

Beyond '*Braveheart*'? Recent work on the Scottish Wars of Independence

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On a recent visit to a local High School the response to a question to an assembled mix of Intermediate and Higher pupils left me, momentarily, at a stand. 'And where was the famous Declaration of 1320 signed?' I asked. Answer – 'At the bottom.' This served me out for not wording my query more carefully and I was soon further and rightly informed that, actually, the nobility's letter to the Pope, dated at Arbroath, would have been sealed, not signed, and there is considerable doubt besides that those earls, lords and knights named on the document actually knew what they were agreeing to – this may have been a true statement of identity, or it may have been Bruce propaganda.

This lesson has made me wonder if history students these days, although not perhaps reading *more* than in the past, are reading and thinking increasingly *critically* about their curricula topics and personal historical interests; or that they are otherwise sharper and healthily cynical when it comes to analysing politics or debunking myths and 'media' presentation. The following article will reflect something of this perception and is designed to be a continuation of my 2003 *Yearbook* survey of scholarship on the Wars of Independence published since 1995.¹ As a tutor on a third year Honours module on the Wars of Independence I have certainly found that since writing that first piece my experience of students' initial interest in this field has changed markedly. Most strikingly, the film *Braveheart* (1995) is no longer the first point of contact for an enthusiastic majority. This is perhaps unsurprising since next year's cohort of Standard Grade history pupils would only have been born in the year in which that still stirring medieval romp hit the big screen. But although most pupils/students have still nonetheless seen Mel Gibson's opus, rerun on TV or

DVD, their points of access to the wider history of the Wars of Independence are otherwise undoubtedly changing.

Not least, there is a perceptible growth in interest generated through students' experience of heritage sites: most notably through personal or class visits to The National Wallace Monument (still one of the most popular of tourist attractions thanks to the *Braveheart* effect), the recently represented Bannockburn Heritage Centre, the perennial Stirling Castle and some ecclesiastical sites such as the abbeys of Dunfermline (where Bruce is buried) or Arbroath ('home' of the Declaration and now with a new statue of King Robert and Abbot Bernard holding aloft their letter to greet visitors to the burgh).² This year I have also encountered first year students inspired to study Scottish History after watching the BBC's ten-part and handsomely-shot *History of Scotland* (and not been put off by all that dripping water, wine, ink, blood...).

At the same time, however, there has also been a related bloom in pupils' and students' reading interest in the Wars. This is due in no small part to the steady growth in the number of schools teaching the history of the Wars, from Intermediate to Advanced Highers level, a total soon set to flourish with the expectation of further compulsory Scottish historical elements in the revised curriculum.³ Yet my perception of new Stirling University students' existing knowledge and enthusiasm for the Wars is that this is also often fuelled by private reading of a number of the recent, attractively presented works on the Wars and their celebrated participants. These texts range from general syntheses, through always-popular military studies, to focussed investigations of key families' loyalties and experiences, related to complex questions of politics, lordship and identity. Study of the history of the Wars has also benefited hugely from an upsurge in the number of accessible primary sources available in print and, of course, on-line. Finally, there has been focussed effort in analysing the development of the popular myths and historiographical shibboleths which have surrounded

the Wars and their heroic participants over the centuries since, an area where some of my own research lies.

General Studies

Michael Brown's *The Wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, volume four in the projected New Edinburgh History of Scotland series, surely deserves a claim as the best of the synthesis 'textbooks' published in the last few years.⁴ Its undoubted strength lies in the long-term perspective it deploys. Where previous series began or broke their narrative somewhat awkwardly at 1286 or 1306 or 1329, Brown's study seeks out the causes of Anglo-Scottish tension and amity from the early thirteenth century; it traces the difficult choices of lordship and identity in war after 1296 faced by a number of key cross-border families and institutions in Scotland; and it weighs the impact of this conflict and the cost of Bruce political revolution well beyond Bannockburn and into the second phase of the struggle for independence, to the end of the reign of David II. This is a work which also draws on its author's expertise in the wider British Isles history of the period, bringing together and expanding upon recent valuable research on the Wars' impact not only on the development of Scottish identity and politics, but on English lordship in Ireland (1315-8, 1327-8) and even Wales, as well as upon Plantagenet policies and English aristocratic and regional outlooks, beyond 1329 and into the Hundred Year War. The latter are themes developed further in Brown's focussed follow-up *Bannockburn: the Scottish War and the British Isles, 1307-23*, a volume which surveys the background and course of this famous battle but gives equal coverage to considering both its formative influence on the later fourteenth century polities of Scotland and England, and the more immediate harsher realities of Robert I's attempts to control the Scottish political community through parliament, patronage and propaganda.⁵

Similar themes are explored in the course of a recent work by Colm McNamee, another historian whose British Isles perspective has yielded crucial evidence for the nature of Bruce's kingship and the wider impact of the Wars. He has written a highly readable account of Robert Bruce's career which - beyond its core popular narrative of succession crises, Guardians and military events - also points to a more critical appraisal of English conquest problems and Bruce leadership.⁶ Although like so many earlier Bruce biographies it covers the kingship years of 1315-29, post-Bannockburn, with relatively thin thematic gloss, this is also a work which has absorbed a number of the recent (c.1990-) specialist articles on Bruce's later reign, the majority of which have challenged the emphasis placed by Professor Geoffrey Barrow upon the overarching and binding potency of the collective action of the responsible men of the Scottish kingdom – the 'community of the realm'.

Barrow's pioneering study remains a crucial starting point for students of the Wars. But that a number of recent studies (discussed below) have further detailed a complex picture of messy factional and regional struggle within the national conflict of 1286-1357 perhaps makes it somewhat disappointing that a recent fourth (illustrated, hardback) edition of Barrow's seminal biography (first published in 1965), really took no account of these alternative perspectives.⁷ For example, Barrow essentially ignores the implications of A.A.M. Duncan's very persuasive and thoughtful re-evaluation of both the key documents of the opening succession crisis of the Wars, c.1286-c.1300, and the level of real support wielded by Robert I at various points of his reign (1309-10, 1314-5, 1318-20). By contrast, the studies of Brown and McNamee incorporate and respond to such Duncan suggestions as: Bishop Fraser of St Andrews' famous letter about John Balliol to Edward I in October 1290, after the Maid of Norway's death, as being a warning rather than the elective act of a responsible man; of the Bruces having a far better legal claim to the throne during the Great Cause of 1291-2 in what was in fact an incredibly uncertain, unprecedented legal situation, one which Edward I may

thus in fact have exploited and ended by choosing Balliol as king for far more self-serving ends than previously acknowledged; or Bruce as Robert I, with the aid of key councillors, being very much the arch manipulator of community expressions of support after 1309.⁸

Lastly, as a valuable starting point to the history of the Wars and as a parallel to McNamee's study of Bruce, Marc Morris has penned a packed and riveting reassessment of Edward I.⁹ This is a work which similarly highlights the crucial link between a king's force of personality and the success of their reign, especially in the face of opposition; it also reveals the Crown's requirement to troubleshoot as well as plan, not merely on the local or national stage but across all the kingdoms of the British Isles.

Military Studies

Popular and specialist studies of the military events of the Wars also continue to appear and with the 700th anniversary of Bannockburn soon due a further publishing frenzy is likely (I plan to go abroad in 2014). Counted among the best of the many variable recent studies¹⁰ must be David Cornell's *Bannockburn: The Triumph of Robert the Bruce*, which as well as being a great read offers fresh perspectives on a number of fronts. Not least is this author's illustration of Bruce's decisive grasp of the importance of castles in strategy through concentrated efforts to slight and raze key fortifications of occupation like Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling in the months leading up the great set-piece battle of 1314, a pitched conflict which the Scots king thus *had* to fight to consolidate his tactics.¹¹

Cornell is joined by a number of medievalists who – building on the scholarship of Michael Prestwich - have used the relative wealth of English Crown records to illuminate further aspects of the three King Edwards' military levies and campaigns. For example, David

Simpkin's monograph details the changing nature of English royal armies c.1272-1314, illustrating (with valuable tables and appendices) the mixed nature of mobilisation through feudal levies alongside contracted noble retinues, professional mercenaries and chivalric champions, and focussing on the experience in service of a core of increasingly battle-hardened men-at-arms: this is a vital work for any student seeking to compare the disposition and organisation of English and Scottish forces (and bureaucracy).¹² Andrew Spencer has also analysed Edward I's patronage to his serving earls and their military retinues.¹³ Further studies have picked out key themes such as terror tactics against civilians, siege engines, artillery and religion, in both phases of the Wars.¹⁴

Nevertheless, it remains difficult for pupil/student essays and dissertations to offer anything fresh on the much-trampled field of the military history of the Wars. Here, investigation of alternative aspects of warfare may bear fruit. For example, Bruce McAndrew, David Simpkin and others have all explored the development and deployment of heraldry as an important feature and source of evidence for military (and political) campaigns: the heraldry of individual noble families or battles - through armorial rolls and seals - requires further study.¹⁵

Family, Identity, Dynasty: specialist monographs, edited collections and articles

The following works may represent a more challenging read for pupils and students but they have highlighted and re-evaluated important themes relating to identity, kingship and lordship during the Wars, once again exploring the longer-term context of cause-and-affect across the 'long' thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and throughout the wider British Isles.

Dauvit Broun's essays in his *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain* provide an invaluable exploration of the evidence for a strong, independent Scottish kingdom and identity long before the catalyst of the Wars, focussing in particular on the co-operation of Crown and Church in using the Pictish and early Scottish past to forge king-lists and national chronicle histories. Indeed, these were strategies strikingly evident during the reign of that remarkably ambitious, aggressive king, Alexander II (1214-49).¹⁶ The latter is an impression confirmed by a number of the essays in Richard Oram's edited collection on this monarch's neglected kingship and by some aspects of my own research on royal piety in medieval Scotland, a study which suggests Alexander II may have favoured saints and relics which could be used to rival and challenge English Crown worship and political influence (whilst under his successor and son, Alexander III, royal worship contributed, instead, to improved Anglo-Scottish relations).¹⁷

On the other side of the Wars, a number of scholars have begun to challenge the received notion that with former cross-border loyalties broken by the intense conflict of c.1296-c.1357, generations of Scots and English, particularly in the border zones, were now committed to mutual hostility as part of their emergent national character and their kingdom's 'traditional' and expected foreign policies. An essay collection edited by Andy King and myself provided a platform for both established and new scholars to examine the complexities of Anglo-Scottish relations in the wake of the Wars, studies which have revealed important chronological and regional variations and the particular outlooks of distinct estates, institutions and families in both realms.¹⁸ That it was not simply or automatically a case of Auld Enemy versus Auld Alliance for Scotland after 1314, or even after a second phase of war broke out against Edward Balliol and Edward III in 1332, is a fact underlined, too, by my own monograph on the reign of David II: this was a complex, shifting political landscape in which the longer-term legacy of Robert Bruce's revolution was played

out and David II's own hang-ups and tensions with some of his key subjects intertwined with his notions of closer relations with England, a policy which many clerics, merchants and burgesses, and nobles alike were willing to pursue. It took David's early death and the accession of the Stewarts in 1371, with Robert II all too willing to wrap himself in Robert I's standard and Barbour's epic poem *The Bruce*, for national lines to be more firmly drawn.¹⁹

Bridging these studies of the Wars' antecedents and consequences have been a number of valuable family studies. Ruth Blakely's monograph on the Bruces in England and Scotland before 1296 reveals not only what the Scottish part of that family gave up for the throne (and the fortunes of their English cousins at Hartlepool) but the deep roots of shared identity thus rent asunder by the conflict.²⁰ Amanda Beam's study of the Balliols similarly reveals the close attachment and service record of King John's father to Henry III: this was an inherited lord-man relationship which renders A.A.M. Duncan's argument, that the Balliol line was chosen by Edward I in 1292 because it suited him, all the more believable; it also helps explain much of the subsequent behaviour of the exiled John and Edward Balliol.²¹

Alongside these groundbreaking studies we also have Steve Boardman's monograph on the Campbells of Argyll and Cynthia Neville's study of lordship in Strathearn and the Lennox, both of which include chapters on their loyalties and fortunes during the Wars.²² We also have a number of shorter surveys in a collection edited by Boardman and Alasdair Ross which consider the war record of such houses as the Dunbar earls of March and the lords of Glencarnie.²³ All these case studies confirm the sustained importance of a detailed biographical and regional approach and there remain a number of key individuals and families from the Wars eminently suitable as a topic for a student essay or dissertation: in this regard, it has to be said that the church and churchmen during the Wars remain sorely under-researched, as do many of the 'Disinherited' lords in the Anglo-Ballioli camp after 1314.

Primary Sources

Many of these recent studies have benefited from new scholarly editions of key primary sources relevant to the Wars, as well as the wider availability of older editions, as both reprints and on-line.

Amongst the extant record sources, the first complete transcription of all the surviving rolls of the Scottish Parliaments have undoubtedly been the most important publication in the last few years. The St Andrews-based Scottish Parliament Project has, since 2008, made its full edition and translation of these records c.1235-1707 freely available on-line and their searchable database contains a wealth of information. For students of the Wars there is tremendous value in being able, say, to sift through all the statutes issued by Robert I in his crisis parliament at Scone in December 1318 (outlawing rumour-mongering, passing an act of succession and improving the military service owed by his tenants), or to compare all Bruce's (in)famous acts of parliamentary propaganda (1309, 1315, 1318, 1320, 1326) with treaties and everyday acts of governance and lordship.²⁴ No other contemporary record source has received such scholarly treatment since 2003 (although many of our Victorian editions are crying out for similar revision) but at least a good number of these older versions are also now freely available through such media as *The Internet Archive*, hosted by the US Library of Congress.²⁵

Chronicles and literary narratives contemporary to the Wars have been similarly well served of late. Among the most important new editions has been Andy King's retranslated and enlarged *Scalacronica* by Northumbrian knight, Sir Thomas Gray, invaluable as the only chronicle written by a layman and an eye-witness to the events of the later wars (and the son of a Bannockburn veteran).²⁶ Wendy Childs has also produced a new critical edition of the *Life of Edward II*, a work which often provides incidental Scottish information and news of

the canny timing of Bruce attacks to coincide with English domestic strife.²⁷ But more generally the efforts of print-on-demand and out-of-copyright publishers and *The Internet Archive* have made editions of the key contemporary and near-contemporary chronicles and literature of Scotland (Fordun, Wyntoun, Barbour, Hary but not Bower), England (Gray, Lanercost, Hemingburgh), France (Le Bel, Foissart) and some Irish annals readily available.

Charting Historiography and Unravelling Myth

Last but by no means least, the *Braveheart* effect can still be felt in the recent popularity of works investigating the construction of popular myths and historiographical traditions around the great players and events of the Wars, most especially around Wallace and Bruce. Graeme Morton's splendid *William Wallace: Man and Myth* (2001) has in this sense launched something of an industry. For example, Ted Cowan has added to Wallace's deconstruction with his *Wallace Book* in which experts on heritage, literature, artefacts and various historical periods unravel the changing – and, really, the intensifying – meaning of Wallace to successive generations of Scots.²⁸

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the aristocratic politico Robert Bruce still remains firmly in the shadow of everyman – even 'working-class' – Wallace (and of romantic radical Robert Burns). Scottish drama and fiction (and even *Braveheart*) have taken this even further and the inescapable idea of Wallace handing the torch or sword to Bruce and lecturing or befriending or inspiring him so that he can finish the job of winning independence, usually at Carron Shore after the battle of Falkirk, has become as resonant a cameo in Scottish history and identity as, say, Stanley and Livingstone's meeting in 1873 has for Imperialists.²⁹

My own research has revealed something of the difficulty Scots often encountered in knowing how to commemorate and ‘use’ Robert Bruce: for example, the re-interment of what were believed to be the king’s bones in the new Dunfermline Abbey church in 1819 seems to have been hampered by local politics and personal rivalries, as well as the national climate of fear of revolution in the midst of economic slump and agitation in post-Napoleonic Wars Britain.³⁰ However, the announcement earlier this year of plans to build a National Bruce Heritage Centre in Dumfries, the site of his sacreligious murder of John Comyn in 1306, suggests this successful, undoubtedly political Scottish leader may be due a further re-evaluation in post-Devolution Scotland (and perhaps, after May 2010, a post-Labour Westminster government).³¹ But, for the moment, dismantling the subsequent myths and reputations of the Wars seems fertile soil for student inquiry with a number of obvious gaps: for example, how were Bannockburn Day (24 June) and the battle site used by political and civic groups in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries? Or how has the way the Wars have been taught in Schools changed over the same period?

NOTES

¹ M. Penman, ‘After *that* Movie: Recent work on the Scottish Wars of Independence, c.1286-c.1400’, *History Teaching Review Yearbook*, 17 (2003), 4-10. The publisher and ISBN of key texts are listed below.

² The Stirling Smith Art Gallery & Museum has also hosted a number of valuable Wars-related exhibitions in the last few years – for example the ‘Men of Bannockburn’ drawings of military dress, 2009 – alongside its regular *Stirling Story* and *William Wallace* displays, with very useful guide books penned by curator, Elspeth King, e.g. *The Face of Wallace* (SSAGM, 2005, ISBN 095465112X).

³ This has certainly been part of the feedback, too, gleaned from a number of Teachers’ workshops on Highers and Curriculum for Excellence topics hosted by Stirling University over the last year: if you are interested in attending some of our future events please contact HistoryLiaison@stir.ac.uk.

⁴ M. Brown, *The Wars of Scotland, 1214-1371* (Edinburgh University Press, 2004, ISBN 9780748612386).

⁵ M. Brown, *Bannockburn: The Scottish War and the British Isles, 1307-1323* (Edinburgh University Press, 2008, ISBN 9780748633333).

⁶ C. McNamee, *Robert Bruce: Our Most Valiant Prince, King and Lord* (Birlinn, 2006, ISBN 9781841584751); see also his *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306-27* (John Donald, 2nd edition, 2006, ISBN 9780859766531). For a survey of other key works, mostly by Irish scholars, illuminating the Bruces' invasion of Ireland 1315-18 see Penman, 'After that Movie', 7-8.

⁷ G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert the Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh University Press, 4th edition, 2005, ISBN 0748620222).

⁸ A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots: Succession and Independence, 842-1292* (Edinburgh University Press, 2003, ISBN 0748616268); idem, 'The Declarations of the Clergy' in G.W.S. Barrow ed., *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting* (Edinburgh, 2002), 32-49; and idem, 'Revisiting Norham, May-June 1291', in C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and Len Scales eds., *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: Essays in honour of Michael Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 2008), 69-83. For a summary and development of Duncan's ideas on the Bruce's 'imperial law' claim 'by degree' in 1291, see M. Penman, 'Diffinizione successionis ad regnum Scottorum: royal succession in Scotland in the later middle ages', in idem and F. Lachaud eds., *Making and Breaking the Rules: succession in medieval Europe, c.1000-c.1600* (Turnhout, 2008), 43-60. For a similar re-evaluation of a key Wars document see W.B. Stevenson, 'The Treaty of Northampton (1290): A Scottish Charter of Liberties?' *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxxvi (2007), 1-15.

⁹ M. Morris, *A Great and Terrible King: Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (Windmill Books, 2008, ISBN 9780099481751).

¹⁰ Among the recommendable popular histories are A. Fisher, *The Killing Ground of the Scottish Wars of Independence, 1296-1346* (Stroud, 2000) and J. Sadler, *Border Fury: England and Scotland at War, 1296-1568* (London, 2004). But students should make cautious use of the sources and conclusions of: C. Brown, *Robert the Bruce: A Life Chronicled* (Stroud, 2004), idem, *William Wallace: the True Story of Braveheart* (Stroud, 2007) and idem, *Bannockburn 1314: A New History* (Stroud, 2009).

¹¹ D. Cornell, *Bannockburn: The Triumph of Robert the Bruce* (Yale University Press, 2008, ISBN 9780300145687); idem, 'A Kingdom cleared of Castles: the Role of the Castle in the Campaigns of Robert

Bruce', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxxvii (2008), 233-57. Michael Brown also has a third(!) book out with a chapter examining and graphically illustrating the role of castles, sieges and stealth attacks during the Wars: *Scottish Baronial Castles 1250-1450* (Osprey Publishing, 2009, ISBN 9781846032868).

¹² D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Boydell & Brewer, 2008, ISBN 9781843833888); idem, 'The English Army and the Scottish Campaign of 1310-1311', in A. King and M. Penman eds., *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2007), 14-39 – for further essays in this volume see n14, n18 and n21 below.

¹³ A. Spencer, 'The comital military retinue in the reign of Edward I', *Historical Research*, vol. 83, no. 219 (2010), 46-59; idem, 'Royal Patronage and the Earls in the Reign of Edward I', *History*, 93, no. 309 (2008), 20-46. Michael Prestwich has provided a synthesis of research and some reflection on some of his own earlier work in *Plantagenet England, 1225-1360* (Oxford, 2005).

¹⁴ E.g. D.S. Bachrach, 'The organisation of military religion in the armies of King Edward I of England (1272-1307)', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), 265-86; I.A. MacInnes, 'Shock and Awe': The Use of Terror as a Psychological Weapon during the Bruce-Balliol Civil War, 1332-1338' and D.H. Caldwell, 'The Scots and Guns' and A. King, 'Best of Enemies: Were the Fourteenth Century Anglo-Scottish Marches a 'Frontier Society'?', all in King and Penman eds., *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives*, 40-59, 60-72 and 116-35, Y.N. Harari, *Special Operations in the Age of Chivalry, 1100-1550* (Woodbridge, 2009).

¹⁵ B. McAndrew, *Scotland's Historic Heraldry* (Woodbridge, 2006), especially chs. 4-7, including the Great Cause, Ragman Roll and Declaration of Arbroath seals; D. Simpkin, 'The Galloway roll (1300): its content, composition and value to military history', *Historical Research*, 82, no. 218 (2009), 613-34. See also G.J. Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I, 1272-1307* (Woodbridge, 2008) and P. Coss and M. Keen eds., *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002). For a Scottish response to some of these heraldic ideas see: M. Penman 'Robert I (1306-29)', in M. Brown and R. Tanner eds., *Scottish Kingship, 1306-1542: Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall* (Edinburgh, 2008), 20-48; and Katie Stevenson's chapter in eadem ed., *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 2009).

¹⁶ D. Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780748623600); see also idem, 'Contemporary Perspectives on Alexander II's

Succession: The Evidence of King-Lists', in R.D. Oram ed., *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214-49* (Brill, 2005, ISBN 9004142061), 79-98.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, including essays on the Anglo-Scottish war of 1215-7 [Keith Stringer] and Scotland and the Papacy [Andrew Barrell]; M. Penman, 'Royal Piety in Thirteenth-century Scotland: The Religion and Religiosity of Alexander II (1214-49) and Alexander III (1249-86)' in J. Burton et al eds., *Thirteenth Century Scotland XII* (Woodbridge, 2009), 13-30. A companion piece to the latter article, on the piety of Robert I (1306-29) is forthcoming. As ever, Boydell & Brewer's valuable series on *Thirteenth-Century England* and *Fourteenth-Century England*, both published every two years, are worth checking for Scottish papers and Wars topics.

¹⁸ A. King and M. Penman eds., *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Boydell & Brewer, 2007, ISBN 9781843833185), including papers on Scots in Plantagenet Allegiance [Michael Brown], Religious Patronage on the Anglo-Scottish Border [Richard Oram], Pope John XXII's Anglo-Scottish Policy 1316-1334 [Sarah Layfield], Scotland the English Parliament [Gwilym Dodd], National and Political Identity in English Government records c.1286-1377 [Andrea Ruddick], Abuse of the English in Scottish Chronicles and Records (Penman) and 'Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Later Fourteenth Century: Alienation or Acculturation?' [Anthony Goodman].

¹⁹ M. Penman, *The Bruce Dynasty in Scotland: David II, 1329-71* (John Donald, 2004, ISBN 0859766039). For the Stewarts use of Barbour see S. Boardman, 'Robert II (1371-90)' in Brown and Tanner eds., *Scottish Kingship, 1306-1542*, 72-108; and S. Tolmie, 'Sacrilege, sacrifice and John Barbour's *Bruce*', *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 32 (2007), 7-32.

²⁰ R.M. Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland 1100-1295* (Boydell & Brewer, 2005, ISBN 184383152X). See also M. Strickland, 'Treason, Feud and the Growth of State Violence: Edward I and the 'War of the Earl of Carrick'', 13-6-7', in C. Given-Wilson et al eds., *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500*, 84-113.

²¹ A. Beam, *The Balliol Dynasty, 1210-1364* (John Donald, 2008, ISBN 9781904607731); see also eadem, 'Edward Balliol: A Re-evaluation of his Early Career, c.1282-1332', in King and Penman eds., *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century*, 73-93.

²² S. Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250-1513* (Edinburgh, 2006); C.J. Neville, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland: The Earldoms of Strathearn and Lennox, c.1140-1365* (Edinburgh, 2005).

²³ S. Boardman and A. Ross eds., *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland, c.1200-1500* (Four Courts, 2003, ISBN 1851827498). See also D.H. Caldwell, *Islay: the Land of the Lordship* (Edinburgh, 2009).

²⁴ See www.rps.ac.uk . The project also issued three essay collections: for the Wars see volume 1, A.A.B. McQueen, 'Parliament, the Guardians and John Balliol, 1284-1296', and R.J. Tanner, 'Cowing the Community? Coercion and Falsification in Robert Bruce's Parliaments, 1309-1318', in K.M. Brown and R.J. Tanner eds., *Parliament and Politics in Medieval Scotland, 1235-1560* (Edinburgh University Press, 2004, ISBN 0748614850).

²⁵ A recent search of this site [www.archive.org] revealed such sources as the *Calendars of Documents Relating to Scotland* and a number of Scottish monastic cartularies. See also the TannerRitchie Publishing CR-ROM or website catalogue of scanned editions, for example J. Stevenson ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland from the Death of Alexander III to the Accession of Robert Bruce, AD 1286-1306* (2 vols., ISBN 155429097X).

²⁶ *Sir Thomas Gray, Scalacronica, 1272-1363*, ed. and trans. with an introduction by A. King (Surtees Society, 2005, ISBN 085444064X).

²⁷ W. Childs ed. *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (Clarendon Press, 2005, ISBN 9780199275946).

²⁸ E.J. Cowan ed., *The Wallace Book* (Birlinn, 2007, ISBN 9780859766524).

²⁹ M. Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History: King Robert the Bruce (1274-1329)', *Études Écossaises*, 10 (2005), 25-40.

³⁰ M. Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones: Reputations, Politics and Identities in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 34 (2009), 7-73. See also R. Fawcett ed., *Royal Dunfermline* (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2005).

³¹ *Scotland on Sunday*, 31 January 2009.