to be true simply because Ramsay was Spens' kinsman. Familial trust came as an expectation, yet trust could also be developed among friends.

---

[10] S. Kettering, 'Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France' in *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Autumn 1989), 432; Hasselberg, Müller and Stenlås, 'Åter till historiens nätverk', 19–23, 26; Gunneriusson 'Fält och sociala nätverk', 32–46; Hreinsson, *Nätverk och Nepotism*, 21–23.

Friendships were often formed in youth and matured over the years, though individuals also established new friends as they came into contact with a wider circle and found people with common interests. When this occurred they became part of the social network of the new acquaintances.

As the examples illustrate, situations arose where trust was required but the person being asked to trust had little information to rely on. In the case of David Melvin in Elsinore, the network tie he employed when initiating a distant relationship with a stranger, Andrew Russell in Rotterdam, was simply that they were both Scots. As the chapter reveals, the degree of trust Melvin placed in Russell was quite large, but was reciprocated. Indeed, the link of common origin was one that was deployed far more often than might be expected when strangers sought to build social networks. Andrew Melvill, Patrick Gordon, Mr Davidson and several others were not shy to employ the mechanism, and left us written testimony to tell us it was so. It is through scrutiny of personal testimony that we undertake our qualitative analysis of an individual's thinking, behaviour and relationships.[11] Important work on networks established by particular individuals has previously been carried out based on the numbers of letters they sent and received and from which destinations.[12] Here we must be careful not to overemphasise correspondence as a defining factor in social network building for a couple of very specific reasons. Firstly, surviving correspondence for an individual (sent and received) is rarely complete and so can mislead us into thinking that those letters that survive reflect most of those that once existed. Some letters were kept because they had value (social or economic) while others were discarded once they no longer had value. Most people did not have space to keep all their papers out of any sense of nostalgia. In the following chapters examples reveal that some correspondence did not survive because it contained information that needed to be destroyed at first sight of the reader. Further, we must consider that letters are sent for a variety of reasons even, at times, to deceive the recipient. Just because someone wrote to another individual frequently does not mean that they were friends, trusted each

---

[11] Hasselberg, Müller and Stenlås, 'Åter till historiens nätverk', 11–12.
[12] V. Urbánek, 'The Network of Comenius' Correspondents', in *Acta Comenius*, 12 (1997), 70–71; L. Müller, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm, c. 1640–1800: A Comparative Study of Early-Modern Entrepreneurial Behaviour* (Uppsala: 1998), 225–245.

other or did not wish them harm. The letters themselves could simply be part of a deception to make recipients believe they were 'in' a network, when they were very much 'outside' one.

More importantly in terms of counting correspondence is the fact that letters tell only a small part of a story. John Durie's slightly contemptuous comments about Jan Amos Comenius in his correspondence to Louis de Geer are indicative that letter counting can sometimes lead us to misunderstand relationships. Further, the statistics reflect the geographical distribution of a (potential) network for sure, but they exclude those with whom there were few or no letters exchanged. These are those who lived within the same household, or lived next door, or just along the street, or in the next village or town but who were seen frequently enough to negate the need for letters. We do learn about them from diaries, and sometimes as postscripts in letters between other friends, and they can very often be the most important people in a person's social network; a spouse, a head of household, an employer and friends. Given these considerations it is important to complement correspondence-based research with analysis of hidden subtexts drawn from all the information we have to hand as well as utilising our own experiences to help us deduce networking linkages which are frequently less than obvious.

Consider this recent example. In 1995 a Swedish ship sailed out of Aberdeen en route to Croatia carrying a cargo of humanitarian relief ultimately bound for Bosnia. The ship was part of a Swedish project called *Ship to Bosnia* and left the Baltic to collect cargoes of relief aid from various ports on the way, though only one British port was selected. Why did it come to Aberdeen and not London, Hull or Leith? The international co-ordinator, Dirk Grosjean, is my *svåger* (brother-in-law) who had asked me to organise the British end of the project. Aberdeen's developed port and the presence of many oil-companies to tap into for funding made it an obvious choice. Eight years later, my brother Peter (employed in the oil industry) contacted me from his home in Indonesia with a request to find out details of the Islamic community in Aberdeen. He wanted to send a colleague to Aberdeen for a year's training, but the individual's wife was uncertain about coming to a western country. Would the family be welcome, was there a Muslim community in Aberdeen, a *Halal* shop, or even a mosque? Through the contacts I had made on the Bosnia project, the Muslim husband of a friend got in touch

with me and promised, on behalf of the Aberdeen Mosque, to look after the Indonesian family when they arrived. This convinced my brother's colleague to make the move to Scotland. None of the afore-mentioned links are obvious, or even visible, particularly the fact that by utilising his kin link, Dirk Grosjean in Stockholm indirectly aided the career advancement of the Indonesian, Kemas Ihsan, now back in a management position in Jakarta. Kinship and friendship combined here to surmount a variety of problems. It was ever thus. Social networks are complex and often the actors do not record the actions they generate. In attempting the reconstruction of the fol-lowing networks, therefore, some findings can only be speculative, though hopefully informative nonetheless.

The reader should bear in mind (and it is emphasised through-out the book) that the networks studied here in no way claim to be either universally successful or fundamentally unique. Instead they offer an addition to that approach to Scottish history that tends to focus more on the higher social elites. They reveal the benefit of not confining research to the formal apparatus of governments, states and social hierarchies. By reconstructing a selection of social net-works, we have been able to see that the network participants cer-tainly did not confine themselves within formal structures, even those they belonged to themselves. Individuals are more complex than just being officers or landowners; they are also fathers, mothers, broth-ers, and sisters. They can have multiple interests, and throughout this work individuals like Sir James Spens of Wormiston appear in a number of guises—soldier, diplomat, nobleman, spymaster, father-in-law and friend. Nor did these actors remain contained within 'the European north'. They were seldom confined to one location and moved freely in and out of the chosen area of engagement. They could do so through their remarkable mobility exemplified by Drummer-Major James Spens who, upon leaving Swedish Riga, moved to Amsterdam en route to Java. To his mother and father he said; 'I have bein borne to Travill ye quhilk I give God thanks for', a sentiment common to many Scots, if not always recorded directly by them.[13] In this, as in all his letters that have survived,

---

[13] NAS, Miscellaneous Papers, RH9/2/241. Drummer Major James Spens to his parents. This small collection of very personal letters from one sojourner to his fam-ily has only survived as they were assumed to be papers belonging to his name-sake and former commanding officer, Sir James Spens of Wormiston.

Spens reveals the importance of maintaining his links with his family and his friends despite an eight-year absence from Scotland and an expectation not to return for another seven. The bonds of kin and friendship are recurrent themes throughout this book and are, therefore, the most obvious place to begin.

CHAPTER ONE

# KIN NETWORKS

> *Mankind are so much the same in all times and places*
> *that history informs us of nothing new or strange in this*
> *particular. Its chief use is only to discover the constant and*
> *universal principles of human nature, by showing men in*
> *all varieties of circumstances and situations and furnishing*
> *us with materials, from which we may form our observa-*
> *tions and become acquainted with the regular springs of*
> *human action and behaviour.*[1]

There are numerous studies of the Scots abroad in the early mod-
ern period. Few if any fail to mention the fact that the Scots as a
nation were notoriously 'clannish', sticking together in tight-knit fam-
ily units.[2] This stems as much from contemporary accounts as from
modern perceptions. The Gaelic bard, Iain Lom (John MacDonald
of Keppoch), expressed this in his poem *Là Inbhir Lòchaidh* relating
to the Battle of Inverlochy in 1645. This was fought between a Scot-
tish Covenanting army representing the Scottish Parliament and a
combined Scottish-Irish force fighting under the British royal stan-
dard with a mix of Highland, Lowland and Irish officers. The poet
expresses little of this, however, but frames the battle as one between
the Campbells (who made up around 50% of the Covenanting army)
and Clan Donald. He noted *'S bha buaidh a' bhlàir le Clann Dòmhnaill*—
'victory on the field was with Clan Donald'.[3] In penning these words,
the poet clearly centred his audience's attention on the status of kin
over any regional or national identity, and his attachment would
have found resonance among many other Highland, Lowland or

---

[1] David Hume, *An enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* quoted in T.H. Green
and T.H. Grose, eds., *Essays of Hume* (London: 1875), II, 78.
[2] See for example T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560–1830* (London:
1969, 1985 Fontana Edition), esp. 22–23, 35–36, 41–43; A. Calder, *Revolutionary
Empire: The Rise of the English Speaking Empires from the Fifteenth century to the 1780s* (New
York: 1981), 426.
[3] Iain Lom 'La Inbhir Lochaidh' in A.M. Mackenzie, ed., *Orain Iain Luim: Songs
of John Macdonald, Bard of Keppoch* (Edinburgh: 1964), 20–25.

indeed other European kindreds. The study of the structure of 'family', 'kin groups' and the marriages and other mechanisms that bind them together has been a focus of historians, anthropologists and sociologists for several hundred years. Each discipline brings its own approach and set of terminologies to the field of study, resulting in a variety of definitions and understandings of the subject.[4] But the importance of kin relationships to migration from Scotland, or indeed to networking in general, is usually understated and becoming harder to recognise as these linkages lose their meaning within modern western societies.[5] People apply the term clan or kin-group to particular families, yet without a thorough examination of the Scottish family structure and the variety of mechanisms which bound those structures together, there cannot be a complete understanding of how ingrained such mechanisms were.[6] In this chapter the bonds of kin are investigated, highlighting the role all could play in networking structures.

*Scottish Familial Structures*

Christian Europe underwent a radical restructuring in patterns of marriage and kinship around the fourth century A.D. Previous norms such as marriage to close kin or the obligation for a man to marry his brother's widow were overturned by a Christian Church that grew ever stronger in unifying marriage laws across the continent.[7]

---

[4] There is a rich literature on the subject of kinship. For some worthy scholarship see J. Goody, *The development of the family and marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: 1983), 16–17; D. Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England' in *Past and Present*, no. 113 (November 1986), 38–69; S. Kettering, 'Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France' in *French Historical Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2 (Autumn 1989), 408–435.

[5] Kettering, 'Patronage and Kinship', 408.

[6] Genealogists have been long been aware of the importance of kin-networks to historical understanding, even in a Scottish-Scandinavian context. See for example H.D. Watson, 'Sir James Spens of Wormiston (1571–1632): A Scottish-Swedish Genealogy' in *The Scottish Genealogist*, vol. XXVIII, no. 4 (December 1981), 149. Watson observed that 'ties of kinship were of paramount importance to the landed gentry of that time—at least in East Fife- and that the achievements of an adventurer, diplomatist and soldier like Spens should be seen in the context of his parentage and network of family relationships'.

[7] For more on this subject see J. Goody, ed., *Kinship* (London: 1971); J. Goody, J. Thirsk and E.P. Thompson, eds., *Family and Inheritance in Western Europe, 1200–1800* (Cambridge: 1976); Goody, *The development of the family*, chapter 4; P. Parkes, 'Alternative

The component kingdoms of what would later become Scotland, England and Ireland increasingly leaned towards the Catholic Church; particularly after the Synod of Whitby in 664, the laws and rules governing the family became increasingly standardised, although it took several more decades before Catholicism was accepted by the Picts as well as the Gaelic monks in Iona.[8] Familial bonds remained largely unchanged from this period until the Reformation. Many kin-groups retained a hierarchy emphasising the status of men such Donald Cameron of Lochiel over his clansman Archibald Cameron from Moy.[9] Outwith Gaeldom, similar hierararchical familial structures remained largely unchanged for centuries, and only received minor modifications, albeit there were differences in interpretation.

..............................................................................................................

................................................................................................

Social Structures and Foster Relations in the Hindu Kush: Milk Kinship Allegiance in Former Mountain Kingdoms of Northern Pakistan' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 43, no. 1 (2001), 4–36; P. Parkes, 'Fostering Fealty: A Comparative Analysis of Tributary Allegiances of Adoptive Kinship' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 45, no. 4 (2001), 741–782; P. Parkes, 'Fosterage, Kinship, and Legend: When Milk Was Thicker than Blood' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 46, 3 (2004), 587–615.

[8] For the Synod of Whitby see L. Sherley-Price, ed., *Bede: A History of the English Church and People* (New York: 1968 edition), 185–192. See also in the same volume, 'Abbot Ceolfrid's delegation to Nechtan, King of the Picts c. 710 A.D.' 314–328, and Bede's 'The present state of the English nation and the rest of Britain', c. 725–31 A.D., 329–332.

[9] A. Livingstone, C.W.H. Aikman and B.S. Hart, eds., *Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745–46* (Aberdeen: 1984), 32–36.