SCOTTISH TRADITION
ISSN 0703-1580

Production by Stewart Publishing & Printing
Markham, Ontario
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THE JACOBITES' "GENERAL": SPANISH JOHN'S EVIDENCE FOR THE HISTORY OF MILITARY BAGPIPING

A month after the battle of Culloden, the last organized elements of the Jacobite army narrowly escaped an attempt to surprise them at Achnacarry in southwest Inverness-shire. John Macdonell of Scotus was a Spanish officer and Highland gentleman who happened to be on hand as an envoy from the Jacobite planners in France. In his memoirs, Macdonell (or *Eòin Spàinteach*, "Spanish John") recorded the rebels' alarm and hasty withdrawal: "we were awakened at break of day . . . by all the Highland Bagpipes playing the general, Cogga na si, having been alarmed by their scouts, who reported that the Duke of Cumberland had sent a much superior force by three different routes to surround them . . . ."[1] Although Macdonell's narrative has been in print for many years, no one seems to have remarked the significance of this passage, which throws fresh light on the history of piping even as it deepens and confirms certain new aspects of our understanding of the Jacobite army in the '45.

Until recently it was customary for even the most scholarly discussions of the '45 to use the terms "Highland army," "Highlanders," "clansmen," or even "Highland rabble"[2] interchangeably with "Jacobite army." Such has been the tenacity of the idea that the rebel army in 1745-46 was, leaving aside a few fringe units, essentially a Highland force – an informal clan army engaged in a kind of glorified cattle raid. This is an illusion with a long and complicated history, going back to the rebellion itself and the propaganda of both sides, to the government's derisive ethnic stereotyping as well as the Jacobites' mythologizing self-portrayal as a band of plucky freedom fighters.[3] On the Whig side, David Hume gives us a fairly measured expression of a

view which even now commands popular allegiance. The rebel army, Hume writes shortly after the rising, was composed of people who

> are altogether . . . ignorant of Discipline . . ., and know as little of the Nature of Encampments, Marches, Evolutions, Ranks, Firing and all the other Parts of military Exercise, which preserves Order in an Army, and renders it so formidable. They advance to Battle in a confused Heap, which some People have been pleased to call a Column: they have no Weapon but the Broad-Sword . . . . And they become weaker by their Victories; [as] they disperse to their Homes, in order to secure the Plunder they have acquired . . . .[4]

A more complex reality emerges from the recent studies[5] which have looked at this subject from an empirical, rather than a romantic or whiggishly didactic, perspective. The Jacobite army of the '45, it turns out, was a most heterogeneous body in its ethnic, social and denominational makeup. Highlanders formed rather less than half the army's peak strength[6] (even supposing the identification of a "Highlander" were in every case unambiguous). Lowlanders and Englishmen, Frenchmen and Irishmen, a smattering of gypsies and Welshmen, and the often nationally unclassifiable second- or third-generation members of the international Jacobite diaspora made up the balance. Like the other mixed-bag armies of the European eighteenth century, this Jacobite force was held together by internationally recognized norms of training, discipline, organization and procedure.

In other armies, those norms entailed a prescribed set of "calls" issued most often, in the eighteenth century, by particular drumbeats corresponding to particular orders thus, as one military dictionary of the time put it, "giv[ing] notice to the troops of what they are to do"[7]– the reveille, the retreat, the tattoo, and so forth. The important thing is that an army have an agreed-upon system so that when an order is conveyed in this manner, the troops will understand its meaning. The beats by which a given signal was conveyed varied from army to army, but by the 1740s

a single basic repertory of signals was widely shared among conventional European forces.[8]

"Spanish John" Macdonell's account is our only direct evidence that this conventional system obtained among the pipers in the Jacobite army of 1745-46.

A word of introduction, then, to our source. A Jacobite by birth and inclination, a dandy by taste, and a soldier by profession, Spanish John was born in 1728 into the *duine uasal* level of the clan MacDonell of Glengarry. As a boy he was sent to Rome where he picked up some scraps of priestly learning at the Scots College. He soon entered the army of the king of Spain which is where he received his military education.

It will be useful to take a step back to consider the Jacobite diaspora which was Spanish John's functional milieu during these years abroad. Starting with the overthrow of James VII and II in 1688, traditional patterns of migration from the British Isles to the Continent were elaborated and intensified, and given a distinctive political complexion, by the movements of thousands of Jacobites who voluntarily or otherwise expatriated themselves, forming an emigré community that centred on an exiled court which claimed to speak with the only true voice of political authority for British affairs. The formation of the Jacobite diaspora marks a very deep schism in British political experience, and the community in exile should not be laughed off as hapless or irrelevant[9]; it was neither, for all that its political aims were ultimately thwarted. Jacobite emigration drew on all levels of society, and it did not peter out – that is to say, we do not cease to find migrants following identifiably "Jacobite" paths of expatriation – until the 1760s, at the earliest. Eventually these Jacobite migrations produced a kind of alternative British kingdom, diffused across the European Contintent. Possessing a court, a diplomatic corps, a financial system, a set of ecclesiastical institutions and centres of learning, a postal service, military resources, even a cultural life – possessing, in other words, most every attribute of a conventional state save territory – the Jacobite diaspora evolved into a socially articulated space into which any British subject, regardless of private political conviction, could migrate if he was so minded. Having a relative

or other sponsor in the hierarchy of Jacobite exile, or simply making a profession of loyalty to the exiled monarch, worked like an *Open Sesame* to those seeking access to social and economic opportunities on the Continent: few European states were unpenetrated by the patronage networks of emigré Jacobitism.[10]

The military arm of this shadow kingdom was formed mainly by the Irish regiments in the armies of France and Spain, whose ranks and officer corps were open to British as well as Irish emigrés. These regiments maintained a symbolic allegiance to the house of Stuart until late in the eighteenth century; they also cultivated a self-consciously Gaelic identity.[11] Briefly, in the mid-1700s, the French king supported three Scottish in addition to some half-dozen (the number fluctuated) Irish regiments.[12] A grenadier's mitre cap from one of those Scottish regiments survives in the collection of the National War Museum in Edinburgh. It is a revealing artifact: this cap shows "that, like the Irish regiments in the French service, the [Scottish regiments] preserved some 'British' elements in their uniform," but the cap's "arrangement of colours reversed those in British practice . . . ."[13] In other words the Jacobite exile wore a uniform that was like a negative image of the British uniform's positive. This cap serves as a felicitous visual symbol for the negative-positive relation between the Jacobite diaspora on the Continent and the Whig state in the British Isles – between the two mutually denying British realms defined by the Stuart and the Hanoverian successions, two political communities existing in constant dynamic opposition to one another.

Spanish John's family connections in the Jacobite diaspora are what led to his enrollment in the Scots College in Rome, and the same connections secured him a commission in one of the Irish regiments in the service of Spain. (You needed money to get a commission in the British army, influence alone did the trick in the Jacobite emigré regiments – a difference which was decisive for more than a few British and Irish younger sons seeking to begin military careers.[14]) He saw some action in Italy and was promoted from cadet to lieutenant before volunteering, in 1746, for the invasion force which the French government was assembling in order to assist the Jacobite rebels in Britain.

The fate of that invasion scheme is well known. After its collapse, Spanish John accepted the mission of carrying money and dispatches to the Jacobite leadership, and late in April he disembarked, along with a comrade, on the west coast of Scotland only to learn that the battle of Culloden had taken place on the day they had sailed. Almost immediately, the two couriers were relieved of most of the money they were carrying by a group of disgruntled MacKenzies. Persevering, they caught up with the remnant of the Jacobite army at Achnacarry where they were received by Prince Charles's secretary John Murray of Broughton, the highest-placed member of the dissolving Jacobite staff who was present.

Murray in his memoirs recalled the arrival of "a Spanish and French Officer who had landed some days before . . . [with] a large pacquet of Letters . . . containing dispatches for the P–ce . . . and others."[15] The next morning saw the events recorded at the start of this paper.

The rest of Spanish John's career, though not relevant to this discussion, refuses to be passed over. After Achnacarry he did not return to the Jacobites' Continental shadowland but remained in the Highlands, whence in 1773 he emigrated to the province of New York. A loyalist in the War of Independence, he resettled with his family in southern Ontario. His posterity formed something of a rustic dynasty which included, in Spanish John's son Miles, the first governor of what is now Manitoba.[16] Spanish John composed his memoirs shortly before his death in 1810. These were printed by a now elusive Canadian periodical in the 1820s. In 1931 the Royal Celtic Society sponsored the publication by William Blackwood and Sons of Spanish John's *Narrative* in book form.

To return to the surprise at Achnacarry – the rebel scouts' alarm, the sound of the pipes "playing the general, Cogga na si," the exhausted little army's removal to a place of greater safety. All the Jacobite regiments represented at Achnacarry were Highland regiments. But as Murray Pittock has observed, the rebels' practice of standardizing company muster strengths by shuffling troops from more robust units into weaker ones ensured that few nominally "Highland" regiments were purely

so in their ethnic composition.[17] (The equation of regiments with clans, a commonplace of writing on this subject – "Lochiel entered the town with five hundred of his clan" – is therefore specious.) Moreover, even those regiments recruited primarily in the Lowlands had regimental pipers.[18] This may have been a result of the Jacobites' policy of putting an exaggeratedly Gaelic face on their enterprise (all troops, regardless of regional or national background, were uniformed in some kind of "Highland habit"[19]). Or it may be that the Highland warpipes were a familiar piece of military paraphernalia even for Lowland recruits. Many of the pipers found in the Jacobite muster roll have Lowland names and places of origin,[20] and at least one of the *government*'s Lowland regiments had pipers during the '45.[21] (The use of Highland warpipes in Lowland regiments has precedents back into the seventeenth century.[22])

Parenthetically, I should say that I am assuming here that all the regimental pipers listed in the Jacobite army played, in fact, the "great Highland pipe" and not some now forgotten Lowland cousin – as the old Northumberland Fusiliers used to march to an outdoor variant of the Northumbrian pipes.[23] It is possible that our current sense of the variety of bagpipe forms in Scottish culture – three or four distinct types of instrument – is much simplified from the eighteenth-century reality.[24]

At any rate, it is clear that pipers were distributed evenly through the ethnically mixed Jacobite infantry. The old picture of a ragamuffin army ignorant of "all the . . . Parts of military Exercise" is belied by Spanish John's indication that the pipers' music had been adapted to conventional forms of military signalling.

There is no reason not to assume that the tune to which Spanish John refers, "Cogga na si," is the piobaireachd set down and annotated in volume ten of the Piobaireachd Society series, *Cogadh no Sìdh* ("War or Peace").[25] No other title has been proposed for that piece of music, and no source assigns the same title to a different composition. The editors of the Piobaireachd Society series make it clear that the tune is preserved in an unusually wide range of early printed piobaireachd sources,[26] and it is, indeed, quoted briefly (though under no title) in the

earliest of all scholarly works on piping, Joseph MacDonald's *Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe* (written *c.* 1760).[27] Joseph's brother Patrick includes the whole tune, headed *Coma leam, coma leam cogadh no sith* ("Alike to me, alike to me war or peace"), in his *Collection of Highland Vocal Airs* (published *c.* 1784).[28] John Francis Campbell of Islay remembered the tune being played by his father's piper, John Campbell (1795-1831), one of whose Lorn forebears had played at Culloden.[29] Angus MacKay, or whoever wrote the notes to that founding document of the piobaireachd canon, MacKay's *Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd* (1838), says apropos *Cogadh no Sìdh*:

> It is evidently ancient, from its simple bold and characteristic style, and is played all over the Highlands; in fact, the title is appropriate to no particular clan, but applicable to all, indicating that indifference, which a warlike, spirited, and resolute people, in the days of proud independence, would have, as to whether the disputes of their patriarchal chiefs would terminate amicably or end in bloodshed.[30]

The would-be authenticator of piobaireachd titles and provenances walks usually on treacherous ground, but *Cogadh no Sìdh* seems to be one of those exceptional tunes on which the conventional gloss is well supported.[31] All authorities agree, incidentally, that this is the tune which the piper played outside the British square during a memorable episode in the Waterloo campaign,[32] and which the Russian czar called for during the subsequent victory celebration in Paris.[33]

The title surfaces in another eighteenth-century military source, in addition to Spanish John's account of the skedaddle from Achnacarry. Spanish John's account is the earliest identification of a specific pipe tune serving as a military call. The earliest known *list* of such tunes survives in a regimental order sheet, dated 25 July 1778, pertaining to the Western Fencible Regiment, a militia force embodied for the defence of the Clyde firth and the coast of Argyllshire during the American War of Independence. This manuscript gives the names of pipe tunes corresponding to five calls; although the orthography is eccentric

even for the eighteenth century, each name is recognizable as the title of a known piobaireachd. The "gathering" is called "Coagive & Shea".[34] Searching for an explanation of this continuity between the military music of the rebels in the '45 and the military music of the increasingly tartanized government forces in the subsequent generation, one's mind moves to the present duke of Argyll's rueful adaptation of the proverb: "the Jacobites have all the best tunes."[35]

The word applied to *Cogadh no Sìdh* on the order sheet of 1778, "gathering," is a distinctively Scottish synonym for the more widely recognized word which Spanish John uses. In French and Spanish military usage as in English, the "general" (*la générale*, *la generala*) is a call which serves "to give notice to the troops that they are to march."[36] (The general can subsume a more contingent signal, the alarm "to give notice of sudden danger, that all may be in readiness for immediate duty"[37] – and Spanish John was in the habit of using the word in this sense.[38]) If *Cogadh no Sìdh* was the Jacobites' general, then it was presumably this tune which roused Prince Charles's guards somewhat belatedly into action on the morning of the rout of Moy: Charles's footman recalled running in to the disheveled prince in a stairwell on that frantic morning "and [the prince] desired me to call the piperach [*sic*], for which I did and his highness went down stairs . . . ."[39] The rebel pipers striking up into a piobaireachd is a poignant image for the start of a day which would see the death of Donald *Bàn* MacCrimmon.[40]

Just as an aside, we may observe that Spanish John's evidence for the history of piping is consistent with the orthodox view that the piobaireachd form stood at the centre of the military piper's repertoire until late in the eighteenth century, when marching music began to displace it.[41] This is one of the orthodoxies which John Gibson challenges in his brilliant iconoclastic book *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 1745-1945*. Given the power of his evidence and reasoning, it would be foolish to quarrel with most of Gibson's arguments. But on this one point I think Gibson is wrong. His main polemical objective, in reexamining the history of military bagpiping, is to show that *ceòl beag* or (as it is popularly mistranslated) "light music" was part

of the active inherited repertoire of regimental pipers in the eighteenth century, in addition to piobaireachd. If we define *ceòl beag* as the traditional dance music which is Gibson's primary focus, he is assuredly right. But Gibson includes in his definition of *ceòl beag* "quicksteps," now commonly designated "marches," i.e. those regularly paced compositions designed to accompany the movements of men marching in step. "[T]here is no doubt," Gibson says, ". . . that this sort of non-dance-music *ceòl beag* was used by Gaelic pipers in military settings . . . at least as early as [the opening decades of the eighteenth century] and probably much earlier."[42] In fact there are persuasive grounds for accepting the orthodox idea that quicksteps were an innovation of the post-Culloden era.

Many readers will recall a controversy some years ago in the *TLS*, around the question of when the cadenced step came into use as a feature of military practice.[43] John Keegan won these skirmishes, marshalling the best evidence and the soundest reasoning for his surprising argument that marching in step was unknown (except perhaps as an abstract concept[44]) before the middle of the eighteenth century, that it emerged only sporadically around that time and that it was not widespread in European armies until the century's end. (To take a piece of iconographical evidence pertinent to the '45, Hogarth's *March to Finchley* "depicts the grandest of redcoat regiments shambling along".[45]) Of course, musical compositions denominated as "marches" are associated with military contexts much earlier than this. "If early musical marches were not used to regulate the steps of marching soldiers," one of Keegan's challengers asked, "what was their military function?"[46] This objection drew a response which is worth quoting at length:

> The oldest regimental march still in use in the British Army is that of the 1st of Foot, the Royal Scots, known as "Dumbarton's Drums," after the 1st Earl of Dumbarton, who became Colonel of the regiment in 1678. It is a very strange piece of music indeed, a relentless battering of drumbeats without discernible tune. . . .

> If "Dumbarton's Drums" is not a march in the sense understood today, that would explain why . . . there are so many pictures from the sixteenth and seventeenth century of columns of soldiers visibly not keeping step to the beat of the drums accompanying them. . . .
>
> The disjunction between drumming and drill . . . [can be] understood through the point . . . that the drum probably appeared in the West through contact with the steppe nomads, for whom the drum was both an instrument of intimidation on the battlefield and a focal point of fighting units. Tambour or tabor is a word of Persian origin; tabor is Turkish for battalion or regiment, and the kettledrum, in which they boiled their soup, was the Ottoman Janissaries' regimental totem. Drumming on the tabor was a means of striking fear into the enemy, and awe-inspiring it is, too, as anyone who has heard the Mehter, the reconstituted Janissary band that performs at the Istanbul military museum, can testify.
>
> I would suggest, therefore, that drumming in Western armies also originally had a mood-creating function. That is the effect that "Dumbarton's Drums" has on me. . . .[47]

"[I]n place of a drum", a sixteenth-century observer writes apropos of the Highlanders, "they use a bagpipe."[48] All the available evidence suggests that for Scottish armies in the early modern period, the warpipes served the same mood-creating purpose as Keegan assigns to the drum. The pipes were used to whip up the spirits of one's own side and to cow the enemy. Certainly Keegan's remarks about the sensations produced by the Mehter or *Dumbarton's Drums* apply to *Cogadh no Sìdh*, a shivering, gooseflesh-making piobaireachd constructed around hammering repetitions of the chanter notes C, B and low A. One of the earliest pieces of evidence along this line occurs in an account written by a French military adviser, who recalls what he observed in Scotland in 1549: "les Ecossois sauvages se

provocquoyent aux armes par les sons de leurs cornemuses."[49] The bagpipe's power to intimidate was presumably in effect at the first action of the '45, the clash at High Bridge – the extraordinary event which inspired Sir Walter Scott's quip, "twelve Highlanders and a bagpipe made a rebellion."[50] Another eighteenth-century example can be found in the history of the unhappy Moore's Creek Bridge campaign in North Carolina in 1776. At one point in that campaign, a small detachment of loyalist Highlanders held a patriot army in check with their pipes and wardrums.[51] There is also some evidence of warpipers performing the other early function to which Keegan adverts, providing a focus amid the confusion of battle and conveying rudimentary signals.[52]

The bagpipes, then, served purposes in early-modern warfare that were not related to the regulation of soldiers' footsteps. We can put alongside this information the provable fact that when we see the word "march" applied to a piece of bagpipe music before the second half of the eighteenth century, we are, as Keegan says of *Dumbarton's Drums*, not necessarily dealing with "a march in the sense understood today". *MacAllisdrum's March*, an Irish pipe tune dating to the 1640s, was described by a listener in 1750 not as a repetitive, evenly paced quickstep but as "a wild rhapsody".[53] Joseph MacDonald in his *Compleat Theory* (a book which does not recognize the existence of quicksteps) applies the word "march" exclusively to piobaireachds,[54] which of course are not compatible with the cadenced step. In Joseph's brother's *Collection of Highland Vocal Airs*, *Cogadh no Sìdh* itself is described as "A Bagpipe March."[55] For these eighteenth-century writers, "march" seems to refer to a piece of bagpipe music used for mood-creating purposes in military conflict, in the same way that the word refers to drumbeats like *Dumbarton's* or like the *Scots March* – a drumbeat exported to the Continent with seventeenth-century Scottish mercenaries, and which as Gibson himself notes "was used by [Gustavus Adolphus's drummers] to instill fear in the Imperial Catholic troops . . . ."[56] The word "march" appears to have become attached to such pieces of music through their use as signals (e.g. the general) for a given body of troops to *begin* marching; there was no implication that

the signal should be maintained throughout, or should set the pace of, the ensuing process.[57] Similarly, the original Gaelic word for quickstep, *caismeachd*, is said by MacBain[58] to stem from the Irish *caismirt* or *caismert* ("signal," "battle-cry," etc.[59]).

Confusion over the shifting meanings of the word "march" is partly to blame in Gibson's mistaken (as I see it) rejection of the idea that "Gaelic military quicksteps [are] a late-eighteenth-century innovation."[60] He also emphasizes a report from 1716, stating that some of the duke of Argyll's Highland troops engaged in suppressing the '15 entered Perth and Dundee playing *The Campbells are Coming* and *Wilt Thou Play Me Fair, Highland Laddie?* [61] But the fact that these tunes have become familiar to us as quicksteps does not necessarily mean they were played as quicksteps in 1716. *Highland Laddie* was known in the eighteenth century as a lively danceable spring to which various (usually Jacobite) sets of words were sung[62]; *The Campbells are Coming* seems to have started off life as a jig.[63] Neither Keegan (I shouldn't think) nor I would deny that pipers, before the late eighteenth century, accompanied soldiers as they were marching – just as in Hogarth's *March to Finchley*, a drummer and fifer accompany those redcoats who are "shambling along." The evidence for this begins with Holinshed's glimpse of Henry VIII's Irish mercenaries: "In the moneth of Maie [1544] . . . passed through the citie of London in warlike maner, to the number of seauen hundred Irishmen, hauing for their weapons, darts, and handguns, with bagpipes before them . . . ."[64] The question is, what sort of music were the pipers playing and was it intended to synchronize the soldiers' footsteps or merely to keep their spirits up and make the miles pass more quickly?

It is instructive, in considering Gibson's claims regarding the quickstep, to look at Capt. Simon Fraser of Knockie's *Airs and Melodies Peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland and the Isles*, first published in 1816.[65] If we correct for notational interference, this source offers us probably the clearest surviving echo of the music of the pipers in Fraser's regiment – what Gibson calls "the first atonement regiment",[66] raised and officered by reconstructed Jacobites for service in the Seven Years War. Gibson traces the web of kinship and personal acquaintance which bound

the compiler of this work to the personnel of that regiment.[67] If quicksteps formed an important subset of this regiment's pipe music, we should expect to find some in Capt. Fraser's collection. My examination of the collection uncovers no quicksteps which are not identified as compositions of (at the earliest) the late eighteenth century,[68] or as recent adaptations to the quickstep form of airs originally found in another form.[69]

That is a widely observed phenomenon among the earliest recorded quicksteps – if they are not new compositions of the latter 1700s, such as *The Garb of Old Gaul* [70] or *The MacKenzie Men*,[71] they are adapted in Procrustean fashion from dance tunes,[72] Gaelic songs[73] or indeed piobaireachds.[74] If quicksteps were an organic part of the Gaelic piping tradition as Gibson argues, then we should expect to find instances of reciprocal adaptation – airs migrating from the quickstep form into others. I am aware of no clear eighteenth-century example of this. The course of adaptation seems to have been unidirectional and seems not to have got underway until the 1750s at the earliest.

The evidence for when the quickstep emerged is patchy and unfortunately is apt to remain so; J.E. Cookson has recently emphasized how little we really know about the Highland regiments in the crucial pre-Napoleonic era.[75] But on balance it looks like Keegan's timeline holds true for military bagpiping, that Gibson is wrong in rejecting the idea that quicksteps were an innovation of the late 1700s, and that Thomas Raddall was therefore committing an anachronism when in his novel *Roger Sudden* he has a veteran of the '45 experience in this way the arrival of Fraser's regiment in Halifax in 1757:

> But now rose a sound of music wild and high, fantastic on this side of the sea. It brought people running from the houses and halted Roger like a shout. Along Barrington Street, forerun by a rabble of delighted urchins, came the skirl of bagpipes and a gallant rattle of drums. Astounded he beheld a regiment marching past in short red coats and waistcoats, in kilt and plaid, in blue bonnets with scarlet pompons, in diced red-and-white stockings. The

> spring sunshine glinted on musket and broadsword and the long Lochaber axes of the sergeants. Leather sporrans danced and kilts swung to the ordered thrust of hairy knees, the quick, springy step of men of the hills.
>
> Frasers, by the plaid. What were they doing here in the forbidden Highland dress, in those red jackets, with the hateful *G.R.* stamped upon their cartridge boxes? Frasers, fighting for King George?
>
> He turned away abruptly as a prophet might turn from a chosen people gone to Baal. Good God, what next! The lilt of the pipe tune mocked him all the way to Pleasant Street, with his feet falling instinctively into the march step . . . .[76]

But Spanish John, while adding to the evidence for piobaireachd's centrality in early-modern Gaelic military culture, does not of course prove anything either way in the debate about the emergence of quicksteps. What Spanish John's account of the surprise at Achnacarry does accomplish is to extend to the realm of military music the conclusion of recent scholarship, that the Jacobite army of 1745-46 was not a rude band of ragamuffins but a conventional military machine. In naming the tune which the Jacobites used as their general, Spanish John also verifies our historical information on that tune – a rare gift, in the notoriously uncertain and contaminated field of piobaireachd studies. And in telling us that the rebels used piobaireachds to convey their military calls, Spanish John shows how the distinctive features of Gaelic culture were being adapted to conventional European military practice.

There was an interface happening here, at which the folkways of Jacobitism's Gaelic recruiting grounds were being fused to the procedures and usages of conventional European warfare. In language, this interface is represented by the incorporation into Gaelic, during the eighteenth century, of such loanwords as *infantraidh* (infantry), *tap-dubh* (tattoo), and *trabhàilidh* (reveille).[77] In music, this interface is represented by the adaptation of piobaireachds to a foreign system of military calls.

A final observation on the events reported by Spanish John. Gaelic tradition connects two lines of song with the opening phrases of the Jacobites' general: *as coma leam, 's coma leam cogadh no sìdh / Marbhar 'san chogadh no crochar an sìdh mi* ("alike to me, alike to me, war or peace. I shall be killed in the war and hanged in the peace").[78] Remembering the fate which awaited at least one Jacobite piper in the treason trials of 1746, it is a fair guess that this sentiment never fit the circumstances better than during that early-morning alarm recalled in Spanish John's narrative.

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Endnotes

1 John Macdonell, Spanish John, Being a Narrative of the Early Life of Colonel John M'Donell of Scottos, Written by Himself (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1931), 42-43. For the episode at Achnacarry cf. Robert Forbes, comp., The Lyon in Mourning, or a Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals, Etc., Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, ed. H. Paton, 3 vols., Publications of the Scottish History Society, vols. 20-22 (Edinburgh: T.&A. Constable, 1895-96; repr., Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975), 1:88 and 3:38; Andrew Lang, "A Cousin of Pickle," Macmillan's Magazine 78 (May-October 1898): 113- 21.

2 The latter description occurs in Paul Langford, A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783, The New Oxford History of England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 197.

3 See Murray G.H. Pittock, The Myth of the Jacobite Clans (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1995).

4 [David Hume,] A True Account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart, Esq; Late Lord Provost of Edinburgh. In a Letter to a Friend (London: M. Cooper, 1748); reprinted at pp. 231-55 (here 235) in A. MacLean, "David Hume's Defence of Lord Provost Archibald Stewart of Edinburgh," Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 55 (1989): 223-55.

For a recent rehash of such clichés, see J. Michael Hill, "Gaelic Warfare 1453-1815," in European Warfare 1453-1815, ed. J. Black (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), 201-223. This author's ability to handle Gaelic sources is assessed in Colm Ó Baoill's review of

his Celtic Warfare, 1595-1763, in Scottish Gaelic Studies 15 (1988): 156-58.

5 A.L. Carswell, "'The most despicable enemy that are': The Jacobite Army of the '45," in 1745: Charles Edward Stuart and the Jacobites, ed. R.C. Woosnam-Savage (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1995), 29-40; Alastair Livingstone of Bachuil, C.W.H. Aikman, and B.S. Hart, eds., Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army 1745-46, with an introduction by Bruce P. Lenman (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1984; repr., 1985); Pittock, The Myth of the Jacobite Clans, chap. 2; id., The Social Composition of the Jacobite Army in Scotland in the Forty Five, Royal Stuart Papers, no. 48 (London: The Royal Stuart Society, [1996]).

6 Pittock, The Myth of the Jacobite Clans, 60.

7 George Smith, An Universal Military Dictionary, or a Copious Explanation of the Technical Terms &c. Used in the Equipment, Machinery, Movements, and Military Operations of an Army (London: J. Millan, 1779; repr., Ottawa: Museum Restoration Service, 1969), 79.

8 M. Fortier, 18th Century French Drumming, Manuscript Report series (Parks Canada, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch), no. 270 ([Ottawa:] Dept. of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1977), 8-9.

9 Cf. Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay, The History of England, From the Accession of James the Second, Everyman's Library ed., 4 vols. (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1906; repr., 1958-62), 4:1-13.

10 The Jacobite diaspora is a burgeoning field of research. The fundamentals can be grasped through the following works: G. Chaussinand-Nogaret, "Une élite insulaire au service de l'Europe: Les jacobites au XVIIIe siècle," Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations 28 (1973): 1097-1122; E. Cruickshanks and E. Corp, eds., The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites (London: The Hambledon Press, 1995); C. Nordmann, "Les jacobites écossais en France au XVIIIe siècle," in Regards sur l'Écosse au XVIIIe siècle, ed. M.S. Plaisant (Lille: Les Presses de l'Université de Lille III, 1977), 81-108; D. Szechi, "'Cam Ye O'er Frae France?': Exile and the Mind of Scottish Jacobitism, 1716-1727," Journal of British Studies 37 (1998): 357-90.

11 There is an extensive literature on the "wild geese." Its starting point (excluding eighteenth-century works) is: J.C. O'Callaghan, History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France, from the Revolution in Great Britain under James II, to the Revolution in France under Louis XVI, Cameron & Ferguson ed. (Glasgow: R. & T. Washbourne, [1870]).

12 H.C. McCorry, "Rats, Lice and Scotchmen: Scottish Infantry Regiments in the Service of France, 1742-62," Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research 74 (1996): 1-38.

13 S. Wood, "'The Cap . . . Suppos'd to have been designed for ye young Chevalier': A Grenadier Officer's Mitre Cap of Le Regiment Royal-Ecossois, 1745," Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research 75 (1997): 77-83, here 80.

14 L.M. Cullen, "The Irish Diaspora of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500-1800, ed. N. Canny, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 113-49, here 135.

15 John Murray of Broughton, Memorials of John Murray of Broughton, Sometime Secretary to Prince Charles Edward, 1740-1747, ed. R.F. Bell, Publications of the Scottish History Society, vol. 27 (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1898), 282-83.

16 A.G. Morice, "A Canadian Pioneer: Spanish John" and "Sidelights on the Careers of Miles Macdonell and His Brothers," The Canadian Historical Review 10 (1929): 212-35 and 308-332.

17 Pittock, The Social Composition of the Jacobite Army, 5. Cf. id., review of Witness to Rebellion: John Maclean's Journal of the 'Forty-Five and the Penicuik Drawings, ed. I.G. Brown and H. Cheape, in the Royal Stuart Review (1997): 27-9, here 28.

18 E.g. the duke of Perth's regiment, the Forfarshire regiment, Gordon of Glenbucket's (raised in Banffshire- Aberdeenshire), John Roy Stewart's (raised in Edinburgh) (Livingstone of Bachuil et al., eds., Muster Roll, 69, 94, 122, 205).

19 Bruce Seton, "Dress of the Jacobite Army: The Highland Habit," The Scottish Historical Review 25 (1927-28): 270-81.

20 E.g. John Sinclair the "Town Piper" of Arbroath, James Reid from Angus, Nicholas Carr from Huntly, Robert Jamieson from Annandale (Livingstone of Bachuil et al., eds., Muster Roll, 94, 122, 69).

21 John Buchan, The History of the Royal Scots Fusiliers (1678-1918) (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1925), 104.

22 For pipers attached to Lowland units in the seventeenth century, see: Buchan, The History of the Royal Scots Fusiliers, 15 (8 and 23 for the regiment's preponderantly Lowland recruitment); John G. Gibson, Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 1745-1945 (Edinburgh: NMS Publishing, 1998; Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1998), 70-71, 101-4; Sir Frederick Maurice, The History of the Scots Guards, from the Creation of the Regiment to the Eve of the Great War, 2 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1934), 1:23, 88; Sir James Turner, Pallas Armata. Military Essayes Of the Ancient Grecian, Roman, and Modern Art of War. Written in the Years 1670 and 1671 (London: printed by M.W. for Richard Chiswell, 1683), 219. It should be noted that, with perhaps one exception (Gibson, Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 70, 75, 102), the presence of pipers in non-Jacobite Scottish regiments, even Highland regiments, was always an informal arrangement up to the nineteenth century:

pipers would be paid out of a captain's purse or through some other ad hoc setup, there was no official provision for them as there was for drummers, buglers, etc. (ibid., 73ff). In this respect the Jacobite army of 1745-46 was far ahead of its time.

23 F.A. Calvert, "The Northumbrian Pipes," Band International 16 (1994): 97-8. Cf. Francis Collinson, The Bagpipe: The History of a Musical Instrument (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975; repr., 1976), 117-18.

24 Cf. Gibson, Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 156.

25 Comunn na Pìobaireachd/The Piobaireachd Society, eds., Piobaireachd: A Tenth Book of 16 Tunes (Haverhill, Suffolk: Lowe & Brydone [for the Piobaireachd Society], 1961; repr., 1972), 304-307. I have silently altered the Piobaireachd Society's spelling (Cogadh na Sith) to conform with accepted orthography.

26 Ibid., 307.

27 Joseph MacDonald, A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe, 3d ed., with an introduction by Seumas MacNeill (East Ardsley, Yorkshire: S.R. Publishers, 1971), 21 (musical phrases headed "Triple Time Allegro"). Anyone who uses the Compleat Theory as a source should be advised of the grave corruptions which entered into the work at the time of its first publication (1803), and have never been corrected. See Peter Cooke's review of the new reprint, Scottish Studies 16 (1972): 84-5.

28 R.D. Cannon, A Bibliography of Bagpipe Music (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), 20.

29 F.G. Thompson, "John Francis Campbell," Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 54 (1987): 1-57, here 5, 7.

30 Quoted in Comunn na Pìobaireachd/The Piobaireachd Society, eds., Piobaireachd: A Tenth Book, 307. The extent of Angus MacKay's actual contribution to the Collection that bears his name is uncertain; the catalogues of both the British Library and the National Library of Scotland attribute the textual portions to another author (A.K. Campsie, The MacCrimmon Legend: The Madness of Angus MacKay [Edinburgh: Canongate, 1980], chap. 9; Cannon, A Bibliography, 28). It may not be relevant, then, to observe that Angus MacKay's father's first teacher had been an officer in the Jacobite army during the '45 (Comunn na Pìobaireachd/The Piobaireachd Society, eds., Piobaireachd: A Tenth Book, iii). Whoever wrote this note on Cogadh no Sìdh, it can be read with confidence as expressing the consensus among piping cognoscenti c. 1838.

31 Although it is hard to guess what evidence the late Seumas MacNeill might have offered for his unequivocal statement that the tune has been played "for at least five hundred years" ([Seumas

MacNeill, writer and narrator,] Piobaireachd: The Classical Music of the Highland Bagpipe, LP recording [REB 48M] of two BBC radio broadcasts first aired 6 November 1968 and 11 December 1968, produced by Fred Macaulay, with musical illustrations by Seumas MacNeill and John MacFadyen [London: BBC, 1969]). As far as I am aware, the earliest reference to this tune is either Spanish John's or, if you prefer, the order sheet of 1778 (see below) which was written down earlier but deals with a later period.

32 The episode is often pinpointed to the relatively obscure lead-up action at Quatre Bras, but the primary evidence apparently establishes the setting as the battle of Waterloo itself. It is extremely unusual that such a mistake–shifting a story from a more famous to a less famous setting–should have found any purchase. Students of folklore and popular culture generally observe that celebrated events have a gravitational pull, drawing in to their narrative orbit all anecdotes anywhere in their proximity; so Quatre Bras should be giving up its stories to its celebrated sequel, not the other way around. For the episode's placement at Quatre Bras, see W.L. Manson, The Highland Bagpipe: Its History, Literature, and Music. With Some Account of the Traditions, Superstitions, and Anecdotes Relating to the Instrument and its Tunes (Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner, 1901), 131; Comunn na Pìobaireachd/Piobaireachd Society, eds., Piobaireachd: A Tenth Book, 307. For Waterloo, see J.S. Keltie, ed., History of the Scottish Highlands, Highland Clans, and Highland Regiments, With an Account of the Gaelic Language, Literature, and Music by the Rev. Thomas MacLauchlan, LL.D., F.S.A. (Scot.), And an Essay on Highland Scenery by the Late Professor John Wilson, new ed., expanded by W. Melven, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack, 1887), 6:759 n.

33 Keltie, ed., History of the Scottish . . . Regiments, 6:760.

34 Collinson, The Bagpipe, 175-76, 240 n. 79.

35 Quoted in R. Nicholson, review of 1745, ed. Woosnam-Savage, The Royal Stuart Review (1998): 12-13, here 12.

36 Smith, An Universal Military Dictionary, 79.

37 Ibid. Cf. Fortier, 18th Century French Drumming, 10-11.

38 Macdonell, Spanish John, 20.

39 Forbes, comp., The Lyon in Mourning, 2:246.

40 For the questions surrounding the piping master's death in the rout of Moy, see A. MacLean, "Highlanders in the Forty Five," Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 59 (1997): 314-40, here 328; R.H. MacLeod, "Everyone Who Has an Intrigue Hopes It Should Not Be Known: Lord Loudoun and Anne Mackintosh–An Intrigue of the '45," ibid. 55 (1989): 256-323, here 287-91; id., "The Independent Companies of the 1745 Rebellion," ibid. 53 (1985): 310-93, here 323-26.

41 R.D. Cannon, The Highland Bagpipe and Its Music (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), chap. 8.
42 Gibson, Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 159.
43 In chronological order: J. Keegan, "Keeping in Time," review of Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History, by William H. McNeill, TLS, 12 July 1996, 3-4; Nikolai Tolstoi, letter to the editor, ibid., 2 August 1996, 17; J.L. Wood, letter to the editor, ibid.; J. Keegan, letter to the editor, ibid., 9 August 1996, 17; A. Hicks, letter to the editor, ibid., 16 August 1996, 17; A. Zamoyski, letter to the editor, ibid., 23 August 1996, 17; J. Keegan, letter to the editor, ibid., 6 September 1996, 17.
44 Arbeau's Orchésographie (first published 1588) appears to require this qualification: Thoinot Arbeau [pseud.], Orchesography, A Treatise in the Form of a Dialogue Whereby All Manner of Persons May Easily Acquire and Practice the Honourable Exercise of Dancing, trans. C.W. Beaumont, with a preface by P. Warlock (London: C.W. Beaumont, 1925), 26-28. Cf. Hicks, letter to the editor.
45 Keegan, "Keeping in Time," 3.
46 Hicks, letter to the editor.
47 Keegan, letter to the editor, 6 September. Keegan goes on to offer the most far-reaching suggestion of this whole debate. Even when we accept that military music evolved, during the late eighteenth century, from a mood-creating function into a pace-setting one,

> [t]here remains. . . a problem. Music can detract from precision drill. The explanation was suggested to me recently by a former adjutant of the Scots Guards, who revealed that the end of the column, if it marches to the received beat of the band, will be out of step with the head of the column. Guardsmen therefore learn to carry the pace in their heads, and actually march off the beat they hear, when they know that the speed of sound through the air is misleading them.
>
> This is a very sophisticated mental adjustment, which leads me to an unexpected conclusion. I now think that marching in step . . . required the development of an entirely novel mentalité. I think soldiers had, from about 1760 onwards, to programme themselves to the idea of the cadenced step. The development of novel mentalités is familiar to historians–. . . [cf. the controversial question] "When did people begin to read silently?"–and so is its significance. Carrying in the head a collective rhythm of exactly timed movement, if it emerged as a mental programme at the end of the eighteenth century, has obvious associations with the beginning of factory work, of synergy with machines and with the collective, disciplined routines of the Industrial Revolution. . . .

48 Quoted in Collinson, The Bagpipe, 141.

49 Quoted in Sir John Graham Dalyell, Musical Memoirs of Scotland, With Historical Annotations and Numerous Illustrative Plates (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1849; London: William Pickering, 1849), 20 n. 4. For Irish parallels to this use of the warpipe, see "Military Music, 1691," The Irish Sword 11 (1973-74): 233; O'Callaghan, History of the Irish Brigades, 355.

50 A. Bowden and W.B. Todd, eds., "Scott's Commentary on The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson," Studies in Bibliography 48 (1995): 229-48, here 238.

51 H.F. Rankin, "The Moore's Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776," The North Carolina Historical Review 30 (1953): 23-60, here 46. Gibson, commenting on this affair, observes that pipe music "appears not to have accompanied the cross-country hiking that is described [in a manuscript narrative of the campaign] as 'marching'" (Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 98). Here Gibson brushes up against the truth without recognizing it: one of the preconditions which Keegan sets for the development of cadenced marching is precisely the spread of engineered roads and parade grounds. Collinson, so often criticized by Gibson, is on the mark when he writes: ". . . [Q]uicksteps . . . were unknown in the older repertoire, for the simple reason that there were no roads in the Highlands fit to march on" (The Bagpipe, 181).

52 The earliest record, that I can find, of the bagpipes conveying a military signal (in this case retreat) is an Elizabethan account of warfare in Ireland (Dalyell, Musical Memoirs, 21). At that stage it would be difficult to draw a distinction between the military cultures of Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland; the existence, at any rate, of an inchoate class of "warning" piobaireachds may be taken as an indication of bagpipe signalling in Scotland as early as the Elizabethan period (R. Black, "Colla Ciotach," Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 48 [1976]: 201-43, here 231-36, 243 n. 64).

53 Dalyell, Musical Memoirs, 61 n. 1.

54 MacDonald, A Compleat Theory, passim.

55 Cannon, A Bibliography, 20.

56 Gibson, Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 68. For the Scots March cf. H.G. Farmer, "Scots Duty: The Old Drum and Fife Calls of Scottish Regiments" and "The Scots March" in Handel's Kettledrums, and Other Papers on Military Music, rev. ed. (London: Hinrichsen, 1960), 33-38 and 49-55.

57 R.F. Camus, Military Music of the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1976), 88.

58 Alexander MacBain, An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, facsimile of the 2d (1911) ed. (Glasgow: Gairm, 1982), 65.

59 E.G. Quin, ed., Dictionary of the Irish Language, compact ed. (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1983), 98. In light of Keegan's

arguments, however, certain questions develop around the etymology and semantic evolution of caismeachd (as also, indeed, around the semantic evolution of the English word "march" in the musical sense). I will look in to these questions on another occasion.

60 Gibson, Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 160. Gibson is disputing here the claim of a writer in the 1780s who stated: "One of the greatest improvements in the military art, that has been made in modern times, is the introduction of quick-step marches" (159). Gibson would have been wiser to give this source a more sympathetic hearing.

61 Ibid., 151, 159. Cf. Dalyell, Musical Memoirs, 23.

62 T. Crawford, "Political and Protest Songs in Eighteenth-Century Scotland I: Jacobite and Anti-Jacobite," Scottish Studies 14 (1970): 1-33, here 24; W. Donaldson, The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1988), 59-61; G.S. MacQuoid, ed., Jacobite Songs and Ballads, The Canterbury Poets series (London: Walter Scott, 1887), 149-51, 161-65, 319, 320; Murray G.H. Pittock, Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland, Cambridge Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Thought, vol. 23 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 164-65.

63 Cannon, The Highland Bagpipe and Its Music, 128.

64 Raphael Holinshed et al., Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 6 vols. (London: J. Johnson et al., 1807-1808), 3:838.

65 I have used a revised edition: S. Fraser, comp., The Airs and Melodies Peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland and the Isles, Communicated in an Original Pleasing & Familiar Style; Having the Lively Airs Introduced as Medleys to Form a Sequence to Each Slower Movement; With an Admired Plain Harmony for the Piano Forte, Harp, Organ or Violoncello, Intended Rather to Preserve Simplicity Than Load With Embellishment, new ed. [revised by A. Fraser and W. MacKay] (Inverness: Logan and Co., 1874).

66 Gibson, Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 101.

67 Ibid., 85-88.

68 E.g. The Highland Troop (Fraser, comp., The Airs and Melodies, 30), Fraser's own composition and not, in any case, a pipe tune.

69 E.g. Crossing to Ireland (ibid., 36), which Fraser glosses (101 n.) as probably "built upon Lord Kelly's strathspey".

70 Composed by a Black Watch officer who was a classically trained flautist (Keltie, ed., History of the Scottish . . . Regiments, 4:347 n. 7). Appearing in the 1750s, this tune seems to be the earliest purpose-composed quickstep (Farmer, "The Scots Guards Band: Fresh Light on Its History," in Handel's Kettledrums, 3-7, here 3).

71 Purpose-composed on the raising of the Seaforth Highlanders in 1778 (Gibson, Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 149).

72 E.g. The Cock o' the North, given as a strathspey in Fraser, comp., The Airs and Melodies, 40; or Kenmure's Up and Awa', Willy, a natural jig. Incidentally the title of the latter tune marks an exception to the rule noted by Sir Walter Scott that where the Irish use "up" as a euphemism for entering into rebellion, the Scots prefer "out": "he was out in the '45" (Sir Walter Scott, Waverley, Penguin English Library ed., ed. Andrew Hook [Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972; repr., 1980], 288 n.). For the connection between this tune and the Jacobite William Gordon, sixth Viscount Kenmure, who was executed for his part in the '15, see Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., Dictionary of National Biography, o.s., 63 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885-1900), 22:235.

73 E.g. Crò Chinn t-Sàile (Gibson, Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 149).

74 E.g. Pìobaireachd Dhomhnuill Dhuibh–a melody which has found its happiest post-piobaireachd setting not as a quickstep but as a reel, in Jamie MacInnis's arrangement (Bob Worrall, comp., The International Collection: Highland Bagpipe Music, vol. 1 [Burlington, Ontario: Bob Worrall, 1990], 27).

75 J.E. Cookson, "The Napoleonic Wars, Military Scotland and Tory Highlandism in the Early Nineteenth Century," The Scottish Historical Review 78 (1999): 60-75, here 63.

76 Thomas H. Raddall, Roger Sudden (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1944; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1944), 259-60.

77 I. Quick, "English and Scots Military Loanwords in Scottish Gaelic," Scottish Language 5 (1986): 99-105, here 101.

78 Peter Cooke, ed., Pibroch: George Moss, booklet accompanying the cassette of the same title, School of Scottish Studies (University of Edinburgh) Scottish Tradition Cassette Series, no. 6 (London: Tangent Records, 1982), 7; Fionn [Henry Whyte], The Historic, Biographic and Legendary Notes to David Glen's Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd (Edinburgh: David Glen, n.d.), 15.

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SIR WALTER SCOTT AND THE FRENCH PRESS: PARIS 1826

À Sir Walter Scott

Peintre de la nature et de la vérité
Toi dont la muse unit la grâce et la beauté
des Vierges d'aonie;
J'admire tes romans, j'honore ton génie
dont la gloire s'envole à l'immortalité.
Ah! Dans ta brillante carrière
Tu ne moissonnes que des fleurs,
Et tu ressembles à Molière
Qui n'eut jamais d'imitateurs.[1]

The above flawed poem,[2] a panegyric to Scott, states, unabashedly, the general climate of admiration for the Scottish poet and novelist throughout Europe in the first half of the nineteenth-century and, in particular, in France where translations of Scott's works had already been undertaken by Joseph Martin (*Guy Mannering)* as early as 1816 and Sophie de Maraise (*The Antiquary*) and J-B Defauconpret (*The Antiquary* and *The Puritans*) both in 1817.[3] During his lifetime, Scott made two visits to France. His first to Paris, under Allied occupation, in 1815, concluded a tour of Brussels and Waterloo.[4] It was during this visit that Scott made contacts and established several friendships with some of the leading European political and military figures as well as the English *fashionables* frequenting the Paris *salons* after the fall of Napoleon. Amongst his 1815 contacts, Field Marshal Macdonald, Jean-Baptist le Chevalier and Count Pozzo di Borgo, all welcomed Scott again to Paris in 1826.[5] The purpose of his return visit to France, in 1826, to complete research

for his multi-volume work on the *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, is well documented in his *Journal*. The visit, according to Scott, was a *grand succès*.[6] This study focuses on the apparent *succès* of Scott's 1826 visit to Paris and his literary reputation, in the years directly preceding and up to 1826, as reported by some of the literati, but, primarily, by the French press; *Le Globe, Le Figaro, Le Mercure* and *La Quotidienne* to name but four.[7]

Scott's arrival and subsequent two-week stay in Paris at the Hôtel Windsor, rue de Rivoli, was to cause quite a stir in both Parisian *haute société* and literary circles:

> A great sensation was excited here yesterday by the arrival of Sir Walter Scott, and I understand that half the nobility, and of course every literary character, have left their cards at his hotel in the Rue de Rivoli. (…) Sir Walter's object in visiting the French capital, I understand, is for the purpose of consulting several works in the Royal Library, to illustrate his life of Napoleon.[8]

One of the *literary characters* and admirers was the romantic poet and novelist, Alfred de Vigny whose historical novel, *Cinq-Mars*, of which a dedicated copy was presented to Scott, in person, on November 6, is currently housed at the Abbotsford library.[9] To date, however, no correspondence between Scott and Vigny has surfaced. Moreover, and in spite of the latter's entreaties, "Je l'ai prié de m'en écrire les défauts en lui donnant mon adresse,"[10] Scott does not commit himself but is clearly moved by the occasion and appreciative of the work if we are to give credence to Vigny's account of the meeting: "Ne comptez pas sur moi pour critiquer, m'a-t-il dit, mais je sens, je sens!"[11] Scott, ever true to his avowal, "I make it a rule seldom to read and never to answer foreign letters from literary folk," is disinclined to enter into an agreement to write to Vigny.[12] Only Goethe with whom he corresponded in 1827 appears to have been the exception to this trenchant assertion.[13] Goethe was, of course, a literary giant, at that time. Vigny, although celebrated in French literary circles, was not in the same world literary class as either Goethe or Scott.

Twelve years later, in 1838, and six years after the death of Scott, Vigny professes certain reservations in his *Journal* concerning the *faiblesse* of composition of Scott's novels: "Je dis à Charles Nodier que j'étais convaincu qu'en commençant un roman Walter Scott ne savait pas comment il le finirait. Nodier hésitait à le croire tout en trouvant ses compositions bien faibles."[14] His veneration at the age of twenty-nine of the *father* of the historical novel has undergone a negative transformation at the age of forty-one or, at the very least, he is more discerning in his appraisal of Scott's work. In this, we will show, Vigny was not alone. That aside, the entry in his *Journal* includes a near perfect translation into French taken from Scott's *Journal* in which the Scottish author describes, with refreshing honesty, his own aesthetic approach to his literary compositions:[15] "Now this may seem strange but it is quite true, and it is no less so that I have generally written to the middle of one of these novels without having the least idea how it was going to end."[16]

In fairness to Scott, he was all too aware of the perils of his *impressionistic* approach and indeed advises against using his *free-flowing* style:

> (…) It is a perilous stile I grant but I cannot help it – When I chain my mind to ideas which are purely imaginative – for argument is a different thing – it seems to me that the sun leaves the landscape, that I think away the whole vivacity and spirit of my original conception, and that the results are cold, tame and spiritless. It is the difference between a written oration and one bursting from the unpremeditated exertions of the Speaker which have always something of the air of enthusiasm and inspiration. I would not have young authors imitate my carelessness, however . . . .[17]

Scott's disclosure suggests that his unrestrained and expansive prose is partly design and partly accident. The rest is surely innate talent. Moreover, the amount of credence we give to Vigny's criticism is diminished by our knowledge that he has already read Scott's *Journal* and could, therefore, be pirating

Scott's own critical assessment of his work. Is it also possible that Vigny's jaundiced view in 1838 is the result of Scott's refusal to write to him? It is more likely, however, that twelve years after their meeting, Vigny, no longer blinded by Scott's celebrity and more experienced, himself, as a writer, could afford to put forward a more objective and dispassionate criticism. Yet even in 1826, there is deep sadness and disappointment underlying Vigny's apparent enthusiasm following his meeting with Scott. Indeed, it surfaces briefly in a letter to Adolphe Saint-Valry written November 7, the day after he met Scott at the Hôtel Windsor:

> (…) J'ai passé hier quelque temps avec sir Walter Scott, l'oncle de ma femme, son compatriote, me l'a fait connaître. Je vous dirai tout ce que j'ai observé dans cet illustre vieillard, l'écrire serait trop long; je l'ai trouvé affectueux et modeste, presque timide: *mais* souffrant, *mais* affligé, *mais* trop âgé, ce que je n'attendais pas. Cela m'a fait peine.[18] *(my emphasis)*

We are reminded of Gustave Flaubert's sound advice: "Il ne faut pas toucher aux idoles. La dorure en reste aux mains."[19] That said, the numerous entries on Scott in Vigny's *Journal d'un poète* are, grosso modo, encouraging and he clearly admired him enough to accord him the references.[20]

While Scott's presence in Paris was being noted by the British correspondent in the *Edinburgh Weekly Review*, his every *déplacement*, gesture and word were being duly recorded in the French press under court news, society news and, more alarmingly, dagger thrusts (*coups de lancette*) wherein he was the subject of several leaders and sub-leaders:

> Sir Walter Scott a reçu une marque très flatteuse de distinction de la part du Roi. L'honorable baronnet se trouvant avec sa fille sur le passage de S. M., le Roi a permis qu'il restât dans la galérie vitrée où les dames seules sont admises. S. M. qui n'a point oublié que le chantre de *Marmion* a consacré aussi quelques lignes aux infortuns des Bourbons, a adressé au poète les paroles les plus gracieuses, et s'est entre-

> tenu pendant quelques moments en anglais avec miss (sic) Anne Scott.[21]
>
> M. Roger, ayant appris que Walter Scott était boiteux, lui a fait offrir le fauteuil.[22]
>
> Le temps est peut-être venu de soumettre le talent de Sir Walter Scott à cette critique sérieuse à laquelle jusqu'ici l'enthousiasme du public et la rapide succession de ses ouvrages ont également concouru à le dérober.[23]

Serious criticism aside for the present, honour, respect and enthusiasm in various social milieux were the key ingredients of Scott's 1826 visit. On September 20, shortly before Scott's arrival in Paris, *Le Figaro* publishes the following review of an operatic version of *Ivanhoe* at the *Théâtre royal de l'Odéon* directed by M. Frédéric:

> *Ivanhoe,* que nous avons entendu la seconde fois avec la plus scrupuleuse attention, est décidément un pasticcio fort remarquable. D'abord, prévenu par le souvenir du chef d'oeuvre de Walter Scott, nous aurions désiré retrouver ces scènes tracées de main de maître et qui se refusent au cadre d'un drame et surtout d'une oeuvre musicale. (…) Mais en réfléchissant à la portée d'un libretto français, et en faisant abstraction de Walter Scott et de son génie, et en nous occupant moins du poème que de la musique, nous avons rectifié notre jugement, et *Ivanhoe* nous a paru digne de grands éloges. (…) L'ouverture a été exécutée avant-hier avec une précision parfaite. (…) Nous consacrerons un article à la partition de cet opéra qui, tirée des meilleurs ouvrages de Rossini, forme un choix des plus admirables morceaux de ce grand compositeur. (…) L'ouverture a été exécutée avant-hier avec une précision parfaite. La mise en scène, les décors et les costumes sont, à peu de chose près, en harmonie avec la magnifique musique de Rossini.[24]

In addition to the obvious artistic success of the opera, it was hoped that *Ivanoe* would help to pull the *Théâtre royal de l'Odéon* out of its current financial and administrative difficulties:

> M. Bernard cède la place à M. Frédéric. (…) partout des dettes, des vuides à combler, une troupe incomplète et mal organisée, un répertoire usé; enfin tous les maux qui signalent le plus funeste système d'administration. (…) Que faire dans ces moments difficiles? M. Frédéric avait besoin d'user de toute sa sagesse et de tout son talent pour soutenir le cadavre théâtral abandonné à ses soins. Les obstacles qui s'opposaient à la réussite de son entreprise ne l'effrayèrent pas; et enfin après six mois de travaux constants, il est parvenu à réparer les fautes nombreuses de son prédecesseur; les dettes ont été payées, la troupe augmentée, le répertoire renouvelé, et les désordres de la dernière administration ont entièrement disparus. Voilà la situation présente de l'Odéon; elle est de bon augure pour l'avenir. (…) Sans doute les succès d'estime ont aussi leur prix; mais les succès d'argent sont bien plus rares; Robin des bois a été le premier à l'Odéon; espérant qu'Ivanhoe ne sera pas le dernier.[25]

Scott, himself, at that time, encumbered by financial problems, may have been gratified to learn that an adaptation of one of his works had helped to stave off financial ruin for the Odéon. *Ivanhoe* was a success and Scott notes that he was pleased with the production if not a little critical of the dialogue.[26] The operatic version of *Ivanhoe* seemed destined to share in the success of the novel:

> Le libraire Sautelet (place de la Bourse) ne s'endort point; Il veille au contraire avec une très-louable activité aux plaisirs des nombreux lecteurs de Walter Scott. A sa première livraison a déjà succédé la seconde, qui comprend *Ivanhoe,* cette belle épopée du Moyen Âge qui vaut beaucoup mieux que de très-célèbres épopées en vers.[27]

Praise, indeed, to be ranked above the most revered of traditional literary forms. Nevertheless, the allusion to the épopée is an accurate assessment of Scott's novels. In *The Historical Novel*, Georg Lukacs with references to Vissarion Grigorevich Belinsky, sums up the epic quality of Scott's work, thus: "It is (…) with the specific nature of his historical themes, with his selection of those periods and those strata of society which embody the old epic self-activity of man, the old epic directness of social life, its public spontaneity (…) that make Scott a great epic portrayer of the 'age of heroes'."[28] He argues that while Scott's heroic figures like traditional epic heroes often personify a collective national and social experience, they differ from the traditional hero of the épopée in that they are "decent and average" rather than "eminent and all-embracing."[29] These differences are secondary, however, to our argument. There is little doubt that *Ivanhoe* has epic qualities. As for the stage version, White concludes that *Ivanhoe* "aroused a great number and a wider range of dramatic adaptations than any other Scott production."[30]

In the days that followed this visit to the theatre, Scott informs us that his popularity was becoming more a burden than an asset. Letters of introduction, calling cards, invitations to dine and to sit for paintings were showered on his bemused yet weary person. On November 5, the day he met Alfred de Vigny, he notes:

> I believe I must give up my journal till I leave Paris. The French are literally outrageous in their civilities - bounce in at all hours and drive one half mad with compliments – I am ungraceous (sic) not to be so entirely thankful as I ought to this kind and merry people.[31]

By way of example, in *Les Soirées de Walter Scott*, the enthusiasm and elation of Paul-L. Lacroix, the bibliophile, is touching and amusing if not a little discomfitting in the account of his efforts to meet Scott and obtain his autograph. On learning of Scott's arrival in Paris, he writes:

> "O Walter Scott!" Ah! Si j'avais possédé seulement ce nom-là écrit de la main de celui qui le porte, je ne

> publierais pas aujourd'hui ce livre! Que voulez-vous? Pour compléter ma collection, il me fallait de l'écriture du célèbre baronnet. Je formai tout d'abord mille projets plus extravagants les uns que les autres pour conquérir cette précieuse écriture, mieux que s'il fût agi de la toison d'or. Tantôt je songeais à envoyer au célèbre voyageur une lettre de bien-venue, une sorte de panégyrique, dans l'espoir d'obtenir une réponse; tantôt, ayant oui parler de son avidité mercantile, je m'encourageais à lui faire offrir, en échange de quelques lignes, une somme honnête, comme on dit, lors des concours d'académies de province. Que sais-je? J'aurai séduit ses domestiques, donné un dîner à quatre entrées, un bal avec des glaces; et cela pour deux traits de plume, de cette plume qui a écrit tant de beaux ouvrages.[32]

Lacroix claims that Scott writes and signs the following inscription in a copy of a work by Jean Scott, a namesake and celebrated medical professor from the Sorbonne: "Voilà mon maître. Walter Scott." The recipient has, however, *unwittingly* brought not a tome of Jean Scott's as was his intention but a 1559 tome of Froissard's! Scott, we are told, is unperturbed and happy to confide in his audience:

> Messieurs, … grâce à monsieur, que je n'ai pas l'honneur de connaître, quoique son procédé m'annonce un homme d'esprit et d'érudition, je viens de confesser une vérité dont certainement on s'armera contre moi. (…) Oui, … c'est dans le vieux Froissard que j'ai trouvé le germe du roman historique. La création ne m'en appartient pas, je l'avoue en toute humilité; je n'ai fait que ressusciter des morts, ramasser des trésors dans les tombeaux et emporter dans mon pays des biens nés dans le vôtre, et que vous dédaignez, fautes de les connaître. (…) Nous autres Anglais, nous faisons un cas extrême de tous vos chroniqueurs, et leurs ouvrages deviennent tous les jours plus rares en France, parce qu'ils sont à

> l'enchère au delà du detroit. (…) Je ne m'étonne plus si j'ai acheté ce Froissard 140F à la vente du duc de Lavallière…. Messieurs, … vous me forceriez à me faire plus modeste que je ne le suis en effet; j'ai reconnu Froissard pour mon maître. (…) Je ne saurais vous témoigner combien je dois de reconnaissance aux vieux historiens francais. Ils ne m'ont pas seulement montré la manière de faire agir et parler des personnages historiques, je leur dois encore l'idée de mon *Quentin Durward* …. Bientôt j'espère puiser une nouvelle composition dans les annales de votre histoire, et ne pouvant jouter avec Froissard quand il s'agira de représenter Charles le Téméraire, j'essaierai du moins à l'imiter.[33]

Was it a ruse on Lacroix's part to bring Froissart's work instead of Jean Scott's? Had he already heard of Scott's passion for Froissart?[34] Indeed, is Lacroix's version of the meeting apocryphal? The problem with the *préface* is its apparent anecdotal form. In addition, Scott says nothing about this meeting between himself and Lacroix and very little about these *soirées passionnantes*: "Je ne dirai pas que l'on applaudit le conteur, l'éloge sera faible auprès de cette extase magnétique qui enchaînait chacun de nous quoi qu'il en eût.''[35] Scott is oddly mute on the subject of his nightly "cours d'histoire appliquée au roman".[36] Wayne Conner suggests exploitation on the part of Lacroix although he doesn't state specifically why he believes Lacroix to be exploitative.[37] It is possible he used Scott's name in his *préface* to encourage the sale of his entertaining and stylish book published in 1829.[38] On the other hand, instead of exploiting Scott's name, it is also possible that the deep and heartfelt gratitude expressed in his *préface* simply acknowledges his dependence on Scott for his material. Putting aside scepticism and accepting a degree of veracity on the part of Lacroix, the zealous devotee, Scott's frank disclosure is illuminating on two counts. Firstly, it says much for his candidness and sincerity in the climate of cloying flattery and hero worship in which he has unexpectedly found himself. While acknowledging both Froissard as the source of his

inspiration and the important place in literature for the historical novel, he openly admits to a degree of vanity concerning his own novels:

> … le roman est, si j'ose m'exprimer ainsi, un fils naturel de l'histoire. Bien des gens se font scrupules de le reconnaître. Quant à moi, qui ai fini par fouler aux pieds la honte, et me déclarer père d'un trop grand nombre peut-être de ces enfants naturels, je prouverai facilement que l'histoire ressemble quelquefois au roman à s'y tromper, et sans invoquer à l'appui de mon opinion une foule de chronique aussi exactes qu'amusantes, je pourrais rapporter en forme d'exemple quelques faits curieux et peu connus que j'ai réunis dans mes recherches.[39]

Secondly, while Scott's indebtedness to Froissart is widely acknowledged, it is evident that his alleged appreciation of the French chronicler extends beyond the French *language* as is suggested by W.E.K. Anderson in the *Journal:* "Scott's French owed its greatest debt to Froissart."[40] That Froissart was the inspiration for characterization in Scott's works is significant. Certainly, it is Scott's treatment of his dramatis personae that elicits the most praise from the French critics:

> Ce sont des personnages vivants, où se trouvent à la fois l'existence passionnée, les traits caractéristiques des temps, des peuples, des professions et des croyances. Telle est cette vérité, telle est la magie qui s'y attache, que les deux lévriers de *Waverley* nous plaisent, que le vieux chien du Seigneur de *Woodstock* nous intéresse. Les moindres objets réveillent, chez cet écrivain sans modèle, toutes les associations des idées qui ressuscitent une époque et reproduisent son caractère; cette fidelité de détails, jointe à la vérité des portraits, cause l'illusion la plus parfaite qui jamais on ait produite avec des paroles. (…) que de vérités profondes de caractères et de moeurs! que de points d'histoires éclairés et devenus populaires!

> Si "l'âme du poète," comme l'a dit Leibnitz, est "le miroir du monde," jamais poète ne méritera mieux ce titre.[41]

While Philorète Chasles praises the characterization and realism in Scott's novels, he does a volte-face when critiquing the writer's style:

> Personne, nous osons le dire, n'est moins littéraire, dans l'acception vulgaire du mot, que Walter Scott, le souverain de la littérature présente. Ses ouvrages ne sont pas écrits en beau style, et l'oreille la moins délicate, le goût le moins sévère se choquent souvent de la barbarie de ses phrases scoto-anglaises, et de la verbeuse lucidité de ses périodes. Variété, vérité, liberté, voilà ses devises.[42]

It is not surprising that Scott's *free-flowing* style shocked some of the French writers who were still much influenced by the aesthetics of a classical literary tradition steeped in rules. As for the "barbarie de ses phrases scoto-anglaises," it is doubtful that Chasles had linguistic skills wide-ranging enough to appreciate fully the richness of Scott's *English.* There were others, too, like Chasles, ready "to submit Sir Walter Scott's talent to some serious criticism the like of which, to date, public enthusiasm and the quick succession of his works had conspired to rob it":

> L'histoire de Napoléon Bonaparte, par Sir Walter Scott, ne sera qu'une continuation des lettres de Paul. Avis au public francais.[43]
>
> Après avoir exploré le roman historique, Sir Walter Scott va faire l'histoire romanesque.[44]
>
> Sir Walter Scott vient, dit-on, à Paris, pour quêter des matériaux secrets et curieux pour son *Histoire de Napoléon.* M. le duc de ***, M. le conte de ***, M. le baron de *** sont assez riches pour faire une abondante aumône au romancier écossais.[45]
>
> Ce que je ne pardonne pas à Walter Scott, disait dernièrement un jésuite, c'est d'avoir fait des romans.

> L'auteur des *Lettres de Paul* était une recrue que *Les Puritains d'Ecosse, Ivanhoe, Le Château de Kenilworth,* etc. etc. nous ont soufflé.[46]
>
> Sir Walter Scott est un écrivain d'une grande distinction, et le plus habile romancier de notre époque, mais cela suffit-il pour se faire l'historien de Napoléon?[47]

Scott's work was beginning to receive mixed reviews. Either he had nothing new to say or, it was implied, he had dared to write a romanesque history on the still revered figure of Napoléon. Even 10 years after Napoléon's defeat, an *Anglais* writing on one of France's heroic figures must surely have been on sacred ground and, therefore, open to public scrutiny if not attack. Some of the reviews, in particular those from the *coups de lancette* in *Le Figaro*, were severe, even spiteful. Yet this is to be expected from a newspaper column entitled *dagger thrusts*. Scott, like all celebrated writers, had his detractors and ominous rumblings about *Napoléon,* as from the French press above, had already begun in 1826. Nevertheless, it seems clear that those who sought to denounce him were matched by critics who offered a more thoughtful and just assessment of his literary career as a whole:

> (…) voilà ce grand artiste sur son déclin; ses derniers ouvrages trahissent une imagination vive encore par intervalles, mais évidemment fatiguée. (…) L'intrigue, comme un voyageur fatigué se traine de scène en scène jusqu'au dénouement. (…) Et certes il n'y a rien là de surprenant. Peu de poètes ont fourni une aussi longue carrière de Sir Walter Scott; il est tout simple qu'il subisse à la foi la loi commune. (…) On n'est peintre que pour un temps. L'imagination est comme ses sources qui ne coulent que le matin, et qui déssechent au milieu du jour des ardeurs du soleil; vive et féconde dans la jeunesse des nations et des individus, les années l'épuisent peu à peu et finissent par la tarir. Et quand elle est épuisée, c'est en vain qu'on invoque les muses et qu'on se bat les

> flancs: le ciel est sourd et la volonté impuissante. … nous marchons et ne tournons pas; et, puisque nous en sommes à l'amour de la réalité, nous ne tarderons pas à en être à l'amour du contaraire. Or, comme ces nouveaux goûts nous domineront, il ne sera plus temps d'apprécier le mérite de Sir Walter Scott et de ses ouvrages. (…) Voici donc le temps de les apprécier, parce que voici l'époque où on les sent.[48]

The artist's Muse is, of course, a fickle thing. Yet, it must be said that Scott's Muse did yeomen service to such a distinguished writer for the best part of his professional life. To add anything more to the above enlightened and poetic critique of Scott's work would undervalue its essential *truths*. Suffice to say it is objective and sensitive. Moreover, most critics both in France and at home continued to extol their admiration for Scott and his original works:

> For the last 25 years no French writer has afforded us any thing like the pleasure we have derived from the works of Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott; and this we frankly acknowledge. (…) The French were certainly never more interested about England than they now are.[49]

The French interest in Scott was awakened, we have said, as early as 1816, the year of the first translations or adaptations. And, in spite of the bland translations/adaptations of his work, it is clear that Scott was reaching the pinnacle of success towards 1820: "Le succès de Scott devient foudroyant vers 1820, malgré la fadeur et l'inexactitude des traductions de Defauconpret et ses confrères."[50] E. Preston Dargan is equally candid on the subject of Defauconpret's adaptations: "Defauconpret's (…) pace is pedestrian and his manner platitudinous."[51] S.B. Davis is no less critical: Defauconpret's versions are "severely truncated" and full of "distortions."[52] As if anticipating future criticism and by way of an explanation, Defauconpret submits the following to the editor of *Journal des débats,* in 1819:

> Je crois qu'en faisant passer un roman d'une langue dans une autre, le premier devoir d'un traducteur est de le mettre en état de plaire aux nouveaux lecteurs qu'il veut lui procurer. Le goût des Anglais n'est pas toujours conforme au nôtre. (…) J'ai donc supprimé quelques détails qui auraient pu paraître oiseux à des lecteurs français et j'ai raccourci les portraits de quelques personnages qui ne sont aucunement liés à l'action.[53]

The *sins* of Defauconpret could readily be filed under translator and poetic licence which he has, evidently, freely practised. That English and French tastes differ needs no further comment other than to add that Defauconpret lived for some time in England and was, therefore, quite familiar with both cultures and literary tastes. Neither is it surprising that Defauconpret's works pale by comparison to the *last minstrel's* genius. Genius is a formidable contender as is time: "… le grand auteur est de son temps, ou en avance sur son temps; le traducteur, lui, est toujours (un peu) en retard."[54] Yet credit must be given to the translators, for without them Scott would not have had the wide readership he succeded in capturing: "Ce fut à travers … le voile trop transparent de traductions improvisées que le talent original de Scott parvint à se faire jour."[55] Suffice to say that no number of weak translations could ever extinguish the flame of Scott's genius.

Some credit for Scott's continuing success in France must also be given to French Romantics like Vigny, Hugo, and their counterparts. These young literary *Turks* were eager to revolutionize literature, to shake off the yoke of classical influences and literary convention in order to liberate the medium of literature. Scott's historical novel fitted unquestionably into the framework of romantic tragedy: "Qu'est-ce que les romans de Walter Scott? De la tragédie romantique, entremêlée de longues descriptions."[56] Stendhal's innovative work, *Racine et Shakespeare*, was one of several works destined to overturn the classical literary genres in favour of a form of literature more in keeping with contemporary literary tastes: "Le *romantisme* est l'art de présenter aux peuples les oeuvres littéraires qui, dans l'état actuel de leurs

habitudes et de leurs croyances, sont susceptibles de leur donner le plus de plaisir possible."[57] Scott's historical novels with their emphasis on social history must have seemed the ideal prototype for the Romantic novel. Moreover, Lamartine, Hugo and even Vigny (for a short time) all pursued a political career revealing a sincere belief in the role of the literary figure as social reformer. It is not surprising they were drawn to Scott's novels recounting social history and change. His influence on young writers was remarkable. Witness the following moving extract from Vigny's correspondence, in 1822, to Victor Hugo:

> Je vous écris, la main encore tremblante de l'émotion que m'a donné une scène de *l'Antiquaire* de Walter Scott, la mort du fils du pêcheur, je ne sais ce que l'on peut dire et ce que l'on peut faire après une telle lecture, sinon votre roman de *Han*.
>
> Finissez-le, je vous en supplie, mon ami; en vérité, l'émotion profonde est là, parce que là est la nature vraie. … Comment jamais faire tomber une de ces larmes qu'il (*L'Antiquaire*) vient de me tirer, avec ma malheureuse poésie?[58]

By drawing a parallel between Scott's writing and his own *malheureuse poésie*, Vigny underlines in this touching letter not only Scott's superiority but his own ambivalence towards his own literary outpourings at that date.[59] He had not yet written *Cinq-Mars*.[60] It is, nevertheless, Scott's depiction of human nature, in other words, the characterization in his novels, that has moved Vigny to compare Hugo's *Han d'Islande* with *The Antiquary.* Hugo's admiration for Scott is equally manifest. In *La Muse française,* a short-lived literary journal established in 1823 by Antonin and Émile Deschamps for the publication of poetry, prose and reviews, he pays homage to Scott's *Quentin Durward* while at the same time gently scolding him for some chronological inaccuracies or distortions:

> Peu d'écrivains ont aussi bien rempli que Walter Scott les devoirs du romancier relativement à son art et à

son siècle; car ce serait une erreur presque coupable dans l'homme de lettres que de se croire au-dessus de l'intérêt général et des besoins nationaux, d'exempter son esprit de toute action sur les contemporains, et d'isoler sa vie egoiste de la grande vie du corps social. Et qui donc se dévouera, si ce n'est le poète? Quelle voix s'élèvera dans l'orage, si ce n'est celle de la lyre qui peut le calmer? (…) Nul romancier n'a caché plus d'enseignement sous plus de charme, plus de vérité sous plus de fiction. (…) Quelle doit être l'intention du romancier? C'est d'exprimer dans une fable intéressante une vérité utile. (…) Nous remplissons un devoir de conscience en plaçant Walter Scott très-haut parmi les romanciers, et en particulier Quentin Durward très-haut parmi les romans. Quentin Durward est un beau livre. Il est difficile de voir un roman mieux tissu, et des effets moraux mieux attachés aux effets dramatiques. (…) Nous pourrions (…) tâcher de faire voir en quoi le nouveau drame de Sir Walter Scott nous semble défectueux, particulièrement dans le dénouement; mais le romancier aurait sans doute pour se justifier des raisons beaucoup meilleures que nous n'en aurions pour l'attaquer. (…) Nous nous bornerons à lui faire observer que le mot placé par lui dans la bouche du fou du duc de Bourgogne sur l'arrivé du roi Louis XI à Péronne appartient au fou du François Ier, qui le prononça lors du passage de Charles-Quint en Frane, en 1535. Nous croyons également que l'expédient ingénieux qu'emploie l'astrologue Galéotti pour échapper à Louis XI avait déjà été imaginé quelque mille ans auparavant par un philosophe qui voulait mettre à mort Denys de Syracuse. (…) Nous sommes (…) étonné que le roi adresse la parole, dans le conseil de Bourgogne, à des chevaliers du Saint-Esprit, cet ordre n'ayant été fondé qu'un siècle plus tard par Henri III....[61]

Hugo's laudatory review places much importance on the

writer as edifier and, by extension, social reformer. Vigny, too, believed that "tous les grands problèmes de l'humanité peuvent être discutés dans la forme des vers."[62] In short, the Romantics were committed writers whose mission it was to lay bare a *vérité utile* that would relate to present society and with which the general public could feel empathy. Literature had a dual function; it was both esthetic and useful. (*L'art pour l'art* would succeed the Romantics). Scott fitted the Hugolian aesthetic and philosophical theory: a powerful and influential writer could play a decisive role in social progress.

In the final analysis, while Hugo underlines Scott's chronological errors in the review, they are all but expunged because of the writer's skill in dramatizing this moral truth that Hugo seeks from the novel/any novel: "J'aime mieux croire au roman qu'à l'histoire, parce que je préfère la vérité morale à la vérité historique."[63] Indeed, Hugo attaches little importance to Scott's chronological imprecisions ever aware that an author is not a chronicler: "un romancier n'est pas un chroniqueur."

Hugo did not meet Scott in 1826 but his admiration three years earlier is undeniable. Neither did Stendhal meet Scott and he has little to say about the visit other than a cryptic comment in franglais on Scott's imprudence concerning the bookseller, Gosselin: "Sir Walter Scott was ridicule (sic) there, he has refused renseignements to him for his *History of Napoléon*, by the bookseller Gosselin."[64] Vigny, on the other hand, felt privileged to meet the *father* of the historical novel on November 5, 1826, and I attribute his good fortune to his familial military contact, Colonel Hamilton Bunbury.[65]

Scott, we know, left France enthusiastic about his further writings on Napoléon and with his reputation intact, for the most part. Sadly and unlike Scott's visit, *Napoléon* was not a *grand succès* in Europe. Nevertheless, Scott continues today to be a highly respected author in France and, undeniably, the *father* of the nineteenth-century historical novel: "Walter Scott est sans conteste le cristallisateur, le modèle et, dans toute l'ambivalence du terme, le *père* du roman historique di XIXe siècle."[66] His literary legacy is enduring.

France, like Britain, has a long history of both journalism

and literary criticism to which some readers subscribe and others pay no more than lip service. Yet there is an important place in literary history for this genre of criticism and especially concerning authors long deceased. The timeless quality of this type of writing takes the reader back to a living or viable past which can be both edifying and uncanny; the latter all the more so when we use the information to fill in the hazy areas of Scott's social and literary circle in France in 1826. If, on occasion, I have turned, also, to correspondence, it is not only for its subject relevance but especially because, unlike articles that are written after the fact, letters are, grosso modo, extemporaneous and provide, therefore, a more accurate picture of the event. Henry's poem may be flawed, even disquietingly reverential, but it does represent more genuine feeling than Lacroix's *Soirées* published three years after Scott's visit and, thus, suspect not the least because memory is frail and liable to error. The passion in Vigny's letter to Hugo, in 1822, on Scott's *Antiquary*, is no less genuine than Henry's. His acute emotional response to Scott's work is immediately palpable to the reader. True feeling does not lie and is easily discernible from base flattery something Scott could not abide: "No man who has ever wrote a line despised the *pap* of *praise* so heartily as I do."[67]

It is clear from both the criticism presented and Scott's *Journal* that this visit to Paris in 1826 was exhilarating and instructive for both Scott and the French. I have endeavored to present without bias some of the ideas of the French literary critics and journalists from a selection of the newspaper and literary journals of the time. Some of the writers are well known, some are anonymous, especially the newspaper critics. No doubt they were familiar to their contemporaries. Today, it is not always easy, sometimes impossible, to identify them. I do not claim to have exhausted the press reviews of 1826 but have presented instead a cross-section. To discuss them all would require much more space than is intended for this article. The selection, itself, is, therefore, open to criticism because of its subjectivity. I have tried, nevertheless, and wherever possible, to present the opinions of the critics as I found them. Whenever or if the pendulum swings both ways, as is the case with Philorète

Chasles, both sides of the argument are offered. Reviews that appear blunt, unfair or even potentially damaging to Scott's reputation have also been exposed in an attempt to create a reasonable critical balance for I do not believe that Scott would have shrunk from such candid criticism so great was his resilience and his ability to smile ruefully in the face of adversity: "I have had unhappy days, unhappy weeks – even on one or two occasions unhappy months – but Fortune's Finger has never been able to play a dirge on me for a quarter of a year together."[68]

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Endnotes

1 F. A. Henri, Angers, November 6, 1826. National Library of Scotland. MS 3903, fol. 430.

Painter of nature and truth
Whose muse marries the grace and truth of Aonian Virgins,
Your works are admirable!
And I honour your genius that soars towards everlasting glory.
Oh! You who reap only the finest rewards throughout your dazzling career
Like Molière will ever be unique.

My translation throughout.

2 "Les vers que j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser, sont un bien faible hommage que je rends à vos talents." / "The lines of verse I have the honour of addressing to you are only a feeble homage to your talent." NLS, MS 3903, fol. 428-429. Henri, as this document reveals, was an official at the Préfecture de Maine et Loire.

3 Scott has had many French translators/adaptors amongst whom the most prolific were J-B Defauconpret, Amédie Chaillot and Gigault de la Bédollières. It was, however, Amédée Pichot "who, by his translations, laid the flaming inspiration of Scott, of Byron, even in a large measure of Shakespeare, at the feet of the French Romantics." Laurence Adolphus Bisson, Amédée Pichot: A Romantic Prometheus (Oxford: Blackwell, 1942), p. xi.

4 See Donald Sultana, From Abbotsford to Paris and Back: Sir Walter Scott's Journey of 1815 (Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1993).

5 See The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, ed. by W. E. Anderson (Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 222-235.

6 See Scott, Journal, p. 235, (Friday 10 November, 1826) and his letter to James Ballantyne, (11 November, 1826) in The Letters of Sir Walter Scott, ed. by H.J.C. Grierson (London: Constable & Co. Ltd, 1936).

7 References are also made to British newspapers and/or journals where deemed appropriate.

8 Edinburgh Weekly Review, 8 November, 1826, p. 354.

9 See Janette McLeman-Carnie, "Alfred de Vigny à Abbotsford: un bijou dans la brume d'Écosse," Bulletin des amis d'Alfred de Vigny, 29 (2000), pp. 67-76, for a more elaborate account of the meeting between Scott and Vigny.

10 "I begged him to communicate in writing the weaknesses in my work and gave him my address." Alfred de Vigny, Oeuvres complètes: le Journal d'un poète, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, éd. de Baldensperger (Paris: Gallimard, 1948), II, p. 885.

11 "Do not count on me to critique the work. However, I do value it, I value it"! ibid.

12 Journal, p.316.

13 See Johann Peter Eckermann, Gesprache mit Goethe, Mittwoch, den 25 Juli' 1827 (Frankfurt am Main: Deutcher Klassiker Verlag, 1999), pp. 617-619.

14 Journal, p. 1064. "I said to Charles Nodier I was convinced that once Walter Scott started a novel, he didn't know how it would end. Nodier was reluctant to believe this although he did find Scott's works rather weak." For further references to Scott, see Vigny, Journal, pp. 883, 891, 935, 937, 942, 944, 946, 1048, 1064, 1109, 1167.

15 To date, Scott's Journal has not been translated into French. Vigny's command of English, in 1838, was good. He had already published adaptations of Shakespeare for the stage: Roméo et Juliette (1828), Le More de Venise (1829), Le Marchand de Venise (1829). We recall, also, that he married the Englishwoman, Lydia Bunbury in 1825. Sadly, in 1826, Vigny's English was not good enough to enable him to converse with Scott when they met in Paris. Nor was Scott able to converse in French with Vigny: "As to french (sic) I speak it as it comes and (like) Doeg in Absalom and Architophel, '- dash on through thick and thin / Through sense and nonesense never out nor in'." Journal, p. 259. Vigny's uncle, Colonel Hamilton Bunbury, acted, instead, as translator. See note 9.

16 Scott, Journal, p.433.

17 Scott, Journal, p. 86.

18 Vigny, Correspondance, sous la direction de Madeleine Ambrière, Tome I, 1816-juillet 18230 (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 1989), p. 243. "Yesterday, I spent some time with Sir Walter Scott. My wife's uncle and fellow countryman introduced me. I will tell you everything I remarked about this illustrious old man as writing would take too long. I found him affectionate, modest, indeed, almost timid *but* suffering, *but* afflicted, *but* too old. I didn't expect this and I found it distressing."

19 "Do not touch your idols. The gilt will come off on your hands." Gustave Flaubert, Madame Bovary.

20 It is worth noting that Vigny's approach to the historical novel differs from Scott's. He notes the following in his Journal: "J'essayai par Cinq-Mars de retourner sa manière en mettant le drame dans les personnages historiques et les figures inventées à l'horizon." p. 942. "I tried in Cinq-Mars to reverse his method (Scott's) by focusing the dramatic action on the historical characters and by keeping fictional characters in the background." See the preface of Cinq-Mars: Oeuvres complètes, II (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), pp. 5-11 for Vigny's aesthetic theory. See, also, Georg Lukacs, The Historical Novel, (London: Merlin Press Ltd, 1962), pp. 75-77.

21 La Quotidienne, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, microfilm, lundi, le 6 novembre, 1826, p. 3. "Sir Walter received a very flattering mark of distinction from the King. When the honorable baronet and his daughter wandered into the glass gallery which is reserved exclusively for ladies, they were given the King's permission to stay. His Royal Highness, recalling that the Minstrel of Marmion had also dedicated a few lines to the misfortunes of the Bourbons, addressed a few gracious words to the poet while at the same time conversing in English for a few moments with Miss Anne Scott."

22 Le Figaro, BnF, microfilm, vendredi, le 10 novembre, 1826. "When M. Roger learned that Sir Walter Scott was lame, he offered him a chair."

23 Le Globe, BnF, microfilm, samedi, le 14 november, 1826, p. 189. "Perhaps the time has come to submit SirWalter Scott's talent to some serious criticism the like of which, to date, public enthusiasm and the quick succession of his works have conspired to rob it."

24 Le Figaro, BnF, microfilm, mercredi, le 20 septembre, 1826. "Ivanhoe, which we have heard for the second time and to which we have paid the most scrupulous attention, is decidedly a very remarkable pastiche. Firstly, and keeping in mind Scott's chef d'oeuvre, we might have wanted to relive some of the master's scenes which, nevertheless, would not have fitted into a dramatic framework nor especially into a musical

work. However, by keeping our deliberations within the confines of a French libretto, by putting aside Walter Scott and his genius, and by concentrating more on the music and less on the poem, we have corrected our judgment. We consider Ivanhoe worthy of great praise. We will devote an article on the musical score of this opera which, taken from Rossini's best works, constitutes a choice of the most admirable pieces of this great composer. Two days ago, the overture was executed with perfect precision. The production, the scenery and costumes are very closely in harmony with Rossini's magnificent music." Henry Adelbert White quotes a less favourable review from Le Moniteur universel in, Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 113.

25 Le Figaro, op. cit. "M. Frédéric has taken over from M. Bernard. (…) debts everywhere, lacunae to fill, an incomplete and badly organised company, a tired repertoire. In short, all the evils that suggest a most woeful administration. What's to be done in such difficult times? M. Frédéric needed to use all his wisdom and talent to maintain this skeleton of a theatre entrusted to his care. The obstacles threatening the success of his enterprise did not daunt him and after six months of constant work, he has succeded in repairing the numerous mistakes of his predecessor. The debts have been paid, the company increased, the repertoire revamped so that the disorganization of the last administration has completely disappeared. Such is the status quo at the Odéon. It bodes well for the future. (…) To be highly regarded is no doubt an asset. However, financial success is much rarer. Robin Hood was the first of such financial successes. Let us hope Ivanhoe will not be the last."

26 Journal, October 31, 1826.

27 Le Mercure, BnF, microfilm, vol. XII, p. 523, le 16 juin, 1826. "Sautelet, the bookseller is not sleeping. On the contrary, he is supervising a most praiseworthy activity for the pleasure of Walter Scott's many readers. A second delivery has already followed the first which includes Ivanhoe, this beautiful epic of the Middle Ages that is valued much more than some of the very celebrated epics in verse."

28 Lukacs, Novel, p. 35.

29 ibid, p. 36.

30 H. A. White, Stage, p. 102.

31 Scott, Journal, p. 264

32 Paul-L. Lacroix aka Paul-L. Jacob, Soirées de Walter Scott, (Paris: édition Paulin, 1846), pp. 14-15. "'O Walter Scott!' Ah! If only I had had that name written in your hand, I would not be publishing this book today! What can you expect? To complete my collection, I needed the handwriting of the famous baron. In order to procure this valuable

handwriting, I put together at first a thousand more and more extravagant projects, more than would have been required for the golden fleece. At times, I thought about sending a letter of welcome, a kind of panegyric to the famous traveller in the hope of receiving a response; sometimes, and because I had heard speak of his avarice, I spurred myself on to offer him an honest sum of money (as one might say in provincial academic gatherings) in exchange for a few lines. What do *I* know? I might have seduced his servants, given a dinner with four starters, a ball with mirrors, all that for two traces of handwriting, from the hand that has written so many beautiful works."

33 "Gentleman, thanks to this gentleman whom I do not have the honour of knowing and yet whose courteous ways tell me he is a witty and erudite man, I have just disclosed a fact which will certainly be used against me. Yes, I found the seeds of the historical novel in old Froissard. I humbly confess that I am not the creator of the historical novel. All I have done is revived extinct authors, collected some of the treasures from their ashes and taken back to my country some of the good things that were created in yours but which you disdain through lack of knowledge. The rest of we English make much of your historians and every day their works are becoming rarer in France because they are being auctioned across the Channel. It isn't surprising to me that I bought Froissard for 140F at the Duc de Lavallière's sale. Gentlemen, you are forcing me to be more modest than I actually am. I acknowledge Froissard as my master. I cannot tell you how much gratitude I owe to the old French historians. They have not only shown me how to make my historical characters act and speak, they have also given me the idea for my Quentin Durward. I soon hope to draw a new work from your history and, as I cannot joust with Froissart when it comes to representing Charles the Bold, I will try at least to imitate him." pp. 16-29.

34 There are currently in excess of 15 tomes of Froissart in the Abbotsford library.

35 "I will not say that we applauded the storyteller for praise is too weak a word to express the captivating ecstasy of each one of us whatever the experience." p. 20.

36 "courses on applied history adapted to the novel." Scott was aware, however, that Lacroix had dedicated his book to him. See Letters, p. 21.

37 Wayne Conner, "Scott and Balzac," MLR, 1980, pp. 65-71.

38 "Les vers de M. De lacroix (sic) sont de l'histoire de fait et de style. Je dis de style car il est étonnant à quel point le Bibliophile Jacob s'est attaché à emprunter le tours des pensées, des phrases et les locutions en usage au temps de Malherbe, de Racan et de Segrais." Vigny, Correspondance, I, p. 424. "Mr Delacroix's writing is historical both in content and style. I say style because it is astonishing to what degree Jacob, the

bibliophile, has borrowed the thought, sentence structure and phraseology of the era of Malherbe, Racan and Segrais."

39 Soirées, p. 19. ''If I might dare to express myself in the following manner, the novel is the natural son of history. Many people would hesitate to agree with this. As for myself, I have trampled on shame and declared myself the *father* of perhaps too many natural children. I will easily prove that history sometimes mistakenly ressembles the novel. And without needing to invoke a multitude of chronicles equally exact and amusing in support of my theory, I could recount to you by way of an example a few strange and little known facts that I have compiled in the course of my research.''

40 Journal, p. 227, note.

41 Philorètes Chasles. BnF, microfilm, Le Mercure, vol. XIV, pp. 307-308. "These are living characters who portray a passionate existence, the characteristic traits of their era, as well as their people, professions and beliefs. We like the two greyhounds in Waverley and we find the old dog in Woodstock interesting because of the kind of authenticity and magic that is tied into these characters. Even the most inferior objects can reveal a whole association of ideas that resurrect a century and reproduce its characteristics. The accuracy of detail combined with the authenticity of the portraits, create the best perfect illusion that has ever been done in words. What deep authenticity of character and lifestyle! What enlightened historical truths that have become popular! If, as Leibnitz said, the soul is the world's mirror, no poet better deserves this title."

42 Chasles, Mercure. "We dare to say it. No-one is less literary, in the ordinary sense of the word, than Walter Scott, the sovereign of contemporary literature. The style of his works is not beautiful. The least refined ear, the least rigorous of tastes are often shocked by the coarseness of the Scottish/English sentences and the verbose perspicacity of his eras. Variety, authenticity and freedom are his motto."

For a more contemporary perspective on Scott's style, see, for example, John Huston Alexander, "Only Connect: The Passionate Style of Walter Scott" in Scottish Literary Journal, 1979, vol. 6, pp. 37-54.

43 Le Figaro, le 4 novembre, 1826. Microfilm. "The life of Napoléon Bonaparte, by Sir Walter Scott is only a continuation of Paul's letters. Beware, the French public."

44 Le Figaro, le 5 novembre 5, 1826. Microfilm. "Having tried out the historical novel, Sir Walter Scott is going to do a romantic history."

45 Le Figaro, le 6 novembre 6, 1826. Microfilm. "It is said that Sir Walter Scott has come to Paris in search of private and unusual material for his Life of Napoléon. The Duke of ***, Count *** and Baron *** are rich enough to offer abundant alms to the Scottish novelist."

46 Le Figaro, le 11 novembre, 1826. Microfilm. "I cannot forgive Walter Scott for having written novels, said a Jesuit, lately. The author of *Paul's Letters* was an amateur who has muttered to us from *The Scottish Puritans, Ivanhoe and Kennilworth etc.*"

47 Le Mercure, vol. XV, 1826, p. 288. Microfilm. "Sir Walter Scott is a very distinguished and skilful writer. However, is that enough to make him Napoleon's historian?"

48 Le Globe, le 4 novembre, 1826. Microfilm. "The sun is going down on this great writer and although his last works still reveal a lively imagination from time to time, it is obviously spent. The plot, like a tired traveller, drags on from scene to scene right to the denouement. There is certainly nothing surprising, there. Few writers have had such a long career as Sir Walter Scott and it is only natural that he should finally be subject to the common order. A painter is only a painter for a certain time. The imagination is like a spring that only flows in the morning and dries up in the afternoon from the intensity of the sun. Energetic and fertile in the springtime of nations and of humanity, the years drain it bit by bit until it finally runs dry. Once exhausted, it will invoke and spur on the muses in vain for the Heavens will remain silent and powerless, the will. We are moving forward and do not look back. We favour reality and do not, therefore, waste time favouring the opposite. And because we are governed by new aesthetic tastes, the time will come when we no longer appreciate either Sir Walter Scott or his works. Now is, therefore, the time to appreciate them because it is now that we are experiencing them." To date, I have not identified the author of this article signed T.J.

49 "Sketches of Parisian Society, Politics and Literature," The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal, 17 (1826), 300.

50 "By 1820, Scott's success was meteoric despite the dullness and inaccuracies of the translations of Defauconpret and his fellow translators." Claudie Bernard, Le Passé recomposé: le roman historique français du dix-neuvième siècle (Paris: Hachette Supérieur, 1999), p. 4.

51 E. Preston Dargan, "Scott and the French Romantics," PMLA, 49 (1934), 602.

52 S.B. Davis, "From Scotland to Russia via France: Scott, Defauconpret and Gogol," Scottish Slavonic Review, 17 (1981), 21-36.

53 Quoted by Patrick Hersant in Le Romantisme, 106 (1999), 86. "In the adaptation of a novel from one language to another, the primary concern of the translator seeking new readers is to please them. English taste does not always conform to ours. I have, therefore, withheld some details which would have appeared pointless to the French reader and have shortened some sketches of characters who are not in any way linked to the action."

54 “The great writer is in tune with the times or ahead of his time. The translator is always a little behind.” ibid, p. 88.

55 “It was by way of a very weak veil of improvised translations that Scott’s original talent succeeded in making itself known.” Le Globe, novembre 1826, p.189. Microfilm.

56 “What is a Walter Scott novel? Romantic tragedy interwoven with long descriptions.” Stendhal, Oeuvres complètes: Racine et Shakespeare (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1970), p. 8.

57 op. cit. p. 39. “Romanticism is the art of giving to the world literary works that are likely to offer the greatest pleasure possible in that they correspond to the people’s current customs and beliefs.” See also, Vigny’s preface in Cinq-Mars and Hugo’s Préface de Cromwell for further readings in Romantic literary theory.

58 Correspondance, Tome 1 (Paris: Presse universitaire de France, 1989) p. 84. “My hand is trembling with emotion as I write to you because of a scene in The Antiquary that treats the death of the fisherman’s son. Like your novel, Han, what can one say or do after such a reading? Finish it, I beg you, my friend ,for in truth there is profound feeling in it because it depicts real life. How will I ever be able to draw even one of these tears that The Antiquary has drawn from me with my unfortunate poetry.”

59 Vigny’s major works to that date consisted in poetry and his form and style were still at the experimental stage.

60 Cinq-Mars was published in the spring of 1826.

61 La Muse française, BnF, microfilm, juin 1823, pp. 25-37. “Few writers through their art and in keeping with their century have fulfilled their duty as novelists as well as Sir Walter Scott. Indeed, it would be almost a shameful error on the part of the literary man to consider himself above the general interests and needs of a nation, to exempt himself from the actions of his contemporaries and to isolate himself selfishly from the important path of the social corpus. Who might devote himself to this if not the poet? Whose voice will rise above the storm to quell it if not the voice of the lyre? No novelist has veiled more instruction under more charm, more truth under more fiction. What is the intention of a novelist? It must be to express a useful truth in an interesting story. By placing Sir Walter Scott very high on the list of novelists, and in particular, by placing Quentin Durward high on the list of novels, we are carrying out an act of conscience. Quentin Durward is a beautiful book. It would be difficult to find a better woven novel whose moral force is so fused with the dramatic force. We could try to reveal how this new drama of Sir Walter Scott’s is flawed, particularly its denouement. However, in order to justify himself, the novelist would have much better reasons than we would have for attacking him. We will limit our observations to the following: the words attributed by Scott to the Duke de Bourgogne’s

fool on Louis XI arrival at Péronne belong to Francois I's fool during Charles-Quint's passage through France in 1535. Poor Triboulet's immortaliy hangs on this word. Let us not take it away from him. We also believe that the ingenious stratagem adopted by the astrologer Galéotti in order to flee from Louis XI had already been foreseen several thousand years before. We are surprised that the King addresses the knights of Saint-Esprit in his Bourgogne council as this order of knight was founded a century later by Henri III."

62 "All great problems pertaining to humanity can be discussed in literature." Vigny, Journal, p. 1204

63 "I prefer to believe in the novel because I prefer moral truth to historical truth." Muse, p. 35.

64 Stendhal, Oeuvres complètes: Correspondance générale (Paris: Librairie ancienne, Honoré Champion, 1970), p. 593.

65 Vigny, himself, had many military connections given he spent thirteen years in the army. His novel, Servitude et grandeur militaire, was the issue of his military experience.

66 "Scott is unquestionably the founder, model and, in every ambivalent respect, the *father* of the nineteenth-century novel." Bernard, Le Passé recomposé, p. 43.

67 Journal, p. 198.

68 Journal, p. 124.

THE CASE FOR UNION IN 1707

The last Scottish Parliament voted itself out of existence in 1707, and ended Scotland's claim to be a politically independent country. It seemed, as the Chancellor Seafield said, "ane end of ane auld sang". The vote concluded several years of furious argument, in Parliament, in the streets, and in many pamphlets, about whether Scotland was worth preserving, with the threat of force and even full-scale war in the background. Yet it went against the wishes of the great majority of the people, who would have endorsed the words of a new song: "We're bought and sold for English gold / Such a parcel of rogues in a nation."[1] This article examines the unpopular but successful case made by the "rogues," in favour of Union with England. It begins with a brief description of the social and political situation, and of the case for Scottish nationalism according to Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. It then presents the case for Union and against an independent Scotland, as made in the writings of Defoe, William Paterson, William Seton (also known as Lord Pitmeddon), and Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik. These are probably the best of the advocates for Union, and their writings on this topic deserve more attention than they have received (Defoe, Paterson, and Clerk are quite well known in history, but for other reasons). Finally, the article glances at the effects of the Union, and at possible applications of the pro-Union arguments to the present.

Andrew Fletcher's *First Discourse Concerning the Affairs of Scotland,* published in 1698, makes the case for an independent Scotland, and also initiates the debate on Union, on whether Scotland should go it alone or join England. Pamphlets on both sides soon appeared in large numbers. Scotland's situation was then desperate: many had died in the famines of 1695-99

and the economy had collapsed, the immediate cause being the failure of the Darien Expedition (an attempt to colonize in modern Panama in 1698-99) which lost about a quarter of Scotland's capital. The political situation made it difficult to initiate any improvements. Since 1603, Scotland had retained its own Parliament, but this had little independent power – until, ironically, its last few years, as it debated its own abolition. The London Government ruled Scotland, yet frequently treated the Scots as aliens and denied them free trade with England. Most Scots believed that almost anything would be better than the political status quo, and this belief is common ground for both sides in the debate about full Union with England.

In 1701 the English Parliament passed an Act settling the British Crown, after Queen Anne's death, on the family of Hanover, and thus rejecting the Stuart line of James II. It assumed that Scottish agreement was not required, although in fact the two countries were still constitutionally separate. The Scots were – predictably – upset, but also realized that the issue gave them a fairly strong bargaining point, which might be used to demand either greater independence (real power for the Scottish Parliament) or greater equality with England (in a Union of Parliaments) – in return for accepting the Hanoverians.

In 1703 a motion in the Scottish Parliament to "abjure the Pretender," reject the son of James II and the Stuart line, was almost unanimously defeated. Actually, most Scottish MPs distrusted the Stuarts and preferred the prospect of the Hanoverians, but to say so would weaken their bargaining position. The other Scots' bargaining point, or background threat, was that they might simply defy the London government, and declare Scotland a fully independent country. The problem with this was that the country would then have to be defended, and probably against the Duke of Marlborough's armies. Still, a conquest of Scotland would have been difficult while England was heavily engaged in war on the continent, and holding Scotland under subjection even more difficult. George Ridpath's controversial pamphlet, "The Reducing of Scotland by Arms" (1705) is not – as the title might suggest – an instruction manual, but a warning: nemo me impune lacessit (the motto

of the kings of Scotland – if you attack me, you'll suffer for it).

Fletcher was easily the best known exponent of the nationalist case, and both supporters and opponents are usually writing with his views in mind. After 1703 he was a member of Parliament, and his speeches were printed as pamphlets and enthusiastically received. His nationalism is in part anti-English. He argues that the English are hostile to other countries: they have mistreated Ireland for centuries, and exploited Scotland since 1603. For example, the wars against France were for English interests, but expended Scottish blood in "treble proportion," and Scotland is now (1698) being taxed "beyond measure".[2] The English will always treat the Scots as inferiors, and indeed the proposed Union would really be a subjection of Scotland to England. On the positive side, Fletcher's nationalism begins with the axiom that "no inclination is so honourable" as "love of that country and society" one is born in (the first sentence of his *Two Discourses Concerning the Affairs of Scotland*). But this does raise the issue of how one defines one's country, for by this period, a Scot had the option of choosing Great Britain. For Fletcher, however, a country should be small enough in area for the capital city to be accessible to all landowners, without their having to leave their estates for long periods, and small enough in population for all influential people to know each other. (Scotland seems rather too big to fit this description, and indeed Fletcher's "country" probably excludes the Highlands. In his "Account of a Conversation" (1703), where he airily proposes splitting Europe up into City States, Scotland is to provide two, with centres at Stirling and Inverness, presumably for the Lowlands and Highlands.)[3] Fletcher argues that there are economic advantages in limiting a country to this size, partly because the upper classes will not be tempted to leave their estates and live and spend their money in some distant metropolitan centre. There is also a greater chance of democracy, in that a Parliament will be more responsible to its voters, who have access to the capital.

Fletcher does not view Scottish society as generally superior, but he does believe that the Scots still value liberty above all, whereas the English no longer do. Their ancient constitution has

decayed, "jealousy for publick liberty is vanished,"[4] and they are willing to accept as king a potential tyrant. Union would mean that the Scots also lost their liberty. This, of course, raises the questions of what is meant by "liberty" and how far the Scots actually enjoyed it. In Fletcher's view, liberty means not being entirely subjected to another man and having meaningful powers of choice. He acknowledges that the higher the social rank, the greater range of choice – in a free society. Under a tyrant, even an aristocrat does not have liberty, because he does not have significant choices: all important matters are decided by the tyrant.[5] As to how far the Scots are free, Fletcher evidently believes that they are potentially so, if Scotland remains a nation. However, Union with England would mean the end of liberty (or the hope of liberty) for the Scots, because the English no longer preserve it even for themselves, and the Scots would be treated as inferiors.

As Parliamentary debate intensified, Fletcher and other defenders of Scottish independence had to become more specific about what they were proposing for the near future, and reconsider what was likely to be persuasive. Most of them take the position that they are not against "Union" so long as it is a "Federal Union." Scotland and England would become one to the extent that there would be free trade between them, but Scotland would retain her Parliament. It is, however, disingenuous to describe this proposal as "Union," as its supporters intend Scotland to retain sovereignty. In the context of this debate, "Federal Union" becomes (rather confusingly) almost synonymous with "Scottish Independence." The writers on the actual pro-Union side wish to abolish the Scottish Parliament and many features of the Scottish Nation and become British (or, in Seton's case, more or less English). Defoe, Paterson, John Clerk, and William Seton were all in some sense paid to support the Union – the latter two in particular were very well rewarded for helping to negotiate the terms and get them passed by the Scottish Parliament – but this does not in itself invalidate their arguments. They do seem concerned about public good if not about public opinion, which was strongly against them.

Defoe was normally based in London, and his early pro-Union pamphlets are addressed to the English. He was in

Scotland from September 1706, when the last Union debate began in the Scottish Parliament, until it passed the Articles of Union in January 1707. His duties there were to keep the London government informed of developments, lobby for the Union with influential people, and write pamphlets in its support. Despite being a government propagandist, Defoe was sincere in most of his arguments and, unlike most Englishmen of the period, both knowledgeable and sympathetic about Scotland. In 1709 he published *A History of the Union*; it is mainly a compilation of documents, but the "Dedication" to Queen Anne is (rather surprisingly) a good summary of Defoe's position. He believes that the island of Britain is a natural unit for a country, and war between Scotland and England is "cutting the throats of our Brethren." The primary advantages of the Union are peace and security; in the past both countries – and particularly Scotland – have been impoverished by war with each other. Peace, and the removal of trade barriers, will lead to greatly increased trade and prosperity (an especially important point for a country which experienced famine). There will also be increased liberty for the common people. Despite the claims that Scotland is a free country, many Scots are not free because of the feudal nature of the laws and customs, but rather in a "state of bondage to their Governors". England, on the other hand, is the "freest Nation in the World".

Defoe is not exaggerating his distaste for Scottish feudal "superiorities" (where a tenant farmer could be almost completely at the mercy of his landowner, economically and even in law). On the other hand, his confidence in English justice and the English constitution is not as great as he claims. Here he flatters his dedicatee, the Queen, and does not mention his own time in jail and the pillory for criticizing the government. Defoe suffered partly because he was a dissenter, and most Scots, as Presbyterians, would also become dissenters if Anglicanism were to become the established church of all Great Britain. (It was already established in Ireland, though the majority of the people were Catholic.) Therefore, even in this "Dedication" to the head of the Anglican Church, Defoe stresses the importance of maintaining Presbyterianism as the Church of Scotland, claiming

that this would avoid religious persecution and, more broadly, safeguard many Scottish customs and liberties. Defoe, more than the three Scottish Unionists, supports a Union where Scotland retains some of her distinctiveness.

Paterson was a Scot but had lived in England a long time; indeed, he was one of the founders of the Bank of England (as well as deviser of the ill-fated Darien scheme). The Commissioners of Union employed him to make some of their calculations. His main writings on the Union are '"Proceedings of the Wednesday's Club" and five Letters on the Union, all written in 1706. They are interspersed with lively ideas only tangentially connected with the Union, such as government granaries to feed the poor, efficient tax collecting, a canal between the Forth and Clyde. His arguments for Union are mainly economic, and tend to become detailed tables of what tax revenues can be expected – though he is very optimistic here. The advantages of a complete Union seem to him so obvious that he tends to simply dismiss other views. The pamphlets written against Union are "long, tedious and perplexed heaps of words, or at least of ordinary and trifling matter".[6] (This is, admittedly, not unfair as a description of one of the three best known anti-Union writers, James Hodges.)

On political issues, Paterson makes some legitimate points. He appreciates that Fletcher and most other advocates of a "federal" Union (with separate parliaments) really want an independent Scotland. And his case that a federal Union could not work for long is plausible: he argues that the apparently successful examples cited by his opponents – usually ancient Greece, Switzerland, and Holland – were either temporarily united by external pressures, or were actually dominated by one state of the confederacy. But Paterson usually brushes aside political problems, believing that the Union will dissolve all differences between Scotland and England – they will simply seek to exist in the larger Great Britain. Thus his non-economic case for Union is perfunctory and rather beside the point. (He falls back on the ad baculum arguments that England will not accept anything other than complete Union, so it must be accepted, and that no-one should try to lessen the power of the

monarch, because this could be construed as treason.) When he returns to the subject of the Union in 1717, in another set of "Wednesday Club" proceedings, he tacitly concedes that so far it has not been a success. But his only remedy is economic exhortation: we have to eliminate corruption and inefficiency and all will be well. The "Wednesday" publication is a conversation between many speakers and this makes for easy reading, though sometimes also for effects that Patterson did not intend. The exchanges at the end of the 1706 series, on the benefits of Union, sound rather like Mr. Hold-the-World, Mr. Money Love, and their associates in *Pilgrim's Progress*: "Mr. Sands said, he was not only fully convinced of the great benefits and advantages of the Union, but that there neither was, or possibly could be, any reasonable objection against it." (I.249) There are dimensions of the Union debate that completely elude Patterson, especially the nationalist one.

Sir John Clerk was a follower of the Duke of Queensberry, who pushed through the Union (and made a large fortune in the process) over a period of several years. Clerk was one of the 33 Commissioners who actually negotiated the terms of the Union, a member of the Scottish Parliament that ratified it, and one of the 45 Scottish MPs who joined the British Parliament. Long afterwards (probably between 1724 and 1730 but with later revisions for another twenty years) he wrote a history of relations between Scotland and England, including a detailed account of the Union negotiations and the final debates in the Scottish Parliament. Other comments appear in his *Memoirs*. The history is written in Latin, and was not published till this century. Clerk probably believed that the Latin added weight and dignity to his thoughts, and may have intended to deter the hoi polloi from ever reading and criticizing. The Latin is also appropriate in that he hoped Great Britain would emulate the Roman Empire, in attaining political stability and a high level of civilization.

Clerk admits the very widespread opposition to the Union, perhaps even exaggerates it, when he says not one in a hundred Scots was in favour. He also admits the general belief that those who voted for the Union did so merely to receive "places" and payments: "we are commonly labelled courtiers and

mercenaries" (indeed, his own father was scandalized by the proceedings.) He concedes a few of the economic points made by the nationalists, notably Fletcher. Being far from Court, as the Scots now are, is a real disadvantage. And smaller countries, like Scotland, may allow a more even – fairer – distribution of wealth (though his main point here is that large states are more secure). But the *History* attempts to show that Union of Scotland with England was natural, inevitable, and highly desirable. They occupy one island, speak the same language, and have very much the same culture. (Clerk even claims that English is the aboriginal – pre-Roman – language of Britain!) Where Scotland differs, it is usually for the worse. The nobility oppress their tenants by short leases (and therefore many evictions) and by their Barony Courts, where landlords could decide cases in their own favour. The people suffer from "torpor and sloth" and drunkenness. If Scotland ever was a viable country, it has become "a meer shadow and an empty name". The English, on the other hand, are "known throughout Europe for their love of liberty and commercial expertise" (a neat pairing). Scottish Presbyterianism has to be retained as a sop to the people, but Scottish laws should be amalgamated with English, though this may be a two-way process.[7]

Clerk is a nationalist, then, but an English one. He despises "French promises and Highland armies"[8] and the country he feels allegiance to is bounded by the Highland line and the English Channel. Lowland Scotland is only a rather small part of this, though Clerk cherishes the belief – not abandoned even in the 1730s – that the names of Scotland and England will disappear to be replaced by "Britain". His patriotism seems to be bound up with allegiance to the monarch. The spiritual heart of his country is where the king is, and since 1603 that is London. (This contrasts with the views of most Scots, who had no difficulty envisaging their country without a particular king. As the Declaration of Arbroath of 1320 states: if one king is unsatisfactory they can make another.) Clerk is defeatist in that he thinks England could easily prevent Scotland becoming independent again, even if that were desirable, and he admires England partly for its size and power. Yet he is not a worshipper of power

per se nor, in his own view, a time server. Size brings stability, which allows real civilization to flourish, which entails prosperity and freedom, and not least for the common people. True freedom is from want and arbitrary arrest; granted these, various choices become possible, for example to enjoy and patronize the arts, as Clerk himself did. He firmly believed there was no such freedom in the wasteland of seventeenth-century Scotland, and that it could not exist in any future Scottish state.

Yet Clerk's *History* is not a convincing apologia. He insists too much and too implausibly on the long-standing, unified Britishness of Britain: Bruce's oration before the battle of Bannockburn becomes an appeal to *British* (not Scottish) nationalism. For the contemporary period, he asserts the benefits of the Union, but not very specifically and without proof or examples of the greater prosperity he mentions. The impression given is that he is no longer convinced that the Union was indeed a blessing, and his Memoirs tend to confirm this. In 1743 he laments that an Englishman has been made Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, though Clark was the obvious candidate: "those who have friends in any great offices in England will always be preferred to any Scotsman".[9] His vision of Britain has appeal, but does not seem to have become a reality.

William Seton of Pitmeddon was also one of the Commissioners who negotiated the Union. He is unusual among politicians in that what he wrote in opposition a book titled *The Interest of Scotland in Three Essays* (1700), is consistent with what he wrote as a member of the government, "Scotland's Great Advantages by a Union with England" (1706), and with his speeches in Parliament on that topic. Seton's emotional allegiance is to Britain, and largely to England. He sees Scotland and England as similar in language, religion (Protestant), politics (both have a limited monarchy) and general customs. They should work together, especially against the commercial competition of Holland. On the other hand, the Scottish Highlanders are foreign undesirables. An advantage of the Union is that it will pressure them: "to forsake their Ancient Customs and Language, and to apply themselves to Virtue and Industry". Seton also argues, more strongly and specifically than Clerk, that

even the Scottish Lowlanders have much to learn from the English. Most Scottish institutions are clearly inferior to their English counterparts. Scottish education is weak and impractical. (Clerk agreed. He thought his two years studying philosophy at Glasgow a waste of time.) The clergy are underpaid and frequently ignorant, merchants incompetent, and many landowners idle and avaricious. The systems of short-term leases and Barony (landlords') Courts are unfair to the tenant farmers, commercially and legally, so that they have no real freedom. The common people eat badly and lack English enterprise and daring; they have only "a timorous civility" (an odd description of the Edinburgh mob). How would Union change this? First, there would be an infusion of English ideas: agriculture would be better organized, and the people would have more food; and the replacement of Barony Courts by neutral judges, who could arbitrate fairly between tenant and landlord, would be a great advance in justice. Many landowners might go off to live near the Court in England, but this would be a plus – their tenants would flourish better without them. More fundamentally, there would be a great increase in security and trade – no more wars with England and free trade across the border – from which everyone would benefit.[10]

Seton is the most pragmatic and politically knowledgeable of the four advocates for Union: even in 1700, he is arguing tactically that it is time to make a deal. The English are at war, need the security of a safe northern frontier, and will offer good terms. The pamphlet and speeches of 1706 make much the same points, theoretical and tactical, more vehemently. Seton does have to argue against the Nationalists proposed "federal union" which he does on the usual Unionist grounds: either a federal union is another name for effective independence, or it means continuing the system of the last hundred years where Scotland has only token independence and is treated as an inferior dependency of England. Nationalist talk of losing an "ancient kingdom" is only words: the kingdom disappeared in 1603, and anyway should be unlamented. If we try to return to independence, we are left with a "Gothick Constitution" (with no real justice), rack-renting landlords, and a hopelessly weak economy – Scotland

does not produce anything good or cheap enough for other countries to want it. And the English will work against us. The choice is really between: "Union with Peace and Plenty or Dis-Union with Slavery and Poverty".[11]

This is a good summary of the core positions of all four advocates of Union, though elsewhere they sometimes disagree. Defoe is anxious to preserve the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, largely as a safeguard for political and economic freedom. Paterson is too much concerned with the encouragement of business to be concerned with such issues, though his liberal view of economics – few regulations, free competition – seems to be balanced by rather left-wing political views not unlike Defoe's: for example, the rich tend to be taxed too little and the poor and middling too much. For Seton, and probably Clerk, retaining the Church of Scotland is only a rather unwelcome concession, that probably has to be made for the Union to pass the Scottish Parliament. Nor are they concerned to preserve Scottish identity or, to any great extent, safeguard free speech. They tend to agree with the King of Brobdingnag (in Book II, chapter 6, of *Gulliver's Travels*) that heterodox opinions are best left unspoken. In practice, they wish to limit political dissent to their own, landed class. Clerk imagines Great Britain as a recreation of the Roman Empire: in his idealized version, the subjected peoples are admitted to equal rights with the Romans (English) and retain some of their national characteristics. This vision is not shared by the others. Seton, otherwise closest to Clerk, wants to become English and be done with it.

Yet, with the exception of the Church of Scotland issue, these differences are matters of emphasis and not radical disagreements, and the four advocates of Union share a cohesive set of beliefs. England and Scotland are fundamentally similar, the Scots can easily adapt to English ways, and English goodwill can be assumed. The Scottish Nation is not very valuable in itself, and perhaps only "a shadow and an empty name," as Clerk says: Scots patriotism should be redirected towards a Great Britain. There are slight differences as to how far this Great Britain will or should simply embody English values and customs at the expense of Scottish ones, but agreement that, in any case,

England is superior to any other country, in constitution, laws, and economic opportunities. All argue that only a permanent peace with England can give the security necessary for increased wealth, and for liberty from poverty and oppression. In addition, the very size of Great Britain will also increase security and trading possibilities: small countries are more likely to be despotic and inefficient (though Defoe dissents somewhat on this).

These views stand out more clearly when set against those of the Nationalists. For them, the need to preserve Scotland is, of course, axiomatic. Scottish customs are distinct and, whether or not superior to English ones (and they probably are), they are our own and worth preserving. The English have seldom shown good will towards the Scots and, given the chance, will deny them rights and draw away their wealth and assets. To give up independence and arms, and trust English assurances on economic opportunity and liberty is, as Fletcher says, "leaning on a shadow."[12] Further, the size of Great Britain is in itself a disadvantage. Scots would have very little say in regulating their own affairs, because the new parliament would be mainly English, and also too far away to be accountable. Scots would lose political rights and also the chance of prospering economically. All regulations would be for England's benefit and, as was already happening, the distant capital would draw away the upper classes from Scotland, along with their wealth.

There is some common ground, of course. Priorities vary, but everyone values peace, security, wealth, and – with very distinctive glosses – liberty and perhaps democracy. (Not that they are always entirely frank. The Pro-Unionists cannot appear to be against liberty, and the Scottish Nationalists do not wish to sound too disdainful about wealth.) On a more pragmatic level, the problem becomes how to achieve the ideals that both sides value. Is liberty for individuals more likely to be attained by preserving the Scottish Nation or, as at least as Defoe and Paterson believe, by unifying the countries and parliaments? Will the Union bring greater prosperity to Scotland, or damaging exploitation? Contemporaries could only prophesy: we, of the twentieth century, should be in a position to answer such questions from history. But the answers are less evident than one would expect.

It seems reasonable to state that Scotland shared in the greater respect for individual human rights that developed, though gradually and tentatively, in the eighteenth century; but so did some other European countries without help from England. And the new Parliament's reintroduction of patronage into the Church of Scotland (1712) began two centuries of dissension.

It should be easier to assess whether Scotland benefited economically from the Union, or whether Fletcher's fears in this area were realized. The conventional view taught in high schools for many years has been that, even if the benefits of Union took some time to become evident, they undoubtedly arrived, and more or less as promised. Yet many of the Nationalists' predictions were verified. Some landowners did spend much more time in England, taking their wealth there and rackrenting tenants to pay for a more expensive lifestyle. Taxes increased and were more rigorously applied. Free trade with England was of limited benefit because Scotland had not much to offer that was salable there. And free trade with the plantations was for long theoretical because English merchants guarded their monopolies. Thirty years after Union, when almost all the Commissioners were dead (all except Seton, Clerk, and one other) there was still no perceptible improvement in economic activity or living standards, as Clerk tacitly admits. It was another decade before the economy began to pick up steam, and another half-century before wealth increased for the majority, and such a very long gap must raise doubts as to whether the Union really did benefit Scotland economically, or whether the improvement would have come about anyway, in an independent Scotland. (And it is worth reiterating that the Unionists' arguments were largely economic.)[13]

But, whatever one's judgments on the consequences of Union, its advocates do raise important issues and argue a strong case. Might any of their ideas apply to the present situation? Only indirectly and partially, but here are a few suggestions. First, is Scotland now socially cohesive? Three hundred years ago, most Lowlanders (even Fletcher) felt they had more in common with the English than the Highlanders. Do some still feel this? And what is the attitude towards Glasgow in other parts

of Scotland? Then there is the debate about large and small countries. The advantages of being small are fairly obvious – closeness to a centre of power (though developments in transport and technology have made this less important), perhaps a more homogenous culture – but are there corresponding disadvantages? Might Scotland become parochial in the bad sense as many contemporaries, notably Seton, claimed it was in 1707, with resistance to truly new ideas – in business, technology, planning, arts – and too many corrupt and inefficient bureaucrats? If Westminster does remain sovereign, might a Scottish Parliament increase the psychological distance from London and encourage discrimination or neglect? ("If you want that, pay for it yourself.")

On Scottish nationalism, how much validity is there in Clerk's assertion that it tends to be negative, anti-English, rather than positive – pride in what is distinctively Scottish? Are Scots in danger of over-rating nationalism and under-rating the ideals of internationalism and concord that at least Defoe and Paterson valued? What values and what Scottish institutions do they want to preserve and encourage? For the contemporary situation, the main advantage of looking at the 1707 debate is that it prompts thought about all these issues. One danger should be avoided. Paterson especially, but also the other three writers, believed that the Union would work like a magic wand. The Parliaments would blend and – almost immediately – Scotland would flourish, or rather both Scotland and England would disappear into the shining new country of Great Britain. It did not happen like that, and conversely one should not assume that a new Scottish Parliament will, in itself, change Scotland for the better.

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Endnotes

1 "Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation," as rewritten by Burns.
2 For Fletcher's works, the references are to: Andrew Fletcher, Political Works (Cambridge U.P., 1997), ed. John Robertson. "First Discourse," 42 & 45.
3 "An Account of a Conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Governments for the common Good of Mankind," 214.
4 "A Speech upon the State of the Nation" (1701), 121.
5 "Second Discourse," 60. It may seem difficult to take Fletcher seriously as a proponent of liberty when he is notorious for proposing serfdom for many of his countrymen, in the "Second Discourse". But his argument in that essay is at least consistent. He wrote it during the famine, with "so many thousands of our people … at this day dying for want of bread" (56) so that the choice seemed to be between serfdom and death. And the serfs (or "servants" as Fletcher considers them) would have some rights.
6 Writings of William Paterson (London, 1859), 3v. ed. Saxe Bannister. I, 173.
7 John Clerk, History of the Union of Scotland and England (Edinburgh, 1993), trans. D. Duncan, 118, 171, 7, 137, 200, 140.
8 John Clerk, Memoirs (Edinburgh, 1892), ed. John Gray, 221.
9 Ibid, 166.
10 William Seton, The Interest of Scotland in Three Essays (1700), II, 57 & 52.
11 "Scotland's Great Advantages in a Union with England" (1706), 8. See also, in particular, Seton's speech of 2 Nov 1706, included in Defoe's History of the Union, 28-32.
12 Robertson, 149. (Parliamentary speech VII.)
13 This remains a subject for debate. See, for example, T.C. Smout's "Where had the Scottish economy got to by the end of the eighteenth century?" in Istvan Hont, ed. Wealth and Virtue (Cambridge U.P.: 1983) and T.M. Devine's "The Union of 1707 and Scottish Development" (1985), in his Exploring the Scottish Past (East Lothian: Tuckwell, 1985). These discern rather more strength in the economy in the first half of the century, but attribute it mainly to factors at work before the Union.

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A Neglected Scottish Clergyman: Arthur Hamilton of Revolutionary Virginia and Maryland

The American Revolution was a stressful and disruptive period in the lives of patriots and loyalists alike. In Virginia ministers of the established Church of England especially found the revolutionary years disturbing and unsettling. They had sworn solemn oaths at their ordination to conform to the Book of Common Prayer and to uphold the king, but the Virginia insurgents demanded that they alter the liturgy and abjure their fidelity to the monarch. Because of a heartfelt belief in divine justice, many people of the eighteenth century viewed oaths very seriously and regarded perjury as a grave moral offense.[1] The Revolution, moreover, took from the clergy their accustomed means of subsistence. The laws of the colony had provided the parish rectors with a comfortable living but with the Revolution came the disestablishment of the church and the loss of public stipends from tax sources. Thereafter voluntary tithes yielded very little income for the parsons, sometimes resulting in economic hardship.

One of the Virginia ministers to experience the vicissitudes associated with the Revolution was Arthur Hamilton, rector of two parishes in Virginia from 1769 to 1779 and then of one in Maryland until his death two years later. He left no progeny or family network to perpetuate his name and memory and he died at a relatively early age and thus he is a prime candidate for historical oblivion. The standard biographical authorities of the clergy knew very little about him, largely neglected him, and thought he disappeared from the records in 1779.[2] This biographical sketch will analyze the life and career of Hamilton, examine his reaction to the revolutionary events, and assess the

effects of disestablishment on his economic status. He was not a celebrated divine but he was an active member of the professional group which served important religious institutions in Virginia and Maryland during a critical period in their history. His story will also illustrate the dilemma of other Anglican clergy during the Revolution.

Hamilton was a Caledonian and at the time both the clergy and laity of Virginia sometimes expressed harsh criticism of the Scots among their ministers. Reportedly they were not sincerely committed to the Church of England or their profession, were incompetent and professionally unqualified, and were spiritually and morally unfit for the ministry.[3] A sizable minority of Hamilton's colleagues were Scots. Of the 108 names found on the clerical lists of 1770, 1774, 1775, and 1776 thirty-three (thirty percent) were from North Britain.[4]

Information about his family is not definitive, but our subject, who was sometimes called Archibald Hamilton, was most probably the nephew of Robert Dinwiddie, a Scot and lieutenant governor of Virginia from 1751 to 1758. In his will of 1769 Dinwiddie bequeathed £50 sterling to Archibald, son of his late sister, Christian, and her husband, Reverend William Hamilton. It is possible that he was the Archibald Hamilton who matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1750 and took his Master of Arts degree in 1756.[5]

Two-thirds of the Scottish parsons on the lists of the 1770s attended and graduated from the universities of Scotland. More than one half of the other British-born ministers held college degrees and about three-fourths of the American ministers had attended college but a large number had not taken baccalaureate degrees. Comparatively, the Scots were not less learned and professionally qualified than their fellow clerics.

Sometime after he completed his education Hamilton came to Virginia but how he occupied himself upon his arrival is not known. His name first appears in the records on December 17, 1767 when he announced in one of the gazettes that he intended to leave "for England immediately." It was the standard notice for creditors to make known their demands and debtors to settle their accounts.[6] Before his departure he had evidently prepared

himself for the ministry by private study, possibly under the tutelage of a local minister.

Hamilton's goal in England was to seek holy orders from the bishop of London, the nominal diocesan of the Anglican churches in the colonies; there was no bishop in America. With him he carried an endorsement, dated November 9, 1767, signed by both William Robinson, the bishop's commissary in Virginia, and Francis Fauquier, the lieutenant governor; Hamilton had "produced such strong testimonials of his moral life and character," they wrote, that they were recommending him for the priesthood. They would do their utmost to place him in a vacant parish upon his ordination and return, they concluded.[7]

Hamilton experienced no problems in London. To examining chaplains he demonstrated the necessary knowledge of the Bible, the Prayer Book, the Creeds, and the Thirty Nine Articles; of scriptural and church history; of the various branches of theology; and of secular knowledge which included Latin and Greek. Bishop Richard Terrick ordained him deacon on May 29, 1768 and priest on June 11, 1768. On the latter date the prelate also licensed him to officiate as clergyman in Virginia. Hamilton also had to swear allegiance to the king and promise to defend him against any threat, foreign or domestic, and to swear an oath to conform, without exception, to the Book of Common Prayer in the conduct of worship services.[8]

In its 1768 issue the elitist Gentleman's Magazine, under the rubric, "Ecclesiastical Preferments," listed "Rev. Mr. Arthur Hamilton – to Fredericksburg L. in Maryland." Hamilton's reported assignment was incorrect, he was licensed for Virginia as noted above, but the appearance of his name suggests that the magazine recognized him as a member of the upper social class. The periodical is known to have mentioned only one other Virginia clergyman.[9]

Hamilton returned to Virginia about the time the new governor, Norborne Berkeley, baron de Botetourt, arrived in Williamsburg on October 26, 1768. Within a week Botetourt appointed Hamilton to be his chaplain.[10] The quick selection by the governor suggests that he knew the young priest personally or that he acted upon the recommendation of an influential

party. In eight weeks Hamilton became parson of his own parish which was located a day's journey from Willamsburg, but he retained his position with Botetourt. What his benefits and specific duties as chaplain may have been are not known, but his appointment by the popular and respected Botetourt added to his social and clerical standing in Virginia. At the governor's death on October 15, 1770 his chaplaincy lapsed.[11]

On December 12, 1768 the vestry of Petsworth parish in Gloucester County received Hamilton as its rector, with his incumbency to begin the following January 1.[12] It was the duty of the new rector to conduct services each Sunday in the Poplar Spring church, the only worship center in the parish. It was the second church by that name and was a handsome brick structure, with a surrounding brick wall. The church boasted an organ, an elaborate altar piece, and a pulpit cloth, table cloth, and pulpit cushion of crimson velvet. The parishioners abandoned the church about 1793 and gradually it disintegrated into a heap of bricks.[13]

As rector he officiated at baptisms, marriages, and funerals for which he received perquisites. Virginia law provided that the minister receive an annual salary of 16,000 pounds of tobacco, plus the percentages for cask and shrinkage, and that he have the use of a farm or plantation, called a glebe, of at least two hundred acres with a suitable residence and appropriate outbuildings for agricultural production.[14] The two tracts making up the Petsworth glebe added up to 322 acres; on it was a rectory of brick which had been constructed in 1746. Since his library at his death included school books, it is probable that Hamilton conducted a school in Petsworth and his other locations.[15]

How much annual income did Hamilton's cure provide? A few decades ago Jackson Turner Main thought the tobacco salary yielded the Virginia minister between £160 and £200 sterling per annum and that the glebe was "worth another £35 or so;" he said nothing about the value of the perquisites. More recently Joan Gundersen argued that the salaries "ranged far below" the figures Main used, but she based her judgment on the income of all three hundred ministers between 1723 and 1776, not on those of Hamilton's generation.[16] After the war, the British loyalist

claims commissioners, who were certainly not noted for their generosity, awarded pensions, which were judged to be equal to one-half of their total annual income, to nine Virginia clerical Tory refugees. Their pensions varied from £75 to £130 for an average of almost £100 sterling annually, indicating that the commissioners thought their incomes from tobacco, glebe, and perquisites had been nearly £200 sterling per year. With that income, plus the fees from his students, Hamilton lived comfortably as a member of the upper-middle class in Virginia.[17]

Apparently Hamilton was not completely satisfied with Petsworth for in 1770 he was an unsuccessful applicant for the vacancy in Kingston, one of the other parishes in Gloucester. He may have considered Kingston's emoluments superior to those of Petsworth. Kingston's glebe contained five hundred acres, had a good house and outbuildings, and the parish provided two slaves for its rector.[18]

Since Hamilton had virtually no labor at his disposal, it is unlikely that he managed production on his glebe but collected rent from tenants. In 1770-1771 he was responsible for only one tithable, an eighteen-year-old convict servant. At his death in 1781 he owned no slaves. Inconclusive evidence hints that Hamilton may have dabbled in the tobacco trade in his early years in Virginia. The compilers of tithables in Gloucester, whose county records were destroyed, wrote that Hamilton owned 325 acres of land in 1770-1771, but possibly they were referring to his glebe, to which he held a life-time tenure.[19]

Very little of Hamilton's clerical performance is known. No sermon, nor a fragment or text, has survived, nor is a reference to his preaching by contemporaries to be found in the record. No complaints against him or incidents involving him were recorded. The vestry book only reveals that he attended seven of the thirteen vestry meetings during his tenure in Petsworth and that he received his tobacco as the law stipulated.[20]

He took part in an important program of the Virginia church, the Fund for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of Clergymen, which was organized in 1754 and which functioned successfully until the end of the Revolution. Each spring the clergy met at the College of William and Mary to hear a morning

and an afternoon sermon and to contribute their annual fee, a pistole; the trustees then distributed the money to needy survivors of clergymen.[21] Hamilton supported the fund by preaching one of the sermons in 1769 and by serving as one of the six clerical trustees in 1770-1771.[22] His participation suggests that he was dedicated to the welfare of his church and profession and that his colleagues respected his abilities. The several gazettes, which have been indexed, regularly identified the preachers and trustees of the Fund. An inspection of the index reveals that the Scots were as supportive of the Fund, and thereby of the Virginia church, as their national counterparts.[23]

Hamilton also demonstrated interest in his church and profession by helping young clerical candidates. An ordinand was to have testimonials from three local clergymen. Hamilton recommended John Wingate to the bishop of London as "a person of good and honest Life" in 1771 and gave John Campbell a similar endorsement in 1772.[24] Both succeeded in achieving holy orders. Wingate was rector of St. Thomas's parish in Orange County, Virginia and then of St. George's parish on the island of Grenada. Campbell served Episcopal churches in Pennsylvania after the war.[25] An analysis of the papers of the bishop of London found that the Scottish parsons of Virginia were as active in recruiting and recommending candidates for holy orders, and therefore as committed to the Anglican church, as ministers of other national origins.[26]

Although Hamilton became a clergyman too late to be personally affected by the Two-Penny acts, he involved himself in their aftermath. In anticipation of poor tobacco crops, the Assembly in 1755 and 1758 commuted the compensation of rectors into currency at the rate of two pence per pound of tobacco, for ten months in 1755 and twelve in 1758. A genuine shortage in 1758 caused its price to double and even triple, and thus the law had the effect of reducing the salaries of ministers. John Camm, professor at the College of William and Mary and rector of York-Hampton parish, went to London as the clergy's agent, where the Privy Council disallowed both acts but did not declare them null and void from their inception. Thus the laws had been valid until their expiration, according to scholars.

Yet some parsons concluded that this opened the way for recovery at law of the full value of the tobacco salaries. About five rectors, including Thomas Warrington of Elizabeth City parish, brought suits in the county courts and Camm in the General Court, all without success.[27] Thereupon Camm appealed his case to the Privy Council which also found against him, on a technicality, Camm and his friends insisted.[28]

Next some of the clergy wanted to induce the Privy Council to rule on the merits of their case. At a clerical convention on December 1, 1768, called by Commissary James Horrocks to enable the clergy to pay their "dutiful compliments" to the new governor, Camm and his associates proposed petitioning Botetourt to request a writ of mandamus from authorities in London, ordering the transfer of Warrington's case to the Privy Council for trial and decision. A committee of six, including Horrocks, Camm, Warrington, and Hamilton, was to "determine the propriety of it." The committee held its first meeting at the college on May 25, 1769 when Camm produced a prepared document; the members wanted Horrocks to convey it to the governor, but he declined, arguing that the project should be dropped because it was futile and troublesome. Thereupon the others asked Hamilton, who apparently was agreeable, to present the petition to Botetourt. Horrocks derisively reported that the committee held further meetings, which he did not attend, on May 29 and 30 "within the Bounds of Prison" wherein William Davis of Westover parish, a committee member, was "lodged for debt."[29] Hamilton probably carried the request to his gubernatorial patron, who must have rejected the proposal out of hand, for no more is heard about it.

Why did Hamilton consent to serve on the committee and to be its go-between to the governor? He had no immediate personal interest in the matter and his role in the affair probably offended his benefactor, who did not wish to involve himself in controversy with the local ruling gentry or with his British superiors. It may well be that Hamilton sincerely felt that a successful appeal to London would contribute to the strengthening of the Virginia church, especially in its contest with the dissenters. A recent study found that the "one common ground"

of those who actively opposed the Two-Penny acts, excepting the college professors, "was a fear of the New Lights."[30]

Hamilton witnessed the attempt by some of the clergy, again led by Camm, to petition the king for an American bishop in the early 1770s. Since he favored an appeal to London in 1768-1769, it might be supposed that he would support the petition for a colonial episcopate, which would remedy institutional deficiencies of the Anglican Church in Virginia. It may well be that he wanted a bishop, but there is no evidence that he involved himself in the dispute.[31]

The Revolution thrust hard decisions upon many Virginia divines but especially upon recent British clerical arrivals. Their vows to the king were fresh in their minds, often their lives were not yet deeply rooted in Virginia, and often they still had close family and social ties with their native lands.[32] Hamilton had been a clergyman for only five years when the troubles began. There is no record of Hamilton's overt response to events, indicating that he was not outspoken or obtrusive, but since he served parishes until his death his name belongs in the passive patriot column.

Whether he made a conscious choice between the patriot or loyalist position at some point or if events simply swept him along the insurrectionary path is not known. Developments did inveigle some reverends. As Jonathan Boucher, a loyalist Anglican rector of Maryland, explained: "[T]he Southern Clergy, and in particular those of the Church of England, were almost without an option, compelled to become in some degree subservient to insurgency. We were inextricably entrapped, before we were well aware that a net had been spread for us."[33]

The first difficult issues for some clerics involved the boycott agreements against British goods. In May 1774 the rebel leaders organized the third Virginia Association which criticized British policies, resolved on a trade boycott, and recommended the convening of a general congress of all the colonies. By coincidence the Anglican clergy were in convocation at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg and thirteen of them endorsed the Association with their signatures. Hamilton's name was not among them. Perhaps he did not attend the convention

or simply declined to sign.[34] Gloucester's insurgents organized a county association in 1774 but the names of those who inscribed their support have not survived. In October 1774 the Continental Congress set up the Continental Association, an intercolonial boycott of British commerce, which was circulated for signature.[35] Some parsons had scruples against halting trade, thinking it implied disloyalty to the king, to whom they had sworn fealty. Several registered their qualms and John Agnew of Suffolk parish in Nansemond County preached against the Continental Association from the pulpit.[36] How Hamilton responded is not recorded. It is possible he was able to evade an answer to the county and continental trade agreements without drawing undue attention to himself, but a refusal to affix his name could not have escaped the record.

Fast days called for by the patriots posed another early problem because participation, from the perspective of some clergymen, violated their ordination vows. The Virginians called for a day of fasting, prayer, and humiliation on June 1, 1774 and the Continental Congress requested a similar observance for July 20, 1775. On the appointed days parishioners were to repair to their churches to hear appropriate prayers and sermons by their rectors.[37] Noncompliance became newsworthy and generally was recorded in the newspapers. James Herdman of Bromfield parish declined to officiate on July 20, 1775 because it "was inconsistent with his duty to his Majesty," and thereupon the Culpeper county committee of safety decided that he should "be publicly advertised as an person inimical to American Liberty" in one of the Williamsburg gazettes; this was an invitation for all whigs to ostracize Herdman.[38] A special service with sermon and prayers was not necessarily insufferable for a parson with political misgivings. He could assuage his conscience by preaching a general, noncommittal, or ambiguous sermon.[39] In 1774-1775 the original liturgy was still in place. Since there is no evidence to the contrary, it can be assumed that Hamilton honored these fast days as well as others that were to follow.

In 1776 Hamilton and his peers faced a more vexatious problem. On July 5 of that year the fifth Virginia Convention, the last extralegal assembly of the patriots, altered the liturgy in

the Book of Common Prayer, ruling that henceforth rectors pray for the magistrates of Virginia rather than, as formerly, for the king and royal family.[40] This required the clergy to repudiate in a direct manner their oath at ordination to adhere strictly to the Book of Common Prayer. Alexander Cruden of South Farnham parish found the new prayers "incompatible . . . with his ordination Vows," and "publicly avowed his refusal [to use them] in his parish church before his parishioners." The amended liturgy could hardly be ignored. In Upper parish in Nansemond County a colonel threatened William Andrews with death while he was "in the Reading Desk if he prayed for the King." Andrews soon relented.[41] Since he continued to officiate and to draw salary, it is evident that Hamilton utilized these prayers.

The next year the patriots made the ultimate demand. In early 1777 the state government ordered all adult males to renounce their allegiance to the king and to swear true fidelity to the Commonwealth before October 10 of that year. Thus the parsons would have to abjure their oath to the king in an unequivocal manner, surrender their cures, or leave the province.[42] Rejection of the test brought threats, harassment, and physical abuse. James Ogilvie of Westover parish and Alexander Cruden of South Farnham testified that after they spurned the oath they were reduced "to the state of an outlaw." Local authorities subjected William Duncan of Newport parish to double taxation and ordered John Hamilton Rowland of St. Bride's parish to leave the state or remove himself to the interior after they declined it. All four soon made their exit from Virginia. Christopher McRae, rector of Littleton parish, was the only nonjuror to retain his parish throughout the Revolution but young ruffians once severely beat him.[43] Recusants, McRae was an exception, could not hold office and since clergymen were officers of the state church until its disestablishment in the mid-1780s, they could not officiate without taking the oath. Since Hamilton served as minister in Virginia and Maryland until his death it is apparent that he took the test.[44]

The political mandates of the Revolution did not dismay all clergymen. Although a complete record has not survived, it can be said that at least forty percent of the parsons willingly and

even enthusiastically aligned themselves with the patriots. A considerable number upheld the rebellion from the pulpit or made known their position in other, miscellaneous ways; at least twenty-six (three declined) accepted membership on revolutionary county committees of safety; thirteen acted as military chaplains, and four served in the military, two becoming high ranking officers in the continental army. As best as can be determined, another forty percent, including Hamilton, continued to serve their parishes faithfully, which required the taking of the new oath, but did not otherwise participate in revolutionary affairs. They were inactive or passive patriots. Thus eighty percent of the Anglican ministers in revolutionary Virginia took the American side of the question. Among the twenty-five (twenty percent) who were loyalists, ten were English, Irish, or Welsh, ten were Scottish, and five were American. Contrary to assumptions of some contemporaries, the Caledonian men of the cloth were not especially inclined to be loyalists.[45]

Not only the political but also the economic results of the Revolution brought disorder and hardship for Hamilton and his professional associates. The fifth Convention suspended clerical compensation from tax sources as of January 1, 1777; the suspension became permanent. After that salaries had to be raised by subscription from parishioners unaccustomed to voluntary contributions; these donations were very "scanty," according to Abner Waugh, rector of St. Mary's parish.[46] James Madison, rector of James City parish, president of the College of William and Mary, and later the bishop of the Virginia diocese, considered leaving the ministry and the college to become a lawyer. "Divinity and Philosophy will starve a Man in these times," he wrote in 1781.[47] John Page, a prominent public figure and a leading churchman, reported in 1785 that James Maury Fontaine of Ware parish had "been almost starved" and that Robert Andrews of York-Hampton parish had left the ministry "to avoid starving."[48] Alexander Balmain, rector of Frederick parish, informed his brother in 1783 that "the Revolution . . . has been fatal to the Clergy of Virginia. From a fixed salary they are reduced to depend on a precarious subscription for bread."[49] The repeal of the church tax law was especially hard on young ministers, such

as Hamilton, who had had little time to build up an estate to support himself and his family.

Petsworth's vestry book shows that Hamilton drew the tobacco salary for the full year of 1776, but some time thereafter he took his leave, presumably because of inadequate salary subscriptions. The destruction of the glebe house by fire, which would have robbed him of a residence, may have been another factor in his departure[50] His name next appeared in the vestry book of Stratton Major parish in King and Queen County, a parish immediately up from Petsworth between the Peanketank and York Rivers. A rump of the vestry had evidently accepted him as minister. On September 23, 1778, however, the Stratton Major vestry "ordered, that the Church Wardens make application to the Revd. Mr. Wm. Dunlap, and the Revd. Mr. Auther [sic] Hamilton about moving from the Glebe; and provided they refuse to move . . . to commence a suit against them." Thus it is apparent that the glebe had two clerical occupants. William Dunlap, an outspoken patriot, had been rector of Stratton Major from 1768 until 1777 when he transferred to St. Paul's parish in Hanover County. There unspecified accusations caused him to resign on June 23, 1778 and to return to the glebe of Stratton Major, apparently with the consent of Hamilton.[51] It seems the families had an unknown relationship.

In a short time both Dunlap and Hamilton removed themselves from the Stratton Major glebe. A new vestry at St. Paul's exonerated Dunlap of the unknown charges and received him again as minister, where he remained until his death in September 1779. To Hamilton the Stratton Major vestrymen suggested that he could stay for a while and preach for his rent. They offered him the use of the glebe house, an outbuilding, a garden, and a small pasture, if he would officiate at the parish church once a month. They mentioned nothing about a subscription. In the meantime the wardens rented out the glebe acreage and advertised for a new parson in a Williamsburg gazette.[52] Having had virtually no income for about two years, Hamilton urgently needed a cure with a good living and in late 1778 or early 1779 he accepted the rectorate of Port Tobacco parish in Charles County, Maryland.[53] His removal to Maryland has eluded the

Virginia church historians who thought Hamilton disappeared from the records after he left Stratton Major.

Hamilton's expulsion from Stratton Major was not related to his preaching or character. Rather it was the product of a bitterly divided vestry, which was involved in acrimonious public controversy throughout the 1770s.[54] Hamilton and his Scottish contemporary reverends, contrary to allegations, had a good moral record. Only one of them faced discipline for misconduct and immorality. He was the well-known Patrick Lunan of Upper parish, who, according to Wilmer L. Hall, set "some sort of record in his time for clerical profligacy." Lunan's vestry induced him to resign his cure.[55] Five other clerics of the Revolutionary generation got into trouble for their conduct; one was born in England, three in Virginia, and one in Pennsylvania. To a large degree the Scots, who presumably had been reared as Presbyterians, were victims of a cultural, denominational, and national bias.[56]

As in Virginia, taxes supported the Church of England in Maryland until disestablishment during the Revolution. The accounts by his executrix after Hamilton's death indicate that Port Tobacco had a good, productive glebe. Port Tobacco was among the best paying parishes in Maryland during the latter years of the establishment. In all probability Port Tobacco offered Hamilton inducements that vacant parishes in Virginia were unable to match.[57]

His death in early 1781, when he was less than fifty years old, limited Hamilton's tenure in Port Tobacco to only about two years. He dated his will January 3, his executrix qualified on February 21, and the appraisers inventoried his personal property on March 22. He bequeathed all of his "estate and effects" to his wife, Johanna Hamilton, whom he also named the sole executrix. Johanna Hamilton remains unidentified and what became of her after her husband's death is unknown.[58]

The inventory of his personal property suggests that Hamilton had seen better days before falling upon hard times. In describing and pricing his effects, the viewers used such adjectives as damaged, worn, broken, sorry, and cracked fifteen times. They placed a value of £155 11s. 6d. Maryland current money

(about £127 sterling) upon his personalty. After the executrix collected his tobacco salary and the tobacco and corn produced by the glebe and settled all accounts, she found the total value of the personal estate to be £222 8s. 3d. Maryland common currency (about £133 sterling). Hamilton owned no slaves or bondservants or plantation tools and equipment, indicating that he was not managing agricultural production. Beside the cattle, three horses, a phaeton, and library, the estate consisted of household furniture and kitchenware. The listing makes it apparent that Hamilton had genteel tastes; there were mahogany, walnut, and cherry wood tables, window curtains, china cups and saucers, tea and coffee pots, twelve mezzotint framed pictures, wine glasses, brass candle sticks, a large carpet, and a violin. The appraisers placed a value of £27 current money on his library, which was seventeen percent of the estate. This large proportion suggests that Hamilton had the appreciation of scholarship generally associated with respected clergymen.[59]

The will did not mention his land in Virginia and inventories did not include real estate. What his land may have been worth, or what may have become of it, or if he owned any realty at the time of his death is not known since the Gloucester county records are not extant. The Land Tax Books for Gloucester have survived but the list for 1782, the earliest year for which they exist, do not mention his name.[60]

Hamilton's personal estate was modest in comparison to those of other Chesapeake clergymen of the revolutionary period. Hamilton had been the beneficiary of a tax-supported salary for only eight years and his income since the end of church taxes had been very meager. It was unusual for ministers not to own slaves. Economic constraint, rather than moral compunction, was probably the reason he did not own slaves. The Virginia Personal Property Tax Books of the 1780s indicate that about ninety percent of the resident clerics who survived until that time possessed slaves; these survivors averaged twenty-three slaves each, with the median number being twenty.[61]

The Revolution imposed fundamental changes upon Hamilton. It required him to forswear his oaths to king and church, to adapt to a new republican order, and to accept drastic

changes in his professional status and personal economic future. For him life might have been happier without the Revolution. In an earlier, tranquil period he could have enjoyed a more professionally productive career, a more personally and economically rewarding career, and a more serene life. Hamilton was not an illustrious figure, but as a clergyman during the unsettled years of the Revolution and the disestablishment of the Church of England, he merits cognizance by his historical constituencies in the two Chesapeake provinces. He appears to have sprung from a good Scottish family, to have been well educated and well qualified for his profession, and to have served his church with ability and dedication. The disturbed political times, as well as his untimely death, denied Hamilton the further opportunity of gaining the full recognition and acceptance he may have deserved in each province. Hamilton lacked offspring and immediate family members in America to perpetuate his name and to preserve his memory. It is to be regretted that the records concerning him are not more complete. Perhaps additional data about him can yet be uncovered in the years to come.

Otto Lohrenz

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THE FERGUS SCOTTISH FESTIVAL AND HIGHLAND GAMES: KEEPING SCOTTISHNESS ALIVE IN TOWN

The Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games is an expression of the Scottish roots of the town of Fergus which was settled by Scots commencing in 1833.[1] The Festival is not necessarily a mirror of the activities of those early settlers. However, it embraces their history. One of the central purposes of the Scottish Festival is to preserve the Scottish heritage of the community.[2] This is manifested by the promotion of the town's roots as the raison d'etre for the Festival. The 1999 festival program, in the welcome from the President reads; "the 54th Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games is truly a celebration of Scottish culture - our own rich heritage right here on the Grand River."[3]

The Scottish heritage of the Fergus area was the platform for the expression of a wider Scottish heritage as expressed by the Fergus Highland Games that began in 1946.[4] This heritage connected with Scotland, the home of Fergus' early settlers. The highland games, as a popular attraction, was only beginning in 1843[5] when Queen Victoria began to attend the Braemar games in Scotland. The predominantly Lowlanders of the 1830s Fergus settlement were not concerned with such events. However, the highland games became the vehicle for the founder of the Fergus Highland Games that allowed him to boost the town and the Scottishness of Fergus.

The Scots who built Fergus left the marks of their culture on the town and in their descendants, for long enough to allow Alex Robertson to catch the dying embers of the local pride in their Scottish roots, and fan them into a flame that has lasted until today.

The Scottish Roots of Fergus

Outside the Fergus Library there is a plaque erected by the Ontario Archeological and Historical Sites Board. It details how Scots Adam Fergusson and his partner James Webster founded the predominantly Scottish community of Fergus in 1833.

Fergusson was a lowland Scot of means[6] and he was intent on developing a community that was lowland Scottish in nature.[7] He and Webster went as far as screening settlers for Scottish heritage.[8] Pat Mestern, editor of *Looking Back; The Story of Fergus Through the Years 1833-1983* and author of *Fergus: A Scottish Town By Birthright* said; "The Scots that came here in the 1830s curled and celebrated Hogmanay and St. Andrew's Day but they didn't wear kilts and play the bagpipes. In fact, some of them looked down on Highlanders."[9]

Fergusson and Webster sent back letters and encouraged their friends and relatives to come. According to Mestern, they wanted people who had money who could invest in the community.[10] People like Charles Allen and Lieut. Col. A.D. Ferrier were friends and business associates of Fergusson in Scotland.[11] Allen was a builder and, upon his settlement in 1834, he commenced to construct many of the early log houses in Fergus.[12] Ferrier, educated at the Edinburgh Academy and University, settled in Fergus in 1834 and later became a district councillor and county clerk.[13] Mestern continued; "It was a very closed society here. They were Lowland Scots who were well to do."[14] It wasn't until the 1850s and 1860s that a number of Highlanders came.[15] The journal of A.D. Fordyce relates the circumstances of the arriving Highlanders in 1851; "August 20 - A party of Highland immigrants arrived from Stornoway and it is said cannot get into the Taverns for want of money"[16] and "Sept 10 - More Highland Emigrants arriving".[17] The Highlanders had been arriving since 1847[18] in this similar state and the community of Fergus rallied to help; "November 17 - the Highlanders in sad distress. Their case is to be considered at the St. Andrew's society this evening".[19] Highlanders were arriving but many continued on to other destinations like Goderich and Kincardine once they regained their strength and the winter ended.[20] However, some did stay in Fergus. Families like: "MacIntosh,

Mackenzie, Cameron, Campbell and Stewart"[21] set down roots in the Fergus area.

Fergus gradually became more open about immigration. When Webster moved to Guelph in the late 1850s he sold some of his land to the Irish and Highlanders.[22] The town was well promoted by Fergusson through his book *Practical Notes Made During a Tour of Canada*[23] and his 1833 report on Fergus.[24] For generations Fergus attracted Scottish settlers.[25]

The town has many bits of evidence to confirm its Scottish roots. Many of the stone buildings in the town date from the later nineteenth century and are the result of the work of Scottish stone masons. Reverend Murray Laurenson, minister at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church confirmed the Scottish origins of church property; "The church brought out two dikers in 1850 to build the fence around the Church yard."[26] Fergus resident Jim Gow has a lineage in Fergus that dates to 1863. His great grandfather emigrated from Scotland in 1840 and settled in Guelph in 1850. His grandfather and great uncle moved to Fergus in 1863. His father owned a lime quarry and plant while his great uncle returned to Scotland to become a qualified builder. Upon his return to Fergus, he commenced to build. Mr. Gow related; "My grandfather's brothers were stone masons by instinct, but Alexander was properly trained as a builder. One of the buildings he built was the old Commercial Hotel which stands today. It was built in 1882 with red sandstone from the forks of the Credit. When I was in Scotland recently I noticed the style is identical to many of the similar type buildings there."[27]

The Fergus Curling Club was established in 1934 according to a plaque erected by the Ontario Heritage Foundation of the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. Inside the building there is a display of artifacts from the early days of the club. Included are rocks from 1834 and 1836 along with a championship medal for the club for the year 1834. Not far from the curling Club is St. Andrew's Church, first built in 1835.[28] At the back is a graveyard surrounded by the wall erected in 1850. Within is the final resting place of many of the early Scottish immigrants. The Church holds the book *The Auld Kirk Yard Fergus: In It And About It*

by A.D. Fordyce, 1882. The text contains the records of, "118 Tomb-Stones or Monuments".[29] Among those buried in the Church yard is; David Blair Fergusson, son of Fergus' founder Adam Fergusson.[30] There are many references to Scottish origins of names like Brown, Burns, Clephane, Brockie, MacKay, Robertson, Stewart, Stuart, Webster, Duncan and Munro, from places like Perthshire, Ayrshire, Fifeshire, Kincardineshire, Banffshire, Argyllshire, Nairnshire, Forfar, Dundee, Kinrossshire, Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire.[31]

The Scottish origins of Fergus seem clear.

The Fergus Highland Games

A little more that one hundred years after the first settlement in Fergus, the first Fergus Highland Games was held on August 17, 1946.[32] The originator of the event was Alex Robertson, a native of Aberdeenshire Scotland who emigrated to Canada in 1921.[33] He approached the newly formed Fergus Chamber of Commerce in 1946 to convince them that a highland games would be appropriate and good for Fergus. They agreed.[34] Pat Mestern served as Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games coordinator from 1984 through 1994 and was good friends with Alex Robertson before his death in 1989.[35] She recently recalled

> Alex worked in London before he moved here and he used to come to Fergus for meetings. He realized that the architecture was here but the dialect and Scottish culture were disappearing. Fergus looked just like a street in Aberdeen and the curling club was still going but the people didn't celebrate Hogmanay or St. Andrew's day anymore. When he moved here he realized that if he didn't do something to revive it the culture would disappear.[36]

Robert Kerr, General Manager of the Festival from 1985-91, was nineteen when the first games were held. He recalled; "my great grandfather came here in 1850 and all my friends at school had Scottish roots like mine. We took our Scottish heritage for granted. When I was a kid we still celebrated Hogmanay but

gradually it started to die out. Like the bringing of a piece of coal when you visited."[37]

The purpose of the original games was to preserve the Scottish heritage of the Fergus community and to promote the community of Fergus.[38] In the greeting from the Chamber of Commerce in the 1947 games program, President Hugh Templin wrote that the chamber sponsorship was "in recognition of the fact that Fergus owes its beginning to the men and women who came from Scotland over 110 years ago."[39]

Robertson and the chamber felt that Fergus was the ideal place to hold a highland games because Fergus was still perceived as being Scottish. At that time there was only one other Highland Games in Ontario, at Embro near London.[40] Mestern recalled; "Alex was familiar with how successful the Embro games were and he knew there was a market for it. They were targeting not only the Scottish people of Fergus but those in Ontario as well."[41] The 1947 program details how the games would start after the "special train from Toronto"[42] arrived at 10:15 a.m.

Robertson's idea was a good one for Fergus. As the reputation of the Games grew, so did the recognition of Fergus as a town. Fergus the town with Scottish roots! The Games changed over the years in small ways. The first few years featured a track meet[43], and a midway was added for a few years during the 1970s[44] but the core has always been the traditional Scottish competitions of highland dancing, heavy games and pipe band competitions.

The origins of these events go back to the middle ages when clans used to relax after a group hunt (trainchel) with competitions in running, wrestling, piping, dancing and weight putting with boulders.[45] Malcolm III 'Canmore' King of Scots[46] held a competition at Braemar during his reign (1057-93) to test his men for combat roles.[47] However, it was not until 1817 that formal competitions were held there.[48] Queen Victoria bought the Balmoral estate near Braemar and immersed herself in everything Highland.[49] Thereafter, it became fashionable to be appreciative of Highland culture. Highland games became popularized when the Queen attended the Braemar games annually beginning in 1843.[50] The lowland Scots who settled in

Fergus in the 1830s, would not have celebrated this type of game but back home it was becoming very popular.[51] By the time Robertson had his idea, Highlanders were a recognizable symbol of Scotland. Whether one was a Lowlander or a Highlander the 'highland games' was a symbol with which most Scots would identify.[52]

The Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games

The current Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games has undergone many transformations and changes in structure over the last 12 years. In 1988, the Highland Games Committee was still an arm of the Fergus Chamber of Commerce and sponsored by that group.[53] The Festival was popular but the cost of operating the Saturday games was becoming a burden.[54] The cost of prize money for the competitions along with other costs had been rising. A new source of revenue was needed. The response was a Friday night tattoo.[55] The success of this innovation was immediate as the people of Fergus responded. Over the preceding years some citizens of the town had become jaded by the repetition of the annual competition oriented games and the congestion from the thousands of tourists. The Fergus motto had become "go to the Games or get out of town"[56] and many vacated Fergus for the duration of the Games. With the advent of the tattoo, a purely entertainment event, literally thousands of Fergusites who had tired of the games returned.[57] Three years later in 1991, the Highland Games added a third day on Sunday[58] and a year later changed the name to the Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games.[59] The third day has been evolving and has included concerts, sheep dog and other demonstrations of Scottish culture, and competitions.[60] The Festival boasts many features now. The Avenue of the Clans has been a long standing feature and includes forty to fifty attending clans. Selected clans often have their annual general meetings at the festival and celebrate large reunions including clan chieftains from Scotland.[61] Recent additions are the heritage and genealogy displays, rugby tournaments, a tool and antique show, and the Kirkin' of The Tartan at St. Andrew's church at the Sunday service and a strupak to follow.[62] The Fergus Scottish

Festival and Highland Games was incorporated as a not-for-profit group in 1993 and is now separated from the Chamber of Commerce.[63] The Festival now has a Board of Directors, a President and a General Manager who coordinates a plethora of subcommittees of the board.[64]

All the changes have followed one upon the other rather quickly and some have caused some public controversy.[65] With the wave of the popularity of Celtic music the Festival has begun to feature Celtic performers on Sunday. Present General Manager, Rachel Thompson, hopes to attract the Celtic music audience and introduce them to the Scottish culture of the Festival.[66] Other Scottish purists fear this is the thin edge of the wedge that will turn the Festival away from its Scottish roots.[67] In 1996, the Festival was forced to move from the closed in, homey Victoria Park to the more spacious, but to some less attractive,[68] Community Centre location away from the down-town area with its Scottish feel. Liability issues due to extreme congestion and overcrowding, in what had become the too small Victoria Park, was one reason for the move.[69] As well, there was the threat of a boycott of the Scottish Highland Dancing Society because of poor conditions and facilities at Victoria Park.[70] This caused General Manager Bruce Youngblood to recommend a move. Founder Alex Robertson, in a 1964 interview said; "The exceptionally beautiful background, with tall trees bordering the south end of the park is similar to the park at Braemar in Scotland."[71] It was with much regret that the Board of Directors approved the move.[72] After fifty-five years in Fergus the Scottish Festival and Highland Games has become a tradition and many citizens care about the goal of preserving Scottish heritage. These recent controversies and the public understanding of the nuances affecting 'their' tradition is a sign that the Scottish heritage is alive and well in Fergus.

The Town of Fergus has been invigorated by the Highland Games and now the Scottish Festival and Highland Games. Its Scottish heritage has been put up front for the public in Fergus and around the world to see. Each year and, as I will explain, all year long there are reminders of the heritage that dates to 1833. Perhaps the most affected are the hundreds of

volunteer Committee members who have been involved over the years. Bill Thoms, former General Manager (1969-70) said; "Even though this is a Scottish festival there are a number of people involved that have no Scottish roots at all but they demonstrate pride in their community by helping to preserve our Scottish heritage through the Festival."[73]

This may be true but there are many members of the present and past organizing committees that have extensive Scottish ancestry in this region of Ontario and they have been attracted to the festival because of their ethnicity. Bill Beattie, former General Manager and board President, said; "There are a number of people in this community that have Scottish roots and are proud of that fact."[74] Beattie's Scottish ancestors settled between Guelph and Fergus in the 1850s.[75] Former General Manager Bruce Youngblood's Scottish ancestors came to Bellwood in 1904.[76] Avenue of the Clans organizer John K. Campbell is first-generation from Edinburgh in 1955.[77] Treasurer Bill Thoms emigrated from the Glasgow region in the same year as Campbell.[78] Long-time Festival Coordinator Pat Mestern has Scottish roots on her mother's side back to a migration to Eramosa Township in 1816.[79] Former GM Robert Kerr is descended from a great-grandfather who first migrated to Harriston then Elora and finally settled in Fergus in 1850. Reverend Murray Laurenson's parents moved from the Shetlands to the Lindsay area. Member of the Fergus Pipe Band and committee volunteer Don McAlpine flies the Lion Rampant at his Fergus home. His ancestor Peter McAlpine arrived in Kingston in 1840 from the Oban area of the west highlands and settled in Elgin County.[80]

One member, Judy Eckhardt, who supervises the heritage area, can trace her roots back to Scotland through five families which settled in Ontario, many of them in the Fergus area. On her father's side, she is descended from the Scott, Douglas and Dodge families. On her mother's side, she is descended from the Richardson, Nairn and MacGregor families.

Alexander Scott emigrated to Minto township south of Harriston in 1856 from Peebles-shire, Scotland.[81] His fourth child was Marion Scott who married George Douglas whose father,

Moses Douglas, emigrated from Scotland in 1825.[82] He first landed in Quebec, then moved to Stratford and finally settled in Minto Township close to the Scott family in 1856. George and Marion Douglas had Henrietta who married George Dodge who was the son of George Dodge senior who was from Wales. However, his wife, Margaret Paulin, was the daughter of James Paulin who emigrated from Berwickshire, Scotland.[83] George and Henrietta Dodge had Douglas Dodge who was Judy's father. Judy married her husband Douglas Eckhardt and they recently moved to Elora from Fergus. Judy's mother was Margaret Richardson whose lineage went back to Andrew Richardson who emigrated to the area between Hamilton and Galt from Roxburgh, Scotland in 1842.[84] Judy's maternal grandmother's maiden name was MacGregor Nairn and that family immigrated to Southern Ontario from Scotland in 1842.[85]

The organizing Committee is not entirely made up of people of Scottish descent but the above is a sample of some of the lineage that ties the Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games to the Scottish settlers of the area in more than theme.

Fergus Today

Fergus today, to many people, is like many other towns that are part of the greater Canadian culture. However, if you know what to look for or if you spend some time in the town, you will see the signs from yesterday and today that tell of a Scottish heritage. Many of the rectangular gray stone buildings in the older sections of town were built by the Scottish stone masons during the nineteenth century. Eileen McLaughlin, manager of the Highlander Inn, recently returned from a trip to Scotland. She said; "Fergus physically resembles many of the towns I visited in Scotland. The buildings are the same."[86] First generation immigrant John K. Campbell concurred; "When I first came here on a business trip I was amazed. Fergus has the look of a Scottish town."[87]

The town is decked out in flags along the main streets and in front of many businesses and some homes. The Lion Rampant is everywhere, occasionally intermixed with St. Andrew's cross. A visit to shops often reveals a tartan on the wall or some other

Scottish symbol such as a plaque with St. Andrew's cross. The town promotes its heritage.

During the Festival it is to be expected that things Scottish will be to the fore but Scottish culture continues throughout the rest of the year as well. Reverend Laurenson revealed the cultural activities that St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church is involved with. He said

> Along with the Kirkin' of the Tartan service at the festival we have had quite a few Scottish-flavour activities this past year. We have a Couples Club that sponsors weekly Scottish Country Dancing. Then we celebrate St. Andrew's Night on November 30 - a gathering and a Ceilidh. The country dancers give demonstrations throughout the year. I marry people sometimes in Gaelic or in kilts. On July 1 we had a teenage girls choir from Perth who sang for us and the community on Canada Day. Then there is the visits we receive in connection with the twinning with Blairgowrie in Scotland. Last fall we had a whole school from there.[88]

The twinning with Blairgowrie was initiated by Don McAlpine. He retired to Fergus in 1987 and felt at home right away. He recalled; "With my Scottish heritage I felt comfortable when I got here. I found it easy to fit in."[89] Don became involved with the Fergus Pipe Band and the Fergus Scottish Festival. His son reflected that with all the Scottish tradition in Fergus, it should be twinned with a Scottish town. Don took it upon himself to organize, through the Town of Fergus, the twinning with Blairgowrie. Blairgowrie is a similar size town to Fergus; approximately 9,000 population[90], which is close to Braemar and next to the county where Adam Fergusson was a laird.[91] Since the official twinning in 1995, both towns have hosted each other's citizens as part of an ongoing cultural exchange.[92] McAlpine added; "This year we are about to cement a tripling with Blairgowrie and a California town called Pleasanton that also has highland games. Their representative will be a special

guest at the opening ceremonies of the Fergus Scottish Festival this year."[93]

The Highlander Inn features a Scottish theme and has done so since the hotel was purchased and named by the McLaughlin family 13 years ago. Eileen McLaughlin said; "my parents were born in Glasgow and were looking for a site for a Scottish theme and chose Fergus, because of its Scottish feel and the Fergus Highland Games."[94] The Highlander Inn now features one of the town's Robbie Burns nights and the occasional Scottish entertainer outside the festival period. She said; "We attract people who are of Scottish descent as well as people who have visitors from Scotland."[95] On Robbie Burns night, January 25, there are two suppers in Fergus as well as two nights at the Elora Mill.[96]

The town has embraced its roots in terms of the social norms of fashion; at least for the service club crowd. Bruce Youngblood said; "Kilts are worn everywhere in Fergus on formal occasions like the Rotary club functions or the Chamber of Commerce Dinner."[97] Bill Beattie added; "If you don't wear a kilt people will make fun of you."[98]

The Highland Games and Scottish Festival have drawn attention to the Scottishness of Fergus which has attracted residents. Bill Beattie claims that in his door to door travels in the oil business, he encountered many residents who moved to Fergus as a result of exposure to the town through the Highland Games. John Campbell and Bill Thoms, both Scots by birth, are enamoured with the Scottishness of Fergus and they feel the Festival is in no small way responsible for the atmosphere. Campbell explained; "when I was sent here from Winnipeg on business I arrived on Highland Games day. When I saw what was going on combined with the look of the town I hoped I would be transferred here. When I got the chance to come I jumped at it. Later, I was transferred away. I fought like heck to come back."[99] Thoms added; "The Festival and the heritage of the town feed off one another. The Festival refers to the origins of the town and the heritage of the town is the reason for the Festival."[100]

Fergus is a Canadian town but it has a Scottish core that its

citizens recognize and celebrate. Much of this present day awareness is due to the Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games which has for many years highlighted the town's Scottishness. Over the last half century there have been hundreds of newspaper articles and program stories telling the story of the original settlers and the early days of Fergus. The festival has been a catalyst for many of the year-round Scottish activities.

The Festival Keeps The Heritage Alive

Since its inception the Fergus Highland Games was intended to, as Alex Robertson put it, "give the town distinction".[101] In this case, the distinction as a town with Scottish roots that hosted a highland games worthy of note. Fifty four years later the key themes are the same and many phrases have been used to express them over the years. In 1947, it was "to stir the blood of all those of Scottish birth or ancestry".[102] In 1987, it was to "preserve the Scottish heritage of the community"[103] In 1994, the theme was "dedicated to the preservation of the visual, musical, athletic, and written heritage of Scotland".[104] Now the phrase that is used among committee members is, "the preservation and promotion of Scottish heritage".[105]

The Fergus Scottish Festival has built upon the foundation of the Scottishness of Fergus as it was created by the early settlers. The initial Lowlanders who were followed by Highlanders made their mark on the face and culture of Fergus; the typically Scottish style stone buildings, the religious traditions of the Presbyterian churches, and traditions like St. Andrew's Day and curling. The organizers of the Fergus Highland Games consciously intended to wake up the townsfolk who were three and four generations from Scotland. They wanted to show them their culture as it had become expressed through this kind of event not only in places like Fergus but in Scotland.[106]

The Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games pays respect to the early Scottish immigrants to the area, but it goes beyond them and their Canadian descendants and reaches out to first generation arrivals. The Scottishness of the Festival is the key to its success but it is not just a look back, but a connection with Scotland, and an opportunity for fellowship. The nostalgia

for Scotland is real for these people. Pat Mestern recalled some stirring moments; "The arena was jam packed and the entertainer was leading sing alongs. Everyone was singing Scottish songs and linking arms. There were tears rolling down people's cheeks."[107]

In 1946, Alex Robertson felt he had to act to save the heritage of the town. He succeeded. The Fergus Highland Games and the Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games of more recent times has been a vehicle for that purpose. The Festival's promotion of the Scottish history of the town has made the residents and especially those of Scottish background aware of Fergus' roots. The continual yearly promotion of the town's heritage and links to Scotland has made the fact of the town's origins inescapable. The flying of the Lion Rampant on the streets, the businesses and people that have moved to Fergus because of its Scottishness, the year-round Scottish heritage events and the enthusiasm for things Scottish of many citizens keeps the link to the original settlers. The first settlers may have been Lowlanders and some of them may have looked down on Highlanders[108], but, the symbolic Scottishness of the Fergus Highland Games has given the town a chance to rally round a 'flag' that has brought distinction to Fergus and a pride in the town's Scottish ancestry.

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REVIEWS

FIVE EUPHEMIAS: WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND 1200-1420.

Elizabeth Sutherland, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
282 pp; 25 black and white plates; $35.00.

The stories of five noblewomen who lived during turbulent years of the Scottish Middle Ages form the five chapters of this book. The first Euphemia was a lady of Duffus; the second the wife of the earl of Ross; the third a queen of Scotland; the fourth a countess of Ross and wife of the infamous Wolf of Badenoch; and the fifth a countess who resigned her earldom and became a nun. Elizabeth Sutherland is interested not only in the public roles and functions of these women, but also in their private lives and thoughts. The clear, evocative style of writing in *Five Euphemias*, its narrative approach, and its engaging use of anecdote all contribute to the book's accessibility to general readers, and since medieval Scottish women have been largely neglected by professional and popular historians alike, it is exciting to see a book which places their experiences and perspectives firmly in the centre of its concerns.

The subject matter, the surroundings and inner lives of individual medieval women, is challenging. As the author says, "women feature hardly at all in the charts and records of that period" (11). Her picture is painted perhaps a bit too bleakly, for historians are finding that women are present in the historical record if only they know how to look for them. Looking for specific women, however, is of course a more difficult task than looking for women in general. When faced with a lack of sources dealing directly with the individual women under her consideration, Sutherland employs several strategies to varying degrees of

success. It works well when she uses contemporary evidence to illuminate what the lives of these women may have been like. For her description of how the garden of one of the Euphemias might have looked in the fourteenth century, Sutherland draws on medieval encyclopedias, art, and monastic records (152-155). As she describes another Euphemia's first arrival in her new town, Sutherland quotes the medieval Scottish *Laws of the Four Burghs* to help explain the risk and fear associated with fire in the towns (49). She describes how the laws passed at the Fourth Lateran Council would have affected the first Euphemia's potential marriage-partners (69). This amount of hypothetical situations, of educated guesswork, would probably not go over so well in an advanced academic text; but in a more popular history this method can effectively show how our ideas of what life was generally like in the Middle Ages would apply to individual people who lived in those times.

Elizabeth Sutherland states in her acknowledgements that she is telling this story as fact rather than as fiction (11). By the standards of the modern discipline of history, she often uses her sources inappropriately. In spite of romantic notions to the contrary, Highland life has not remained unchanged since the misty days of prehistory, and incantations, prayers and songs collected in the nineteenth century were not necessarily heard in the thirteenth. Sutherland admits that she "cannot claim that Euphemia knew the exact words of the charms and croons" which she quotes (87), but then arguing that nineteenth-century sources are "perhaps the nearest we can get to understanding [Euphemia's] perception of life" (88), she puts the words and sentiments of modern material into medieval mouths. Thus she tells us that as soon as Euphemia "stepped outside she would reverence the sun. 'Glory to thee, thou glorious sun. Glory to thee, thou face of the God of Life'" (32), and her only evidence that this might have happened is from six hundred years later. It would be more convincing if she could find a medieval person somewhere, anywhere, who said such a thing.

When Sutherland does return to medieval sources, she sometimes misuses them. For example, she wishes to demonstrate that "though romantic love was neither expected nor required when

marriages were arranged, women were as capable of passionate love for their husbands then as now" (71). Her "abundant proof of this" is found in the letters of Heloise to Peter Abelard which, while they certainly do show passionate love, do so in the context of people who had defied their families' wishes and eloped, and who, after Abelard was castrated at the instigation of Heloise's family, entered separate religious communities. Their letters may say plenty about love, but nothing about arranged marriages.

Since this book is aimed at a general audience, it is understandable that Sutherland would wish to keep her prose flowing without too many obtrusive references or tangents into scholarly debate on the subject at hand. Sutherland does provide a fairly extensive bibliography, as well as a brief selection of sources at the end of each chapter designed largely, it seems, to guide the reader interested in a particular topic to further readings. However, the infrequency of references to primary or secondary sources prevents the reader from checking most of Sutherland's assertions. This severely diminishes this book's value as a university text. When a student reads that "childbirth was cloaked in a great mantle of ritual and incantation and Eighrig's mother for all her Christian beliefs would have mingled pagan with Christian practice and seen no sin in it" (27), there is no way to know whether this is an accepted fact, as it is presented, or just the opinion of the author. If a student is excited by Sutherland's description of the physical make-up of medieval Perth as revealed by excavation (48), there is no information in the 'sources' section to point that student to the source of that information. Even when quoting statistics, Sutherland neglects to inform us where her information is from. At one point she tells us that in sixteenth-century England "it is reckoned that one in every forty women died in childbirth and that as many as two hundred out of every thousand children died before the age of five" (82). Reckoned by whom, we cannot know, for no reference to the source of this statistic is to be found. Further ambiguity is sometimes brought about by an inconsistently occurring misuse of commas. A sentence such as, "Robert died the following year in April 1390 and his ailing eldest son, baptised John, but calling himself Robert III at fifty-three became his successor" (202),

confuses the reader as to whether Robert became king at fifty-three, changed his name at fifty-three, or both.

In addition to these ambiguities, some errors in fact have slipped in. Some dates are confused, rendering 1662 for 1262 (87), 1134 for 1334 (125), and 1557 for 1357 (148). This can perhaps be explained (although not condoned) by inaccurate keyboarding and sloppy proof-reading, but there are additional mistakes on a larger scale. Calling Christine de Pisan "the first woman to write for other women" (79), overlooks such renowned figures as Hrotswitha of Gandersheim and Hildegard of Bingen, to mention only two from the western tradition. Sutherland mixes up the presence of urban settlement with the legal privileges of burghs when she states that "towns ... were creations of David I and his successors in the twelfth century" (48). The Dog-Days of summer were not so-called, as Sutherland tells us, because the shortage of supplies before the new harvest was brought in necessitated the putting down of old and hungry dogs (42-43), but because of associations of that time of year with the Dog-star and beliefs that the season's unwholesome influence made dogs more apt to run mad.

While Sutherland's evocative style and imaginative use of source material would make for engaging and well-informed historical fiction, her choice of sources and her interpretation of them frequently do not meet the standards of the modern, academic discipline of history. This does not mean that the book should go unread. Because of its uncritical use of source material, as least so far as the standards of academic history are concerned, *Five Euphemias* would be an inappropriate university text unless, of course, a discussion of methodology were central to the study of the book. The errors in fact detract even from its integrity as an entertaining and generally informative book for the general reader. In the end, however, a newcomer to Scottish history would learn many things from this book and should not be discouraged from picking it up, although perhaps some reminder that this is not professional history would be in order.

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EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SCOTLAND: NEW PERSPECTIVES

T. M. Devine and J. R. Young, editors.
Tuckwell Press, 1999. 310 pages.

Recent seminars at the Research Centre in Scottish History at Strathclyde University have been fertile ground for producing an eclectic range of lively and interesting articles on Scottish history. Papers delivered at the 1993-94 and 1994-95 sessions were later reworked into a volume of essays entitled *Scotland in the 20th Century* (edited by T. M. Devine and R. J. Finlay, Edinburgh University Press, 1996, pg. 312) and now papers delivered at the 1996-97 seminar have been reworked into another collection entitled *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives*.

Sixteen essays have been grouped together by list of reputable authors, including T. C. Smout, Allan I. Macinnes, Michael Fry, T. M. Devine and J. R. Young, with Devine adding an introduction to the collection. A vast array of subjects are covered, ranging from traditional topics in the areas of politics and economics to issues of demographics, urbanization, and the environment as well as such seminal movements as Jacobitism and the Enlightenment. More interestingly, the authors give some degree of service to the idea of comparison studies, particularly Smout's comparisons with Scandinavian countries in "The Improvers and the Scottish Environment," pushing Scottish history into a larger European and international dimension.

As is the case with all collections of essays, particular pieces of scholarship stick out drawing a reader's interest either by topic or argument while others fade into the background, not necessarily because of poor quality, but simply due to comparison. Jane Rendall's "Clio, Mars and Minerva: The Scottish Enlightenment and the Writing of Women's History" is the gem of this

collection. The author suggests "… that this was a period not of the absence of women but of the contest over their appearance in the historical record" (134). History, in the present as in the past, has the ability, the author contends, to "… convey powerfully gendered and moralizing strategies for the civil society of the future" (135). By selecting examples from eighteenth-century historiography, such as William Alexander, John Millar, and Lord Kames, Rendall discerns that there existed a conscious understanding that the status of women was unsatisfactory by law and needed to be altered in order to bring together, what contemporaries perceived as, the complementary roles of men and women for the benefit of the nation. While an excellent essay throughout, Rendall's provocative thesis could benefit from further examples and greater use of female writers as well as an attempt to gauge how readers responded to these writings, particularly female readers.

The hot topic of identity studies is not neglected in this work as two contributions, Alexander Murdoch's "Scotland and the Idea of Britain in the Eighteenth Century" and Richard J. Finlay's "Keeping the Covenant: Scottish National Identity." While Murdoch's article is more of a defense of Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging a Nation, 1707-1832* (1992), which has come under considerable scrutiny since its publication, particularly by Scottish historians, Finlay's article could be a catalyst to the sub-genre of identity studies as the author laments the lack of scholarship devoted to religion as the central pillar of eighteenth-century Scottish national identity. The author attests "… that too little attention has focused on the competing claims within Scotland regarding national identity… ." (130) and too much on the notion of an emerging Britain and British identity, or the role of intellectuals and rationalism. A noteworthy idea as it applies to the eighteenth-century which will no doubt spur further research.

While it is difficult to speak of a unifying theme for any collection of essays, the idea of Union and its impact seems to be the predominant question that governs any discussion of eighteenth-century Scotland. With the exceptions of the identity essays and John R. Young's "The Parliamentary Incorporating

Union of 1707: Political Management, Anti-Unionism and Foreign Policy," no essay exclusively focuses on the events of 1707, but through almost all, the issue seeps out. Whether it be estimating the decline of Scottish Gaeldom, the numbers of the Jacobite movement, or the impact of the Highland estate change and tenant emigration, Union with England remains a pivotal event politically, economically, and culturally to the eighteenth-century. And, while no longer widely perceived as the causal agent to widespread national developments of the period, such as economic improvement, the Union remains an imaginary bench post for Scottish historians. Eighteenth-century issues, no longer judged in a strict pre-Union/post-Union sense, will still be evaluated with a strong consideration towards the role and influence of the 1707 Union.

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THE IRISH IDENTITY OF THE KINGDOM OF THE SCOTS IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

Dauvit Broun. Woodbridge.
The Boydell Press, 1999. x, 228 pp.

In the last decade of the twentieth century sustained interest in the growth and development of 'collective' or 'national' identities, national consciousness, origins of nationhood and the rise of nationalism has contributed to a growing corpus of literature emerging from academic disciplines. In Britain alone a voluminous and relatively well represented historiography highlighting aspects and constituents of national identities has continued to expand following Linda Colley's path-breaking effort *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1991). Between 1994 and 1998 the publication of Christopher Harvie's *Scotland and Nationalism. Scottish Society and Politics, 1707-1994* 2nd edn. (London, 1994), a collection of essays edited by Dauvit Broun, R. J. Finlay and Michael Lynch entitled *Image and Identity. The Making and Re-making of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1997) and William Ferguson's *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest,* (Edinburgh, 1998) trumpeted a return to the question of non-British Scottish identities. While current events in Britain – most notably devolution – continue to play a role in shaping the historiography of Scotland and Britain, recent trends in British history also, to a large extent, colour how historians perceive the historical identities of the Scottish people. In particular, the popular core-periphery argument found in most British histories emphasising political and cultural divisions within Scotland prior to and following inclusive Union in 1707 suggest a lack of unifying factors which might indicate the presence of a separate Scottish national identity. More recently,

historians are engaged with an historically independent Celtic 'crescent' attempting to underscore the advances of the Gaelic communities of Britain, perhaps to an exaggerated extent, while refuting the early images of the barbarous Celt.

Keeping in line with this most recent trend is Dauvit Broun's book, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 1999). Dr. Broun's aim, at least in part, in writing this book is to offer an answer to the question posed by Sean Duffy in his article 'The Bruce brothers and the Irish Sea world, 1306-1329', published in *CMCS* 21 (1991), (55-86). Starting from the premise that contemporaries perceived *Alba* and *Eire* to be separate countries and the *Gaidil* to be one people, Duffy asks whether the *Gaidil Alban* and the *Gaidil Erenn* were one nation or two? (Broun, 3, Duffy, 53). Broun seeks his answer to this question through careful analysis of the royal genealogy of the Scottish monarchy and through examination of origin myths located in both Scottish and Irish sources. While acknowledging the 'critical' shortage of evidentiary source materials to support his claims (5), Broun maintains that Scottish men of letters in the twelfth and thirteenth century looked to Ireland as the homeland of the *Scoti* and the source of identity for the Scottish people. Addressing first the difficult question of terminology, Dr. Broun stresses the value of using terms such as '*gaidil* and *Scoti*' '*natio* and *gens*' rather than offer negligible translations which might obfuscate the 'original' meanings (7). While the rationale behind this usage stems from a desire to put forth a past-centred analysis of contemporary thought, Dr. Broun's argument against using the 'cultural' terms Irish or Gael as equivalents to *Gaidil* or translating the Latin *Scoti* as 'Scot' suggests a present-centredness hesitant to acknowledge anything which would strengthen alternative claims to his own. 'Thus in Ireland the use of 'Gaelic' rather than Irish can seem like an attempt to deny national status, while in Scotland the use of 'Gaelic' rather than 'Irish' (Scots *Erse*) serves to affirm a native affinity with Scotland' (7). Dr. Broun stringently reminds the reader 'to take our minds out of our own times and discard the often painful memories and powerful emotions which are stirred by the choice between using or not using national and cultural

names (7).' However, from what the book both contains and omits it is uncertain for whom Dr. Broun intends this book. What is clear is that the reader will require a proficiency in reading medieval Latin as significant portions of this book are reprinted excerpts from the fourteenth-century Scottish chronicle *Chronica Gentis Scottorum* and other contemporary literature. The reader should also have a strong background in the theory of nationhood and national identities as *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots* contains little or no discussion of the complexities, contradictions and general assumptions associated with such studies. Unfortunately, the debate over medieval nationhood and the problematic nature of early identities, discussed by Broun elsewhere, is clearly missing from this book. Even more problematic, thorough and insightful discussion of a Scottish or Irish identity of the kingdom of the Scots is absent and sorely missed in this study, especially ironic given the book's title.

What remains is a substantive and largely valuable analysis and discussion of origin myths contemporary to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and a re-examination of king-lists taken from Scottish, Irish and Pictish sources, to use such cultural names. Chapters two through five offer a new study of John of Fordun's *Chronicle of the Scottish People*; however, only the first part of Fordun's chronicle dealing with the origins of the *Scoti* as they journeyed from Egypt to what is now the west coast of Scotland via Spain and Ireland is under consideration. As Broun states, 'a discussion of the account of Scottish origins in John of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scottorum* ' is 'the keystone of the book' (6). As critical chronicle analysis is perhaps one of the largest voids existing in Scottish historiography, this book is a welcome addition to the discipline. Broun's acumen for textual archaeology shines throughout this book as he examines various sections of Fordun, attempts to place it within the context of other contemporary literature, and provides the reader with a thoughtful reading of the existing origin myths in both Fordun as well as the Irish text *Lebor Gabala* and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton's *Scalacronica* begun c. 1355. Although by the very nature of the topic a slow and often arduous read, the sections of the book devoted to chronicle analysis is not for the non-expert. While

this in no way undermines Broun's contribution to the study of early Scottish and Irish chronicles, it does limit the audience. Apart from the large sections of non-translated Latin excerpts, the technical analysis of the extant manuscripts between pages 16 and 132 is often tedious and not very user friendly. What is most disappointing, however, is the book's failure to convincingly show a correlation between the *Scoti*'s early connections to Ireland and how contemporaries perceived the identity of the kingdom of the Scots in the twelfth and thirteenth century. In what appears to be a disclaimer, Dr. Broun reveals his own uncertainty about the arguments he puts forth:

> The book's focus on the kingdom's Irish identity should not obscure the possibility that the kingdom had other identities that served other functions. Also, it should be emphasised that the historiographical texts with which this study is concerned can only be safely regarded as a direct witness to currents of opinion among men of letters. The extent to which such currents of opinion were shared by the elite in general in the kingdom's heartlands (never mind the population at large) depends on the nature of the relationship which men of letters had with their social peers and with other sectors of society. It is possible to envisage men of letters as not only reflecting some of the aspirations and assumptions of their age but also, to an unquantifiable degree, as opinion-formers as well (10).

Despite this, Dr. Broun frequently reiterates that an Irish identity was thriving in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century kingdom of the Scots. Broun's argument follows two basic premises: first, the *Scoti*, as presented in origin myths contained in early chronicle sources, were an offshoot of the Irish, leaving Ireland and arriving in Western Scotland in the fifth century; and second, that the inclusion by Scottish men of letters in the twelfth and thirteenth century of Irish kings in Scottish king-lists and in the royal genealogy affirms an Irish identity of the medieval

kingdom of the Scots. After making a case for the strengths and weaknesses of various extant manuscripts of Fordun (16-32) – the most useful being his argument against using MSS C, E, F, G, and S when they can alter meanings of words, when the acceptance or negation of words are at stake, or when there is a difference in the spelling of a word (especially proper nouns) (31) – Broun focuses in on edited, but untranslated, extracts of the accounts of Gaedel leaving Greece, marrying the eponymous Scota daughter of Pharoah, his departure from Egypt and arrival in Spain and the ensuing exodus of the *Scoti* to Ireland under four different possible leaders, including both Eber and Partholón, respectively the son and 'descendant' of Gaedel (33-62). Although Broun's analysis and discussion of the various chronicle extracts is useful for helping us better understand early Scottish and Irish origin legends, he is unable to draw a strong connection between these origin legends and an identity of the kingdom of the Scots. Instead, he rather haphazardly states, in a manner often disjointed from the preceding discussion, that because Scottish men of letters included in their writings the origins of the *Scoti* in Ireland they considered themselves off-shoots of the Irish and perceived the identity of the kingdom of the Scots to be Irish. Ambiguity arises, however, out of Dr. Broun's use of the word 'current' in reference to the homeland of the *Scoti*, as on page 63 where he states that 'in this chapter it will be shown that in one of these accounts Ireland was emphatically portrayed as the current homeland of the *Scoti*.' Again on page 78, following a lengthy discussion on the exodus of the *Scoti* out of Egypt into Spain and their arrival in Ireland, Broun states that 'the central idea in the narrative of each account is based on Ireland as the current homeland of the *Scoti*.' However, at no point during the analysis of these origin legends does Broun offer a definition of 'current' in the context in which he frequently employs the word. This he tries to remedy, but confuses further, on the top of page 83 when he writes: 'The identification of Ireland as the perpetual (i.e. current) homeland of *Scoti* by the author of the 'Partholón' account raises the possibility that the kingdom's Irish identity was current after the mid-twelfth century when Gaelic was in retreat in the kingdom's

heartlands as a language of status and literacy.' The reader must assume the distinction made that Ireland, as the homeland of the *Scoti*, was 'perpetual' which Broun defines as 'current,' and conversely that an Irish identity was 'current after' the middle of the twelfth century implying that it was something contemporary and not perpetual. No other explanation is offered by Broun to show that this was an understood contemporary distinction. Moreover, the only reference made to Ireland as a perpetual holding is in the statement taken from extract XXI.2 of Fordun that Partholón held Ireland '*in perpetuam sibi possessionem optinuit* – as a perpetual possession for himself' (66). Broun does not present any other evidence to indicate that twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scots perceived Ireland to be their 'perpetual' homeland. The only argument given is that Scottish men of letters included the account of Partholón in their origin myths and represented the first *Scoti* to settle in what is now western Scotland as being Irish.

As a means of leading into his discussion of Scottish king-lists, Broun emphasises the link between the Stone of Scone and Ireland (110), highlights the arrival of Fergus mac Ferchar from Ireland and his Irish roots, and stresses the connection made by Scottish writers between the Scottish monarchy and Ireland (110-131). Unfortunately, Broun fails to acknowledge the alternative argument that reveals a competing discourse of imperialism and propaganda between the Scottish and English literati focused on extending the antiquity and dignity of their respective kingdoms. Identifying Fergus mac Ferchar's Irish roots, revealing the original transportation of the Stone of Scone from Ireland to Scotland and re-evaluating the exodus of the *Scoti* from Ireland, all of which took place before the end of the fifth century CE, does not further our understanding of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scottish identities. This sort of reasoning should find an Iberian identity as readily as an Irish identity for the kingdom of the Scots during the same period. The importance to twelfth- and thirteenth-century political discourse of lengthening the existence of a people and their 'unbroken' lineal monarchical succession, to borrow sentiment from the Declaration of Arbroath, regardless of their geographical location was at the fore of early identities. Broun does on occasion hint at the importance of written and spoken

Gaelic language and culture in fostering a shared sense of identity with Ireland. Unfortunately, Broun glosses over these constituents, burying them between his analysis of non-Gaelic literature such as Fordun and Grey and Irish works such as the *Lebor Gabala* and his stating of the largely unfounded claim that the history of early associations between Ireland and the *Scoti* found in Scottish chronicles represents an attempt by Scottish men of letters to bolster the Irish identity of the kingdom of the Scots.

Dr. Broun continues with this line of argument in his analysis of Scottish king-lists. Using the pioneering work of Marjorie Anderson as a starting point, Broun's examination of the royal genealogy begins to diverge from Anderson in his attempt to emphasise, as a means of identifying a regnal identity, that 'the royal genealogy would, in particular, have proclaimed the Scottish king's descent from kings in Ireland in the deep past' (189). This point Broun makes explicit on page 133 when he states, 'in order to assess the role of Irish identity in the legitimation of the kingship it is necessary to examine to what extent, if at all, king-lists were used as a way of endowing the kingship with an authenticating ancient past.' Between pages 133 and 136, Broun attempts to identify the origins of *'Marjorie Anderson's X-group of regnal lists'* and *'Anderson's y-group of regnal lists beginning with Cinaed mac Alpin'* as a means of showing the connection between when they were created and their originators being influenced by the desire to reflect a strong connection between the Scottish kingship and Ireland. While Broun offers little new, other than the Irish emphasis, in his analysis of Scottish king-lists, the break in his reasoning that occurs between pages 136-137 undermines his thesis. In his analysis of Anderson's regnal list *I* (136) Broun suggests that the author offered 'improvements' on the exemplar he worked with by 'rearranging it so that the Pictish list rather than the Dal Riata list came first.' Rather than using this example to build on the argument that he had already put forth, namely that 'king-lists were used as a way of endowing the kingship with an authenticating ancient past' specifically for the purpose of extending the length of monarchical succession in order to enhance the dignity of the kingdom, the inclusion of the

Pictish list is left without discussion. This is an especially notable omission given Broun's belief that the inclusion of Irish kings in Scottish king-lists was an indication of Scottish men of letters looking 'to Ireland for the legitimating ancient history of their kingship' (192). Again we need to ask whether Fergus mac Ferchar's Irish ethnicity endowed twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland with an Irish identity? Seemingly convinced that this was the case, Broun argues that 'an important aspect of the argument which can be advanced for the continuing vitality of Irish identity vis-à-vis the Scottish kingship is that the royal genealogy remained a significant element in defining kingship throughout most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' (174-175). This Broun confirms on page 187: 'the author of the *Gesta Annalia* gives a striking affirmation of Alexander III's Irish identity when he stated that the 'first Scot' was the son of Gaedel and Scota who, according to the synthesis used by Fordun in his chronicle, was the first Scotus to colonise Ireland.' In a day when historians readily refute the mythical origins of the Britons articulated by Geoffrey of Monmouth as attempts by medieval English imperialists to politicise the ethnic origins of the Welsh, Scots and English, it is a wonder that Dauvit Broun can be so readily persuaded by similar sources to identify the collective identity of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland so closely with Ireland, especially when other elements such as Gaelic culture, language, and religion would perhaps better support his case. The fact that Broun chose to ignore the multiplicity of identities and the awareness of distinct cultures and regional identities articulated in Fordun reveals how narrow this evaluation is of the identity of the kingdom of the Scots in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

This is not Dr. Broun's first foray into the complex, highly theoretical, largely over-analysed realm of nationhood and identities. Indeed, Dr. Broun has contributed essays on the subject of early Scottish national consciousness to the journal *History Today* ('When did Scotland become Scotland,' Vol. 46, No. 10, 1996), to a collection of essays edited by C. Bjorn, A. Grant and K. Stringer, *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* (Copenhagen, 1994), and to the volume of essays, *Image and Identity* (Edinburgh, 1998). And upon glancing at the bibliography

appended to the end of his latest work, *The Irish Identity*, it is evident that Dr. Broun has much more to say about this subject. What remains to be determined is whether or not the continuation of this trend of privileging certain constituents of an identity at the expense of others, or far worse as a means of diminishing the impact of others, is in any way conducive to reaching a firmer understanding of national identities. Responsibility for this tendency of course should not be laid entirely at the feet of Dr. Broun. As it stands, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* offers valuable insight into the development of early chronicles of the Scottish kingdom and provides a starting point to bridge the expansive gap in Scottish historiography caused by a lack of chronicle studies within the discipline. However, this book falls short in convincing readers that an overarching Irish identity was present in the kingdom of the Scots in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Instead, it leaves the lasting impression on the reader that two separate book projects were combined here to meet one objective.

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Scottish Tradition Vol. 25 2000

CELTIC CHRISTIANITY: MAKING MYTHS AND CHASING DREAMS

Ian Bradley.
New York: St. Martin's, 1999.

Bradley's newest effort provides a welcome addition to the bookshelf of anyone with an interest in Celtic history, theology, or the issues surrounding cultural myth-making. The topic of Celtic Christianity has for centuries attracted considerable interest among diverse groups of people who, as Bradley emphasizes, have tended to be of non-Celtic ancestry and with a set of political and religious agendas that have leaned heavily upon Celtic tradition. In addressing the reasons for this enduring appeal, Bradley identifies six distinct movements of Celtic Christian revivalism, spanning the period from the eighth century to the present. He also detects a number of common themes which link the motivations and aspirations of those most deeply involved in each of the revivals. He does not take up the contentious and ultimately futile debate concerning the definition of Celtic Christianity or the "Celtic Church", but concentrates instead on tracing the development of these concepts within popular consciousness.

Bradley identifies the fifth to the mid-seventh centuries as the essential core of Celtic Christian revivalism. The founding period of Christianity in Celtic Britain, these centuries witnessed the missionary and evangelizing activities of the early Church in the British Isles. The spiritual vitality which characterized this "age of saints", combined with a dearth of documentary or archaeological evidence for the period, laid the foundations for a centuries-long pattern of idealization and appropriation of the story of the early "Celtic Church". The hagiographers of the eighth and ninth centuries were motivated politically to enhance the reputations of the early Celtic saints and, by weaving

fantastic accounts of their sanctity and power, added greatly to the prestige of the monastic houses which the increasingly-legendary saints were supposed to have founded, and claimed monastic origins independent of direct Roman influence. Nostalgia for a purer age of great beginnings also contributed to the high esteem in which these figures were held, and also gave rise to the enduring popular perception of the early Celtic saint as an individual in spiritual harmony with the primeval natural world.

Subsequent periods of revival, including the Anglo-Norman period, the Reformation, the nineteenth century, and two separate portions of the twentieth century, are regarded by Bradley as echoing many of the preoccupations and themes evident in the work of the early hagiographers. By associating themselves with the Celtic saints, for example, the Anglo-Norman and subsequent waves of English immigrants to Ireland attempted to provide a sense of legitimacy to their occupation of the island, and to soothe those disturbed by the increasing Anglicization of Ireland. The Reformers identified the golden-age saints as "proto-reformers", who had prefigured the independence and doctrinal assertions of the sixteenth-century Reform movement, thus removing the taint of foreignness that accompanied the new religious values to the British Isles. The Romantic movement seized upon Celtic cultural and spiritual traditions and reinforced the old idealization of the supposedly peripheral, natural, and spiritually pure character of the fifth and sixth century Celtic saints.

Bradley argues that the twentieth-century revivals have continued to co-opt various elements of the native spiritual tradition in order to further the aims of emerging special-interest groups, such as environmentalists, feminists and New-Agers, but observes that this trend has been balanced somewhat by increasing academic participation in the exploration of Celtic culture. Although many Christians (and non-Christians) at the turn of the twentieth century have continued to project their own spiritual, artistic and social agendas onto the earliest phase of Celtic Christianity, their motivations seem to have become somewhat less cynically exploitative than those of their predecessors. Romanticized wishful thinking seems in large part to have

replaced the denominational propaganda that dominated the pre-Victorian revival movements.

Bradley's careful accounting of the slow accretion of myths and misconceptions to the early history of Christianity in Celtic Britain is of significant value. He clearly demonstrates the extent to which the whole concept of Celtic Christianity, as it has become known to the world, consists primarily of the efforts of non-Celts to project their own ideals and fantasies onto the sparse record of the distant past. Bradley attempts to give equal treatment to the notion of Celtic Christianity as it developed in each Celtic area of Britain; if anything is lacking from his analysis, it is a fuller account of the precise *means* by which various generations of English propagandists, in particular, have sought to establish links between their own historic religious culture and that of the British Celts. The reader would also find himself more fully satisfied by Bradley's study if a greater effort were made to illustrate the manner in which native Celts responded to these attempts to appropriate their religious culture. He succeeds, however, in maintaining his scholarly objectivity in the pursuit of a topic that tends to be emotionally-charged. Bradley's book is rendered particularly useful by his impressive historiographical treatment of his subject, and his bibliography features the key works in the development of the concept of Celtic Christianity as well as a representative sample of the best and most innovative of modern academic treatments of the topic.

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THE BEATONS, A MEDICAL KINDRED IN THE CLASSICAL GAELIC TRADITION

John Bannerman.
Edinburgh: John Donald Ltd., 1998.

John Donald Publishers continue to generously contribute to the field of Scottish history with the introduction of the first paperback edition of John Bannerman's book *The Beatons, A Medical Kindred in the Classical Gaelic Tradition*. Previously released in hard cover, this work on Scottish medical history is well worth reading. I am delighted to be given the opportunity to provide a review for this book.

John Bannerman has chosen to examine the exclusive and knowledgeable Beaton family of medical men who served several centuries of Scottish noblemen, an area previously unexplored in any great detail. The task Bannerman undertakes is difficult, given the scarcity and range of sources necessary to provide an adequate picture. However, as an experienced scholar, Bannerman provides well-documented and well-founded information on his subject.

The book is divided into five parts. The first is not so much a chapter as a section, dealing with the pedigree of the various Beaton medical families in the West Mainland and the Islands. This part of the book is of particular fascination to those interested in genealogical history. Bannerman traces the family's emigration to Scotland from Ireland in the early fourteenth century, and discusses the evolution of the last names and kin associations held by the various subdivisions of the Beaton family up until the eighteenth century. Surnames of the clan Beaton over this time period include MacBeth, MacBeatha, MacBhethad (or MacBethadh), MacLeay, MacVeagh, McVey, Beda, Betonus, Beaton, and Bethune, to name the most prevalent. He clearly distinguishes between the Bethunes of French origin and the

Beatons/Bethunes of the medical tradition, dispelling any myth that may have linked the two. Bannerman briefly discusses Norman Bethune and his relationship with the medical division of the Beaton family. Here Bannerman also discusses Gaelic terminology traditionally used in reference to the Beatons, such as *ollamh* (master of the craft) and *leich* or *lighiche* (doctor). Bannerman gives delineated Beaton family trees and justifies the position of each person in terms of historical proofs. This section is peppered with anecdotes and details of interest, which is useful as, on occasion, the genealogical relationships he is outlining begin to read somewhat like the Old Testament.

The second chapter deals with the social position of the medical Beatons, focusing mainly on the medieval period when the physicians were regarded as *daoin-uaisle*, or noblemen. In several instances, the Beaton men would marry the daughters of the clan tacksmen for whom they worked, thereby strengthening their position in terms of both employment and political standing. In a brief discussion of the decline in status of the Beatons later in the early modern period, which Bannerman links to the decline of the clan system of kinship, he points out the increased interest in the clergy as an alternative, acceptable social position. His intention is to show that throughout this long period, the Beatons were considered as distinct members of the upper class in Scotland and were treated accordingly. With such status came land, thereby facilitating the tracking of this group over time when using Scottish records.

Bannerman goes on to provide an overview of the role of what he terms "medical men" in Scotland. The purpose here is to discuss the role of physicians and their methods of practice in medieval Scotland. He includes international influences, and looks at the different types of doctors available (for example, "stone-cutters" for kidney stones and *chirugeons* or barber-surgeons). There is also a discussion of the slight differences between Highland and Lowland physicians. What is interesting is that Bannerman still focuses on the rare physicians and Beatons in this section rather than describing more fully the medical situation in Scotland. He does not mention the role of apothecaries, itinerant doctors, or popular medicine in the towns

and countryside in any detail. Perhaps a more detailed description of the status quo in the medical community as a whole would help the reader glean a better understanding of the contribution and importance of the Beatons.

In his later chapters, Bannerman elaborates on what a Beaton's unique training entails. Here is the real meat of the book, if genealogy does not appeal to the reader. Although Bannerman does not provide a point of comparison in the medical community, one can still appreciate the contribution made by this medical group. The position of medical doctor was inherited through primogeniture, though younger brothers or cousins could also be included in the training. Potential Beaton physicians were sent out to be trained by other dominant members of the family for a period of several years prior to undertaking their own practice. The Beaton community strongly emphasized literacy and ensured that any potential candidate was able to read Gaelic and Latin, amongst other selections. Bannerman outlines several instances where the extensive personal libraries of Beaton doctors were listed for posterity, whether through wills, or, in the case of a later Beaton, loss through Revolutionary war. Bannerman also uses Martin Martin's *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* as a reference for contemporary impressions of Beaton literacy.

The Beatons could not only read but wrote as well, and they took great pride in their orthography. It was traditional for Beaton physicians to write manuscripts of their experiences and pass them down through the generations for future reference. Those remaining provide an excellent source for historical study, and Bannerman uses these extensively. Bannerman points out that while myth holds that Scottish medicine is based on herbal remedies, these manuscripts indicate that the Beatons looked beyond their gardens for methods of healing. It would have been interesting for Bannerman to provide more concrete examples of the curative procedures recommended in the manuscripts, rather than just hinting at the content. Nevertheless, this section of his book provides a great deal of information on medieval Scottish medicine at the highest level of Highland society.

Finally, Bannerman looks at the decline of this classical

tradition. Bannerman uses his concluding section to prove, again through genealogical discussion, that the Beatons were not practicing as frequently in the early modern period, nor did they hold as exalted a position in their Highland communities as they had in the past. Unfortunately, Bannerman does not provide adequate explanation as to why this might have occurred. He holds that the influence of anonymous Lowland-educated physicians and anglicization of the country were responsible for enticing the young Beatons away to other pursuits, and the subsequent loss of traditional medical families. While this may have contributed to the decline of the Beaton family practice, it cannot have been the only factor in a Highland society that still valued tradition. There could have been more of a discussion of the external factors influencing Scotland's medical profession as a whole, namely the increased availability of Scottish universities famous for their medical programs (which, incidentally, were based on a European approach rather than anything England had to offer at the time). Nor does Bannerman investigate the methods and success rates of the Beatons, or their perceived role by their actual communities to explain what had happened. Bannerman's theories are interesting to read although many questions are raised in one's mind that remain unanswered.

Despite some gaps in the analysis of his data, and some tedium in the genealogical framework of his book, Bannerman has been brave to tackle an untouched subject with such vigour. Most obviously, the information provided on the Beatons is effectively presented and quite thorough in many regards. In addition, Bannerman's work is interesting to those curious to know more about family traditions, social organization, and Scottish medicine over the period that the Beatons were prevalent. On a grander scale, this book is a significant contribution to the history of medieval medicine as it firmly outlines the organization of a hereditary group of physicians unlike any other as yet studied in Western history.

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Aberdeen University 1945-1981: Regional Roles and National Needs

John D. Hargreaves with Angela Forbes, eds.,
Quincentennial Studies in the history of the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989.

Academe and Empire: Some Overseas Connections of Aberdeen University 1860-1970

John D. Hargreaves.
Quincentennial Studies in the history of the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1964.

The two volumes under review are parts of the series Quincentennial Studies in the history of the University of Aberdeen which commemorate the five-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the university in 1495 and explore different facets of its subsequent history. The series was launched in 1988, and some thirteen volumes have now appeared. It is not a sequential or architectonically organized series. So it would be misleading to call these volumes II and IX, even if they are the second and ninth of the books to be published.

The earlier book recounts and reflects upon the university's experience of the postwar period, up to 1981. While this is just a very recent stage of a history of epic chronological proportion, which is of course encouraged by the quincentennial conception of the series, it is striking how similar Aberdeen's postwar

experience is to that of many other universities, including Canadian ones, without the 500-year backdrop. A medium-small essentially provincial - better, regional - tertiary institution confronts the challenges of readjustment to peacetime with rapid expansion in student, faculty, and program numbers occasioned by a tide of prosperity, followed by a dramatic receding of that tide with concurrent greater centralized state control and a diminished prosperity and social commitment to university support. Aberdeen's is a variant of a tale enacted in the same period widely.

The later volume is a study of the University of Aberdeen's role in imperial history, and such other interconnections it had beyond the United Kingdom, in the period 1860-1970. The first half of this 110-year span was the high noon of the British imperial experience, and it is interesting to follow the book's author - John D. Hargreaves - as he traces threads of outward odyssey from Aberdeen to most of the corners of the Empire, and returning inputs of imperial subjects who came to Aberdeen to study. Also followed are such interconnections with parts of the world outside the empire as occurred. In the period before the second world war these were relatively minor, mostly involving the United States (of course itself a one-time component of the empire) and occasionally scattered parts of Europe and Asia: some Americans came to Aberdeen for education, as did a few Hungarians, Poles, Chinese, and others. The authors make imperial experience comparisons, qualitative and quantitive, with other United Kingdom (and especially other Scottish) universities, and find a good number of parallels. In the post-1945 period Aberdeen's experience parallels that of a wide plurality of primary universities in the first world with considerable numbers of international students, above all from third-world countries, joining local student populations.

Much then in this record is significantly similar to the destinies of a wide range of other universities in the modern world in the 120-year span the two volumes cover. It is a limitation of the books, I would say, especially of the first, that their authors do not see the extent of the commonality of university experience beyond the United Kingdom. Largely inspired if not actually

directly developed by British models and artisans, the universities and colleges of the English-speaking world have had as a group over the three centuries since these institutions have existed outside the British Isles impressively uniform kinds of fate. A small handful of elite metropolitan institutions in each of the national societies concerned has drawn broadly on students from all corners of its territories and sought, and to a significant degree achieved, a role of supplier of the chief group of architects and upper servants of the state's projects; and smaller essentially local tertiary institutions have drawn upon and served primarily local communities and needs, with a filtered subgroup going on to the national or international stage. In post-imperial and more egalitarian, and usually prosperous, times there has been a certain leavening of this profile, with more institutions created to serve wider needs, and the university like other constituents of the modern world participating (sometimes reluctantly) in what at least much of the planet knows increasingly as a global village.

Beyond registering these reactions, it would be wrong and in its own way parochial to dwell on them. This is local history, a recording of how events have seemed on the inside to those who lived through and are reflecting afterwards upon them; together with local and regional archival and statistical investigation, of who attended the University of Aberdeen, where they came from and where they went and what they did after doing so, and of what sort of (especially economic) interface has existed between the university and the rest of northeast Scotland. In 1945-46 some 56% of the full-time student body had home addresses from within 30 miles of the city of Aberdeen. By 1980-81 the student complement from the entire Grampian region stood at only 33.75%. To be sure, Aberdeen remained an overwhelmingly Scottish institution: some 77.25% of its students were of Caledonian origin. In the same year 6.9% of the students came from outside the U.K.

Aberdeen's historic strength was in theology and applied science programs - especially medicine and forestry, subsequently also engineering - with representation, and occasional prominence, across a broad traditional spectrum. (The university's senior seven chairs, all founded in 1505, are in Humanity, Greek,

Moral Philosophy, Logic, Mathematics, Law, and Natural Philosophy.) The fields of principal stature in relatively recent times provided the basis for most of the university's international experience. For example, of the 1,378 Aberdeen graduates 1860-1900 who are known to have served overseas, some 810 worked in medicine, and 89 in other applied sciences, with a further 191 doing church and mission work - some 78.1% then bringing the fruits of their Aberdonian training in theology and applied sciences to the outerworld (chiefly the world of empire). The other sizeable constituencies of graduates working overseas were in education and in government administrative service. This overall pattern of focus continues on the whole into the twentieth century. And it is also reflected in the academic concentrations of students from outside the British Isles.

The two volumes offer a wealth of interesting personal accounts of particular graduates and their careers, often distinguished, though rarely of the upper tier of fame and success. One obtains, as the imperial volume notes, a strong sense of Aberdeen as providing a significant portion of the 'middle management' of empire, and, in the post-imperial period, of British overseas endeavour in commerce, medicine, science, and education. Some of the anecdotes enlarge a little on the data of Aberdeen degree and date, and the countries and offices of service. We read of one Aberdeen graduate (Benjamin Knowles (MB 1907)) serving in the then Gold Coast who "had the distressing experience of being tried for the murder of his wife". One might have thought Knowles's distress distinctively secondary to that of his deceased wife; we are not informed of the outcome of Knowles's trial. Occasional misadventure of this kind aside (and a number of cases of violent deaths in imperial service), the overall sense is of quiet steady contribution to the life and work of the empire, and the material conditions of its subjects in the local environments in which the Aberdonian physicians, engineers, agricultural specialists, teachers, and missionaries worked.

Both volumes give scrupulous tabular attention to women in the University of Aberdeen record. We may note, for example, that the university graduated 4,539 persons in the 1901-1925

period, of whom 1,627 (35.8%) were women. Sizeable numbers of this group went on to overseas work.

The destinations abroad of Aberdeen graduates span most parts of the empire. But in the early period (1860-1880), India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) received almost a third of them, and the numbers going to the subcontinent always remained high until after the second world war. Other primary destinations were Australia, South Africa, and Canada and the U.S.A. North America rose to first place - nearly 30% - in the postwar period (1946-1966). Connections with the European continent were on the whole rather minor and secondary. Desultory attempts were made to develop and foster programs in modern European languages and culture, and exchange endeavours had occasional success, but there is detectable what was usually a clear indifference on the part of the Aberdeen authorities towards the other side of the Channel.

Life at Aberdeen over the course of the twentieth century was in general local in horizon and focus, judging by these books. Halls of residence only date from the postwar period. Students generally took rooms (typically, with a widowed landlady). Financial support was meagre. There was little student (or faculty) activism; relatively little even in the storied 'Sixties. Student newspapers in the decades after 1945 generally lament campus apathy and conformism.

Rapid university expansion in this period brought new opportunities, and challenges; the Thatcher years particularly provided a strong dose of the latter. The postwar volume closes with a sense of the ominous note of special threat to the institution in the period (the 'Eighties) at hand.

To sum up: these books provide an interesting, statistically informed set of understandings of an old regional university that historically served (and led) its home territory, then played a significant staffing role in the service sectors of empire, and encountered fresh breezes, some of them cold ones, in the nationally expansionist and egalitarian aftermath of empire.

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Scottish Tradition Vol. 25 2000

ALBA: CELTIC SCOTLAND IN THE MEDIEVAL ERA

E. J. Cowan and R. Andrew McDonald, eds.
East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000. xiv, 282 pp. £16.99.

Twenty years ago the publication of a book as comprehensive, authoritative, and altogether satisfying as is this new collection of essays would have been virtually impossible. Although serious study of the minutiae of Scotland's experience in the medieval era was no longer in its infancy, scholars at that time were still busy trying to reconstruct fundamental aspects of Scottish political, economic and ecclesiastical life out of a comparatively restricted (and in many respects uneven series of) primary source materials to devote much effort to specifically Celtic aspects of the kingdom's history. Moreover, although they were well aware of the distinct place of the Celtic peoples in the early formation of Scotland, there was nevertheless a sense that the 'peaceful conquest' of the realm by the Anglo-Norman newcomers in the wake of King David I's accession in 1124 proved a watershed in shaping cultural and political foundations that were to prevail until the Reformation and beyond. As such, it merited – and earned – the lion's share of scholarly attention. In the context of so strong an historiographical conviction the contribution of the Celtic peoples to such essential aspects of state formation as land tenure, religious expression and the growth of trade was bound to be overlooked or, in some cases, marginalised altogether.

Each of the ten historians whose work is represented in this volume has gone some way towards restoring the Celtic peoples of medieval Scotland to the mainstream of historical enquiry, and all bring to their essays a thorough knowledge of surviving source materials and a strong record of solid research in their field. The book in noteworthy in several respects. In the first place,

it treats the history of the Celtic regions of Scotland from a very early period through to the sixteenth century as a unified whole, a trait seldom found elsewhere. In related fashion, it eschews almost altogether the 'pre-' and 'post-Norman' divide that to date has characterised most scholarly treatments of the medieval period. There is a sense here that the native inhabitants of Scotland had a place in political, religious and cultural affairs irrespective of the intrusion from 'foreign' influences, Norman, English or continental. In the second place, it combines not only novel studies based on hitherto untapped archival materials, but others that bring fresh perspectives to very old debates, among them the textual significance of the treatise *De situ Albanie* and the validity of genealogy as a tool in the writing of political history. Perhaps most impressive of all, readers are treated here to fine examples of research remarkably devoid of what Professor Cowan acerbically identifies as the 'clamjamfry of nonsense that is now popularly deemed to constitute part of Celtic heritage' (p. 23).

The book opens with a retrospective on the history of the idea of Celtic Scotland. Here, Professor Cowan reviews the attitudes that informed and underlay scholarly studies of the native peoples from the time of John of Fordun in the late fourteenth century to the present. The essays by Dauvit Broun, Alan Bruford and Graeme Cruickshank shed intriguing new light on a period of Scottish history often avoided in surveys of the kingdom because of a paucity of reliable extant records. Each demonstrates, moreover, that skilful handling of such jejune materials as do survive from the years before 1000 (early political, geographical or legal treatises, in both Latin and Gaelic, and especially king lists) can be made to yield a wealth of valuable insights about the organisation of Celtic society, even if the three scholars do not always agree in the conclusions they draw. Alexander Grant combines his profound knowledge of the earliest thanages of medieval Scotland with a vigorous reassessment of the role that the earldom of Ross and its lords, native, Norse and Anglo-Norman, played in the turbulent political challenges that accompanied the forging of the kingdom of Alba. Keith Stringer and R. Andrew McDonald contribute painstakingly researched studies of the lordships of Galloway and Argyll.

Both make extensive use of chronicle sources and of extant charters relating to these regions. Each demonstrates that the native lords of Galloway and Argyll shared common assumptions about the authority inherent in lordship.

Recent research has placed a great deal of emphasis on the influence of the so-called 'Irish Sea world' and, beyond that, of the Scandinavian realms on the development of Scottish society. The essays by David Sellar, Steve Boardman and Norman Macdougall offer salutary reminders of the need to appreciate the fact that the medieval Scots were as likely to look west and north as they were south when they became involved in political machinations, embarked on ambitious territorial adventures, or engaged in unlawful freebooting. All three authors make convincing cases for viewing the Lordship of the Isles as an especially vital component of the kingdom.

Despite its many strong points, the collection is not without its flaws. Cowan and McDonald's editorial touch is very light. Perhaps too light: in their introductory remarks they might have made much more of the several themes that link an otherwise wide ranging series of essays. Not least among such themes are the ways in which each of the contributions demonstrates how the writing of Scottish history has changed. Scholars working in the opening years of the new millenium bring to their research efforts more than just a sound knowledge of written source materials; they are also now regularly venturing into disciplines once regarded as beyond their ken (and sometimes their interest), including archaeology, linguistics and genealogy. Another theme that informs many of the essays is that of noble authority. Native leaders from regions as distinct as Galloway, Argyll or Ross may well, as some of these authors claim, have worked consciously to ingratiate themselves with the Norman newcomers, but all also proved adept at giving expression to their authority in ways that would have been highly surprising to their Norman fellows. A more concerted effort to make explicit these and other unifying features of the book would have made this already solid collection even stronger.

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A Scottish Life: Sir John Martin, Churchill and Empire

Michael Jackson. Edited by Janet Jackson.
New York: The Radcliffe Press, 1999.

Sir John Martin (1904-1991), a Scottish born son of a minister father and social worker mother, made a career in the British Colonial Office and, during World War II, as Winston Churchill's Principal Private Secretary. He was well educated at Edinburgh Academy in the classical tradition, went to Officers' Training Corps there, and then on to Corpus Christi College at Oxford. He took the then typical, for well to do young gentlemen, tour of Europe. In the Colonial Office, John made the rounds of India and other British South Asian colonies, and then returned home. He was involved closely with the debates over what to do with Palestine in the pre-war era. His service to Churchill during the war was exemplary, and then he joyfully returned to service in the Colonial Office, where he was one of many who oversaw the dismantling of the British Empire. As he saw it, his responsibility in this task, as with all else he undertook, was to see that it was done with "integrity" and honor (148). For a good Christian man, as John saw himself, this was of the utmost importance.

The material for this book was obtained largely from John Martin's own writings. He kept a detailed diary through the years, and he was a devoted letter writer – to his parents, particularly his mother, and then to his wife. These are invaluable sources in a biography. And, in this particular case, they provide a great deal of detailed information about the inner workings, not only of the man who wrote them, but also are irreplaceable as a source about the workings of the Colonial Office and of Churchill's finest hours as Prime Minister. In fact, excerpts from Martin's writings account for over 50% of the book's content.

This leads to the first of the possible criticisms of this book. While Martin's writings are interesting, they tend towards repetitiveness after some time and consume pages which might be better used in analysis, both of Martin's writings and perceptions, as well as critiques of his place in the colonial venture, his own sense of Anglo superiority over colonial peoples, and some exposition of how his views of Empire and duty did not quite mesh with those of the people over whom he presumed to rule, benevolently or not.

Even a cursory reading and inclusion of some of the analyses of a few essays on the concept of nation and colonialism would have provided some balance in the book, and prevented its author and editor from presenting us with a saint, rather than a man.[1] The Jacksons, though, only felt it necessary to provide outside evidence that spoke to Martin's exemplary character and amiable nature. This has the effect of removing Martin from his own historical context, and it completely ignores the most prominent body of literature today available to the historian about this complex period of history, the 20th century and the era of decolonization.

This criticism is part and parcel of the second major criticism of this work. It has the failing of so many other biographies, an overwhelming bias, either for or against its subject. In this case, the pro-Martin bias seems to stem from the fact that the book's editor is also the niece of its subject. And, the author is the husband of that niece. One need not doubt their sincerity about Martin's sense of honor. From the man's own writings, one gleans this fact. He had every impulse to do what he understood to be the right and proper thing, to live up to his duty.

What he lacked, and what his biographers lack, is the capacity to see himself and be seen as a human being who bought into the prejudices of his own time, who had a decidedly British worldview, no matter how impartial he tried to be, or thought he was being, in his many dealings with those outside of Britain. Martin exhibits a considerable lack of sensitivity to the cultures and customs of non-European peoples. He writes of a servant he had while in Malaysia. "I find him useful as a dictionary…" But, there is a tone of superiority when he relates how much extra he

is paying the "lad" so that he might pay for "absurdly gorgeous wedding garments." The servant's one value, aside from providing a walking dictionary, was that he "never forg[o]t his place" (49). Further lack of Martin's understanding of the peoples he visited comes with this brief description, "judging by the number of their temples, most of the Chinese must be Taoists or whatever Chinese are" (55). Martin has little interest in them except their colonial relationship with Britain.

Any analysis of such comments by Martin is completely lacking and is passed over with little or any commentary of worth. The only thing Jackson manages to say about Martin's attitude toward other cultures is this:

> John's awareness of acquiring a white man's superiority complex was a good mark for his own self-examination. After moving among the top stratum of Malayan administration and society for a year and a half, he was determined not to let his head be turned, but could see why he had developed this complex (65).

That Martin did not let his "head be turned" is debatable. And, while Martin's was certainly a common enough attitude at the time, the lack of analysis on it is uncalled for in this era of historical development on topics such as colonialism, cultural hegemony, and the like.

Finally, one must take issue with the title of this book and the author's assertion that this is somehow a particular examination of a "Scottish" life. There is very little that recommends it as a study on the unique qualities of being born and raised Scottish. The only things Martin himself says about it, if we are to take the provided excerpts as typical of his writings, is that he usually writes to his mother when he meets another Scot. There is nothing that would otherwise suggest a Scottish experience. John Martin is first and foremost a British subject and citizen. Those are his concerns. Not once does he comment that he is raising the value of Scotland within the Empire. If the Jacksons are trying to assert that Martin is a case in point of a lack of a particularly Scottish identity, they have accomplished their task

very well. The one redeeming value to the book must be reiterated here. If one wanted to read primary documents and get a sense of the inner workings of the Colonial Office, the personal feelings of those involved in the decision making process, then this is an excellent source. However, if one thought to read this book as some sort of analysis of the process of decolonization, or any of the other endeavors of which Martin participated, then one ought to look elsewhere.

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Endnotes

1. For instance, Partha Chatterjee's *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (1986), E. J. Hobsbawm's *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (1990), the writings of Antonio Gramsci, and dozens of other related and more specific works on the subject.

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

John L. Roberts, *Clan King and Covenant: A History of the Highland Clans from the Civil War to the Glencoe Massacres,* Edinburgh University Press, 2000

THE FRANK WATSON PRIZE IN SCOTTISH HISTORY

The Frank Watson Scottish History Book Prize will be awarded in Fall 2001 to the best book, monograph, dissertation or edited set of papers on Scottish history published between 1999-2000. Preference will be given to original work on a topic in early Scottish history or in any area of Scottish history which has been largely unexplored. Three copies of the book for consideration should be submitted by authors, publishers, or any other sponsor by 15 June 2001 to:

Dr. Linda Mahood,
Scottish Studies History Department,
University of Guelph,
Guelph,
Ontario,
Canada, N1G 2W1.

The prize will be awarded at the University of Guelph in late October. The award recipient is expected to receive the award in person and to present a lecture and a seminar while visiting Guelph. Transportation and accommodation will be provided.

Further information may be obtained by writing to the above address or by e-mail from: lmahood@uoguelph.ca

The 1999 Frank Watson Prize in Scottish History 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. Honourable mention went to Robert Dodgson, *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).