The Communities and Margins of Early Modern Scotland

Abstracts

Laurie Atkinson, Durham University

"The roytaste ane ragement with mony rat rane': Confronting the Margins in Gavin Douglas's Eighth Prologue to the Eneados'

Gavin Douglas's 1513 translation of the Aeneid has been lauded as something like the literary zenith of the 'renaissance' court of James IV. The Eneados - and most explicitly, its thirteen original prologues - has consolidated for Douglas the status of translator, commentator, even auctor within the international, humanist textual community constructed for the early sixteenth century. Problematic to this status has proved the eighth prologue, an interlude to the Virgilian epic that is immediately incongruous in both its alliterative stanza and dream-framed form. Here, writes Felicity Riddy, 'the humanist poet confronts a venerable vernacular tradition, and judges it too narrowly provincial, too restricted in its outlook, too ignorant to carry authority.' Yet this kind of implicit binarism inadequately accounts for the inescapable presence in Douglas's verse of a medieval and distinctly Scottish strain. Such are the alternative literary tradition(s) that seem to be represented by the 'roytaste ane ragement with mony rat rane' (Prol.VIII, 147) presented to the dreamer by the 'selcouth seg' of the eighth prologue. By drawing together suggestions of Douglas's vernacular and even oral influences in the Eneados and earlier Palis of Honoure, and re-examining his still under-utilised correspondence, I wish to further interrogate his situation and reception within the textual community of sixteenth-century Scotland. This familiar example reviewed, if not entirely reappraised, serves to demonstrate how conceptions such as the Latinate and vernacular, of the courtly and popular, and communities and margins, can be of only provisional usefulness when approaching what is a multifarious and liminal literary culture.

Laurie Atkinson is about to begin a PhD at Durham University on the framing narrative as a paratextual device in Middle English and Older Scots verse of the long fifteenth century. He has recently completed an MPhil at Cambridge, in which his dissertation focused upon the dream-framed verse of William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas. Laurie has presented at conferences this year in Edinburgh, Cambridge and at the fifteenth International Conference for Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature. His article 'Why þat ye meeued ben / kan I nat knowe': Autobiography, Convention, and Discerning Doublenesse in Thomas Hoccleve's The Series' was published in Neophilologus in July.
Andrew Bull, University of Glasgow

‘O’er the water to Charlie’: contextualising James Oswald’s Jacobite tunes in London printings

James Oswald (1710-1769) was a noted Scottish composer and publisher of music in Dunfermline and Edinburgh, who then moved to London in 1741. Here he began teaching and publishing music, with his ‘Caledonian Pocket Companion’ being by far the most successful, with numerous volumes and multiple reprints. This series started around 1745, printed as inexpensive booklets, with only the melody line given to allow for ease of playing on any melody instrument. So far, so sensible printing practice. What strikes the reader however is the notable inclusion of Jacobite tunes within several of the volumes. These volumes were likely printed after the Battle of Culloden, presenting a conundrum to us today - how did Oswald get away with printing such politically charged tunes with names such as ‘O’er the water to Charlie’ and ‘A Parcel of Rogues in the Nation’?

What amazes even more is that Oswald managed to gain a royal printing licence in 1747, around the time he was printing these tunes; by 1750 his patrons included the royal family, and in 1761 he became Chamber Composer to George III. How then did Oswald manage to successfully print Jacobite tunes in London without political ramifications? If he was a staunch Jacobite, why didn’t he print more of them? There only appear to have been a few throughout the Companion’s many volumes. If he was simply trading in on popular tunes known to the masses, then why use these ones? And why keep the original Jacobite names, when such things could easily be altered to avoid political backlash? This paper is an attempt to answer these questions, and provide an insight into how a Scotsman managed to circumvent the political minefield of London, whilst printing Jacobite tunes, and rise to the top of society.

I am a first year PhD student at the University of Glasgow, studying the church music of Scotland in the 13th and 14th centuries under Dr David McGuinness and Professor Dauvit Broun. However, I am interested in anything that comes under the term ‘Early Music’ - so pre-1800 - that occurs primarily in Scotland, but also throughout the British Isles. In particular, methods of transmission and teaching, and trying to place the music of a time into a wider social and historical context. My few papers and publications so far have encompassed the 13th century manuscript ‘W1’ from St Andrews, the Offices of Saints Kentigern and Columba and their Lives, bardic schooling during the late medieval period, and the printed fiddle music of late 18th century Scotland.

Scott Carballo, University of Strathclyde

‘Piracy and the Irish Sea: the maritime community of southwest Scotland in the reign of James VI’

Maritime historiography of Scotland has largely focused on the North Sea and eastern sea ports. There are no comparative studies of Scotland’s west coast and Irish Sea regions in the late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth centuries. During this time, the Tudor (pre-1603) and Stuart monarchies were articulating imperial ideology while pursuing overseas exploration and
expansion, and were continuously subjected to piracy. This has not been systematically analysed, certainly from a Scottish, or from an Irish Sea perspective.

This paper will assess the extent to which piracy affected Scotland’s sea ports along the southwest coast in this period, and how this problem was addressed. In particular, the preventative and reactionary policies of the Scottish crown and government will be assessed in comparison to attempts to deal with piratical attacks by the seafaring towns of the southwest. The paper will draw on evidence from the records of the Ayr Mariners Society, which was formed in 1581 as an early form of insurance, specifically to deal with losses at sea due to piracy. It will present the argument that the policies put forward by central authorities largely failed to reduce piratical attacks, and thus created the need for the maritime communities themselves to present their own solutions.

Given the different approaches to piracy adopted by the Elizabethan government in England (and Ireland) and the Jacobean government in Scotland and throughout the three kingdoms after 1603, the union brought significant changes to Scotland’s naval situation. Whilst Elizabeth had been willing to overlook piratical attacks and plunder at sea against England’s enemies during wartime; James took a stricter approach, seeking to create order in British waters as he negotiated peace with Spain and cessation of hostilities in Ireland. This paper will then assess how these constitutional changes affected piracy in the British Isles and what this meant for the sea-faring communities on Scotland’s margins, away from the centres of political authority, as they entered the seventeenth century and interacted with the expanding English empire.

This paper will be based on research for an MSc dissertation at the University of Glasgow. I am a PhD student at the University of Strathclyde, supervised by Dr Alison Cathcart. The PhD project will expand on this dissertation to incorporate the whole Irish Sea region, taking in both English and Irish perspectives on piracy, and assessing the impact piracy had on local economies and commerce.

Helen Gair, Nottingham Trent University

‘Communities and the Kirk Session in Early Modern Perth, 1577 – c. 1600’

The kirk session was an integral part of community life in early modern Scottish burghs. The wider community could play an important role in both supporting or rejecting kirk session discipline in various ways, including through reporting or protecting parishioners who had sinned, criticising or disobeying the session, or acting as witnesses. Perth’s session records also provide evidence of smaller local communities, such as families and guilds, and particularly the community of session members. Yet despite Perth’s status as one of the four ‘great burghs’ of Scotland in the sixteenth century, and the recent publication of the minutes for 1577-90, they have not yet been explored to their full potential, in contrast to minutes for St Andrews and Canongate.

This paper will assess the relationships and connections of Perth’s elders and deacons, and how they affected the administering of discipline in Perth. It will investigate whether Perth’s kirk session was more open and less exclusive than some others in Scotland, with a wide and rotating
range of men serving as elders and deacons. Members often had numerous connections with other institutions within the burgh, which could influence their actions, and there is evidence to suggest that this was utilised to reform the behaviour of individual crafts and trades. The paper will also consider how the congregation of Perth interacted with the kirk session, and how one’s reputation within a community could affect their experience of kirk session discipline.

Helen Gair is a PhD student at Nottingham Trent University, funded by NTU’s Vice-Chancellor’s Scholarship. She is studying kirk session discipline in sixteenth-century Perth, specifically the significance of the backgrounds of session members and how discipline developed over time.

Nathan Hood, University of Edinburgh

‘More than a Feeling: Exploring the Role of Emotion in Robert Bruce of Kinnaird’s Designation of the Covenant Community’

For Robert Bruce of Kinnaird (1554–1631) emotion was a significant factor in defining the identity and margins of the reformed Kirk. This paper will examine Bruce’s sermons on the Lord’s Supper, and will particularly focus on his preaching concerning preparation for communion. Bruce’s thought will be situated within the context of the Kirk’s Discipline, drawing on the research of Margo Todd, Jane Dawson and Nikki Macdonald. It will be argued that for Bruce the pre-communion examination was not primarily about social control, but rather the performance of the covenant community’s reconciliation with God and humanity. In this respect, inclusion and exclusion from the Lord’s Supper defined who has been reconciled and who had not.

While godly living (including giving to the poor, reconciling with feuding neighbours, and cutting ties with Roman Catholics) was necessary for passing the pre-communion examination, and as such for participation in the Lord’s Supper, this paper will argue that for Bruce these actions flowed from ‘the feeling of his mercie’. This was an emotion, a feeling of joy, peace, assurance and hope. This emotion was, for Bruce, an apprehension of God’s mercy, an experience of union with Christ. It will be argued that because Bruce believed godly living proceeds from the feeling of his mercie, and as this behaviour was required for participation in the Lord’s Supper, having this emotion was also required for being included in the covenant community. This meant it defined both the identity and margins of the covenant community for Bruce.

Nathan Hood is currently completing a MTh in Theology in History at the University of Edinburgh. His dissertation is titled, ‘The feeling of his mercie’: Evaluating Emotion in Robert Bruce of Kinnaird’s Sermons on the Lord’s Supper’. In September, he is due to begin a PhD in History of Christianity at the University of Edinburgh, focusing on emotion within religious communities in early modern Scotland.
Jamie Kelly, University of Glasgow

‘Revisiting the Language Issue: The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) and Highland Education, c. 1660–c. 1754’

The SSPCK has been described as “the single most important institution of Anglicisation in the 1700s”. The Edinburgh-based charitable organisation (f. 1709) maintained charity schools in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, intended to evangelise and educate the largely Gaelic-speaking population. As the SSPCK resolved that children would be taught to read only the English Bible and, from 1716, it began advertising its progress towards “extirpating the Irish tongue”, most historiography highlights the SSPCK’s role “in devaluing Gaelic in the Highland mind”.

This paper re-evaluates the Society’s language policy both in terms of motivation and impact. It is argued that the established scholarship relies heavily on Society rhetoric — e.g. stereotypes of Highland ignorance/barbarity — thus obscuring the factors which gave rise to the SSPCK’s language policy and the ways in which Highland communities understood the purpose of schooling. It is argued that the SSPCK was initially open to teaching Gaelic in schools, but very few Gaels could read or write the language. After 1715, the SSPCK presented itself as a strictly anti-Gaelic agency, but made little progress in removing Gaelic. It is argued that schooling was more widespread in the Highlands pre-1709 than is generally acknowledged, and that many communities already regarded English as the language of literacy and education. This paper concludes that many communities desired an English education, and would likely have questioned the purpose of Gaelic literacy, not due to a ‘devalued’ opinion of Gaelic, but its continued functionality as a spoken language, complimented by English literacy.

Jamie Kelly is a History PhD student at the University of Glasgow. His research focuses on the history of education in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, particularly the religious, social and political impact of the eighteenth-century charity school movement.

Dr. Chris Langley, Newman University, Birmingham

“Unreverend talk’: Neighbours, elders and ecclesiastical discipline, c.1600-1661’

Scholars have long recognised the peculiar position of the lay elder and his place in administering discipline in early modern Scotland. The parish elder was a ‘devoted amateur’ who received no specific training for his role and continued to live, cheek-by-jowl, alongside those parishioners who he was expected to reprove. Despite this and the recent renaissance in the historiography of the Scottish Reformation, historians and theologians know very little about how he operated on a day-to-day basis.

This paper seeks to explore how elders and deacons were intimately connected to their parishes from the turn of the seventeenth century to the Restoration of episcopacy in 1661. While parishes negotiated the rigours of Reformed theology – as Margo Todd, John McCallum and others have shown – it was largely down to the interpersonal relationships between parishioner and individual elder that sat at the sharp edge of reform. This has important consequences for
how we observe consistorial discipline as these were collective bodies made up of individuals rather than one, homogenous, force.

Elders knew an awful lot about their neighbours’ activities, their material and geographical circumstances and their family connections. However, they were often also part of these same networks, intimately connected with the very people they oversaw. Arguments between elders and their neighbours were not the norm but they underline how parish-based relationships underpinned the application of local discipline. Religious reform engaged rather delicately with the context of the local community.

I am Senior Lecturer in Early Modern History at Newman University, Birmingham. My research focuses on Scottish religious culture and Protestant identity and I’ve published on various aspects of the social history of worship and religious politics. My first book Worship, Civil War and Community, 1638-1660 was published in 2015 and I also edited The Minutes of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, 1648-1659 for Boydell Brewer and the Scottish History Society in 2016. I am currently writing the monograph Cultures of Care: Domestic Welfare and the Church of Scotland, c.1600-1689.

Andrew Lind, University of Glasgow

‘Battle in the Burgh: Conflict within the community of Glasgow during the British Civil Wars (1639-1651)’

Support within Scotland’s burghs for the Covenanting Movement has often been highlighted as crucial to the Movement’s success and longevity. However, there is still much work needed in order to ascertain exactly why this was the case. Indeed, whilst David Stevenson, Allan Macinnes, and Allan MacDonald have all supported the argument that the burghs were, in many ways natural allies of the Covenanter, they have all emphasised the need to further explore and explain this phenomenon. Stevenson has even warned that this perceived unity may in fact be an illusion, projected by the increased power which the burgh elite were able to accrue over the course of the seventeenth century. Following the example of Laura Stewart’s recent research on Edinburgh, this paper will re-examine the burgh of Glasgow, which has often been regarded as one of the hotbeds of the Covenanting rebellion. This paper will seek to challenge this view, and argue that over the course of the Civil Wars, there emerged two factions within the burgh, one conservative, one radical. Whilst these factions cohabitated the burgh during the early 1640s, war in Scotland in 1644-45 brought matters to a head, resulting in conflict at the very heart of the burgh community.

It is hoped that this research will help this conference reveal the grassroots experiences of early modern Scotland, whilst also reinvigorating discussion of Scotland’s burghs during the British Civil Wars. Likewise, it is hoped that this paper will challenge the assertion that the Covenanting Movement held a monopoly on support from the Third Estate by arguing that there was tangible Royalist support within Glasgow, and that far from being a distant concern, the Civil Wars in Scotland produced fracture-lines right down through the kingdom’s communities.
Andrew Lind is a 2nd year PhD Candidate in Scottish History at the University of Glasgow. His research is primarily concerned with understanding the motivations and ideologies that underpinned the Royalist movement in Scotland during the British Civil Wars. Andrew’s working thesis title is: ‘You may take my head from my shoulders, but not my heart from my soveraigne’: Understanding Royalism and Allegiance to the Crown in Scotland During the British Civil Wars (1639-1651).

Clare Loughlin, University of Edinburgh

‘The ‘Popish Masquerade’: the Rev. William Veitch, Catholics and Hebronites in early eighteenth-century Dumfriesshire’

This paper examines the confrontations between the Church of Scotland and religious minorities in eighteenth-century Dumfriesshire. Presbyterianism was re-established in Scotland in 1690, but the Church’s security was far from certain. Scotland’s remnant Catholic population was regarded as a severe political and religious threat; radical Presbyterian splinter groups also flourished in the south-west, who refused to accept the Church’s spiritual authority due to its refusal to renew the Covenants. Scholars examining radical Presbyterianism in this period have stressed that, at a national level, Catholicism was seen to pose the greater threat to religious and political stability. But an exploration of responses to Catholics and radical Presbyterians in Dumfriesshire suggests that, in individual communities, the picture was more complicated.

In 1718, the minister of Dumfries, William Veitch, wrote A Short History of Rome’s Designs Against the Protestant Interest in Britain. While its title suggests a straightforward anti-Catholic polemic, it was actually directed against John Hepburn, a separatist Presbyterian minister in a neighbouring parish. Veitch claimed that Hepburn and his followers, known as Hebronites, were ‘papists in disguise’ who were fomenting Protestant divisions in order to bring about a Catholic restoration. Indeed, Veitch perceived a greater danger from this ‘popish masquerade’ than the actual Catholic community in Dumfries. Accusations of ‘papists in disguise’ were widespread in eighteenth-century religious discourse, but have not been explored in detail in a Scottish context. I will suggest that Veitch’s fulminations against the Hebronites and the spectre of ‘popery’ reflected not so much anxieties about growing Catholic confidence, but fundamental disquiet about the established Church’s ability to win souls in a region where its spiritual authority was questioned. By exploring Veitch’s attitudes towards religious communities on the fringes of society, this paper offers new perspectives on the idea of the religious ‘other’ in the early eighteenth century.

Clare Loughlin is a second-year PhD candidate in History at the University of Edinburgh, funded by the Wolfson Foundation. Her research looks at anti-Catholic attitudes and actions in Scotland from 1690 to 1750, with particular reference to how divisions within Scottish Protestantism affected ideas of ‘popery’.
Cara Beth Nichols, MLitt at University of Glasgow

In Search of the Episcopalian Women: Piety and Intolerance in Jacobite Scotland

How did the Episcopalian woman in Scotland experience life and culture following the glorious revolution? How did she engage with religion in an increasingly intolerant era? How active was she in politics? How did her religion affect her everyday life? More importantly—who is she and why is she only talked about only when engaged in sexual relations with the Bonnie Prince? How did Episcopalian women take charge of their religion and how did their religious ideals affect their everyday lives? I will be focusing on Episcopalian women in the period of 1690-1750 in Scotland. From 1689 onwards, the Episcopal Church became the dissenting minority under a Presbyterian regime. In looking through both lenses of intolerance and scarcity of Episcopalians in Presbyterian Scotland, in addition to Jacobite political motivations and limitations, I will attempt to uncover an historical past in which Episcopalian women have agency in their religious and working lives. For the scope of my project, I will look at Glasgow in particular for sources of piety through the sermons of Reverend George Graeme and the practice of using meeting houses to reconstruct the world that these Episcopalian women lived in. I will prove that Episcopalian women were just as active in political affairs, and thought just as much about their spirituality. In using these lists of already heavily researched women and families, I will share the lives of Scottish Episcopalian women that have been so neglected by scholars before me. Jacobite women seem only to be important if they were mistresses of Bonnie Prince Charlie, and Presbyterian women are famous for their love of setting things on fire. I will prove that in their status and in their restraint, Episcopalian women were actually just as active in the preservation of the Episcopal Church and the determination of Jacobitism.

Cara Beth Nichols is a postgraduate MLitt, Early Modern History student at the University of Glasgow, working under the supervision of Dr. Karin Bowie. She received her BA in History from the University of Texas at Austin in 2016.

Claire Mc Nulty, Queen’s University Belfast

‘The experience of church discipline in parish communities in Edinburgh in the 1640s’

In the run up to, and from the signing of, the National Covenant of 1638 Scottish Covenanters worked hard to create an image of a godly community. The Covenanters believed that by doing so, they could protect Scotland from the threat of idolatry that had been steadily creeping into liturgy and forms of worship. It seemed as though the Reformation that began in 1560 was being undermined by religious innovations that some felt were of a “popish” nature. Scottish Covenanters determined to counter-act the apparent demise of true religion by orchestrating a drive towards a more godly nation of Protestant Scots. Local kirk sessions were positioned at the centre of this mission. The sessions were responsible for making the division between the purportedly godly and ungodly within the community clearly visible, and they did so by implementing a strict system of discipline. Belonging to the religious community in early modern Scotland required a certain standard of spiritual belief and moral behaviour from parishioners, the boundaries of which were clearly communicated by the parish minister and session to the congregation. Although membership to the Church was not optional, there were ways in which
individuals could determine whether or not they would find themselves either belonging to the godly community, or ostracised from it. This paper will examine parishioners as they appeared before the kirk session in Edinburgh throughout the 1640s, showing individuals accepting, and at times challenging, church discipline and will provide an insight into the dynamics of the religious community in the early modern period. As Scotland’s religious leaders strove for a nation of godly Scots, what was the impact of this movement on the parishioners of Edinburgh?

Dr. Michael B. Riordan, Independent Scholar

Reformed monasteries? Three religious communities in Scotland, c. 1660-1710

In his History of my own time, the Whig Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet, argued that his mentor Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, lamented the reformers’ destruction of religious houses, which had killed ‘that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures’. The dissolution of the monasteries left Protestants with ‘neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers’. This paper shows how Leighton, Burnet and a group of their fellow moderate Episcopalians solved this problem in Scotland, by arguing for, and constructing, Protestant monasteries. The paper first presents the theory of reformed monasticism: it demonstrates that Leighton and Burnet’s arguments were engagements with the writings of the English Benedictine monk, Serenus Cressy, who had suggested that Protestants could not be truly pious because they lacked monasteries to instill true devotion. Leighton and his friends turned to medieval mysticism and counter-Reformation polemic to argue the case for Protestant religious communities on the monastic model. Next, the paper demonstrates how this theory was effected in three Protestant communities: Burnet’s old parish of Saltoun in East Lothian; Craighall in Fife, the seat of the mystical laird Sir Thomas Hope; and Rosehearty near Banff, the only Scottish Protestant monastery to have attracted any scholarly attention, thanks to the scholarship of G.D. Henderson. Finally, the paper argues that the theory of Scottish Protestant monasticism has exercised a profound influence on British religious life ever since.

Michael B. Riordan recently graduated from the University of Cambridge with a doctorate examining mystical and prophetic traditions in early modern and Enlightenment Scotland. He has written articles and edited primary sources which uncover the French prophets’ mission to Scotland in 1709. His book on the religious culture of moderate Episcopacy, The Moral Reformation in Scotland 1660-1730, will be published by OUP around 2020.
As King Charles I and Archbishop Laud attempted to reform the Scottish kirk in the late 1630s, a group of Presbyterians, better known as the Scottish Covenanters, drafted the National Covenant of 1638 in an act of resistance. While the majority of Scots approved the Covenant, some clergymen who refused to sign were deposed from their positions or exiled from Scotland. Six men holding degrees in divinity from King’s College, Aberdeen voiced their concerns about the document in a series of debates with the authors of the Covenant. These published debates were circulated widely throughout Scotland and threatened the Covenanter movement. As a result of this unpopular opposition, the Aberdeen Doctors—as they came to be known—feared for their lives and excused themselves from an assembly held in 1638 that was meant to discuss these religious disagreements. Their exclusion from this assembly brought an end to their conflict with the Presbyterian majority and ultimately placed them on the margins of seventeenth-century Scottish society.

Most modern research on the Aberdeen Doctors and their opposition to the National Covenant focuses on their theology and desire to unify the Protestant confessions against Catholic Rome as the primary reason for their exclusion. However, the Doctors also opposed the Covenanters for political reasons as they expressed unpopular interpretations regarding the origins of royal authority and divine intervention in human political life. This paper addresses the Aberdeen Doctors’ lesser-examined political case against the Covenanters to illustrate how questions regarding the application of religious principles to political theory divided rather than homogenized Scottish society. Modern scholarship largely portrays the Covenanters as representative of a theologically and politically homogenous Scottish populace, yet the example of the Aberdeen Doctors reveals the deeply divisive nature of both theological and political beliefs in early seventeenth-century Scottish intellectual life.

Karie Schultz is a PhD candidate in history at Queen’s University Belfast with research interests in the religious, political, and intellectual history of seventeenth-century Britain and continental Europe. She has undertaken a four-year studentship at QUB as part of a European Research Council-funded project: ‘War and the Supernatural in Early Modern Europe.’ Her dissertation is entitled ‘The reception of Calvinist resistance theory in early seventeenth-century Scotland and England’ and investigates how conversations regarding resistance to political authority held amongst continental scholars in the French and German-speaking lands were received by scholars in Scottish and English universities between 1603 and 1640. This thesis relies on previously under-examined Latin-language texts and academic correspondence to illustrate the transnational influence of continental religious and political thought on British intellectual life preceding the civil wars of the 1640s.
Edwin Sheffield, University of Glasgow

‘Inconvenient Truths?: Reframing Clan MacKenzie’s Past Royalism after the Restoration’

Following the Civil Wars and Interregnum, writers of Restoration-era clan histories and poetry attempted to portray their subjects in the best possible light. For some clans, such as Clan Campbell, this proved so difficult that in the Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells, the clan and their branches involvement in this period was omitted entirely. This paper, however, will examine how these clan sources for Clan MacKenzie remembered or omitted events of the preceding period to emphasise the loyalty of a clan and their allies to the Stuarts and their ancestors. For example, Iain Molach MacKenzie of Applecross depicts George MacKenzie, 2nd Earl of Seaforth as ‘a good man but verie unfortunat’. MacKenzie adds that Seaforth’s ‘misfortune was that in ye beginning of ye king’s trowbles he had not ye light that was afterwards given him’. In particular, this paper will show the authors’ awareness of national events and narratives throughout the British Isles and examine how their engagement with these events and narratives attempted to change their image to be, as Martin MacGregor notes, ‘indistinguishable from their Lowland Scottish and English counterparts in matters such as origin, antiquity, landholding and loyalism’. This paper will compare and contrast portrayals of Clan MacKenzie by members of the clan and by outside groups to show how they were manipulated to emphasise or question the loyalty of Clan MacKenzie and their allies. This paper will demonstrate that these families had a firm understanding of the necessity to portray their families as at worst neutral or, preferably, as strong, loyal supporters of the Crown.

Edwin a PhD candidate in Scottish History at the University of Glasgow. His research focuses on the experiences of Highlanders and Highland clans from their points of view during the reign of Charles II, 1660-1685.

Ashley Sims, University of Alberta, Canada

‘Give over all trade and become a country gentleman1: social mobility in an age of global exchange, c.1634-1674’

Between 1600 and 1750 a large and rapid increase in the consumption of goods took place across northwest Europe, the British Isles and colonial America. Set within this broader context, Scotland’s material culture was shaped during this period, for the most part, by the increased desire Scots shared with most Britons and other Europeans to acquire objects ranging from linens and tableware to snuff boxes and gloves. The individuals at the vanguard of this were the merchants, traders, brokers and bankers who participated in an intricate web of exchange. One of these individuals was John Clerk, a middle ranked Scottish merchant who lived and traded in Paris and Edinburgh. Earning his fortune by cultivating a network of powerful Scottish clients, Clerk connected these individuals with their material desires, loaned them vast sums of money

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1 This quotation is taken not from John Clerk’s own writings but rather from those of his grandson, John Clerk of Penicuik, 2nd Baronet. See Sir J. Clerk, Memoirs of the life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, baronet, baron of the Exchequer, extracted by himself from his own journals, 1676-1755. Edited by J. M. Gray. (Edinburgh, 1892): 4.
and fostered lasting commercial and social relationships.² Clerk used these connections, as well as his wealth, to increase his status. Purchasing estate and title, Clerk propelled himself and his family from the middling ranks of the dealing trades into the realm of the landed gentry over the course of a generation. When he purchased Penicuik Estate, it was thought that Clerk would ‘give over all trade’ and turn his attention toward the upkeep of his estate and the accompanying roles and responsibilities of the early modern land holder. However, he continued to trade and loan money while engaging in commercial activity even though he knew it was in opposition to his newfound role as ‘a country gentleman.’ This then begs the question and points to the purpose of my paper: where does John Clerk fit within seventeenth-century Scottish society and was it possible to belong to multiple, overlapping and yet distinct communities?

Biographical note: Broadly speaking, I am interested in the social and cultural history of early modern Britain. My research to date has focused on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland and I have explored the household and petty crime, family networks and more recently trade and consumption. Currently, my doctoral project takes two concepts, global/colonial trade networks and household consumption, and seeks to place them in dialogue with each other via a micro historical investigation into the household of John Clerk (1611-1674). The Clerk family inhabited a world in which it was explicit that both the consumer practice and domestic economy of Scotland (and the rest of the British Isles) had become inextricably linked with a much more impressive backdrop. By focusing on this early modern household, its connection to local and international economies, its position of power, influence and authority in the community, and as a unit of social development and exchange, my dissertation explores an underdeveloped area of both early modern Scottish history and the histories of consumption.

Heather Wells, University of Glasgow

‘Reaching Beyond the Margins: Scottish Restoration Playwrights and the Absence of Theatrical Community’

In 1660, theatres across England re-opened after the end of Cromwell’s commonwealth. Many new plays were produced and there is evidence that English Restoration playwrights developed a strong community, building friendships and partnerships with fellow writers, and engaging with one another’s works. In Scotland, however, there was no established theatre to restore. Plays from Restoration-era Scotland are rare; only three are known to have existed and there is currently very little evidence of a Scottish theatrical community, leaving Scottish playwrights on the margins of a vibrant English Restoration theatre culture.

This paper focuses on two Scottish Restoration comedies: William Clark’s Marciano; or The Discovery (1663) and Thomas St. Serf’s Tarugo’s Wiles; or The Coffee-House (1667) and considers the effect that this lack of community had on them. It will argue that the absence of textual community is in part responsible for the common judgement that the Scottish plays are of lesser quality than their English counterparts (Tobin, 1968, 1974; Scullion, 1997) and illustrate

² Including but not limited to Lord John Maitland, William Kerr, 3rd Earl of Lothian as well as the Countess, Provosts of Edinburgh and the Earl of Moray.
this by comparing Tarugo’s Wiles with the English play Sir Courtly Nice by John Crowne (1685), both of which were inspired by the same Spanish play.

It will also highlight that Marciano and Tarugo’s Wiles were written in English for English audiences and suggest that this, along with their shared values and themes of English Restoration theatre, indicates an attempt to build links with an existing textual community in the absence of the writers’ own. The paper will conclude that although the search for community led these playwrights to England, they did not abandon Scottish theatre (evidenced by St. Serf’s establishment of a theatre company in Edinburgh in 1668). Additionally, this paper will emphasise that the lack of theatre community in Scotland makes the production of these plays remarkable and therefore worthy of scholarly attention.

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Mùideartach dubh dàna nan geur-fhacal [‘the brazen, black Moidartman of cutting words’]: Alexander MacDonald, the SSPCK, Early Scottish Gaelic Lexicography, Contact, Conflict, and Cultural Imperialism

Ardent Jacobite, Baillie of Canna, schoolmaster, Gaelic poet, catechist, lapsed Protestant and Catholic convert, polemicist and sometime lexicographer characterises but some of the complex and protean aspects of the personality of Alexander MacDonald or Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair (c. 1698–c. 1770). MacDonald, described himself not untruthfully as ‘the brazen, black Moidartman of cutting words’, has the distinction of seeing the first secular Gaelic book through the press. His Leabhar a Theagasc Ainminnin [‘A Book for Teaching Names’] or A Galick and English Vocabulary (1741) was an early proto-dictionary commissioned by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) to further their policy of introducing English as a replacement for Gaelic as the vernacular tongue throughout Gaeldom. Ideologically and politically motivated in the guise of religious and educational indoctrination, it may be regarded as a continuation of state-sponsored cultural imperialism since at least the early seventeenth century. Given that by 1745, MacDonald had been summarily dismissed from his post for subversive compositions and more importantly that his attention had been turned elsewhere to rally to the Jacobite cause, it may well be asked can such a volte-face be reconciled with his previous career? As noted by John Lorne Campbell, the early minutes of the SSPCK are imbued with anti-Catholic, anti-Jacobite and anti-Gaelic attitudes that shaped and formed their various policies. Elsewhere, as is readily understood from his own preface to Ais-Eirithe na Sean Chànoin Albannaich [‘The Resurrection of the Ancient Scottish Tongue’] (1751), MacDonald was a keen supporter of pan-Scottish patriotism and was staunchly anti-Unionist. If nothing else,
MacDonald was a political opportunist and this paper will examine the role he may or may not have played in encouraging cultural imperialism to the detriment of his own Gaelic culture of which he was later considered a supreme champion.

Andrew Wiseman presently works on the Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic (DASG), based at Celtic and Gaelic at the University of Glasgow, and has published many articles on various aspects of Scottish Gaelic cultural history. With a great interest in the digital humanities, he has previously worked on the Calum Maclean and Carmichael Watson projects.