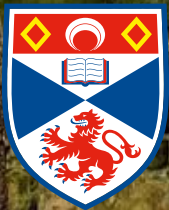


The St Andrews Historian

A magazine for History graduates of the University of St Andrews

Issue 11 – 2024



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Message from the Head of School, Professor Bridget Heal

This has been another excellent year for the School, which was once again named the top history department in the UK in both *The Guardian University Guide 2024* and *The Times and Sunday Times Good University Guide 2024*.



St Andrews remains a truly outstanding place to study, teach and research history. As I write, colleagues are preparing to welcome international students for our two summer courses. The first, run by the Department of Scottish History, provides a three-week introduction to 'Scotland's History: Kingdom, Nation, People.' The second, led by Professor Alison Beach, focuses on 'Monastic Scotland: History and Archaeology'. It offers students the opportunity to spend a month participating in excavations at Lindores Abbey, a twelfth-century monastery (with a distillery attached) on the

southern banks of the River Tay. On the research side, large grants will enable us to bring a number of outstanding post-doctoral researchers to the School this year, working with Professor Emily Michelson on 'Italian Renaissance Objects and Spaces of Encounters', with Dr Arthur der Weduwen on 'Communicating the Law in Europe' and with Professor Alison Beach on 'Embodied Stories of Premodern Women at Work'. We hope you enjoy reading about these projects and about other research happening in the School, and we are delighted to hear your news – stay in touch!

From the Editor,

Dr Sarah Leith (MA (Hons), 2014, MLitt, 2016 and PhD, 2021)

Welcome to the 2024 edition of *The St Andrews Historian*, the School of History's annual alumni magazine, and back to the Auld Grey Toun!

Recently, I came upon a poem entitled 'After Many Days' by the Massachusetts-born writer Robert Fuller Murray (1863-1894).¹ R.F. Murray was an alumnus of the University of St Andrews, but, rather unfortunately for my present purposes, he was not a graduate of the School of History. The poem, however, depicts the visit of a St Andrews graduate to old haunts, including St Salvator's Quadrangle and the harbour, after, indeed, many days:

The mist hangs round the College tower,
The ghostly street
Is silent at this midnight hour,
Save for my feet.²

In Sallies Quad, the graduate finds the tower of St Salvator's Chapel enveloped by haar, the mist which very occasionally



rolls in from the North Sea. Yet, the haar does not cloud Janus-like reflections upon both the present and the past, and this edition of *The St Andrews Historian* reflects

on present and past, too, introducing us to new members of staff within the School of History and to the latest historical research taking place in our buildings. Our graduates, writing to us from London to Vienna, from Manila to Kirkwall, reflect upon their time as students of history here and they share their most recent news.

If you would like to keep up to date with the School of History, please do follow our [Facebook](#), [X](#) and [Instagram](#) pages. These are managed by another St Andrews graduate, James Howe, who has been the School of History's Communications Assistant and the Editorial Assistant for *The St Andrews Historian* since 2023.

I am sure that you will enjoy reading about St Andrews then and now, and that you might also enjoy the concluding stanza of 'After Many Days':

But, howsoever rich the store,
I'd lay it down,
To feel upon my back once more
The old red gown.³



¹ R.F. Murray, 'After Many Days', After Many Days Club www.standrewsaftermanydays.club/poem/ [Accessed 22 May 2024].

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

From the School of History President,

Olivia Benbow

The academic year kicked off with the sun's summer rays shining on a passel of eager students streaming into St. John's Garden, the black-iron gates thrown open to welcome them.

The annual Garden Party proved to be a huge success, with groups of students mingling with lecturers and professors after Orientation, avidly chatting about the upcoming semester. The COVID era was but a ghost fading into the mists of time. As School President, I planned to encourage students to engage more actively with staff members, and the Garden Party was a propitious beginning.

During the first semester, I invited Professor Alison Beach to give a lecture about her latest research project on skeletons from German monastic sites. Despite the Scottish rain and dank evening wind, the Old Class Library was packed. Alison's passion for history and archaeology suffused the room. Over wine, students continued to ask questions whilst in the Undercroft, the beloved hobbit hole of St. John's.

To continue the former president's legacy in organizing the History Ball, I launched the event this year. In memory of Julius Caesar's assassination, Ides Ball successfully brought together students from the schools of History and Art History. A stunning venue opposite Sallies Chapel, Lower and Upper College Hall came alive with the swish of gowns, togas, and camera clicks on the eve of March fifteenth. Classical-style columns bordered the entryway, vines twined around the balustrade, and lights shimmered in every corner. The wine flowed. The night was a blur of laughing faces and sparkling glasses. Following a drinks reception and photographs, guests enjoyed a three-course dinner before adjourning to the dance floor. Ides Ball was not only beautiful, but also enjoyed and remembered by all the students. By carrying on the recently revived tradition, I aimed to strengthen the Arts community yet further.

In April, seventy-five graduating students joined for the Senior and Staff photograph, a massive increase in the usual number. A ceaseless spatter of rain drove everyone into Parliament Hall, the space crammed wall-to-wall with people.

A new Undergraduate Handbook, a project resulting from cooperation with my class representatives, will provide incoming first-year students with a readily available guide to the School of History at St. Andrews. Over the past year, a recurring theme in student feedback was the stress of entering university without feeling equipped to handle it. The Handbook will combine advice from tutors, professors, and fourth years in a printed pamphlet. It will aim to alleviate initial anxieties by offering an accessible booklet full of study tips, anecdotes, and the best spots in town.

As 2023-2024 draws to a close, graduation approaches after a challenging, yet fulfilling year. I am honored to have been School President of History in my final year as an undergraduate at St. Andrews. Our medieval town will always be a home for its historians – the stone walls and craggy streets hold the past within as the waves of the North Sea thunder on the beaches. St Andrews remains a bastion of memory and a beacon for the next generation of historians.



New Collection of Essays for Professor Roger Mason

by **Professor Steven J Reid** (MA (Hons), 2001, MLitt Reformation Studies, 2005 and PhD, 2009)

The Silver Fox, the Boss, Dr M, he of the full moustache and sardonic eyebrows – all these epithets have been used to describe Professor Roger Mason by his colleagues and students.

However, he is best-known to the academic community as Professor of Scottish History at the University of St Andrews, where he taught for almost four decades between 1979 and 2018; as the founding director of the Institute for Scottish Historical Research; and as a leading scholar of Scotland's intellectual and cultural engagement with the Renaissance and Reformation. A new collection of essays produced to mark Roger's retirement, entitled *Rethinking the Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, sees his friends and colleagues

celebrate his contribution to early modern Scottish history, which this article briefly explores.

Roger's work was ground-breaking and iconoclastic. He re-cast late-medieval Stewart kingship within the framework of Renaissance monarchy and Christian humanism; pioneered the application of intellectual- and literary-historical approaches to early modern Scottish studies; and produced novel and highly influential analyses of a wide canon of key texts, from John

Mair's *History of Greater Britain* (1521) to the writings of John Knox and George Buchanan.

Roger's willingness to embrace contextual and literary approaches to texts was apparent from the publication of his very first article in 1980, in the inaugural volume of *History of Political Thought*, which collectively assessed a range of John Knox's 'political' writings. Roger would develop his articulation of Knox's 'covenanted' view of government in a series of subsequent articles and in his edition of Knox's writings *On Rebellion*, published in the 'Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought' series in 1994, and now regarded as the standard edition. However, perhaps Roger's greatest gift to Scottish History is his critical edition of George Buchanan's *De Iure Regni Apud Scotos Dialogus* ('A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship Among the Scots'), edited with Martin Smith and first published in 2004, which gave scholars access for the first time to a clear and fully referenced translation of Buchanan's major ideological statement on the nature of kingship and how to deal with tyrants. The importance of this edition was recognised by the Saltire Society in its sponsoring of an accessible translation-only edition of the text, published two years after the release of the facing text edition.

Another key area of Roger's work was his exploration, across a wide range of articles, of what he termed Scotland's 'usable pasts', where Scottish authors shaped and reshaped the collective store of national events and memory to serve their political and ideological needs. How these 'pasts' (Roger uses the plural advisedly) were expressed and harnessed shifted considerably, depending on whether an author had (for example) a scholastic or humanist background, or a pro- or anti-English viewpoint. However, a core thread linking virtually all of them is their need to stress the sovereignty and fierce independence of the ancient Scottish nation from England, and the two nations' equal standing.

As Principal Sally Mapstone's afterword to the book shows, Roger also caused considerable debate simply by suggesting that there was in fact a Renaissance in Scotland, and that the

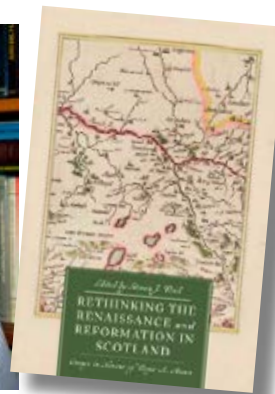
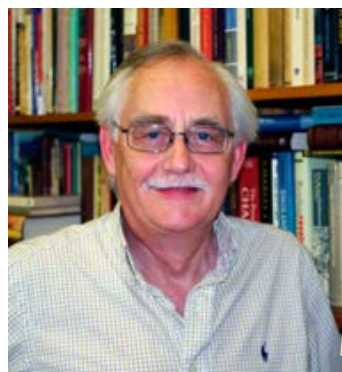
monarchs of the Stewart dynasty participated in the cultural movement known as 'Renaissance' or 'New Monarchy'. In a series of lively studies Roger portrayed the later Stewart dynasty as consciously emphasising the supremacy of the king's legal authority within the realm and beyond it, seen most strikingly in James III's declaration of Scotland having 'ful jurisdictione and fre impire within his realme' in the parliament of 1469. Under the kings James IV and James V this process particularly accelerated via the patronage of new building programmes at the main royal palaces as physical symbols of power and display. Heraldry, chivalry and iconography played a central role in this articulation of Stewart power, with the core symbols we associate with Scotland – the cross of St Andrew, the lion rampant, and the thistle – all being deployed to the fullest extent in art and coinage for the first time. Another core element of this programme was the use of Renaissance Humanism, particularly at the courts of James IV and James V, where a range of scholars, poets and scientists were gathered under the auspices of the king for the purposes of demonstrating his cultural refinement and learning.

In a series of thirteen chapters the volume applies the core elements of Roger's historical approach to a broader temporal period between the fourteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and to a range of unstudied or little-known texts. It explores new aspects of Scotland's cultural transition from medieval to Renaissance, the role of historical memory in defining and redefining Scottish identity, the interface between literature,

politics and religion in a period of confessional strife and, above all, the importance of ideas in shaping the political and religious outlook of pre-modern Scots – in sum, a fitting tribute to a consummate historian of political thought.



Professor Steven Reid, Professor Roger Mason and Professor Dame Sally Mapstone at the launch of Professor Mason's *Festschrift*.



Rethinking the Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Roger A. Mason (edited by Steven J Reid) is available now from Boydell and Brewer: <https://boydellandbrewer.com/9781837651610/rethinking-the-renaissance-and-reformation-in-scotland/>

From Scotland to Aotearoa

by **Dr Valerie Wallace**



It started with an old shed. Decaying, ramshackle, and with peeling green paint, I passed this shed every day on my way to and from primary school. It sat between a car park and the entrance to the 'ashy', our nickname for the local football pitch, and had no obvious purpose.

When I was eight, our teacher took us on a walking tour of our village as part of a local history project, and to my utter astonishment, she told us that the shed had once been a sweet shop. She also told us that the ashy and the woods that surrounded it occupied what had once been the grounds of the local big house. And the pillar on my street, which now held a plaque commemorating a nearby Roman road, had once been the gate post to this house's driveway. History, it turned out, was everywhere around me and my newly acquired knowledge of it animated even the most nondescript buildings. Suddenly the shed was alive.

It was only recently that I realised how much of my research as a historian has to do with understanding the world around me. Why was the parish church in a leafy part of my town at the end of a tree-lined avenue and the Catholic church across a bog and close to the old colliery? Why had there been *another* Presbyterian church, an imposing United Free church, across the park from the Church of Scotland and now demolished?

As an undergraduate student at the University of Glasgow, unconsciously in pursuit of the answers to these questions, I became entranced by the rich, complex history of Scotland's Presbyterian culture and the roots of its anti-Catholicism, which

had left its imprint on the geography and built environment of my town, and which still infected its local politics. I wrote my PhD on the querulous intellectual culture of Scottish Presbyterian dissenters – the progenitors of the United Free church – who, dissatisfied with the Anglican underpinnings of the British state and its toleration of Catholics, engaged in radical reformist politics in the early nineteenth century.

The book that grew out of the PhD aimed to do more than just explain the history of my own locality, however. I had grander, global visions. I aimed to explore how the culture of Scottish Presbyterian dissent had influenced politics in regions of Scottish settlement in the British empire.

A back-packing trip around Aotearoa New Zealand after graduation was responsible for this broadening of scope. My travels took me to Dunedin, the former capital of the Scottish Free Church colony of Otago which had been colonised in the 1840s. On a grey, rainy day I opted, oddly enough, not to join my friends at the local brewery and instead to walk around the town. In the Octagon I encountered a statue of Robert Burns; on Moray Place I stood in the shadows of First Church, the foundation stone of which was laid by the Rev. Thomas Burns, the poet's nephew; and on George Street I found Knox



O'Brien Designs of Lawson.jpg

George O'Brien, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:O%27Brien_Designs_of_Lawson.jpg

Church, built from stone quarried from the nearby river, known by settlers as the Water of Leith. Once again, Scotland's history, including the legacy of its Presbyterian dissent, was everywhere around me, in one of the furthest away places from Scotland on this earth. I returned home eager to learn more about the history of this place.

As it turned out, the book that I eventually wrote – *Scottish Presbyterianism and Settler Colonial Politics: Empire of Dissent* (2018) – ignored Otago. It focused instead on five other settlements in the British empire – Pictou (in Nova Scotia), Toronto, Cape Town, Sydney, and Auckland – where contests over Scottish Presbyterianism's status in the empire, on the fate of its colleges and the independence of its churches, some of which still stand, gave rise to radical politics in the years before, during, and just after the Disruption of 1843. The Disruption was a moment of constitutional crisis which gave birth to the Free Church of Scotland and had repercussions empire-wide. Otago, despite being a product of the Disruption, was colonised a little too late to be included.

But its history still intrigued me. After finishing my PhD I had the good fortune to be offered a lectureship in New Zealand, where I taught for ten years before moving to St Andrews in 2022. On a research trip to Otago's wonderful Hocken Library, which holds an amazing collection of material on Scottish settlers, I encountered a document written by a Scottish lawyer and Free Churcher, William Downie Stewart, who migrated to

Dunedin in 1861. At a meeting of the Dunedin debating society Stewart argued for the incorporation into the New Zealand justice system of distinctive aspects of Scottish legal procedure. Stewart's plea made me shift my focus from a consideration of the influence in the empire of Scotland's religion, to a consideration of the influence of its law and legal system: another of Scotland's distinctive institutions which survived the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. Scotland's legal inheritance in the empire, the subject of my current book-in-progress, is harder to see than that of its church; it wasn't embedded in stone.

Or was it? I think I can discern a Scottish legal community in Dunedin which had Stewart and the firm he established at its centre. Stewart trained a generation of Scottish-descended lawyers and politicians who shaped the evolution of New Zealand's law, giving it a Scottish flavour. These individuals forged family bonds through marriage, joined the same associations, and attended the same church. Indeed, Stewart's son reminisced about the sittings of the Presbyterian synod at First Church, when his home became a 'centre of hospitality'. Stewart Jr remembered religious ministers and leading figures crowding his house, walking 'restlessly up and down flinging out provocative arguments on the questions of the day'.

It has been many years since I first encountered those churches in Dunedin, and many more since I first discovered the truth about the old shed, but I'm still thinking about buildings and the histories that animated them.

Professor T.C. Smout's 90th Birthday Reception

by Dr Sarah Leith

For Professor Christopher Smout's 80th birthday, Professor Roger Mason, the founder of the Institute of Scottish Historical Research (ISHR) at the University of St Andrews, inaugurated the annual T. C. Smout Lecture.

Professor Smout is the Historiographer Royal in Scotland and Emeritus Professor in the School of History, as well as being the pioneer of environmental history in Scotland and the founder of the Institute for Environmental History. His oeuvre includes the seminal *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (1969) and *Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England since 1600* (2000), the latter of which considers nature from woodland to water. Ten years and ten Smout Lectures later, Professor Smout celebrated his 90th birthday on 19 December 2023.

To mark the occasion, a reception was held during the afternoon of 5 December in the Gateway's Boardroom, appropriately overlooking the North Sea, with the woodland of Tentsmuir Forest just visible in the distance.



Professor Christopher Smout

Professor Smout was joined by family, friends and colleagues, and amongst their number were previous Smout Lecturers, including the most recent, the University of Glasgow's Professor Dauvit Broun. The idea to hold the reception was thanks to Dr Catriona Macdonald, another Smout Lecturer and a former student of Professor Smout at St Andrews; she is now Reader in Late Modern Scottish History at the University of Glasgow. ISHR Director Professor Michael Brown welcomed the group and toasted Professor Smout before inviting Professor Mason, Dr Macdonald and Professor Ewen Cameron, who is Sir William Fraser Professor of Scottish History and Palaeography at the University of Edinburgh, to say a few words. Many thanks

to Dr Macdonald, Professor Brown and the School of History administrative staff for organising a wonderful afternoon!

Communicating the Law in Early Modern Europe

by **Dr Arthur der Weduwen**

It is an important principle of political society that one must be in a position to know the law in order to be obliged to follow it.

Communicating law is an essential aspect of government, and efforts to disseminate law are as ancient as law itself. The oldest complete set of Ancient Babylonian legislation, the Code of Hammurabi (c. 1750 BC) survives inscribed on a 2.25 metre basalt column. In Qin and Han China (221 BC-9 AD), laws were proclaimed and affixed in writing at designated places throughout the empire, in a system of communication that was strictly regulated. The classical Roman Codex, part of the hugely influential *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Emperor Justinian, referred to the importance of publishing edicts, 'to be divulged to all peoples'. In his thirteenth-century *Treatise on Law*, St Thomas Aquinas considered that the promulgation of law was inherent to its essence, while in mediaeval Scandinavian and German communities, 'lawspeakers' or 'lawmen' were relied upon to recite the law at political assemblies, so all could be reminded of communal legislation.

Since the beginning of 2024, I have embarked on a 5-year comparative project at St Andrews to investigate how the communication of law took place in 16th, 17th and 18th-century Europe, and what impact this had on the development of European political society. In early modern Europe, laws were issued and promulgated by a great variety of political authorities. Most of these authorities relied on an inherited system of communication that required laws to be read out (proclaimed) and distributed in handwritten or printed forms. The extent of these efforts naturally depended on the breadth of the jurisdiction of the issuing authority: proclamations made by the King of France would have to be made across a country of almost twenty million people, while laws issued by the Parlement of Bordeaux



would be restricted to a much smaller region. Municipal laws often extended only to a single urban community and any rural territory owned by the city beyond their walls. Many people would have been subject to overlapping jurisdictions, each with a need to communicate their laws: for instance,

a citizen of seventeenth-century Rotterdam would be faced with ordinances by their town council, but also the local Admiralty, the States of Holland, the States General, and several other administrative and financial bodies.

Why did this process matter? The paradox of early modern politics was that authorities claimed great authority, but were able to exercise only very limited political power. Monarchs and other rulers possessed, in principle, unchallengeable sovereignty over the lives of their subjects, yet without the active support of those subjects, as well as many smaller and overlapping jurisdictions, the authorities were helpless.

If most ordinary people were excluded from the chambers of the state where policy was formulated, they were fully involved in the enactment of the law, which demanded public communication, and placed the rulers and ruled in a shared communal space, such as the market square. The communication of law was steeped in ritual ceremonies, but these were by no means ceremonies in which only the rulers played an active role. The

announcement of a new edict provided subjects with the occasion to voice their concerns or disapproval. Citizens also petitioned for changes in legislation, or the announcement of new laws. When the authorities announced a new ordinance, or repeated an older proclamation, they went to great pains to justify their decision to do so, in lengthy preliminary



Simon Fokke, *Afkondiging van de Pacificatie van Gent*, 1576, c. 1782-1784. A late eighteenth-century depiction of the proclamation of the Pacification of Ghent, which does not do justice to the raucous crowds present in Ghent on 8 November. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Caspar Luyken, *Afkondiging van de vrede van Osnabrück in een stad*, 1701. Proclamation of the Peace of Osnabrück (1648). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

remarks which often divulged that the legislation was actively demanded by a group of their inhabitants.

Efforts at communicating the law, as well as interactions between the authorities and their inhabitants, did not end with a ritual proclamation. The employment of town criers, drummers and trumpeters to proclaim ordinances and municipal announcements was a necessity in large communities all over Europe. The town crier represented one of the key sources of political information for early modern European people of all social classes. He was an embodiment of political authority: few subjects would ever meet their monarch, but they would hear their ruler's will proclaimed through the mouth of their local town crier. The crier was a critical link in the chain that bound together rulers and ruled. His was a role imbued by ceremony and ritual, emphasised by the crier's attire, instruments and a specific route of locations where he would perform proclamations.

The crier had to be a dignified orator, but also accessible and easily comprehensible. In Spain, town criers were instructed to perform their proclamations 'in a loud voice, slowly, and with good enunciation'. In Venice, criers would stand on pillars, elevating them above their audience. In seventeenth-century Leeuwarden (in the Northern Netherlands), for instance, the crier was instructed to make known all official announcements at forty-eight locations, accompanied by a drum. Such meticulousness ensured that the law could be heard by most inhabitants of the town, who would never have been able to crowd together before the town hall to hear the formal proclamation made by the magistrates. By the early seventeenth century, many town criers would also be charged with the affixing of copies of laws at all locations where they made their announcements. These locations were practical and symbolic, places where many people would congregate, and which were identified as sites of power. They generally included the town hall and market squares, in front of churches, gates, other

notable buildings, and on busy commercial streets. Affixed copies of the law could be consulted by literate inhabitants after the town crier had moved on, scrutinised, or read out to the illiterate.

Affixing the law was a highly figurative act, as it represented the presence of government and the threat of the enforcement of order. From the perspective of the authorities it was also politically perilous. The distinctive style of the ordinances and the prominent locations in the cityscape where they were posted were chosen by the magistrates for maximum publicity. This ensured that they were often targeted by indignant citizens. In 1619, all ordinances announcing a new excise duty in East Friesland were ripped off walls and doors by the citizenry. In the same year, tax rioters in Ceneda, in Venetian territory, spat on a publicly displayed copy of a tax decree, ripped it to pieces, and, as the ultimate humiliation of the law, splattered faeces over the paper and the column upon which it had been posted. Unfortunate town criers, charged with the affixing of ordinances, could be abused or assaulted by unreceptive citizens, especially as criers were not ordinarily accompanied by guards. Citizens could also express their dissent by counter-posting libels, poems, songs, images or even animal parts in public spaces. Increasing efforts of communication ensured that the law could be examined, tested, or ripped down in protest. Proclaiming and affixing laws could reassure, but also embolden an attentive and engaged public.

Together with a team of four other researchers, we will seek through this project to offer multiple comparative frameworks through which the communication of law will be studied, including Protestant and Catholic states, urban and rural areas, and empires, national kingdoms and city-states. With the aid of such a comparative lens, it will be our overarching aim to analyse how the public dissemination of law shaped early modern civic society and influenced political participation and accountability before the onset of the democratic age.



Gerard II ter Borch, *Omroeper op een marktplein*, c. 1630-1635. A Dutch town crier holding forth to an attentive crowd.

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Sixteenth-Century Scotland

by **Dr Amy Blakeway**

Ask any schoolchild what they know about Mary, Queen of Scots and one of the first facts which tumbles out is how young she was when she came to the throne – a mere six days old – and that after this Scotland was plunged into war with England over the question of whether or not she would marry the future Edward VI and so unite their kingdoms.



Despite some pioneering studies of the military and diplomatic aspects of the wars which followed Mary's accession (more on them in a moment), and perennial historiographical interest in the causes (short, medium and long-term) of the Scottish Reformation which followed in 1560, some obvious questions about this period remain unasked and unanswered.

For instance, how did the largest Tudor invasion of Scotland – indeed the most significant period of Anglo-Scottish warfare since the Wars of Independence – affect the way in which Scotland was governed, the country's economy, and life in communities under threat of occupation? After peace treaties were signed in 1550, did the country simply bounce back to December 1542, or did recovery and reconstruction take time? Did the experience of invasion leave lasting changes to the country?

For the current academic year, funded by a Royal Society of Edinburgh Personal Research Fellowship, I am in the fortunate position of being able to address these questions through archival collections held from Elgin to Haddington, Ayr to Dundee. These Scottish local records offer a new perspective on this conflict, not one informed primarily by diplomatic concerns or attempts to read this period backwards from 1560 – but instead a chance to read the period forward from the peaceful 1530s and ask how conflict shaped mid-sixteenth century Scotland. I'm especially lucky that this RSE funding means I can visit schools throughout Scotland to share this research with students studying this period or through stand-alone sessions for Women's History Month.

Scottish local archives have revealed the scale of the impact of this conflict on every facet of life. Faced with such a vast invasion, taxation increased dramatically – in response, the government tried to cancel long-standing tax breaks, including, as one document in Special Collections suggest, those enjoyed by the University of St Andrews! Pre-modern armies were far from hygienic, and plague ripped through the country, especially closely-packed towns, stepping up pressure on the poor and vulnerable. Local government budgets suddenly had to stretch to cover defence – from a giant ball on a chain to protect the harbour in Aberdeen, to new walls and ditches in Stirling. Given that traditional histories of this period focus on military conflict, it is worth noticing that all of these places were lucky enough to escape attack or occupation – but warfare still profoundly shaped how life was lived in unoccupied communities.

In response to these pressures, burgh councils throughout the country raised their own, local, taxes, on top of the national ones, and unsurprisingly this caused tensions. In Perth, James Dick, a tailor, pulled his 'quhingar', or sword, on the officials sent

to collect his tax – he was taken to court and had to walk bare-headed to the Tolbooth and offer his sword to the same officials he had 'menaced' as punishment. In Aberdeen, a new tax to fund mercenaries to defend the town provoked a riot in which the town clock, a high-tech symbol of civic pride, was damaged.

Everyone suffered from the rising prices caused by a combination of crop destruction and disruption to domestic and international trade. After the war was over, the baxters of Cupar complained that the cost of wheat meant that they could not bake bread at the price set by the council – it was too low and they would make a loss. After what can only be described as a stooshie in a council meeting, the Baxters proved their point through a two week strike. This is only one example of the real world impact of inflation evident in towns throughout the land. Undertaking this research in the aftermath of Covid-19, the midst of a cost-of-living crisis at home and constant news of wars abroad means the sixteenth century has never felt so close, or so relevant.

Whilst calculating accurate death rates in pre-modern conflicts is, given the sources at our disposal, almost impossible, temporary changes to inheritance laws, driven by fear of a high death toll amongst adult men, reveals governmental concern about the impact of so many men dying. Whilst husbands often made their wives guardians of their children in their wills, when a man died intestate, care of his children would pass not to their mother but to his closest male relatives. In 1547, the Privy Council stated that when men died intestate in the coming campaigns their widows would retain guardianship of their children and so control of the property they inherited. Such radical change, albeit a temporary one, reveals the immense changes to normal life.

Unsurprisingly, some men challenged widows' new rights. In Aberdeen Jonat Burnat was taken to court by two of her late husband's nephews, who had been born abroad but nonetheless wanted to take guardianship of her son. The court found for Jonat. In Elgin, however, where the death toll from the Scottish defeat at the battle of Pinkie was especially high, the prospect of women taking on so much property in the burgh was concerning. The council prohibited widows from remarrying without their permission on pain of losing any trading rights they had in the town and terminating of any rental agreements they had on property owned by the council. Bereaved women were herded together to hear the proclamation of the decision so no-one could claim they were ignorant of its provisions.

As with many wars, the social changes caused by mass military mobilisation also means that women's activities appear more frequently in the sources. Reports by English spies reveal the agency exercised by elite women in warfare – for example,

when Lady Borthwick's husband was taken prisoner by an English sympathiser, she feigned interest in the advances of another pro-English noble, the earl of Bothwell, who because 'the lady [Borthwick] was fair...came to her for love'. Once Bothwell arrived at the assignation spot, he was captured by Lady Borthwick's supporters – and promptly exchanged for Lord Borthwick himself.

Evidently, Lady Borthwick was as wise as she was beautiful. Bothwell got his just deserts – the previous year he had violently attacked the nunnery of Haddington, locking all the nuns in a room and 'using all the goods of the convent at his pleasure'. This report – again from an English spy – hints towards a topic which other sources make explicit: the widespread use of rape as a weapon of warfare.

So far, I have deliberately avoided referring to this war by its popular name: the 'Rough Wooings'.

This term has prevailed in twentieth (and twenty-first) century scholarship, but enjoys only the most dubious of provenances. It emerged out of Sir Walter Scott's historical short stories *Tales of a Grandfather*, which claimed that the Scots 'were, to use an expression of the time, disgusted with so rough a mode of wooing'. Scott's source for this 'expression of the time' was, however, a piece of English propaganda penned by the soldier-on-the-make William Patten, who claimed he had heard it around the English camp that one Scottish prisoner, the earl of Huntly, when asked what he thought about the prospect of his infant queen marrying Edward VI of England had remarked 'I like not this wooing'.

Aside from the dubious provenance – a hearsay account reported in English propaganda, refracted through the lens of the nineteenth-century historical novel which was in turn

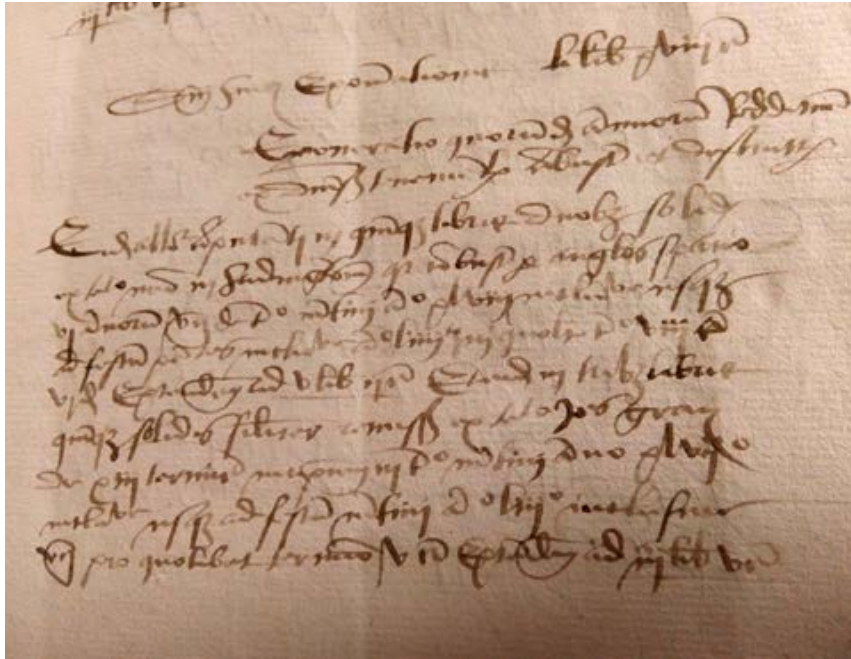
adapted – the term 'Rough Wooings' is unsatisfactory in a number of ways. Whilst it does point towards the diplomatic and geo-political aspects of a conflict fought over the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, it risks romanticising what was, as these examples have shown, a very violent conflict. Arguably, for nineteenth and early twentieth century historians writing

at a time when Anglo-Scottish union was lauded as the foundation stone of the British Empire, it was convenient to occlude the violence of a war fought over this very union. This parallels the scholarly consensus of that period that Scotland's government was somehow 'backward' or 'deficient' which fuelled arguments surrounding the benefits of union – and this view of pre-union Scotland has been completely overturned by modern archivally grounded scholarship.

Given the ways in which women suffered during this war – and that Mary herself was the victim of rape as an adult woman – using a term which risks romanticising gender-based violence with no provenance in contemporary commentary seems increasingly inappropriate with every primary source I read.

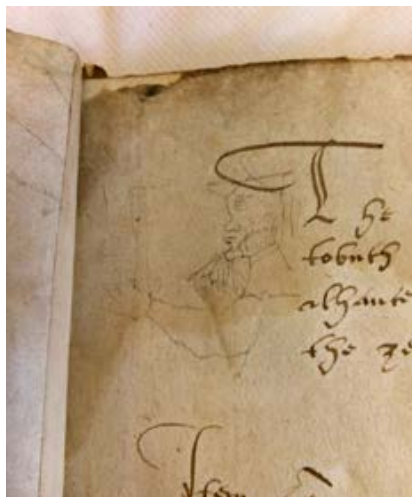
These debates about who names history and whose experiences should be reflected in names are timely, we see them in a wide range of historical contexts

and it's important to take the time to think and discuss them properly. Fortunately, thanks to the RSE Fellowship, I've been able to have these conversations with budding young historians in schools throughout Scotland, working with age groups from P5 to Advanced Higher, in schools from East Lothian to Kirkwall. We've been exploring the 1540s wars and their aftermath



Accounts of St Leonards College, 1549 – 1590. This entry for the year 1555-6 shows rent written off on lands burned by the English near Haddington.

St Andrews University Library, UYSL515 f.75r.



The Wigton Burgh Rental for 1542, the year the war starts, features a doodle of a fierce-looking armed man.

NRS B72/6/1 f.2r.



The walls of St Mary's Collegiate Church in Haddington still bear shot marks from the siege. Haddington was so badly affected by the violence that it was still receiving tax rebates of up to two-thirds its pre-war bill in 1558.

Photo by the author.

through sources drawn where possible from local records, highlighting regional as well as central perspectives and, in a special series of workshops for Women's History Month in March, the experiences of women during this war. One especial highlight was visiting Lionacleit High School on Benbecula, where I had the opportunity to work with the inspirational history teacher Mairi MacKinnon, herself a St Andrews graduate in Medieval History!

Through these visits I've been struck by the way in which interesting primary sources offering a range of different perspectives spark students' imaginations and the perceptive remarks they make on them, as well as the careful consideration these young people give to the question of who names

history and how. Ultimately, their comments will help me select items for an exhibition on these wars to be held at the Wardlaw Museum in 2026 – in which, of course, the rich local records of the period will play a starring role! The title is yet to be confirmed – but two words – 'Rough' and 'Wooings' – are definitely out.

P.S.: If any teachers reading this will be covering Mary, Queen of Scots or the Scottish Reformation – or think their students would enjoy a stand-alone session on these topics for Women's History Month – please do get in touch via the email address: alb31@st-andrews.ac.uk

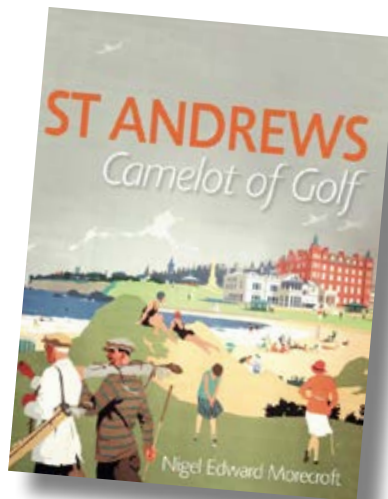
St Andrews: Camelot of Golf

by Nigel Morecroft (MA (Hons), 1980)

Nigel Morecroft provides an unusual perspective on the University based on extracts from his book *St Andrews: Camelot of Golf*.

Over the last 150 years the University of St Andrews has made important contributions to an influential body of literature associated with golf in Britain and the USA and this article will touch on some of the most important publications. The first prose book on golf, *The Golfer's Manual*, was published in 1857, by Henry Brougham Farnie (1836-89), a student between 1850-53. Subsequently described as 'the first publicly to attempt to proselytize [the game of golf]...and to set forth the joys and agonies of the game', it covered history and instruction, together with practical golf information about how and where to play.⁴ One of the very first commercially successful golf books was written by another student, Robert Forgan jnr. (1860-1940), in 1881, the year he graduated with First Class Honours in Classics age 21. Written in elegant, simple prose *The Golfer's Handbook* was widely read and by 1910 had enjoyed eleven re-issues. Forgan left St Andrews and became an ordained Minister in the Free Church in 1886; he spent his working life in the church but also found time to create the golf course at Rothesay.

This writing tradition owed much to the 'reverend golfers' in the School of Divinity, which was sizeable at the University in the late nineteenth century. These students had plenty of time to hone both their literary skills in the lecture theatre and their golfing prowess on the Links: a typical degree would take between six and eight years. Minister at Ruthven in Perthshire for almost 40 years, JG McPherson, stoutly defended the combination of academic endeavour with recreational golf in his 1891 book, *Golf and Golfers, Past and Present*. McPherson was an outstanding amateur golfer who also taught part-time to fund his undergraduate studies. He argued there was a 'health-giving power in golf' which helped him get his own First in Mathematics while in later life he became University examiner and a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.⁵



Another reverend golfer, Robert Barclay (1868-1904), was one of the most interesting people I came across during my research not least because he was the first person to describe St Andrews as 'The Home of Golf' and he wrote widely about golf with great levity. He, together with prolific writer and polymath Andrew Lang, produced an interesting anthology called *A Batch of Golfing Papers* in 1892 which contained Barclay's beautifully-written

essay on 'The Home of Golf'. The book was originally produced for the British market but was also published in the United States in 1897 and 1898. Barclay, a Divinity student, became a minister in the Church in the parish of Greenock, but he died tragically in 1904 aged only 36 from a general anesthetic undergoing a tooth extraction. The reverend golfers formed an extremely influential golfing diaspora on and off the golf course.

American student Charles Blair Macdonald (1855-1939) became, according to some, the 'father of American golf': he constructed the first eighteen-hole course in the United States, at Chicago; he established the United States Golf Association; and he was the winner of the first US Amateur Championship. Family connections at the University, not golf, initially pulled Macdonald to St Andrews, as he was unaware of the game when he arrived in St Andrews in 1872 and referred to it disparagingly as 'tiddle-de-winks, stupid and silly' but he was fully converted when he left in 1874.⁶ In



⁴ Darwin Bernard, 'Introduction' (1947) in HB Farnie, *The Golfer's Manual: Being an Historical and Descriptive Account of the National Game of Scotland* (1857); Whitehead and Orr.
⁵ JG McPherson, *Golf and Golfers: Past and Present*; (1891) 83; William Blackwood.
⁶ CB Macdonald, *Scotland's Gift: Golf 1872-1927*, (1928), 8; Coventry House Publishing e-book.

1928 he wrote one of the seminal golf books for the American market, *Scotland's Gift: Golf* which was largely a homage to the spirit of St Andrews. Influentially, during the formative period of golf in America, one of Macdonald's great achievements was to maintain strict alignment with golfing custom and practice in St Andrews: he helped golf to remain the same game on both sides of the Atlantic in a way that rugby and American football or cricket and baseball, did not.

Employees of the University also contributed to golf literature: enthusiastic golfer William Knight, Professor of Moral Philosophy and a world expert on Wordsworth, compiled a range of golfing anecdotes and golf poems in *Stories of Golf* which appeared in 1894. Perhaps the most unusual contribution to golfing literature from a member of staff was *Physical Training for Golfers: Improve Your Game by Jerks* written by Alexander Stark in 1937. Lieutenant Stark worked in the Department of Physical Training at the University and was a man ahead of his time owing to his radical ideas about how to

play better golf which ranged from rigorous fitness schedules to regular bathing and advice not to smoke cigarettes. Over many years, writers from the University have enhanced St Andrews' reputation and explained its golfing attributes and traditions to the rest of the world. This continues even today: for example, American exchange student Oliver Horovitz wrote *An American Caddie in St Andrews* in 2013 and, little did I know when I wrote my own book about golf in 2023 that I was walking such a well-trodden path.

Acknowledgements

Special thanks are due to a broad range of staff at the University, particularly in Special Collections. Additionally, in terms of specific individuals, I received invaluable help from Robert Fleming, Niall Scott, Lauren Sykes and Gayle McIntyre.

Dry Island Buffalo Jump

by [Dr James Palmer](#)

Dry Island Buffalo Jump are St Andrews's premier alt-Americana/country music collective – or at least the best one to have come out of the University's Arts Faculty.

They formed in 2008 in the wilderness of Boarhills, the brainchild of two writers in the School of English who have since fled to the USA. The band were named after the provincial park in Alberta, Canada, because medievalist Alex Woolf thought it was a cool band name.

The Buff – as they are also known – have since become a fixture of the St Andrews music scene. They have played grad balls, garden parties, bars, hotels, a barn, and weddings. Somehow they also played the St Andrews wedding party for Will & Kate. Once they inexplicably appeared on BBC Radio Scotland and got to play songs in between being interrogated about whether it was all a midlife crisis. (Some members of the band pointed out they were too old for a midlife crisis.)

Testing the paradox of the Ship of Theseus, the Buff's line-up has experienced so many shakeups that the only original member presently performing is the drummer, and even he's now the bassist. This week, the band comprises Jonathan Kemp (Music Dept – vocals, guitars), James Palmer (History – bass/ fiddle), Chris Given-Wilson (History – guitar/ cowbell/ Dylan impersonations), Norman Reid (Library – blowy things), Bill Shackman (Chaplaincy – guitars/ bouzouki), Pete Kushner (ex-History/ wood – accordion/ trumpet), and Aaron Cotnoir (Philosophy – drums).

Support for the Student Hardship Fund has been a priority through the release of charity singles. Their most popular



effort with many students was the classic 'Auld Grey Toun' – a timeless power ballad celebrating the cold splendour of the band's hometown. Most recently, their Covid-fuelled comeback 'Rocking in the Buff' – the first written by new singer Jonathan Kemp – raised £1235 this spring!

Where, you might be wondering, can you next see Dry Island Buffalo Jump? They will be in their usual haunt of **Aikman's Bar on 20 July 2024**. But if you want more of a spectacle definitely save the date of **26 September 2024** when they will be playing a charity gig at the **Byre Theatre**. Alongside their own songs and timeless classics such as "Wagon Wheel", the Buff have invited fans (if that's the right word) to vote for new covers they should try. You can find the online poll [here](#). And fear not: Taylor Swift covers are likely to figure prominently!

Please vote for your pick of five songs for Dry Island Buffalo Jump to play at the Byre Theatre on 26th September 2024: <http://st-andrews.ac.uk/dibj>

Alumni Updates

Dr Sarah White (PhD, 2018)

Sarah graduated with a PhD in 2018 and is now an Assistant Professor at the University of Nottingham.

After seven years in St Andrews, first as a PhD student and then as a postdoc, I moved to Lancaster University in 2021 to take up a temporary position there as a Lecturer in Medieval History, where I taught medieval history in the period 1100-1500. Two years later, I made a rather unexpected shift to the School of Law at the University of Nottingham, taking up a permanent position as an Assistant Professor. My research into medieval canon law might seem like a slightly odd fit for a modern law school, but I'm privileged to be teaching medieval legal history there and to be in a supportive and exciting research environment with people who are (nearly) as excited about medieval law as I am.

St Andrews holds a very special place in my heart for many reasons. I completed my BA in Victoria, BC, and my MA in Toronto, ON, and continuing my move east to the UK, starting a PhD (supervised by Professor John Hudson) was quite a big step. My time at St Andrews and as part of the Department of Medieval History cohort was hugely positive. The PhD community was welcoming and warm, and the friends and colleagues from that group continue to be a very important part of my life. I have very fond memories of coffees at Zest, walks on West Sands, pub nights at the Whey Pat, and legendary pub quiz wins at Drouthies (the spoils of which were stashed for the

Halloween parties). After I finished my PhD, I was fortunate to be able to take up a postdoc on Professor Hudson's ERC-funded comparative law project, where I was able to expand the intellectual horizons of my research and work with a fantastic team. It's a credit to all the project members that we still work together, proposing new projects, working on publications, making good pizza, and meeting up in a variety of places in the UK and Italy to talk about legal history.

I'm very excited to be able to continue with my research and maintain these connections at Nottingham. Dr Will Eves, also of St Andrews fame, is at Nottingham as well, and we have recently established the History of Law and Governance Centre, an interdisciplinary centre with a focus on legal history. It is a privilege to be able to continue the research I started in St Andrews, and a joy to maintain and build on the research connections and friendships from my PhD and postdoc. I am very grateful to everyone in the Department of Medieval History and those who were part of the ERC for their support, for the opportunities I had, and for the friends I made.



Paolo Celeridad (MLitt Legal and Constitutional Studies, 2020)

Paolo graduated with an MLitt in Legal and Constitutional Studies (with Merit) in 2020, and is now enrolled in the Doctor of Civil Law program of the Pontifical and Royal University of Santo Tomas in Manila. He also currently works as a Court Attorney in the chambers of an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines.

Greetings from sunny Manila!

It seems like only yesterday when I was attending in-person classes at St John's House along South Street. During my MLitt year, I

made dear friends and learned a lot about legal history and constitutional research, but more importantly, I gained a new confidence in my own abilities and strengths as both a potential scholar and a budding legal professional.

After graduating *in absentia* in 2020, and amidst a global plunge in job prospects and academic opportunities, I decided to not let up and to keep busy in order to prepare for horizons beyond the immediate slump of the pandemic. I returned to Manila and to the Department of Justice, where I began to work on human rights-related projects and issues. My previous experience in the Philippine Commission on Human Rights was of great value, but I approached my new work with a more nuanced and critical approach and with a more internationally grounded perspective, the latter borne from my experiences in St Andrews.

Towards the end of President Rodrigo Duterte's term in early 2022, I decided to leave government service for a while and

volunteer for the presidential campaign of then-Vice President Maria Leonor Robredo. Our campaign lost, but I had recently been recommended to join the chambers of Associate Justice Samuel Gaerlan of the Philippine Supreme Court. I joined up as a Court Attorney V following a period of brief reflection and assessment after the result of the 2022 elections. And after more than a year's hard work in our country's main literal temple of law, I have recently been promoted to Court Attorney VI.

I have also thankfully advanced my scholarly pursuits as well. I taught a semester of administrative and election law in the Tarlac State University-School of Law in 2022, and published two articles in the Philippine Law Journal: my MLitt dissertation, *Marbury v. Madison and R[Miller] v. The Prime Minister: An Attempt at Comparative Constitutional Rhetoric* (94 Phil. L. J. 1 [2021]), and my take on nuisance candidacies in Philippine election law, *Nuisance Candidacies in Philippine Election Law: Legal History, Legal Analysis, and Legal Reform* (94 Phil. L. J. 752 [2021]).

I have also recently enrolled in the Doctor of Civil Law programme of the Royal & Pontifical University of Santo Tomas in Manila, a Dominican-run institution and the oldest existing university in Asia (founded 1611). The solid foundations in legal history and constitutional research that my MLitt experience had

in abundance have prepared me for this new stage in my career. My work in the Philippine Supreme Court is helping to forge new jurisprudence along with my other fellow court attorneys, and the rediscovering of the exciting trains of past precedents is in turn shaping my perspectives as I go about my DCL classes. And indeed, the case is the same vice versa, since my DCL research and experiences inform and inspire me in my equally challenging day job.

This has now led me to my most recent endeavour, which is my completion, along with more than a hundred others, of the 66th Pre-Judicature Program for Trial Courts of the Philippine

Judicial Academy towards the end of June last year. The program is a prerequisite for application as a trial court judge in the Philippine judiciary, and with faith and some luck, I will indeed join the ranks of the robed in the near future.

All these milestones were made possible by the fire that St Andrews imparted to me during my MLitt year – despite the crisp Scottish weather that I had to get used to myself. I do miss my MLitt colleagues and professors dearly, but I hope I am doing them proud by maximizing what I can out of the opportunities that have been presented to me here in our humid but happy tropical corner of the world.

Fran Hollinrake (MA (Hons), 1991)

Fran graduated with an MA (Hons) Scottish History in 1991 and now works at Orkney's St Magnus Cathedral.

As Frances Jackson, I graduated from St Andrews in 1991 with a 2:1 degree in Scottish History. There were four of us who were awarded it that year – the first people in the world to get a single Honours degree in Scottish History, I believe, although I don't think we were aware at the time what trailblazers we were! The subject had never been offered as a single Honours Subject before in any university, only as part of a joint or combined degree. It's hard to believe now, but in the late 1980s Scottish History was quite a niche subject, and my peers and I endured many jokes along the lines of 'Scottish History? That won't take long then!' Of course, in the wake of *Braveheart*, *Outlander* and Instagram, it is now studied world-wide by thousands of people, and rightly so.

After graduating, I moved to Edinburgh, and spent a few years working in a city centre pub whilst self-funding an MSc by Research at the University of Edinburgh. Inspired by studying 19th-century Scottish cities under Professor T.C. Smout, I researched the uses and abuses of alcohol in Scottish society, and wrote my dissertation on the Temperance movement, specifically the history of Teetotal Friendly Societies, the Independent Order of Rechabites in particular. In 1993 I got a job with a local company that operates ghost and history tours in the Royal Mile, and I spent ten years working with them; first as a ghost tour guide, then latterly as a senior manager and researcher. They have a sister company which takes groups to the battlefields of the First and Second World Wars, and I spent a few years taking schoolchildren to the trenches of the Western Front – a very rewarding experience which has left me with an abiding interest in wartime history.

In 2004, my husband and I moved to the Orkney Islands. In some ways I was following my ancestral roots (my grandmother's family were originally from Orkney), but I had been inspired by studying at St Andrews under Dr Barbara Crawford, where she taught me about the medieval history of the islands through the Norse *Orkneyinga Saga*. Within those pages I learnt about the Norwegian Earldom of Orkney, and its martyr-saint, Magnus. I visited the islands and was enchanted by the landscape, the folklore, and of course the history and archaeology. So, many years later, married and looking for a change in our lives, my husband and I moved to Orkney, something I have never regretted for a single minute.



My first job in Orkney was working at the neolithic tomb of Maeshowe, built around 5,000 years ago to house the remains of the dead. But as well as the Stone Age aspect, Maeshowe also holds another treasure – a large collection of Viking runes, carved by a group of Norsemen who broke into the tomb in the 12th century. Many of the carvings simply say things like 'Thorfinn was here', but some are quite witty, and others a bit rude. There is also an intricate carving of a mythical creature, possibly a dragon or Fenrir, the wolf of Norse mythology. I worked at Maeshowe for nearly seven years, before moving on to St Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall.

The cathedral in Orkney comes as a surprise to many – it stands in the main street of the main town, built of chunky red and yellow sandstone. When it was begun in 1137, Orkney was part of Norway, and it came under the Archdiocese of Nidaros. Although it took nearly three hundred years before completion, the cathedral was in use within fifteen years, housing the shrine of St Magnus and attracting pilgrims from far and wide. Remarkably, it survived the Scottish Reformation (about which I am well-informed, thanks to Professor Roger Mason), possibly due to ownership of the church being granted to the local people in 1486.

From 2010 to 2012 I worked as the Assistant Custodian of the cathedral, taking over as Custodian after that. As the cathedral is owned by the people, it is run by Orkney Islands Council, and I

was responsible for all the day-to-day operations in the building, including visitor services, facilitating events, and doing a lot of local authority admin. In addition, I was keen to develop our knowledge of the history of the building, and I researched and wrote several leaflets and tours about the cathedral.

After fourteen years in visitor services, I have just moved to a newly-created role, that of Cathedral Curator. This post will allow me to do more research and development, outreach, education, and also to look after the cathedral's collection of artefacts. This is a dream job for me, and allows me to remain close to our beloved cathedral, whilst developing ties with other cathedrals and historic churches. I feel like the circle has been completed, starting from St Andrews in the 1980s when I was learning

about St Magnus, to working full-time researching him and the magnificent cathedral which bears his name.

Along the way I have also become a professional storyteller (you'll find me in the Directory of Scottish Storytellers as Fran Flett Hollinrake), which comes in useful for interpreting Scotland's history.

If any St Andrews history graduates are travelling to Orkney in the future, please get in touch with me at fran.hollinrake@orkney.gov.uk, and I would be delighted to show them round the cathedral.

Alistair Robison (MA (Hons), 2022 and MLitt Modern History, 2023)

Alistair, Chancellor's Bagpiper from October 2020 to July 2022, graduated with an MA (Hons) Modern History in 2022 and an MLitt Modern History in 2023 and now works within a fintech company.

After graduating with my MA in Modern History (June 2022) and MLitt in Modern History (November 2023) from the University of St Andrews, I took up a graduate role within a fintech company that specializes – through combined AI and human efforts – in sourcing precedent, as well as tracking new mergers and acquisitions (M&A) data. I initially started out as a Relationship Manager in August (two weeks after submitting my MLitt dissertation) and was delighted to receive a promotion in January to Account Executive. Despite the slightly varying natures between life as an aspiring historian and that of a graduate in a fintech company, I see similarities every day, such as research skills, presentation skills, and communication and writing skills. I am thus oddly indebted for all those essays, presentations, and assignments faced during my time at the University.

I have only been away from St Andrews for five months, and yet I miss it dearly. I lost count of how many times I said the following phrase during my time as a student, but it truly is a place like no other. I envy those history students taking to the library to research their next assignment; those about to embark upon an unfamiliar topic, and those immersed in books, papers, and articles for their dissertation. It was a true joy reading for my MA, and subsequently my MLitt, in the School of History, and I must say it is a joy reflecting upon the good times whilst on my commute to work.

My MA dissertation focused on interpretations of the Treaty of Union of 1707 in modern Scottish political culture from 1950 onwards. It was a mightily challenging topic to write about, mostly in virtue of the sheer size of the topic. This undoubtedly taught me to be niche in my dissertation topic selection, and so 12,500 words therefore proved insufficient. Nevertheless, it was enjoyable researching and writing about a topic which has remained divisive since its emergence. Four years as a student also proved insufficient; I simply was not ready to leave the School of History and St Andrews. I was therefore delighted to receive an offer to read for my MLitt between 2022 and 2023.

My time as a Masters student was just as, if not more, enjoyable than my undergraduate career. I decided to study the Jacobites,

a topic which I had been interested in since my primary school days in Galashiels. I recall creating and producing a fictional story about Jacobite bandits in primary school (Spielberg or Tarantino have not called yet for some reason), and from then I was fascinated by the topic. My dissertation focused on the Jacobites and the Scottish Borders, more specifically, support for the Jacobites in the Scottish Borders. In short, there was not mass support, given the overall pro-Government and Hanoverian sentiments existing at the time, but I aimed to reveal exceptions to this trend, which I coined 'little pockets of support'. It was, and remains, an under-researched aspect of Jacobite historiography – an understandable fact given the centrality of the Highlands, north-east, and other Lowland Scotland areas to the Jacobite cause. Nevertheless, to shed light on the relationship – or lack of – between the Scottish Borders and the Jacobites was a proud moment.

During my time at St Andrews, I was honoured to serve as the Chancellor's Bagpiper from October 2020 – July 2022 (the culmination of my undergraduate studies). This role involved me playing at high-key University events, such as dinners, fundraising events and graduations. If you cast your mind back to October 2020, this was during the Covid-19 Pandemic, and thus my bagpiping duties took on an unusual form. I played 'virtually' for the winter graduations that year, and the same with the summer editions in 2021. Thankfully, thereafter I was able to play at in-person events. The 2022 summer graduations will hold a special place in the memory, as this was a three-week graduation series consisting of 2020, 2021, and 2022 academic year graduations. I counted playing at 22 graduations (I was given breaks and my lungs were grateful), including my own. I was told that I was the first to ever play as the Chancellor's Bagpiper at their own graduation, a feat of which I was and still am incredibly proud. This capped off my special time at the special place that is St Andrews, and I am forever grateful to have been given the opportunity.



Alumni News

Lucy Coatman (MLitt Early Modern History, 2021) recently provided consultation and was interviewed for the Mayerling incident episode of France's most popular history tv show 'Secrets d'Histoire'. The episode should be broadcast sometime in 2024. Her biography of Baroness Mary Vetsera is set to be published late 2024. Currently, she is working on two projects: firstly, archival research for the beatification of Empress Zita of Austria; secondly, she is coordinating editor and research assistant for the project 'Moriz Nähr – Photographer for Habsburg, Klimt and Wittgenstein' at the Klimt Foundation, Vienna. The catalogue raisonné of Moriz Nähr's work and the accompanying monograph will be published in June 2024.



Dr Simon Appleford (MA (Hons) History, 2000 and MLitt American History, 2001) is Associate Professor of History and Associate Director of the Digital Humanities Initiative at Creighton University in Nebraska. His book *Drawing Liberalism: Herblock's Political Cartoons in Postwar America* was published by the University of Virginia Press in 2023.

Since leaving St Andrews, **Joanna Phillips** (MA (Hons), 2022) has completed a masters at the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama in Arts Management. She now works for the Philharmonia Orchestra in London as its Learning and Engagement Assistant. She assists on all the orchestra's outreach projects, helping to make classical music more accessible. The outreach projects are: schools concerts, projects for those with dementia and memory loss, masterclasses, fellowship programmes and more. She still takes a keen interest in history and usually has a historical book on the go and she says that, 'Despite having a degree from St Andrews in medieval history, there's still so much to uncover!'



Pierre-Henri Vautherin (MLitt Medieval History, 2022) is now working in Paris at Cabinet Fligny, an art appraisal cabinet which specialises in Medieval, Renaissance and seventeenth-century art.

As of January 2024, **Dr Ethan G. Birney** (PhD, 2019) has started a new position as Assistant Professor of History at the University of West Alabama.

Georgina Seage née Coleby (MA (Hons) Mediaeval History, 2009) and Paul Seage (MA (Hons) Mediaeval History, 2009 and MLitt Mediaeval History, 2010) are delighted to say that they welcomed their son, Frederick William Ralph Seage, in September 2023.



Dr Michael Heimos (MLitt Reformation Studies (with distinction), 2015), now domiciled in Jackson County, Colorado, graduated on 22 September 2023 with his DPhil in History from the University of Oxford (St Cross College). 'Heimy's' thesis discussed the reception of the Book of Ecclesiastes in Tudor England, and the impacts that two important late-Elizabethan ministers' readings had on how the scripture was approached and understood in the English-speaking world thereafter. Now, he's back to trying to fill his freezer with grayling and moose, plonking away at sundry other writing ideas and projects, and studying early modern England and colonial America as an independent scholar. His ORCID is <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3686-1139>. Stay tuned!

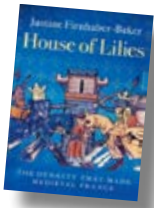
Dr Morvern French (PhD, 2017) and Dr Iain MacInnes (University of the Highlands and Islands) have published 'Katherine Beaumont, Countess of Atholl, and the Second Scottish War of Independence' (c. 1327-c. 1336) in *The Scottish Historical Review* (December 2023). A second instalment is forthcoming in Cathryn Spence, Janay Nugent and Mairi Cowan (eds), *Gender in Scotland, 1200-1800: Place, Faith and Politics*, which is due to be published by Edinburgh University Press in August 2024.

Dr John Condren (MLitt Reformation Studies, 2010 and PhD, 2016) began a permanent role as Assistant Professor in History at the University of Nottingham in September 2023, after having roles at Limerick and Oxford since leaving St Andrews in 2018. His first book, *Louis XIV and the Peace of Europe: French Diplomacy in Northern Italy, 1659-1701*, will be published by Routledge in the summer of 2024. It is based on his PhD thesis, which was supervised by Professor Guy Rowlands.

Dr Jordan Girardin (MLitt Modern History, 2013 and PhD, 2016) was an Associate Lecturer at the University of St Andrews from 2017 to 2018. He then took up a Leibniz-DAAD postdoc at the Institute of European History (IEG) in Mainz, Germany (2018-2019), working on the early steps of Esperanto history (that went on to be a big project within the School of History, under Dr Bernhard Struck's leadership). Jordan then moved towards science diplomacy and research policy. Between 2019 and 2021, he was chief of staff at the French consulate general in Edinburgh. Since 2021, he has been a scientific officer at the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF), Switzerland's research agency.

Dr Melanie Maddox (PhD, 2010) is now an Associate Professor of History at The Citadel, The Military College of South Carolina. She was just made the Assistant Director of General Education at The Citadel.

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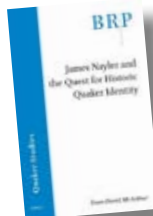
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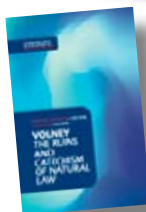
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