

**ROBERT BRUCE'S BONES:
REPUTATIONS, POLITICS AND IDENTITIES
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND¹**

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*'We, on the whole, do our Hero-worship worse
than any other Nation in this world ever did it before.'*
Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) ²

Introduction

In a recent survey of public opinion in Scotland, the figure of Robert Bruce, king of Scots (1306-29), was ranked third, with 12% of the vote, in a list of 'most important Scots.' Bruce thus posted, arguably quite predictably, behind, first, with 36%, William Wallace (c.1270-1305), the 'people's Champion' of the Wars of Independence, and second, with 16%, bard and radical icon Robert Burns (1759-96).³ At first glance, these results chime in neatly with some of the political and media reaction to such surveys, often from Conservative quarters, which laments the apparent preference of the Scottish national character for romantic failures and lads o' pairts with a democratic tinge (and preferably a dramatic early death) over and above any successful, authoritarian or upper-class role models of perhaps questionable political integrity.⁴ Such a collective reticence about Bruce or his type seems, too, to be echoed backwards in time: for example, in the public's reluctance to subscribe to various campaigns in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to fund physical memorials to Bruce, efforts discussed in detail below. In the same period, the prose and verse fiction, drama and visual art which revisited the Wars of Independence almost always cast Bruce in the shadow of

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Wallace, often strikingly as a waverer (who as earl of Carrick in fact changed sides on at least five occasions during the Wars of Independence) and who had to be persuaded to the true patriotic cause by the words, deeds and sacrifice of the lesser hero knight.⁵

These potent and inherited criteria of Scottish national iconicity seem also to explain in part the impression I presented in an earlier study, of a curiously 'muted' contemporary response to the discovery in February 1818, by workmen breaking ground on the new parish church at Dunfermline in Fife, of what were immediately assumed to be the grave and bones of Robert Bruce.⁶ Admittedly, as Dunfermline historian and churchman Ebenezer Henderson (1809-79), the son of a local watchmaker, later asserted, 'for months it was the all-absorbing talk' and there was much excited coverage of the event in 'newspapers, magazines and flysheets [penny broadsides].'⁷ Over eighteen months later, the Office of the King's Remembrancer, a branch of the Exchequer, also oversaw an inspection, recording and re-interment of the remains within Dunfermline's new church which was again reported in the Scottish and English press. Yet there was apparently no wider or sustained public reaction. Despite promises at the time of the reburial, no 'public' monument would be erected over the remains of Scotland's most famous king until 1889, nor did George IV visit Dunfermline during his jaunt to Scotland in 1822. Bruce did not suddenly rise in the estimation of his countrymen to serve as a 'usable' political icon to the same degree as Wallace or Burns, figures celebrated by numerous eponymous Georgian and Victorian civic societies. My earlier article served as a survey of the historiography of Bruce from medieval chronicles to c1945, sampling academic and popular histories, chapbooks, novels, plays, poems, school texts and some visual imagery. This thus offered up the notion that it was on the one hand an imprecise mixture of political concerns raised in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars and fear of popular revolt, and on the other a widespread preference for the 'universal' and radical qualities of the figure of Wallace (or Burns), which left the discovery and reburial of Bruce's remains under-commemorated and something of a damp squib, certainly to modern eyes.⁸

Nevertheless, there remain many more details to flesh out. What was the contemporary reaction to the exhumation of the

remains and their treatment by particular institutions and prominent individuals? What political, social and economic factors may indeed have influenced responses to the bones and their re-interment? Is it an anachronism to assume that the national (rather than the purely local) reaction of the establishment and wider public should have been much greater and that the victor of Bannockburn's mortal remains should have been treasured and re-presented with a substantial monument accompanied by a flurry of popular written memorials as part of a significant re-assessment and re-deployment of his reputation? Dr Ian Fraser's recent study of 'Bruce's tomb' has also offered the cautious conclusion that there was and remains no definitive proof that the bones found actually belonged to that monarch.⁹ Nonetheless, what does it say that in that age of enlightened historical inquiry, the generation of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) and Patrick Tytler (1791-1849) and their followers, no one at the time seriously questioned whether or not these actually were the remains of the hero king?

Church Extension and Local Politics

By the early nineteenth century, like many growing parishes, the Church of Scotland congregation of Dunfermline was in need of repaired and improved fabric and, above all, extended pew space.¹⁰ However, Dunfermline's heritors had long struggled with a number of complicating factors. After the sacking of the Benedictine abbey church during the Reformation of 1560, the Protestant congregation had occupied and maintained the older, western nave of Dunfermline's monastic building, the site of the original churches of Queen/St Margaret (d.1093, canonised 1249) and her son, David I king of Scots (d.1153). The heritors buttressed the nave's weakened walls in the seventeenth century and erected wooden partitions and lofts in its Romanesque interior to satisfy the social hierarchy of their royal burgh. This ad hoc blend of conservation and utility was undertaken with at least half an eye to the wishes and possible material assistance of successive Stuart and then Hanoverian monarchs and their governments as ultimate superiors of the 'old extent' of the temporal lordship of Dunfermline and as heirs of the ancient monarchical line interred within the abbey. But matters could often also be muddied from within by the personal, political and material concerns of individual heritors, incumbent ministers, Provosts and councillors,

as well as from without by rival burghs and governmental parties.¹¹

Yet these factors only explain in part why it was the later eighteenth century before any measure of antiquarian concern was expressed for the remains of the adjacent eastern choir of Dunfermline's extended later medieval abbey. Admittedly, antiquarian enthusiasm in general in Scotland before c.1780 was focussed far more upon (often romanticised) topographical and archaeological descriptions and mapping, especially of pre-historic and Roman remains, rather than specific studies and conservation of medieval (and if ecclesiastical, Catholic) sites and their extant written records.¹² However, the foundation of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in Edinburgh in 1780 and the impetus this body gave to Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster's *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791-9) and its component ministerial survey of parochial antiquities reflected a growth of interest in monastic and other pre-Reformation church remains which was echoed at Dunfermline.¹³

Amateur investigations of the abbey remains were undertaken there by churchmen-antiquaries in 1766 and 1807: together with local memories and a handful of extant images, these early 'digs' depicted general if imprecise decay and collapse throughout the eastern choir portion at Dunfermline. This section had housed the high altar and the large pilgrimage shrine of St Margaret, as well as the satellite funerary monuments of at least seven kings, their queens and children, noble kin and, surely, a number of monastic clergy. But there is little or no evidence at all as to the precise locations and arrangements of these tombs (save the marble base of St Margaret's shrine) or of the scale and nature of damage inflicted upon them at at the Reformation in 1560 or by subsequent generations of Protestant townsfolk seeking curios or stone and other materials to recycle; nor can account be taken of the unseen actions of incumbent ministers or passing soldiers and other visitors over 250 years. It is surely thus unwise to even cautiously assume that greater damage by far would have been done, to what might otherwise have been fairly intact royal monumental shrines and their underlying graves, by the ravages of centuries of time and the elements, with the eastern choir reported as roofless and ruinous within a few years of 1560 and suffering the brunt of several major

gable-wall and tower collapses thereafter (1672, 1726, 1753, 1807).¹⁴

Indeed, the aforementioned amateur investigations and the first *Statistical Account* of Dunfermline parish (1791-9) paint a still understandably rambling and romantic image of the ruined choir by the early nineteenth century: it was to be found periodically ‘three or four feet deep’ in rubble and weeds, or alternatively open in spots to use as a cemetery (known to locals as the ‘Psalter Churchyard’). In 1766 and 1807 the remains of at least six elite grave slabs and four stone coffins had been reported beneath the debris along with numerous ancient bones, but this did not spur further systematic antiquarian inquiry or measured recording.¹⁵ Yet from early 1807 Dunfermline’s heritors did begin concerted attempts to improve their church, precipitated by the collapse of the south-western tower in a storm in August that year.

At first, though, conjectural plans focused on simply revamping the interior of the serving nave. This perhaps reflected, on the one hand, tensions between the Tory mercantile party which dominated Dunfermline burgh Council in opposition to the craft and manufacturing guilds, and, on the other, an awareness of the chronic indebtedness of a burgh mired in corrupt land-lease and electoral practices. But the recorded minutes of meetings of the Dunfermline heritors reveal that it was through the representations of that perhaps somewhat unknown quantity, Thomas Bruce, 7th earl of Elgin (1766-1841), of Parthenon Marbles fame, recently returned (1806) to his nearby Grecian great house of Broomhall after four years of arrest in Paris, that plans were first directed towards the erection of a new parish church on the site of the eastern choir shell.¹⁶

The several possible motives of Elgin and others for forwarding this plan over the next decade might be all too easily exaggerated. Such a project would fulfil Elgin’s deeply-felt responsibility as Dunfermline’s chief heritor. It would ensure that good seating was available in a church of suitable status for a royal burgh for a congregation of up to 1,400 people out of a growing population of about 11,600. Moreover, according to the memorial presented to the heritors on Elgin’s behalf on 5 May 1817, this would also allow services to continue in the nave while construction of the new church was underway: Elgin’s representatives worked hard to ensure that

those heritors who favoured repairs only to the nave remained in the minority.¹⁷

At the same time, though, Elgin's celebrated experiences in Greece and his controversial extraction, recording, preservation and display of the Parthenon's frieze (1802-3) may have caused him to act at Dunfermline in a civic antiquarian capacity. By the standards applied to other Scottish Gothic church reconstructions of the early nineteenth century, the erection of a new choir would in effect restore Dunfermline abbey church to something of its former glory and aid the preservation of the high-status graves located in 1766 and 1807 or otherwise known to be scattered there.¹⁸ Such a public sense of protecting historical interests would have reflected the growing awareness of national heritage in government and intellectual circles. Elgin's family had already undertaken such a duty in 1771 – in which year both Earl Thomas's father and elder brother had died – by protecting the accidentally rediscovered remains of an elite medieval female thought at the time to be Robert I's queen, Elizabeth de Burgh (d. 1327): in 1818, when this female grave was once again disturbed by the building works, Elgin would have the body re-interred in his family vault.¹⁹

Alternatively, by Spring 1817 – by which time Elgin had engaged Edinburgh architect-to-the-gentry, William Burn (1789-1870), to draw up plans for a new Dunfermline abbey church – the earl may also have placed hopes upon the precedent of government financial assistance for the preservation of important antiquities, following the (acrimonious) state purchase in June 1816 of the Parthenon marbles for the British Museum.²⁰ However, Elgin's own debts remained crippling (£100,000 plus) as were those of the burgh itself by 1818 (between £16,000 and £20,000), and the earl and the other Dunfermline heritors had already appealed to the House of Lords in 1812 to prove that their liabilities stretched only so far towards new pew or manse provision in what was an ancient *royal seat*.²¹ The Tory administration of Lord Liverpool was besides committed to state sponsored church extension as a means of strengthening Protestant nationhood in the face of rising evangelical dissent and associated radicalism in expanding urban parishes: in March 1818 a £1 million commission to fund Church of England and Ireland extension would be followed in May that year by a counterpart Church

of Scotland Accommodation Committee.²² It followed that by 1820, the year before the completion of the new church in Dunfermline, Elgin and the other heritors were organised to the point of sending a memorial to the Lords Baron of Exchequer of Scotland in Edinburgh requesting an additional pecuniary grant from the Public Fund 'to relieve the heritors from the Great Expense of the new Church *which has been increased by national considerations* [my italics, i.e. the discovery of royal remains]': they thus presumably sought a sum over and above the agreed four-fifths state funding of the final estimated £8,300 cost of the church.²³ Then, in 1822, Elgin would draw up another memorial to the Lords Baron of Exchequer about the general principle of allowances from government for repairs to ancient buildings.²⁴

Yet at the same time, it may have been anticipated that an impressive new church could accommodate a re-ordered Bruce-Elgin family vault. In this regard, Earl Thomas would understandably have been drawn by a poignant desire to represent the ornate monument of his beloved infant son, William (d. 1805), over whose burial at Dunfermline Abbey he had encountered difficulties.²⁵ More generally, Elgin's family vault as a whole would be re-housed within the northern transept of the new church beneath the old choir space which the early antiquarian surveys had identified as the likely site of six high-status slab tomb graves.²⁶ As a living descendant of King Robert Bruce, too, Elgin may have had powerful dynastic yearnings for the re-presentation of the abbey. Nonetheless, Elgin's wish to be involved with the new parish church at Dunfermline may also have reflected his hopes of spiritual renewal and a wish to rehabilitate his own public person and political career, following his notorious divorce (1807-8). The latter had been hard-fought through Parliament and both the London and Edinburgh courts, and during his awkward and ongoing parole from French arrest. Elgin's reputation had also suffered cruelly at the pens of reviewers and authors, such as Lord Byron, who pilloried his physical condition and his treatment of the Greeks in their hour of national self-determination.²⁷

A number of Elgin's motives may thus only have been intensified by the discovery of a likely royal burial in February 1818. However, tensions seem to have arisen between Elgin and some of his fellow churchgoers long before ground

was broken on the new building. It is clear that a majority of the heritors, elders and the first and second ministers of Dunfermline were prepared to undertake the 'raising' and 'removal' of any royal remains found in the area of the choir: in early 1818 the Dunfermline presbytery had petitioned both the Westminster office of the King's Remembrancer and the Barons of Exchequer of Scotland for permission to do so and to deposit these relics with 'the greatest possible decency and respect' next to the marble base of the feretory tomb of St Margaret in the eastern churchyard.²⁸ But the discovery of what were immediately assumed to be Robert Bruce's grave and bones on 17 February 1818 complicated matters and further divided the interested parties.

That the grave and bones which were disturbed seemed to lie exactly before the high altar of the former Abbey choir was immediately taken as one of several 'sure tokens' which pointed to the identity of the occupant as Robert Bruce.²⁹ The location of the king's tomb seemed to be readily confirmed by medieval chroniclers – published in the eighteenth century – which reported his burial 'in medio chori' [plate 1]. The first witnesses and early inspections also asserted the presence of a crude lead coronet around the skull of the skeleton in the tomb, as well as a deteriorating shroud of cloth of gold, and the corpse's conspicuously split sternum to permit heart removal, a request by Bruce again confirmed by chroniclers. Finally, in the debris field around the grave, fragments of a monumental tomb were found which were linked to the king's recorded funerary purchases of a marble sarcophagus.³⁰ There was thus understandably immediate general consensus that these were the Bruce king's remains despite the absence of any more definitive proof.

Indeed, by late February-early March of 1818 Dunfermline Presbytery was attempting to deal with the consequences of the Exchequers' new objection to the exhumation and removal of any further remains found in the Abbey choir. The Lords Baron now sent detailed orders from Edinburgh about the re-covering with chained stone and clay and the provision of security for what was already styled as 'Bruce's tomb', until it could be properly inspected by the King's Remembrancer's office and other suitably qualified officials. Again, there may have been a predictable anxiety in Dunfermline to defray any extra expenditure such initial measures would add (c. £234) to

the cost of the new church.³¹ Yet questions were now clearly also being asked about the best way to proceed in the wake of the discovery.

On 1 March 1818 Elgin wrote to the Tory Home Secretary, Viscount Sidmouth (1757-1844, former Prime Minister Henry Addington), recommending the suspension of work on the foundations of the new church until a fuller investigation and reporting could take place, lest further royal remains be disturbed or overlooked.³² Elgin, of course, had gained unique experience of excavating historical remains and of recording them for posterity. But at this juncture, it is very tempting to speculate that the issue had also become a matter of personal and political differences within both the local (Fife) and national establishments. For by 5 March, Sidmouth - after consultation with Robert Dundas, Viscount Melville (1771-1851) - had referred the matter to the Lord Chief Commissioner of the new Jury Court for Scotland (established in 1815), Elgin's neighbour in Fife, William Adam of Blair Adam (1751-1839).³³

The 'Blair Adam Club', the Edinburgh Elite and the Discovery

William Adam was a lawyer and moderate Whig, a member of the Adam architect dynasty, a former M.P. for both Kinross and Kincardine and life-Lord Lieutenant of Kinross who had also served ably as a political manager for Grenville's Ministry of All the Talents (1806-7), defending Tory Lord Melville (senior) against impeachment in 1806 and aiding the Crown through the regency financial crisis of 1810-11. His elevation as Lord Chief Commissioner by the Tory Liverpool administration was a non-partisan appointment. Crucially, though, Adam was also a Baron of the Exchequer as well as a heritor of Dunfermline parish (for the farmlands of Roscobie, Kingseat of Outh, Bowleys and Craigencaat). This was a potential conflict of interests, perhaps, to modern eyes: Adam had, for example, already inspected the choir ruins on behalf of the Exchequer before the discovery and approved of rival estimates for both nave and choir work to aid the divided heritors in their decisions in 1817-8.³⁴

Intellectually, however, Adam was inclined to take a genuine antiquarian interest in the discovery of Bruce's remains. But his position may have allowed him and others - surely quite

consciously - to begin to make the custody, treatment and commemoration of the grave and bones essentially the preserve of an establishment group drawn from their own close professional and cultural circle. This was thus a network, too, which reflected the dominant historiographical and political consensus of late eighteenth-early nineteenth century Scotland: that Scotland's past - while romantic and highlighted by noble sentiments and heroic individuals in defence of liberty - had otherwise been violent, constitutionally under-developed, economically backward and oppressed by feudal law and hereditary privilege. This historical interpretation of Scotland was inherited and accepted from the university teachings, writings and personal relationships of philosophical historians, lawyers, political economists or moderate churchmen, from David Hume (1711-76) and Adam Ferguson (1723-1816) to Dugald Stewart (1753-1823) and other Enlightenment authorities. It was an orthodoxy which thus enshrined the vital importance of Scotland's full Parliamentary Union with England and the resulting post-1707 political, legal and economic integration and reforms as the root of later eighteenth century improvement and prosperity.

Yet at the same time, as Colin Kidd has suggested, this was a received identity subject to increasing tension and in transition. In the wake of the American and French Revolutions and the upheavals of the long Napoleonic Wars, Conservative and moderate Whig elements in Scotland and the wider British Isles shared a growing sense in the early nineteenth century that enlightened liberal reform could go too far, too fast: there was therefore an establishment reaction to defend the status quo of privilege and interest and with it an almost contradictory ethos of protecting and celebrating features and icons of the 'ancient' Scottish past and constitution (in particular its military 'tradition'). The dominant ideology of the day thus rested upon the commitment of the establishment to project a distinct Scottish identity blended with a strong contribution *within* the wider British Union and growing Empire: this was a position which hardened as calls for electoral and local government reform from the urban middle and working classes intensified after 1815.³⁵

The leading role of Adam and his fellow advocates in Anglophile reform of the Court of Session in Edinburgh testified to this pervasive political and cultural ideology, as did Adam's

leisure activities.³⁶ For within this context, from 1816, Blair Adam house, a few miles north-east of Dunfermline on the road to Kinross, hosted a club of nine worthies and Adam kinfolk, including advocate-author Walter Scott (1771-1832), all dedicated to Scottish history and antiquities and who made trips each June to sites of interest.³⁷ Their historical visits in this period included Castle Campbell, Culross Abbey, Falkland Palace, St Andrews and the site of the murder of Archbishop Sharp (1679), as well as a number of ruins closer to Blair Adam. William Adam later recorded that their visits to highly picturesque Lochleven castle, site of Mary Queen of Scots' captivity and escape, inspired Scott's penning of *The Abbot* and *The Monastery*, published in 1820.³⁸ As we shall see, the rediscovery of both the royal regalia and 'Bruce's bones' in 1818, also clearly influenced the completion of other Scott texts at this time. But in their memoirs both Adam and Scott (as well as Scott's biographer and son-in-law, John Lockhart) asserted that the group had also visited Dunfermline and its 'renowned royal cemetery', although the year of their trip there cannot be exactly pinpointed from extant records: however, circumstantial evidence touched on below suggests it must have been sometime between 1819 and 1822.³⁹

At the time of the events at Dunfermline, then, Adam's club included: Walter Scott, as the Principal clerk of the Court of Session and the suspected *Waverley* author; Charles Adam (1780-1853), William's son, captain of the royal yacht 1815-25 and a future Admiral⁴⁰; Captain (later Sir) Adam Ferguson (1771-1855), Scott's particular friend and son of the aforementioned history Professor Adam Ferguson of Edinburgh University who had been a pro-Hanoverian Whig and scholar of classical republicanism who rejoiced in the French Revolution (until it was corrupted) but was opposed to British electoral radicalism⁴¹; Englishman Sir Samuel Shepherd (1760-1840), the Attorney General appointed by Lord Liverpool in 1817⁴²; William Clerk (d.1847), Principal clerk of Adam's Jury Court, himself a Whig but also grandson of Tory politician and antiquary Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (d.1755) and thus brother of John Clerk, the future Lord Eldin (1757-1832) who had married an Adam, was a former Solicitor General of Scotland and a Whig judge during the calamitous 'State Trials' for sedition of 1817 (overseen by Lord Sidmouth)⁴³; Thomas Thomson (1768-1852), the first Deputy Clerk Register of Scotland, editor

of recent editions of the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* and the *Regesta Magnum Scottorum* (the Register of the Great Seal of the Kings of Scotland), both published in 1814, and who also served as a Deputy King's Remembrancer in Exchequer⁴⁴; Thomson's brother, the Reverend John Thomson (1778-1840), a landscape painter and minister of Duddingston parish in Edinburgh⁴⁵; and lastly their cousin, William Adam's son-in-law, Anstruther Thomson of Charleton in north-east Fife. These men – and many of the extra guests whom Adam invited on their June trips, including portraitist Henry Raeburn – did not necessarily share a common Tory or Whig political outlook on matters of electoral and legal reform. But many of them can also be associated through close networks of schooling (e.g. Edinburgh's Royal High School), University education (Edinburgh and Oxford) and club membership (the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, or, from 1833, the Bannatyne Club which edited historical manuscripts) as well as through their Edinburgh New Town house addresses, common interests in agricultural improvement and through their religion.⁴⁶

However, to what degree Adam or others in this mid-summer history club-cum-talking shop may have felt and acted upon a personal or political antipathy towards high-Tory, Thomas, earl of Elgin, is not certain. Adam was certainly a boyhood friend and political ally of the man whom Elgin successfully sued in 1807-8 for adultery with his wife, geologist and Whig anti-monarchical M.P. for Kirkcaldy, Robert Ferguson of Raith (1767-1840), lands a few miles to the east of Broomhall and Dunfermline.⁴⁷ More generally, Walter Scott may have expressed a view of Elgin shared by many when he recorded in his diary on 4 March 1818 that in Edinburgh he had encountered the earl, with whom he was 'very little acquainted', all excited 'about some business about the Bruce's tomb...I could not help laughing at the circumstance when he was gone, I do not at all grudge the humorous chastisement he has received.'⁴⁸

For his part, Elgin certainly expressed his surprise at 'the determination' of Adam as Chief Commissioner to proceed with the Dunfermline building work before a proper survey could be undertaken: the earl sought further assurances from Sidmouth and from 10 March 1818 tried to rally the parish heritors to challenge the decision. But by 20 March he had

been out-voted and the work was to 'continue uninterrupted.'⁴⁹ If Elgin did thereafter withdraw his involvement this would have been in step with his similar desire 'never again to take any concern in the business of our late meetings' following a dispute with Adam as Chief Commissioner over the allocation of 'Rogue Money', Fife County funds allocated to pay for constables to police rising numbers of vagrants. Crucially, this local government squabble also came to a head in February-March 1818.⁵⁰ Traditional rivalries between these neighbours may also have been re-ignited by the general election of 15 June-25 July 1818, with the Tories retaining control of the notorious Stirling Burghs district seat which included Dunfermline.⁵¹

Strong divisions may thus have widened within a matter of days of the discovery of the bones. It is striking that at the ceremonial laying of the foundation stone of the new parish church at Dunfermline on 10 March 1818, Elgin's presence as chief heritor dominated proceedings alongside that of the Tory mercantile and familial oligarchy of the Beveridge-Wilson party on Dunfermline's burgh Council. No newspaper reports mentioned the attendance of other substantial heritors or local landowners (such as Adam), leaving the distinct impression that at least some of Elgin's concern in writing to Sidmouth earlier in the month following the discovery of 'Bruce's tomb' may have been motivated by concern at having his thunder stolen at the already planned foundation event. On the day, Elgin led a Masonic march with Major David Wilson, Dunfermline's Provost since 1808, through the church grounds and burgh behind Elgin's ancestral relics from Broomhall house, the sword and helmet of King Robert. The newspaper coverage also emphasised that Robert Burns' '*Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled*' (1794, formal title '*Robert Bruce's Address to His Troops at Bannockburn*') was several times sung with spontaneous enthusiasm by the huge attendant crowd of townsmen and visitors, reportedly 8,000 to 10,000 strong! This seems to have been a genuinely popular community event.⁵²

Yet when Bruce's remains were finally officially inspected and ceremonially re-interred on 5 November 1819, a remarkable 21 months after their discovery, Elgin and his ancestral helmet and sword were conspicuously absent and the reburial would have a highly select attendance upon a far more restrained affair.⁵³ Although Elgin and his household spent a

lot of time in more affordable lodgings in Paris c.1817-c.1821 the earl would surely have desired to oversee the re-interment of his royal ancestor.⁵⁴ Indeed, as early as the very evening of 10 March 1818 Elgin had been reported as agreeing with other aristocratic members of the Caledonian Hunt in Edinburgh to subscribe a guinea each to erect a '*national* [my italics] monument to the memory of Robert Bruce...being moreover convinced that the feelings with which they are activated are universal throughout the country.'⁵⁵ But Elgin's family would not in the end fulfil this role until their gift in 1889 of the brass effigy currently still in place over Bruce's tomb in Dunfermline abbey church.⁵⁶ In 1818-9, then, Elgin had seemingly been alienated or distanced from a role in the reburial of his illustrious ancestor in the weeks and months after the discovery of the grave and bones.

As a result, the fate of Bruce's remains became heavily influenced by the dynamic and tight-knit layers of interest, patronage, friendship, enlightened cultural interaction and growing debate over political reform which underpinned William Adam's world. On 4 March 1818, Lord Sidmouth had stressed his full satisfaction in Adam's ability to handle the matter of Bruce's bones and expressed his own and Lord Melville's delight at the thought of Walter Scott (whose baronetcy Adam would solicit in earnest from the Crown between 1818 and 1822) heading for Dunfermline at news of the find and 'under the irresistible attraction of the body of Robert Bruce.'⁵⁷ Adam confirmed in reply, however, that the new building work would not be stopped, as Elgin had asked, but that a thorough search for further remains would be made and the walls would be extended to embrace all choir graves uncovered.⁵⁸ Adam thus presumably had a prominent role in the design of instructions issued to the Deputy King's Remembrancer in Exchequer, one Henry Jardine of Harwood in East Lothian (1766-1851), the official charged with overseeing the security and inspection of the choir tomb on 'Lord Elgin's ground' through the offices of Burn the architect, Alexander Colville the sheriff substitute of Fife and other local dignitaries. Jardine, who had inspected the choir site with Adam on 14 February, made a second exploratory visit and inspection of the grave site some time in March 1818.⁵⁹

Jardine himself was clearly ambitious, impressing Walter Scott as 'a vain man and a jobber' who 'has the advantage

of the Caledonian Boar in as much as he always poaches somewhat by getting some little management or other in any scheme that may be going for Public good, and for which management he may decently handle a trifle of cash...’ (although he and Scott did later become friends through literary dinners).⁶⁰ But in 1818 Jardine may have been inspired to seek a conspicuous public role in the custody and commemoration of Bruce’s tomb for both intellectual and professional reasons.

As a prominent member and officer of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (which had been tentatively instituted in 1780), alongside Scott and others (including Rvd John Dalrymple who had investigated the Dunfermline choir graves in 1807), Jardine was undeniably drawn to historical inquiry. He would submit a first written report of the November 1819 inspection and re-interment of Bruce’s body to the SAS in May 1820, which was in turn expanded and published in book form in Edinburgh in 1821, then delivered to the Antiquaries as an abridged paper in December that year and finally reproduced in the Society’s *Transactions* in 1822: both printed versions would contain illustrations and appendices of phrenological assessment of Bruce’s skull, reflecting the growing popularity of that pseudo-science, discussed below [plate 2].⁶¹ But a letter of 9 May 1819 makes it plain that Jardine was also anxious to secure promotion to the full post of King’s Remembrancer, soliciting William Adam’s support against the rival advancement of the son-in-law of Chief Baron Dundas: Jardine would receive the post in 1820 and be knighted in 1825.⁶²

But perhaps more significantly, Jardine may have been influenced by observing the close control and presentation of that other celebrated and contemporary antiquarian rediscovery: that of the royal regalia of Scotland’s monarchy in Edinburgh Castle’s Crown room on 4 February 1818, a mere fortnight before the workmen stumbled upon ‘Bruce’s tomb’ at Dunfermline abbey. The regalia recovery was an event carefully stage-managed by Walter Scott, Adam and other establishment figures sympathetic to the Regency Government and acting with the blessing of the Prince of Wales. Indeed, this group had worked hard to persuade London and the Crown that such an event could not be turned to Anglophobic, anti-Union ends.⁶³

The great and the good chosen to be present at the recovery of the ancient crown, sceptre and sword of the kings of Scots included: four Blair Adam club members, namely Scott, Adam, William Clerk and Thomas Thomson; Henry Jardine; Lord Melville as Keeper of the Privy Seal, along with his cousin Robert Dundas of Arniston, then Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer of Scotland; and the Dukes of Buccleuch and Gordon (keeper of the Great Seal). Once dusted off, the regalia went on display in Edinburgh Castle under the guard of a handsomely salaried and residential Deputy-Keeper. By December 1818 this officer was none other than Captain Adam Ferguson, Scott's great friend and another member of the 'Blair Adam Antiquarian Club.' Crucially, the regalia admission price of one shilling (£7 to £8 per person in modern money) and a limit of 150 people a day ensured that the 29,000 visitors recorded by the time of George IV's short residence at Edinburgh and his use of the regalia in 1822 were drawn predominantly from the upper or middle and leisured classes at a time, of course, of fluctuating social and political unrest. Patriotic regalia prints were also distributed for sale (based on a sketch by Andrew Geddes later etched by David Wilkie) and a commemorative volume with plates commissioned.⁶⁴ Scott also intended to publish a history of the regalia: this would undoubtedly have been a volume which – like his other publications of these years, *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), *Ivanhoe* (1819), *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *Legend of Montrose* (1819) – sought to present Scotland's past as distant, romantic and no danger to England and Union.⁶⁵

The emerging regalia treatment must then have been the most immediate model of historical commemoration which the circle of Melville, Adam, Scott and Jardine had in mind in turning to deal simultaneously with the remains of Robert Bruce. But if this was the case, then the actions of the Edinburgh advocate, Exchequer and antiquary fraternity in handling the regalia arguably spoke to wider social and political concerns. Thus their response to the discovery at Dunfermline also surely reflected these issues of order, authority and propriety rather than any awkwardness at association with the earl of Elgin. Predictably, indeed, the paramount concern of the Scottish establishment must have been that the remains of this king, the hero of wars against royal England and famed as ruler of Scotland as an

independent kingdom, might become associated with violent agitation, or anti-Union and anti-Hanoverian sentiment, or worse, lingering Jacobitism and other forms of radical dissent. Yet at the same time, the sympathies of Whigs like Adam and Clerk for calls for moderate political reform must have been sorely tested.

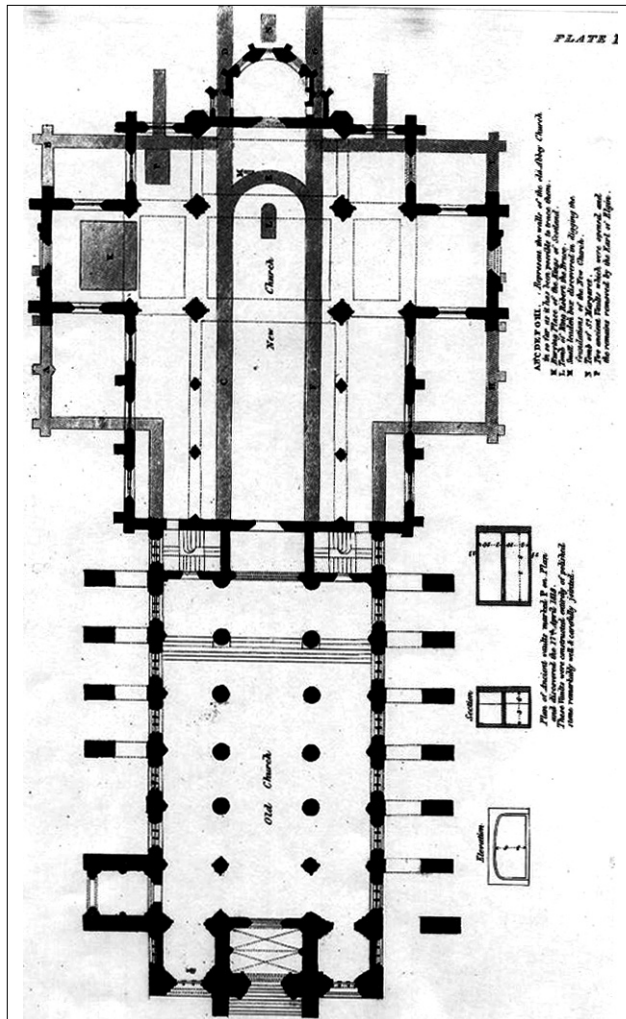


Plate 1: conjectural ground plan of Dunfermline's late medieval abbey from Henry Jardine's report as Deputy King's Remembrancer (1821); n.b. tomb 'L' positioned 'in medio chori'. I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

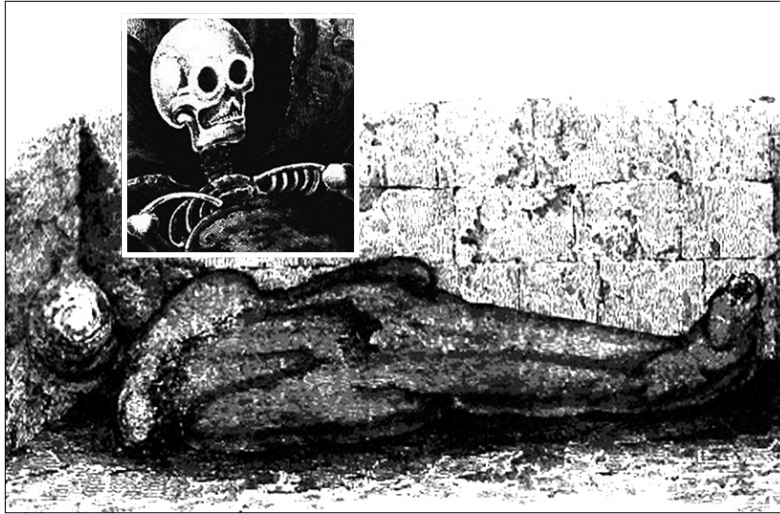


Plate 2: the lead-covered skeleton and a close-up of the skull of 'King Robert' from Jardine's report (1821) detailing the inspection and re-interment of 5 November 1819. I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.



Plate 3: Sir Joseph Noël Paton's unfulfilled design for a monumental memorial over 'Bruce's tomb' in Dunfermline completed Abbey Church, c.1845. I am grateful to the National Galleries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image [NGS D 4252/17].

Radicalism and the Press in Dunfermline and Scotland

Any stirring fears within the Edinburgh elite might have seemed to be confirmed upon reading the newspaper reports of the laying of the new church foundation stone at Dunfermline on 10 March 1818. The vast crowd and its repeated singing of '*Scots Wha Hae*' above all lent the proceedings something of the air of a burgh or parliamentary electoral reform rally (or, later in the century, a Home Rule meeting).⁶⁶ Dunfermline's socio-economic mix certainly placed it within the group of middling mercantile/professional, but also increasingly industrialised, burghs most likely to host such an event. The burgh had a strong tradition of dissenting religion with the first *Statistical Account* recording over 4,600 'seceders' in eight congregations in the 1790s.⁶⁷ More importantly, by the early nineteenth century the burgh was home to up to 1,000 specialist (table-linen) weavers out of a growing population of about 11,600, thus making it quite similar to that other seat of emerging working-class political agitation, Paisley (where a sheriff gaoled a band in 1818 for merely playing '*Scots Wha Hae*').⁶⁸ Dunfermline's hinterland also provided extensive colliery and lime-production employment under the control of both the earl of Elgin and the Burgh Council and all these industries and local agriculture were suffering badly from the intensifying depression (c.1815-22) of wages and prices after the end of the Napoleonic wars following the slump in economic demand and the demobilisation of 'national regiments' and the navy.⁶⁹ Agitating collier associations in nearby Falkirk had raised a stone to William Wallace in 1810.⁷⁰

In this context, the invocation of Wallace's – and by association Bruce's – name through Robert Burns' song might indeed have appealed to the growing numbers of manufacturing and trade guild members of Dunfermline, many of them from the Dissenting churches. The two heroes of the Wars might have been deployed as talismans in calls for the reform of the corrupt graft, indebtedness and electoral stranglehold of the self-electing mercantile burgh Council and its officers, headed by Tory Provost Wilson, the Beveridges, their kin and allied non-residents. Admittedly, the same historical figures and song would also have formed a strong part of the political, Presbyterian and Scots-within-Union loyalist identity of Major Wilson and his party as they looked to preserve their hold on power, salaries and burgh property and

to curry favour from the Crown and the Tory administration in Edinburgh and London. But in March 1818 such a reported atmosphere at a public gathering could all too easily have caused the minds of government supporters and officials to link any signs of radicalism in the Dunfermline of the past and present with the wider fears of revolution and the mob swelling at that time throughout the British Isles.

Apart from being the birthplace of Charles I, Dunfermline had been among those burghs which had petitioned against the parliamentary union of 1706-7. But much of its reputation was coloured by its inclusion in the infamous Stirling burghs district seat at Westminster. In the later eighteenth century, Dunfermline had been the scene of electoral rioting (1784, with one weaver gaoled for his violence) and – in the years after the French Revolution – the Friends of the People had been well established in the district.⁷¹ During concerted if unsuccessful efforts for burgh reform c.1782-c.1794 Dunfermline burgesses had added a considerable chorus to the ‘substance of grievances’ gathered to present to Parliament to denounce royal burgh self-election of councils, abuse of burgh revenues, burgh debts and the cronied ‘jobbing’ of public works.⁷² Most high profile of all, however, was the conviction and transportation of two of Dunfermline’s weavers in 1797 for aiding the United Scotsmen in organising and fermenting revolutionary intent through a local branch of that association.⁷³

These were relatively fragmented signs of agitation, but by 1818 – a year after high profile sedition trials in Edinburgh – there was resolute opposition to the Wilson-Beveridge mercantile oligarchy which had dominated Dunfermline Council since the late 1790s: the burgh was reported as the scene in 1817 and 1818 of radical meetings of hundreds of workers, just as such gatherings were held in a number of other industrial towns throughout Lowland Scotland with increasing regularity and attendance.⁷⁴

Although the Whig *Edinburgh Review* had not made a connection between the Bruce bones discovery, ‘liberty’ and calls for reform in 1818-19, as early as 18 March 1818 the radical London publication, the *Black Dwarf*, had picked up on general newspaper coverage of the bones and featured a parody of Robert Burns’ ‘*Scots Wha Hae*’ to denounce the Home Secretary: ‘Sidmouth! Chains and Slavery!’⁷⁵ Establishment figures might have been all the more alarmed if

such radical papers had made use, too, of Robert Burns' two other post-French Revolution verses of 1793, then published anonymously in the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*, both entitled 'The Ghost of Bruce' and both with obviously republican and contemporary intent. These poems clearly drew on Burns' own pilgrimages of 1787 to Dunfermline, where he is said to have knelt to kiss the largest tomb slab recently uncovered, believed locally to be that of Bruce, and to Bannockburn where he had himself pseudo-knighted while wearing the relic of Bruce's helmet. Burns' two poems - just like '*Scots Wha Hae*'/'*Robert Bruce's Address to His Troops at Bannockburn*' (1794) - also quote from William Hamilton of Gilbertfield's 1722 edition of Blind Hary's medieval epic poem about William Wallace, *The Wallace*. Thus in Burns' earlier verses a troubled Scottish patriot walking Bannockburn at night is visited by the dead king's spectre who warns - in words which might have seemed all the more potent in 1818 - that:

The shade of Bruce has silent kept the tomb,
But rest no longer can his Spirit have:
His country is in danger; chains anew
Are forging fast t'enslave his Native Land...
...the Shade of Bruce
Is risen to protect her injur'd Rights;-
To reinstate in splendour, as before,
Her Liberty near lost...

The second poem of 1793 also denounced what 'Our Country has endur'd from P[it]t, D[undas],/And all their Pension'd Slaves.'⁷⁶

Then in April 1818 the *Black Dwarf* continued by denouncing those 'nests of inveterate despotism, the Royal Burghs of Scotland': Dunfermline, indeed, grouped within the Stirling Burghs, and thus part of the most infamously corrupt seat in Scotland, had seen Sir John Henderson, admittedly an ally of William Adam, reportedly expending some £100,000 in bribes in 1802 in his attempts to secure delegates' nomination.⁷⁷ Such a reform publication as the *Black Dwarf* was usually most popular among the urban workforces of Glasgow, Paisley and their surrounding industrial towns, or Dundee and its hinterland. But that the government and its officers and supporters did feel threatened by its spread to

eastern Scotland might seem to be confirmed by the counterpart loyalist manner in which the memories of Bruce and the other discovery of 1818, the royal regalia, were deployed by such monthly Edinburgh Tory publications as *Blackwood's Magazine*.

In March 1818, *Blackwood's* printed a poem celebrating the crown, sceptre and sword as 'worn in triumph by the mighty Bruce ... [now] twin witnesses of Scotland's shame [reformist agitation].' In December 1819 *Blackwood's* would report on the reburial of the king's remains and emphasise Bruce's (and Wallace's) achievement in keeping Scotland and England separate until the former could enjoy 'the blessings which she has since received by a union, on equal terms' in 1603/1707 and after her own Presbyterian reformation: this was a classic statement of the preconditions for the confident 'unionist nationalism' of the mid-nineteenth century, recently surveyed by Graeme Morton.⁷⁸

However, by November 1819, wider events had inevitably had a further impact on attitudes to Dunfermline and its royal remains. 4 June 1819 had seen a traditional loyalist but nonetheless surely unsettling riot occur in Perth to mark the King's birthday.⁷⁹ But it was, of course, the Peterloo massacre in August 1819 which set off alarms and the raising of militia by local gentry and magistrates across the length and breadth of the British Isles. In May 1819, though, and perhaps of more immediate import for Dunfermline, Whig M.P. Lord Archibald Hamilton had also secured a Parliamentary inquiry into burgh electoral and financial practices in response to numerous petitions and reform debate in both Westminster Houses.⁸⁰

Crucially, the evidence gathered for this Westminster inquiry throughout the summer of 1819 focussed on the burghs of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee and Dunfermline. In July 1819, indeed, several members of the manufacturers' guild of Dunfermline testified convincingly about the corrupt self-election, nepotism, intimidation of opponents and spoliation of council lands, leases and income practised by Provost Wilson and his party, a number of whom (including Wilson) were also criticised for their ties to Edinburgh governmental and Bank of Scotland interests. These witnesses also provided documentary proof that their guild was unable to appoint its own Dean of Trades and that the burgh's debt was far higher than the figure reported by Wilson: it was more like £20,000

than £16,000, with income only about £1,500 per annum, the accounts un-audited for four years and never made accessible to other magistrates (and the additional £2,000 share of the new church to be paid by the burgh not included).⁸¹

Thus as this evidence was transcribed, and repercussions anticipated, it is likely that the Liverpool administration and its ministers in Scotland became anxious to ensure that Wilson and his fellow magistrates did not provide the outspoken Whigs (who had made no gains in Scotland in the 1818 general election) and more radical agitators with further ammunition for their cause. However, the Inquiry may also have been the occasion of a definite divergence of sympathies on the part of Lord Chief Commissioner Adam (who had recently clashed with Elgin and the Fife County Council over finance) and other Whigs supportive of Lord Archibald Hamilton's findings and wider aims of moderate reform: these differences would then be played out in the commemoration of Bruce in the burgh. It is tempting, indeed, to speculate that the main reason for Adam's abortion of visits to Dunfermline mooted in summer 1819, possibly as part of a Blair Adam Antiquarian Club outing, was the emerging political tension within the wider Edinburgh advocates' fraternity and thus a desire to avoid coinciding with the Hamilton inquiry's Dunfermline testimony from 7-9 July or the burgh Council elections of September.⁸² Hamilton's report was printed on 12 July 1819 and demonstrated all four ancient royal seats surveyed to be bankrupt: this news broke publicly in September (although it did not prevent the re-election of Wilson and co.).⁸³ Moreover, when the bones' re-interment finally occurred on 5 November 1819, as we shall see, Adam would not be in attendance and Wilson would later be at pains to reassure him that his fellow heritors had not expressed public disapproval at this snub.⁸⁴

That the establishment was therefore unsettled, concerned and even divided by the potential situation in Dunfermline, and the burgh's place within the wider national scene – and thus by association with Bruce's bones – is confirmed by the Fife County meeting held at Cupar on 18 November 1819, just a fortnight after the eventual re-interment ceremony.⁸⁵ This assembly took place in a state of considerable ferment, with a majority decrying the recent reported appearance of copies of the *Black Dwarf* in the possession of working men in

Dunfermline alongside such works as Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* (1795); the County meeting was reminded, too, of the proximity of the less-skilled weaving populace of adjacent burghs like Kirkcaldy where a large radical meeting had also been held in October 1819, echoing fears of riots which had marked similar gatherings at Paisley and Glasgow in August-September.⁸⁶ The Fife establishment gathering thus closed with resolutions to offer relief to the distressed weavers of Dunfermline (who were reported as 'quiet' and more church-going than the norm) and to send a statement of loyalty to the Prince Regent.⁸⁷

In reply, the *Black Dwarf* again parodied Robert I's invocation by such an assembly, poking fun at Fife's titled elite and propertied electorate fretting over the publication's pages 'in some Radical's pocket, cheek by jowl with the remains of Robert the Bruce, and the patriotic body that visited the tomb' (seemingly a reference to the pieces of Bruce's bones stolen at the re-interment ceremony, discussed below).⁸⁸ Yet such satire and further reports of ongoing reform meetings held throughout Scotland and in England in the months after Peterloo would only seem to have heightened the sense of danger shared by the authorities. In October 1819, Captain John Christie of the Fife militia had written to Westminster from Kinross arguing that the 'agitation prevailing in Scotland' warranted the prompt instalment of his militia's arms within better fortifications.⁸⁹ He was just one voice among many crying alarm. Advocates like Adam, Scott, William Clerk and (on Sidmouth's orders) Samuel Shepherd – of both Whig and Tory persuasion – would be at the very heart of the Scottish legal system and local militias which would act to punish the perpetrators and press of the abortive 'Radical War' in Scotland of 1820. In this context, then, the tensions of 1818-19 must have had a sustained momentum and a sense of far greater threat and potential to force reform (for those who were Whig) or provoke violent revolt (for those who were Tory) than in neighbouring England.⁹⁰

Hindsight, too, would seem to further confirm some of these fears and their momentary focus on Dunfermline as justified. In 1822 (at the time of George IV's state visit to Edinburgh), Dunfermline was the scene of a nine month strike by weavers whose numbers had swollen but wages fallen following changes in loom technology: this dispute was

eventually won by the employers. But by 1832-3 (with the Wilson-Beveridge party now broken) Dunfermline Council would join a number of other prominent municipal magistracies supporting burgh and parliamentary electoral reform acts; by the late 1830s Dunfermline's manufacturing population would also be heavily involved in Chartism.⁹¹

The Re-interment of Bruce's Bones, November 1819

The convergence of local and national events about Dunfermline in 1818-19 thus surely helps explain why Bruce's re-interment in November 1819 was in the end delayed and designed to be dominated by an even more narrowly focussed establishment circle of the Liverpool government's and Prince Regent's supporters in Edinburgh and Fife anxious to protect the status quo. However, a number of competing sympathies and voices now conspired to give the proceedings a distinctly fragmented and unfulfilled tone.

With both William Adam and Walter Scott reportedly too unwell to attend, much of the final organisation had fallen to the colourful senior figure of Adam's great personal friend, the Edinburgh Professor of Medicine and His Majesty's first Physician in Scotland, Dr James Gregory, F.R.S.E. (1753-1821). Gregory was something of a maverick as a celebrated Latinist, friend of Robert Burns and disputatious pamphleteer, but opposed, like so many of his generation, to radical reform.⁹² In the summer of 1818 Gregory and Adam had corresponded about another unrealised plan to visit and inspect Bruce's tomb, again perhaps as part of an intended Blair Adam Antiquarian Club visit to the burgh and abbey: Gregory lamented that he could not come away (after a serious carriage accident) to join in paying respects to 'the Magnanimous Hero of Bannockburn' and then get drunk with Adam and visit a bawdy house! It is perhaps understandable that Walter Scott may earlier have voiced fears that if he came to the reburial he might be involved in distasteful 'tomfoolery.'⁹³

By late 1819, however, over-and-above political events, there were a number of practical and moral issues further delaying the inspection and reburial of the remains. Firstly, in 1818 the Barons of Exchequer and Dunfermline's heritors had agreed that the walls of the new church building should have been raised to such a height as to afford privacy and discretion for this delicate operation: in the end at least seven feet, a

height reached just before the ruined walls and remaining window tracery of the medieval choir were due to be removed in November 1819.⁹⁴ It was clearly the authorities' collective intention to keep the procedure as exclusive as had been, say, the recovery of the royal regalia or – more appropriately – the investigation of the tomb of Edward I carried out at Westminster Abbey in 1774.⁹⁵ Besides, public and government consciousness of the sensitivity of handling the remains of dead kings may have been all the greater in 1818-19 given the long illness of George III (in its final stage from 1810 with the king passing away on 29 January 1820), the unpopularity and chronic ailments of the Prince Regent, and the deaths of Princess Charlotte in labour with a stillborn son on 5-6 November 1817 and then of her grandmother, Queen Charlotte, on 17 November 1818: at that time there was also a perceived need to reduce the expenditure of the Crown's civil list.⁹⁶ But then the progress of the new walls themselves at Dunfermline was impeded by repeated flooding to the building site caused, according to architect William Burn, by the excavation of a new vault in the south transept granted in May 1818 to the earl of Elgin. The language of the heritors' minutes suggests that Elgin had sent in his own labourers and refused to effect repairs when requested throughout December-January 1818-19, confirming local tensions behind the scenes.⁹⁷

Little wonder, then, that when the re-interment of Bruce's remains was finally undertaken on 5 November 1819 it aspired to be as carefully choreographed an assertion of loyal, royal, governmental, unionist and Presbyterian authority as had been the handling of the regalia in 1818 and as would be George IV's visit to Scotland under Walter Scott's design in 1822.⁹⁸ Even the date may have been selected for its significance. Although no written evidence to this point from those involved survives, the choice of Friday 5 November fell upon the (until 1859) compulsory celebration of the failed Catholic conspiracy of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 aimed at parliament and regal union king, James VI and I (1567-1625), although by the late eighteenth century overt anti-Catholic activities on the day – such as the burning of the pope in effigy – had decreased markedly. Crucially, however, church sermons throughout Britain on 5 November would also typically have commemorated that date as a 'double deliverance', falling as

it did on the anniversary of William of Orange's invasion landing at Brixham in 1688 (with large contingents of Scottish troops).⁹⁹

On this date in 1819, therefore, the Dunfermline reburial was overseen not by Dunfermline's chief heritor, Lord Elgin, or Scotland's Chief Commissioner, William Adam, but by English Tory lawyer, Sir Samuel Shepherd, as the new Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer of Scotland (following the death of Robert Dundas); he was joined by James Clerk Rattray, Baron Clerk of the Exchequer and sheriff-depute of Edinburgh (1763-1831); and Henry Jardine as Deputy Remembrancer, along with Provost Wilson and the other burgh magistrates.¹⁰⁰ Also in attendance were: Ranald George MacDonald, a Surrey Tory M.P. and chief of Clanranald (later remembered as an infamous Highland estate clearer)¹⁰¹; Blair Adam club members William Clerk and Captain Adam Ferguson, deputy keeper of the royal regalia (deputising for William Adam and Walter Scott, respectively?); the sheriff officers of Fife; and finally, the parish church ministers and Dunfermline's eight dissenting clergy.

A new brick-lined grave had been prepared by William Burn (also present) to receive the remains, but first the bones were extracted from their original, deteriorating lead shroud and wooden coffin, and inspected by Dr Gregory and his colleague, Alexander Monro, F.R.S.E. (1773-1859), another Royal High School and Edinburgh University graduate and the third of his family to hold the post of Professor of Anatomy in the capitol.¹⁰² The bones were measured and drawn – with particular note taken of an apparently healed wound to the left jaw and cheek and of the sawn sternum permitting removal of the heart after death; then a cast was taken of the detached skull by artist William Scouler for phrenological purposes.

At this juncture, it may still have been the intention of the select funerary dignitaries to conduct their business in private, behind closed church doors, and to avoid any whiff of pseudo-liturgy, although Gregory at least – in a letter to Adam – had mentioned the possible admission of, as he put it, the 'mob' through 'one door and out the other.'¹⁰³ The new lead coffin for the remains was prepared with a lining of molten pitch into which were inserted lead boxes containing a number of published works deemed appropriate as commemorative articles: a 1714 edition of Archdeacon John Barbour's medieval poem

The Bruce; Tory Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland* (1776); the recent two volume *History of the Reign of King Robert* by Whig pamphleteer Robert Kerr (1811); the Rvd John Fernie's conventional *History of Dunfermline* (1815); and, significantly, the *Edinburgh Almanack* and *Edinburgh Directory* for 1819, as well as an unlisted 'variety of the Edinburgh Newspapers of the day.'¹⁰⁴ These were followed by sixteen gold and silver coins of the reign of George III in a copper box. Most of these objects seem to have been selected (and some donated) by Gregory – whose imagination was clearly taken up with notion of a historical 'resurrection'¹⁰⁵ of Bruce – but with likely input from Shepherd, Jardine and, perhaps, Adam. It was Gregory who would be first to publish a lively narrative account of the re-interment ceremony; he had also suggested a skull cast and advised that Bruce's remains should be preserved by submersion in five barrels (1,500 lbs) of hot poured pitch within his new lead coffin.¹⁰⁶

However, before this last stage could be begun, according to Jardine's report, 'in order to gratify the curiosity of an immense crowd of people, who were assembled on the outside of the [part-built, unroofed] church, the south and north doors of the church were thrown open, and the people were allowed to enter by the south door, passing along the side of the vault, and retiring by the north; which they did in the most decent and orderly manner.'¹⁰⁷ According to the press report of the *Edinburgh Caledonian Mercury*, at this point the disjointed skull was raised aloft and 'held up to the admiring gaze of the spectators, during which it was pleasing to observe a solemn stillness reign, betokening the feelings of reverential awe, awakened by the recollection of the noble spirit that once animated it, contrasted with the present humiliation of its mortal tenement.'¹⁰⁸

Local interest in the discovery had always been high and it is possible that public attendance at the reburial had been officially encouraged and/or unofficially nurtured by the council, parish minister, guilds or dissenting churches: it was certainly hard to prevent, given the incomplete walls of the new church, and such ill-recorded local bodies as the 'Abbey Royal Antiquarian Society', formed in March 1818 in the wake of the discovery, would have monitored events closely. Later minister Ebenezer Henderson noted the proliferation of penny pictures and news-sheets and the constant chatter in

Dunfermline on the topic throughout 1818-19.¹⁰⁹ Even Lord Elgin, in his letters to Sidmouth of March 1818, had warned against any delay of news which might frustrate the interested public.¹¹⁰ Provost Wilson had also suggested the deployment of militia to guard the tomb (rather than the too familiar burgh constable).¹¹¹

Yet it is possible that the reports of a calm public filing past to view the remains as they lay in state in November 1819 mask some measure of local tension. It was at this point in the proceedings that some small relics – teeth and finger bones – were allegedly stolen from the body as it lay on a wooden (surely the local Masonic?) coffin board. The published accounts of eye-witnesses Jardine, Gregory and Chalmers all confirm the removal of small objects at this time. It is clear from widespread reports of further Bruce grave relics in the later nineteenth century – nails and pieces of cloth and coffin – that a number of the dignitaries may also have obtained a talisman of association from the Hero King (including a medical colleague of Gregory's from Edinburgh).¹¹² The burgh crowd was obliged to leave, however, before the local worthies and visiting dignitaries oversaw the final sealing of the remains in pitch, lead coffin and new floor-level brick and stone-topped vault.¹¹³

That this exclusion of the townsfolk may have caused resentment is suggested by the fact that within five days of the re-interment workmen were said to have recovered a copper plaque bearing the legend 'Robertus Scottorum Rex' from a nearby debris pile. This was widely accepted at the time as genuine and as having likely adorned the original external stone coffin of the king: it was bought for the Society of Antiquaries' Museum in Edinburgh, the finders rewarded with gold and – in the manner of the royal regalia in 1818 – commemorative prints were commissioned for sale. However, by the 1870s (or perhaps earlier), it had emerged that this plate – which had set 'all the authorities in movement' – was a fake.

The perpetrators of this hoax were reported by one of their number to be the younger brother of architect William Burn and one of his Edinburgh artist friends at work in Dunfermline (a Mr Thom), who had aimed at inflating the 'vanity' of the natives; or, according to Ebenezer Henderson, they had been one of the main contracted builders of the church, a John

Bonnar, working with a portrait painter (Thom), a historian (Andrew Mercer) and a brewer (Robert Malcolm), all local confederates.¹¹⁴ The motive of the latter group, if responsible, may have been to exploit the discovery in economic terms but it may also have been spurred by minority doubts expressed as to the identity of the bones (or aspersions cast on the conduct of local workmen).

The *Caledonian Mercury*, for example, had noted as early as 26 February 1818 that 'there is as yet no absolute certainty of the tomb being his [Bruce's], no inscription to that effect having been found.'¹¹⁵ Writing in the 1840s, the Rvd Chalmers would assert that the crude lead crown observed around the skull in February 1818 had, by November 1819, either been dissolved by the intrusion of air or 'carried off' by local trophy hunters. Thus at the time the absence of any such marker – or other proofs of the identity of the royal corpse, such as a signet ring or sceptre of the kind found in Edward I of England's tomb at Westminster in 1774 – may have roused locals to act in defence of their prize and burgh honour. In doing so, these individuals arguably acted on local memories of the discovery of another metal plate in 1807, during the aforementioned amateur investigations (decried by Dr Gregory as 'random howking'), which had borne the legend 'Robertus Dei Gratia Rex Scottorum.' Curiously, this object had been bought by the recently returned earl of Elgin for his collection: but neither the earl nor any townsmen referred to this earlier find during the events of 1818-9.¹¹⁶

At the same time, however, it might also be conjectured that such a lucrative hoax also reflected some mounting disquiet in 1819 at the simple dictation of proceedings by bureaucrats, gentry and clubbable men from the city of Edinburgh in exclusive contact with the entrenched burgh oligarchy of Wilson and co.: there was certainly expressed a widespread distaste in the town at the thought of the king's remains, behind closed doors, being covered in hot pitch for all eternity.¹¹⁷ These issues, indeed, seem the more compelling as catalysts to the fraud. Certainly no party – scholar, churchman, councillor, land owner, local or outsider – attempted to argue the case that the skeleton might be someone other than Robert Bruce: identification never seemed in doubt.¹¹⁸

In 1819 there may have been some behind-the-scenes unease caused, too, by the varying tones of the speeches delivered

on 5 November after Provost Wilson had bestowed the freedom of the burgh on Lord Chief Baron Shepherd, Jardine, Rattray, MacDonald and the other dignitaries present. Wilson himself spoke of 'our veneration and respect for the remains of one of the most illustrious kings, the glory and toast of every Scotsman, and, I believe, I may say of every Briton – the assertor of the liberties and independence of his country.' Although this was not unsympathetic to the spirit of unionist nationalism likely shared by most of the visiting government officials, the replies of Shepherd and Rattray much more pointedly emphasised the present Hanoverian Union and how Bruce's achievements meant a Scot and an Englishman could thus be friends: 'it is to Robert Bruce that our present Monarch owes his seat on the throne of three realms; the line of connexion between the former realms and later Prince, through the family of the Stuarts, being easily traced, so that well may every Englishman, no less than every Scotsman, glory in the same....'¹¹⁹

It is tempting to speculate that private exchanges made clear the Crown's and government's likely displeasure at any uncomfortable political views emanating from Dunfermline and associated with Bruce's remains, all the more so in the wake of Lord Archibald Hamilton's Parliamentary inquiry into burgh finances. Shepherd, Jardine and MacDonald may also have been somewhat perturbed by the presence of dissenting clergy at the re-interment, the intrusion of the local crowd and the relic thefts. That the atmosphere of the event may have become somewhat strained can, though, only be hinted at: Provost Wilson certainly later went to the aforementioned trouble of impressing upon Lord Chief Commissioner Adam that neither the use of pitch nor his absence on the day had been condemned by the other church heritors quoted in the *Edinburgh Courant*; Wilson was also later effusive in his messages to Jardine about subsequent bone discoveries in the churchyard.¹²⁰ Then, in 1822, perhaps following a Blair Adam Club visit in summer 1821, the parish would be strikingly generous in gifting the old pulpit and other woodwork of the nave church to Walter Scott, now also made a freeman of the burgh and who would secure a copy of the cast of Bruce's skull for his study cabinet at Abbotsford.¹²¹

But most singular of all, on 12 November 1819 – just a week after the re-interment and six days before the resolutions of

the jittery Fife County meeting at Cupar – the Burgh Council of Dunfermline drafted an address to the Prince Regent pledging their ‘firm and undeviating attachment to your Royal person and government...’ and denouncing the ‘audacious and undisguised attempts resorted to by disaffected and unprincipled Demagogues to poison the minds of the lower classes...’; the address sought to underline the loyalty of their ‘populous manufacturing town.’¹²² Surely a reference to the recent radical meetings held in the burgh, this was a very conventional and oft-repeated way of seeking favour and financial aid from the Court and Treasury influence in Parliament. But the unusually dramatic language deployed on this occasion perhaps suggests that Wilson and the rest of his Council were further prompted to action by concerns as to the imminent repercussions of both the Parliamentary inquiry of that year and the discomfort surrounding the new church and royal bones (perhaps even worries that Shepherd, Adam, Scott or Ranald MacDonald might express their displeasure in writing).

Campaigns for a Bruce Memorial, c.1819-c.1900

A cooling of establishment enthusiasm for the discovery at Dunfermline is certainly reflected in the fate of the various proposed monuments for Bruce and his new resting place. Newspaper coverage of the 1819 reburial had asserted that the Lords Baron of Exchequer ‘mean to erect an elegant sarcophagus, with a suitable inscription.’¹²³ Gregory had certainly penned a possible Latin epitaph for this purpose although its wordy, impassioned text seems unlikely to have been condoned by unionist Edinburgh authorities.¹²⁴

In September 1821, at the opening of the completed new church, the promise of a Bruce sarcophagus before the pulpit from the Lords Baron was repeated. But this pledge would never be honoured. Nor would the early calls for a ‘national monument’: these had come in 1818 from both the aristocratic Caledonian Hunt of Edinburgh and the ‘gentlemen of Stirlingshire’ at the Bannockburn Borestone.¹²⁵ Yet a somewhat controversial local compromise had been reached with the erection of Dunfermline’s new central church tower in 1820-1, with its striking and highly visible balustrade lettering of ‘King Robert The Bruce’, installed by William Burn and paid for by local donors (including Elgin) rather than by heritor assessment.¹²⁶ Nor should it be overlooked that the

heritors and Lords Baron had at least ensured that the remains had been reburied in a Protestant public space within the walls of the new parish church.¹²⁷

Nevertheless, much of the difficulty about a further Bruce memorial within the church – over-and-above fears of liturgy – clearly circled around who should be liable for the cost of a Bruce tomb in addition to the cost of maintaining the abbey and its adjacent royal palace apartments and their grounds as a historic site: Exchequer, all heritors, noble benefactors or public subscription? No solution or donor was quickly found. There may also have been the difficult question of what form any such monument should take. It would be all too easy, indeed, to accuse the authorities of the day of an understandable collective ‘failure of nerve’ (to borrow from Marinell Ash’s thesis on *The Strange Death of Scottish History* in the nineteenth century) in their oversight and structuring of the reburial. The Lords Baron and magistrates either never considered, or could find no suitable precedents, by which the public and local community might be more formally engaged and embraced in a ceremony designed to enhance and confirm loyalty to the Protestant Crown. A formal lying in state, funeral service and reburial beneath a Gothic effigy might easily have smacked of popery. At the same time, what style or pose of physical likeness and accessories (sword, coat of arms etc.) or abstract or architectural form would best satisfy the predominant concern to avoid anti-English or radical liberal reform connotations and to support monarchy and Union?¹²⁸

However, this was, after all, an unprecedented parochial situation, at what was the height of radical tension in post-1815 Scotland. Moreover, this was a dilemma which would affect a number of nineteenth century historical statues and monuments. Arguably it was not until after the deaths of many of the key participants in the events of 1818-19 – with Scott passing in 1832, Adam in 1839 and Elgin in 1841 – that fresh impetus for a commemorative Bruce structure at Dunfermline grew.

In 1846 the massive Gothic tower of the Walter Scott Monument, paid for by public subscription in Edinburgh, was successfully completed in Princes Street Gardens on time: this was arguably the most conspicuous achievement of the post-Union tradition of commemorating recently deceased

statesmen, soldiers and men of letters, following public subscription monuments and statues to such figures as David Hume (Calton Hill, Edinburgh, 1777-8), Robert Burns (1798 in Ayr High Street, 1812-31 in Regent Road, Edinburgh), poet and author of 'Rule Britannia' James Thomson (1819, in Ednam in Roxburghshire) or 1st Viscount Melville (column, St Andrews' Square, Edinburgh, 1819-27).¹²⁹ Yet in 1845, the *Glasgow Herald* reported that 'every pilgrim who visits the shrine [at Dunfermline abbey] feels and laments the want of such a memorial.'¹³⁰ This plea had perhaps been prompted by the publication of Rvd Chalmers of Dunfermline's expanded *Statistical Account* (1844) which bemoaned 'that the exact site of the grave of Robert Bruce should not yet be distinguished in any way, even by letters or a crown on the pavement, is much to be regretted, as it may in the course of time be forgotten'; he called for heritor action.¹³¹

This public shame reportedly drew history painter Sir Joseph Noël Paton (1821-1901) to design, in c.1845, a dignified marble sarcophagus for Bruce, with four kneeling corner knights as mourners [plate 3]. Significantly, Paton was born in Dunfermline and remained a Guild member there while establishing a reputation in London as a royal and public artist. Local tradition, though, holds that his father, Joseph Neil Paton (1797-1874), a weaving manufacturer, Quaker, antiquarian and later director of a Dunfermline School of Art, had as a young man stolen a toe bone from the exposed skeleton of Bruce in November 1819: this relic is now in the care of the Hunterian collection, Glasgow. The £2,000 cost of Paton's proposed tomb was to be met by public subscription. Again, however, this seems to have been a dead end at a time when the Dunfermline heritors were much burdened with the upkeep and heating costs of the Abbey church (although Paton's design for the great west stained-glass window of the new abbey church – depicting Wallace, Bruce, Malcolm III and St Margaret – was executed).¹³² Thus in 1859 Rvd Chalmers could reiterate this 'subject of long and great regret...that nothing has ever been done to mark, and point out especially to strangers, the exact site of the tombs of King Robert Bruce and of his Queen, Elizabeth': this time he suggested a commemorative tablet (perhaps using Dr Gregory's text) at the foot of the pulpit, but to no avail.¹³³

However, the struggles of this and other prominent public

subscription attempts to erect historical monuments in nineteenth century Scotland provide further proof that the impediments in 1818-19 to the greater commemoration of Bruce's remains were not merely personal and political, or unique to those years or that locality: there were older and larger cultural obstacles to such a memorial.

George III's reign had seen the remarkable popularisation of such annual celebrations as the reigning king's birthday (4 June) and Jubilee (25 October).¹³⁴ In Dunfermline these dates were marked with almost comic repetition by a holiday from work, bonfires, flags, bell-ringing, canon-fire, squibs and rockets and a Council procession and toast at the mercat cross followed by more drinking indoors.¹³⁵ The public of the kingdoms of the British Isles were moreover increasingly disposed to honour, present to or mourn and commemorate their military heroes, and especially the fallen, such as Wolfe and Nelson, in contemporary Imperial wars overseas: the development of Westminster and St Paul's in London as national mausoleums c.1780-c.1820 for contemporary statesmen, soldiers, sailors, writers, artists and composers stood testament to this trend.¹³⁶ More remote (but not yet medieval) historical events of particular relevance to the house of Hanover were also increasingly commemorated, for example the anniversary of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 or the suppression of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, or, on 1 August 1814, the centenary of the Hanoverian succession.¹³⁷ Scots also had an understandable propensity to commemorate their Presbyterian and Covenanting icons and martyrs.¹³⁸

Generally speaking, however, it would be the second half of the nineteenth century before statues, plaques and other physical monuments to distinctly historical figures and anniversary commemoration events were popular currency in most developed nations and presented, indeed, as *national* memorials (with the notable exception of France where crisis precipitated earlier, politicised commemoration of a national Pantheon and other figures and events).¹³⁹

Between c.1850-c.1900 a whole series of sweeping changes had certainly had or begun their effect upon the British Isles. Some of these developments would have a more marked impact upon Scotland and its urban centres: royal burgh and parliamentary electoral reform and a growth in support for male universal suffrage; party political fragmentation and the

growth of Home Rule sentiment as a political challenge; labour unionisation; steam power, railway mania and the development of public transport, mass communications and the beginnings of popular tourism; photography, improved literacy and the foundation of national museums (1861), portrait galleries (1889), public libraries and school curricula; the general proliferation of competitive civic societies and community leisure associations; and cheaper print and the explosion of *illustrated* newspapers, chapbooks, novels, public lectures, variety theatre and other forms of popular entertainment, to name but a few.¹⁴⁰

Queen Victoria's partial restoration of a cult of popular monarchy with strong ties to a romantic, largely Highlandised, Scotland would also prove a crucial factor – in tandem with the lasting legacy of Walter Scott's novels and their imitators. This repaired much of the damage done by George IV and the Queen Caroline affair (1820) and Victoria's own early dour image. In 1842 Victoria's tour of Scotland took in Stirling - where the Queen visited both Bannockburn and the new mausoleum erected to mark the grave of James III (1460-88) at Cambuskenneth Abbey – and then Dunfermline.¹⁴¹ The royal commemorative speeches given at these sites emphasised the union and 'blending' of past monarchical enemies in the person of the present heir of both lines, through Saxon, Norman, Plantagenet, Bruce, Stewart/Stuart, Tudor and Teutonic Hanover (again, much in the manner of Scott's novels).¹⁴²

Yet before c.1850 even such celebrated and recent historical events as the British victory of Waterloo, and calls about 1818-9 for the subscription erection of a National Monument on Calton Hill in Edinburgh in veneration of Scotland's war effort against Napoleon, still struggled to attract sufficient support from private citizens, institutions and government and to avoid Whig *versus* Tory divisions.¹⁴³ It fell instead to wealthy individuals or small local societies to pay for singular memorials. For example: the stern statue of William Wallace at Dryburgh erected in 1814 by David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan (1742-1829), maverick nationalist, political reformer and founder of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who never fulfilled his declared intention to establish a 'Temple of Caledonian Fame' on his own estate: this was the Wallace statue, popular with visitors, which Walter Scott threatened to

blow up, so offended were his unionist sensibilities.¹⁴⁴ Then there was the Edinburgh memorial to Robert Burns funded slowly by various civic societies c1812-31¹⁴⁵; or the local subscription for the Barnweil Wallace Tower near Ayr (1855) and the Wallace statue added to another nearby 'Wallace Tower' (1833)¹⁴⁶; or the Marquis of Bute's gift of an £80 bust of Robert Bruce for the Wallace Monument 'hall of heroes' in 1886¹⁴⁷; and the 9th Earl of Elgin's donation of the Bruce relief effigy brass at Dunfermline in 1889, Victoria's Jubilee Year.¹⁴⁸

In contrast, the role of the state in encouraging, sponsoring or financing such memorialisation remained under-developed, although the 1820s did see the allied creation of a Scottish Office of Works, headed by Robert Reid (1774-1856) which began moves to formalise the hitherto ad hoc responsibility and funding interventions of the Exchequer in the upkeep of former Crown buildings.¹⁴⁹ Alongside this, it would be the mid-century and beyond before country-wide efforts for distinctly 'national monuments' and – as Linda Colley has styled it – 'an official cult of the hero in Britain' could be publicised and popularised by Crown and government involvement.¹⁵⁰ This was a phenomenon which Graeme Morton has identified as intensifying in Scotland through 'national' movements for memorials – predominantly Unionist - to mark Walter Scott's death (1832-46), Robert Burns' centenary (1859), an abortive call for a Wallace and Bruce monument with sculpture in Edinburgh (1859, again designed by Sir Joseph Noël Paton) and the National Wallace Monument (1856-69).¹⁵¹ The development and completion of each of these projects, however, proved problematic.

It followed that for much of the nineteenth century the marking and shaping of the historical reputations of great individuals and great events – and in particular of Scotland's medieval icons and their life achievements – remained the preserve of private citizens, local or regional civic associations and competing interest groups. Even in the later century, however, historical heroes' reputations could still stutter. The *Glasgow Herald* reported periodically from 1869 to 1877 about the design disputes and delays affecting a Bruce memorial planned at Lochmaben (a former Bruce family lordship).¹⁵² In 1869-70 a newly-formed Bannockburn committee for the erection of a monument to the memory of the 'sadly neglected' Robert Bruce at the scene of his greatest victory near Stirling

drew up plans for a ten foot tall bronze statue of the king in chain armour atop a rock pedestal, and even sent artist's plans to Queen Victoria.¹⁵³ But it would be the mid-twentieth century before such a design was realised at Bannockburn, which had to content itself in the meantime with the raising of a new 120 foot tall Borestone flagpole gifted by the Masonic lodges of central Scotland: the Borestone became, of course, the annual pilgrimage site of Home Rule campaigners in the late nineteenth century, and of the Scottish National Party in the twentieth.¹⁵⁴ Arguably, Robert Bruce had to wait until 1914 and 1929 for the Sex-Centenary celebrations of his battle victory and burial at Stirling and Dunfermline respectively for full and confident public commemorations marked by the participation of national as well as local government, the law, the churches and the military.¹⁵⁵

Elsewhere, in Stirling even the royal castle (then a barracks like Edinburgh Castle) only completed its commissioning and raising of a neutrally-posed statue to Bruce as a 'Victorian knight' in 1877, sculpted by Andrew Currie. The newspaper reports of the day, though, noted that the idea for such a figure on the esplanade, now a counterpart to Wallace's National Monument and statue-with-sword across the Forth, had actually first been raised 'about 1814', the anniversary of the battle, and revived 'in the 1820s' in the contemporary spirit of 'the enlightened policy of cenotaphs' for poets, statesmen and heroes.¹⁵⁶ A statue to Bruce was raised at Dumfries by the local Burns Club in 1898 but a year earlier Edinburgh Council had been publicly accused of squandering yet another private bequest of £2,500 for the erection of similar matched statues of Wallace and Bruce on their castle esplanade in emulation of the donated Wallace figures within the burghs of Stirling (1819) and Aberdeen (1888).¹⁵⁷

Of course, even the cause of erecting the National Wallace Monument itself at Stirling in the 1850s-60s, honouring the obvious Scottish people's champion, had struggled to garner sustained public financial support due to a conflation of civic, political, personal and financial rivalries.¹⁵⁸ A first 'national' attempt had seemingly been made sometime in 1818 when an anonymous 'truly patriotic person', an Edinburgh-born member of the Highland Society of London, offered £1,000 through *Blackwood's Magazine* towards the erection of a monument to Wallace on Calton Hill or Salisbury Crags in Edinburgh,

provided the design did 'not give offence to our brethren south of the Tweed.' Whether or not this tender had been inspired by the rediscovery of the regalia and/or Bruce's bones, or even noises from Glasgow weavers about such a Wallace memorial in the same year, is unclear.¹⁵⁹

Then, during the fund-raising and building work for the eventual National Wallace Monument (with the foundation stone laid on Bannockburn Day, 1861), the party of the predominant Victorian ideology of 'unionist nationalism' struggled at times to ensure that the monument conveyed no anti-English/anti-Union meaning in the cause of such 'nationalist' historians as William Burns (1809-76). However, Sir Joseph Noël Paton's controversial allegorical design of 'Lion fighting Typhon' was passed over for the safer 'national architecture' of the Stirling mock-baronial tower at Abbey Craig.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, even once the Monument had been formally opened (on the anniversary of Stirling Bridge, 11 September 1869), the charitable fund established to oversee its donations became the subject of a highly public libel case in 1880 which itself revealed interesting and divided contemporary attitudes towards historical monuments to great men.

Stirling garrison chaplain and historian, Dr Charles Rogers (1825-90), the National Wallace Monument's former treasurer, was accused of drawing profit from the campaign: the *Glasgow Herald* noted Rogers' past role in the erection of statues to Bruce (in Stirling) and the recently deceased James Hogg (d. 1835), Thomas Chalmers (1770-1847) and Covenanted martyr James Guthrie (d. 1661), as well as his current duties on a monument committee for John Knox (d.1572) at the redesigned (by William Burn) Edinburgh parish church of St Giles. Such energetic activity left Rogers open to the jibe in court that he was about to beget 'a monument to [biblical] Adam.'¹⁶¹ This hilarity echoed, however, comments offered in the same newspaper in 1869, reporting on a National Wallace Monument committee meeting called to discuss the financial difficulties of the near-completed tower: that earlier editorial lambasted both the Wallace project and the Lochmaben Bruce statue group for indulging in 'monument mania' (akin to military or professional 'presentation mania' of subscription swords, canes, certificates, bibles etc), revealing only their own vanity as men in search of cultural and intellectual status and plaudits. The *Herald* furthermore asserted that such heroic

figures did not need 'absurd abortions' from architects, but that their real achievements were 'written in the annals...[and] graven on the hearts' of their countrymen: 'those who deserve statues most require them least'¹⁶²

Bruce in Press and Print, c.1818-c.1900

Throughout this catalogue of monument campaigns there is arguably further evidence to show that the image of Robert Bruce had also long suffered from an extra layer of resistance to memorialisation, leaving him over-shadowed by the legacy of Wallace (and, to an extent, Robert Burns). In 1818, beyond the daily press, the reaction to the discovery of Bruce's apparent remains had been slight, marked notably only by Edinburgh theatres quickly presenting plays and vignettes about Bruce which would return repeatedly over the next two years by 'particular desire.'¹⁶³ Over the remainder of the century a fairly steady flow of history books, novels, school 'readers', chapbooks, poems, plays and images would feature or focus upon Bruce, inscribing his reputation 'in the annals', indeed; but there was not a sudden explosion of literature in the years immediately after 17 February 1818 or 5 November 1819.

Perhaps the most sustained initial reaction in print came in the form of phrenological analysis and debate in the wake of Jardine's published report of the grave and skeleton inspection. This increasingly popular pseudo-science (which had associations with urban radicalism) undeniably had its academic and governmental critics in the nineteenth century, reviewers who then – as now – slammed its self-fulfilling pronouncements about the skull subject's 'organs', in this case deducing the ethnic traits and qualities expected of a hero king of Scots: full 'combativeness' and 'destructiveness', a warm temper, marked 'secretiveness', high chivalry, perseverance, frugality and piety (though with the added caveat that the latter might now be perceived as Catholic 'superstition'), and – explaining Bruce's sacrilegious murder of John Comyn in 1306 - a 'not considerable' sense of justice.¹⁶⁴ However, these analyses were arguably only slightly more questionable than the uncritical acceptance by Jardine, Gregory and others of the skeleton's identity and their perception in those mortal remnants of received characteristics of King Robert, for example emphasising his stature [5' 11" to 6' tall] and valour.¹⁶⁵

Certainly both these 'official' reports and enthusiasts' analyses of the skull contributed to the casting of Bruce's physical image for time immemorial, both in print and sculpted form.¹⁶⁶

Most later printed works about Bruce or the Wars of Independence also usually closed with a narrative of the discovery and re-interment of the king in 1818-19.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, in 1820, a new edition of Archdeacon John Barbour's fourteenth-century poem, *The Bruce*, was published in tandem with Hary's *Wallace*, reviving a printing tradition of pairing these works first begun in the late sixteenth century, but this time with *The Bruce* (which actually never mentions Wallace) appearing first in the volume.¹⁶⁸ Bruce's story even became the subject of an operatic pastiche by Rossini (but not until 1846), which was itself the subject of numerous popular piano and song transcriptions.¹⁶⁹ The 'memory of Robert Bruce' and 'the heroes of Bannockburn' were also regularly the annual toast of Scottish and expatriate civil societies reported in the press throughout the nineteenth century, but always bumpered after such conventions and icons as the king (later queen), St Andrew, Wallace and Lord Nelson.¹⁷⁰

Crucially, in the majority of Georgian and Victorian written works prominence continued to be given to the quite specific and artificial link between Wallace and Bruce established through the medieval texts of Walter Bower (fl.1440-9) and Blind Hary (c.1478) and perhaps based on earlier oral traditions and local ballads: namely, that of the two warriors meeting at Carron Shore after the battle of Falkirk (1298). Here, the lesser subject, Wallace, unspoiled by political ambition, turned the aristocratic Bruce away from his wavering alliance with England and on to the road to patriotic kingship and the liberation of Scotland at Bannockburn. A literary convention which permitted 'loyal' advice to medieval princes, such a tale would have powerful resonance in Georgian and Victorian campaigns for peaceful political reform and socio-economic justice and thus wider representation for the growing middle and skilled working classes.¹⁷¹ Little wonder, then, that when Bruce's bones were unearthed and publicised, the Tory *Blackwood's Magazine* had run a competition in December 1818 – with the £50 of prizes donated by the same anonymous patriot who had offered money for an Edinburgh Wallace monument – for the best

poem depicting this famous exchange between Wallace and Bruce at Carron Shore. As Colin Kidd has shown, the winner, Felicia Hemans (1793-1835), was an English poet and her unthreatening verse '*Wallace's Invocation to Bruce*' sat comfortably with majority pro-Union sentiment.¹⁷² In subsequent popular nineteenth and early twentieth century novelisations of the Wars by Jane Porter, Grace Aguilar, G.A. Henty and Agnes Mure Mackenzie – to list just a few – this incident at Carron Shore typically appeared in some form and Bruce always began his kingship by invoking the name of Wallace, invariably as his friend: the majority of these fictions were all bound, too, before c.1918 to the notion of Wallace and Bruce contributing to Scotland's and England's union of equals.¹⁷³

At the same time, the debate in 'academic' circles - or between historians deploying medieval documentary evidence against popular writers who upheld the 'traditionary' stories of 'Wallace and Bruce' drawn from Barbour and Hary - focussed upon Robert Bruce's early record of submission, defection, murder and possible treachery before his seizure of the throne in 1306.¹⁷⁴ But Hary's tale of Wallace turning and inspiring Bruce proved resilient to scholarly revision, persisting in popular histories, novels, chapbooks and penny readers well into the twentieth century.¹⁷⁵ This was the case even though Walter Scot, on at least one occasion, in his *Tales of a Grandfather* (1827), had replaced this historic moment at Carron with Bruce suffering instead a Macbeth-like sense of guilt with his countrymen's blood on his hands. Scott, of course, avoided fictionalising a Wars of Independence topic until his very last novel, *Castle Dangerous* (1831), and dodged his publisher's calls for a history of Bruce.¹⁷⁶

Allied to this, Bruce's great victory at Bannockburn outside Stirling became the increasing focus of Home Rule campaigners. Annual rallies on the battle anniversary, 24 June, at the Borestone at Bannockburn swelled around the ideas of liberation and freedom as perceived to have been achieved in 1314, yet with the memory and name of William Wallace and Robert Burns' famous song and reform mantra, '*Scots Wha Hae wi' Wallace Bled*', far more naturally and frequently invoked than details of Bruce's life or material remains.¹⁷⁷ Yet as vocal, organised and seemingly popular as such a cause became, self-determination for Scotland remained a minority political and cultural platform. Therefore

it was little wonder, perhaps, that as late as the 1920s and 1960s public subscription campaigns for statues to Bruce at Edinburgh Castle and Bannockburn respectively continued to struggle to raise funds and depended upon wealthy expatriates for completion.¹⁷⁸

Conclusion

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there arguably persisted a sense in which Robert Bruce as an establishment figure, a calculating aristocrat or royal, would always be questionable in his loyalties and required to be restored by Wallace, who was transformed into a medieval 'lad o'pairs' and meritocratic martyr.¹⁷⁹ As much is reflected in the letters of Dunfermline's most famous son, industrialist and millionaire philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919). He impressed upon Germany's Kaiser that Wallace as 'the man of the people comes first', even though he had been brought up as a child with Bruce as his local hero. Carnegie also refused to donate money for another planned statue to Bruce at Dunfermline in 1904, remarking in his memoirs that he did not care to venerate a king given little justice in his uncle's teachings on Scottish history: 'a king is an insult to every other man of the land.'¹⁸⁰

In sum, there is ample evidence to show that the personal sensitivities of key individuals and both the wider local and national political concerns of the day interacted to shape and arguably to limit the memorialisation of Robert Bruce's bones at Dunfermline and throughout Scotland in 1818-19 and well beyond. The spectrum of Whigs, radicals and anti-Union elements feared by the establishment were not yet attuned or willing to make constructive use of Bruce's memory and physical remains in their dissent and calls for reform. At the same time, the predominant unionist-nationalist consensus was not yet so universal and confident as to find natural and unchallenged paternalist expression through the raising of an obviously suitable monument to Bruce as at once a Scot and Briton at Dunfermline (or in the capitol, Edinburgh) in 1819 or the years which immediately followed. Matters might have been different, perhaps, had the bones been unearthed either during the Napoleonic Wars at the height of Scotland's national military effort or, conversely, after the quashed 'Radical War' of 1820 and/or Walter Scott's carefully designed

royal visit of 1822. But in the tense political climate c.1815-c.1819 which had fallen between these watersheds even a moderate Whig like William Adam of Blair Adam may have been alienated by the government's nervous interference in Dunfermline's royal event.

However, even if such conditions had not prevailed, there were in general so few precedents, and insufficient cultural acceptance of statues or other commemorative structures to long-dead historical figures, to make such a response either natural or possible from national or local government, 'civic society', or the urban middle and working classes of Presbyterian Scotland. As such, the incident of 'Bruce's bones' and reactions to their discovery provide a subtle and enigmatic barometer of Scottish politics and culture within a complexity of competing identities in the early nineteenth century and beyond.

NOTES

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² T. Carlyle, *Past and Present [1843]*, ed. C.R. Vanden Bossche *et al* (Los Angeles, 2006), p. 37.

³ *The Ipsos-MORI Social Policy Monitor: Research Study Conducted for Stirling University* (14th Jan-5th March 2006). This survey of 1,000 Scots was commissioned as part of Stirling History's *Reputations in Scottish History* teaching and research project in conjunction with the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, and its 2006 exhibition 'Great Scot!' [J. Smyth and M. Penman, 'Reputations and national identity, or what do our heroes say about us?', *Études Écossaises*, 10 (2005), pp. 11-24, and conference proceedings pp. 25-118]: those surveyed were free to name any figure, i.e. there was no predetermined list from which to choose. E.J. Cowan, ed., *The Wallace Book* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007); G. Morton, *William Wallace: Man and Myth* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2001); L. McIlvanney, *Burns the Radical: Poetry and Politics in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002).

⁴ E.g., '[David] Starkey in 'Scotland adores failure' rant,' *Scotland on Sunday*, 19 Oct. 2008. Even in a number of other recent public poll exercises, or when specific socio-economic or professional groups in Scotland are surveyed, Bruce typically polls just outside the top two. For example, a poll reported in the *Scotsman* on 18 Dec. 1999 surveyed all those who appeared in *Who's Who in Scotland*: this group voted Burns, then Wallace, Bruce, Adam Smith and James Clerk Maxwell as the greatest Scots 'in history.' In a *Scotland on Sunday* on-line public vote (again without a predetermined list) of 29 December 2002, Alexander Fleming polled first [26%], Wallace second [17%], Burns and Bruce joint third [11%], the late first

Scottish First Minister Donald Dewar fourth [7%] and engineer James Watt fifth [5%]; a poll of academic experts by the same paper from 8-22 January 2006 returned Wallace first, Burns second, Bruce third, Fleming fourth and Adam Smith fifth. Stirling's and the SNP's Ipsos-MORI poll returned Dewar and Fleming tied fourth [4%].

⁵ M. Penman, 'King Robert the Bruce (1274-1329),' *Études Écossaises*, 10 (2005), pp. 25-40, in part a companion to G.M. Brunnsden, 'Aspects of Scotland's Social, Political and Cultural Scene in the late 17th and early 18th Centuries, as Mirrored in the Wallace and Bruce Traditions,' in E.J. Cowan and D. Gifford, eds., *The Polar Twins* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999), pp. 75-113.

⁶ Penman, 'King Robert the Bruce (1274-1306),' pp. 37-9.

⁷ E. Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline* (Glasgow, 1879), pp. 594-605. *A Memoir of the Late Ebenezer Henderson by his niece [with an Appendix on the Royal Tombs]* (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 8.

⁸ Penman, 'King Robert the Bruce (1274-1329),' p. 39.

⁹ I. Fraser, 'The Tomb of the Hero King: the Death and Burial of Robert I, and the discoveries of 1818-19,' in R. Fawcett, ed., *Royal Dunfermline* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2005), pp. 155-76.

¹⁰ C. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), ch. 5; S.J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland and Scotland, 1801-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 68-72; BL Add MS 38,271, Liverpool Papers vol. lxxxii, ff. 10-11, ff.105-110.

¹¹ R. Evetts, 'Dunfermline Abbey Parish Church,' in Fawcett, ed., *Royal Dunfermline*, pp. 209-12; R. Fawcett, *The Abbey and Palace of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland guidebook, 1990).

¹² Even the celebrated *History, Ancient and Modern, of the Sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross...* (1710), by geographer Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722) provided only the most cursory description of Dunfermline Abbey and its royal burials, with an engraved view of Dunfermline only in the Tullis edition of London, 1803, pp. 293-7; Sibbald's great love, however, was Roman remains, a focus also pursued by antiquarians and cartographers such as Alexander Gordon (1692-1754), Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755), Walter Macfarlane (d.1767), General William Roy (1730-90), George Chalmers of *Caledonia* fame (1742-1825), and Sir Daniel Wilson (1816-92), champions of a type lovingly lampooned by Sir Walter Scott in *The Antiquary* (1816). It was Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes (1726-92) who pioneered documentary investigation of Scotland's middle ages [R.G. Cant,

'David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan: Founder of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,' in A.S. Bell, ed., *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981), pp. 1-30, at 11-2; S. Piggott and M. Robertson, *Three Centuries of Scottish Archaeology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1977), nos. 14-69].

¹³ The early papers and published volumes of the SAS [i, 1792; ii, 1818 and 1822], provided a platform for a growing number of studies of medieval sites and material, rather than pre-historic and Roman topics, although these proceedings did suffer from an Ossianic obsession c.1791-1815 (15% of its papers!) and what was later described as a 'long state of torpor and inactivity' c.1794-1830 [D. Laing and S. Hibbert, 'Account of the Progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland' (1831), cited in A. Graham, 'Records and Opinions: 1780-1930,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 102 (1969-70), pp. 241-84]. The SAS did, though, pioneer the parochial questionnaire of antiquities which Sinclair included in the *Statistical Account*, searching out 'a) crosses and obelisks, b) monastic ruins, c) castles, camps, altars, roads, forts etc, d) coins, e) tumuli' [idem, 'The development of Scottish antiquarian records: 1600-1800,' *PSAS*, 106 (1974-5), pp. 183-90].

¹⁴ Fraser, 'Tomb of the Hero King,' pp. 161-5; S. Boardman, 'Dunfermline Abbey as a Royal Mausoleum,' in Fawcett, ed., *Royal Dunfermline*, pp. 139-53; J.G. Dalyell, *A Tract chiefly relative to Monastic Antiquities with some account of a recent search for the remains of the Scottish Kings interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, 1809).

¹⁵ J. Sinclair, ed., *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-99, X: Fife*, intro. R.G. Cant (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1978), p. 296; Fraser, 'Tomb of the Hero King,' pp. 161-3. The *Statistical Account* was later expanded by the incumbent second minister (1817-) of Dunfermline parish church, Rvd Peter Chalmers, an eye-witness to the events of 1818-9 [*Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 2 vols., 1844 and 1859), i. 136-9].

¹⁶ NAS GB234/HR159/3, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors Records, Minute Book 1815-37*, 5 May 1817.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 5 May to 24 June 1817; Dunfermline Local History Centre, DEc/ABB Pamphlet Box 5, *Correspondence re. Building of Dunfermline Abbey Church*, 24 April to 26 May 1817. Another heritor, Dr Robertson Barclay, championed the cheaper option of nave repairs.

¹⁸ W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 1983), chs. 9-10; R. Fawcett, 'Robert Reid and the Early Involvement of the State in the Care of Scottish Ecclesiastical Buildings and Sites,' *Antiquities Journal*, 82 (2002), pp. 269-84.

For Elgin's efforts in recasting Edinburgh as a Modern Athens see C. McKean, 'Unbuilt Athens' (forthcoming): my thanks to Professor McKean for an advance copy of this article

¹⁹ Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, i, p. 151; H. Jardine, 'Extracts from the Report Made by Henry Jardine, Esq., His Majesty's Remembrancer in Exchequer, relative to the Tomb of King Robert Bruce and the Church of Dunfermline, communicated to the Society on 10 December 1821,' pp. 146-7, extracted from *Archaeologia Scotica: Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ii (1822), pp. 435-55.

²⁰ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (61 vols., Oxford, 2004), 8, pp. 880-3 [Burn]; St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, ch. 22. See also n49 below.

²¹ NAS GB234/HR159/3, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37*, 8 Oct. 1812. In 1810 the government had intervened to raise the minimum Church of Scotland parish stipend to £150 [Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland and Scotland*, p. 66].

²² *Ibid*, pp. 68-72.

²³ NAS GB234/HR159/8, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Papers re. ecclesiastical buildings 1805-1928*, 25 Nov. 1820; S. Checkland, *The Elgins, 1766-1917: a tale of aristocrats, proconsuls and their wives* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 78-80.

²⁴ NAS GB234/HR159/3, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37*, 25 Nov. 1822. A growing general interest in Scotland's medieval past and its relics about the time of the Dunfermline discovery is suggested by notice taken, say, of the discovery of relics of William I at Arbroath Abbey in 1817 or, in the following year, the head of the staff of St Fillan, whose arm-bone had been venerated by Robert Bruce at Bannockburn [*Caledonian Mercury*, 1 Aug. 1818; G.S. Gimson, 'Lion Hunt: a royal tomb-effigy at Arbroath Abbey,' *PSAS*, 125 (1995), pp. 901-16; the Arbroath marble statue of William I was most likely commissioned by Robert Bruce c.1315].

²⁵ NRAS 3955, *Bruce Family, Earls of Elgin and Kincardine*, /20/1/13; S. Nagel, *Mistress of the Elgin Marbles: a biography of Mary Nisbet, Countess of Elgin* (London: John Wiley & Son, 2004), p. 183.

²⁶ Dalryell, *A Tract...*, 7; Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, pp. 559-61; Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, i, 134-8.

²⁷ Anonymous, *The Trial of Robert Ferguson, Esquire* (Edinburgh, 1807); St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, chs. 11, 22; Checkland, *The Elgins*, pp. 82-7.

²⁸ NAS E.305/18, *Exchequer: Treasury Minute Book 24 Nov. 1817-27 Apr. 1819*, 124; NAS E.310/23, *King's Remembrancer's Letter Book 2 Jan. 1818-30 June 1818*, pp. 41-2, 49-50, 64, 70, 82. These same offices would liaise in 1819 to ensure that the new pulpit of the church did not obscure the site of Bruce's tomb [*ibid.*, p. 163].

²⁹ J. Gregory, 'Exhumation and re-interment of Robert Bruce,' *Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature and the Arts*, no. 9 (1820), pp. 138-42.

³⁰ J. Stuart *et al.*, eds., *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (23 vols., Edinburgh, 1878-1908), i, pp. 192, 213, 214, 215, 245, 288, 331; Fraser, 'The Tomb of the Hero King,' pp. 156-7 [tomb fragment images], pp. 172-5; 'Donations to Museum,' *PSAS*, 8 (1868-70), pp. 360, 413 [tomb fragments]. For the medieval chronicles, see *Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis et Continuacione Walteri Boweri*, ed. W. Goodall (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1759).

³¹ NAS GB234/HR159/3, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37*, 17 Feb. 1818; NAS CH2/105/14, *Dunfermline Presbytery Minutes 1809-23*, /218. The Barons seem to have expressed such concerns over royal remains and the treatment of the fragments of medieval choir pillars as early as 17 February 1818, prompting the heritors' meeting on that date – the same day as the bones' discovery, but apparently before news had reached the heritors – to suggest the expansion of the new church building to embrace these ancient elements: the agreement of the Barons and the King's [Deputy] Remembrancer 'who had visited the ground on Saturday last,' i.e. even before the discovery of Bruce's bones, was to be sought [NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 8/2231].

³² TNA HO102/29, *Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers*, /29 or /103, 1 March 1818.

³³ *Ibid.*, /32 or /109, 5 March 1818.

³⁴ *ODNB*, 1, pp. 214-7; R.G. Thorne, ed., *The House of Commons 1790-1820* (5 vols., London: Secker and Warburg 1986), iii, pp. 28-36. Elgin's representative informed him that Adam, Dr Robertson Barclay and the present incumbent of the oldest heritor family of Dunfermline, Sir Charles Halkett of Pitfirrane, had signed off on a circular letter to the other heritors estimating that nave repairs would cost £4,000 while a new church would cost £5,700: 'The Lord Commissioner, too, wrote me that he had only signed this paper with the view to have the matter of expense fully investigated in the first place' [Dunfermline Local History Centre, Dec/ABB Pamphlet Box 5, *Correspondence re. Building of Dunfermline Abbey Church*, 26 May 1817]. My thanks to Mr John Getley and Rvd David Reid of Blair Adam archive for additional heritor information.

³⁵ C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c.1839* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), chs. 9 and 11 esp.; idem, 'The canon of patriotic landmarks in Scottish history,' *Scotlands*, i (1994), pp. 1-17; idem, 'The Strange Death of Scottish History revisited: Constructions of the Past in Scotland, c.1790-1914,' *SHR*, lxxvi (1997), pp. 86-102; idem, 'Sentiment, race and revival: Scottish identities in the aftermath of Enlightenment,' in L. Brockliss and D. Eastwood, eds., *A Union of Multiple Identities: the British Isles, c.1750-c.1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 110-26; R. Finlay, 'Controlling the Past: Scottish Historiography and Scottish Identity in the 19th and 20th Centuries,' *Scottish Affairs*, 9 (1994), pp. 127-42; J.E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation 1793-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 146-52.

³⁶ N. Phillipson, *The Scottish Whigs and the Reform of the Court of Session, 1785-1830* (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1990), ch. vi.

³⁷ *ODNB*, 49, pp. 490-510 [Scott]. For the club and much of the biographical information which follows see: NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, William Adam, *Remarks on the Blair Adam Estate* (privately printed, 1834), x-xxi; H. Grierson, ed., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (12 vols., London: Constable, 1932-7), vi, p. 466, vii, 186n, viii, p. 32 and pp. 42-3n, x, p. 226 and p. 451, xi, p. 213 and 371n; W.E.K. Anderson, ed., *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 162-3, 190-2, 315-7, 496-8, 578-80, 598-600; J.G. Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott* (6 vols., Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable [Robert Cadell], 1902), vi, pp. 236-7.

³⁸ The Club's visit to St Andrews and Magus Moor provides an interesting window on to contemporary attitudes to memorials: 'four or five well dressed country people came to view the spot [of Sharp's murder, marked out by white stones in a clearing]. Mr Thomson of Charleton went near to where they were, and heard one of them say, 'It is right to mark places like this, to keep folk in mind o' sic things' [*Remarks on the Blair Adam Estate*, xxi].

³⁹ Adam merely recorded that 'Dunfermline was the object of another meeting.'

⁴⁰ *ODNB*, 1, pp. 94-5.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 19, pp. 347-8 and 341-7. Adam was a close associate of academics Dugald Stewart and John Millar (1735-1801) and corresponded with the Whig-lawyer son of historian William Robertson (1721-93) - my thanks to Dr Iain Hutchison for these points.

⁴² *Ibid*, 50, pp. 251-2. Adam and Shepherd would later co-sponsor the publication of *The Ragman Rolls, 1291-6* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1834), records of the Bruce-Balliol medieval royal succession rivalry. Adam also penned *Two Short Essays on the Study of History and on General Reading* (Blair Adam Press, 1836) [*Catalogue of the Blair Adam Library* (London, 1836)].

⁴³ *ODNB*, 12, pp. 48-51.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 54, pp. 544-7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 54, pp. 531-2.

⁴⁶ Adam relates that the group would gather in June on a Friday, take a historical trip on Saturday, attend church at Cleish (an Established church parish appropriated in the past to Dunfermline Abbey) near Blair Adam on Sunday then walk and talk locally before another trip on Monday and back to Edinburgh for court business on Tuesday.

⁴⁷ In 1806 Adam had been voted Chair of the Fife County meeting at Cupar to select a Parliamentary candidate through the support of 'friends of Robert Ferguson,' one of those standing. Ferguson's nomination was opposed because of his parole from France (with the earl of Elgin); Adam defended him successfully, describing him as 'his incomparable friend whom he had known since youth' [*Caledonian Mercury*, 11 Dec. 1806].

⁴⁸ Grierson, ed., *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, v, p. 103. This was probably a reference to Elgin's divorce or the marbles controversy (rather than Elgin's condition or physical appearance).

⁴⁹ TNA HO102/29, *Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers*, /124, /141 (10-11 March 1818); NAS GB234/HR159/3, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37*, 7 March, 10 March and 20 March 1818.

⁵⁰ NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 8/2232, 15 Feb. 1818, 'letter of Elgin to Sir Charles Halkett Bart. re. a dispute between Commissioner Adam and the Earl'; 8/2245, 'a circular letter to members of the Western District of the County of Fife of 17 February 1818' – this detailed the dispute between Elgin, Adam and the County committee and summoned a fresh Western District meeting for 2 March 1818 in Dunfermline, but noted that Elgin now refused to take any further part in discussions.

⁵¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 August 1818. The Stirling district also included Inverkeithing and Culross with the 'head' burgh role rotating among the group as the seat of general election voting by burgh delegates (chosen by each burgh council) to select an M.P.: council and delegate influence was thus often violently competed

for, with bribery, intimidation and the timely arrest of rival candidates for 'debt' common-place [K.J. Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland, 1780-1815* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979), pp. 128-33, p. 217].

⁵² *Caledonian Mercury*, 24 February 1818; *Edinburgh Star*, 24 Feb. 1818; A.W. Cornelius, *An Account of the Family of Beveridge in Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, 1890). For fuller accounts see: Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, pp. 595-8; Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, i, pp. 138-40.

⁵³ E.g. *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 Nov. 1819; *Edinburgh Star*, 9 Nov. 1819; *Scotsman*, 13 Nov. 1819; *The Times*, 12 Nov. 1819; Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, pp. 602-5; Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, i, pp. 140-6. There was no wider reaction from the establishment London press in 1818 or 1819: see *The Annual Register or a View of the History, Politics and Literature for the Year 1818* (London, 1819) and *1819* (London, 1820) - neither mentioned the find.

⁵⁴ Checkland, *The Elgins*, p. 95.

⁵⁵ TNA HO102/29, *Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers*, /126. On 1 Aug. 1818 the *Caledonian Mercury* reported that this same Hunt society had now commissioned two proposed inscriptions for such a Bruce monument at Bannockburn, the first more strident, decrying Edward II's intent to destroy the Scottish nation, but celebrating his defeat by Bruce as 'The Avenger'; the second, a tamer testament to Bruce as 'Hero' and 'Patriot.'

⁵⁶ TNA HO102/29, *Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers*, /126; NRAS 3955, *Bruce Family, Earls of Elgin and Kincardine*, /22/1/14; *Glasgow Herald*, 19 Dec. 1889.

⁵⁷ TNA HO102/29, *Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers*, /41; NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 2/B. 205; NAS GB234/HR159/3, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37*, 4 March 1818; J. Sutherland, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 209-11. Scott also aspired to be a Baron of Exchequer [Lockhart, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, v, pp. 170-1].

⁵⁸ TNA HO102/29, *Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers*, /119, 9 March 1818. On 14 March Elgin wrote again to Sidmouth arguing that the expanded floor plan would not in fact take in all of the sepulchre area: if account is taken of the base of St Margaret's fereatory shrine, which now stands outside the abbey church, Elgin was correct [*ibid*, /42].

⁵⁹ NAS GB234/HR159/3, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37*, 7 March 1818; TNA HO102/29, *Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers*, /34, 7 March 1818; NAS E.310/23, *King's Remembrancer's Letter Book, 2 Jan. 1818-30 June 1818*, pp. 82, 115-7, 151; H. Jardine, *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Baron and the Hon. The Barons of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Scotland by the King's Remembrancer re. the TOMB of KING ROBERT THE BRUCE and the Cathedral Church of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, 1821), p. 27.

⁶⁰ Grierson ed., *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, vi, 165; W. Partington, ed., *Sir Walter's Postbag* (London: John Murray, 1932), p. 220, 15 January 1826.

⁶¹ Jardine, *Report...*; idem, 'Extracts from the Report...'; National Museum of Scotland Library, Edinburgh, *Society of Scottish Antiquaries Minutes, 9 Apr. 1805 to 28 May 1827*, 137, 142-204 *passim* [Jardine as Chair 1817-20], Bruce re-interment report at 204. The SAS's foundation had provoked concern in some quarters that it would 'call the attention of the Scots to the ancient honours and constitution of their independent country' [SAS Secretary William Smellie, 1792, cited in Cant, 'David Steuart Erskine,' p. 16].

⁶² NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 2/219 (i), 9 May 1819.

⁶³ P. Garside, 'Scott and the Regalia,' in J.H. Alexander and D. Hewitt, eds., *Scott and His Influence* (Occasional papers / Association for Scottish Literary Studies), pp. 220-33.

⁶⁴ NAS E.349/7, *The Regalia Book*, pp. 3-5, p. 8, 28, 32, 41, 67. For the commemorative sketch see: <http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/portraits/paintings/images/regalia/sketch.html>. In 1822, poems of welcome for the king would stress 'the crown that circled Bruce's helm...the sword that rescued Bruce's realm...' and that the new monarch had 'blended Bruce's line' dynastically and racially [R. Mudie, *A Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1822), pp. 65-7].

⁶⁵ Kidd, 'The Canon of Patriotic Landmarks in Scottish History,' pp. 5-6; Sutherland, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, pp. 208-39. See also *Papers Relative to the Regalia of Scotland, presented by William Bell* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1829).

⁶⁶ Penman, 'King Robert Bruce (1274-1329),' pp. 34-5; G. Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), chs. 6-7.

⁶⁷ *Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-99*, x, p. 279.

⁶⁸ E. King, 'The Material Culture of William Wallace,' in Cowan, ed., *The Wallace Book*, pp. 117-35, at p. 127. See also V. Honeyman, 'A Very Dangerous Place?': Radicalism in Perth in the 1790s,' *SHR*, lxxxvii (2008), pp. 278-305.

⁶⁹ Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, i, pp. 327-40 [population], pp. 341-52 [agriculture], pp. 353-85 [manufactures]; J.E. Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration: the Crucial Years, 1815-1822* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975), ch. 2; J.H. Treble, 'The Standard of Living of the Working Class,' in T.M. Devine and R. Mitchison, eds., *People and Society in Scotland, volume I: 1760-1830* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), pp. 188-226; W. Hamish Fraser, 'Patterns of Protest,' in *ibid*, pp. 292-309. Dunfermline's relative poverty is reflected in its lower electoral qualification of £4 in annual rentals compared to that of Edinburgh or Glasgow at £15 to £20 [D.G. Barrie, *Police in the Age of Improvement: Police development and the civic tradition in Scotland, 1775-1865* (Uffculme: Willan Publishing, 2008), p. 94].

⁷⁰ L. Eriksonas, 'The National Hero: a Scottish Contribution,' *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, xxx (2003), pp. 83-101, at p. 93.

⁷¹ Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, pp. 377-8; J. Cannon, *Parliamentary Reform, 1640-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 125; Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland*, pp. 131-3; H.W. Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution* (London: Walton Press, 1912), pp. 99 n1, 221; R.M. Sunter, *Patronage and Politics in Scotland, 1707-1832* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), ch. 12.

⁷² A. Fletcher, *A Memoir concerning the origin and Progress of the Reform Proposed in the Internal Government of the Royal Burghs of Scotland which was first brought under Public Discussion in 1782* (Edinburgh, 1819), part iii., pp. 13-4, p. 62, 72, 84, pp. 101-2, 113-4.

⁷³ M.I. Thomis and P. Holt, *Threats of Revolution in Britain 1789-1848* (London: Macmillan, 1977), pp. 19-20; Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution*, pp. 187-8.

⁷⁴ NAS B20/13/16, *Dunfermline Burgh Council Minutes 1812-20*, 10 March 1819; Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 591. Wilson's Masonic party had made matters worse by clashing with the Kirk Session and Presbytery in April 1818 over the ringing of church bells and abuse of church officials [NAS CH2/592/10, *Dunfermline Abbey Church Kirk Session Minutes 1799-1820*, pp. 374-83].

⁷⁵ *Black Dwarf*, 11, ii, 18 March 1818, p. 176.

⁷⁶ S. Hogg and A. Noble, eds., *The Canongate Burns* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2001), pp. 464-73; McIlvanney, *Burns the Radical*, pp. 214-5.

⁷⁷ *Black Dwarf*, 17, ii, 29 April 1818, p. 274; *Caledonian Mercury*, 31 July 1802; Thorne, ed., *House of Commons*, iv, pp. 178-9; Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, pp. 166-7.

⁷⁸ *Blackwood's Magazine*, xii (March 1818), p. 691; *ibid*, xxxiii (December 1819), pp. 297-305; Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, chs. 1 and 3. See also now C. Kidd, *Union and Unionisms: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 138-41.

⁷⁹ C.A. Whatley, 'Royal Day, People's Day: The Monarch's Birthday in Scotland, c.1660-1860' in R. Mason and N. Macdougall, eds., *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honor of T.C. Smout* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), pp. 170-88.

⁸⁰ For this general background see: Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, pp. 166-7, 190-4; C.A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), chs. 6-7.

⁸¹ *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1819(571), Select Committee on Petitions from Royal Burghs in Scotland: Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix (1817-19)*, pp. 32-5, pp. 429-58.

⁸² NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 2/B.199, Gregory to Adam 26 July 1818; /B.211, Adam Duff to Adam 3 Aug. 1818; /B.224, Jardine to Adam 30 Aug. 1819; Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 603. The proximity of George III's birthday, 4 June, to the anniversary of the death of Robert Bruce, 7 June, and the anniversary of Bannockburn, 23-4 June – which was also close to the date of the battle of Waterloo, 18 June, might also have influenced decisions about when *not* to inspect and/or re-enter the royal remains. In the same way, summer 1818 had perhaps been avoided during the general election.

⁸³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 27 Sept. 1819.

⁸⁴ NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 2/225 Wilson to Adam, 20 Nov. 1819. Adam's reticence about his Club's visit to Dunfermline Abbey c.1818-c.1822 – recorded undated and without details in his estate book of 1834 – perhaps hints at the tensions of the time: see above n.39.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 20 Nov. 1819.

⁸⁶ *Scots Magazine*, iv, 274-6 (Sept. 1819).

⁸⁷ It is difficult to pinpoint figures for poor relief in Dunfermline at this time. NAS CH2/592/10, *Dunfermline Abbey Church Kirk Session Minutes 1799-1820*, 409-53, for Jan. to Dec. 1819, certainly seem to include an increase in the number of people seeking relief but mostly widows and only one 'young man out of employ'; but on at least three occasions in this period the Session did vote extra payments to those on the poor roll, of 3/- to 7/-, hinting at heightened distress.

⁸⁸ *Black Dwarf*, 1, v, 27 Nov. 1819, p. 35.

⁸⁹ E.g. BL Add. MSS. 38,280, Liverpool Papers vol. xci, 25 Sept.-13 Nov. 1819, f. 139 [Christie], f.149 [radical meeting at Warkworth, Oct. 1819], f. 197 [weavers meeting in Ardrossan, Oct. 1819]; *ibid*, Add. MSS. 38,279, Liverpool Papers Aug.-24 Sept 1819, f. 128 [*Black Dwarfs* spreading in Glasgow]; TNA HO102/29, *Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers*, /50 [alarm from Inverness militia captain, 21 Nov. 1819], /88 [Glasgow meeting, 1 Nov. 1819]; Lockhart, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, vi, pp. 133-5 [alarms at agitation in Northumberland and west Scotland; Scott's role in raising militia].

⁹⁰ P. Beresford Ellis and S. Mac A'Ghobhainn, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820* (London: Gollancz, 1970); Shepherd was drafted on to the Scottish bench to advise on applying English treason law to the prosecution of sedition [Fraser, 'Patterns of Protest,' p. 286].

⁹¹ *Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-99*, x,179, pp. 308-13; *New Statistical Account of Scotland, IX: Fife and Kinross* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1845), pp. 888-96. In 1845, a mob of 2,000 Dunfermline weavers would smash a factory and owner's house.

⁹² *ODNB*, 23, pp. 673-5.

⁹³ NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 2/B.199 and /231, i-iii, 8 Oct., 27 Oct. and 30 Oct. 1819; *ibid*, *Walter Scott Box*, B.6/24, Scott to Adam 23 Aug. 1818.

⁹⁴ Jardine, 'Extracts from the Report...', p. 438; Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 602.

⁹⁵ Sir Joseph Ayloffe, 'An Account of the Body of King Edward the First, as it appeared on opening his Tomb in the Year 1774,' *Archaeologia*, 3 (1775), pp. 376-413.

⁹⁶ There was widespread reaction to Charlotte's death as the heir to the throne, with prolonged public mourning; the Rvd Andrew Thomas's refusal to commemorate her passing at St George's, Edinburgh, brought strong condemnation [L. Colley, 'The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation, 1760-1820,' *Past & Present*, 102 (1984), pp. 94-129, at 115 and n; A. Taylor, *Down with the Crown: British Anti-Monarchism and Debates about Royalty since 1790* (London, 1999), pp. 29-30]. Antiquarian circles – and especially Dr Gregory - may also have been aware of the botched job and damage done in examining and skull-casting the remains of poet Robert Burns when his tomb was opened in 1815 (as it would be again in 1834) [*Morning Chronicle*, 10 Apr. 1834]. For the civil list reductions see Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, pp. 130-50.

⁹⁷ NAS GB234/HR159/3, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37*, 28 Nov. 1818 to 7 Jan. 1819. According to Burn, Elgin had 'not taken any step to remedy' the flooding and his 'communications only add to the delay.' In December 1818, the heritors' committee felt compelled to 'very reluctantly recommend to the heritors to recall the conditional grant of the vault to Lord Elgin.' The earl conspicuously did not return to a heritors' meeting in person until August 1821 when the division of seats in the newly completed church began; this was a church, though, which even after Burn had fitted a better drain still stood flooded on 28 January 1820.

⁹⁸ Mudie, *Historical Account of the King's Visit*; J. Prebble, *The King's Jaunt: George IV in Scotland, 1822* (London: Collins, 1988).

⁹⁹ J. Sharpe, *Remember, Remember: A Cultural History of Guy Fawke's Night* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), chs. 3-4; G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James V - James VII* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1965), pp. 383-4.

¹⁰⁰ For the details of 5 Nov. 1819 which follow see: Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, pp. 600-3; Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, i, pp. 140-6; Jardine, 'Extracts from the Report...'; TNA E.306 *Register of Orders of Barons of Exchequer on Treasury and Revenue Business, 13 Dec. 1820 to 21 Feb. 1822*, 245-6. For Shepherd as Lord Chief Baron see: NAS GD51/6/2029/1-2.

¹⁰¹ Thorne, ed., *House of Commons*, iv, pp. 489-90.

¹⁰² *ODNB*, 38, pp. 641-2.

¹⁰³ NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 2/231, iii, 30 Oct. 1819.

¹⁰⁴ Dunfermline did not have its own newspaper until the 1830s so the government-subsidised Edinburgh papers had to be consulted. At the laying of the church foundation stone in March 1818, Elgin had buried a box containing newspapers of the day plus a list of all the heritors holding lands worth £100 or more.

¹⁰⁵ BL Add. MSS. 78,763, Mackintosh Papers, f. 97-8, letter from William Adam 31 Oct. 1819. Gregory also begged permission for his sons to attend the reburial so that they might boast of 'meeting' such a great figure as Bruce.

¹⁰⁶ NAS E.310/26, *King's Remembrancer's Letter Book 6 July - 9 Dec. 1819*, 272; NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 2/231, i-ii; Gregory, 'Exhumation and re-interment of Robert Bruce,' pp. 138-42. Jardine, however, emphasized that the indisposed Adam 'had taken a great interest in the matter, and much trouble in making the previous arrangements for this interesting investigation' ['Extracts from the Report...', p. 459].

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 445.

¹⁰⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 Nov. 1819.

¹⁰⁹ Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, pp. 602-5.

¹¹⁰ TNA HO102/29, *Home Office: Scotland – Letters and Papers*, /29, 1 March 1818.

¹¹¹ NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 2/B.177, letter to Adam, 28 July 1818.

¹¹² Other relics included: braids, cloth and threads of gold, a number of which were popularly held to have been given to ‘clan chiefs’ c.1818-19 [*PSAS*, lxiii (1928-9), p. 15 and lxxxviii (1953-5), p. 22, 30; *Scotsman* 23 May 1964]; a rib [Museum of Royal College of Surgeons, London; *Glasgow Herald*, 27 June 1914]; teeth [e.g. now at the Abbot’s House Museum, Dunfermline]; toe bones [Paton private collection in Dunfermline, then Hunterian Collection, Glasgow] and finger bones [1. Museum of Scotland, 2. Edinburgh University Department of Anatomy Museum, 3. Bruce chapel, St Conan’s Kirk, Lochawe]; coffin fragments [Bridge of Allan private collection; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 Nov. 1898] and nails and marble sarcophagus pieces [NMSL, *Society of Scottish Antiquaries, Minutes 9 Apr. 1805-28 May 1827*, p. 191 (Dec. 1819)]. Jardine recorded that some of the burial shroud cloth fragments had been preserved between glass for the Society of Antiquaries Museum [*Ibid.*, 204; Jardine, *Report...*, 38]; more pieces of Bruce’s ‘robe’ were reported in the estate of the Bruces of Arnot [*Glasgow Herald*, 21 July 1892]. It is possible, too, that a sprinkling of these relic types also remained on public display at Dunfermline Abbey: ‘...like many others, I made a pilgrimage to this tomb. We all respectfully contemplated the relics of King Robert’ [Anonymous, *Historical and Literary Tour of a foreigner in England and Scotland in two volumes* (London, 1825), p. 324].

¹¹³ Jardine, ‘Extracts from the Report...,’ pp. 445-6; Gregory, ‘Exhumation and re-interment of Robert Bruce,’ pp. 141-2. Jardine noted that workmen preparing the chamber had uncovered a box containing entrails a few metres to the north-east; these were also buried in Bruce’s new coffin.

¹¹⁴ TNA E.306, *Register of Orders of Barons of Exchequer on Treasury and Revenue Business, 13 Dec. 1820 to 21 Feb. 1822*, p. 130 [John Bonar, builder, paid]; NAS E.310/28, *King’s Remembrancer’s Letter Book 21 June 1820-27 Jan. 1821*, pp. 3, 212 [Jardine’s payments of a five guinea reward to the plate finders and for costs of engravings]; *Daily News*, 28 May 1847; ‘Donations to the Museum,’ *PSAS*, viii, pp. 413-4; T.B. Johnston, ‘The Story of the Fabrication of the “Coffin-Plate” said to have been found in the tomb of King Robert Bruce in Dunfermline Abbey,’ *PSAS*, xii (1878), pp. 466-71; Jardine,

'Extracts from the Report...', p. 446 [with image]; Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 605; K. Pearson, 'The Skull of Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland, 1274-1329,' *Biometrika*, 16, 3/4 (Dec. 1924), pp. 253-73, photograph plate VII. Andrew Mercer wrote *Dunfermline Abbey – a Poem* (1819) and *A History of Dunfermline* (1828).

¹¹⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 26 February 1818.

¹¹⁶ Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, pp. 559-61; Gregory, 'Exhumation and re-interment of Robert Bruce,' p. 141. This was believed at that time to have been the original plate which marked Bruce's tomb: but might this not have been placed upon what was believed to be that grave during a re-ordering of the choir at any time c.1332-c.1750?

¹¹⁷ Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 602, also notes that spilt pitch was used to light torches for the burgh's New Year celebrations of 1820, 'an honour to glorious Bruce.' Another later local historian asserted that few Dunfermline townsmen could afford the taxed Edinburgh papers to read news of the discovery and were dependent on the burgh's reading club for access to such publications [A. Stewart, *Reminiscences of Dunfermline and Neighbourhood* (Edinburgh, 1886), p. 31].

¹¹⁸ Fraser, 'The Tomb of the Hero King,' pp. 161-2, 172-6; Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum,' p. 150. However, for a reassessment of the abbey as a royal burial ground and the possibility that the 1818 remains may be that of the similarly battle-scarred Malcolm III, interred before the altar during the miraculous Translation of his wife, St Margaret, to a new tomb in 1250, see M. Penman, 'The development of the cult centre and royal mausoleum of Dunfermline' (forthcoming). In 1856, Edinburgh archaeological scholars did re-date the Elgin relic of 'Bruce's helmet,' to the Cromwellian period [Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, ii, pp. 202-3].

¹¹⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 Nov. 1819.

¹²⁰ NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 2/225 Wilson to Adam, 20 Nov. 1819; NAS E.342, *Crown Buildings and Works, 1711-1838*, /34, Wilson to Jardine, 24 June 1820 [Bannockburn Day] re. collection of bones and removal of earth near St Margaret's tomb.

¹²¹ Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, 609; Grierson, ed., *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, vii, p. 280. That Scott was aware of the significance of historical dates in commemorative acts is suggested by his delay of publication of volume one of *Tales of My Landlord* in 1818 until 4 June, George III's birthday [Sutherland, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, pp. 209-11], and the timing of the first pageant of the Royal visit of 1822, the procession of the regalia from Edinburgh Castle to

Holyrood, to fall upon George IV's birthday, 12 Aug. [Prebble, *King's Jaunt*, pp. 216-7]. Scott also inquired in 1830 about a 'Bruce sword' held at Deuchar in Fife [Grierson, ed., *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, xi, p. 453]. The London *Examiner*, 30 August 1818, reported that another 'sword of Bruce' was presented to Grand Duke Michael of Russia at Drummond Castle. The Elgin Bruce sword had been gifted by the Crown to Robert I's illegitimate son, Robert Bruce of Clackmannan [Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, i, pp. 161-3].

¹²² NAS B20/13/16, *Dunfermline Burgh Council Minutes, 1812-1820*. The Council would also send loyal addresses to the Crown in February and December 1820, at a time of 'unexampled crisis,' and then an unsuccessful appeal in Aug. 1822 for the King to visit Dunfermline during his stay in Scotland.

¹²³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 November 1819. As early as 22 February 1818 the Barons had promised to provide inscribed stones with the names of all kings whose graves could be identified [NAS E.310/23, *King's Remembrancer's Letter Book 2 Jan. 1818-30 June 1818*, pp. 115-7].

¹²⁴ 'Here amidst the ruins of the old, in building a new church, in the year 1818, the grave of Robert Bruce, King of Scots, of immortal memory, being accidentally opened, and his remains recognised by sure tokens, with pious duty were again committed to the earth by people of this town. A distant generation, 489 years after his death, erected this monument to that great hero and excellent King, who with matchless valour in war, and wisdom in peace, by his own energy and persevering exertions, re-established the ruined and almost hopeless state of Scotland, long cruelly oppressed by an inveterate and powerful enemy, and happily avenged the oppression, and restored the ancient liberty and glory of his country.' [NRAS 1454, Blair Adam Archive, Series 2/231 ii, Gregory to Adam re. 'my Thundering Inscription for Bannockburn'; Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, pp. 602-3]. The Whig Circulation Club of Edinburgh also proposed an inscription, adapting Robert Burns: 'Here was deposited/in the year 1329,/the mortal part/of the immortal Bruce,/one of the bravest and best/of the Scottish Kings./Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled,/Scots wham Bruce has often led,/Bruce wha frae a foe ne'er fled,/ The friend of Liberty./ Scotsmen, here approach the Grave/Of Bruce the Hero, good and brave,/ Who fought his native land to save,/ By Death or Victory./ Scotsmen o'er the flowing bowl,/ Sing his praise without controul,/Drink a glass with heart and soul,/ To Bruce and Liberty.' [A. Duncan, *Miscellaneous Poems Extracted from the Records of the Circulation Club at Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1818), pp. 3-4].

¹²⁵ *Scots Magazine*, ii, 580 (June 1818).

¹²⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 Oct. 1821; NAS GB234/HR159/8, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors' Records, Minute Book 1815-37*, 1 July-26 Aug. 1819.

¹²⁷ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 21-6, 342-54. Was this a conscious reflection of the majority (and Crown) opinion against Catholic Emancipation? It is striking that while all other known royal tombs were embraced within the new church walls, the marble base of the old abbey's pilgrimage shrine of St/Queen Margaret remained safely outside.

¹²⁸ M. Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head Press, 1980), pp. 9-10.

¹²⁹ Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, pp. 156-72; *Scots Magazine*, ii, 282 (March 1818) [a 60' high monument to Burns in Edinburgh from subscriptions begun in Bombay], iv, 184 (Feb. 1819), 336 (April 1819) and 466 (May 1819); T. Clifford, ed., *Designs of Desire: Architectural and ornament prints and drawings 1500-1850* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1999), pp. 258, 293; J.A. Symington, ed., *Some Unpublished Letters of Sir Walter Scott: from the collection of the Brotherton Library* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1932), pp. 172-84 [letters of Sir William Adam to Lord Melville re. 'national architecture' style of Scott monument proposals].

¹³⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 27 October 1845.

¹³¹ Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, i, p. 146n.

¹³² National Gallery of Scotland (Edinburgh), John Duncan Bequest 1946: D4252/17, reproduced in Clifford, ed., *Designs of Desire*, p. 301 [Paton image]; *ODNB*, 43, pp. 62-3; *Scotsman*, 7 March 2004. Paton snr. kept a museum of antiquities including 'a table, once the property of Robert the Bruce, with the date 1310' [Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, i, pp. 164-5]. A David Paton also ran a printing press and published as a local historian [Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 652]. In 1849, the heritors sought extra funds from government to pay for 'what [they] have for so long a time been led to expect...[but which had been] from some accidental cause overlooked,' a Bruce monument; by 1857 the heritors' memory of the promises of the Exchequer in 1819 spoke to an 'understanding that the Barons were to occupy it by a Royal Gallery...' [NAS GB234/HR159/4, *Dunfermline Parish Heritors Records, Minute Book 1838-82*, 20 Nov. 1849, 7 May 1857].

¹³³ Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, ii, p. 401.

¹³⁴ Colley, *Britons*, pp. 220-42; eadem, 'Apotheosis of George III.'

¹³⁵ Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 550 [king's birthday at Dunfermline, 4 June 1802], p. 565 [king's jubilee, 25 October 1809].

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 556 [a 'general illumination' at Dunfermline with white and black candles to mark the death of Nelson at the victory of Trafalgar]; A. Yarrington, *The Commemoration of the Hero, 1800-1864: Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars* (New York and London: Garland, 1988); A. McNairn, *Behold the Hero: General Wolfe and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century* (Liverpool, 1997); R. Wrigley and M. Craske, eds., *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea* (Stroud: Ashgate, 2004), Introduction, pp. 5-9; L. Jordonova, 'Marking Time,' in R. Hoock, ed., *History, Commemoration and National Preoccupation: Trafalgar 1805-2005* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), ch. 1; Colley, 'Apotheosis of George III,' pp. 100-6.

¹³⁷ Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, p. 518 [20 May, a general fast at Dunfermline in 1788 to mark the completion of the 'successful Revolution' of 1688]; R. Quinault, 'The Cult of the Centenary, c.1784-1914,' *Historical Research*, 71 (1998), pp. 303-23, at p. 305.

¹³⁸ R. Finlay, 'Heroes, Myths and Anniversaries in Modern Scotland,' *Scottish Affairs*, 18 (1997), pp. 108-25; W. Graham, *Robert Bruce and John Knox* (Edinburgh, 1873); J.B. Mackie, *The Glen Library: Dunfermline Men of Mark, #5 - Robert Bruce* (Dunfermline, 1910), p. 13 - 'if there had been no Bruce, Scotland could never have had a Knox or a Burns.' Robert Paterson (d.1801), a borders stonemason and member of a Covenanting sect, the Cameronians, maintained monuments to seventeenth century religious martyrs and inspired Scott's *Old Mortality* (1816) [*ODNB*, 43, p. 26]; my thanks to Dr Ben Marsh [Stirling] for this reference.

¹³⁹ For some comparative studies see: F. Choary, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, trans. L.M. O'Connell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); P. Nora, ed., *Realms of Memory: the Construction of the French Past, vol. III - Symbols*, trans. L.D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); D.A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2001); B. Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); P. Dabrowski, *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); L. Eriksonas, *National Heroes and National Identities: Scotland, Norway and Lithuania* (Brussels: P.I.E.-P. Lang, 2004); P.A. Pickering and A. Tyrell, eds., *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); B. Melman, *The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past 1800-1953* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

¹⁴⁰ J.F. McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Macmillan 1998), passim; Quinault, 'Cult of the Centenary,' pp. 321-3.

¹⁴¹ R.J. Finlay, 'Queen Victoria and the Cult of Scottish Monarchy,' in E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay, eds., *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), ch. 10; Taylor, *Down with the Crown*, ch. 1. Victoria was apparently disappointed at the eventual brass relief effigy installed at Dunfermline over Bruce's grave, writing to the then earl of Elgin and expressing her preference for a monumental equestrian statue; my thanks to His Grace the 11th Earl of Elgin for this information in conversation.

¹⁴² Kidd, 'Sentiment, race and revival,' pp. 110-113.

¹⁴³ *Blackwood's Magazine*, xxviii (July 1819), pp. 377-86 and xxvix (Aug. 1819), pp. 509-11; Cookson, *The British Armed Nation*, p. 151.

¹⁴⁴ Cant, 'David Steuart Erskine,' pp. 17-25; Eriksonas, 'The National Hero: A Scottish Contribution,' pp. 85-91.

¹⁴⁵ Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p. 172.

¹⁴⁶ Kidd, 'Sentiment, race and revival,' pp. 118-9.

¹⁴⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 16 March 1886.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 6 Aug. 1887, 19 Dec. 1889. Elgin also loaned the Bruce Sword for the Wallace Monument foundation ceremony in 1861 [*Caledonian Mercury*, 25 June 1861] and had attended a rally for the monument in 1856 where his speech emphasized Wallace's achievements over Bruce's and the Anglo-Scottish Union of equals in 1707, facilitated by the Wars of Independence [*ibid*, 25 June 1856].

¹⁴⁹ *Scots Magazine*, ii, 375 (Oct. 1818), reported that the Barons of Exchequer had agreed to fund repairs to Linlithgow Palace 'as a great many constantly resort there to see the curiosities of the place.' Reid had first been appointed Architect and Surveyor to his Majesty in Scotland in 1808 but played no apparent role in monitoring the fabric, ruins and royal relics at Dunfermline Abbey before c.1829: Scotland's Ancient Monuments Act of principled conservation and preservation would be passed in 1882 [Fawcett, 'Robert Reid and the Early Involvement of the State,' p. 272-6].

¹⁵⁰ L. Colley, 'Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750-1830,' *Past & Present*, 113 (1986), pp. 97-117, at pp.106-10.

¹⁵¹ Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, ch. 7, image at p. 183, detail from SCRAM at ID. 000-000-029-181-C; *Proposal to build a National Memorial of the Wars of Independence under Wallace and Bruce and of its results in the Union of England and Scotland to be erected in the Scottish Metropolis* (Edinburgh, 1859).

- ¹⁵² *Glasgow Herald*, 21 July 1869, 7 December 1877.
- ¹⁵³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 15 September 1869; *Glasgow Herald*, 4 July 1870.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 30 June 1870, 27-28 June 1914; I. Hamilton, 'The Bruce Monument at Bannockburn,' *History Scotland*, 4, 3 (May/June 2004), pp. 16-20.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Scotsman*, 25-27 June 1914, 7-8 June 1929; *Glasgow Herald*, 23-4 ['Grand Bannockburn Number'] and 28 June 1914, 6-8 June 1929 [commemorative stone at Glentrool]; *Bannockburn Sex Centenary: Official Programme* (June 1914); *A Masque of Edinburgh: Bruce sex-centenary pageant, living and speaking history in thirteen scenes, Usher Hall 28 Apr.-10 May 1929* (Edinburgh, 1929).
- ¹⁵⁶ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 26 November 1887; *Glasgow Herald*, 26 November 1877.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 22 September 1897 and 27 June 1898.
- ¹⁵⁸ Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, ch. 7; J. Coleman, 'Unionist Nationalism in Stone? The National Wallace Monument and the Hazards of Commemoration in Victorian Scotland,' in E.J. Cowan, ed., *The Wallace Book*, pp. 151-168.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, xxx (Sept. 1819), 686; *Scots Magazine*, iv, 368 (Apr. 1819, Wallace monument); C. Kidd, 'The English Cult of Wallace and the Blending of Nineteenth Century Britain,' in Cowan, ed., *The Wallace Book*, pp. 144-6
- ¹⁶⁰ Coleman, 'Unionist Nationalism in Stone?,' pp. 151-6; Paton's design held by Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum, ref. 3-SAGM9 [available through SCRAN, ID. 000-000-029-191-C].
- ¹⁶¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 November 1880; *ODNB*, 47, 539-41; Coleman, 'Unionist Nationalism in Stone?,' 153-64. Burns was chair of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights *within* the Union, not through independence (1853-7) and author of *The Scottish Wars of Independence* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1874). Rogers was the author of several antiquarian works including *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland* (2 vols., London, 1871).
- ¹⁶² *Glasgow Herald*, 6 February 1869.
- ¹⁶³ E.g., *Caledonian Mercury*, 30 Nov. 1818; *Edinburgh Star*, 23 November 1819.
- ¹⁶⁴ R. Liston, 'Anatomical Remarks on the Skull,' G. Combe, 'Phrenological Remarks' and G.S. Mackenzie, 'Illustrations of Phrenology,' in Jardine, *Report...*, Appendices A, B and C; NLS Combe MSS 14 (1-15)/8, G. Combe, *Remarks on the Cerebral*

Development of King Robert Bruce (Edinburgh, 1821, extracted from *Edinburgh Phrenological Journal*); W. Scott, *Remarks on the Cerebral Development of King Robert Bruce compared with his character as appearing from History* (Edinburgh, 18–, extracted from *Edinburgh Phrenological Journal*, 1824, pp. 247-80). George Combe did, however, note his analysis might not sit easily with the popular image of Bruce [P. Lucie, 'The Sinner and the Phrenologist: Davey Haggart meets George Combe,' *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 27 (2007), pp. 125-49, at pp. 133-4; C.N. Cantor, 'The Edinburgh Phrenological debate: 1803-1828' and S. Shapin, 'Phrenological Knowledge and the Social Structure of Early Nineteenth-Century Edinburgh,' *Annals of Science*, 32 (1975), pp. 195-218 and pp. 219-43; M.H. Kaufman and S. Blomfield, 'The Museums of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society,' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, new series, 5 (2002), pp. 13-33. 'O'Neills' in Edinburgh sold copies of skulls cast by the growing phrenological community: at least six Bruce skulls can be identified – the original of Dr Gregory now in the Edinburgh University Anatomy Museum, Walter Scott's [Abbotsford], the Crown's in a rosewood box [Royal Collection IN26757], a fourth formerly in the Society of Antiquaries' Museum and now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, a fifth in Dumfries Museum and a sixth in the Museum of Freemason's Hall, Edinburgh.

¹⁶⁵ Edward I was measured at 6' 2" [Aylofffe, 'An Account of the Body of King Edward,' pp. 385-6]. In 1924, the measurements of the 1819 party were challenged as inaccurate and the skeleton's height re-estimated at 5'6" [Pearson, 'The Skull of Robert the Bruce,' pp. 258-9].

¹⁶⁶ This reading into the remains of perceived characteristics or known life-events of the king has also been pursued by modern scientific commentators, all largely content to accept the corpse's identification: A. Keith, 'The Skull of Robert the Bruce,' *Nature*, 115 (1925), p. 572; Pearson, 'The Skull of Robert Bruce'; V. Møller-Christensen and R.G. Inkster, 'Cases of leprosy and syphilis in the osteological collection of the Department of Anatomy, University of Edinburgh, with a note on the skull of King Robert the Bruce,' *Danish Medical Bulletin*, 12 (1965), pp. 11-8; *Scotsman*, 27 Nov. 1996 'The Bruce's face lives again' [Pilkington-Jackson and modern recreation image of 'noble' king]; I. MacLeod and B. Hill, *Heads and Tales: Reconstructing Faces* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 2001), pp. 35-44 ['leper' king]; M.H. Kaufman and W.J. MacLennan, 'King Robert the Bruce and leprosy,' *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 30 (2002), pp. 75-80; M.H. Kaufman, 'Analysis of the skull of Robert the Bruce,' *History Scotland*, 8, 1, Jan/Feb 2008, pp. 22-30.

¹⁶⁷ Penman, 'King Robert Bruce (1274-1329),' pp. 33-6.

¹⁶⁸ Eriksonas, 'The National Hero: A Scottish Contribution,' p. 92.

¹⁶⁹ E.g. G.A. Hodgson, *The favourite Airs from Robert Bruce or the Lord of the Isles* (Dublin, 1820) ; D. Desnoyers, *De l'opéra en 1847, à propos de Robert Bruce par G.A. Rossini* (Paris, 1847); G. Redler, *The Robert Bruce Quadrilles for the Pianoforte* (London, 1846); E. Wolf, *Reminiscences de Robert Bruce, opéra de G. Rossini – duo brillante pour le piano* (Paris, 1850); H. Adolphe, *Rossini's Bruce – caprice pour violon et piano* (Paris, 1877).

¹⁷⁰ E.g. *Liverpool Mercury*, 25 December 1818.

¹⁷¹ Penman, 'King Robert Bruce (1274-1329),' pp. 32-8.

¹⁷² Edinburgh University Library, Laing MS, vol. II, no. 764; *Blackwood's Magazine*, xxx (Sept. 1819), p. 686; Kidd, 'The English Cult of Wallace,' pp. 144-6; G. Hughes, *James Hogg: A Life* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 159. *Scots Magazine*, iv, 496-9 (Dec. 1819), did publish a runner up, 'Wallace and Bruce – A Vision' by 'A Kindly Scot' which presented a 'simple strain of Scottish feeling...to the glory of our ancient kingdom' with a distinct anti-Union flavour: 'Scotland's chiefs have truth and honour sold/And bartr'd Scottish faith for gold.'

¹⁷³ J. Porter, *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810); D. Anderson, *King Robert Bruce or the Battle of Bannockburn* (1833); G. Alexander, *Robert Bruce – the Hero King of Scotland* (1852); G. Aguilar, *The Days of Bruce* (1870); G.A. Henty, *In Freedom's Cause* (1894); A. Mure Mackenzie, *Apprentice Majesty* (1944); Mackenzie, though, was Secretary of the Saltire Society.

¹⁷⁴ See especially: Lord Hailes, *Annals* (Edinburgh, 1769-9); R. Kerr, *History of the Reign of King Robert* (Edinburgh, 1811); P.F. Tytler, *History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1828-36) and *Lives of the Scottish Worthies* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1831), i, pp. 287-416; G. Grant, *The Life of Robert Bruce: the Restorer of Scottish Independence* (Dublin, 1849); R. Chambers, *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Edinburgh, 1834) revised/updated by T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1855); A. Low, *Scottish Heroes in the Days of Wallace and Bruce* (London, 1856); Burns, *Scottish War of Independence*; H. Maxwell, *Robert the Bruce – the Struggle for Independence* (Glasgow, 1897); A.F. Murison, *Famous Scots: Robert the Bruce* (Edinburgh, 1899); A. McMillan, *Mainly about Robert Bruce – in Vindication of Scotland's Hero King* (London, 1901); A. Mackay, 'Robert Bruce,' in *Dictionary of National Biography*, iii, 117-28 (London, 1908); J.E. Shearer, *Fact and Fiction in the Story of Bannockburn* (Stirling, 1909); R.L. Mackie, *The Story of King Robert the Bruce* (London, 1913); E.M. Barron, *The Scottish War of Independence* (Glasgow, 1914); A.M. Mackenzie, *Robert Bruce, King of Scots* (Edinburgh, 1935).

¹⁷⁵ For popular or 'juvenile' fiction see: e.g. NLS ABS.1.203.018 (1-26), a collection of 26 chapbooks; E.J. Cowan and M. Paterson, eds., *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage, 1750-1850* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007), pp. 343-4.

¹⁷⁶ Grierson, ed., *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, iv, p. 23 and xi, p. 9; Penman, 'King Robert Bruce (1274-1329),' pp. 31-8.

¹⁷⁷ *The Borestone and the Field of Bannockburn, 22 June 1889, with speeches by Professor Blaikie and Rev. David Macrae* (Stirling, 1889); *Scottish Home Rule Pamphlets: Borestone Demonstration* (24 June 1893); *The Thistle*, II, 17 (July 1909), pp. 181-5, 'Why we celebrate Bannockburn Day' and Vol. II, nos. 19-20 passim (Jan.-Dec. 1910), 'The Career of Bruce'; *Bannockburn Day Celebrations: Official Programme* (June 1912).

¹⁷⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 May and 4 Sept. 1923, 20 Jan. and 3 June 1927, 5-28 Jan. and 17 March 1928, 28-9 May 1929; *Scotsman*, 22 June 1961 ['bawbee for Bruce' campaign], 20 June 1964; Hamilton, 'Bruce Monument at Bannockburn,' pp. 19-20. See also *Glasgow Herald*, 20 June 1926 [Bruce stone at Annan], 12 June 1928 [Bruce memorial at Cardross], 25 June 1928 [Dumbarton flagstaff to Bruce], 20 March 1929 [Auchincruvie Bruce memorial], 8 Feb. 1929 [Galloway Bruce monument], 28 Oct. 1929 [proposal to move Bruce's heart from Melrose to Holyrood], and 21 Apr. 1932 [Bruce tablet at St Cuthbert's church, Edinburgh]. My thanks to Dr Joyce Miller [Stirling] for *Herald* references.

¹⁷⁹ Finlay, 'Heroes, Myths and Anniversaries,' pp. 111-2.

¹⁸⁰ A. Carnegie, *Autobiography* (London, 1920), pp. 18, 367. Carnegie did, though, donate a bust of Robert Burns to the Wallace monument hall of heroes [Coleman, 'Unionist Nationalism in Stone?,' p. 165].

