



St. Margaret's Journal

Newsletter of The National Guild of St. Margaret of Scotland

Spring 2017

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2015-2017 Officers

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HONORARY PRESIDENTS GENERAL
Shari Kelly Worrell 2011-2013
Karen Elizabeth McClendon 2013-2015

Greetings from the President General

These past two years serving as your President General of the Guild has truly been as honor. I'm especially indebted to the dedicated and supportive efforts of our officers. Dianne Alley Robinson, 1st Vice President General, oversaw the production of our Directory/Handbook and has continued to maintain and update information for our records. Dianne has also graciously sponsored us at our annual gathering every year at the Army and Navy Club in Washington, DC. Our Registrar General, John R. Harman, Jr. continues to work expeditiously at processing, reviewing and approving applications for membership. The Guild is nearing the six hundred member milestone, and our website has proven to be a valuable resource for recruiting new members and keeping our members informed. Treasurer General Susan Gray has done a tremendous job managing our finances these past six years as well as managing our investments.

Chair Karen McClendon and the nominating committee are to be commended for selecting an outstanding slate of officers for the next term. These individuals will be voted on at our next annual gathering, and I most sincerely endorse them.

Each year the Guild presents a GSM Scholarship to a worthy student in the Undergraduate Program in Medieval Studies at the University of Chicago. Its director, Daisy Delogu, has turned the selection process over to Dr. Jonathan Lyon. See more information on the 2016 GSM Scholarship selection in this issue.

GSM continues to support the St. Margaret's Chapel Guild in Edinburgh, Scotland, through donations for altar flowers. The Chapel altar cloth project is completed so we remain open to assist in another Guild project, a second scholarship or other venture.

I am truly grateful to all who have contributed to the success of this society during this administration and to those who have agreed to serve in the next term.

See in this issue important information on the place/time of our annual gathering in Washington this coming April as well as the proposed slate of officers for 2017-2019.

A special thank you to Debby Wilhite for the informative biographies of Margaret's children from whom we descend featured in our newsletter.

With regards, Michael P. Schenk

New Members

#582 Mattie Frances Figgs Stevenson	Olive Welby, MA (Matilda)
#583 Lisa Schreiner Berta	Elizabeth Stratton Thorndike, MA (Matilda)
#584 Lynda Paulette Aydelott Moreau	Thomas Owsley, VA (Matilda)
#585 Rodney Dean Wilson	Katherine Saint Leger, VA (Matilda)
#586 Priscilla Anne Scabery Anderson	William Clopton, VA (David)
#587 Lillie Frances Harrington Davis	Roger Mallory, VA (Matilda)
#588 Philip Kerry Curtis	Edward Howell, MA (Matilda)
#589 Myron Crenshaw Smith	Anne Bayton, MA (Matilda)
#590 Walter Jervis Sheffield	Elizabeth Butler (Boetler/ Boeteler),VA (David)
#591 Ann Warren Wilkerson	William Farrar, VA, (Matilda)
#592 Lorraine Elizabeth Sharp Kish	Martha (Eltonhead) Conway, VA (Matilda)
#593 William Clifford Rybolt	Anne Lovelace, VA (Matilda)
#594 Steven Harry Steinberg	Capt. John Lightfoot, VA (Matilda)
#595 Gail Ann Adams	Joshua Owen, PA (Matilda)

Supplementals

#485 S-1 James Edward Mattern, Sr.	Frances Deighton, MA (Matilda)
#508 S-1 Marsha Lee Hauschild Masone	Mary Gye Maverick, MA (David)
#508 S-2 Marsha Lee Hauschild Masone	Mary Gye Maverick, MA (Mary)
#561 S-1 Bethany Ann Masone Harar	Mary Gye Maverick, MA (David)
#561 S-2 Bethany Ann Masone Harar	Mary Gye Maverick, MA (Mary)
#539 S-1 Christopher Willard Moberg	Warham Horsmanden, VA (Mary)
#539 S-2 Christopher Willard Moberg	Warham Horsmanden, VA (Matilda)

In Memory

#394 Ellen Ann Ogden Beinert	Deceased: 19 Jul 2015
#429 Autha Scoggin Williams (Mrs. Henry J.)	Deceased: 01 Nov 2015

Two Websites of Interest

The Guild of St. Margaret: <http://www.guildofstmargaret.com>
Members Only password: stmargaret

St. Margaret's Chapel (in Edinburgh) stmargaretschapel.com

The National Guild of St. Margaret of Scotland 12 April 2016 Annual Meeting Minutes

President General Michael P. Schenk called the meeting to order at 8:04 AM.

The invocation was given by Dr. Jack Early.

Guild presiding officers were introduced and ask to stand to be identified. They were:

Dianne Robinson, 1st Vice President and our sponsor at the Army and Navy Club

Joan Clark, 2nd Vice President

Barry Christopher Howard, Chaplain

Sue Gray, Treasurer

Paulette Lollar, Secretary

John Harman, Registrar/Genealogist

J. Michael Phelps, Chancellor

Melissa Fischer, Historian

Eric Neilsen, Trustee

Not present – Trustee Michel Swisher

Presiding officers of other National Societies were introduced. They were:

Barry Christopher Howard, Order of Three Crusades, 1096-1192; Order of the Crown of Charlemagne in the USA;

Order of the Indian Wars in the United States; Son of a Witch; National Order of the Blue and Gray; and HSC

Charles Bryan Poland, Order of Alba

Jane Routt Power, N S of New England Women; Presidents and Frist Ladies; Descendants of Fossars

Davine Moore Roberts, Society of Descendants of Lady Godiva

Michael Perry Schenk, Order of the Norman Conquest

Robert Pond Vivian, guest, Baronial Order of the Magna Charta

Cheryl Rios, Dames of the Court of Honor

Susan Rager, Colonial Cavaliers

Guests in attendance were:

Barbara Bruderlin, guest of Eric Nielsen; Caroline Furr, guest of Carter Furr; Charles Howell, husband of Laura Howell;

Laura Schenk, wife of Michael Schenk; Mary Jordan, guest of Richard Jordan; Lynne Kogel, guest of GSM; Ross Kogel,

guest of Michael Schenk; Bob Vivian, guest of Sue Gray; Margaret Wilson, guest of Jo Silman and Karen Hall.

President General asked all First Timer to identify themselves with a show of hands; and then welcomed all in attendance.

Dr. Jack Early gave the blessing and the meeting was recessed and breakfast was served.

The business meeting resumed with officer reports.

Treasurer General Susan Gray reported than at the conclusion of 2015, the income total was \$13,772.65 and expenses were \$9,714.77 with a net amount of \$4,057.88. For the months of Jan-Mar 2016, the income total was \$4,255.66, expenses \$2,759.40 with a net amount of \$1,496.26. The 2015 CD balance was \$44,809.42 and the 2016 (first quarter) balance was \$47,563.73. Life membership total (1/1/15-3/31/16 is \$3,300.00. She also presented the budget. It was moved, seconded and approve. See attached.

Registrar/Genealogist John Harman Jr. reported that the Guild has 584 members including 20 new applicants. Seven supplemental applications had been approved. See attached.

Historian Melissa Fischer announced that the icon and the scrapbook were on display.

President General Schenk gave an insignia report and announced that he had apparel items on hand for purchase.

The 2015 minutes were not read but will be included in the next newsletter. President General Schenk thanked the Secretary and both Karen Janczy and Bonnie Shelton who read and approved them.

President General Schenk thanked all that had made generous donations to the Guild. He reminded members that these donations are used for our scholarship and the fresh flowers on the altar at St. Margaret's Chapel. The Guild had collected funds for the newly dedicated altar frontal piece in the Chapel.

A memorial service was given for Lorraine S. Heaton (Mrs. Leonard), Helen Marie Roth Hudson (Mrs. Ray), and Margaret Jean Goode (Mrs. Jim L.) by Chaplain Barry Howard.

First Vice President General Dianne Robinson introduced the speaker, The Rev. Lynne A. Kogel, who presented a program "A History in Stained Glass." At the conclusion, President General Schenk presented her with a gift from the Guild.

Dr. Early gave the benediction and the meeting was adjourned at 9:30 AM.

M. Paulette Lollar, Secretary General

Approved as written by Karen Janczy and Bonnie Shelton, readers.

Chair Karen McClendon and the nominating committee present the following slate of officers for the next term.

**The Guild of St. Margaret of Scotland
2017 – 2019 Board Elect**

President General	Dianne Alley Robinson
1 st Vice President General	Janet Lewis Downing
2nd Vice President General	Anne Caussin Henninger
Chaplain General	Walter Jervis Sheffield
Treasurer General	Mary Paulette Lollar
Secretary General	Joan Littley Clark
Registrar/Genealogist General	John Robert Harman, Jr.
Chancellor General	Patricia Porter Kryder, Esq.
Historian General	Karen Janczy
Trustee	Eric Jon Nielsen, MD
Trustee	Michael Scott Swisher

**Joint Meeting of
Guild of St. Margaret of Scotland and
Order of the Norman Conquest**

Please make plans to attend a Joint Luncheon Meeting at 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. on April 18, 2017 at the Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C. under the gracious sponsorship of Nicholas Donnell Ward, Esq. and coordinated by Dianne Alley Robinson.

October 14, 2016 marked the 950th Anniversary of the Battle of Hastings. A number of ONC members and spouses, Karen McClendon, Debby Wilhite, Paulette Lollar, Laura Schenk and I along with visits from Lynn and Ross Kogel, bravely ventured to Normandy via Paris and then to England, following the path of William, Duke of Normandy, both before and after the invasion of England.

Because the tapestry at Bayeux is probably the best resource documenting the events leading to the Battle of Hastings between William and Harold, King of England, we selected and visited various points of interest depicted in the tapestry.

Our objective was somewhat unconventional in that we were interested in places associated with the life of William, first as Duke of Normandy and then as King of England, following his life in various locations of Normandy and noting his influence and presence as well as the changes he made after Hastings in both England and Normandy.

We will present some of our findings with you when we meet on April 18, 2017, so please mark your calendars.

The topic will be: **William the Conqueror: Before and After the Battle of Hastings.**

Thank you to our Benefactors

Your Guild of St. Margaret has been the recipient of several donations over the past year.

Donations were from the following:

Jack Early in memory of LTC Joseph Derwood Early
Michael Perry Schenk (2) in memory of his mother, Lola Margaret Gleason Schenk
Richard and Mary Jordan
Sue Smith in Memory of Robert and Florence Bonin
Susan Rager in memory of her mother Evelyn Noel Godman
Carroll Goslee in memory of Mrs. Regina L. Goslee
Karen Hall
Joan Clark in memory of grandmother Margaret Drysdale Swing

Sincere thanks to all whose generous gifts to GSM enable the society to continue its work.



Photograph of the flowers and the newly created altar cloth and frontal cloth.

Hazel Dunn, Guild Fellowship Secretary, our friend and liaison with the Guild in Scotland, has continuously kept us updated on the progress of the projects that we help support.

Message from Hazel:

We discussed your regular, generous donations to the St Margaret's Chapel Guild at our last committee meeting, and wondered if there was something we could do to thank you for your continued support.

It was agreed that we would put special Thanksgiving themed flowers in the chapel on the date closest to Thanksgiving Day. The pictures below are currently in the chapel, and show how one of our members interpreted the theme. I hope you like them.

I hope all is well with you, and that your organization continues to flourish.

Matilda of Scotland

By Deborah L. Wilhite



Eadgyth [Matilda], named in Wessex tradition, was born early fall 1080 to Scottish king Malcolm Canmore III and his second wife, Anglo-Saxon princess Margaret. At Eadgyth's baptism, William the Conqueror's eldest son, Robert Curthose, agreed to sponsor the princess while his mother Matilda of Flanders was her godmother. During the ceremony, the infant princess reached up and pulled at the royal headdress Queen Matilda was wearing, actually pulling it over her own head, a medieval omen she would also be a queen.

Orderic Vitalis records that their mother, Margaret of Scotland, sent Eadgyth and her sister Mary to be brought up [educated] at Romsey Abbey where her sister Christina was a nun.¹ Aunt Christina was determined that Eadgyth should also become a nun and forced her against her wishes to wear a nun's habit. Historical references state Christina "dressed the young princess in a veil during the summer of 1093 to protect her from the eyes of William Rufus."² This practice seems to have emerged as an Anglo-Saxon effort to protect their young girls from "the eyes of the Normans."

In 1093 documents establish William Rufus and Malcolm were involved in ongoing negotiations. William summoned Malcolm to Gloucester for discussions but then refused to receive him. Malcolm left and immediately rode to see his daughter Eadgyth. The situation became more apparent when the convent abbess recalled a particular week in 1093.

The king [William Rufus] entered the cloister as if for the purpose of inspecting our roses and other flower herbs. As soon as he saw Eadgyth with our other girls wearing a veil on her head, he withdrew from the cloister and left the convent, and so openly revealed he had come for no other reason than her. When King Malcolm, the girl's father, came to our convent within the week and saw the veil upon his daughter's head, he was angry. He tore the veil into pieces, threw them on the ground and trampled them under his feet. He then took his daughter away with him.³

The timing of these events is fortuitous. Malcolm and William Rufus "parted with great dissatisfaction and king Malcolm returned to Scotland. And soon after he came home, he gathered his army, and came harrowing into England with more hostility than behooved him; and Robert, the Earl of Northumberland, surrounded him unawares with his men, and slew him. With him was also slain Edward his son; who after him should have been king, if he had lived. When the good Queen Margaret heard this -- her most beloved lord and son thus betrayed she was in her mind almost distracted to death. She with her priests went to church, and performed her rites, and prayed before God, that she might give up the ghost."⁴ Three days later Margaret of Scotland died, November 16, 1093.

The next documentation referring to Eadgyth occurs in 1100 with discussions of marriage to King Henry I, son of William the Conqueror. On August 3, 1100, England's king William Rufus was accidentally killed in a hunting accident, and two days later, his brother Henry seized the English throne. Since it was well known that Eadgyth had worn the veil, an ecclesiastical council was called to hear the case in order to dispel any allegations that she was actually a nun and leaving the monastery unlawfully. Eadgyth testified, claiming she had never been intended for the cloister [giving] her account of her father's anger at finding her in a nun's headdress [which] was supported by "credible witnesses summoned from diverse places."⁵ Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, conducted the investigation and verified the facts and the marriage approved, "And

soon hereafter, the king took to wife Maud, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and of Margaret the good queen, the relative of King Edward, and of the right royal race of England. And on Martinmas day (November 11), she was publicly given to him with much pomp at Westminster, and the Archbishop Anselm wedded her to him, and afterwards consecrated her queen.“⁶ King Henry I married firstly (Westminster Abbey 11 Nov 1100) Eadgyth of Scotland, daughter of Malcolm III "Caennmor/Bighead" King of Scotland & his wife Margaret of England.”⁷ Florence of Worcester records the marriage of King Henry and "*regis Scottorum Malcolmi et Margaretæ reginæ filiam Mahtildem*" and her coronation as queen in a passage dealing with events in late 1100, adopting the name Matilda at her marriage.⁸ Orderic Vitalis records that King Henry I married "*Mathildem quæ prius dicta est Edith*" crowned Queen Consort 11 or 14 Nov 1100.⁹



Henry I and Matilda of Scotland, 13th c.

Foremost in Henry’s mind was establishing legitimacy before his oldest brother Robert Curthose returned from the Crusades. Henry also realized an alliance between England and Scotland would secure the northern border and allow him to concentrate his military resources on Normandy and Wales. His marriage to Matilda, a direct descendant of Alfred and of English royal blood thru her mother, provided that validity he needed against his tenuous claim to the throne. The annalist of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ca. 1100, echoed the people’s voice, Matilda was “of the rightful kingly line of England.”

In 1100 when Matilda of Scotland became queen of England she took on a role that had developed complex traditions. After Eadburgh of Mercia died In 802, Wessex aristocracy were only too aware of a queen’s potential power making it illegal to raise a woman to queenly status. They also swore never to permit any king to rule over them who invited the queen to share the royal throne nor could she be referred to as Queen, only as “king’s wife” (*regis coniunx*).¹⁰ Fifty years later when Frankish king Charles the Bald’s daughter Judith married King Aethelwulf, king of Wessex, Charles insisted Judith be crowned and guaranteed her queenly status would be recognized. Judith was consecrated on the continent and her ceremony established a precedent for queenly consecration and anointment in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. By 973 a formal inauguration ceremony which focused on the ritual enthronement of the new queen was adopted when Edgar and his queen Aelfhyth were anointed with her role as primarily regal protector of religion and in turn the nunneries mirroring the king’s responsibility to the monasteries.¹¹ At the same time the Wessex rulers eliminated a queen’s power the Carolingians had their Frankish queens and empresses anointed. It is interesting to note that between 771 and 800, Charlemagne’s instructions in the *Capitulare de villis* demonstrate the trust he placed in his queen, for he ordered that anything she instructed a judge to do ought to be “carried out to the last word.” If the judge failed to do so, he had to abstain from drink until the emperor or the queen granted him absolution.¹²

Since a queen’s power was not institutionally determined, her power depended on her relationships to her spouse and male kinsmen, her wealth and her ability to control political factions. A queen was generally in charge of the royal treasury including sometimes the distribution of gifts to the king’s retainers and regulating the ceremonial gatherings of the king and his “*comitatus*.” It was expected for a queen have a reputation of wisdom and reflect a certain appearance, especially for ceremonial occasions by wearing gold, jewels and sumptuous clothing to not only proclaim her own importance but to enhance and reflect the status and wealth of her husband.

A queen had four sources of revenue which included dowry or “*marigaium*,” Queen’s Gold tax or “*aurum reginae*” owed to the exchequer as a surtax on certain fines collected by the king, gifts or bribes and lands with revenue assigned to a bride by her husband at the time of the marriage which could produce income for the queen. While it cannot be determined what Matilda brought to the marriage in the form of a dowry, William of Malmesbury seems to indicate that unlike most royal brides, Henry’s bride brought little or nothing in the way of *maritagium*. “A rich dowry was of no account to Henry as long as he could secure the affections of one whom he had long desired.” Matilda, though of noble lineage, was “mistress of only a modest fortune, being an orphan without either parent.”¹³

There are no reliable estimates of Matilda’s revenues and holdings, but Queen Matilda controlled considerable resources that would rank her among the wealthiest of England’s magnates, thus allowing her latitude to play a public role in Henry’s reign. She was a trusted partner in Henry’s cross channel realm, acting as vice-regal authority while he was in Normandy and a member of his royal council (*curia regis*), working with the King’s barons where major policy decisions were made and judgment charters were issued on a wide spectrum of cases. Matilda had the means to patronize ecclesiastical institutions of her choice and helped determine the direction of Henry’s patronage.

Matilda directed much of her energy and many of her resources towards improving London and bettering the lives of its inhabitants. Both of the queen’s major foundations, St. Giles and Holy Trinity Aldgate, were located in or just outside the city. In addition to the leprosaria, hospitals and religious houses, Matilda provided purely practical benefits for London. At Queenhithe (the Millennium Bridge crosses into Queenhithe to the only remaining Anglo Saxon dock), Matilda paid for a large bathhouse that included London’s first public toilet facilities with piped-in-water and lavatories.^{14,15} The queen also built several bridges linking London with the surrounding countryside. One of these, Stratford-le-Bow, was a three-arched stone bridge built over the River Lea, a rare engineering marvel unlike anything that had been seen before in England providing the major crossing between London and Essex well into the 19th century.

The first and primary obligation of a 12th century queen was to provide a male heir. Matilda’s first pregnancy was difficult threatened by a miscarriage, but in February 1102, their daughter Matilda was born. Before the end of September 1103, she had given birth to their son William to celebrations throughout the kingdom. Fulfilling her obligation of an heir, William of Malmesbury, who knew the queen well, reports that she “ceased with to have offspring or desire them, satisfied when the king was busy elsewhere, to bid the court goodbye herself, and spend many years at Westminster.”¹⁶ Matilda’s favorite palace was Westminster, rebuilt by Rufus in the final years of his reign, and “the ceremonial center of the Anglo-Norman kingdom” with its great hall measuring 240 feet long by 67 1/2 feet wide, the largest in England and probably in Contemporary Europe.¹⁷

The period of Matilda of Scotland’s life and reign was one in which European “high culture” flourished as never before. Architecturally, the Normans led the way in the creation and perfection of the techniques of stone vaulting and sculpture characteristic of the Romanesque style. William of Malmesbury, who carried the blood of both Normans and Anglo-Saxons, remarked that the English lived extravagantly in small humble buildings while the Normans and French lived moderately in large and proud structures.¹⁸ Artistic production in post-Conquest England illustrated a difference in taste between conquerors and their subjects. Saxon artisanship lay in the production of portable items such as jewelry, liturgical objects, and textiles

woven or embroidered with precious metals and incusted with jewels. While the Normans appreciated the small-scale work of English artisans, their own skill and taste tended to be expressed in large and technically daring buildings. Matilda shared the Norman passion for erecting large architectural wonders that highlighted their ingenious best although there is evidence that she also patronized her Anglo-Saxon ancestors by giving gifts of Anglo-Saxon metalwork and needlework.

By the early 12th century in the Anglo-Norman realm, the Conquest had provided an impetus for both production and consumption of literature. With literacy becoming more widespread so was the demand for books, becoming a status symbol for members of Europe's aristocratic classes. Matilda enjoyed literature especially poetry, visual arts, music and song. Her Anglo-Norman court became a focus for these cultural activities and has been said "the age of chivalry dawned in the Anglo-Norman world sometime between the reign of William the Conqueror and the death of Henry I."¹⁹

During the last years of William Rufus' reign and the first years of Henry's, members of the king's retinue had begun to adopt exaggerated fashion and hair styles to mark themselves as members of the court circle.²⁰ Between the years 1105 and about 1110, there was a gradual moral reform in the court brought about by orders imposed by the king often attributed to the influence of Queen Matilda. According to the churchmen who wrote to and for Matilda, the king's wife had a clear role in shaping the law and could be praised as one who brought peace and justice for the kingdom. Not only did she introduce refinements in dress, manners, and royal pomp, but her innovations were accomplished so effectively that wherever the court traveled, no one "was permitted to seize anything for himself, nor would any one of them dare to oppress or injure the country people or the papers in any way."²¹

Matilda died the first day of May, 1118, with no indication that she had been suffering from any lingering illness and nothing that hints at the cause of her death. The necrology of the abbey of Saint-Denis records the death "Kal Mai" of Matildis Anglorum regina."²² Her death was also documented by Florence of Worcester who records at Westminster of "*Mahthildis regina Anglorum*" and her burial at Westminster Abbey.

²³ William of Malmesbury simply explained that she "shared in the lot of her relations, who almost all departed this life in the flower of their age."²⁴

Matilda was one of the most powerful and influential women of the 12th century, earning devotion of her realm thru her numerous charities and reputation for personal piety "from the time England first became subject to kings. Out of all the queens, none was found to be comparable to her, and none will be found in time to come, whose memory will be praised and whose name will be blessed through the ages."²⁵ She was able to maintain a generally harmonious relationship with Henry in spite of a challenging marital situation, praised as a suitable helpmeet to the king, admonished to act as an intercessor in case of his harsh behavior, counseled to be a wise lawgiver, and urged to be an advocate of commerce.

Her friendships with men such as Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, Gundulph Bishop of Rochester, and Faritus Abbot of Abingdon allowed her to share in their goals and projects, allowing her to draw upon their experience and resources as she developed her own interests and patronage patterns. She left indelible marks on the city of London in the form of physical monuments. Matilda who always viewed herself as a Scottish and Anglo-Saxon princess promoted the interests of her younger brother David and her sister Mary, influencing the course of English and Scottish history for several generations. She commissioned at least two histories, a life of her mother, Margaret, from a monk of Durham, and an extended history of the deeds of Anglo-Saxon kings, her ancestors, *De Gesta Regum Anglorum*, by historian and monk William of

Malmesbury as “a deliberant attempt to tell English history to a generation that was the product of the union of England and Normandy symbolized in the marriage of Matilda and Henry.”²⁶ *Gesta Regum* was finished after Matilda’s death and presented to her daughter, Empress Matilda.²⁷

“Good Queen Matilda” illustrates for many what the medieval world admired in a royal consort, a patron of the arts, friend of the church, mother to the English nation who was still adjusting to the finality of the Norman Conquest, helping reconcile the children of the conquered with those of the conquering.

Notes

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- 22 Obituaires de Sens Tome I.1, Abbey of Saint-Denis, p 316
- 23 Forester, *Chronicles of Florence of Worcester*, p 71
- 24 *Gesta regum*, p 759
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- Medieval Women’s Latin Letters online: <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/woman/64.html> (* This site provides access to some of her actual letters, translated)

David I of Scotland “The Saint”

By Deborah L. Wilhite



Dauid beside grandson Máel Coluim mac Eanric, Kelso Abbey, 1159

Into a world of insurgency and unrest, David mac Máel Coluim, the youngest of six sons, was born ca 1083 to King Malcolm III and his second wife, Margaret of Wessex. By the time of his birth, William the Conqueror had been on the throne of England for 15 years, the English had continued their resistance against Norman rule and Scotland had become a sanctuary for English nobles and aristocracy, including Margaret’s brother, the last English claimant to the throne of England from the house of Wessex, Edgar Ætheling.

In 1069 William led a major campaign to gain control over northern England. Edgar, with other rebels who had fled to Scotland, returned to England to lead the resistance. By winter William was subjugating northern England “Harrying of the North.”¹ The Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis described the campaign, “The King stopped at nothing to hunt his enemies, cutting down many people, destroying homes and land. Nowhere else had he shown such cruelty. To his shame, William made no effort to control his fury, punishing the innocent with the guilty, ordering crops and herds, tools and food be burned to ashes. More than 100,000 people perished of starvation...I can say nothing good about this brutal slaughter. God will punish him.”² In 1070 Malcolm, in alliance with the Ætheling and other English rebels, launched a “savage raid” protecting his adjoining areas of Cumbria and Lothian, threatened by the invasion. To avenge Malcolm’s raid, William led a large land and naval force two years later, encountering Malcolm and his men at Abernethy where Malcolm, deciding to avoid a battle against such odds, signed the Treaty of Abernethy. Conditions of the treaty included Malcolm “swearing allegiance to William“ and in return, receiving estates in Cumbria, agreeing that Edgar Ætheling would be banned from the Scottish court,“ guaranteeing his good behavior, and handing over his son Duncan (Donnchad mac Maíl Coluim), by his first wife, to William as a hostage.³ The Annals of Ulster note that “French [Normans] went into Scotland and brought away the son of the king of Scotland as hostage.”⁴

David’s life abruptly changed in 1093 with the deaths of his father and oldest brother Edward during an ambush at Alnwick followed three days later with the death of his grieving mother. Although Malcolm and Margaret had six sons, the death of their oldest son and their second son Edmund, an abbot of Dunkeld, left four young sons and Scotland open for invasion. Upon Matilda’s death, “while the holy queen’s body was still in the castle where her happy soul had passed away to Christ, whom she had always loved,” Malcolm’s younger brother, Danald mac Donnchad, invaded the kingdom at the “head of a numerous band and laid siege” to the castle where he knew the king’s rightful and lawful heirs were.⁵ Danald had been in hiding for almost 50 years after their father Donnchad mac Crinain was killed by a force led by Macbeth in 1040. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records “Danald chosen as king and expelled the English from the court.”⁶ John Fordum, a 14th century chronicler, wrote Margaret’s brother Edgar Ætheling “being concerned for his nephews’ well-being took the sons of Malcolm and Margaret to England.”⁷

Duncan, Malcolm’s son who had been taken as a hostage in 1072, had been kept in Normandy. Florence of Worcester records, Robert III, Duke of Normandy, released him from custody in 1087, after his father’s death,

knighted him and allowed him to leave Normandy.⁸ Duncan joined William Rufus in England, remaining at his court and serving in his army.⁹ In 1094 William Rufus supported Duncan's bid to depose his uncle Danald, Duncan swearing fealty before leaving for Scotland, invading at the head of an army of Anglo-Normans and Northumbrians aided by his half-brother Edmund and father-in-law Gospatric, Earl of Northumbria.¹⁰ Within a month Duncan II proclaimed himself King of Scotland, his reign lasting only 18 months before he was murdered by his uncle Danald.¹¹ The *Annals of Inisfallen* record "Domnall son of Donnchadh" killed "Donnchadh son of Máel Coluim, king of Alba" in 1094 and "took the kingship of Alba."¹² William Skene, 19th century Scottish historian, attributed the events to laws of succession, Danald and Celtic laws versus Duncan under the Saxons. William of Malmesbury records that King Duncan was "murdered by the wickedness of his uncle Danald"¹³ and Danald resumed his kingship.

In 1097 Edgar Atheling "saw that Danald had wickedly usurped the throne of Scotland, which, by right, belonged to his nephews, and was stirred to wrath. So he gathered together from all sides a vast number of his friends ... set out against Danald in order to drive him out and appoint as king of Scotland, his nephew, Edgar, a younger son of King Malcolm and his wife Margaret."¹⁴ Edgar, fourth son of Malcolm and Margaret, reigned from 1097–1107. Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx, described Edgar as "a sweet-tempered, amicable man, in all things resembling Edward the Confessor; mild in his administration, equitable, and beneficent." In 1107 on his deathbed, Edgar named his younger brother Alexander his successor but bequeathed to his youngest brother David "Cumbria," an appanage in southern Scotland (grant of an estate to a younger male child of a sovereign) in spite of Alexander's dissent.

A pivotal year for David was 1131. With Henry's return from Normandy, David finally had the support of the English barons and backing to take control of his appanage, forcing Alexander's acceptance. Additionally, with Henry's backing and his sister Matilda's support, a very advantageous marriage was arranged with widowed heiress Matilda, daughter of William the Conqueror's niece Judith and Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, giving David lordship to the shires of Northampton, Huntingdon, and Bedford with a defunct lordship covering the far north of England, including Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland proper.

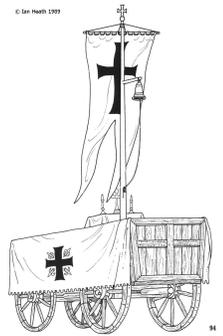
For almost 30 years, David lived in the Anglo-Norman world, carving out a career for himself as a nobleman at the court of his brother-in-law, Henry I of England, receiving a Norman education and growing to love and be influenced by the Norman and Anglo-Saxon culture. Henry's court was certainly seen as a school of good manners, and Malmesbury described David as "A youth more courtly than the rest, and who polished, from a boy, by intercourse and familiarity with us, had rubbed off all of the rust of Scottish barbarism." After becoming king, David enacted a policy of offering tax rebates to any Scotsmen who would learn "to live a more civilized style, dress with more elegance and eat with more refinement."¹⁵

About the same time Alexander assumed the realm in 1107, Henry, seeking to strengthen the connection to England, offered Alexander marriage to his illegitimate daughter Sibilla. It is said of their relationship, "They had no issue and when she died, Alexander did not much lament her loss: for there was, as they affirm, some defect about the lady, either in correctness of manners, or elegance of person."¹⁶

Upon Alexander's death in 1124, David immediately set off for Scotland accompanied by knights and courtiers from Norman England - many of whom became the future aristocrats and even kings of Scotland - including Bruce, Balliol and FitzAlan (who later became the Stewart kings). With Henry's backing, David

fought two fierce battles, ultimately defeating Alexander's illegitimate son Máel Coluim. Following the victories David was crowned king of Scotland with bridled acceptance from the Scottish magnates who realized their only alternative would be war. Although David was brother of the late king and of Scottish birth, he was a virtual foreigner to the Scottish people who remembered only a decade before when he had been prepared to secure the Scottish lands he wanted with the military might and armored muscle of his Anglo-Norman friends.

In 1127, realizing his only heir would be daughter Matilda, Henry called together the prelates and nobles of the realm to swear allegiance to her; David was in attendance, first to take the oath. Henry died December 1, 1135, and within three weeks, Stephen of Blois had crossed from Boulogne with his military household and brother's help, seizing the English throne. Three days later David was on the offensive, leading an army into England, an act viewed as "ambition and aggression"¹⁷ that aimed at winning possession of disputed territories of southern Cumbria and Northumbria. David portrayed his actions as an "oath-bound obligation" by taking oaths and hostages from the regional nobility securing their allegiance to Matilda. When Stephen heard the news, he said, "What the King of Scots has gained by stealth, I will manfully recover," immediately collecting a powerful force and advancing against David. In February of 1136, Stephen and David met at Newcastle, ultimately resulting in compromise. David consented to withdraw his troops, and Stephen conferred on David's eldest son Henry the earldom of Huntingdon.



Carroccio, cart with a pole carrying church banners and a silver pyx to carry the host (Eucharist) at the top, i.e. the Standard.

Near Carlisle about 1030, silver, a measure of wealth in medieval Europe, was discovered, thus enabling David to mint his own coins, exhibiting his kingdom's independence and fueling ambitious programs of castle-building, monastic foundations and burgh development.¹⁸

During the winter of 1136, David again prepared to invade England. The king of the Scots massed an army on Northumberland's border to which the English responded by gathering an army at Newcastle.¹⁹ Once more a battle was avoided with a truce declared until December when David demanded that Stephen hand over the whole of the old earldom of Northumberland. Stephen's refusal led to David's third invasion in January and February of 1138, shocking the English chroniclers.²⁰ Richard of Hexham called it, "an execrable army, more savage than any race of heathen, yielding honour to neither God nor man" and that it "harried the whole province and slaughtered everywhere folk of either sex, of every age and condition, destroying, pillaging and burning the vills, churches and houses."²¹ By February, King Stephen marched north to deal with David, but the two armies avoided each other and Stephen was soon on the road south. That summer David split his army into two forces, one marching into Lancashire where he harried Furness and Craven, later meeting a force of knights and men-at-arms where a pitched battle took place at Clitheroe and the English army was routed.²²

By July, 1138 the two Scottish armies had reunited in "St Cuthbert's land," lands controlled by the Bishop of Durham. Another English army had mustered to meet the Scots, and David was inspired to risk battle after their recent victory at Clitheroe. According to Richard of Hexham, David's united army numbered 26,000 strong,²³ meeting the English army of about 10,000 on August 22 at Cowdon Moor, what came to be known as "The Battle of the Standard," named after the carroccio positioned in the center of the Englishmen by Thurstand, bishop of York. The English army chose a defensive position on a hill. The Scottish were described as ferocious savages, half clad and half armed, of great courage but making the error of allowing the Galwegians, who composed a principal division of the army, to claim first attack, rushing in with terrible

shouts of “Abanigh, Albanigh!” we are the men of Albany, a boast of their descent from the Picts or ancient Caledonians to which the English, shouted in derision, “Eerygh, Eerygh—Standard!” ... that is — “Ye are but Irish—the Standard forever!” The English knights dismounted to fight on foot as dismounted infantry, their horses being held apart in reserve, interspersed with archers, notable as a prelude to similar English tactics used in the 14th century Hundred Years’ War. “Thus arrayed, the English received the impetuous charge of the wild Galloway men, not in armour, and were destroyed by arrow, looking like hedgehogs with spines.” David with his heavy cavalry scattered the force opposed to him and stampeded the horses of the English that were held in reserve. Prince Henry of Scots led a cavalry charge but pursued too far and the discipline of the Scots was broken resulting in the Scots’ complete defeat. The battle lasted two hours.²⁴

The English were not in a situation to pursue their advantage, and King David moved on to Carlisle, laying siege and razing it to the ground, returning to Scotland more like a conqueror than like one whose army had been routed. The following year a treaty of peace was concluded between the two kings at Durham, by which David obtained the earldom of Northumberland, the ostensible object of the war, which his son enjoyed till his death and left to his descendants.²⁵

In 1141 Matilda gained the throne for a short time, and David, hoping to persuade her to follow a course of moderation and policy, went to court, but her personal arrogance, haughtiness and vanity erupted, only serving to alienate. In August the bishop of Winchester refused to meet with Matilda, resulting in David and a number of tenants-in-chief besieging his castle while Matilda, with her own sizeable force, was besieged by forces loyal to King Stephen. Matilda fled, “but for fear of the bishop...and on the advice of her followers, mounted her horse dressed male-fashion—*usu masculino*—and was led to the Devizes.” But since not even there could she feel herself safe from her pursuers, she was placed on a litter, already half dead, and wrapped in bandages as if a corpse, borne upon horses and carried ignominiously enough to the city of Gloucester.²⁶ “It is provocative that, in adversity, her virago-like behavior was commended, even by the fiercely antagonistic *Gesta Stephani*, which reported that “The countess of Anjou, who was always above feminine softness, had a mind steeled and unbroken in adversity.”²⁷ After the death of her half-brother Robert of Gloucester in 1148, Matilda returned to Normandy, turning over the effort to her son Henry.

In 1149 Henry II, son of the Empress Matilda, came to England to personally assert his claim to the English crown, meeting David at Carlisle where a lavish court ceremony was staged, knighting Henry after an oath that should Henry become king of England, he would formally recognize the Scottish possessions of Newcastle and all of Northumbria.²⁸ David’s knighting of Henry was not only a reflection of David’s prestige as a knight, but it was Henry’s father who had knighted David when he was young.²⁹

The first decade of David’s reign was extremely difficult as a foreign-educated stranger in an unknown land where primogeniture had not yet been established and contending with challenges from Alexander I’s bastard son, Mael Coluim. During the first time years of his reign, David remained primarily in Cumbria where his authority and supporters were strongest although he was king of the Scots but in little more than name. Yet during this same time he was developing a new style of kingship modeled closely after the Anglo-Normans, introducing innovations in secular and ecclesial government, economic development and land holding practices which would form the foundations of his later power. After Henry’s death in 1135, David attempted to push the Scottish border further south. In 1139 King Stephen ceded Northumbria and recognized Scotland as an independent kingdom in the Treaty of Durham.

Since the tenth century, the Scottish kings' control over their northern territories had fluctuated from both involvement with Norway and control by the thanages (estates owned by the crown and administered on the king's behalf by an appointed official—the thane) including Moray, tightly controlled by Oegnus, the dynasty's last ruling member who was killed after challenging David in battle. David built a Benedictine priory on his ancestral lands as a demonstration of absolute permanence.



Silver penny of David I, believed lost August 1138 at the Battle of the Standard, found in 1998, sold June, 2012 for £8,400.

"Davidian Revolution" is a term used to summarize the changes that took place in Scotland during his reign. David viewed the settlement of Moray as one of his personal key achievements. Before his reign there was some population concentration around large monasteries but no towns. The first burgh he created was Berwick, followed by 16 others. Stirling, Perth, and Dunfermline were made royal burghs, allowing them to engage in foreign trade. The new burgh communities were implanted with colonial aristocracy fulfilling military, economic, and cultural roles. In the Lowlands David introduced a feudal system of land to French-speaking Anglo Norman aristocracy who soon anglicized southern Scotland. Norman English became the dominant language of court while Gaelic was spoken in the Highlands and Norse in the far North and the Isles. His multi-layered approach with monastic foundations and clergy provided advancement of his political influence in the region. He was one of medieval Scotland's greatest monastic patrons, founding more than a dozen new monasteries, in addition to patronizing new monastic orders, all which significantly improved the economy of Scotland through their innovations such as agriculture, sheep farming, coal working and salt production. Continually applying himself to the internal improvement of his country, David encouraged commerce, foreign trade, and manufacturing as well as reformation of the law and its administration.

David's death was probably hastened by his son Henry's death on June 12, 1152. Henry's amicable character had filled the Scottish people with hopes of the same prosperity and happiness they had enjoyed under his father. After his son's death, David resided at Carlisle, dying there on the morning of May 24, 1153. He was found in bed with his hands joined together over his breasts in the posture of devotional supplication. John of Hexham tells how the cortège, when moving his body to Dunfermline for burial, reached the Forth of Queensferry Crossing and encountered wild raging gale-force winds, making the water unnavigable. As David's coffin was placed in the boat, the wind subsided and the vessel crossed safely to shore only to be immediately followed by renewed raging winds with unabated fury.³⁰ David's 12-year-old grandson succeeded his grandfather under the name of Malcolm IV, continuing to represent the legitimate line of the Old English kings.

"No history has ever recorded three kings, and at the same time brothers, who were of equal sanctity, or savored so much of their mother's piety; for independently of their abstemiousness, their extensive charity, and their frequency in prayer, they so completely subdued the domestic vice of kings, that no report, even, prevailed that any entered their bed except their legitimate wives, or that either of them had ever been guilty of any unlawful intercourse. Edmund was the only degenerate son of Margaret, who, partaking in his uncle Donald's crime and bargaining for half his kingdom, had been accessory to his brother's death. But being taken and doomed to perpetual imprisonment, he sincerely repented; and, on his near approach to death, ordered himself to be buried in chains, confessing that he suffered deservedly for the crime of fratricide."¹⁵

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Mary of Scotland

By Deborah L. Wilhite



Romsey Abbey, Hampshire England

Second to the youngest of eight children, Mary of Scotland was born about 1082 to Malcolm III of Scotland and Margaret of Wessex, a descendant of the English Saxon kings. Mary's siblings included Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, Alexander, and David and an older sister, Edith (Matilda). Edmund would later become bishop of Dunkeld while Edgar, Alexander and David would each in turn be king of Scotland while Matilda became queen of England.

The children were brought up by a loving, pious mother concerned for their character with strict expectations, believing "in the proverb 'he who spares the rod spoils the child,' and 'because of the religious zeal of their mother, the children's manners were far better than those of other children who were much older than they were.' The queen had her children brought to her 'very often' and taught them the precepts of the Christian faith using words 'suitable to their age and understanding' and would talk tenderly to her children, addressing them as 'mea viscera' - 'my flesh', or more literally, 'my guts.'"¹

When Mary was about four she and her sister Edith (Matilda) were sent by their parents to Romsey under the direction of their maternal aunt and abbess, Christina, where their childhood would be spent receiving a convent education. Romsey was well established before the 1066 conquest as one of England's wealthiest nunneries and had long been favored by Margaret's forebears, the royal house of Wessex. After the Conquest the Benedictine Abbey also became a place of refuge for many Saxon young women who had fled their homes in fear of the lust of the Normans. While at Romsey the two young princesses would have felt secure in their environment surrounded by other children of the nobility in a familiar setting of décor and art reminiscent of their Scottish home.

As the two princesses reached a suitable age, sometime before 1093, Edith (Matilda) and Mary moved from Romsey to Wilton, a nearby monastery with a preeminent reputation, housing several high-profile inhabitants including Muriel who attracted much attention from scholars throughout Europe and was considered England's earliest poetess. Orderic Vitalis commented favorably on the princesses' move to Wilton with its "reputation as a center of learning for their education both in letters and good morals."²

In 1100 Henry I of England married Edith who changed her Saxon name to Matilda to avoid any possible Norman criticism; Matilda is a Norman French name meaning *Victory in Battle*. Matilda was able to use her position and influence to promote the interests of her younger siblings David and Mary, encouraging Henry to arrange an advantageous marriage for Mary. In 1102 Mary married Eustace, Count of Boulogne, son of Eustace II of Boulogne and Ida of Lorraine. In 1096 Eustace had participated in the first Crusade, was present at the Siege of Nicaea rescuing troops at the Battle of Dorylaeum, defeated an ambush during the Siege of Antioch and was one of the commanders at its capture. Eustace and his brother Godfrey gained notoriety for their leadership during the Siege of Jerusalem, fighting relentlessly from a siege tower and among the first to breach Jerusalem's city walls. After commanding a division of the crusader army in 1099 at the Battle of Ascalon, Eustace decided to leave his brothers in Jerusalem, returning home to his estates.

Although Mary of Scotland and Eustace Count of Boulogne were married for fourteen years, they had only one child, their daughter and heiress Matilda of Boulogne. Mary of Scotland died in the spring of 1116, about two years before her sister's death, and was buried at Saint Saviour's monastery in Bermondsey, located on the south side of the River Thames close to London Bridge. John Fordun, a Scottish chronicler ca 1360, wrote, "Though she was not royal rank, she was not less upright than the queen, her sister. Her marble tomb, having the images of kings and queens engraved upon it, shows forth the descent of her who rests there. On the surface of that tomb, an inscription, written in letters of gold, thus briefly sums up her life and extraction:

'Here the good Countess Mary lies entombed;
Whose acts with charity and kindness bloomed.
Royal her blood, she grew in virtue's might;
Kind to the poor, dwell she in heaven's height.'
These two sisters, Matilda and Mary, daughters of King Malcolm and Margaret, fitly adorned their high birth by their marriage, their gentle demeanor, their great piety, and their free-handed dispensing of their worldly good to the poor and to churches."³



St. Saviour's records also reveal interesting comments regarding visitors to Mary's tomb.

"Amongst the monuments of the illustrious dead, the tomb of Mary of Scotland, Countess of Boulogne, was an object of reverence to all, whether noble or simple. The Saxon would gaze with peculiar interest and respect upon the resting-place of one who belonged to this ancient royal house, for the Princess Mary was grandniece of Edward the Confessor. Some Scottish lord, coming as an emissary to the King of England, would deem it a pious duty to visit St. Saviour's church and offer up a prayer by the tomb of King David's sister. The princely Eustace of Boulogne, kinsman of the renowned Godfrey and of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, would come to view the sacred spot, and beseech the monks to not be "remiss in the performance of their Masses for the dead."

In 1114 Mary of Scotland bestowed her Manor of King-Weston to the nearby Cluniac Abbey of Bermondsey, and the gift was solemnly confirmed by her husband, Count Eustace.⁴ King-Weston manor was located in Somersetshire, described in the ancient records as a place of "great antiquity; the name being a corruption of Chinwardestone or Kinwardestone, signifying the Town or Habitation of Kinward, a Saxon noble, a Thane of royal extraction." At the conquest this manor was seized by William and given with several others in this county to Eustace, Earl of Boulogne. The Norman records give the following particulars of this place: "Ida, Countess of Bolonia, holds of the King, Chinwardestone. Ulvera held it in the time of King Edward, and gelded for five hides. The arable is eight carucates. Thereof in demesne are two hides, and virgetes: and there are two carucates, and six servants, and eight villanes, and eight cottagers with five ploughs. There are twenty-five acres of meadow, and twenty-two acres of pasturage. A wood three furlongs long and one acre broad. It was and is worth six pounds."⁵

As Eustace's health began to fail, he entered Cluny monastery as a monk, issuing the following charter which records his approval of his daughter's arranged marriage by Henry to Stephen and confirmation of his inheritance, "1125 Charter of Eustace, late count of Boulogne, now a monk of Cluny, giving the abbey of

Cluny, from his vill of Fobinges in England, ten pounds of English money annually and another ten pounds of the same money to the church of Rumilly (*Rumiliacum*) which he and his wife Mary gave the monks of Cluny. This he does publicly in the hand of Bernard prior of Cluny at Rumilly, in the year 1125, with the approval and confirmation of Stephen Count of Boulogne, to who he has given his inheritance with Matildia his daughter...”⁶ Stephen already possessed a large English “honour,” a great lordship comprising dozens of manors, and with his marriage to Matilda, they became joint rulers of Boulogne and a very wealthy, powerful couple.

On the death of Henry I of England on December 1, 1135, Stephen of Blois took advantage of Boulogne’s control of the closest seaports to rush to England and seize the throne in a bloodless coup, beating his rival and his wife’s cousin the Empress Matilda, daughter to Henry I of England. Stephen was crowned at Westminster Abbey December 22nd 1135; Matilda joined Stephen following the birth of their son Eustace and was crowned at Westminster on March 22, 1136.

During the twenty year civil war that waged between Stephen of Blois and Empress Matilda for control of the English crown, Matilda of Boulogne proved to be her husband’s strongest supporter, said to be as strong and resourceful as Stephen was weak and indecisive. In 1138 when England was invaded by the Empress Matilda, Matilda Boulogne rallied troops from Boulogne and its ally Flanders and successfully besieged Dover Castle. In 1139 Matilda of Boulogne proceeded north to Durham where she made a treaty with King David I of Scotland. After Stephen was captured at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, she rallied Stephen’s supporters and raised an army with the help of Stephen’s chief lieutenant, William of Ypres. It was Matilda who recaptured London for Stephen and forced Empress Matilda to withdraw from the siege of Winchester, leading to Stephen’s release in 1141 in exchange for the Empress’ illegitimate brother, Robert of Gloucester. Finally in 1153 the Treaty of Winchester was negotiated, resulting in peace between Stephen and Matilda’s son Henry with Stephen recognizing Henry, Empress Matilda’s son as his heir.

Notes:

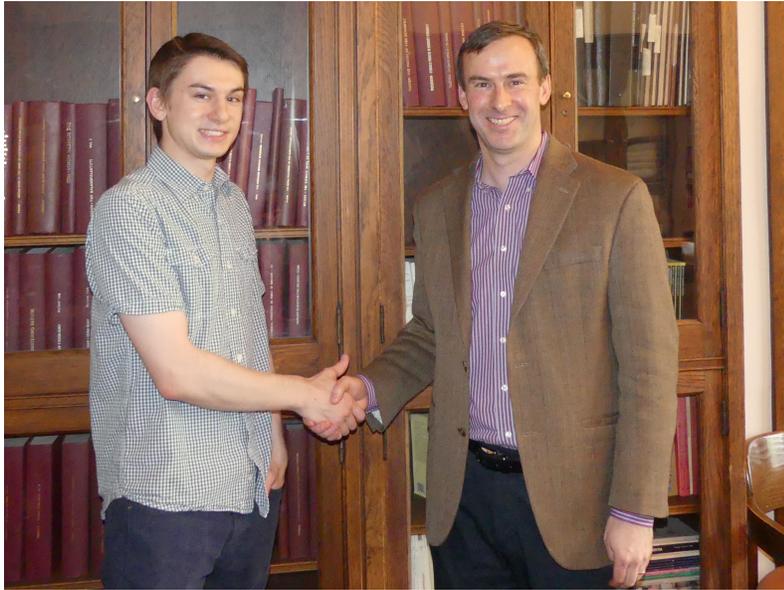
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The Guild's 2016 Scholarship Award

The National Guild of St. Margaret of Scotland Award is given annually to a University of Chicago Medieval Studies student. The recipient is selected by the faculty and awarded to the student who has written the finest thesis in Medieval Studies. A monetary award and certificate is presented in May. Nicholas (Nick) Posegay is a double major in Religious Studies and NELC (Near Eastern Languages and Civilization), and is concurrently completing an MA in the Center for Middle Eastern Studies.



Pictured with Nick is Jonathan Lyon, Director of Undergraduate Program in Medieval Studies

Nick's Abstract: "To Belabor the Points: The Influence of Arabic on Babylonian Hebrew Vocalization"

In the middle of the seventh century, the written text of the Qur'an existed only as a bare Arabic consonantal text, with no markings to indicate vowel sounds. At the same time, and despite being a millennium older than the Qur'an, the text of the Hebrew Bible also lacked vowel notation. Nevertheless, by the end of the tenth century, both Muslim and Jewish scribes had invented the complete, written vocalization systems that are still in use today. Close analysis of the evolution of medieval vowel marks reveals an orthographic interchange between the two languages, including the direct adaptation of Arabic vowel signs for Babylonian Hebrew.

