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## IMAGINED MONARCHY: CONSTRUCTING NORTH BRITAIN, 1746-1830

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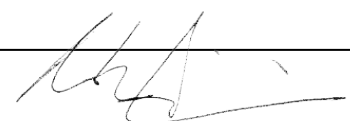
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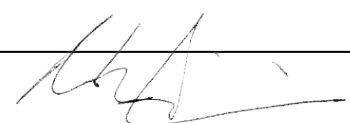
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**IMAGINED MONARCHY: CONSTRUCTING NORTH BRITAIN, 1746-1830**

**Robert Pirrie**

Thesis submitted for degree of Doctor of Philosophy

King's College London

May 2023



## ABSTRACT

Scotland went through profound changes between 1746 and 1830, whether measured in terms of urbanisation, industrialisation, economic growth or national identity. The 1746 defeat of the last Jacobite rebellion brought political stability to the country and an ‘age of improvement’ began. However, the relationship between the Hanoverian monarchy and this process of change in Scotland has received remarkably little scholarly attention, except for George IV’s 1822 visit to Edinburgh. That visit is represented in historiography as occasioning the birth of a newly fashioned, ‘invented’ Scottish national identity entirely due to Sir Walter Scott’s stage-management of the occasion’s set pieces. The thesis questions whether such accounts overlook the Hanoverian monarchy’s contribution to how Scots at every level of society imagined their loyalty and national identity. The long absence of the monarch from Scottish territory may have obscured the agency of the monarchy over time, leading to historiographical emphasis on the *causal* impact of George IV’s visit. The thesis asserts an alternative interpretation, framing the visit as *evidential* of a change over time. Without denying the 1822 visit had a consolidating impact on national identity, the thesis poses the research question: what evidence exists of a the ‘presence’ of the Hanoverian monarchy in the lives of Scots over a longer period? Employing scholarship on monarchy, dynasty and nationhood, the thesis considers the monarchy and aristocracy as a unitary ruling regime in Scotland. The thesis introduces the concept of ‘imagined monarchy’ to present research on the ways in which the Hanoverian monarchy was manifest in Scottish affairs, even though the monarch was absent for almost the entire period. The concept enables assessment of the aggregate impact of these manifestations on Scottish national identity, contributing to scholarship on the Hanoverian monarchy and on Scottish history.



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## **List of Abbreviations**

- BL British Library, London.
- BM British Museum, London.
- ECCO Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale Primary Sources.
- NAM National Army Museum, London.
- HES Historic Environment Scotland, Edinburgh.
- NGS National Galleries Scotland, Edinburgh.
- NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
- NPG National Portrait Gallery, London.
- RCT Royal Collection Trust, London.





## INTRODUCTION

### Imagined Monarchy

**Of the Association of Ideas:** It is evident, that there is a principle of connexion between different thoughts or ideas of the mind, and that, in their appearance to the memory or imagination, they introduce each other with a certain degree of method and regularity.

David Hume, *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748).<sup>1</sup>

This thesis offers a cultural history of the Hanoverian monarchy's role in the evolution of Scottish national identity from 1746 to 1830. Apart from George IV (1762-1830) — and in his case solely for his two-week visit to Edinburgh in 1822 — Hanoverian monarchs receive little attention from modern historians of Scotland. With regularity the 1822 visit is treated as anomalous — ‘one and twenty daft days’ prompting a spurious national epiphany through the ‘invention’ of Sir Walter Scott.<sup>2</sup> Episodic accounts of the visit in the historiography inevitably abridge history, eliding deeper currents and forces at work over the *longue durée*. It is intriguing that works of Scottish history neglect the Hanoverian monarchs in much the same way as works on the Hanoverian kings neglect Scotland. These mirror-image omissions imply — perhaps unconsciously — that the subject of ‘Hanoverian monarchy and Scotland’ only exists for the two short periods when senior royal and king respectively were on Scottish territory.<sup>3</sup> By contrast, this thesis sets out to demonstrate that the Hanoverian monarchy was experienced and imagined by people in Scotland in a variety of ways, by means of a complex of inter-related images, associations and interactions. This is what is meant by the concept of ‘imagined monarchy’.

<sup>1</sup> David Hume, *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1748; rev. 1777), 23. Hume argued there are three principles of connection among ideas, namely, *Resemblance*, *Contiguity* in time or place, and *Cause or Effect*.

<sup>2</sup> Subtitle of John Prebble, *The King's Jaunt: George IV in Scotland, 1822 'One and twenty daft days'* (London, 1988); Hugh Trevor-Roper, ‘The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland’, in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge 1983), 15-42; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History* (London, 2009), 212-36; T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History* (London, 2012), 234-6; Vicky Coltman, ‘The Monarch in the Metropolis’, ch. 5 of her *Art and Identity in Scotland: A Cultural History from the Jacobite Rising of 1745 to Walter Scott* (Cambridge, 2019), 178-219. This ‘invention’ interpretation endures despite ripostes from Scottish historians, such as Murray Pittock, ‘Plaiding the Invention of Scotland’ in Ian Brown, ed., *Scottish Culture, History and Myth* (Edinburgh, 2010), 32-47.

<sup>3</sup> Prince William, Duke of Cumberland, from January to July 1746, and George IV, for two weeks in August 1822.

Imagined monarchy as a concept begins with the premise that the Hanoverian monarchy could have influenced how people thought about themselves and Scotland despite the king and royal court being absent from Scottish territory. Monarchy could be imagined through a complex of images, associations and interactions shared across the community. Examples of ‘images’ might range from a mezzotint of the king, to the royal coat of arms on a building, to the king’s profile on a coin or banknote. ‘Associations’ in this context denotes any person or thing that prompted an idea of monarchy, such as a soldier’s red coat, celebrations marking the king’s birthday, or the reading of a Royal Proclamation. ‘Interactions’ could take the form of an encounter with the king, or member of the royal family, or an exchange with an aristocrat close to the king, or simply witnessing an occasion when the king was present. ‘Imagined monarchy’ is intended to capture and aggregate the full range and granular detail of this complex of connections linking people to monarchy. Monarchy’s very absence from Scotland may have made these images, associations, and interactions all the more conspicuous and meaningful in a nation with no royal presence on its territory.

Scotland’s history was particularly rich in its associations with monarchy, and a civil war had just been fought in 1745-6 over who was the rightful king. For centuries, monarchy, the church and the law were pillars of Scottish identity. David Hume (1711-76) was celebrated as both a historian and a philosopher. As a historian, he explained English and Scottish history through the narrative of the reigns of kings and queens. As a philosopher, Hume referred to the mental process of associating ideas as ‘imagination’. Something of this nature is implicit in imagined monarchy as it relates to Scottish national identity; that is, the monarchy and Scotland as ideas were connected by ‘imagination’ in the minds of the people of Scotland. Since the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320, the monarchy had been explicitly linked to conceptions of Scottish nationhood.<sup>4</sup> The Stuart dynasty and Jacobite rebellions are so closely associated with Scotland and events on Scottish territory that it is unsurprising these subjects have received so much more attention in Scottish historiography than the Hanoverian monarchy. With some scholarship now turning to the role of wider British historical trends in

<sup>4</sup> Christopher A. Whatley, ‘Industrialising Scotland and the nation: nationalism, liberty and independence’ in K.P. Muller, ed., *Scotland and Arbroath 1320-2020: 700 Years of fighting for freedom, sovereignty and independence* (Berlin, 2020), 267-88; Murray Pittock, ‘The Declaration of Arbroath in Scottish political thought, 1689-1789’ in Muller, *Declaration*, 165-80; Karin Bowie, ‘Popular or Parliamentary Sovereignty? National Opinion and the Declaration of Arbroath on the Eve of Union’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 101 (2022), 475-90; Michael Penman, ‘The Declaration of Arbroath: Georgian Editions, Libraries and Readers, and Scotland’s “Radical War” of 1820’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 101 (2022), 491-511.

Scotland's history, it seems timely to examine Hanoverian monarchy in a Scottish context. Since the Georgian kings and royal family were largely absent from Scottish territory, such a study requires an approach that captures all the instances in which monarchy was present in people's lives in Scotland. These instances ranged from the 'magnificent monarchy' of a royal visit, to the 'munificent monarchy' of royal patronage, to the 'mundane monarchy' of a royal cipher on a document. A study of this nature is worthwhile because it adds to a more complete understanding of the role monarchy continued to play in Scottish national identity after the Jacobite defeat at Culloden. Specifically, it demonstrates that the Hanoverian monarchy was imagined by many people in Scotland as 'their' national monarchy, and not as a remote English or German institution.

### **Historiographical context**

Discussion of the scholarship relevant to this thesis begins with general theories on national identity and monarchy. Two works on national identity, and two on monarchy, have provided inspiration for the idea of imagined monarchy. Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* inspired the 'imagined' dimension.<sup>5</sup> Anthony D. Smith's *The Nation in History* and *Nationalism* stressed the importance of a *longue-durée* perspective in studying the evolution of national identity through continual 'ethno-symbolic reconstruction'.<sup>6</sup> On monarchy, Jeroen Duindam's *Dynasties* brings out the functional characteristics of kingship and aristocracy as a unitary order.<sup>7</sup> Finally, in describing the characteristics of composite monarchy, J.H. Elliott's seminal 1992 *Past and Present* article is a useful point of reference because Scotland — with its separate legal system and established church — retained features akin to those of composite monarchy after its 1707 incorporation within Great Britain.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

<sup>6</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Lebanon, NH, 2000) and his *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (Cambridge, 2010 [1st edn 2001]). Also, Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (Oxford, 1998 [1st edn.1986]); idem, *The Nation Made Real: Art and National Identity in Western Europe* (Oxford, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300-1800* (Cambridge, 2016), and his *Dynasty: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2019). Also, Jeroen Duindam, 'A Plea for Global Comparison: Redefining Dynasty', *Past and Present*, Supplement 14 (2019), 318-47.

<sup>8</sup> J.H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past and Present*, 137 (Nov. 1992), 48-71. Also, Charlotte Backerra, 'Personal unions, composite monarchy and 'multiple rule' in Elena Woodacre et al, eds, *The Routledge History of Monarchy* (Oxford, 2019), 89-111; Karin Bowie, "'A Legal Limited Monarchy": Scottish Constitutionalism in the Union of Crowns, 1603-1707', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 35 (2013), 131-54; Roger A. Mason, 'Debating Britain in Seventeenth-Century Scotland: Multiple Monarchy and Scottish Sovereignty', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 35 (2015), 1-24; Roger A. Mason, '1603: Multiple Monarchy and Scottish Identity', *History*, 105 (2020), 402-21.

Anderson introduced the idea of a nation as an imagined political community whose members may never meet, yet in their minds share an identity.<sup>9</sup> Anderson's was a theory of nationalism, in which the nation and nationhood were conceived as relatively modern historical phenomena, if not entirely nineteenth-century in origin.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the idea of members of a community defining themselves as a nation through a combination of shared experiences appears as applicable to the period of this study. That imagining monarchy was one such shared experience seems a reasonable hypothesis. Smith agreed that some nations were essentially modern phenomena, while others have older roots pre-dating modern ideological nationalism, being rooted in kinship, religion and ethnicity.<sup>11</sup> Smith contemplated a gradual and indeterminate transition from these older bonds to nationhood. Anderson emphasised the shared experience of print culture in his theory of modern nationalism, whereas Smith's theory of nationhood was based on a continuous process of reproduction and reinterpretation of symbols, values, myths, memories and traditions. Scotland's monarchy was one of the oldest in Europe and, in a Scottish context, the Hanoverian succession could be understood as a stage in a continuous process going back much earlier than Anderson's nationalism. The value of Anderson for this study is his insight into the role of shared experience across a community, shaping conceptions of the parameters of that community. This study extends its account beyond Anderson's focus on print to consider other forms of shared experience associated with monarchy.

Duindam set out the generic characteristics of dynastic rule through a sequence of relationships: from ruler in the centre, to close relatives, to court and royal household, and to an outer circle of royal and state appointees.<sup>12</sup> From the point of view of this thesis, Duindam's analysis of dynasty establishes the multiple ways in which monarchy and aristocracy were manifest in a kingdom and how these operated in aggregate to identify the king as the 'high centre' of nationhood.<sup>13</sup> Duindam's approach was designed to illuminate how specific national royal courts and rulers fit into a generic framework for understanding

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Anderson, who drew upon Asian as well as European history, seems to have regarded the historical era of monarchical rule as essentially coterminous with widespread belief in the divine right of kings, and for him nationalism emerged to replace (and as a reaction against) monarchy. This thesis defines dynasty (including monarchy) as based on hereditary legitimacy, whether secular or sacred (or a blend of both), meaning it could survive loss of faith in divine rule.

<sup>11</sup> Smith, *Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 20-46.

<sup>12</sup> Duindam, *Dynasties*, 1-7.

<sup>13</sup> 'High centre' in this thesis means supreme in legal, social, or cultural terms.

dynastic power. His key insight for this thesis is that monarchy and aristocracy should be considered as a single dynastic regime based on the principle of hereditary succession; therefore, expanding the definition of monarchy to extend beyond immediate family, to include co-dependant aristocracy.<sup>14</sup> A further strength of Duindam's work which informs this thesis is that it encourages framing the British Hanoverian royal house as operating within the broader network of pan-national European royal dynasties. Not all aspects of his approach have won universal approval, not least because he draws on global examples from over five hundred years, which some see as resulting in a homogenizing and 'top down' analysis of heterogenous political systems. Nevertheless, Duindam's approach is particularly applicable to Scotland where aristocratic control was based not only on political, economic and landowning hegemony, but also on clanship loyalties. Clan chiefs and chieftains were dynasties based on primogeniture, and clan membership arose from extensive bonds of kinship and fictive kinship, often with a shared surname.

Elliott's discussion of composite monarchy is useful in that it provides an adaptable framework for exploring patronage and connections with monarchy at a distance which were key to how the Hanoverian monarchy functioned in Scotland. Elliott identified different types of composite monarchy, beginning with composite states separated by other states or by sea and contiguous composite states sharing a common land border, such as Scotland and England.<sup>15</sup> He distinguished 'accessory' union, where one kingdom becomes part of another under the same laws, from *aeque principaliter* union, under which the constituent kingdoms continue to be treated as distinct entities. Elliott identified the 'mutual compact' between king and dynastic elites as essential to the integration of the incorporated kingdom. Since the absence of the king and royal court from an incorporated territory was unavoidable, patronage was critical to winning and retaining the loyalty of the dynastic ranks of the incorporated state or province. Those dynastic magnates continued to enjoy pre-existing hegemony, but composite monarchy opened up opportunities for advancement within a wider sphere. Post-1707 Scotland was a hybrid of Elliott's 'accessory' and '*aeque principaliter*' unions: crown and parliament were sovereign, but Scotland's legal system was to remain separate. 'North Britain' had to be constructed on this hybrid foundation. In terms of Scottish identity, the Stuart kings in the early modern period have been the focus of scholarship on

<sup>14</sup> 'Dynastic regime' will be used in this sense throughout the thesis.

<sup>15</sup> J.H. Elliott, 'Composite Monarchies' 50-4.

composite or multiple monarchy.<sup>16</sup> However, discussions of composite monarchy point the way to examining how connections and patronage flowed from the king through the Scottish aristocracy in the period of this study.

Aside from inspiration drawn from these four key authors, there is, of course, much else that is germane in the rich literature on nationhood and monarchy. Smith's theory of nationhood stresses the significance of older, continuous ethnic ideas and groups in the formation of nations. Hugh Seton-Watson went further, writing that Scotland emerged as a nation at the time of Robert the Bruce (1274-1329). He maintained that the single most important agency in bringing this about was monarchy, rooting Scottish national homogeneity in law and custom more than ethnic or linguistic factors.<sup>17</sup> J.C.D. Clark argued that, in the pre-revolutionary age, the most effective 'intellectual matrix' in which to view peoples' awareness of their nationhood is a dynastic one, where the chief components were law and religion'.<sup>18</sup> This approach is clearly helpful in developing a study of Scottish national identity from the perspective of monarchy. Eric Hobsbawm's influential publications, both *The Invention of Tradition*, which he edited with Terence Ranger, and his *Nations and Nationalism*, are also relevant.<sup>19</sup> Hobsbawm wrote that nationhood is constructed essentially from 'above', but also has to be considered from 'below' in terms of the assumptions, aspirations and interests of ordinary people.<sup>20</sup> He defined 'invented tradition' as a set of practices designed — from 'above' — to inculcate certain norms which carry with them a sense of continuity with the past.<sup>21</sup> His warning that it is difficult for historians to know what went on in the minds of ordinary people in response to messaging from above identifies one of the challenges for this study.<sup>22</sup> With that caveat, associations and meanings flowing between the dynastic regime (monarchy and aristocracy) 'above' and people 'below' are what will be investigated in this thesis. Dynasty by its very nature as a system of hereditary succession is ideally placed to represent continuity with what went before. Hobsbawm's was

<sup>16</sup> Bowie, "Legal Limited Monarchy"; Mason, 'Debating Britain'; idem, '1603'.

<sup>17</sup> Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Oxford, 1977), 26.

<sup>18</sup> J.C.D. Clark, 'Protestantism, Nationalism and National Identity', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 249-76 (251).

<sup>19</sup> Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1992); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth and reality* (Cambridge, 1992 [1st edn 1990]). Hugh Trevor Roper's contribution to Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds, *Invention of Tradition*, and his posthumously published *Invention of Scotland*, are discussed in Chapter 6: Myth.

<sup>20</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations*, 10.

<sup>21</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions' in Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds, *Invention of Tradition*, 1.

<sup>22</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations*, 78-9.

a modernist theory of nationalism, but these observations seemed equally applicable to the mid-eighteenth century.

Moving from general theories of nationhood to scholarship specifically focused on Britain, Linda Colley's *Britons* is an important work for this thesis. While Colley acknowledged Anderson and Hobsbawm as 'invaluable', her approach is nevertheless Britain-specific, with a central thesis that British identity was founded on Protestantism, mercantilism, war and empire.<sup>23</sup> Some reservations have been expressed by historians against too simplistic an equation between Protestantism and British national identity.<sup>24</sup> However, from the Reformation onwards, Protestantism — or rather Presbyterianism — was increasingly important to Scottish national identity and to the relationship between the Hanoverian monarchy and the Scots. *Britons*' thematic approach influenced the structure of this thesis, and Colley devotes a whole chapter to the influence of monarchy on national identity. In a chapter entitled 'Peripheries', she discusses Scotophobia and John Wilkes (1725-97). Colley was less concerned with Scottish (English, Irish and Welsh) identities existing in parallel with British identity. However, her recognition of the part played by the ideas of Frederick, Prince of Wales in shaping George III's thought and taste for neo-classicism in architecture, suggested routes for research. Another feature of monarchy highlighted by Colley was 'ubiquity', which aligns with the intention of the thesis to examine the granular detail of 'mundane' monarchy in people's lives.<sup>25</sup> Also with a British perspective, John Cannon's *Aristocratic Century*, in which he analysed the peerage, informed my research into the Scottish dynastic regime.<sup>26</sup> Cannon began his study with the observation that kings were well aware that monarchy as an institution could not survive any collapse of respect for the nobility. His detailed analysis of the peerage, using statistics and tables to assess its intellectual, political, and social impact, and including a brief discussion of the Scottish representative peers, encouraged me to make the Scottish peerage a key field of enquiry. John Brewer's pioneering *Sinews of Power* is instructive with its discussion of the links between aristocracy, the British state and military.<sup>27</sup> Stephen Conway's work on the similarities,

<sup>23</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London, 1992); idem, *Acts of Union and Disunion* (London, 2014).

<sup>24</sup> Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, 'The trials of the chosen peoples: recent interpretations of protestant and national identity in Britain and Ireland', in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, eds, *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland c. 1650-c. 1850* (Cambridge, 1988), 3-29.

<sup>25</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 107, 199, 241, and her 'The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation 1760-1820', *Past and Present*, 102 (1994), 94-129.

<sup>26</sup> John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The peerage of eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1984).

<sup>27</sup> John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (London, 1988).



connections and identities between Britain and Europe offered a different but complementary perspective.<sup>28</sup> Rather than focusing on what is exceptional about Britain, Conway highlights a European perspective that resonates with both Scotland's distinctive relationship with Europe and the Hanoverian monarchy's identity as a European royal house.

Important insights on the history of Scottish and 'North British' identity have been contributed among others by N.T. Phillipson, T.C. Smout, T.M. Devine, Colin Kidd, Murray Pittock, Christopher Whatley, Bruce Lenman, Alan Macinnes and Bob Harris.<sup>29</sup> All have influenced the cultural turn in Scottish historical studies, within which there is a well-developed body of work on print, material and oral cultures, as well as environmental, urban and rural history. Certain subjects have understandably occupied historians of Scotland during the long eighteenth century, including Enlightenment, Jacobitism, 'improvement', industrialisation, capitalism, urbanisation, militarisation, demography and politics.

Hanoverian monarchy has rarely been discussed despite its potential relevance. Just one book has focused on Hanoverian monarchy and Scotland, and this a work of popular history: John Prebble's *The King's Jaunt* (first published in 1988 and still in print), a chronological account of George IV's visit. Prebble's book is an example of what could be called a fixation on George IV's visit as *the* single Hanoverian contribution to national identity in Scotland. It has been asserted that the visit was responsible for a new Scottish identity.<sup>30</sup> Although one would not expect all historians to discuss monarchy, it is nonetheless worth observing just how rare references to Hanoverian monarchs are in histories of Scotland. For example, Devine's *Scottish Nation* contains no index reference to George III, the longest reigning king in British history.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Conway, *Britain, Ireland, & Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Similarities, Connections, Identities* (Oxford, 2011).

<sup>29</sup> N.T. Phillipson, 'Nationalism and Ideology', in J.N. Wolfe, ed., *Government and Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1969), 167-88; T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (London, 1985), and 'Perspectives on the Scottish Identity', *Scottish Affairs*, 6 (1994), 101-13; Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-1830* (Cambridge, 1993); idem, *Union and Unionism: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500-2000* (Cambridge, 2008), 81-133, idem, 'North Britishness and the nature of eighteenth-century British patriotisms', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), 361-82; Murray G.H. Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (London, 1997); idem, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester, 1999); T. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History* (London, 2012); Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006); Bruce P. Lenman, *Enlightenment and Change: Scotland 1746-1832* (Edinburgh, 2009); Alan Macinnes, *Clanship, commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (Edinburgh, 2022); Neil McIntyre and Alison Cathcart, eds, *Scotland and the Wider World: Essays in honour of Allan Macinnes* (Woodbridge, 2022); Brent S. Sirota and Alan Macinnes, eds, *The Hanoverian Succession and the Wider World* (Woodbridge, 2019).

<sup>30</sup> E.g., Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World* (London, 2006), 304.

<sup>31</sup> There is one reference to George I (20), one to George II (22) and two to George IV (234 and 235, both about the 1822 visit).

However, there are clear indications in Scottish historical literature of possible approaches to exploring imagined monarchy in Scotland. Pathways identified in the Scottish literature begin with T. C. Smout's model of concentric Scottish identities of family, clan, locality, nation, state and empire. Smout's work illuminates how these different identities interacted and pointed to the nobility as a bridge linking locality with monarchy.<sup>32</sup> Pittock has discussed monarchy in terms of the Jacobite Stuart royal house being a dominant source of Scottish identity.<sup>33</sup> That raises a key question for this study: whether and how Stuart identity was transferred and incorporated into a Hanoverian-based Scottish identity. Pittock queries Colley's narrative of a unified British identity, arguing that such a teleological narrative of British national identity obscures differences of identity within Britain and Ireland.<sup>34</sup> Pittock's most recent work, a general history of Scotland, also offers useful discussions on the Scots nobility, sovereignty, the Highland-Lowland distinction, and the history of tartan's development as a national signifier.<sup>35</sup> Bruce Webster's discussion of medieval Scotland attributes to that period an emergence of a Scottish nationhood founded upon monarchy and the church.<sup>36</sup> One question for this thesis is to what extent the Hanoverian monarchy continued to represent this source of national identity. Christopher Whatley's focus is on economic, social and political Scottish history and his book, *The Scots and the Union*, is a revisionist analysis of the process and effect on Scotland of the Act of Union.<sup>37</sup> He has also written about the king's birthday celebrations in Scotland, and on the usefulness of the early political novelists as a primary source in cultural history. Harris, like Whatley, has studied celebration of royal birthdays in Scotland.<sup>38</sup> He has also written on Scots in Westminster and Scottish urban development in the later Georgian period, themes that are important in this thesis for their links to the dynastic regime.

<sup>32</sup> Smout, 'Perspectives', 103.

<sup>33</sup> Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting*; idem, , *Celtic Identity*.

<sup>34</sup> Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting*, 6.

<sup>35</sup> Murray Pittock, *Scotland: The Global History 1603 to the Present* (London, 2022), 27-149, 226-30.

<sup>36</sup> Bruce Webster, *Medieval Scotland, The Making of an Identity* (London, 1977), 94-112.

<sup>37</sup> Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley, eds, *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992); Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006).

<sup>38</sup> Bob Harris, 'The Scots, the Westminster parliament, and the British state in the eighteenth century' in Julian Hoppit, ed., *Parliaments, nations and identities in Britain and Ireland 1660-1850*, 124-45; Bob Harris, 'Parliamentary Legislation, Lobbying and the Press in Eighteenth-Century Scotland, *Parliamentary History*, 26 (2007), 76-95; Bob Harris, "'To Solemnize His Majesty's Birthday": New Perspectives on Loyalism in George II's Britain', *History*, 83 (1988), 397-419; Bob Harris and Charles McKean, *The Scottish Town in the Age of the Enlightenment 1740-1820* (Edinburgh, 2014).

Colin Kidd has focused on the creation of an ‘Anglo-British’ identity and Scottish Whig historians in the period 1689 to 1830, a subject to which we will return later in this thesis.<sup>39</sup> He suggests there was a ‘subverting’ of Scotland’s pre-1707 history by the substitution of an Anglo-British (English) constitutionalism of liberty and property for what went before in Scotland. He observes that among historians a focus on what is distinctive about Scotland may have distracted attention from wider historical trends in the rest of Britain as these relate to Scotland.<sup>40</sup> This is very relevant to the subject of the Hanoverian monarchy and to the aims of this thesis. Kidd’s observation that pride in an ancient Scottish monarchy was at the heart of Scottish patriotism suggests its continuing importance to Scottish identity.<sup>41</sup> He has argued that Sir Walter Scott epitomised the hybrid ethnic identities of turn-of-the-century Scotland.<sup>42</sup> He has written on the significance of multiple ethnic identities in the early British world, and this discussion of ethnic identities linked back to Smith and monarchy as an ancient pillar of Scottish national identity. Richard Sher’s work on the Church of Scotland, Scottish universities and Scottish book publishing, all in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment, highlighted the importance of these areas not only in themselves but also for their effect on Scottish identity.<sup>43</sup> Alexander Murdoch’s *The People Above* is an invaluable study to support research on the governing of Scotland and the distribution of patronage in the mid- and late eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup> He emphasises the social contact and the great centres of Scotland’s high culture, the universities, the church and the law, although there is little discussion of royal patronage in relation to these institutions and societies. This study hopes to add to historical debates on Scottish national identity, by highlighting Hanoverian monarchy as a historical force contributing to that identity.

Tom Nairn’s *The Enchanted Glass* is a work on monarchy written by a Scot.<sup>45</sup> His earlier *Break-up of Britain* gave a neo-Marxist materialist account of nationalism (as a generic

<sup>39</sup> Kidd, ‘North Britishness’, *Subverting and Union and Unionism*, passim.

<sup>40</sup> Kidd, *Union*, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Kidd, *Subverting*, 25.

<sup>42</sup> Colin Kidd, ‘Teutonist Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition, 1780-1880’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 74 (1995), 55.

<sup>43</sup> Richard Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 2015) and *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors & Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and America* (London, 2006).

<sup>44</sup> Alexander Murdoch, *The People Above: Politics and Administration in Mid-Eighteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980).

<sup>45</sup> Tom Nairn, *The Enchanted Glass: Britain and its Monarchy* (London, 1990).

phenomenon) as the product of capitalism's uneven development among societies: under-developed societies respond to their comparative predicament by asserting nationalism.<sup>46</sup> For Nairn, Scotland was an exception to this variety of nationalism in the nineteenth century. He attributes this to Scotland's unique position as the mainland neighbour of England, which he called the original bourgeois state-form.<sup>47</sup> In his analysis, Scotland was an exception in responding to its relative eighteenth-century under-development, not through nationalism, but through taking its singular opportunity to fuse with the primal capitalist state of England. *The Enchanted Glass*, although a polemic against the institution of monarchy, is noteworthy for its implicit premise that the British monarchy is a historical phenomenon worthy of serious scholarship. He argued that the myth of monarchy was employed to support a national-popular identity and, by the time of George IV's visit, a spurious 'glamour' was the only way monarchy would survive into an industrial society. In relation to the monarchy, substantive function and 'glamour', and their interdependency, are the subject of this thesis.

Many histories of England incorporate episodes of Scottish history perceived to be part of England's story. As David Hume (1711-76) and Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) demonstrated, it is impossible to write a history of England without digressions into Scottish affairs.<sup>48</sup> Modern historians deal with this in different ways, with 'four nations' methodology well established, following the 'British turn' initiated by John Pocock.<sup>49</sup> As Patrick O'Leary observes, contributors to *The New Oxford History of England* have taken different approaches from each other, some with separate chapters for Scottish, Welsh and Irish material, and others mentioning Scotland integrated within the text.<sup>50</sup> The anthology *Four Nations Approaches to Modern 'British' History* provides a summation of 'four nations' scholarship, highlighting as a trend a greater questioning in specific fields around whether England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales shared British history and identity.<sup>51</sup> Such a movement places emphasis on interactions rather than assuming integration. For the present study the relevance is that the legitimacy of the Hanoverian succession and its consolidation

<sup>46</sup> Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London, 1977).

<sup>47</sup> Nairn. *Break-Up*, 19.

<sup>48</sup> David Hume, *The History of England*, 6 vols(1754-61); Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, 5 vols (London, 1848).

<sup>49</sup> J.G.A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge, 2005).

<sup>50</sup> Paul O'Leary, "'A Vertiginous Sense of Impending Loss": Four Nations History and the Problem of Narrative' in Naomi Lloyd-Jones and Margaret M. Scull, eds, *Four Nations Approaches to Modern 'British' History: A Disunited Kingdom?* (London, 2018), 59-82. An example is Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People. England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989).

<sup>51</sup> Lloyd-Jones and Scull, eds, *Four Nations Approaches*.

in Scotland was a process in part shared with the rest of Britain and in part distinctive to Scotland.

### **Methodology and Sources**

This thesis aims to assemble evidence of the Hanoverian monarchy's presence in the lives of later Hanoverian Scots through images, associations, and interactions. A key aspect of the research was in-person explorations of sites and environments across Scotland, from Abbotsford in the Borders to Inveraray on the west coast, to Fort George on the Moray Firth, in order to identify material evidence of this presence. Amongst the planned towns I visited were Fochabers in Moray, and Cromarty in Ross and Cromarty, and 'new' churches included St Clement's in Dingwall, Ross-shire, and St Andrew's and St George's West Church, Edinburgh. Archival research was carried out at the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle prior to the Covid lockdown, and I have since used the catalogues and digitized manuscript materials available online through the collaboration between the Royal Archives and the Georgian Papers Programme. Other key archives were those at Inveraray Castle, the National War Museum in Edinburgh, the City Archives in Edinburgh and the Cumberland Papers at National Museum of Scotland. Due to the research period coinciding with the Covid lockdown, extensive research was carried out using online resources, including the digitized records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and the digitized version of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* hosted by the University of Edinburgh. Other online research made extensive use of the Royal Collections Trust, British Museum, National Galleries of Scotland, British History Online (BHO), Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO), the British Newspaper Archive and miscellaneous other online sources. For research on the Scottish legal profession, I used the archives at the Signet Library in Edinburgh, where I also consulted an extensive collection of Scottish almanacks.

Early on it was clear that the Scottish peerage would be an essential research field from which to assess the aggregate impact of the granular detail of this group's interaction with monarchy and impact on Scotland. In the period, all ranks of peerage owed their status to the royal prerogative. A fictive familial connection was incorporated in written addresses by the king to all ranks above barons, narrated as 'cousin'. To explore the ramifications of this, I endeavoured to identify every member of the top four ranks of Scots peers between 1746 and 1830. Prominent barons and, outside the peerage, baronets, were also selected, along with

‘notables’ — London Scots with connections to monarchy (for example, as physician to the king).<sup>52</sup> ‘Notables’ depended on the connections they made in the peerage for advancement. These lines of enquiry depended on a wide range of disparate primary sources, including directories, almanacks, family histories, memoirs, diaries and letters, gazetteers, online records (such as the History of Parliament, Survey of London and Layers of London) and secondary literature (including *ODNB*). The findings were then tabulated in a series of spreadsheets to facilitate analysis, and these are presented as an appendix to the thesis. This will be referred to as the **Sovereignty Directory**.<sup>53</sup> The spreadsheets are arranged hierarchically, beginning with the five ranks of peerage in descending order of seniority — dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts and barons — followed by baronets and ‘notables’, and cover 393 individuals in all. For each individual, the tables present their dates of birth and death; London addresses; service as a Scottish representative peer and as an MP; their royal appointments; Scottish country seats; if they were an ‘improver’, planned towns and villages; and their military service, including whether they raised a regular or fencible regiment. This material helps establish the aggregated footprint of the Scottish peerage and other Scots in London, their relationship with monarchy, and their related impact on their estates in Scotland. For the four highest tiers, dukes to viscounts, the research objective was to be as comprehensive as possible by using contemporary lists in almanacks and directories spread across the period. By the nature of primogeniture, the research output is dominated by men, but there are instances when a title was held by a woman and these are included in the list of peers. ‘Notables’ also includes women with a title as a wife or daughter of a peer, if they achieved some prominence on their own account. Ironically, the aristocracy was one social rank within which women could sometimes exert a degree of personal autonomy; there are examples of female agricultural improvers, literary patrons and important political hostesses.

It is a commonplace in British and Scottish historiography that in this period the landed aristocracy was the ruling class. Prominent individual peers and their role in Scottish politics and improvement have been frequently discussed. With my research, it is possible to quantify the aggregated activities of Scottish peers as an entire regime. This is important because residence in London meant proximity to the royal court and ease of attending there. In addition to statistical conclusions, the research also provides a perspective on the dynastic

<sup>52</sup> ‘London Scots’ is a term used in the thesis to refer to Scots who were resident or spent significant periods of their time in London.

<sup>53</sup> Appendix 4.

regime's influence on Scotland's national identity. Some examples are already well-known; other examples are lesser known but are worth exploring for their aggregate impact on conceptions of what it meant to be a North Briton under Hanoverian rule. This research was not carried out to make any value judgements about the contributions of the dynastic regime, but in order to assess the effect of that regime in controlling and shaping conceptions of Scotland.

The family and geographical links of over 1,000 Writers to His Majesty Signet in the period 1746-1830 were investigated to assess the extent of Highland-Lowland mix in this royal Edinburgh institution as a way of testing existing characterisations of Edinburgh and its elite professional bodies as 'Lowland'. I researched and analysed occasions of special national worship to ascertain the frequency and nature of references to the king and royal family. For both the Signet Library and *National Prayers* research, I created spreadsheets, graphs and pie charts. I also carried out research on the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for evidence of the annual exchanges of letters between the king and the General Assembly. The *Statistical Account of Scotland* was consulted for a number of purposes. I made extensive use of almanacks, one of the most ubiquitous forms of cheap print in eighteenth and nineteenth century Scotland as elsewhere. As well as digital editions available online, this thesis drew on the large collection of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century almanacks at the Signet Library, Edinburgh. In addition to helping compile the Sovereignty Directory, these almanacks offer crucial evidence of how the world was ordered for people in print culture, beginning with monarchy, royal households and the peerage.<sup>54</sup> Mirroring the structure of this thesis, almanack lists were classified into British, Scottish and English categories within which they document sovereignty (king, ministers, offices of state, peerage, MPs), soldiers (generals, staff officers, regiments), instruction (Presbyteries, learned and cultural institutions), and environment (calendar, fairs, coach distances and times).<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Adam Fox, *The Press and the People: Cheap Print and Society in Scotland, 1500-1785* (Oxford, 2020), 349-84; Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London, 1979); Maureen Perkins, *Visions of the Future: Almanacs, Time, and Cultural Change 1775-1870* (Oxford, 1996); T.J. Tomlin, *A Divinity for All Persuasions: Almanacs and Early American Religious Life* (New York, NY, 2004).

<sup>55</sup> Appendix 1 gives a summary of the content of the *Universal Scots Almanack* of 1757.

## Structure

The main body of the thesis is divided into three sections: British Realm, Anglo-Scottish Realm and Scottish Realm. These are organising categories for this thesis and are not asserted as definitive or fixed beyond this purpose; the boundaries of these ‘Realms’ are porous and open to different interpretations. Nor are the two chapters in each section exhaustive of the subjects that might be regarded as falling under each realm. For the thesis, monarchy’s relationship with the subject matter of each ‘realm’ is the organising principle. Each section is sub-divided into two chapters, each covering an area with which the monarchy was closely associated. It is instructive to compare this structure to the organisation of Scottish almanacks in the period, which in a similar way map the state and civil societies to which their readers belong into British, English, and Scottish lists.<sup>56</sup>

‘North Britain’ in the thesis title recognises that members of the ruling ‘regime’ — along with publishers of maps and other printed material — were inclined to give Scotland this additional name, as a sub-division of Great Britain.<sup>57</sup> ‘North Britain’ frequently appeared in almanacks, maps and other publications.<sup>58</sup> A cultural rather than legal name, it recognised and attempted to resolve linguistically the integration of Scotland within a Britain predominantly based on Anglo-British constitutionalism.<sup>59</sup> Hence the 1781 *Universal Scots Almanack*, commences what is essentially a directory of the British state (Royal Family, Privy Council, ministers of state) under the heading ‘English Lists’.<sup>60</sup>

**British Realm** is so-called because the king and parliament were sovereign in the unitary state of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. **Chapter 1: Sovereignty** discusses the dissemination of power and patronage flowing through a complex of connections from the supreme authority of the crown. London as capital city of Great Britain, and London Scots as agents of change in Scotland, are the focus of the chapter. Through research on elite Scots, it is possible to begin to assess the scale and impact of this ‘accessibility by proxy’. The chapter

<sup>56</sup> In some cases, ‘British’ institutions (such as king and royal family) are listed under ‘English’. See Chapter 1: Sovereignty.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Regime’ is a term given a meaning for this thesis in Chapter 1: Sovereignty.

<sup>58</sup> E.g., Robert Sayer, *A New and Exact Map of Scotland or North Britain* (London, 1794), 82 x 55.2 cm, NLS, EMS.s.13B

<sup>59</sup> Kidd, *Subverting*, passim.

<sup>60</sup> *Universal Scots Almanack For the Year of our Lord M,DCC,LXXXI* (Edinburgh, 1781). Mixed in with the British institutions listed under ‘English Lists’ there are also purely English institutions, such as the law courts.



examines ways in which the dynastic regime ruled over by the king impacted on Scotland over time. **Chapter 2: Soldiers** examines Britain's army in terms of the monarchy's place in its structure and iconography, and the army's contribution to Scotland and its people becoming more integrated into Britain. Monarchy and army were institutionally interwoven, and in culture both were European as well as British.<sup>61</sup> In this chapter, the approach taken is consistent with 'new' military history, with a focus on the army's cultural impact on wider Scottish society. The chapter considers evidence from my research on Scottish peers to assess the contribution of the entire dynastic regime to the army's part in an increasingly resolved Scottish national identity.

**Anglo-Scottish Realm** is so named in recognition of mutual assimilation and convergence of cultural influences between Scotland and England during the period. **Chapter 3: Culture** re-examines some frequently discussed subjects in Scottish culture, under three headings: Jacobite and Highland; Publishing and Literature; and Sir Walter Scott. It draws on the analysis of print and visual material, including 'high' and 'low' cultural productions and explores both the attitude of Hanoverian royals to this material, and how monarchy as an institution was portrayed. **Chapter 4: Environment** asks whether something can be added to historiography on the 'age of improvement' in Scotland by looking at ways in which the environment was altered by traces in the landscape re-expressing Hanoverian monarchy as 'high centre' of the post-Culloden Scottish nation. Drawing on my site visit and research at the Argyll archives at Inveraray, the chapter takes as a case study the improvements in Argyllshire initiated by the most powerful London-Scottish dynasty, the Dukes of Argyll.

**Scottish Realm** is so-called to denote aspects of life in Scotland that remained distinctively Scottish after 1707. **Chapter 5: Instruction** examines the principal institutions of learning in Scotland and their relationship with monarchy. The Church of Scotland is the primary institution discussed in the chapter, but universities, learned societies and professional bodies, and their connections with monarchy, are also considered. While it has frequently been emphasised that the monarch was not the head of the Church of Scotland, this chapter examines ways in which the king and royal family were 'present' in institutions of instruction in Scotland, for example on occasions of special national worship. **Chapter 6: Myth** addresses Scottish history and historiography, concentrating on George IV's 1822 visit to

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Conway, *Britain, Ireland, & Europe*.

Edinburgh. Taking a *longue durée* perspective, the aim is to offer a fresh approach, viewing the event as evidence of change involving Hanoverian monarchy over the preceding decades. The chapter investigates historical evidence around the visit to ask whether its acknowledged popular success had more to do with Hanoverian monarchy than literature has suggested.

\* \* \*

Eighteenth-century histories of the Scottish nation presented a narrative structure and periodisation founded on Scotland's monarchy, both ancient and contemporary. Alongside the law and presbyterian church, readers comprehended their monarchy as one of three interdependent pillars of Scottish national identity, the other two being law and church. Historians have discussed ways in which such accounts may have been biased subversions of Scotland's history, yet nevertheless the formative influence of these works is not disputed. These are subversions in the sense of eliding Scotland's constitutional development and presenting pre-1707 Scotland as nothing but a dark, feudal backwater. This thesis will test the idea that the Hanoverian monarchy merits recognition as a historical force sustained by a system of shared connections. Such a hypothesis suggests the possibility that Georgian kings, even *in absentia*, were an important influence on Scottish national identity. The 'imagined' dimension proposes an idea of monarchy which could achieve traction within every social stratum, from the highest elites to the humblest households. These ideas were not necessarily uniform or favourable. Each individual member of the community would have their own imagined monarchy, whilst sharing some elements common to other members founded on collective memories and experience.



## **PART ONE: BRITISH REALM**

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‘British Realm’ concerns the relationship between the monarchy and those aspects of Scottish national life that were controlled centrally from London as part of the British state. Although sovereign power resided with the king and parliament in Westminster, a degree of autonomy and discretion was delegated to sovereign appointments in Scotland. Although there may be debates about ‘British’ identity, there can be no debate that sovereignty rested with the king-in-parliament, and that the army was a British state institution with the king as commander-in-chief.



## Chapter 1: Sovereignty

The right of legislation is vested in the sovereign alone, or the supreme power of the state.

John Erskine, *An Institute of the Law of Scotland*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1751-3).<sup>1</sup>

Sovereignty means supreme power or authority. Although debate may have persisted about the relationship between the 1707 Treaty of Union and the principle of parliamentary sovereignty, there was no question the king was the unitary head of state of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.<sup>2</sup> London as capital city of that state — the locus of national sovereignty — is the focus of this chapter.<sup>3</sup> Specifically, the chapter examines the complex of connections between London Scots and the monarchy in the British capital and the significance of those connections for Scotland and Scottish national identity. After the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the royal family of James VI and I decamped to Westminster and Edinburgh no longer hosted a royal court. With the 1707 Act of Union, Scotland's parliament was abolished, and Westminster became the new parliament of Great Britain. In 1708, the Scottish Privy Council was dissolved permanently, replaced by the Privy Council of Great Britain. London became the undisputed capital of sovereign power, and location of the principal royal palace for Scotland as well as England and Wales. Constitutional changes alone, however, did not eliminate the many legal, economic, social and cultural differences between Scotland and England, making a unitary British identity problematic. Scotland's separate legal system, established church, local government and education system were maintained after the union with England, an anomalous arrangement as has been observed.<sup>4</sup> Constitutional structures were supported by a more informal, symbiotic system of connections involving personal relationships and dynastic influence between London and Edinburgh. In London, sovereign power resided in a delicate balance between royal prerogative powers, parliamentary acts and royal assent. Constitutionally and informally the monarch's approbation was supreme. Even the quintessential expression of parliamentary sovereignty, an act of parliament, was identified by the regnal year of the session in which it

<sup>1</sup> I, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Kidd, *Union and Unionism*, 81-133.

<sup>3</sup> By 1700, the cities of London and Westminster and borough of Southwark together had come to be known as 'London': Jerry White, *London in the 18th Century* (London, 2017), 2.

<sup>4</sup> Kidd, *Subverting*, 205-15, and his *Union and Unionism*, 82; Whatley, *Scots and the Union. passim*; Pittock, *Scotland*, 93-149.

received royal assent and its page format was known as ‘King’s Printer’.<sup>5</sup> Such regular associations between the law and monarchy were woven into the fabric of governmental discourse and embedded in the imagination of community members through regular prompts within the social environment.

Discussing a Scottish election with a fellow Scot in London, biographer, diarist, lawyer and 9th Laird of Auchinleck, James Boswell (1740-95), observed in his diary entry for 25 March 1775: ‘ideas of both countries [Scotland and England] were well mixed; and London really seemed in my imagination the capital of both, and not a strange capital’.<sup>6</sup> Boswell was describing how his experience in London affected his conception of the national community to which he belonged. Becoming a London Scot expanded the landscape of Boswell’s imagination; and the summit was proximity to the monarchy. London Scots who were conduits of sovereign power were therefore the most influential figures in Scotland, whether through title in the nobility, royal appointment or favour, personal relationship with the royal family, office in a Royal Household, ministerial office, or any combination of these.

Evidence shows it was not just members of the elite like Boswell who were conscious of this influence, but also the very humblest Scots in rank or status. On 17 August 1738, the *London Daily Post* reported from Edinburgh: ‘Isobel Walker, under Sentence of Death at Dumfries for Child Murder, has actually got a Remission’. Helen Walker, the condemned woman’s sister, ‘helpless, and alone, went to London, and address[ed] the Great’.<sup>7</sup> The ‘Great’ whom Helen addressed was John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll (1680-1743), for whom she waited on the street outside his house in Westminster. Moved by her appeal, the duke obtained a royal pardon from George II. A young peasant girl from the Scottish borders, Helen Walker had undertaken an epic journey on foot to London because she understood that only the monarch had the power of pardon, and only a senior aristocrat like the duke had the status

<sup>5</sup> The short form of citation by regnal year was commonly used because the titles of statutes were often unwieldy. For example, the title of a 1746 Act concerning the attainder of the Earl of Kellie and others (19 Geo.II, c.26) ran to sixty-five lines of ‘King’s Printer’ pages.

<sup>6</sup> Ryskamp and Pottle, eds, *Boswell: The Ominous Years* (London, 1963), 95-6. ‘Laird’ is a Scottish courtesy title, not a peerage title, and refers to the owner of a large, long established Scottish estate whose family name is associated with the locality. Ranking below a baron and above a gentleman, laird applies to estate owners holding a ‘territorial designation’ (i.e., a relationship with a locality) recognised by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, appointed by the monarch. The Lord Lyon holds responsibilities equivalent to England’s King of Arms. The Lyon Depute and Clerk between 1770 and 1804 was James Boswell’s cousin, Robert Boswell of St Boswells (1746-1804), a Writer to the Signet (lawyer). Although similar to an English lord of the manor, a laird might also be clan chief or chieftain.

<sup>7</sup> *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 17 August 1738. Sir Walter Scott based the character of Jeanie Deans in *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818) on Helen Walker, as he acknowledged in his introduction to later editions of the novel. The novel is discussed in Chapter 3: Culture.

and influence to obtain it. Helen clearly imagined that through a complex of connections, from the legal system in Edinburgh to dynasty in London, a peasant girl could interact with monarchy to win a royal pardon.

In July 1755, the twenty-seven-year-old Scottish architect, Robert Adam (1728-92), wrote to his sister of his wish to settle in London and ‘let the Adams be the sovereign architects of the United Kingdom’. His words demonstrate that an idea of success in London was associated with that of ‘sovereign’ domain.<sup>8</sup> Adam was well aware, as we shall see, that the only way to realise such a sovereign ambition was through the dynastic patronage of London Scots, which led eventually to the king. To examine how networks of London Scots helped to shape Scottish national identity through their interactions with the sovereign authority of the monarchy, this chapter is arranged thematically in three sections: ‘Capital City’, ‘Crown’ and ‘Clientage’. *Capital City* examines the distribution and impact of London Scots in the British capital and considers their impact on the expansion of Edinburgh, emulating ‘new towns’ earlier constructed in London. In both cities, ‘new town’ development entailed social segregation, modernising urban culture and an address based on rank and status. *Crown* considers the concentration of power and influence among London Scots through monarchical appointments. Individual personalities have attracted study — particularly John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute (1713-1792), and Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (1742-1811) — but the added perspective here is on the aggregated impact of the entire dynastic complex on Scottish national identity.<sup>9</sup> Such London Scots have been discussed in terms of politics, finance and business, culture and union, whereas this chapter focuses on connections to Hanoverian monarchy, making an important addition to the historiography.<sup>10</sup> Power and influence in Scotland stemmed from a presence in London, where senior appointments controlling patronage in Scotland were dispensed. Through these connections, individual London Scots established or reinforced a Scottish power base. Such an imperium was invaluable to government ministers in Westminster, controlling elections, military recruitment and civil administration. In this symbiotic relationship, proximity to the king or Royal Household in London represented the apex of power and influence in Scotland.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Roderick Graham, *Arbiter of Elegance: A Biography of Robert Adam* (Edinburgh, 2009), 110.

<sup>9</sup> Francis Russell, *John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute; Patron and Collector* (London, 2004); John Brewer, ‘The Misfortunes of Lord Bute: A case-study in eighteenth-century political argument and public opinion’, *Historical Journal*, 16 (1973), 3-43; Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism* (Edinburgh, 2004).

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Sher, *Enlightenment and the Book*; Nenadic, *Scots in London*; Vicky Coltman, *Art and Identity*, ch. 2, ‘Scots in London’, 62-103; Harris, ‘The Scots, the Westminster parliament’.



*Clientage* discusses the Scottish peerage's dissemination of secondary patronage, through official appointments, positions and pensions as well as engagements and commissions in architecture, art and culture. Scots were prominent not just in government and state offices, but also among the architects, builders, bankers, physicians, lawyers, artists and writers in London in this period. Scottish peers and their families played a crucial role in ensuring these Scots came to the notice of the royal family and the highest levels of English aristocracy. Each section references the Sovereignty Directory (referred to in the Introduction) to establish details of London residence, royal appointments, seats in the houses of parliament, Scottish country estates and planned towns and villages.

### Capital City

As early as 1700, London was the largest city in Europe, overtaking Paris. By 1750, the city's population is estimated to have reached 750,000 and it was the British centre of the kingdom's world trade, shipping, banking, finance and insurance industries, printing and publishing, theatre, arts and fashionable society.<sup>11</sup> Edinburgh's population in 1755 was 57,195. While the City of Westminster had expanded west with elegant 'new towns' of squares and streets, such as Hanover Square and George Street, Edinburgh remained in essence a medieval citadel that 'admits but of one good street' and where '[s]everal of the principal parts of the town are now lying in ruins'.<sup>12</sup> It is hardly surprising, therefore, that ambitious Scots sought an entry into London society where dynastic patronage was the most valuable 'social capital'.<sup>13</sup> Much has been written about the influx of Scots to London in the long eighteenth century and the accompanying metropolitan Scotophobia, particularly in the early years of George III's reign.<sup>14</sup> Boswell was amongst the most vivid and celebrated chroniclers of London Scots' experience. As a twenty-two-year-old, scion of minor Scottish landed gentry and newly arrived in London, on 25 November 1762 Boswell recorded his first glimpse of the twenty-four-year-old George III: 'I got a card from Lord Eglinton asking me to the House of Lords. I accordingly went and heard the King make his speech [...] I here beheld the King of Great Britain on his throne with the crown on his head addressing both the

<sup>11</sup> White, *London*, 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Proposals for carrying on certain public works in the city of Edinburgh* (1752), 7, 24.

<sup>13</sup> Stana Nenadic, 'Introduction' in Nenadic, *Scots in London*, 26.

<sup>14</sup> John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1976), passim; Colley, *Britons*, 102-34; White, *London*, passim; Tim Worth, 'Transatlantic Scotophobia: Nation, Empire and Anti-Scottish Sentiment in England and America, 1760-1783' (PhD Thesis, University of Southampton, 2016).

Lords and the Commons. [...] I admired him. I wished much to be acquainted with him'.<sup>15</sup> Seeing the king address parliament — an experience unique to London — was made possible by Boswell's connections among the Scottish dynastic regime in the metropolis. Alexander Montgomerie, 10th Earl of Eglinton (1723-69), was a Lord of the Bedchamber in the King's Household and a Scottish representative peer residing in Pall Mall, close to the Royal Palace of St James's.<sup>16</sup> Boswell aspired to be similarly 'acquainted' with the king. Eglinton did indeed present him at court in 1766 when Boswell was introduced briefly to the king and, subsequently, the king expressed admiration for Boswell's *Account of Corsica* (1768).<sup>17</sup> By May 1781, Boswell was attending court four times in one month, when it was observed he conducted long conversations with the king.<sup>18</sup> Such interactions with the high centre were valuable for an ambitious London Scot seeking enhanced status within the community.

Personal connections with the monarchy were important, and equally so were more obscure and indirect connections. When accumulated such connections might have a significant impact in Scotland. Research output organised in the Sovereignty Directory permits an assessment of the impact of the institution of monarchy on the lives of London Scots. All seven Scottish dukedoms maintained important residences in London; such as the 3rd Duke of Argyll at Argyll House, Argyll Street, and the 2nd Duke of Buccleuch at Montagu House, Bloomsbury, each prominent enough to be individually delineated (and in the case of Montagu House, named) on John Rocque's 1746 map of London.<sup>19</sup> John Murray, 3rd Duke of Atholl (1729-74), built a town house on Grosvenor Place, designed by the Scottish architect George Steuart and completed in 1772. Furnished and decorated in the height of fashion, the town houses of London Scots enabled them to participate in the capital's social season and to display their taste, refinement and status.

<sup>15</sup> John Wain, ed., *The Journals of James Boswell* (London, 1991), 15.

<sup>16</sup> 'Alphabetical List of the House of Peers' in *Gentleman's New Memorandum Book For the Year 1762* (London, 1762); 'Sovereign's Household: Chamber List 1' in *The Database of Court Officers: 1660-1837*. <<https://courtofficers.ctsdh.luc.edu>> [accessed 10 July 2022]

<sup>17</sup> James Boswell, *An Account of Corsica, a journal of a tour to that island and memoirs of Pasquale Paoli* (London, 1768). When George III met the Corsican patriot Pasquale Paoli (1725-1807) at court on 27 September 1769, George III said to Paoli, 'I have read Boswell's book, which is very well written. May I depend upon it as an authentic account?' to which Paoli answered in the affirmative: James Boswell to Sir Alexander Dick, 3 October 1769 in Richard C. Cole, Peter S. Baker, and Rachel McClellan, eds, *The General Correspondence of James Boswell, 1766-1769, Volume 2: 1768-1769* (Edinburgh, 1997)

<sup>18</sup> James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (London, 1791); Peter Martin, *A Life of James Boswell* (London, 1999), 433-34.

<sup>19</sup> John Rocque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark* (London, 1746).

Aristocratic London was ordered around the social and political season linked to the parliamentary session, from late October to June. Seasonal routine was determined by the habits of the Royal Household. After George III's accession, parliament sat later into the summer because the king no longer departed to Hanover.<sup>20</sup> Parliament was summoned and dismissed by Royal Proclamation and a 1797 Act shortened to 14 days the period 'for giving Notice of the Royal Intention of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, that the Parliament shall meet'.<sup>21</sup> Some idea of the pattern of daily life for a high-status London Scot when parliament was sitting can be taken from the routine of Archibald Campbell, the 3rd Duke of Argyll (1682-1761).<sup>22</sup> Argyll would spend the week at Argyll House in Westminster and his weekends at his country estate at Whitton, Middlesex, five miles from Kew. At Argyll House, his mornings were spent doing business. He held a levee for petitioners and visitors, dealt with correspondence or visited politicians, commercial contacts and learned societies (including the British Museum, founded in 1753, of which he was a trustee). Afternoons and evenings he spent either at the House of Lords, visiting, dining out or entertaining, often in the company of politicians connected with the Treasury, the Navy, the East India Company or the Bank of England. Other companions included bankers and speculators and many dinner guests were visiting Scots; indeed, on the last night of his life, the duke dined with Edinburgh banker Adam Fairholm (d. 1764) and London Scot banker James Coutts (1733-78). A frequent dining companion was George Bubb Dodington, 1st Baron Melcombe (1691-1762), supporter and former treasurer to the Prince of Wales. Argyll's household in London comprised at least twenty-five servants, including secretary, steward, valet, butler, librarian and six footmen. To defray costs, his royal appointments to Scottish offices paid well annually: Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland (£3,000), Lord Justice General (£2,000), Heritable Master of the King's Household (£1,000), together with incomes from minor offices, fees and perquisites. Argyll's comprehensive control of secondary patronage — including military, church and university — laid the basis for political order in Scotland long after his death in 1761.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Hannah Greig and Amanda Vickery, 'The Political Day in London, c. 1697-1834', *Past and Present*, 252 (August 2021), 111.

<sup>21</sup> 37 Geo. III, c.127.

<sup>22</sup> Roger L. Emerson, *An Enlightened Duke: The Life of Archibald Campbell (1682-1761), Earl of Ilay, 3rd Duke of Argyll* (Kilkerran, 2013), 335-43.

<sup>23</sup> Michael W. McCahill, 'The Scottish Peerage and the House of Lords in the late Eighteenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, 51 (1972), 173-4.

In the summer Argyll went north, taking a week to reach Scotland accompanied by ‘a grand Retinue’.<sup>24</sup> As Heritable Master of the King’s Household, he stayed in a second-floor suite of rooms at the Royal Palace of Holyroodhouse. Edinburgh routine for the duke followed a similar pattern to London, with the duke holding audiences with visitors and social levees. To avoid the crowd of people wishing to see him, the duke would sometimes stay with his Edinburgh manager, Andrew Fletcher (1692-1766), Lord Justice Clerk (1735-48) and Keeper of the Signet (1746-66). On route to his Scottish seat at Inveraray, the duke usually stopped in Glasgow to visit civic leaders, merchants and university professors. At Inveraray, he hosted his heirs, relatives, friends, soldiers and literary figures. The total workforce at Inveraray numbered sixty people, including a clockmaker. The dukes’ successors maintained the same routine throughout the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Visitors to Inveraray such as Dorothy Wordsworth (1771-1855) in 1803, were clearly acutely aware of the Argylls’ identity as London Scots and their proximity to the royal family:

Take a Duke of Argyle at the end of the eighteenth century, let him have his house in Grosvenor Square, his London liveries, and daughters glittering at St James’s, and I think you will be satisfied with his present mansion in the Highlands.<sup>25</sup>

Argyll’s high status in Grosvenor Square and his daughters’ life at royal court at St James’s are connected in Wordsworth’s imagination with the landscape of the Highlands and the castle he built there. Visitors to Inveraray included the highest ranks of English aristocracy, reflecting the social circles in which the dukes moved in London. A crowded house party of 1807 was attended, *inter alia*, by John Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford (1766-1839) and Duchess Georgiana (1781-1853) accompanied by their youngest son and future premier minister, Lord John Russell (1792-1878).<sup>26</sup> Georgiana Russell was the daughter of Alexander Gordon, 4th Duke of Gordon (1743-1827), described by Lord Kames as ‘the greatest subject in Britain in regard not only of the extent of his rent roll but of the number of persons depending on his rule and protection’.<sup>27</sup> As with the Argylls, the Gordons’ prominence as London Scots greatly enhanced the family’s standing. Georgiana’s mother, Jane, Duchess of Gordon (c. 1748-1812), was an unrivalled matchmaker and her other daughters married

<sup>24</sup> *General Advertiser*, 9 July 1752.

<sup>25</sup> Dorothy Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland A.D. 1803*, 130.  
<<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28880/28880-h/28880-h.htm#page126>> [accessed 23 September 2020]

<sup>26</sup> Iain G. Lindsay and Mary Cosh, *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll* (Edinburgh, 1973), 308.

<sup>27</sup> H.M. Chichester rev. by Michael Fry, ‘Gordon, Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon’, *ODNB*.

respectively the Duke of Manchester, the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Cornwallis. Again as with the Argylls, the Duke of Gordon's status was underpinned by royal appointments, as Knight of the Thistle (1775) and Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland (1794-1827) and he was a regular correspondent with the royal family.

Dukes were the highest tier of dynasty below monarchy and ducal behaviour was emulated on a more modest scale by other aristocratic London Scots. As Scotland experienced a prolonged period of economic growth — between 1750 and 1815 there was an estimated eightfold increase in rents — lesser peers joined the annual season in London.<sup>28</sup> One effective way for Scots nobles to establish themselves in London society was to be elected one of sixteen Scottish representative peers in the House of Lords, pursuant to the 1707 Act of Union. When a new parliament was elected, a Royal Proclamation summoned Scots peers to Holyroodhouse for the election of representative peers in its Great Gallery. An account of the elections of 1752 by the Earl of Breadalbane leaves no doubt as to the extent of the Duke of Argyll's control:

Arch. [*Archibald*] D. of Argyll [...] had the nomination, but [...] some persons here [Milton and others] — who did his dirty work — took care to let all Peers know who would be agreeable, and the knowing from whence the authority came almost always acquiesced.<sup>29</sup>

Satire portrayed representative peers as unprincipled confederates of the king, using their position to enrich themselves:

Alike in loyalty, alike in worth  
Behold the sixteen nobles of the north:  
Fast friends to monarchy, yet sprung from those  
Who basely sold their monarch to his foes:  
Since which, atoning for their father's crime,  
The sons, as basely, sell themselves to him:  
With ev'ry change prepar'd to change their note,  
With ev'ry Government prepar'd to vote,

<sup>28</sup> McCahill, 'Scottish Peerage', 174.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in John Stuart Shaw, *The Political History of Eighteenth Century Scotland* (London, 1999), 34. 'Milton' was the Lord Justice Clerk Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton (1692-1766), who functioned as Argyll's manager in Edinburgh.

Save when, perhaps, on some important bill,  
They know by second sight, the royal will.<sup>30</sup>

Election as a representative peer was based on a system of reciprocal favours. In 1787, Henry Dundas wrote to Henry Scott, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch (1746-1812) making clear that a peer who did not support the government's nominees would receive no further patronage.<sup>31</sup> Governments of the day were bound by convention to support the candidature of the great ducal magnates, peers who had previously been among the sixteen, and candidates of particularly influential supporters. After a 1782 decision reversing the bar on Scottish peers holding British titles sitting and voting in the House of Lords, demand grew among Scots peers for British peerages.<sup>32</sup> As the general Scottish economy prospered in the second half of the eighteenth century, Scots peers became less inclined to accept inferior status relative to English and British titles. Between 1782 and 1800, seven Scottish peers were given English titles and a further nine Scottish commoners were elevated to the British peerage.<sup>33</sup> Scots sitting in the House of Lords by right of British peerages were very loyal to the government. For example, the Dukes of Argyll, Buccleuch and Gordon were strong allies of Dundas and the Duke of Roxburghe was an intimate friend of George III.<sup>34</sup>

A single aristocrat had an impact on a whole complex of Scottish lives in London and Scotland: servants, stewards, business managers, architects, bankers, brokers and speculators, shopkeepers and merchants. Whereas an unmarried peer might stay in lodgings in London for the season, once married it was important to create a domestic establishment signifying status and wealth. Fine gradations within the Westminster hierarchy of streets had to be understood and negotiated. Proximity to St James's Palace and royal households was important in measuring social standing. London's urban development pioneered Hanoverian branding of streets (such as Hanover Square and Charlotte Street), interwoven with streets named after senior tiers of dynasty (such as Russell Square, Bedford Square and Argyll Street). Each new town development adopted Palladian neo-classicism and uniformity, laid out with spacious streets, squares and gardens. Property development flowed down from the aristocracy

<sup>30</sup> *The Rolliad: Probationary Odes and Political Miscellanies* (London, 1799), 155.

<sup>31</sup> McCahill, 'Scottish Peerage', 179, fn. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Cannon, *Aristocratic century*, 27-8; G.M. Ditchfield, 'The Scottish representative peers and parliamentary politics', *Scottish Historical Review*, 60 (1981), 14-31.

<sup>33</sup> Cannon, *Aristocratic century*, 28.

<sup>34</sup> McCahill, 'Scottish Peerage', 192.

through master builder speculators in a hierarchy of tiered property interests. Culturally, these urban projects not only displayed wealth, but expressed confidence in the Hanoverian succession and commitment to London as post-union capital of sovereignty. A group of aristocratic visitors touring John Murray, 3rd Duke of Atholl's newly completed London town house in 1772, noted a portrait of the royal family over the fireplace in the drawing room.<sup>35</sup>

Scots' first-hand experience of London urban development is an important context perhaps underplayed in the historiography of Edinburgh's new town. Historians agree the impetus for Edinburgh's development was created by the 1752 anonymously published *Proposals* pamphlet, believed to be authored by London Scot Sir Gilbert Elliot (1722-77), a Borders member of parliament whose London address was Parliament Street.<sup>36</sup> Edinburgh town minutes evidence local civic commitment to the project. Less attention is paid to the role of London Scots in securing legislation and finance required for these works. Edinburgh Lord Provost George Drummond's (1688-1766) early initiative centred on visiting the Duke of Argyll in London in 1750. Argyll helped Drummond secure the necessary legislation and crown finance. The *Proposals* pamphlet was clearly written by someone familiar with and inspired by London:

the city of London affords the most striking example. [...]: the neatness and accommodation of its private houses; the beauty and conveniency of its numerous streets and open squares, of its buildings and bridges, its large parks and extensive walks. [...] the magnificence of the [royal] court'.<sup>37</sup>

Edinburgh's development would emulate Westminster's (with major squares, gardens, social hierarchy of housing, church and assembly). James Craig (1739-95), a twenty-six-year-old Edinburgh architect, won the town council's competition for the layout of a 'new town'. His plan was reproduced complete with the royal coat of arms and a dedication to the sovereign: 'To His Sacred Majesty George III, The Munificent Patron of Every Polite and Liberal Art. This Plan of the New Streets and Squares intended for his ancient capital of North Britain'.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Coltman, *Art and Identity*, 70.

<sup>36</sup> *The Gentleman's New Memorandum Book* (London, 1762), 15.

<sup>37</sup> *Proposals*, 6.

<sup>38</sup> Patrick Begbie, *James Craig's Plan of the new streets and squares intended for the City of Edinburgh*, 1768, 48.5 x 68.5 cm, NGS, P 8028.

It is clear Craig regarded dedication exclusively to the king as paramount, his failure to make any reference to the town council being taken by the magistrates as a slight. In October 1767, Craig journeyed to London and presented himself at the royal court, where his plan was viewed by George III, to whom the naming of some streets is credited.<sup>39</sup> Master-builders and tradesmen in Edinburgh imitated London counterparts in new forms of property speculation and craftsmanship, serving new markets for aristocratic residences in the Scottish capital. In 1790, London Scot Francis Wemyss-Charteris, 7th Earl of Wemyss (1723-1808), built a town house at 64 Queen Street, Edinburgh, with a splendid exterior signifying prestige and wealth, featuring a lace-like semi-circular wrought iron fanlight over a doorway framed by fluted pilasters and an ornamental frieze of rosette motifs (Figure 1.1). Within new town uniformity, such details enabled aristocrats to display taste and refinement and hint at the splendours within. Fine gradations of status were learnt in London. Robert Adam's 1772 design for the house of Welsh Jacobite Sir Watkin Williams Wynn (1749-89) — a man well known to London Scots — at 20 St James's Square features similar architectural details as 64 Queen Street on a larger scale: the iron fanlight is more intricate, fluted pilasters run the height of the upper two storeys and rosettes the breadth on the frieze below the roof cornice (Figure 1.2).<sup>40</sup> Earlier, London Scot Sir Lawrence Dundas (c. 1712–81), MP, military contractor and businessman, built a magnificent town house in Edinburgh in 1774, commissioning Dundas House on St Andrew's Square (Figure 1.3). Having amassed fabulous wealth from government contracts, Dundas owed everything to Hanoverian royalty. Son of a draper in the luckenbooths (shops) in Edinburgh's Parliament Square, Dundas was introduced to the Duke of Cumberland in 1745 by James Masterton (1715-77), the duke's aide de camp and former classmate of Dundas' at Edinburgh Royal High School.<sup>41</sup> From early appointments by the duke as commissary for bread and forage in Scotland (1746-8) and stores and provisions in Flanders (1747-9), Dundas' commercial empire grew spectacularly during the Seven Years War. Aspiring to the nobility, Dundas attained a baronetcy awarded by George III in 1762. Dundas acquired his London residence, 19 Arlington Street, St James's, in 1763 to display his power, wealth and taste, and his Edinburgh mansion would outdo even this property's

<sup>39</sup> M.K. Meade, 'Plans of the New Town of Edinburgh', *Architectural History*, 14 (1971), 41.

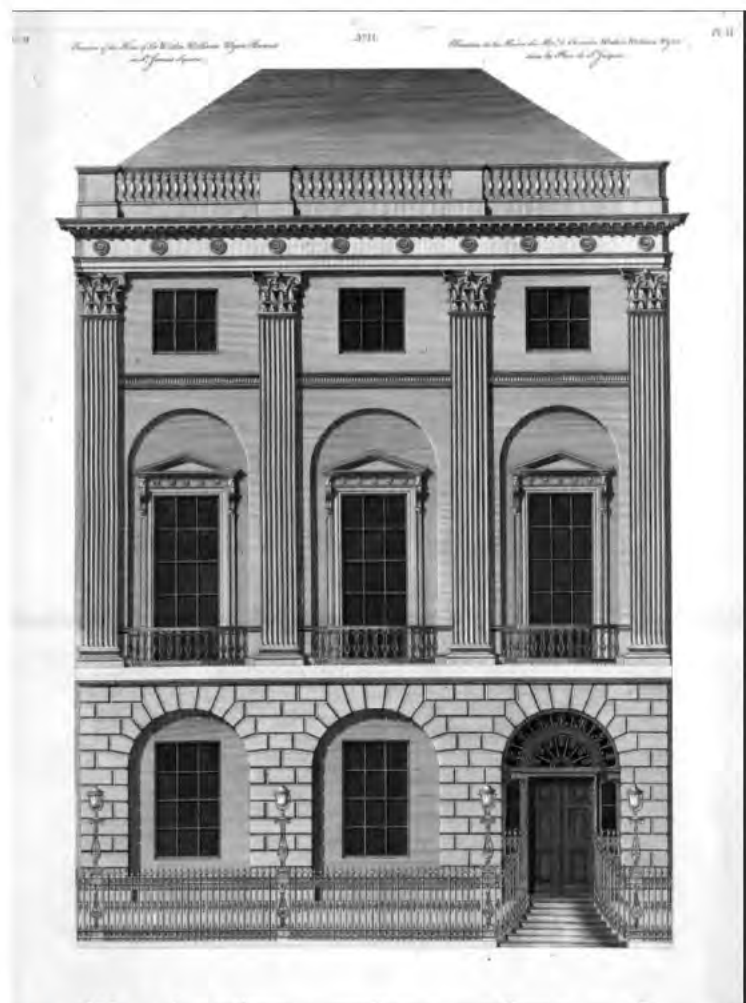
<sup>40</sup> <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/williams-watkin-1693-1749>> [accessed 3 December 2022]

<sup>41</sup> Lawrence was from the Dundas family of Fingask and Kerse, a minor and impoverished branch of the Dundas of Arniston dynasty. Lawrence Dundas and Henry Dundas were therefore distantly related but were politically opposed interests.





**Figure 1.1.** Door piece at 64 Queen Street, Edinburgh, Canmore, HES.



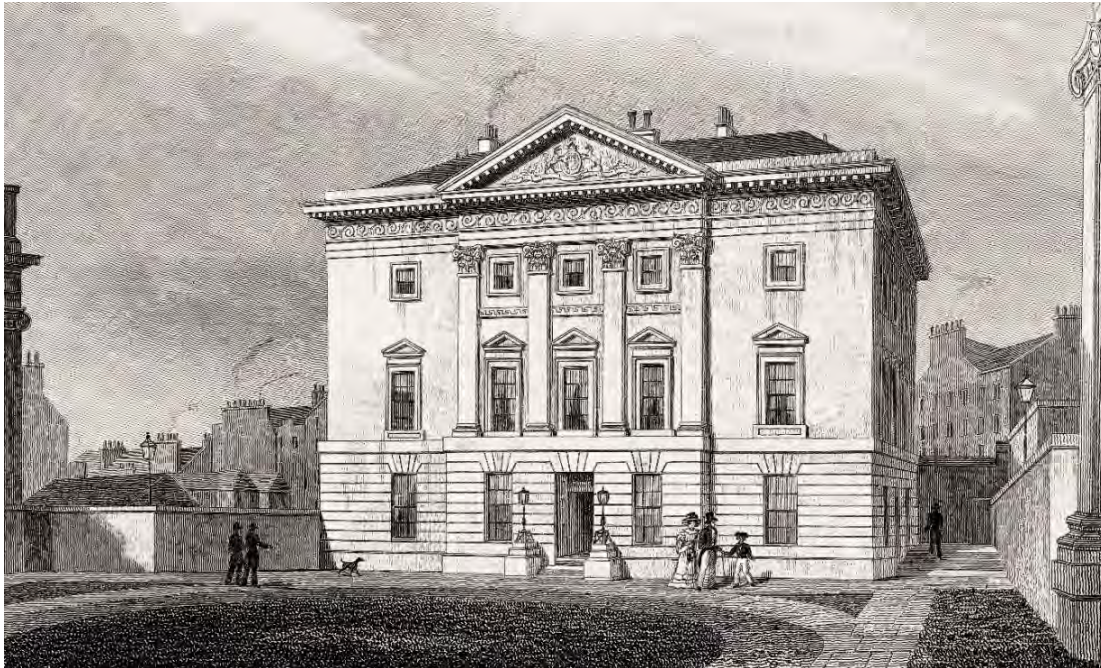
**Figure 1.2.** Robert Adam, *Elevation of the House of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn in St James' Square, 1772.*

splendour. Notably, vast wealth was not enough for Dundas; his ambition was the royal imprimatur of a peerage. Purchasing town houses and country seats from English aristocrats reflected these aspirations, as did his 1763 acquisition of the planned village project of New Merchiston, near Falkirk. In 1765, the name of the village was changed to Lawrencetown after Dundas, before long becoming Laurieston. Dundas' dynastic pretensions are evident in his choice of a favourite portrait painter of the royal family, the German Johann Zoffany (1733-1810), to portray him around 1775 with his grandson Lawrence in the Robert Adam designed interior of 19 Arlington Street, surrounded by all the trappings of a patron of the arts (Figure 1.4). Although described by Boswell as 'a comely jovial Scotch gentleman', Zoffany depicts Dundas as every inch the refined nobleman, coincidentally or otherwise wearing a navy blue coat trimmed in gold resembling George III's favoured dress.<sup>42</sup> Dundas' ambition was realised posthumously when his son Thomas (1741-1820) was created 1st Baron Dundas in 1794. Grandson Lawrence, the small boy in Zoffany's portrait, was to be elevated to 1st Earl of Zetland (Shetland) in 1837, the painting therefore foreshadowing the establishment of a dynastic legacy.

Analysis of the Sovereignty Directory shows higher tiers of dynasty were the most likely to maintain a constant establishment in London. The Dukes of Argyll, Atholl, Buccleuch, Gordon, Hamilton, Montrose, Queensberry and Roxburghe all had substantial residences in Westminster throughout the period of study, not least because their estates and remunerated royal appointments generated the wealth to sustain such an undertaking.<sup>43</sup> Of nine marquessates, London addresses were found for eight (the remaining marquessate, Annandale, became extinct in 1792 on the death of the 3rd Marquess). Marquesses were mostly found in town houses as opposed to the detached mansions of some dukes. London addresses were found for 46 of 63 earldoms. Of the remaining 17 earldoms, there is evidence that 8 maintained a regular presence in London, such as election as a Scottish representative peer. Only 9 earldoms lack any evidence of a London address or presence, meaning that 54 of the 53 earldoms were held by London Scots during the period of study. Five of eight viscountcies maintained a London presence, including such notable London Scots as Henry Dundas, son Robert (1771-1851) and David Murray, 7th Viscount Stormont (1727-96).

<sup>42</sup> Sacha Llwellyn, 'George III and the Windsor Uniform', *The Court Historian*, 1 (1996), 12-16.

<sup>43</sup> The dukedom of Douglas became extinct in 1761.



**Figure 1.3.** Thomas Shepherd, 'Royal Bank of Scotland' in *Modern Athens!* [sic] *Displayed in a Series of Views: or Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1829).



**Figure 1.4.** Johann Zoffany, *Sir Lawrence Dundas and his grandson Lawrence*, c. 1775, oil on canvas, 101.5 x 127 cm, Zetland Collection.

London addresses were found for 20 of the 24 baronages, evidence showing the remaining 4 all must have lived in London at some point. One such, Robert Montgomery Hamilton, 8th Lord Belhaven (1793-1868), was a Scottish representative peer, requiring attendance in person at Westminster during parliamentary sessions. In aggregate, therefore, out of 107 titles of nobility, 100 were represented by a residence in London in the period; and of that 100, evidence was found of specific London addresses in 84 cases. Of 21 baronetcies, evidence showed 16 with London addresses and three with a London presence, albeit without a specific address found. Not surprisingly, almost without exception, all addresses for the five ranks of peerage and the baronets were located in Westminster.

### **Crown**

Power and patronage flowed from the crown in London through Scotland's great offices of state, law officers and civil appointments, to secondary networks north of the border. Four great offices of state in Scotland were included in the British Privy Council sitting in London: Keeper of the Great Seal, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Lord Justice General and Lord Clerk Register. It was the monarch who appointed senior positions and these roles involved regular personal interactions with the king. Scotland's senior law officers — Lord Advocate and Solicitor General — ran the country with a range of political, legal and administrative duties and were rewarded with generous remuneration.<sup>44</sup> The relationship with the monarchy traversed both official functionary power and more informal politico-social influence. By their very nature, senior roles were concentrated in a small group of higher-ranking peers who operated as the gateway to advancement for lower tiers within the Scottish peerage and gentry. All dukedoms in the Sovereignty Directory received royal appointments in the period, as did all marquessates. Of fifty-eight earldoms, thirty-nine had royal appointments. Personal relationships with the monarch and royal family were crucial in this context. At the beginning of the period, after Culloden, allegiance and influence from these key figures were central to managing a country that had just lived through divisive and bloody rebellion. Close relationships with the king and royal family, such as the Earl of Bute's with Frederick, Prince of Wales, dowager Princess Augusta, and young George III, have received a great deal of

<sup>44</sup> Murdoch, *People Above*, passim.

attention from historians and biographers.<sup>45</sup> In considering the broader impact of the crown on Scotland, these close relationships must be located within the broader context of royal appointments among London Scots, themselves often personally acquainted with the king in varying degrees. It was not just men in official positions who had influence, but often female family members, the wives and daughters of London Scots. Daughters were increasingly sent to the capital for early socialisation in metropolitan manners and to ‘speak English & behave like polite London Children [*sic*]’.<sup>46</sup>

Proof of the importance of crown appointments can be found in the pocket-sized almanacks of the period. A typical example, the 1781 *Universal Scots Almanack*, was dedicated by its Edinburgh publisher to the Lord Advocate, Henry Dundas.<sup>47</sup> Not only does it list the holders of the high offices of state and their annual remuneration — such as Hugh Hume-Campbell (1708-94), Keeper of the Great Seal (£3,300), and Lord Frederick Campbell (1729-1813) (third son of the 4th Duke of Argyll), Lord Register (£2,000) — but also the holders of deputy and subsidiary appointments within these offices.<sup>48</sup> Officers of the King’s Household are listed, beginning at the top with the Duke of Argyll as ‘Heritable Master of the King’s House’, and moving down the ranks from the likes of the ‘King’s Physicians’, to ‘King’s Historiographer’, to ‘King’s Glasier [*sic*]’ and ‘King’s Taylor [*sic*]’. London’s place of importance for Scots is evident from the map at back of the almanack, ‘The LONDON Guide... for the Universal Scots Almanack’. Covering the cities of London, Westminster and the borough of Southwark, the map key lists churches, squares and public buildings, not alphabetically, but in order of precedence; thus, St Paul’s Cathedral is the first church, St James’s the first square and St James’s Palace the first public building. All three have strong royal associations, St Paul’s being the seat of the Bishop of London, who since 1723 served as the Dean of the Chapel Royal.

Royal Proclamations were one of the most public declarations of royal sovereignty and a reminder that their enactment took place in one of the royal palaces in London, Windsor or

<sup>45</sup> John Brooke, *King George III* (London, 1972); Christopher Hibbert, *George III* (London, 1998); Jeremy Black, *George III: America’s Last King* (Padstow, 2006); Andrew Roberts, *George III*: (London 2021); Russell, *John Stuart*; Janice Hadlow *The Strangest Family: The Private Lives of George III, Queen Charlotte and the Hanoverians* (London, 2014); Stella Tillyard, *A Royal Affair: George III and His Scandalous Siblings* (London, 2006).

<sup>46</sup> NLS, MS 11009, Agnes Minto, Lady Minto, to Gilbert Elliot, 8 September 1757.

<sup>47</sup> *Universal Scots Almanack* (Edinburgh, 1781), title page.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, 38-42.

Kew. They were a feature of ordinary people's lives in the same way that regular and special occasions of national worship featuring the king and royal family were.<sup>49</sup> Proclamations ended 'Given at Our Court at St James's' followed by the date of the proclamation and regnal year, concluding 'God save the King'. David Allan's *A Town Officer Reading a Proclamation*, circa 1787 (Figure 1.5), shows an officer of Edinburgh's town guard reading a Royal Proclamation on which the words 'God Save the King' are legible.<sup>50</sup> He is accompanied by two town guard drummers, the city's coat of arms discernible on the drum in the foreground. The officer wears a luxurious blue coat with the badge of the city on his chest; he doffs his hat to draw attention to himself accompanied by a drum roll. In the uniform of the town guard, the drummers wear red coats with blue facings and cuffs, and tricorne hats with white piping. Although the uniforms are in military style, the town guard was a civil militia under the control of the Lord Provost and town council for keeping order in the city. With the spire of St Giles' Cathedral on the High Street clearly visible on the right, onlookers include a child, a man in blue bonnet, and woman whose white ruffled cap suggests humble status. On such occasions, all classes in Edinburgh were reminded of the king's sovereign 'presence' in their lives, even as the king remained four hundred miles south in another kingdom. From the stone wall shown in the image, it appears the proclamation was read at one of the city gates. Allan was possibly depicting the reading of George III's 1787 Royal Proclamation 'For the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue, and for the Preventing and Punishing of Vice, Profaneness and Immorality', which *inter alia* sought to outlaw the printing of sexually explicit material.<sup>51</sup> Other possibilities, since the exact date of the image is uncertain, are one of two 1792 Royal Proclamations against seditious writings, intended to counter radicalism and civil disturbances in the wake of the French Revolution.<sup>52</sup> There is a contrast between mundane monarchy embodied in the figures of the town guard and magnificent monarchy in the language of the proclamation. Allan's *A Peg-Legged Beggar*, circa 1785 (Figure 1.6) depicts a humble character who, despite his rags, was strongly associated with monarchy. The image shows a king's bedesmen in Edinburgh, known colloquially as 'blue gowns' asking a well-dressed lady for alms. Blue gowns were a class of beggars permitted to beg on the king's authority; they were identified by the circular metal

<sup>49</sup> See Chapter 5: Instruction.

<sup>50</sup> Allan's career and 'realist' style is discussed in Chapter 3: Culture.

<sup>51</sup> *London Gazette*, 29 May 1787.

<sup>52</sup> *London Gazette*, 19 June 1792. Atle L. Wold, *Scotland and the French Revolutionary War, 1792-1802* (Edinburgh, 2015), 7-37. See Chapter 2: Soldiers for more on the 1792 civil disturbances in Scotland.



**Figure 1.5.** David Allan, *A Town Officer Reading a Proclamation – Behind him, Two Soldiers with Drums*, c. 1785, ink and watercolour, 29.4 x 21.5 cm, NGS, D. 386.

badge they wore, royal crown and king's cipher in the centre, bedesman's name above and motto 'Pass and Repass' below. On the king's birthday, in a case of munificent monarchy, they were gifted a new blue cloak, a meal and a Scots shilling for every year of the monarch's reign. Sir Walter Scott records that on the same day one of the king's chaplains preached a sermon to the blue gowns.<sup>53</sup> King's beggars dated back to at least the sixteenth century and, on the 1567 accession of James VI (and later I), giving of alms was changed to the king's birthday.

No aristocratic family in Scotland enjoyed more hereditary power brokerage than the Dukes of Argyll. It should not be forgotten the Scot most closely associated with a personal relationship with the Hanoverian royal family, John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, was nephew to John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll, and Archibald Campbell, Earl of Ilay (later 3rd Duke of Argyll). In 1723, when his father died, the ten-year-old Bute came under his uncles' guardianship; sent first to Eton and subsequently to Leiden to study law. As a close friend of Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-51), on the prince's death Bute became the most important male influence on Frederick's son, the future George III. Appointed his tutor in 1751, the course of study and interests Bute encouraged were those he himself acquired through his uncles: history, botany, astronomy, natural philosophy, bibliography, architecture and art. On 27 October 1760, two days after George II's death, George III made Bute a Privy Counsellor, Groom of the Stole and First Gentleman of the Bedchamber. Bute organised lectures on natural philosophy in 1763 for the royal Princes George and Edward by Stephen Demainbray (1716-82), subjects the latter had taught at Edinburgh University. The London Scottish earl's relationship with George III and his mother, Princess Augusta, was the subject of much gossip and satire, doing a great deal to establish in popular culture the idea of Scots in London insinuating themselves into royal favour for personal gain.<sup>54</sup>

George's education did not elide the fact that the Hanoverian dynasty's legitimacy was founded on Scottish monarchy.<sup>55</sup> It is arguable whether this would have been the case without Bute's influence — indeed it is easy to imagine an English tutor avoiding the topic of Scottish monarchy altogether, given the paranoia at the time at any hint of Jacobite

<sup>53</sup> J. Balfour Paul, 'On Beggars' Badges, With Notes on the Licensed Mendicants of Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1886-7, 178.

<sup>54</sup> See Chapter 3: Culture for discussion of Scotophobia.

<sup>55</sup> E.g., Brooke, *George III*; Hibbert, *George III*; Black, *George III*, Roberts, *George III*; Russell, *John Stuart*, do not discuss the king and Scotland.





**Figure 1.6.** David Allan, *A Peg-Legged Beggar*, c. 1785, ink and watercolour, 24.9 x 18.8 cm, NGS, D. 397.

sympathies. Scotland was established in the landscape of George's imagination as fundamental to Britain's national history, and specifically to his family's right to rule: an integral constitutional foundation of Hanoverian Britain, not a quasi-colonial acquisition of England's. Among essays attributed to young Prince George in Windsor's Royal Archives is one entitled 'Account of the Scotch Government taken from Robertson [William Robertson, *History of Scotland* (1759)]'.<sup>56</sup> Over seventeen pages in manuscript, the essay traces the tensions between the Scottish sovereign and the nobility from ancient times, narrating a progressive curtailment of the Scots nobility's powers. It is exclusively Scotland's constitutional journey to eventual union with England in 1707 that is described. Significantly, James VI and James VII are referred to by their Scottish regnal numbers alone, and the 1689 Claim of Right (equivalent of England's Bill of Rights) is cited as securing the interests of 'the Common People [*of Scotland*]'.<sup>57</sup> Towards the end of the essay, mirroring Robertson, the 'Union of the two Kingdoms' is said to have 'destroyed' the power of the Scots nobility by their parliamentary representation being reduced to sixteen. Prince George concludes:

This I think plainly enough shows that both the English and Scotch Nations have been gainers by the Union, except the Nobility of the last, who are now looked upon in the British Parliament as little more than the tools of the King; it would be very happy if some method could be hit upon to alter this.<sup>58</sup>

George III's celebrated declaration in his first address to Parliament, 'Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Britain', with its emphasis on Britishness rather than Englishness, was often attributed to Bute's influence. Even if, as has been suggested, the king referred to 'Britain' to play down allegiance to Hanover, significantly he did not claim to glory in the name of 'England'.<sup>59</sup> What is certain is that the king's education ensured his understanding of Scotland's place in the national constitution, which would be reinforced by his personal appointment of Scotland's four great offices of state. As the future king wrote in the essay already quoted when discussing Scotland's pre-union unicameral parliament, 'Great Officers of the Crown being always ready to act according to the pleasure of the Kings'.<sup>60</sup> The 1757 *Scots Almanack* lists nine 'Officers of State in Scotland': the four holders of the

<sup>56</sup> RA, GEO/ADD/32/1078-1086, 'Account of the Scotch Government taken from Robertson'.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, 16.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, 16-17.

<sup>59</sup> Roberts, *George III*, 63.

<sup>60</sup> 'Account of the Scotch Government', 13.

great offices of state plus the Lord Vice-Admiral, the Lord President of the Court of Session, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Lord Advocate and the Lord Justice Clerk. All these appointments in the gift of the crown (save for the Vice-Admiral) were associated with sovereignty and Scotland's separate legal system.<sup>61</sup> Law and crown appointments were more intertwined in Scotland than England, partly due to the absence of a minister of state for Scotland, partly to the volume of legal patronage, and partly because judges in Scotland were involved in the electoral system and acted locally as powerful representatives of the crown.<sup>62</sup> All appointments show the convergence between senior legal positions and the peerage. Predictably, at the beginning of the period, the most powerful London Scot, Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll, held the great political office of Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland (1733-61) and great legal office of Lord Justice General (1710-61); and London Scot, James Murray, 2nd Duke of Atholl, was Lord Privy Seal (1733-63).<sup>63</sup> By 1781, Bute's brother, James Stewart-Mackenzie (1718-1800), was Lord Privy Seal, and Argyll's cousin, Lord Frederick Campbell (1729-1816), was Lord Clerk Register.<sup>64</sup> The function of the individuals appointed to these offices was twofold: to advise the king and ministers of state in London on Scottish affairs; and to manage Scotland politically, economically and administratively for the king and his ministers.

It is no accident that Argyll, Bute, and Henry Dundas were all legally qualified. Dundas' career alone illustrates that law and legal office in Scotland were an unrivalled route to ministerial appointment in London, acquaintance with the king and elevation to the peerage. Scots law had both philosophical foundations and strong historical connections with parts of continental Europe, distinguishing it from the English common law tradition. In the first half of the eighteenth-century aspirants to the Scottish bar usually spent part of their education in the Dutch Republic studying civil law, such as Argyll in Utrecht and Bute at Leiden.<sup>65</sup> Even after mid-century reform, examination in Roman civil law conducted in Latin was required to qualify as an advocate. Scots law was a hybrid of civil and common law systems; by the mid-eighteenth century its jurisprudence and teaching were infused with Enlightenment ideas.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Scots Almanack* (1757).

<sup>62</sup> Murdoch, *People Above*, 53.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, 48.

<sup>64</sup> *Scots Almanack* (1781), 38.

<sup>65</sup> Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Europe*, 7, 139.

<sup>66</sup> John W. Cairns, *Law, Lawyers and Humanism* (Edinburgh, 2015), ch. 11, 'The Formation of the Scottish Legal Mind in the Eighteenth Century: Themes of Humanism and Enlightenment in the Admission of Advocates'.

On the whole, Scots law admitted of greater scope for reasoning from principle than was admissible under precedent-bound English common law. On one occasion, George III upbraided Dundas, ‘Fie, Fie, Mr Dundas, no more of your Scotch metaphysics’.<sup>67</sup> That George III’s appreciation of the distinctiveness of Scotland’s legal system was evident in his resolution of a contest of political interests between John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford (1710-71) and James Stewart-Mackenzie about the appointment of a new judge to the Court of Session in Edinburgh. Together with Scottish-born Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, William Murray, 1st Earl of Mansfield (1705-93), Stewart-Mackenzie persuaded George III to favour the candidature of the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates (the Scots bar). Writing to Bute on 19 April 1764, the king observed: ‘I am so glad there has been this struggle of the Ministers for I will show them who recommends Scotch offices’.<sup>68</sup> George III was assuring Bute as a Scot that the king would keep English ministers out of Scottish affairs. Highlighting the controversy over Scottish influence around monarchy, a satirical print circa 1762 by George Townsend (Figure 1.7) shows Princess Augusta seated on a zebra loaded with coal (representing money) led by Bute, identified by speech referencing the motto of the Order of the Thistle, ‘nemo me impune lacessit’ (no-one provokes me with impunity). Zebras were a common caricaturist’s device of the time as a result of one being gifted to Queen Charlotte in the summer of 1762, referred to mischievously as ‘the queen’s ass’ and symbolising an alien in the royal court. Stuart-Mackenzie accepts a bag of coal from Augusta, who says ‘your being a scotchman & a relation to my lord [*Bute*], is a sufficient recommendation to my favours’. A group of Scots — unusually for caricature, elegantly dressed, not in kilts but tartan trews — cheer, and one lady complains, ‘how impertinent the city of London grows as if equal to Edinburgh, truly’. Here London Scots are satirised for allegedly over-inflated ideas of their own importance and sophistication, thanks to associations with monarchy.<sup>69</sup>

Another significant lawyer-politician was London Scot Sir Gilbert Elliot, 3rd baronet of Minto (1722-77). Beginning his career at the Scottish bar in 1742, Elliot was appointed Roxburghshire’s first sheriff-depute in 1748 thanks to the 3rd Duke of Argyll. The office of sheriff-depute, as a local judge, was introduced in Scotland in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite rising and was important in imposing Hanoverian sovereignty on communities

<sup>67</sup> <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/dundas-henry-1742-1811>> [accessed 6 February 2023]

<sup>68</sup> R. Sedgwick, ed., *Letters of George III to Lord Bute, 1756-1766* (London, 1939), no. 334, 238.

<sup>69</sup> Scotophobia is discussed in Chapter 3: Culture.

*The Zebra loaded or the Scotch Pedler a Northern farce now playing in the South.*



Figure 1.7. George Townsend, *The Zebra loaded or the Scotch Pedler a Northern farce now playing in the South*, c. 1762, etching, 18.2 x 30.3 cm, BM, J.1.49.

suspected of harbouring Jacobite sympathies. Under Argyll's influence, Elliot was elected MP in 1753 and joined the 'king's friends' faction in Parliament before being appointed Treasurer of the Chamber in the Royal Household, and Keeper of the Signet in 1766.<sup>70</sup> Argyll's influence and parliamentary support for the king's interest set Elliot on the road to becoming a 'special confidant' of George III.<sup>71</sup> Evidence of this close relationship with the king can be found in a letter George III wrote to Lord North on 6 February 1772, referring to Elliot's request for a position in the army for his son, Hugh (1752-1830). Acknowledging that Hugh was 'undoubtedly a very pretty young man', the king nevertheless refused the request, reasoning that to do so would 'not only occasion clamour in the Army but disoblige many Peers and Members of Parliament as it could not be done for their Sons'.<sup>72</sup> George III's grounds for refusal show his sensitivity to accusations of favouritism, no doubt mindful of constant grumbling that too many Scots were appointed to advantageous positions by the monarch. Whilst the request was unsuccessful, the following year, aged just twenty-one, Hugh Elliot was appointed a diplomat to the Duchy of Bavaria, and four years later ambassador to Frederick the Great of Prussia. London Scots like Gilbert Elliot were acutely aware of challenges involved in fulfilling requests from Scotland for advancement. Elliot wrote to Lord Milton: 'Your Lordship has no conception what it is to settle business of this kind, betwixt a Secretary of State, and a first Lord of the Treasury, whose hours, situations and engagements are so different and remote'.<sup>73</sup> Even for Scots in London, gaining access to ministers was a challenge. In a similar vein, Lord Milton's son, Andrew Fletcher (1722-79), appointed Scotland's Auditor of the Exchequer in 1751, wrote to his father, 'many of our countrymen imagine that it only costs their friends a word to provide for them by which means the most substantial favours are undervalued'.<sup>74</sup>

Law as a route to power in London was fruitful for London Scots, as demonstrated by the careers of William Murray, 1st Earl of Mansfield (1705-93), Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Alexander Wedderburn, 1st Earl of Rosslyn (1733-1805) and Henry Erskine, 1st Baron Erskine (1746-1817). Dundas assumed a similar role to Argyll as 'manager' of Scottish affairs, first subsuming this function in his capacity as Scotland's senior law officer, Lord Advocate, an appointment made by the king in 1775. By 1784, his

<sup>70</sup> *Register of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet* (Edinburgh, 1984), 357.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas Finlayson Henderson, 'Elliot, Sir Gilbert (1722-1777)', *ODNB*.

<sup>72</sup> RCT, Georgian Papers Online, GEO/MAIN/1256, George III to Lord North, 6 February 1772.

<sup>73</sup> NLS, MS.16720, Sir Gilbert Elliot to Lord Milton, 11 June 1761.

<sup>74</sup> NLS, MS.16517, Andrew Fletcher to Lord Milton, 15 January 1754.

power in Scotland was already recognised with the sobriquet ‘King Harry the Ninth’.<sup>75</sup> London Scot Gilbert Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound, 1st Baron Minto (1751-1814), believed hardly a family in Scotland was not under obligation to Dundas. At a time when elite London Scots attempted to blend in with their English peers, MP Charles Abbot (1757-1829) observed Dundas as ‘miserably Scottish in his accent, and inelegant in his arrangement and diction’. Although George III complained of Dundas’ ‘ungentlemanlike’ handwriting, the king found Dundas more approachable than First Lord of the Treasury, William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806).<sup>76</sup> With elevation to senior cabinet rank — Home Secretary, 1791-4, and Secretary of State for War, 1794-1801 — Dundas required a residence grander than his lodgings in Leicester Square. In 1786, he leased Warren House, a neoclassical villa in Wimbledon, where he was responsible for elegantly landscaped parkland. George III frequently visited Warren House, as did Pitt who often stayed overnight. By the 1796 general election, at the height of his political power in Scotland, Dundas’ hold over Scotland’s 45 seats in the House of Commons was so absolute that only four polls took place, and he secured the return of his candidates in 43 seats.<sup>77</sup> In 1800, thanks to Dundas, Scotland obtained more than a quarter of all official British pensions and one-third of state sinecures, despite the population of England being six times greater than Scotland.<sup>78</sup> Compared to the Argylls, Dundas can be considered an example of *noblesse de robe*, but he nevertheless belonged to an established Scottish legal dynasty. His father, Robert, Lord Arniston (1658-1753) was Lord President of the Court of Session in Edinburgh, 1748-53, had been Lord Advocate, 1720-5 and Tory MP, 1722-37. Inspired by grand neoclassical houses in England, Arniston commissioned William Adam to build a mansion over the foundations of the original seventeenth-century house on the Dundas estate in Midlothian. As fourth son of his father’s second marriage, Henry did not inherit Arniston, the estate going to elder half-brother, Robert (1713-87), who followed his father as Lord Advocate, MP, and Lord President of the Court of Session. Henry built his own country seat of Melville Castle, a three-storey castellated mansion by James Playfair (1755-94), constructed 1786-91 and bearing a striking resemblance to Argyll’s Inveraray Castle. Henry’s nephew, Robert (1758-1819) continued the Arniston legal dynasty, becoming Lord Advocate, 1789-1801, and MP, 1790-1801. Henry Dundas’ route to power began with royal appointment as Lord Advocate

<sup>75</sup> <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/dundas-henry-1742-1811>> [accessed 7 January 2023]

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism* (Edinburgh, 2004), 107, 202-3.

<sup>78</sup> T.M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire: The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London, 2003), 237.

and was consolidated by alliances amongst the great aristocrats of the Scottish dynastic regime, the Dukes of Buccleuch, Hamilton, Atholl and Gordon.

In 1794, regional royal appointments were introduced in Scotland through the creation by Royal Warrant of permanent Lord Lieutenancies for all counties. Lord Lieutenants were constituted as personal representative of the king in each county, a completely new strata of government, directly answerable to Home Secretary Henry Dundas in London. Writing to newly appointed Lord Lieutenants on 14 May 1794, Dundas described the purpose of this new system as ‘the preservation of internal tranquillity’.<sup>79</sup> Out of 33 counties listed in the 1795 *Edinburgh Almanack*, 28 Lord Lieutenancies were held by peers, sons of peers and one baronet; and the remaining 5 were held by landed politicians loyal to the government.<sup>80</sup> As the *Edinburgh Almanack* illustrates, Lord Lieutenants were the most senior officer within a hierarchy of localised appointments common to all counties. For example, the sheriffdom of the county of Bute was held by William Macleod Bannatyne (1743-1833), who later became a Court of Session judge (1799). Owner of the estate of Kames on the isle of Bute, where he built a neoclassical mansion, Bannatyne’s patron was John Stuart, 4th Earl of Bute (1744-1814) and Lord Lieutenant of Bute-shire. When Bannatyne sought promotion to the Court of Session, it was to Bute he looked for assistance to secure advancement.<sup>81</sup> In Argyllshire, the sheriff depute, both sheriff substitutes and sheriff clerk were Campbells, amply demonstrating well-established, kinship-based patronage emanating from dynastic chief John Campbell, 5th Duke of Argyll (1723-1806), appointed Lord Lieutenant of Argyllshire in 1794.<sup>82</sup> Lawrence Dundas’s son, Thomas Dundas (1741-1820), was newly created Lord Lieutenant of Orkney and Shetland and 1st Baron Dundas.<sup>83</sup> Sheriff depute of the county was Charles Hope, later Lord Advocate (1801-4) and Lord President of the Court of Session (1811-41); he owed his position to Henry Dundas.<sup>84</sup> These are just three examples of the complex of connections being formalised and legally mapped onto Scotland’s counties through royal appointments. Responsible for protecting their county in the event of invasion

<sup>79</sup> Wold, *Scotland and the French*, 20.

<sup>80</sup> *Edinburgh Almanack and Scots Register* (Edinburgh, 1795), 60-1.

<sup>81</sup> Emma Vincent Macleod, ‘Sir William Macleod, Lord Bannatyne’, *ODNB*. Macleod adopted his mother’s maiden name Bannatyne on succeeding through her to the Kames estate.

<sup>82</sup> Lord Lieutenancies had existed in a several counties in Scotland from 1715 (including Argyllshire) to raise volunteer corps during times of emergency. Only in 1794 was a comprehensive system for *all* counties of *permanent* Lord Lieutenancies introduced.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Dundas inherited lands in Shetland acquired by his father.

<sup>84</sup> <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/hope-charles-1763-1851>> [accessed 29 January 2022]



Principal Officers of the				different Counties in Scotland.			
Counties.	Lord Lieutenants.	Sheriff Deputes.	Salaries.	Sheriff-Substitutes.	Sheriff Clerks.	Distributors of Stamps.	Collectors of Cefs, &c.
Aberdeen	Duke of Gordon	J Pringle, interim	250	Charles Tait	John Gordon	Auldjo and Co.	John Durno
Ayr	Earl of Eglintoun	Ed. M'Cormick	250	Wm Logan	W. Dalrymple	Jo. Hamilton	J Montgomery
Argyle	Duke of Argyle	Rob. Campbell	300	L. Campbell	Arch. Campbell	A. Macquillan	N. M. Gibbon
Berwick	Earl of Home	John Swinton	200	D. Campbell	James Bell	P. M. Arthur	David Renton
Banff	Earl of Fife	James Urquhart	200	Alex. Chrilly	James Duff	R. Ainslie	John Reid
Bute	Earl of Bute	W M Bannatyne	200	G. Forbes	John Blain	Auldjo and Co.	Alex. May
Guthrie	Earl of Caithness	James Trail	250	Don. M'Leod	John Rose	Don. Robertson	John Davidson
Sutherland	Earl Gower	Robert Craigie	250	H. M. Culloch	W. Sutherland	H. Leslie	Dug. Giechriest
Dumfries	Duke of Queensberry	Sir Ja Colquhoun	250	John Aikin	John Buisby	John Syme	Da. Newal
Dunbarton	Lord Elphinstone	James Clerk	250	Neil Campbell	Ro. M'Kenzie	Wm. Muir	Tho. Ewing
Edinburgh	Duke of Buccleugh	Sir G Abercrombie	200	H. Davidson	J. Newbigging	James Bailie	Geo. Cranston
Elgin	Earl of Moray	Claud Boswell	250	W. Scot, <i>Resid.</i>	W Lockhart	(John Innes)	Pat. Duff
Nairn	James Brodie, Esq.	Pat. Chalmers	200	Geo. Fenton	John Rose	(James Lumden)	Dun. Campbell
Fife	Earl of Crawford	William Law	200	Alex. Inglis	Jo. Horsburgh	James Lumden	John Chespe
Kinross	George Graham, Esq.	Simon Frazer	300	R. Meldrum	Dav. Jamieson	P. Ranken	George Peat
Forfar	Lord Douglas	Alex. Gordon	200	Ja. Steedman	J. Ure & P. Orr	Hay Donaldson	David Garden
Haddington	Marg. of Tweeddale	Alex. Burnet	200	Peter Rankin	Alex. Frazer	Tho. Gilzean	John Hay
Inverness	Sir James Grant	Wm Honyman	250	Tho. Fairbairn	Rob. Campbell	John Sime	James Frazer
Kirkcubright	Viscount Garies	David Hume	200	(Th. Gilzean)	Alex. Gordon	Auldjo and Co.	Alex. Gordon
Kincardine	Earl of Kintore	Charles Hope	250	J. M'Donald	Wm Young	James Riddoch	John Duncan
Lanark	Duke of Hamilton	Ja. W. Murray	200	W. S. Lawrie	Ja. Cuniffon	Wm Muir	Arch Hamilton
Linlithgow	Earl of Hopetoun	Arch. Campbell	300	Rob. Burns	James Taylor	James Taylor	Ja. Taylor
Orkney	Lord Dundas	Al. Macdonochie	200	(Rob. Graeme.)	Ja. Paterfon	James Riddoch	Alex. Frazer
Peebles	Lord Elibank	Wm Oliver	200	J. Bannantine	James Taylor	Jo. Robertson	Jo. Robertson
Pertb	Duke of Athol	Donald M'Leod	300	Wm Napier	James Taylor	Ja. Chalmers	James Maxton
Perthshire	Wm Macdowall, Esq.	And. Plummer	200	(Th. Balfour)	J. Riddoch	Wm Muir	Ja. Orr
Roxburgh	Duke of Roxburgh	William Tait	250	(Walter Scott)	J. Maitcomfon	Tho. Waugh	Jo. Rutherford
Rofs	F. H. Mackenzie, Esq.	John B Maitland	200	John Grievie	Jo. Robertson	John Barclay	R. Mackenzie
Cromarty	R. E. Macleod, Esq.	And. Plummer	200	(Ja. Chalmers)	(Ja. Murray)	Jo. Robertson	Walter Rofs
Selkirk	Earl of Dalkeith	William Tait	250	(Coldstream)	James Potts	Jo. Robertson	John Scott
Stirling	Duke of Montrose	John B Maitland	200	James Orr	Al. Chisholm	Th. Wingate	Tho. Wingate
Clackmannans	Lord Cathcart	John B Maitland	200	Tho. Usher	John Lang	John Jamieson	John Jamieson
Wigton	Earl of Galloway	John B Maitland	200	(G. M'Kenzie)	Jo. Barclay	John M'Killop	Thomas Adair
				Geo. Munro	John Barclay	John Syme	Thomas Adair

Figure 1.8. Edinburgh Almanack and Scots Register for 1795 (Edinburgh, 1795), 60-1.

or civil uprising, Lord Lieutenants had very real coercive power. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, the threat of riots and disturbances preoccupied central and local government. These new royal representatives directed volunteer corps and, after the Scottish Militia Act of 1797, were empowered to raise and command county militia units.<sup>85</sup> A Lord Lieutenancy was a salaried position, ranging from £200 to £300 per annum as listed in the 1795 *Edinburgh Almanack*. In constructing a North Britain loyal to the king, these measures formally constituted Scotland's peerage a focal point of royal sovereignty across the country. Dynastic clan chiefs and titled landowners were recodified as Hanoverian government officers. Essentially, the table headed 'Principal Officers of the different Counties in Scotland' in the *Edinburgh Almanack* (Figure 1.8) was a schematic of imagined monarchy: formalising and reifying the dynastic regime by and through which each community understood sovereignty.

### Clientage

Dynastic patronage supercharged the advancement of London Scots and solidified their place, not only in royal appointments, but more broadly in what might be called the service industries around the monarchy and peerage. John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute was one such London Scot patron, and his early influence on George III — cultivation of shared interests and intense personal friendship — had a prolonged impact. For these reasons, Bute is an excellent focus for a discussion of clientage. Architects, physicians, academics, artists, botanists, bankers, publishers and writers favoured by him acquired royal favour and official appointments. After all, there were few people the king called 'my dearest friend' as he did Bute.<sup>86</sup> Beneficiaries of Bute's patronage include London Scots architect Robert Adam, artist Allan Ramsay (1713-83), banker James Coutts (1733-78), botanical gardener William Aiton (1731-93), physician William Hunter (1718-83), politician Sir Gilbert Elliot, and playwright John Home (1722-1808). Adam gained an introduction to Bute through Lord of the Admiralty Gilbert Elliot, and at first found Bute distant and self-important. Writing to his friend, Deputy Keeper of the Signet Alexander McMillan (n.d.-1770), Robert complained, 'Lord Bute lays himself out to be father, patron and friend [...] I shall certainly be revenged

<sup>85</sup> 37 Geo.3 c.103.

<sup>86</sup> Sedgwick, ed., *Letters*, passim.



Figure 1.9. Matthias Darly, *Chevalier de l'etoil polaire*, 1773, etching, 17.5 x 11.2 cm, BM, 1868,0808.4494.

on Bute for this conduct. I have a great mind to go out to Kew and when he and Madam La Princesse are striving together, I'll have them put in a boat naked'.<sup>87</sup> Adam could not resist referring to the rumours about Bute and Augusta's relationship. His language clearly expressed Adam's impotent annoyance — albeit mixed with mischievous humour — because he knew Bute was key to advancing his prospects.

The cosmopolitan London Scot William Chambers (1723-96), born in Sweden to Scottish parents, appointed on Bute's recommendation as architectural tutor to George as Prince of Wales in 1757, provides important evidence of the impact Bute's clientage had on London and Scotland. That Chambers was viewed with pride in Scotland is evidenced by the obituary in *Scots Magazine*, which emphasised his Scottish dynastic lineage: 'He was descended of the ancient family of Chalmers [*sic*] in Scotland'.<sup>88</sup> Satirists also played on Chambers' Scottish roots. A 1773 caricature (Figure 1.9) depicted Chambers wearing tartan trousers — reminiscent of the satirical portrayals of Bute<sup>89</sup> — with the double head of an ass and a bear, and suspended round his neck a bear, representing the Swedish order of the Polar Star. An accompanying verse references Scotland: 'From North to the South, I came forth right'. The figure's right hand grasps the top of a Chinese pagoda, imitating one Chambers built at Kew. Chambers was employed by the dowager Princess Augusta in creating exotic garden buildings at Kew, where the princess and Lord Bute shared a common interest in botany. Chambers' Kew buildings formed part of the young Prince of Wales' architectural education since he was present to witness their actual construction.<sup>90</sup> It was in classical and Palladian design Chambers truly built his practice. In 1759, he published his *Treatise on Civil Architecture*, the first edition declaring: 'To the Right Honourable John Earl of Bute, Groom of the Stole To the Prince [*George, Prince of Wales*] This Book is Humbly Dedicated By His Lordship's Most Obedient Servant'. Bute's position in the Prince of Wales' Household appears before 'the Prince', and the architect described himself as 'His Lordship's' servant, indicating that Chambers regarded Bute as primary patron. On the title page, Chambers is described as 'Architect to their Royal Highnesses The Prince of Wales and Princess Dowager of Wales'. Originally published by subscription, the *Treatise* went on to become the most popular practical work on architecture in the English language. Chambers wrote — almost

<sup>87</sup> Graham, *Robert Adam*, 160-61.

<sup>88</sup> 'The Life of Sir William Chambers', *Scots Magazine*, 1 April 1796.

<sup>89</sup> See Chapter 3: Culture.

<sup>90</sup> David Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (London, 2004), 60.

certainly disingenuously — a draft letter to George III declaring that ‘Your Majesty’s Gracious indulgence and encouragement first prompted me to render publick what at first was certainly not designed for publication’.<sup>91</sup> By the third edition in 1791, *The Treatise* was dedicated to the king, indicating the growing reputation of both the book and its author. Kew provides an example of multi-generational clientage under Bute’s patronage, which formed different tiers of expertise. To plant the botanical garden at Kew complementing Chambers’ work, Bute introduced Lanarkshire-born gardener William Aiton to the Dowager Princess Augusta. On his accession to the throne, George III put Aiton in charge of Kew gardens and, in 1783, Aiton published *Hortus Kewensis*, a three-volume cataloguing of 5,500 plants then under cultivation. Aiton’s son William (1766-1849) succeeded his father at Kew in 1793 and two years later became head gardener of George III’s Richmond estate. In 1820, George IV made William Aiton ‘Director-General of [all] His Majesty’s Gardens’ and landscape architect at Buckingham Palace, St James’s Park, Brighton Pavilion and Windsor. Under Aiton, a disproportionate number of Kew’s plant collectors and gardeners were Scots and, coincidentally or not, most London nurseries in the eighteenth century had Scottish proprietors.<sup>92</sup> As the Sovereignty Directory will show, when the Scots peerage embarked on building and extending country seats in Scotland, gardens and parkland were an essential element, with Scots expertise often repatriated from London. Dynastic traces in the landscape were one of the most important legacies of London Scots on their Scottish domains.<sup>93</sup>

In 1761, George III appointed Chambers, together with Robert Adam, as Joint Architects to the Office of Works. In this capacity, Chambers designed one of the most important works of Hanoverian royal iconography, the gold state coach, completed in 1762. An amalgam of architecture, sculpture and painting, the coach featured large, glazed windows to enable the king, crown and regalia to be seen by the public. This was a time when carriage processions to St James’s Palace, replete with nobility and gentry in order of precedence, drew large crowds on occasions such as royal birthdays.<sup>94</sup> Among a complex of images — of maritime power, victory, peace, and imperial grandeur — Scotland was represented by one of three cherubs on the coach roof supporting an imperial crown, the other two representing England

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ron McEwen, ‘The Northern Lads: The Migration of Scottish Gardeners with Especial Reference to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew’, *Sibbaldia: The International Journal of Botanic Garden Horticulture*, 11 (2013), 109-23, passim.

<sup>93</sup> See Chapter 4: Environment.

<sup>94</sup> Jonathan Marsden, ‘George III’s State Coach in context’ in Jonathan Marsden, ed., *The Wisdom of George the Third* (London, 2004), 43-59.

(and Wales) and Ireland. A shared interest between George III, Bute and Chambers in astronomy resulted in the building of the Royal Observatory at Richmond in 1768, to a design of Chambers. George III and Chambers also collaborated on the design of an astronomical clock designed by Chambers to resemble a domed temple, with four dials showing the time with an extra hand for solar time, tides at forty-three ports, planetarium and signs of the zodiac.<sup>95</sup>

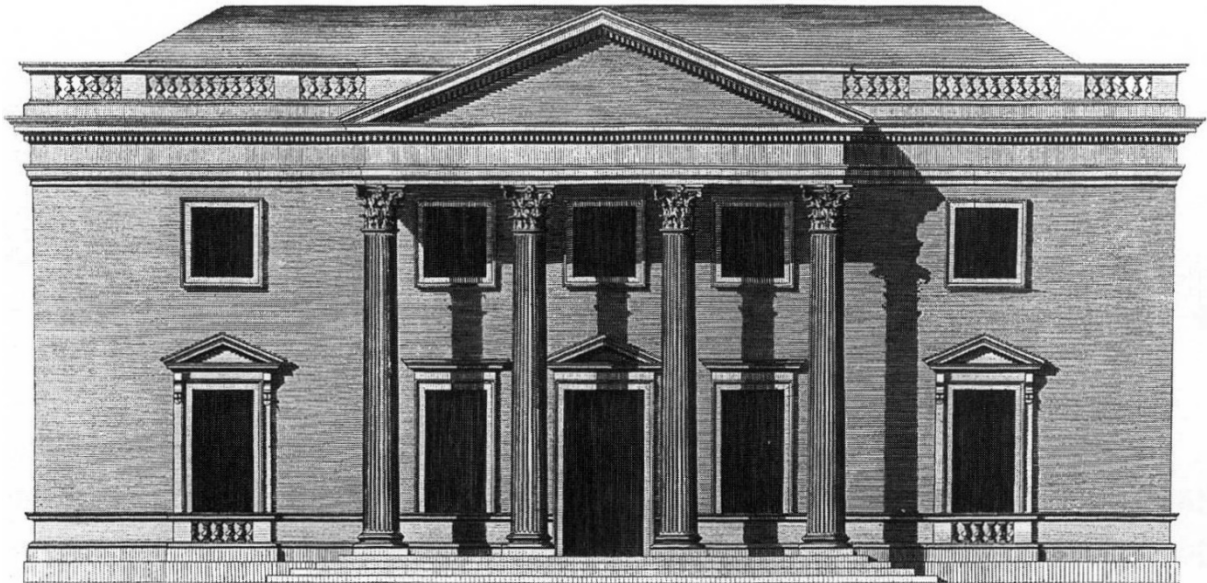
In Scotland, Chambers was commissioned in 1762 by James Hamilton, 8th Earl of Abercorn (1712-89) to design Duddingston House, Edinburgh. Chambers was already working on the earl's Westminster house at 25 Grosvenor Square.<sup>96</sup> Although an Anglo-Irish peer, the earl was descended from the male line of the Scots ducal family of Hamilton and wished to re-establish ancestral lands in Scotland. Abercorn was a member of the royal circle, sufficiently trusted to host the future Queen Charlotte overnight on 7 September 1761 on her journey from Harwick to London to meet and marry George III.<sup>97</sup> In 1745, Abercorn purchased the feudal barony of Duddingston from Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll. For Abercorn, Duddingston's advantages were its proximity to Edinburgh and prestigious setting, neighbouring the Royal Park of Holyrood. Abercorn first set about improving the estate, 'introducing English husbandry, making Inclosures, raising hedges, improving the Colliery, erecting a noble fire engine (to pump water out of the colliery) and increasing the salt works'.<sup>98</sup> Following election as a Scottish representative peer in 1761, the earl decided a new house was required appropriate to this new status. In his first correspondence with the earl about the house, Chambers casually mentions he was very busy with 'alterations to the Queen's House [*Buckingham House*]'. For Abercorn, Chambers designed a two-storied, Palladian block with a Corinthian columned portico, rising from a shallow base to its entablature and pediment, all carefully detailed (Figure 1.10). A temple-like portico on a villa was an architectural novelty in Scotland at the time. Significantly, the clerk of works was London builder William Key (or Keys) (n.d.) and other important tradesmen and materials were also brought from London. For example, the London-based sculptor Sefferin Alken (1717-82), who worked for Chambers at Kew at the specific request of George III, was

<sup>95</sup> Watkin, *Architect King*, 97.

<sup>96</sup> 'The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair', *Survey of London*, 39. <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol39/pt1/pp119-127#highlight-first>> [accessed 3 December 2022]

<sup>97</sup> Hadlow, *Strangest Family*, 146.

<sup>98</sup> From a two-volume family history compiled by the 8th Earl and partly in his handwriting, quoted in Kirsty Burrell, 'The Building of the 8th Earl of Abercorn's "noble villa" at Duddingston', *Architectural Heritage*, 26 (1999), 17.



*Elevation of the Earl of Abercorn's Seat at Duddingstone in the County of Edinburgh.*

**Figure 1.10.** William Chambers, 'Elevation of the Earl of Abercorn's Seat at Duddingston in the County of Edinburgh' in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iv (London, 1765)



*Plan of the Earl of Abercorn's Offices*

**Figure 1.11.** William Chambers, 'Elevation of the Earl of Abercorn's Offices' in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iv (London, 1765).

responsible for stonemasonry.<sup>99</sup> Key would use this first foray into the Scottish market to establish himself as a successful builder-developer in Edinburgh's New Town.<sup>100</sup> He wrote to the earl in 1763, that Craighleith quarry stone was 'the finest stone I ever saw'.<sup>101</sup> As well as bringing specialists from London, Key was responsible for identifying an Edinburgh clockmaker, a Mr Binning, to make the eight-day clock which was an important centrepiece of the estate offices at the rear of the house (Figure 1.11). Abercorn insisted that this clock be raised above the pediment 'so as to be more conspicuous' and lengthy correspondence ensued between client and architect on this subject. It is likely the earl's concern was not entirely aesthetic, but reflected a preoccupation with introducing modern, 'British' or even 'English', time-keeping to tenants and inhabitants of Duddingston.<sup>102</sup> A Scottish contemporary described the house as 'a beautiful specimen of Greek architecture, and of English accommodation and affluence'.<sup>103</sup> Perhaps adding to 'English' images, the grounds — including an ice house and temple — were laid out by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (c. 1716-83) and appear to be the only instance of his work in Scotland.<sup>104</sup> Here again Bute's influence probably accounts for Brown's involvement; Bute had introduced Brown to the king and employed him on three of his own properties (73 South Audley Street, Luton Hoo and Highcliffe) and Brown was appointed Chief Gardener at Hampton Court Palace in 1764.<sup>105</sup>

Architectural historians note the influence of Chambers' Duddingston House on Henry Holland's (1745-1806) Carlton House for the Prince Regent, especially the design of the portico.<sup>106</sup> In 1764, the Earl of Abercorn increased his holdings in Scotland with the barony lordship of Paisley acquired from Thomas Cochrane, 8th Earl of Dundonald (1691-1778), and developed the new town of Paisley in 1779. He named new streets Cotton Street, Silk Street and Gauze Street, recognising the importance of textile manufacture to the town. George Street and St James' Street added Hanoverian royal connotations to this model town project. Improvements included a hospital, new church, assembly room and coffeehouse as Paisley

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 17, 19, 21.

<sup>100</sup> Anthony Lewis, *The Builders of Edinburgh New Town 1767-1795* (Reading, 2014), 53-55 and 139-40.

<sup>101</sup> Burrell, 'The Building', 26. Craighleith Quarry, Edinburgh, was the source of the stonework used to build the city's New Town. The earl took a lease of the quarry while building Duddingston.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>103</sup> *Statistical Account*, 18, (1796), 364.

<sup>104</sup> <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/52393/edinburgh-milton-road-west-duddingston-house-on-road-west-duddingston-house>> [accessed 30 November 2022]

<sup>105</sup> Kristina Taylor and Robert Peel, *Passion, Plants and Patronage: 300 Years of the Bute Family Landscapes* (London, 2012), 64-5; 'Brown, Lancelot 'Capability'', English Heritage. <<https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/capability-brown>> [accessed 3 December 2022]

<sup>106</sup> David Walker, 'Duddingston House, Edinburgh', *Country Life*, 24 September 1959, 358-61.



underwent explosive growth, with the population increasing from 4,290 in 1755 to 47,006 in 1821.<sup>107</sup> Recognising the need to accommodate merchants from London, Abercorn built at his own expense a neo-classical ‘New Inn’ in 1784 to complement the other urban improvements of similar architectural style. Abercorn is an interesting example of an aristocrat born in Westminster, with a substantial residence there (Cavendish Square, then Grosvenor Square), choosing to re-establish his Scottish ancestral holdings and thereby leaving a considerable neo-classical footprint on Scotland.<sup>108</sup> Scottish aristocrats built neo-classical country seats, planned villages, churches, town halls and industrial business in their Scottish domains, transforming Scotland’s landscape.<sup>109</sup> A George Street was to be found as far north as Wick, Caithness on the north east coast of Scotland.<sup>110</sup>

Both George III’s Joint Architects to the Office of Works engaged in the development of the first New Town in Edinburgh. In the first square of the New Town, St Andrew’s Square, Chambers designed his own house at number 26 as well as Dundas House for Sir Lawrence Dundas. By the 1780s, St Andrew’s Square was the most fashionable address in Scotland and notable residents included Scottish aristocrats, such as William Carnegie, Earl of Northesk (1716-92), and Elizabeth Leslie, Dowager Countess of Leven (c.1737-88)), as well as Scottish judges (among them, James Boswell’s father, Lord Auchinleck (1706-82)), lawyers, politicians and bankers. It would not remain the most prestigious, however, being superseded in 1820 by the completion of Charlotte Square to Robert Adam’s 1791 design, where unified blocks of town houses on each side of the square, featuring central pavilions and pilasters, gave the appearance of single palace-like frontages. Charlotte Square was, of course, named after the queen and situated at the west end of George Street. As the first line of his obituary in *Scots Magazine* records, in London Chambers undertook his greatest single architectural work, Somerset House in the Strand: ‘This Gentleman whose fame shall last as long as the noble building of Somerset House shall rear its majestic head’.<sup>111</sup> A single building on four sides with an expansive central courtyard, Somerset House was designed to accommodate numerous government offices, including the Navy Office, Ordnance Office, various tax offices, and three learned societies: the Royal Academy of the Arts, the Royal Society of

<sup>107</sup> *Descriptive Account of the Principal Towns of Scotland to a Wood’s Town Atlas* (Edinburgh, 1828), 289; Harris and McKean, *Scottish Towns*, 30-32.

<sup>108</sup> Abercorn was born in Queen’s Square, Westminster, but buried at Paisley Abbey.

<sup>109</sup> An assessment of the extent of this activity and its impact on the environment of Scotland is offered in Chapter 4: Environment.

<sup>110</sup> See Chapter 4: Environment.

<sup>111</sup> ‘Life of Sir William Chambers’, 224.

London for Improving Natural Knowledge, and the Society of Antiquaries of London. Chambers was a crucial figure in founding the Royal Society, drafting its first constitution and liaising between the Society and the crown.<sup>112</sup> Somerset House was a public building in Palladian style, symbolising munificent monarchy and putting into practice Chambers' *Treatise*. This monumental project required the king's permission since the site was crown property as a former royal palace. Italian literary critic Giuseppe (or Joseph) Baretti (1719-89) referred to the Strand block housing learned societies as 'that part of the design which Royal Magnificence has appropriated to the reception of the Arts, ancient knowledge, and modern philosophy'.<sup>113</sup> Chambers designed every aspect of the building's ornamentation, fixtures and fittings, including medallions of the king, queen and Prince of Wales on the Strand frontage (since removed), cyphers 'of their Majesties and the Prince of Wales' adorning the colonnaded entrance, and the location in the courtyard of a bronze statue of George III by John Bacon (1740-99).<sup>114</sup> Scots to benefit from Chambers' secondary patronage included future civil engineer Thomas Telford (1757-1834), whom Chambers employed as a stone mason on the project. Royal iconography was everywhere, including door handles designed by Chambers with a medallion of George III in profile surmounted by a crown (Figure 1.12). George III's royal coat of arms capped both sides of the Strand block, including Scotland's royal emblem, the lion rampant. As Chambers wrote in the *Treatise*, 'materials in architecture are like words in phraseology [...] they actuate the mind with unbounded sway'.<sup>115</sup> Somerset House in every detail was designed to 'actuate the mind' — associate the building — with the monarch as high centre of the institutional fabric of Britain, in government, culture, arts and sciences. For the first time, these institutions functioned from one public building in the centre of London, one mile from St James' Palace, and its 'majestic head' was clearly celebrated in Scotland, as Chambers' obituary shows.

Young architects, artists and writers benefited from dynastic patronage through being invited on the Grand Tour of Europe, where the introductions and connections made were invaluable. For example, in 1764 Adam Smith (1723-90) accompanied Henry Scott, the future Duke of Buccleuch (1746-1812), and James Bowell joined Bute's eldest son, John, Viscount

<sup>112</sup> Christopher Lloyd, 'King, Queen and family' in Jane Roberts, ed., *George III & Queen Charlotte: Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste* (London, 2004), 93.

<sup>113</sup> Joseph Baretti, *A Guide Through The Royal Academy, By Joseph Baretti Secretary For Foreign Correspondence To The Royal Academy* (London, 1781), 4-5.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>115</sup> William Chambers, *Treatise on Civil Architecture* (London, 1791), 3.



**Figure 1.12.** William Chambers, Door handle from Somerset House, designed c. 176-80, made c. 1785, V&A.  
<<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O77579/door-handle-chambers-william-sir>> [accessed 2 December 2022]



**Figure 1.13.** James Adam, *The British Order: Elevation of a Capital and Part of the Fluted Shaft* (1762), 34.78.2(2), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Mountstuart (1744-1814), the future 1st Marquess of Bute. The young Robert Adam's prospects were transformed when, in 1754, he was invited to accompany Charles Hope (1710-91), younger brother of the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun, to Europe. From Rome he wrote to his sister, pessimistic in assessing prospects in Scotland: 'What a pity it is that such a genius [*as himself*] should be thrown away upon Scotland where scarce will ever happen an opportunity of putting one noble thought in execution'.<sup>116</sup> Adam's jaundiced attitude to his homeland at this time was undoubtedly influenced by the contrast he perceived between being 'caressed & courted by' the English in Rome during his Grand Tour (1754-7) and his prospects in Scotland.<sup>117</sup> After the Grand Tour, Robert and his brothers John and James, benefiting from the network of Scots already established in London, set up in the capital, borrowing to buy a house in Lower Grosvenor Street. The brothers saw themselves as North British exponents of a distinctively British architectural identity. Imagining their buildings 'two thousand years hence', James wrote that there would be no risk that

it be suspected to be raised by any other but the British, nor at any period before the Union, as I have taken care that North Britain shall bear its own share in all the decorations — so that I will venture to say that posterity would even guess at the architect's being from beyond the Tweed.<sup>118</sup>

To express this aspiration, the Adams conceived of a 'Britannic Order' of architecture, intermingling Scottish and English iconography within a classical framework. James Adam's design for a column capital (Figure 1.13), featured on the left the unicorn of Scotland — first adopted for the royal coat of arms of Scotland by William the Lion (1165-1214), King of Scots — and on the right the lion of England, both surmounted by a crown. Adam's designs for George III's brother, Prince Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland and Strathearn (1745-90) included similar motifs, such as elevations for the end of a terrace at Cumberland House, featuring a lion to the right and unicorn to the left and a chimney piece with a tablet containing a lion and a unicorn.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Quoted in White, *London*, 49.

<sup>117</sup> Vicky Coltman, 'Scottish Architects in Eighteenth-Century London' in Nenadic, ed., *Scots in London*, 92-3.

<sup>118</sup> Quoted in Ranald MacInnes, 'Was Scotland a "Narrow Place"?' in Louisa Humm et al, ed., *The Architecture of Scotland 1660-1750* (Edinburgh, 2020), 526.

<sup>119</sup> Sir John Soane's Museum Collection Online. <<http://collections.soane.org/OBJECT5022>> [accessed 7 March 2023]

Kenwood House in Hampstead was an important commission for Robert Adam, which many prominent figures would come to admire, including George III. It is a notable example of the architectural patronage of the Scottish dynastic regime in the London area, and evidence shows that the king took a keen interest in development of both house and grounds. Bute acquired Kenwood House in 1746 from his uncle Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll, who used it as his out-of-town *pied a terre*. Bute was fond of Kenwood and in eight years of ownership added a large orangery wing to the west of the house, reflecting his botanical interests. Around this time, Bute wrote, ‘I am with the Young Royal family every day’, and almost certainly the earl spoke of Kenwood and its development to the future George III.<sup>120</sup> In 1754, Bute sold Kenwood to Scottish-born William Murray, who two years later became England’s Lord Chief Justice and in 1776 1st Earl of Mansfield. Ambitious to turn Kenwood into an aristocratic country seat, Lord Mansfield employed Robert Adam to remodel the house, modernising the interiors, creating a new entrance on the north front, and adding a magnificent library wing to balance the orangery. Adam’s pride in Kenwood was evident in its inclusion in his 1778 publication, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*. ‘Designs of Lord Mansfield’s Villa’ ran to two dense pages of text and eight drawings, including layout, elevations, decorative columns and plasterwork, fireplaces, ceiling, mirrors and furniture.<sup>121</sup> Such publications by architects showcased works for prestigious patrons, especially royal and senior aristocratic projects. The Adam publication included ‘Designs for the King and Queen’ as well as designs for Bute’s Luton House (Luton Hoo). Queen Charlotte’s diary of 28 March 1794 recorded: ‘This Morning the King went to see in his Airing the improvements of Lord Mansfield[’s] villa at Caenwood [*Kenwood*]. Lady Mansfield & Daughter were there’.<sup>122</sup> In their *Works in Architecture*, the Adam brothers flatteringly refer to the king’s architectural patronage: ‘The progress of these arts in Great Britain may be considered as the peculiar distinction of the present reign’.<sup>123</sup>

Mansfield’s library at Kenwood was of particular interest to the king. Immediately on acceding to the throne, George III created a library at St James’s Palace. A more pressing need for library space at Buckingham House arose with the king’s 1772 purchase, on Bute’s

<sup>120</sup> Russell, *John Stuart*, 23; Peter Barber, ‘George III’s Visit to Kenwood House in 1794’.  
 <<https://georgianpapers.com/2017/03/08/george-iiiis-visit-kenwood-house-1794/>> [accessed 2 December 2022]

<sup>121</sup> Adam, Robert, and James Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1778; repr. New York, 1980), 5-6, plates 9-16.

<sup>122</sup> RA, GEO/ADD/43/3e.

<sup>123</sup> Adam and Adam, *Works in Architecture*, 11.

recommendation, and with the assistance of Bute's brother, James Stuart-Mackenzie, of the books, paintings, prints, gems, coins, and medals of the former British consul to Venice, Joseph Smith (c. 1674-1770). George III commissioned Chambers to build four libraries at Buckingham House, partly to house Smith's collections of books.<sup>124</sup> In the world of the regime's clientele, architects like Chambers, Adam and London Scot George Steuart (c. 1730-1806) often operated as 'men of business' to important patrons, assisting in the sourcing and acquisition of property, art, books, sculpture and manuscripts, as well as providing intelligence about, and introductions within, London society. By the nature of their work, architects were often privy to the condition of patrons' finances. Steuart's most important patrons were the Dukes of Atholl, with whom he had a relationship for over forty years. When the Atholls were resident at their Perthshire estate, Steuart arranged for the transport of luxury goods from London to Perth. He provided business advice and recommended other professionals, such as doctors.<sup>125</sup> His architectural practice grew out of his appointment in 1766 as Painter to the Board of Ordnance for North Britain. Similarly, it was Robert and James Adam who prompted George III to acquire the magnificent collection of old masters from Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692-1779). Considerable rivalry existed among Chambers, Adam and Steuart as they competed with one another for important patronage in London. Steuart's letters to the Dukes of Atholl make clear the critical role of the peerage in establishing and sustaining professional reputations. On securing work from the Dukes of Buccleuch, Montague and Gordon, Steuart wrote to Atholl: 'All this [*aristocratic patronage*] flatters my vanity much! Will it not stir the spleen of the Adelphi [*a reference to the Adam brothers*]'.<sup>126</sup>

When in Rome in 1755, Adam socialised with painter Allan Ramsay, one of circle of Scots in the city.<sup>127</sup> Ramsay was already a successful painter working in the increasingly competitive market of portraiture. Born in Edinburgh in 1713, son of poet Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), Ramsay studied in London at St Martin's Lane Academy, where he became acquainted with William Hogarth (1697-1764). After visiting Italy, he resumed his career as a portrait painter in Edinburgh where his full-length portrait of Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll (c.1749), , brought him wide attention. Argyll was a patron of Ramsay's for over twenty

<sup>124</sup> Watkin, *Architect King*, 83-7.

<sup>125</sup> Coltman, 'Scottish Architects', passim.

<sup>126</sup> Coltman, *Art and Identity*, 73.

<sup>127</sup> Graham, *Robert Adam*, 78, 96.

years and this connection brought the artist Bute's patronage, in turn leading to the pinnacle of Ramsay's career, his appointment as His Majesty's Principal Painter in Ordinary to George III in 1761. In January of that same year, Ramsay wrote to Bute: 'His Majesty has been pleased to bestow two compleat sittings upon that picture intended for your Lordship, and I am now making all the preparations for finishing the posture of it'.<sup>128</sup> The painting in question was Ramsay's state portrait of George III in his coronation robes.<sup>129</sup> Bute had first commissioned Ramsay to paint George III as Prince of Wales in 1758 and, as king, George was to prove very loyal to Ramsay, demonstrated by his refusal of a request by Scots peer Alexander Montgomerie, 10th Earl of Eglinton, that he sit for fashionable painter Joshua Reynolds (1723-92): 'Mr Ramsay is my Painter, my Lord'.<sup>130</sup> Orders for the Ramsay state portraits of the king and queen ran to one hundred and fifty pairs, twenty-six of the king alone, and nine of the queen alone. Becoming Principal Painter in Ordinary transformed Ramsay's career and his studio at 31 Soho Square in Westminster (then called King's Square because of the statue of Charles II which stood there) became something of a royal portraiture factory. Although Ramsay finished each portrait by hand, he had assistants, the most important being the principal draughtsman, another London Scot, David Martin (1737-97). As Ramsay's pupil, Martin was a beneficiary of secondary patronage, establishing his own studio in Soho and eventually exhibiting in his own name at the Royal Academy in 1779. In 1780, Martin returned to Edinburgh where he was admitted to the Royal Company of Archers and, in 1785 appointed Principal Painter to the Prince of Wales in Scotland. Even his Edinburgh address recalled his London life and royal associations, 4 St James's Square.<sup>131</sup>

Scots in other artistic fields also prospered in London. Dramatist John Home became a success in the capital when his play *Douglas* was performed at Covent Garden on 14 March 1757, swiftly followed by *Agis* at Drury Lane, produced by actor-manager David Garrick and attended twice by Bute and the future George III. Born in Leith on 27 September 1722 and son of the town clerk, Home trained as a Church of Scotland minister and was ordained in the Presbytery of Haddington, outside Edinburgh. Encouraged by literati friends, including William Robertson (1721-1793), Alexander Carlyle (1722-1804), Hugh Blair (1718-1800) and Sir Gilbert Elliot, and thanks to the patronage of Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of

<sup>128</sup> Quoted in Robert Paulett, "'This Mighty Fabric': Allan Ramsay, British Union, and the Body of the King", *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 45 (2022), 239.

<sup>129</sup> Allan Ramsay, *George III*, oil on canvas, 249.5 x 163.2 cm, RCT, RCIN 405307.

<sup>130</sup> Lloyd, 'King, Queen and Family', 26.

<sup>131</sup> Lucy Dixon, 'Martin, David', *ODNB*.

Argyll, Home staged *Douglas* in Edinburgh on 14 December 1756, where the production provoked religious controversy.<sup>132</sup> After Argyll introduced him to Bute, Home moved to London in 1757, where he became Bute's private secretary and tutor to the Prince of Wales.<sup>133</sup> With his reputation established in London thanks to these connections, in 1760 Home published *Douglas, Agis*, and a third play, *The Siege of Aquileia*, in a volume dedicated to the Prince of Wales, who on his accession granted Home a pension of £300. After successful theatrical productions in London, Home returned to live in Scotland in 1767. In 1802, he published *The History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745* which he dedicated to George III, beginning: 'Your Majesty, at every crisis of an eventful reign, hath acted in such a manner to activate the hearts of your People, who love a brave and steady Prince'.<sup>134</sup> With the ambiguity of 'a brave and steady Prince', Home appears to imply a common sentiment in the reaction of people to George III's reign and the exploits of Jacobite Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1720-88).

Home's experience shows that in going to London a Scot could transform critical reception of their work through royal and aristocratic patronage in the metropolis. Success in London resonated in Scotland, impacting not just the individual London Scot but how Scots collectively imagined themselves. An important context in considering the impact of clientage on Scotland is the journey time from London to Edinburgh. In the last thirty years of the eighteenth century, this halved — in 1772, it took Boswell five days, whereas by 1800 the journey by coach took two and a half days. News from London could reach Edinburgh by horseback messenger in just forty-three hours, even by the 1770s.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, London became ever more present in the imagination of Scots as an extension of the community to which they belonged. Even the pavements of London were improved with Scottish granite taken from Camstane Quarry, Salisbury Crags, in the royal park of Holyrood.<sup>136</sup> As Boswell wrote in London's *Public Advertiser* of 6 April 1779:

I am by birth a North Briton, as a Scotchman must now be called, but like a great many of my country men love much to come to London. [...] London is now the

<sup>132</sup> Kenneth Simpson, 'Home, John', *ODNB*.

<sup>133</sup> Russell, *John Stuart*, 26.

<sup>134</sup> John Home, *The History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745* (London, 1802).

<sup>135</sup> White, *London*, 75.

<sup>136</sup> Charles Haddington, 8th Earl of Haddington, hereditary Keeper of Holyrood Park was responsible for this export.



metropolis of the whole island, the grand emporium of everything valuable, the strong centre of attraction for all of us, his Majesty's British subjects, from the Land's End to Caithness.<sup>137</sup>

## Conclusion

Taking sovereignty as its theme, this chapter has considered the connections and interactions of London Scots with the Hanoverian monarchy. London Scots like James Boswell found ideas of the national community to which they belonged expanded by experiences in the metropolis. London Scots played a critical role in constructing a North Britain loyal to the king. The evidence presented here shows how influence flowed back to Scotland from London Scots through a complex of connections dominated by dynastic rank and links to monarchy. Research gathered in the Sovereignty Directory shows London Scots' presence, and interactions with sovereignty, in the metropolis of London. Dynastic rank provided the bridge between locality and monarchy. The effectiveness of that bridge depended upon dynastic presence and connections in London as the seat of sovereign power. Representative peerage was one of the most effective ways for a Scottish peer to establish themselves and their family in London and election was based on a system of reciprocal favours. Witnessing the new towns of Westminster influenced the development of Edinburgh's New Town. Evidence from the Sovereignty Directory shows the majority of Scottish peerages were represented by residence in London in the period, and this 'strong centre of attraction for [...] his Majesty's British subjects' increasingly influenced Scottish national identity.

As the highest rank of the peerage, dukedoms were favoured with the great offices of state. As a result of his education and mentoring by John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, George III understood Scotland's place in the British constitution, its separate legal system and the importance of its distinctive royal appointments. Many of the Scots peers, including Bute and Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll, were legally qualified, as was Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville. Dundas as Scotland's manager and Britain's Home Secretary was instrumental in the introduction of a regional system of Lord Lieutenancies, whereby the king was personally represented in every county with new and significant civil powers. The schematic of this system as it appeared in the *Edinburgh Almanack* represented an important

<sup>137</sup> 'To the Printer of the Public Advertiser', *Public Advertiser*, 6 April 1779.

evolution in the landscape of the imagination of North Britons. Bute is a leading example of how clientage operated within the complex of connections involving London Scots.

Examples of careers in various fields attest that Bute's intimacy with the young George III in the early part of his reign had a prolonged impact on Scotland that can be charted through to the reign of George IV.

Sovereignty in this chapter refers to the supreme power of the monarchy, both in legal and cultural terms, which is what is meant in this thesis by the king being the 'high centre' of the nation. When Boswell saw the twenty-four year old George III for the first time, he 'beheld the King of Great Britain on his throne with the crown on his head addressing both the Lords and the Commons'. He was literally witnessing the sovereignty of the king-in-parliament. It is hardly surprising that Boswell's immediate reaction to such a display of magnificent monarchy was that 'I admired him'. Few of Boswell's fellow 'North Britons' would have such a first hand experience, but through sovereign appointments and patronage, and the images, associations, and interactions of imagined monarchy, Scots experienced the power of majesty. Sovereignty was a strong part of the magnetic draw of the metropolis and, as the maps of London in Scottish almanacks demonstrate, London had become part of the imagined community of North Britain.

## Chapter 2: Soldiers

*'S gun iarr sinn saoghal maireann do'n  
Rìgh tha 's a' chathair  
'Shliochd rìoghail mhic Ailpein bha 'n  
Albainn o chian.  
Gur mòr thug e 'fhàbhar do laochraidh  
nan Garbh-chrìoch  
Air sgàth na buaidh-làrach air àrfaich  
Quebec.*

We will wish the King who is on the  
Throne a long life,  
He is of the royal stock of MacAlpine  
who was in Scotland of old.  
He has shown great favor [*sic*] to the  
Highland warriors  
As a result of the victory on the  
slaughter-field of Quebec.

Gaelic song, circa 1763 <sup>1</sup>

Britain's army, like its European counterparts, was an institution replete with imagery by and through which people experienced — and imagined — monarchy as the high centre of nationhood. Through the army, Scotland and its people became ever more closely allied to the defence of Britain and its colonies under the Hanoverian royal family. In the institutional structure of the British army, all vestiges of pre-union composite monarchy were swept away by the 1707 union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England. While there remained distinctions between the two nations within a patchwork of internal defence forces — volunteers, militia and fencible corps — the British army's chain of command was unequivocally unitary. At the outset of the period, in 1746, what remained to be accomplished in the army — alongside broader military reform and development — was the cultural assimilation and harmonisation of Scottish and English military traditions. As head of the army, the king controlled all appointments and promotions, signed the most important documents and regulations, and chose the men who would command his soldiers. In turn, army officers swore to obey the king and his regulations and renewed their obligations annually at the symbolic celebration of royal anniversaries. In Great Britain, as in continental Europe (except for post-revolutionary France), army and monarchy were institutionally bound together.<sup>2</sup> Both were European as well as British institutions. Militarily, Scotland had

<sup>1</sup> A verse from a Gaelic song from Badenoch in the Scottish Highlands, c. 1763, celebrating the return of Fraser's Highlanders at the conclusion of the Seven Years War. 'MacAlpine' refers to Kenneth MacAlpin, Kenneth I (810-58), King of Alba or Scotland. Quoted in Michael Newton, 'Jacobite Past, Loyalist Present', *e-Keltoi*, 5 (2003), 41. <<https://dc.uwm.edu/ekeltoi/vol5/iss1/2>> [accessed 6 September 2019]

<sup>2</sup> Hannah Smith, 'The Hanoverian Succession and the Politicisation of the British Army', in Andreas Gestrich and Michael Schaich (eds), *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical Culture* (Farnham, 2015), 207-26.

its own strong historical ties to Europe.<sup>3</sup> Assimilating Scottish soldiery within the British army was a means of making a potent contribution to constructing North Britain under the Hanoverian monarchy. Scotland's dynastic magnates played a crucial role in this process. For example, the dukedoms of Argyll, Atholl, Buccleuch, Gordon, Hamilton, Montrose, and Sutherland (under the Countess of Sutherland) were all involved in raising regiments for the British army at various points in the period.<sup>4</sup> From research recorded in the Sovereignty Directory, out of 101 individual earls, 53 (52 per cent) served in the army or navy.<sup>5</sup>

Between 1746 and 1830, the British army adapted and evolved in the face of a range of challenges, through both victory and defeat. Scottish soldiers served the king during periods of internal disturbance, expeditionary and intercontinental war, colonial expansion and defence, revolutionary war, and under existential threat of invasion. A defining feature of Britain's long eighteenth century was the constant possibility or reality of armed conflict. This foregrounded the armed forces in the national consciousness. A central argument of this chapter is that military and monarchy were associated with one another at all levels of Scottish society, albeit most strongly in the minds of serving soldiers and their families. Members of the Hanoverian royal family belonged to a strong German military tradition, the Duchy of Hanover first raising an army at the start of the Thirty Years War that convulsed Europe from 1618 to 1648.<sup>6</sup> Hanoverian troops were hired by the British crown during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-15) and fought at Blenheim (1704). George II personally led British and allied troops at Dettingen (1743) during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48); his second son, Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-65) was Commander-in-Chief of the British army from 1745 to 1757. George III was fascinated with the details of military and naval campaigns, and George IV's letters reveal a passionate desire to serve his country in a military capacity, an ambition thwarted by his father. George III's brothers, Prince Frederick, Duke of York (1763-1827) and Prince

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Conway, 'Scots, Britons and Europeans: Scottish Military Service, c. 1739-83', *Historical Research*, 82 (2009), 114-30.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., 98th (re-named 91st) Argyllshire Highlanders raised by the 5th Duke of Argyll (1794); 77th Atholl Highlanders raised by the 4th Duke of Atholl (1777); Southern Fencibles (1778), 2nd Royal Edinburgh Volunteers (1790s) and 10th North British Militia (1797) raised by the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch; 92nd Gordon Highlanders raised by 4th Duke of Gordon (1794); 82nd Hamilton Regiment raised by the 8th Duke of Hamilton (1777); 93rd Sutherland Highlanders raised by the Countess of Sutherland (1799) (Sutherland did not become a dukedom until 1833).

<sup>5</sup> Of 101 earls researched, 13 had long military careers, 27 others served in the army, 3 as fencibles, 4 in the militia and 6 in the navy (5 for long careers).

<sup>6</sup> Stephen Summerfield, *Hanoverian Army of the Seven Years War* (Huntingdon, 2015), 3.

Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge (1774-1850) were senior army officers, both spent periods in Europe learning military science, and Frederick was twice Commander-in-Chief of the British army (1795-1809 and 1811-27). When a young man, their brother, the future William IV (1765-1837), was an officer in the Royal Navy.

Regulars, fencibles, volunteers and militia were the most visible of the armed forces across Scotland, with the closest links to locality in terms of recruitment and identity.<sup>7</sup> The Highland region was the most intensively recruited of the United Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> By the 1790s, Highlanders in regular, fencible, volunteer and militia units are estimated at 37,000 to 48,000 out of a Highland population of 250,000 to 300,000.<sup>9</sup> Such was the expansion of the army, that bounties for Highland recruits grew from £3 a head in 1757 to £21-£30 in 1794.<sup>10</sup> Throughout the period approximately one in four regimental officers in the regular British army were Scots, mostly from small gentry, farming and professional backgrounds.<sup>11</sup> Scotland, representing around 15 per cent of the British population, provided 36.4 per cent of volunteers in 1797.<sup>12</sup> Under the close control of landed elites, a new martial phenomenon of what is here termed ‘Hanoverian-Highland’ soldiers became prominent in public parades, ceremonies, art and print. ‘Highland’ emerged as less a geographical distinction and more a Scottish regimental identity within the British army. Since ‘Highlandism’ is so frequently discussed as an ‘invention’ of Sir Walter Scott’s for George IV’s 1822 visit to Edinburgh, this chapter concentrates on Highland regiments to examine the evidence of earlier iterations of Hanoverian-Highland identity in an army context.

In taking monarchy as the analytical focus, this chapter adds a new perspective to scholarship on Scotland’s military. It is not a military history examining individual campaigns, battles, or regiments, nor is it a history of empire, colonial history, or history of the Scottish diaspora. These are well covered in existing literature.<sup>13</sup> Instead, the unifying role of monarchy in

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of Scotland and the navy, see Sarah Caputo, ‘Scotland, Scottishness, British Integration and the Royal Navy, 1793-1815’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 93 (2018), 85-118.

<sup>8</sup> Devine, *Scotland’s Empire*, 307.

<sup>9</sup> Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful than the Soil: Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton, 2000), 236.

<sup>10</sup> Devine, *Scotland’s Empire*, 318.

<sup>11</sup> Stena Nenadic, ‘The Impact of the Military Profession on Highland Gentry Families, c. 1730 – 1830’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 85 (2006) 75-99.

<sup>12</sup> J.E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford, 1997), 128.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., T.M. Devine, ‘Soldiers of Empire’ in John Mackenzie, ed., *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2016), 176-95; Conway, *British Army*; Victoria Henshaw, *Scotland and the British Army, 1700-1750* (London,

integrating Scottish soldiers in the British army is investigated — a phenomenon most frequently discussed in the historiography of the Victorian era. As elsewhere in this thesis, evidence shows that interactions between monarchy and Scotland typically associated with the mid- to late nineteenth century were underway almost a century earlier. Occasionally, historians do record the enthusiasm of an individual Hanoverian royal for Scottish military culture, yet the broader institutional continuity of monarchy's relationship with Scottish soldiers over the *longue durée* is absent. Britain was at war for forty-two of the eighty-four years between 1746 and 1830 and, when not at war, usually preparing for or recovering from hostilities. Scotland's wider population witnessed declarations of war and of peace marked by civic events and military parades, church services, memorialisation, and the general diffusion of military life into local communities. Aside from the disproportionate numbers of Scots in the regular army, by 1803, more than 52,000 Scots served in volunteer regiments, 15 per cent of those in arms throughout Great Britain.<sup>14</sup> Sources examined in this chapter reveal various devices through which monarchy retained its place at the high centre of military force, even as the monarch ceased to appear on actual battlefields. Culloden in 1746 was the last battle in which two royal dynasties fought over the British throne. Historians focus on the fact that Charles Edward Stuart's army was largely Scottish, and that subsequently many who fought for the Jacobite-Stuart cause soon transferred their allegiance as soldiers to the Hanoverian-Stuart royal house. So intriguing is the metamorphosis of loyalties from Jacobite to Hanoverian, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that a common motivation for both armies was loyalty to *monarchy* as the unifying core of nationhood.

### **Beginnings (1746-1792)**

By September 1746, four months after Culloden, over 15,000 regular government troops were in Scotland, mostly in the Highlands: nine regiments of foot, thirteen Highland companies (recruited in the Highlands and wearing Highland dress) and two regiments of dragoons. Due to lack of serviceable accommodation, many towns and villages throughout

2014); Edward M. Spiers et al, eds, *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2012); MacKillop, *More Fruitful*; Alistair Noble, "Perhaps the Highlanders May Imitate Them". 'Highland Identity and the British Empire, from the Forty-Five to the Seven Years War', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 45 (2022), 109-23; Matthew Dziennik, 'Hierarchy, Authority and Jurisdiction in the Mid Eighteenth-century Recruitment of the Highland Regiments', *Historical Research*, 86 (2012), 89-104. Regimental, campaign and battle histories are too numerous to list.

<sup>14</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 301.

Scotland had troops quartered on them.<sup>15</sup> British army soldiers were deployed at Berwick, Kelso, Haddington, Dalkeith, Dumfries, Ayr, Stranraer, Cupar, Inverness, Nairn, Forres, Elgin, Banff, Newburgh, Aberdeen, Stonehaven, Inverbervie, Johnshaven, Montrose, Arbroath, Dundee, Perth, Stirling, Linlithgow, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dunfermline.<sup>16</sup>

Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in Scotland was George II's son, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, the future commander in chief of the British army.

Cumberland and his army were a conspicuous presence in Scotland. An order was issued that soldiers should not turn around to look at Cumberland when on parade, interpreted by some historians as evidence that the men were so impressed by his royal status that they stared at him.<sup>17</sup> Camp followers accompanied Cumberland's army in large numbers, forming part of his conspicuous procession through the country. Marching north was not only a military mission, but something of a royal pageant demonstrating Hanoverian power and sovereignty.<sup>18</sup>

Cumberland exerted unique influence over the careers of individual officers. From the beginning of his command in 1745, the duke issued incessant orders on appearance of uniforms, proper parade etiquette, drill exercise and hierarchical authority.<sup>19</sup> Accompanying him during the campaign in Scotland was Lieutenant-General Humphrey Bland (1686-1763), author of the first comprehensive treatise on British military discipline. Cumberland's obsessive attention to the subject was sufficiently well-known to be satirised at the time.<sup>20</sup> A pamphlet entitled *The French Flail, or A Letter to His Excellency, the Commander in chief of His Majesty's New Raised Regiment of Ladies* ridiculed the British army's insistence on drilling at a point when the campaign against the Jacobite army was not going well. Consolidating the land forces of Britain into a coherent unit was one of Cumberland's main priorities. Among regiments represented under the duke's command at Culloden were three of Scotland's oldest royal regiments: the Royal Regiment formed in 1633 (subsequently the 1st Regiment of Foot, the Royal Scots), the Royal Scots Fusiliers formed in 1678 (21st of

<sup>15</sup> Chris Tabraham and Doreen Grove, *Fortress Scotland and the Jacobites* (London, 2001), 92.

<sup>16</sup> Murray Pittock, *Culloden* (Oxford, 2016), 108-9.

<sup>17</sup> Order of 24 April 1746, in Order Book beginning 28 January 1746, NRS GD1/322/1, 122. Geoffrey Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire* (Philadelphia, PA, 2006), 39.

<sup>18</sup> Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery*, 39.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 36; Pittock, *Culloden*, 83.

<sup>20</sup> Humphrey Bland, *A Treatise of Military Discipline* (London, 1727; rev. 1762).

Foot), and the King's Own Borderers formed in 1689 (25th of Foot).<sup>21</sup> Prior to the 1707 Treaty of Union, these regiments were increasingly integrated into a 'British' army serving the composite monarchy of Scotland and England. Loyalties further evolved with the Glorious Revolution, from service under Catholic Stuarts to allegiance to Protestant and Hanoverian interests.<sup>22</sup> One company from the recently established Royal Highland Regiment (42nd of Foot or 'Black Watch'), formed in 1739, fought under Cumberland at Culloden. Old and new regiments united under his command and, for a brief period following Hanoverian victory, the duke was lauded as a British hero. Celebrations were widespread in Scotland and England. The *Glasgow Journal* produced a large-print edition reporting 'the great rejoicings that have been known' in the city, whilst the *Glasgow Courant* noted a thanksgiving ordained by the Presbytery of Glasgow 'was most devoutly observed by Persons of all Ranks in both City and Country'.<sup>23</sup> In Britain's North American colonies, Cumberland was lauded as a Hanoverian Protestant victor, with sermons, resolutions of thanks from colonial assemblies, bonfires, dancing and festivities in urban and rural communities. There was an imperial dimension given to the battle and the king's son was the hero of 'victory for the empire'.<sup>24</sup>

In Scotland, George II gave the duke a free hand to expunge any remaining rebel threat in the Highlands. Cumberland wrote to the Duke of Newcastle: 'I have also taken the liberty to make use of the power granted me by His Majesty, in issuing a proclamation for the seizing of rebels and arms'.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, rebels were given the chance to surrender their arms and receive a royal pardon from George II. Newspapers in London carried reports of 'Rebels coming in daily and laying down their arms and submitting to the King's mercy' and the *Gentleman's Magazine* described chief of clan McDonald giving up his arms to Major General Campbell, Earl of Loudoun (1705-1782): '[I] surrender up myself as your prisoner, depending on His Majesty's clemencie and pardon'.<sup>26</sup> Notwithstanding formal pledges of

<sup>21</sup> Ray Westlake, *A Guide to the British Army's Numbered Infantry Regiments of 1751-1881* (Uckfield, 2018). Other older Scottish regiments are the Cameronian Regiment (formed 1689, subsequently numbered 26th of Foot) and the Royal Regiment of Scots Dragoons (the Scots Greys or 2nd Dragoons) (1681).

<sup>22</sup> Victoria Henshaw, *Scotland and the British Army, 1700-1750* (London, 2014), 22-35; K.A.J. MacLay, 'The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, 1660-1702' in Spiers et al, eds, *Military History*, 298-325; John C.R. Childs, 'Marlborough's Wars and the Act of Union', *ibid*, 326-47.

<sup>23</sup> *Glasgow Journal*, 28 April 1746; *Glasgow Courant*, 21 April 1746.

<sup>24</sup> Plank, 93.

<sup>25</sup> Cumberland to Newcastle, May 1746, NA, State Papers Scotland 30/246r.

<sup>26</sup> *General Advertiser*, 3 June 1746; *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 16 (1746), 274.





**Figure 2.1.** George Bickham, *The butcher*, Taken from *Ye Sign of a butcher* in *Ye Butcher Row*, 1746, etching, 31.6 x 19.7 cm, BM, 1868,0808.3806.

clemency, it was not long before concern grew among Scottish officers serving under Cumberland that brutally indiscriminate treatment of the kind which earned him the sobriquet ‘Butcher’ would alienate and alarm Scots loyal to George II.<sup>27</sup> Accounts of killings of wounded Jacobites began to circulate in the days following the battle. Within months, Cumberland was dubbed ‘Butcher’ in print, such as an eponymous satirical print of 9 December 1746 (Figure 2.1).<sup>28</sup> Loudon wrote to Cumberland: ‘I find your procedure has struck the most dreadful pannick upon some of His Majesty’s dutiful subjects’.<sup>29</sup> Scottish officers tended to be more lenient than English counterparts, yet among the most notorious officers was a Scot, Captain Caroline Frederick Scott (c. 1711-1754). Born in Dresden, his Scottish father was a diplomat and close friend of George I. Scott was named for his godmother, Cumberland’s mother, Queen Caroline of Ansbach (1683-1737). Among the testimonies of Culloden’s aftermath compiled by the Rev. Robert Forbes (1708-1775) in manuscript as *The Lyon in Mourning* is an eye-witness account of three Highlanders surrendering at Fort William, whereupon Scott had them drowned by hanging in a salmon net in a mill flume.<sup>30</sup> He reportedly hanged eight men without trial for not giving information about Charles Edward Stewart’s whereabouts and tortured a man for three successive days in an attempt to elicit the same intelligence.<sup>31</sup> Landed magnates such as the Duke of Argyll and Scotland’s most senior judges, Lord President Duncan Forbes of Culloden (1685-1747) and Lord Justice Clerk Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, were among those expressing disquiet to the duke about the effects of such measures.<sup>32</sup> In a memorandum drawn up for Cumberland, whom he joined in Inverness in May 1746, Forbes warned: ‘Unnecessary severities create pity, and pity from unnecessary severities is the most dangerous nurse to disaffection’.<sup>33</sup>

Soon concerns emerged in government circles, private correspondence, social events, newspapers and journals at arbitrary, extra-legal methods employed by the army on whole

<sup>27</sup> Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, 1 August 1746: J. Wright, ed., *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford* (Philadelphia, PA, 1842), I, 493. Walpole narrates the origins of the sobriquet.

<sup>28</sup> In a grotesque image, Cumberland is depicted as an ox, wielding an axe and cleaver with epaulettes of butcher’s hooks and a meat tray as a breastplate. Within part of the frame is a thistle hanging upside down. In the background a house is in flames with bodies lying on the ground and two grenadiers preventing inhabitants escaping; and opposite figures hang from triple gallows.

<sup>29</sup> NLS, MS3734, fo. 436r, Campbell to Cumberland.

<sup>30</sup> Henry Paton, ed., *The Lyon in Mourning or a Collection Speeches Letters Journals Etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stewart by the Rev. Robert Forbes, 1746-1775* (Edinburgh, 1975), III, 58.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Anecdotes of Captn. Caroline Scott Communicated by MacNeil of Barra & the Revd. M. Ed. MacLuen’, National Records of Scotland, GD1/53/92.

<sup>32</sup> Murdoch, *People Above*, 35.

<sup>33</sup> Duncan Forbes, ‘Memorandum for His Highness the Duke’, 20 May 1746, Royal Archives, CP Box 15/101.

communities throughout the Highlands.<sup>34</sup> As longstanding supporters of Hanoverian succession, Argyll and Forbes recognised a perilous moment for the monarchy, as the king's favourite son came to embody abuse of supreme power at the expense of constitutional propriety. 'Pannick' as witnessed by Loudoun revealed fear of indiscriminate violence carried out by soldiers commanded by a royal acting in the king's name. As George II's chosen representative, and first member of Hanoverian dynasty directly enforcing sovereign power in Scotland, Cumberland and his army generated a combination of images through which people in Scotland imagined monarchy. Cumberland's presence in Scotland was even more potent when monarchy was otherwise physically absent. Correspondence with members of the government in London reveals Cumberland's seemingly bitter and suspicious attitude to Scotland. When leaving his post as commander in Scotland in July 1746, Cumberland wrote to Newcastle, 'I tremble for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island and our family'.<sup>35</sup> Although the duke was compelled to resign as Commander-in-Chief of the entire British army following his capitulation under the Convention of Klosterzeven (1757) which left Hanover occupied by the French, his decline in popularity actually began in the aftermath of Culloden. His role in this domestic campaign coloured assessments of him by contemporaries and by historians like no other event in his life. Speck's *The Butcher and Oats* *Sweet William or The Butcher?* have similar sub-titles focusing on 'the '45'.<sup>36</sup> This leads to significant neglect of Cumberland's role in three areas relevant to army, monarchy and Scotland: the army reforms of 1742-51, the military roads network, and the construction of three Great Glen forts in the Scottish Highlands.

A reforming zeal and systematic approach were evident when Cumberland commissioned the first ever official template of uniforms of all units and establishment of the British army, *The Cloathing Book* (1742).<sup>37</sup> Presented to George II, it contained ninety-four plates depicting the dress of privates of every regiment, and listed regiments by number alongside names of their successive colonels. Commissioning such a highly visual codification showed Cumberland committed to exhaustively cataloguing and prescribing uniforms and accoutrements. As with

<sup>34</sup> Paul O'Keefe, *Culloden: Battle and Aftermath* (London, 2021); 159-61; W.A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the '45* (Cardiff, 2019), 170; Matthew P. Dzienik. "'Under ye Lash of ye Law": The State and the Law in the Post-Culloden Scottish Highlands', *Journal of British Studies*, 60 (2021), 609-31.

<sup>35</sup> BL, MSS 32707, Cumberland to Newcastle, 17 July 1746 quoted in Murdoch, *People Above*, 35.

<sup>36</sup> Speck, *Butcher*; Jonathan Oats, *Sweet William or The Butcher? The Duke of Cumberland and the '45* (Barnsley, 2008).

<sup>37</sup> *The Cloathing Book. A Representation of the Cloathing of His Majesty's Household and all of the Forces upon the Establishments of Great Britain and Ireland* (1742).

Bland's *Treatise* codifying military discipline, Cumberland prioritised regimentation of army uniform aesthetics and symbolism to unify the army as a cohesive institution, rather than a collection of sartorially idiosyncratic proprietary regiments. Throughout the period, the *Cloathing Book* served as an official template from which later uniforms derived and evolved. Plate 76 showed a private of the 42nd Regiment of Foot in short red coat, belted plaid, bonnet, diced hose and buckled shoes (Figure 2.2). Aside from Highland dress, another Scottish feature was the mountainous background, unique among all the images. Early in the evolution of Highland uniform, at this point there is no explicit monarchical symbolism. However, the 42nd's red coat already had Hanoverian associations. In an earlier 1730 iteration as volunteer independent companies, soldiers wore their own Highland clothes, ranging from tartan jackets to belted plaid, distinguished from the regulars, referred to by Highland locals as *Seidaran Dearag*, (Gaelic for Red Soldiers). A military historian commented towards the end of the nineteenth century that at this period the red coats 'must have resembled Mephistopheles, or a detachment of flamingos'.<sup>38</sup> However, when incorporated into the regular army in 1739, the red coat became part of the regiment's uniform. Codification of uniforms, regimental colours and numbers was formalised by the Royal Warrant of 1751. Here, visual, symbolic, iconographic, and stylistic representations of monarchy within the army became prominent and regulated.<sup>39</sup> Clearly Cumberland appreciated the importance of visual communication, demonstrated by his lengthy patronage of Swiss artist David Morier (c. 1705-1779). Employed by the duke from 1752 until 1764 on an annual salary of £100, Morier painted in oil on canvas the 'Grenadier Paintings'. This series of pictures created a comprehensive visual record of uniforms and equipment of all troops under the duke's command. Conforming to the 1751 Royal Warrant, each panel portrays three grenadier privates in numerical order in various poses, covering forty-nine regiments of infantry and three of Guards infantry. Morier also painted representatives of all cavalry regiments. Painstakingly accurate in recording the stylistic and visual symbolism of uniforms, Morier reflected the precision of the Royal Warrant. Many visual prompts related to monarchy, such as the royal cipher on Highland grenadiers' bearskin hats (Figure 2.3). On the mitre hats of grenadiers of Scottish regiments not wearing Highland dress, the royal cipher was accompanied by the white horse of the house of Hanover.

<sup>38</sup> Archibald Forbes, *The Black Watch: The Record of an Historic Regiment* (London, 1896), 10.

<sup>39</sup> See Appendix 2 for the text of the 1751 Royal Warrant relating to the infantry.



**Figure 2.2.** Plate 75, '42nd Regiment of Foot', *The Cloathing Book* (N.p., 1742).



**Figure 2.3.** Grenadier's bearskin hat, c. 1768, Armoury, Fort George, Ardersier, Inverness-shire. Author's photograph.

From 1742, regiments were identified by number rather than by their colonel's name. Regulations in 1747 went further, prohibiting any use of the colonel's arms, crest, device, or livery and ruled that henceforth regiments be denoted by numbers.<sup>40</sup> Dynastic landed elites remained critically important for recruitment, leadership, and provisioning, but monarchy now became the dominant source of ciphers and iconography on uniforms and accoutrements. Regulations prescribed that two colours be carried by every regiment, removing all private symbols of 'ownership' that had previously existed. The first colour of every marching regiment was 'the King's Colour', consisting of the Union flag; the second or 'Regimental Colour' was the colour of the regimental uniform facing, with a Union flag in the upper canton and regiment number in gold Roman numerals in the centre. Royal regiments were granted special privileges to use particular devices, including the badge of the 1st of Foot's (Royal Scots') with royal cipher 'GR' and circlet bearing the motto of the Order of the Thistle, 'Nemo me impune lacessit'. The introduction of regimental numbers for all regiments — in order of seniority — meant that all were identified in the same way and unified as a single king's army, rather than a loose confederation of local regiments named after their colonels. Occupying first place in the line, the Royal Scots were formally honoured under Cumberland's command as the oldest and most senior regiment in the British army. 1747 was also the year in which the Act of Indemnity was passed pardoning former rebels, a significant moment rehabilitating former Jacobites.<sup>41</sup> Many with military credentials were now free to serve the Hanoverian king. With a strong military presence in Scotland in place, and threats of further rebellion extinguished, army priorities returned to European imperial wars, resulting in unprecedented recruitment in Scotland, particularly the Highlands. Following Cumberland's reforms, new recruits were in no doubt it was not their local colonel for whom they fought, but the Hanoverian king. Describing a recruitment drive in the Highlands in 1793, a local minister recalled: 'Wherever they displayed their colours, the people flocked to them in multitudes from every corner, testifying their loyalty to their king, their zeal for the constitution, and their attachment to their superiors'.<sup>42</sup> Such accounts evidence how monarchical associations were bound up with the army's images, such as highly conspicuous regimental colours which were specified to be six feet square flying by six feet on the hoist in the 1751 Royal Warrant.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Conway, *British Army*, 27-8.

<sup>41</sup> 21 Geo.II, c.9.

<sup>42</sup> *Statistical Account*, 21 (1799), 231.

<sup>43</sup> James D. Geddes, *Colours of British Regiments, Volume V, The Regular Infantry* (York, 2007).

Perhaps because Cumberland left Scotland in 1747, the impact on Scotland of his continuing role as Commander-in-Chief of the entire army, receives little attention in Scottish historiography.<sup>44</sup> *A Military History of Scotland*, the definitive recent work, has fifteen index references to the duke, all concerning the 1745-6 rebellion. Similarly, in the book's structure, 1746 ends one periodisation and the next begins after a ten-year gap, with the Seven Years War (1756-63). A structure like this based on major conflicts elides the continuous evolution, under Cumberland, of the relationship between the Scottish military and Hanoverian monarchy. Taking the 42nd or Black Watch as an example, their experience was pan-European: 1746 in France; 1747 in Flanders; 1748-9 in the Netherlands. In 1749, they were sent to Ireland and, in 1751, as part of Cumberland's reforms, they were assigned the numerical title of 42nd or Royal Highland.<sup>45</sup> Royal Highland grenadiers wore bearskin caps with the king's cipher and crown on a red turn-up or flap. It was in this period that, for the first time, in the highly prescribed template of Cumberland's reforms, the regiment combined Highland dress — belted plaid in a tartan of military sett — with the royal cipher and crown of the Hanoverian monarchy.<sup>46</sup> In the schedule of regimental distinctions set out in the 1751 Royal Warrant, all that is specifically authorised for the 42nd is the king's cipher and crown common to other regiments, suggesting army authority was mostly concerned with prescribing royal images. With the unifying symbol of the royal cipher and crown on uniform, accoutrements and weaponry, regulations did not prescribe the details of distinctive Highland features. To allow the wearing of full plaid, red coats of the regiment were different from those of other line regiments. As one of Morier's paintings of grenadiers of the 40th, 41st Invalids and 42nd shows (Figure 2.4), the 42nd's jackets did not have long coats with turn-backs and wide lapels in the facing colour, but instead shorter coats with no lapels, no tails, smaller cuffs and turned down collar in facing colour.<sup>47</sup> Cumberland laid the foundations for successful recruiting of Scottish soliders by creating a distinctive identity within the unified whole of the king's army.

<sup>44</sup> Cumberland's successor as commander-in-chief in Scotland was Willem (or William) Anne van Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albemarle (1702-54).

<sup>45</sup> Conway, *Britain, Ireland*, 266-91.

<sup>46</sup> Forbes, *Black Watch*, 31-40.

<sup>47</sup> Carl Franklin, *British Army Uniforms from 1751 to 1783* (Barnsley, 2016), 120.



**Figure 2.4.** David Morier, *Grenadiers, 40th Regiment of Foot, and Privates, 41st Invalids Regiment and 42nd Highland Regiment, 1751, c. 1751-60, RCT. RCIN 405589*



**Figure 2.5.** William Miller (after Allan Ramsay), *The Rt. Hon:ble the Earl of Loudoun, Captn. General Governour in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America in The London Magazine, 1755, BM, 1919,1201.4.*



At the outbreak of the Seven Years War, among the first regiments of the line sent to North America were three Highland regiments: the 42nd and two newly raised, the 77th (Montgomery's Highlanders) and the 78th (Fraser's Highlanders). Great Britain desperately needed soldiers and the tenantry of Highland dynastic magnates offered rich resources.<sup>48</sup> Bolstered by 700 new recruits, the 42nd landed in New York in summer 1757, a regiment of 1,300 men. Rapid recruitment flowed from the complex of connections around monarchy. Amongst the most important of these was the Campbell dynasty under the 3rd Duke of Argyll. Reflecting lingering doubts about loyalty to the crown amongst Highlanders, Secretary of War William Barrington, 2nd Viscount Barrington (1717-93) wrote to Cumberland that the 42nd, 77th and 78th 'should go to America as fast as the Companies were raised, and none of them remain in the Highlands'.<sup>49</sup> Steadily, their bravery in battle raised the status of the Highland soldier, as reflected in a Royal Warrant of July 1758 conferring 'Royal' on the 42nd: 'George R. [...] Our Will and Pleasure therefore is [...] henceforth Our said regiment be called, and distinguished by the title and name of Our "Forty-Second, or Royal Highland Regiment of Foot" in all commissions, orders and writings'.<sup>50</sup> This award was given 'as a testimony of His Majesty's satisfaction and approbation of the extraordinary courage, loyalty and exemplary conduct of the Highland Regiment'.<sup>51</sup> Around 12,000 Highland soldiers served during the Seven Years War.<sup>52</sup> Scots were disproportionately represented in North America among officers: 31 per cent were Scottish, 24.5 per cent English.<sup>53</sup> Such was the 3rd Duke of Argyll's influence that he named 40 per cent of the commissioned officers in Highland regiments.<sup>54</sup> Campbell regime power extended to the highest rank when John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun, was sent to America as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces there. His identity as a Scottish soldier was conspicuous in a 1747 Allan Ramsay portrait, reproduced in mezzotint and etchings, including in the *London Magazine* (Figure 2.5). Loudon is depicted in Highland dress uniform as commander of a regiment of Highland soldiers, although himself from a prosperous estate south of Glasgow. Just nine years after Culloden, the image of a Hanoverian commander-in-chief engaged in defending Britain's empire was disseminated in

<sup>48</sup> Stephen Brumwell, 'The Scottish Military Experience in North America, 1756-83' in Spiers et al., *Military History*, 386.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> <<https://www.42ndrhr.org/warrants.php>> [accessed 3 March 2022]

<sup>51</sup> Forbes, *Black Watch*, 45.

<sup>52</sup> Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 307.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 296-7.

<sup>54</sup> Emerson, *An Enlightened Duke*, 330.

print wearing dress which many contemporaries would associate with soldiers in Charles Edward Stuart's army. Here, perhaps, is the earliest representation of a decidedly Hanoverian-Highland commander, significantly pre-dating any of the celebrated exploits of Highland soldiers in North America.

During 1745-6, the Duke of Cumberland included mandatory attendance at 'Divine Service and Sermon' in the Articles of War, with instruction that it 'be regularly performed in Camp which the Officers and Soldiers are to attend to'.<sup>55</sup> By the time of the Seven Years' War, regimental chaplains had a poor reputation for attending to their duties, but in Highland regiments it was quite otherwise. Ministers appointed as chaplains in these regiments were expected to speak Gaelic as well as English. They were highly respected, with influence equal to that of the commanding officer. In addition to responsibilities for spiritual guidance and morality, ministers encouraged the continuance of Highland oral tradition and the composition of poetry and song.<sup>56</sup> Services were conducted in Gaelic, and Gaelic poems and song of the time illuminate ways in which Highlanders were encouraged to understand their relationship with Hanoverian kings. James McLagan, who would succeed his father as chaplain of the Black Watch, wrote in 1756 exhorting Highland troops to serve Britain, reminding his flock they were conspicuous in their red coats and dark tartan, seen by 'Britain and Ireland and all of Europe'. McLagan's poem tells soldiers their king will reward them:

<p><i>Nì 'r deagh ghiùlan Deòrsa 'lùbadh</i>  <i>'S bheir e dhuinn ar n-èideadh,</i>  <i>An t-èideadh sùrdail bha o thùs ann</i>  <i>O linn Adhaimh 's Eubha;</i>  <i>'S ma bheir e 'n tràth-s dhuinn mar a b'</i>  <i>àbhaist</i>  <i>Ar n-inbh', ar n-airm, ar n-èideadh,</i>  <i>'S sinn saighdean 's fearr a bhios 'na</i>  <i>bhalg</i>  <i>'S e 'n t-ioc nì Alba dha fhèin dhinn.</i></p>	<p>Your excellent conduct will convince  King George to return our uniform,  The cheerful ancient uniform  Since the age of Adam and Eve;  And if he gives to us our prestige,  weapons, and clothing now, as was our  custom,  We will be the best arrows in his  quiver,  We will be Scotland's payment to  him.<sup>57</sup></p>
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<sup>55</sup> *Articles of War*, 1745 quoted in Ian McCulloch, 'Highland Chaplaincy in the French & Indian War, 1756-1763', *Electric Scotland*. <<https://electricScotland.com/history/scotreg/mcculloch/story3.htm>> [accessed 6 March 2022]

<sup>56</sup> McCulloch, 'Highland Chaplaincy', 2.

<sup>57</sup> Michael Newton, *We're Indians Sure Enough: The Legacy of the Scottish Highlanders in the United States* (Richmond, VA, 2001), 140-1.

Highland soldiers were invited to imagine a king removing post-Culloden prohibitions against wearing tartan and bearing weapons in recognition of their being his best soldiers. At the battle of Moore's Creek, North Carolina, in 1776, the rallying cry of the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrants was 'King George and broadswords!'.<sup>58</sup> Significantly, in McLagan's poem, the service of Highland regiments to the king is equated with Scotland as a whole; indeed, within the period 1746-92, the composition of 'Highland' regiments evolved to a mixture of Highland and Lowland recruits.<sup>59</sup> By 1798, only half of recruits to the Black Watch were Highlanders.<sup>60</sup>

These Gaelic compositions constantly refer to divine kingship (the king's *còir*, meaning right title) and were designed to legitimize the dynastic ruling regime, especially the king.<sup>61</sup> Performed in camp, poems and songs were also entered into competitions, such as the Highland Society of London's, and published in pamphlet and book form.<sup>62</sup> Success in the Seven Years War and the raising of new Highland regiments was celebrated in Gaelic poetry as evidence of new-found friendship between ancient clan leaders — now loyal military servants of Britain — and George II. In 1757, Simon Fraser (1726-82), son of the executed Jacobite supporter the 11th Lord Lovat (1667-1747), was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of a battalion raised from his family's forfeited estates, which became the 78th (or Fraser's Highlanders). Fraser petitioned the king in 1772 for the return of these estates and two years later was duly rewarded for his loyalty: 'And you have made a true friend / Of the very King who once disliked you'.<sup>63</sup> Fraser's Highlanders were among the soldiers given land grants by the crown at the end of the Seven Years War. With the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, Major-General Fraser (as he became) raised a second regiment, the 71st (or Fraser's Highlanders). During this conflict, eighteen regiments were raised in the Highlands, together consisting of 21,000-24,000 soldiers.<sup>64</sup> George III was aware of the large numbers of Scottish officers and Highland recruits, as is evident from his correspondence and papers.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Newton, 'Jacobite Past', 47.

<sup>59</sup> Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 298-300.

<sup>60</sup> E. and A. Linklater, *The Black Watch: The History of the Royal Highland Regiment* (London, 1977), 227.

<sup>61</sup> Newton, 'Jacobite Past', 37.

<sup>62</sup> Newton, *We're Indians*, 109.

<sup>63</sup> Translation from a Gaelic poem attributed to Lachland MacShuine, c. 1774: Newton, 'Jacobite Past', 44.

<sup>64</sup> Alan Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996), 217.

<sup>65</sup> E.g., No. 2125 in J. Fortescue, ed., *Correspondence of King George III*, 3, 523-4.

Daily life in a Highland Regiment in North America 1776-82 was described by Lowlander Lieutenant (latterly Captain) John Peebles (1739-83).<sup>66</sup> Peebles' diary testifies to the importance of ritual in keeping an army unified and, more specifically, to the fact that the army's most formal celebrations were associated with the royal family.<sup>67</sup> Royal birthdays, anniversaries of coronations and restoration of the monarchy were marked with parades, twenty-one-gun salutes, formal dinners, balls and toasts. Similar scenes later happened in towns across the Highlands, with parades of volunteer corps, flying colours, beating and gunfire marking the king's birthday and were reported in the newspapers.<sup>68</sup> Peebles' entry for 18 January 1777 records elaborate observances to mark the queen's birthday at Newport, Rhode Island:

A Detachmt. Of 300 British fired 3 vollies on the Parade at 12 oclock Preceded by 21 Guns from ye Battery & the like number of Hessians on the Green behind the Church, at 1 oclock The Navy fired, each ship 21 Guns.<sup>69</sup>

Military ritual was typically followed by dinner and a ball. In Rhode Island, this was in 'a long Room' in an establishment with royal associations, 'the Crown Coffee House', where over 150 officers danced with women and girls until past midnight.<sup>70</sup> Religious and national celebrations were associated with monarchy, such as St Andrew's Day 1781 when in Long Island forty-five officers gathered for special Scottish dishes, music and toasts to the king: 'May our Royal Master be serv'd as well as he is lov'd. by all the Sons of those Saints we have given'.<sup>71</sup> A notable guest at this dinner was Prince William, the future William IV, then a midshipman who arrived on 12 October 1781 to a royal salute and parade. Peebles took part in the march past and was impressed by the young prince as 'a very fine young man [...] a strong likeness of the King, & a handsome Address, he was in a plain Midshipman uniform, look'd cheerful, & took off his hat with a good grace'.<sup>72</sup> A survey of royal celebrations during George II's reign concluded that little scholarly attention has been paid to the use of

<sup>66</sup> Peebles was born in Ayrshire.

<sup>67</sup> Ira D. Gruber, ed., *John Peebles' American War: The Diary of a Scottish Grenadier, 1776-1782* (Stroud, 1998), 9.

<sup>68</sup> E.g., *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 June 1795 reporting on the celebration in Oban and Tain. See Chapters 6: Myth for the king's birthday celebrations.

<sup>69</sup> Gruber, *Peebles' Diary*, 80. In the same entry, Peebles records in passing 'a melancholy accident' during the salutes, when a frigate fired grapeshot in error into a transport ship, killing five men and wounding three.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, 81.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, 498.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, 482.

festivities and celebrations in promoting Hanoverian monarchy.<sup>73</sup> Celebrating the king's birthday was found to be more common and more important in Scotland than in England and Wales.<sup>74</sup> Even when not abroad on campaign, soldiers played an important part in these rituals around monarchy at civic occasions in Scotland. In urban settings, as well as villages and smaller settlements, the royal calendar was incorporated into the lives of the people of Scotland. When soldiers were constructing the new road to Inveraray, it was reported the Duke of Argyll sent ten guineas and his best ox 'in order to solemnize his Majesty's Birthday'.<sup>75</sup> 'His Majesty's Birthday' was celebrated in Inverness in 1793 by gentlemen of the Sutherland Fencible Regiment who accompanied every toast to 'our beloved Sovereign and the Royal Family' with a discharge of musketry in front of the town house.<sup>76</sup>

By 1793, Inverness, thanks to proximity to the monumental Fort George, twelve miles east, was the centre of military recruitment in the Highlands. Built by over 1,000 soldiers between 1748 and 1769 and covering 42 acres of a promontory on the Moray Firth, Fort George, its artillery fortification, and army garrison, symbolised the relationship between Hanoverian monarchy and the army in Scotland (Figure 2.6). Its defensive ravelins and bastions, protecting the fort from both land and sea, were named after members of the Hanoverian royal family, associating the Protestant house of Hanover with the first defensive line against Catholic France (Figures 2.7 and 2.8). Similar monarchical associations were created in naming the only other entirely new fort built in the Highlands and Islands, Fort Charlotte, completed in Shetland in the 1780s. Fort George was effectively a small town accommodating over 2,000 people, with neoclassical buildings featuring pavilions and decorated pediments. Laid out in axial symmetry, General Wolfe described it as 'the most considerable fortress and best situated [*militarily*] in Great Britain'.<sup>77</sup> Royal symbols and

<sup>73</sup> Survey in Bob Harris and Christopher A. Whatley, "'To Solemnize His Majesty's Birthday': New Perspectives on Loyalism in George II's Britain", *History*, 83 (1998), 397-419; Linda Colley, 'The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation, 1760-1820', *Past and Present*, 102 (1984), 94-129; C.A. Whatley, 'Royal Day, People's Day: The Monarch's Birthday in Scotland, c.1660-1860', in Roger Mason and Norman MacDougall, eds, *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout* (Edinburgh, 1992); Matthew McCormack, 'Rethinking "Loyalty" in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 35(2012) 407-21.

<sup>74</sup> Harris and Whatley, 'To Solemnize his Majesty's Birthday', 400.

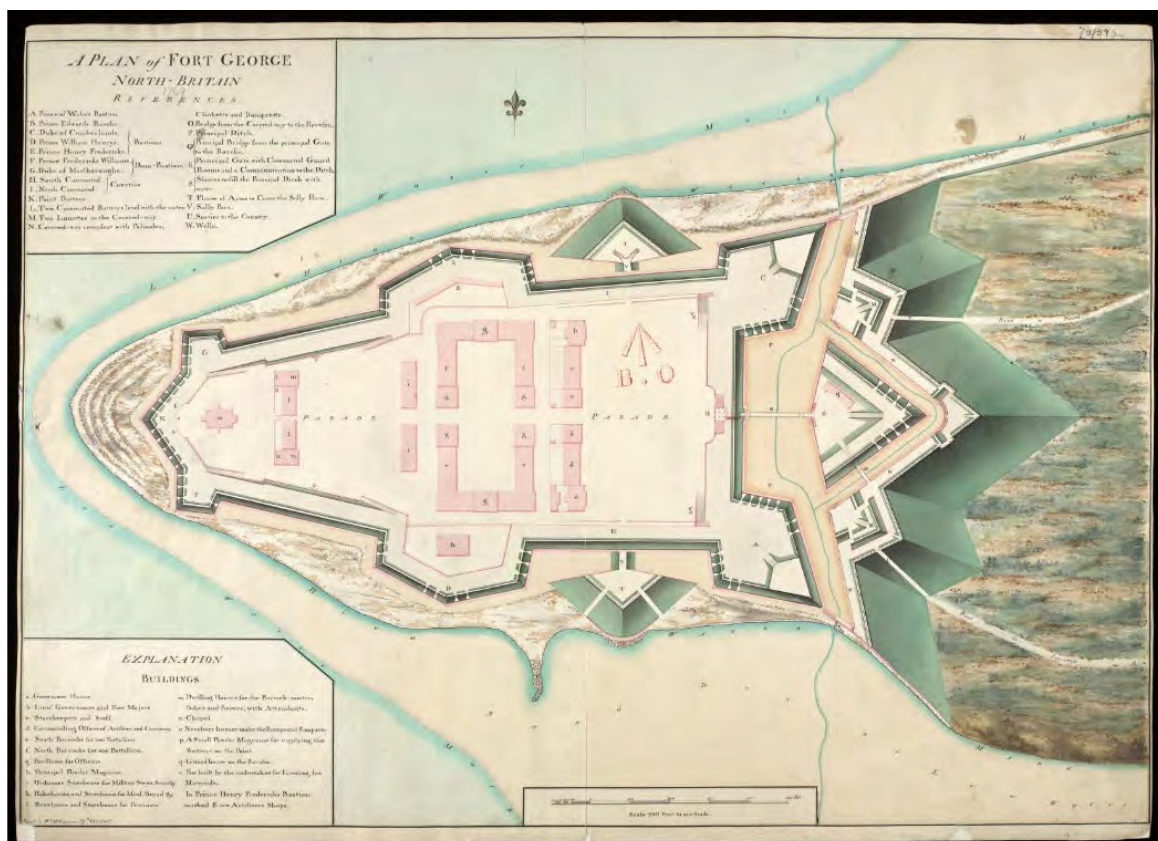
<sup>75</sup> *Glasgow Courant*, 31 October 1748.

<sup>76</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 8 June 1793.

<sup>77</sup> <<https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/fort-george/history>> [accessed 13 March 2022]



**Figure 2.6.** Roy, Kenneth, *Military Survey of Scotland 1747-1755*, NLS, CC.5.a.441 26/2c | 26/2e | 26/2f | 27/4a.



**Figure 2.7.** Skinner, William, *A Plan of Fort George, North Britain*, 1808 (survey c. 1769), NLS, MS.1647 Z.02/59a.

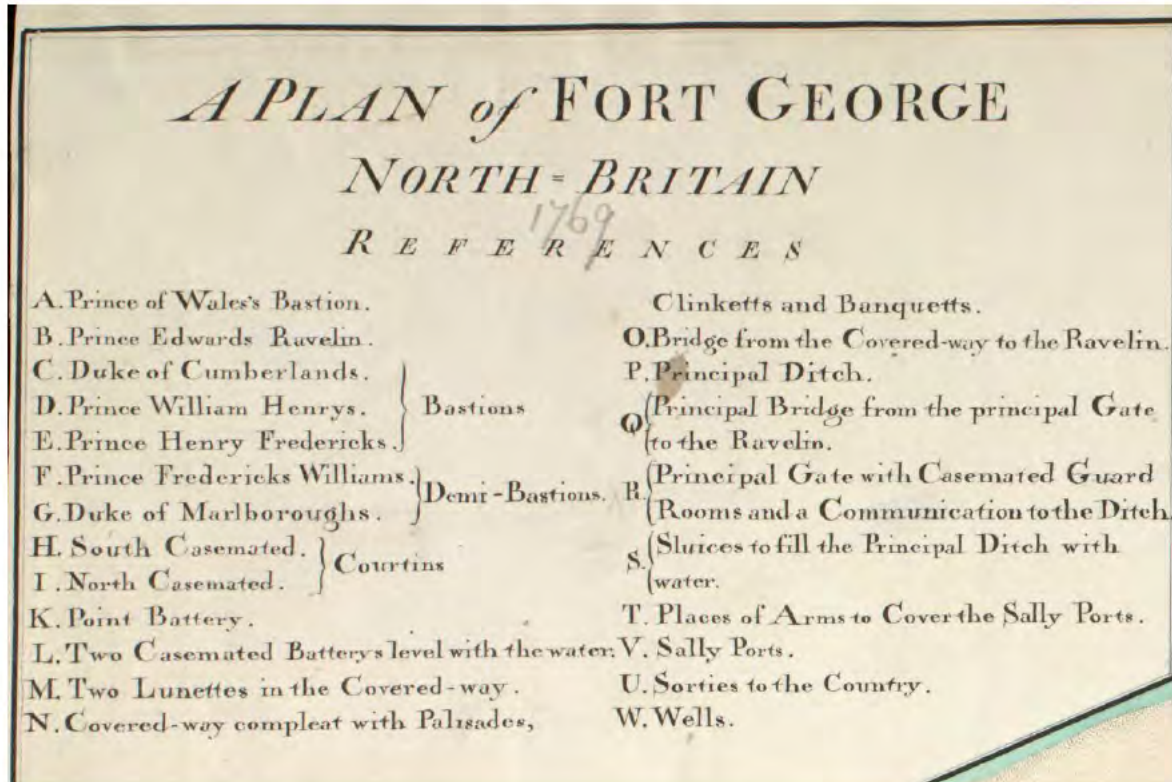


Figure 2.8. Detail of Figure 2.7.



Figure 2.9. Entrance bridge and gate, Fort George, Ardersier, and detail of pediment with royal coat of arms. Author photographs.



**Figure 2.10.** Royal cipher on cannon, Fort George, Ardersier. Author photograph.



**Figure 2.11.** Royal cipher on barracks pediment, Fort George, Ardersier. Author photograph.



**Figure 2.12.** Royal cipher and date on hopper head of downpipe, Fort George, Ardersier. Author photograph.



iconography were incorporated throughout, beginning with the royal coat of arms over the main gate (Figure 2.9) and including the royal cipher, crown and date on canons, pediments and downpipe hopper heads (Figures 2.10, 2.11 and 2.12). Over the chapel's chancel arch, the Latin inscription translates as: 'George III, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, 1767'.

Among landlords and government officials it was generally assumed the army would play an important part in cultural development of the Highlands through infrastructure, law enforcement, employment and importing 'polite manners'.<sup>78</sup> Infrastructure employed monarchical language through networks of 'the King's Roads', the first cartographic use of the term being a 1746 *Map of the King's Roads, Made by His Excellency General Wade in the Highlands of Scotland*.<sup>79</sup> Major William Caulfield's (1698-1767) roads in Scotland were constructed by approximately 1,350 men from five regiments between 1749 and 1767, his achievements exceeding those of his predecessor General George Wade (1673-1748). Caulfield was responsible for 900 miles of King's Roads and 600 bridges, Wade for 250 miles and 40 bridges.<sup>80</sup> This was the first large-scale road-building project in Britain since the Romans, with the army co-ordinating land surveying, sighting, foundations, finishing and labour.<sup>81</sup> Army labour continued to maintain the roads until 1815. In this context it was the king as constitutional head of the army whose soldiers built these new roads and forts. A 1772 order for Sergeant MacGregor's party of the 22nd regiment repairing the road from Campbelltown, Argyllshire, to Braemar, Aberdeenshire, instructed them on proper civility and deportment and warned of punishment 'If you or your party gets drunk or behave ill in any Respect whatsoever when employed on his Majesty's work'.<sup>82</sup> The army was here operating as moderniser and improver. A 1786 letter of Mrs Anne Grant of Laggan (1755-1838) provides evidence of the socio-cultural influence of Fort George. Grant married the chaplain of Fort Augustus in 1779 and visited Fort George, where her father was barrack-master (superintending officer), from her home in the central Highlands. Writing 'amidst the sound of fifes and drums, and small arms', Grant was surprised at differences 'in manners,

<sup>78</sup> Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery*, 21.

<sup>79</sup> <<https://maps.nls.uk/view/74400311>> [accessed 13 March 2022]

<sup>80</sup> <<https://roysroads.co.uk/major-william-caulfield.html>> [accessed 13 March 2022] Carolyn Anderson and Christopher Fleet, *Scotland Defending the Nation: Mapping the Military Landscape* (Edinburgh, 2018), 130-1.

<sup>81</sup> Jo Guldi, *Roads to Power: Britain Invents the Infrastructure State* (London, 2020), 29-30.

<sup>82</sup> Don N. Hagist, 'Maintaining Scotland's Military Roads: Orders for Sergeant McGregor's Party, 1772', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 93 (2015), 210-13.

dress and language' between the inhabitants of Fort George and those of her rural home. Of the 'garrisonians', she wrote:

You can imagine no set of people more polished, powdered, tonified and englified, than they are. [...] for the permanent parts of the community are so very idle, and so much accustomed to the company of a successive variety of military beaux, who arrive with fresh cargoes of vanity and fashionable impertinence, that the ladies here are as great adepts in the modish chit-chat, the modish games, &c as any of their sisters in Grosvenor-square.<sup>83</sup>

Monarchical associations added prestige and meaning to the cultural force of the army, prompting Grant to imagine a version of London society replicated in a Highland military fort.

### **Recognition (1793-1815)**

Perhaps even more significant as a cultural influence than Scots in the regular army was the unprecedented mobilisation for home defence in the era of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. By the 1790s, such was the 'passion for joining the ranks of the volunteer corps', that fencible, volunteer and militia regiments were a common sight in towns and cities throughout Scotland. John Kay's 1795 print, *Military Promenade*, provides a telling illustration of the era 'when every citizen was a soldier, and everything military the rage' (Figure 2.13).<sup>84</sup> Groups of ladies in military-inspired fashion 'might be daily witnessed [...] on the Castle Hill, Princes Street or the Meadows'.<sup>85</sup> A central figure among Kay's promenaders is Sir Henry Jardine (1766-1851), Writer to His Majesty's Signet, original secretary to the committee for raising the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers in 1794 and a lieutenant of that regiment. Royal Warrants were required to raise a fencible regiment and, as with the regular army, royal ciphers were prominent on shoulder strap badges and accoutrements. In Highland uniform, far right, is Archibald Montgomerie, 11th Earl of Eglinton (1726-96), colonel in the West Lowland Fencibles. A Lowland Scot educated at Eton and Winchester, Montgomerie raised the eponymous 77th or Montgomerie's

<sup>83</sup> [Anne MacVicar Grant], *Letters from the Mountains: Being the Real Correspondence of a Lady, Between the Years 1773 and 1807*, 5th edn, 3 vols (London, 1813 [1st edn 1807]), II, 118-19.

<sup>84</sup> Hugh Paton, ed., *Kay's Portraits* (Edinburgh, 1842), 330.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, 326.



**Figure 2.13.** John Kay, 'No. CX, 'Miliary Promenade' in Hugh Paton, ed., *A Series of Original Portraits by the late John Kay* (Edinburgh, 1842), II, 326.

Highlanders and served in the American Revolutionary War. An enthusiasm for Highland dress ensured the kilt became the fencible regiment's uniform, even although the unit was headquartered in Glasgow. Distinctions between Highland and Lowland in a military context grew more porous; in 1795, for example, eleven fencible regiments with Highland names and associations were half-filled with Lowlanders.<sup>86</sup> Discussions of regiments in terms of Highland and Lowland should be considered in the context that individuals' identities as either Highland or Lowland were themselves becoming increasingly blurred. Rapid urbanisation in Scotland was accompanied by greater mobility between Highlands and Lowlands.<sup>87</sup> Culturally, without the unifying institution of the king's army, it is difficult to see how newly emerging compound Scottish identities (embracing both Highland and Lowland elements) could be so rapidly assimilated in elite society. This is evident in the fashionable dress of the Misses Maxwell in Kay's print. Blending gender-specific dress codes, female relatives of aristocrats and gentry serving as regulars, fencibles or volunteers began wearing versions of the uniform of their fathers, husbands, and brothers. 'Much admired in the fashionable world', the Maxwell sisters wore outfits imitating the uniform of West Lothian Fencibles (albeit with dresses), of which their father, Sir William Maxwell (d. 1812), was Lieutenant-Colonel.<sup>88</sup> Nieces of one of London's most celebrated political hostesses, and friend of royalty, Jane, Duchess of Gordon, the Maxwells followed their aunt's precedent in adopting military dress. One year before Kay's print, the duchess and her daughters, dressed in regimental-style outfits and escorted by six pipers, travelled local markets and fairs of the Gordon estate in the Highlands, recruiting for the 100th (later 92nd) Gordon Highlanders, a regiment eventually totalling 940. These recruitment drives were highly performative, with men encouraged to 'take the king's shilling' with a kiss from the duchess and her daughters, who stood on a raised platform with a guinea between their lips.<sup>89</sup> Gordon recruitment was impressive given the duke had already raised about 450 men in 1793 for his Northern or Gordon Fencibles, a corps posted to Kent having volunteered to serve outside Scotland. From Kent, the Gordon Fencibles were ordered to London by George III, who had never seen a Highland regiment, and reviewed by the king in Hyde Park. His majesty 'expressed himself highly satisfied with their appearance' and the novel sight of the Highlanders 'attracted a great crowd of people from all parts of the town and

<sup>86</sup> Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, 129.

<sup>87</sup> Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 301-4.

<sup>88</sup> Paton, *Kay's Portraits*, 330.

<sup>89</sup> Christine Lodge, 'Gordon [née Maxwell], Jane, Duchess of Gordon, *ODNB*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11059>. [accessed 10 April 2022]

neighbourhood'.<sup>90</sup> Present that day was the King's Chaplain in Scotland, Reverend Thomas Somerville, who described 'a multitude, the largest I had ever beheld, assembled in the cause of loyalty [*to the king*]'.<sup>91</sup>

Raising of fencible regiments was authorised by a Letter of Service in the king's name and Royal Warrant, as for line regiments, officers appointed by commissions, also in the name of the king. Royal Warrants in favour of senior peers were addressed to 'Our Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin'.<sup>92</sup> 'Cousin' denoted a fictive family relationship between the monarch and the peerage. Great ducal families like the Gordons were imagined as akin to royalty within their domains. Visiting Gordon Castle in 1787, Robert Burns (1759-96) described it in his diary as 'a fine palace' and the duke as 'princely'.<sup>93</sup> Ducal magnates were crucial to the first wave of fencible recruitment in the 1750s and 1770s, and naturally played this role again in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. From two Highland fencible corps in the Seven Years War and three in American Revolutionary War, numbers swelled to twenty-one in the 1790s. While adhering to prescribed form for line regiments, the uniforms, and insignia of fencible regiments fused monarchical, dynastic, and national symbolism, with the royal cipher just as prominent. An officer's gorget — a solid metal plate worn around an officer's neck when on duty — was engraved with royal arms and cipher 'GR'.<sup>94</sup> A Gordon fencible officer's buttons were silver, pressed with crowned thistles, and encircled with 'North Fencible'. Kilts, sporrans and feathered bonnets were an additional expense which the Duke of Gordon met out of an allowance prescribed in the king's name. To distinguish the Gordon Fencibles, a yellow stripe was added to the government or 'black watch' tartan of dark green, dark blue and black, and this in turn became the Gordon clan tartan. By 1794, distinctive Highland dress had become one of the main attractions of Highland regiments. George III himself was aware of the importance of kilts, having pardoned two 42nd Gaelic-speaking soldiers sentenced to death for violently resisting transfer to a Lowland regiment as 'they were incapable of wearing breeches as a part of their dress'. In their own defence, Archibald Macivor and Charles Williamson stated that 'they have always been accustomed to

<sup>90</sup> David Stewart, *Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1822; repr. 1977), II, 324.

<sup>91</sup> Thomas Somerville, *My Own Life and Times 1741-1814* (Edinburgh, 1814), 321-2.

<sup>92</sup> E.g., 'Beating Order' to the Duke of Gordon to raise the Gordon Fencibles 'Given at our court at St James's this 14th day of April, 1778, in the 18th year of our reign' in John Malcolm Bulloch, *Territorial Soldiering in the North-East of Scotland during 1759-1814* (Aberdeen, 1914).

<sup>93</sup> Robert Burns, Journal, 7 September 1787 quoted in George Gilfillan, *The Life of Robert Burns* (1886).

<sup>94</sup> Franklin, *British Army Uniforms*, 356.



**Figure 2.14:** John Kay, 'No CXIII. Sir James Grant of Grant Bart.' in Hugh Paton, ed., *A Series of Original Portraits by the late John Kay* (Edinburgh, 1842), I, 277; and detail of same showing gorget.



**Figure 2.15.** Strathspey Fencible side drum, c. 1794, HES, Fort George, Ardersier.

the Highland dress, so far as never to have worn breeches, a thing so inconvenient and even so impossible for a Highlander to do'.<sup>95</sup> Local communities benefited from demand for military plaid, On the Gordon estates, the manufacturers included Alexander Umphray of Fochabers. A bill from Umphrays of 13 December 1775 for the recruiting sergeants included eleven yards of tartan, thirteen yards of yellow ribbon, four yards of tartan for a philibeg and one pair of shoe and knee buckles<sup>96</sup> Lower dynastic tiers also demonstrated loyalty to the king by raising fencibles. Sir James Grant (1738-1811) raised the Grant or Strathspey Fencibles almost entirely from his own tenantry in Speyside.<sup>97</sup> Between 1793 and 1794, he raised two corps, well over 2,000 men. When stationed around Edinburgh, Grant and his fencibles were portrayed by John Kay (Figure 2.14) and the artist carefully recorded details of uniforms, regimental colours, weaponry, and accoutrements. On the left of the print, regimental colours are shown, the colour in the foreground with union flag in the upper hoist corner. Kay took great care to record the royal coat of arms on Grant's gorget and the crown and thistle on his shoulder strap badge. A Strathspey Fencibles side drum (Figure 2.15) also illustrates the importance of royal symbolism. Manufactured at the Barbican, London, by Robert Home, drum maker to His Majesty's Office of Ordnance, the rope-tensioned drum is intricately decorated with a heraldic shield device combining George III's cipher and the regimental name, surmounted by the royal crown on a bed of ermine. With a cream background, dominant colours were red and gold in the shield crown and heraldic embellishments, further connoting royal splendour. Sir John Sinclair (1754-1835) speedily raised a regiment of fencibles in 1794, the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles. Initially called the Caithness Fencibles and consisting principally of natives of Caithness, the future George IV, then Prince of Wales, granted permission that his chief title in Scotland, Rothesay, could be added to the name of the unit. Sinclair was twice painted for formal portraits by Benjamin West (1738-1820), circa 1794, and Henry Raeburn (1756-1823), circa 1794-5, in both wearing his fencible officer's uniform. In the West portrait (Figure 2.16), Sinclair is depicted as a public figure, his loyalty to the king prominently evidenced by his uniform. Military endeavour is linked by the artist to Sinclair's role as agricultural improver (sheep in the background reflecting Sinclair's establishment of a Society for the Improvement of British

<sup>95</sup> *Scots Magazine*, 7 June 1779, 308; Forbes, *Black Watch*, 88.

<sup>96</sup> Bulloch, *Territorial Soldiering*, 33.

<sup>97</sup> Paton, ed., *Kay's Portraits*, I, 277; John Prebble, *Mutiny: Highland Regiments in revolt, 1743-1804* (London, 1975), 272-73. See also general histories, G.M. Fraser, *The Strathspey Mutineers: A History of the 1st Highland Fencible Regiment 1793-1799* (Kinloss, 2003); H.B. Macintosh, *The Grant, Strathspey or First Highland Fencible Regiment 1793-1799* (Elgin, 1934).



**Figure 2.16.** Benjamin West, *Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster*, c. 1798, Wick Town Hall, Highland Council.



Wool), parliamentarian and statistician (papers on his desk and volume on the floor). However, it is significant that Sinclair chose in both portraits to be identified primarily as a Highland soldier against the Caithness landscape. A newspaper reported Sinclair was seen at the royal court in his Highland uniform.<sup>98</sup>

Royal nomenclature in the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles — the Prince of Wales' title of Rothesay — was subtle, but there were more explicit examples. Of thirty-six Scottish fencible regiments raised between 1793 and 1803, six were honoured with explicit royal associations: the Princess of Wales' (or Aberdeen Highland), Royal Clan Alpine, Duke of York's Own (or Banffshire), Princess Charlotte of Wales' (or Loyal Macleod),<sup>99</sup> Prince of Wales' Own and Royal Inverness Highlanders. Three more were given the strong royal association of 'loyal': the Loyal British, Loyal Tarbert and Loyal Tay.<sup>100</sup> Significantly, in recognition of service in suppressing the Irish rebellion of 1798, the Royal Inverness Highlanders were further honoured with re-designation as the Duke of York's Royal Inverness Highlanders. For any regiment, association with the duke was particularly prestigious as he was Commander-in-Chief of the British army as well as Hanoverian royalty. Frederick, Duke of York, was the most senior royal military commander since his great-uncle, Duke of Cumberland. Like Cumberland, York was responsible for major army reforms, but went further in terms of organisation and culture. It was through his European monarchical connection that Frederick's reforms were conceived and enacted. Frederick had been schooled in the Duchy of Brunswick by his uncle, the distinguished military commander Charles, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1735-1806), who married George III's elder sister, Princess Augusta (1737-1813). York also studied military manoeuvres and organisation of the Prussian and Austrian armies. At George III's insistence, he was appointed field commander of the allied British-Hanoverian army in support of the Dutch in the Flanders campaign, 1793-5.<sup>101</sup> Immersed in German military professionalism, York followed the military tradition of earlier Hanoverian monarchs. Through this Hanoverian influence Highland regiments served in an increasingly professionalised army, sharing

<sup>98</sup> *Kentish Gazette*, 17 January 1800.

<sup>99</sup> <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/N13731798> [accessed 7 March 2023]

<sup>100</sup> Stanley Dean MacDonald Carpenter, 'Patterns of Recruitment of the Highland Regiments of the British Army 1756-1815' (Unpublished Masters thesis, University of St Andrews, 1996), 135-8; <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/N13731798> [accessed 7 March 2023]

<sup>101</sup> Alfred H. Burne, *The Noble Duke of York* (London, 1949), 17-226; Derek Winterbottom, *The Grand Old Duke of York: A Life of Prince Frederick, Duke of York and Albany* (Barnsley, 2016), 13-75; Steve Brown, *The Duke of York's Flanders Campaign: Fighting the French Revolution 1793-1795* (Barnsley, 2016).

European military culture, under York's command.<sup>102</sup> Amongst the duke's reforms were a meritocratic approach to officer appointment and promotion, particularly beneficial to the large proportion of Scots officers. Ordinary Scottish soldiers also experienced improvements in pay, living conditions and humane treatment pursuant to the reforms of the king's son. Frederick's dual dukedom was a Hanoverian creation, uniting the traditional titles of monarch's second son, Duke of York in England and Duke of Albany in Scotland. Albany was Scotland's first ever dukedom, inaugurated by the grandson of Robert the Bruce, the Stuart king Robert III of Scotland (c. 1337-1406).<sup>103</sup> That the holder of this title was also Commander-in-Chief gave equal prominence to English and Scottish royal dynastic status, reinvigorating an ancient Scottish royal dukedom with modern military meaning. A fencible regiment raised in Banffshire in 1798 was given Frederick's English title: the Duke of York's Own (or Banffshire). Their colonel, Major General Andrew Hay (1762-1814), was a career soldier who served in North America, the West Indies, and the Peninsular War (1807-14). Evidence shows that a colonel's character and reputation were vital to successful recruitment: 'Colonel Wemyss [*of the Sutherland Fencibles*] commanded the fencible regiment of this country in the years 1779, 1780, 1781 and 1782, and the people's attachment to the colonel had its share too, in their alacrity to engage in the service'.<sup>104</sup> Correspondingly, those who raised regiments felt reciprocal responsibility for their men. Lieutenant-Colonel Norman MacLeod of Harris wrote in 1786 of concern about his men being drafted into non-Highland regiments:

I must entreat Your Excellency [*Sir Eyre Coote, Commander-in-Chief*] to allow me to carry them [*42nd or Black Watch*] home with me, that I may not forfeit my honour, credit and influence in the Highlands, which have been exerted for His Majesty's service.<sup>105</sup>

Highlanders were central to the Duke of York's proposal in 1797 for a Scottish militia corps of 16,000 men 'to be employed in Great Britain or Ireland in Case of Actual Invasion or Civil Commotion'. Raising so large a number was deemed by the 5th Duke of Argyll as liable to

<sup>102</sup> MacKillop, 'More Fruitful', 68-76.

<sup>103</sup> Bruce Webster, *Medieval Scotland: The Making of an Identity* (London, 1997), 97. 'Albany' corresponds broadly with the former kingdom of the Picts in the northeast of Scotland.

<sup>104</sup> Rev. William McKeith, 'Parish of Golspy [*sic*]' (County of Sutherland) in *Statistical Account*, 21, (1799), 26-32.

<sup>105</sup> Frank Adam, *The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1934), 307-8.

cause unrest and resentment: 'I cannot encourage any attempt of that sort'.<sup>106</sup> When the Militia Act of 1797 was passed, to raise 6,000 men through compulsory enlistment by ballot from parish records, Sir Gilbert Elliot wrote of how 'Scotland went stark mad' with outbreaks of disorder.<sup>107</sup> Areas that experienced extensive recruitment for regular and fencible regiments resisted enforcement of the Militia Act. A preacher touring Argyllshire in 1797 met many men and women heading on foot to Inveraray Castle concerning sons who had been drawn in the ballot: 'They much dreaded their sons would be sent abroad when raised, and would not believe their clergy or Gentlemen, asserting the contrary; having been so often deceived by fair promises when levies were formerly made'.<sup>108</sup> When recruitment was met with violent resistance on the island of Iona, the Duke of Argyll's reprisal was immediate. In a letter of October 1797, he told his chamberlain that:

as a mark of my displeasure I desire that Archd. McInnes and his son, Hugh McDonald and Donald MacKillop, all of that island, who were concerned in beating and abusing Hector McPhail, employed to take up the lists of the young men for the militia, be removed from their possessions at Whitsunday next, as I will suffer no person to remain on my property who does not respect and obey the laws.<sup>109</sup>

Those named tenants were duly evicted and fencible soldiers put in their place.<sup>110</sup> Such an episode demonstrates the risks tenants ran if they refused to serve the king and the rewards for those who did. By the 1790s, the commercialisation of Highland estates was underway, creating tensions between depopulation (through the Clearances) and retaining sufficient numbers to meet the king's military levies. Reverend Charles Stewart wrote in 1791: 'A military spirit prevails among the gentlemen of this country; this would wish to keep the men; but their lands give so much more rent by flocking them with sheep'.<sup>111</sup> Militia recruitment was always directly connected with monarchy. A letter from William Fawkener (1750-1811),

<sup>106</sup> Duke of Argyll to Henry Dundas, 10 March 1797 quoted in Robert Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander 1745-1830* (East Linton, 1995; repr. 1998), 161.

<sup>107</sup> 37 Geo.III, c.103; J.R. Western, 'The Formation of the Scottish Militia in 1797', *Scottish Historical Review*, 34. (1955), 4.

<sup>108</sup> Neil Douglas, *Journal of a Mission to Part of the Highlands of Scotland in Summer and Harvest 1797* (Edinburgh, 1799), 102-3.

<sup>109</sup> Eric Cregeen, ed., *Argyll Estate Instructions, 1771-1805* (Edinburgh, 1964), 195.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*, 196.

<sup>111</sup> Reverend Charles Stuart, 'United Parishes of Strachur and Strathlachlan (Count of Argyle)', in Sinclair, ed., *Statistical Account*, IV, 576.

Clerk of the Privy Council, to the Duke of Argyll of 5 April 1798 makes clear service in the militia was owed to the king since power to raise militia was ‘vested in His Majesty’.<sup>112</sup>

Among Loyal London Volunteers was a Highland Armed Association corps raised in 1798 from London Scots, many of whom resided at fashionable addresses such as Whitehall, Pall Mall, and Saville Row. Rowlandson’s *Loyal London Volunteers* shows an officer of this corps in a Highland bonnet with ostrich feathers and kilt in a plaid similar to Black Watch tartan.<sup>113</sup> Disbanded on the signing of the Peace of Amiens (1802), the corps was reformed under the title of the Loyal North Britain Volunteers. Prominent social positions amongst the corps’ committee ensured command was assumed by Prince Augustus, Duke of Sussex (1773-1843) in 1805. Such was the prince’s enthusiasm for Highland corps uniform, artist Andrew Robertson noted in March 1806 that ‘he has been painted by several artists in the course of the winter in Highland uniform’.<sup>114</sup> The German artist Stroehling’s portrait (Figure 2.17) shows a Hanoverian-Highlander image with the duke in the Loyal North British officer’s uniform against a mountainous Highland background, his right hand resting on a basket hilt sword. The sword had belonged to Prince Charles Edward Stewart and was captured with the prince’s baggage after Culloden.<sup>115</sup> This blending of Jacobite and Hanoverian identities is often attributed to nineteenth-century romanticism inspired by the novels of Sir Walter Scott and George IV’s 1822 visit to Edinburgh; yet this portrait was painted at least eight years before *Waverley*, and sixteen years before the visit, suggesting that processes of cultural assimilation supported by the royal family were already well underway. Throughout the eighteenth century the royal princes had collected Highland costumes, weapons and accoutrements.<sup>116</sup> Most likely commissioned by his mother, Queen Charlotte, the duke’s portrait is shown hanging in the Green Pavilion of Frogmore House, Windsor, in

<sup>112</sup> William Fawkener to Duke of Argyll, 5 April 1798, NRAS1209/694, Argyll Archive, Inveraray Castle, Inveraray.

<sup>113</sup> Ray Westlake, ed., *A Guide to Military Art: Rowlandson’s Loyal London Volunteers* [London, 1799] (Uckfield, 2021), 140-1.

<sup>114</sup> Catalogue description of a tortoiseshell box with a miniature of Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, RCT, RCIN 52274. <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/52274/tortoiseshell-box-with-a-miniature-of-augustus-frederick-duke-of-sussex-1773-1843>> [accessed 24 April 2022]

<sup>115</sup> Patrick Watt, ‘The Highland Society of London, material culture and the development of Scottish military identity, 1798-1817’, *Historical Research*, 94 (2021), 363.

<sup>116</sup> Patrick Watt and Rosie Wain, *Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2019), 48.



**Figure 2.17.** Peter Edward Stroehling, *Augustus, Duke of Sussex*, c. 1805-10, oil on copper, 61.0 x 46.0 cm, RCT, RCIN 403023.

Pyne's illustrated *Royal Residences* of 1819.<sup>117</sup> It is striking that portraits of Sussex in Highland uniform are so little discussed by historians when George IV's 1829 portrait in Highland dress is frequently derided: 'David Wilkie was commissioned to produce a portrait of a Scottish king, rehabilitated kilt and all. The result is an odious mixture of pure kitsch and gross insensitivity'.<sup>118</sup> Neither royal served in the regular army but perhaps the Duke of Sussex's status as commander of the Loyal North Britons lent his portrait the cultural credibility of Scottish military tradition. For special occasions, His Royal Highness commanded that the corps appear in full dress Highland uniform; and the unit appeared so attired before George III at the Volunteer Review in Hyde Park on 28 October 1803.<sup>119</sup>

### **Apotheosis (1816-1830)**

Between the beginning of the Seven Years War in 1756 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, over 48,300 men were recruited from the Highland and Islands to serve in twenty-three line regiments and twenty-six fencible regiments. This does not include the Black Watch, which first saw service in 1743; an additional 8,792 men served in that regiment in this period.<sup>120</sup> Family and inter-generational connections with the military and its associations with monarchy contributed to how the people of Scotland imagined their community. By 1816, if there was a predominant image of the British soldier of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, it was that of the Highlander, instantly recognisable by kilt and feather bonnet.<sup>121</sup> Within George III's army, the very distinctiveness of the Highland soldier increased their emblematic power.<sup>122</sup> The fame of Highland fighting men had reached wider public attention following their conspicuous role in British victory over the French in Egypt. First-hand accounts of the battle of Alexandria (1801) refer to the 42nd as Royal Highlanders

<sup>117</sup> Charles Pyne, *Frogmore House: The Green Pavilion*, c. 1817, watercolour over body colour and pencil, 20.0 x 27.4 cm, RCT, RCIN 922121. Prepared for William Henry Pyne, *History of the Royal Residences* (London, 1816-19).

<sup>118</sup> Frank O'Gorman, *The Shaping of Modern Britain: Identity, Industry and Empire, 1780-1914* (London, 2011), 258-9. See Figure 6.7 for Ramsay's portrait of George IV in Highland dress.

<sup>119</sup> J. O. Robson, *London Scots of the Napoleonic Era: The Highland Armed Association or Royal Highland Volunteers and The Loyal North Britons* [s.n.][1969], 5-6, A 267.2 ROB, National War Museum Scotland Library, Edinburgh Castle, Edinburgh; The Marquess of Cambridge, 'The Volunteer Reviews in Hyde Park in 1799, 1800 & 1803', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 40 (1962), 123.

<sup>120</sup> Clyde, *Rebel to Hero*, 150; John S. Keltie, ed., *A History of the Scottish Highlands, Highland Clans and Highland Regiments*, II (London, 1882), 398.

<sup>121</sup> Charles J. Esdaile, 'The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1793-1815' in Speirs et al, eds, *A Military History of Scotland*, 407.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 2.18.** J. Mitán and Charles Turner after Lt William Willermin, *The Battle of Alexandria, March 21 1801*, 1804, line engraving, NAM. 1971-02-33-14-1, NAM.

and they feature prominently as icons of bravery in a line engraving, *The Battle of Alexandria, March 21 1801* (Figure 2.18).<sup>123</sup> In the centre of this work, dedicated by artist Lieutenant William Willermin (1773-1815) to ‘His Royal Highness Field Marshall Frederick Duke of York, Commander in Chief’, two Highlanders protect General Ralph Abercromby (1734-1801) from a French cavalryman, while right of centre a mortally wounded Highlander lies prostrate and in the background more Highlanders engage with French soldiers.<sup>124</sup> Such images were available as mezzotints and accounts of the battle were widely reported in newspapers and magazines.<sup>125</sup> By royal authority, the battle honours of ‘Egypt’ surmounted by a Sphinx were added to the colours of regiments at Alexandria, including the 42nd. On 17 March 1817, the Duke of York, in his role as President of the Highland Society of London, presented the 42nd ‘with a superb piece of plate, in token of the respect of the Society for a corps which for more than seventy years had contributed to uphold the martial character of the Highlanders of Scotland’.<sup>126</sup> Even sixteen years after Alexandria, so significant was the 42nd’s contribution it was still being memorialised. No doubt the fame of Highland regiments at Waterloo (1815) added impetus to the desire to recognise formally the 42nd’s earlier contribution.

As prominent participants at Waterloo, the role of five Highland regiments in the battle was commemorated in medals, battle honours, ceremonies, parades, art and print.<sup>127</sup> Such was the eagerness to bestow medals and honours on Waterloo soldiers that the Highland Society of London considered creating a medal, an idea abandoned on the grounds that only the sovereign could create medals for war service.<sup>128</sup> On 23 April 1816, the *London Gazette* announced that the Prince Regent ‘in the name and on behalf of His Majesty’ had ordered that every soldier of the British army at Waterloo would receive a commemorative medal. An example is the one awarded to Private John Dent of the 42nd (or Royal Highland) (Figure 2.19). The Waterloo medal was the first on which recipients’ rank, name and regiment were

<sup>123</sup> J. Mitton and Charles Turner after Lt William Willermin, *The Battle of Alexandria, March 21 1801*, line engraving, NAM. 1971-02-33-14-1.

<sup>124</sup> Forbes, *Black Watch*, 122-45.

<sup>125</sup> *The Battle of Alexandria*, mezzotint, 54.5 x 73 cm, 1870,1008.2826, BM; the *Hull Packet*, 19 May 1801, reported that ‘the 42nd Highland of foot suffered more than any other, having more than half killed or wounded’.

<sup>126</sup> Forbes, *Black Watch*, 148.

<sup>127</sup> 42nd (Black Watch), 71st (Highland), 73rd (Perthshire), 79th (Cameron) and 92nd (Gordon). The 1st or Royal Scots and the 2nd Dragoon or Royal North British (known as the Royal Scots Greys) were other Scottish corps at Waterloo.

<sup>128</sup> Forbes, *Black Watch*, 148-9.





**Figure 2.19.** Waterloo Medal 1815 awarded to Private John Dent, 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment, silver, 3.7 cm diameter, NAM. 1991-06-72-2, National Army Museum, London.



**Figure 2.20.** Matthew Dubourg, *French Cuirassiers at the Battle of Waterloo, Charged and Defeated by the Highlanders and the Scots Greys*, 1817, in Edward Orme, *Historic, Military, and Naval Anecdotes* (London, 1817), Bridgeman Images.

inscribed around the edge; obverse was a left facing effigy of the Prince Regent and inscription 'George P. Regent'; and reverse was a figure of victory with the words 'Wellington' above and 'Waterloo June 18 1815' below. As the first medal to be issued to all British soldiers present at a battle, the decoration was enormously popular with recipients, many of whom replaced the plain steel clip attaching the medal to the ribbon with a more ornate silver device. Edward Orme's 1817 engraving, *French Cuirassiers at the Battle of Waterloo, Charged and Defeated by the Highlanders and the Scots Greys* (Figure 2.20), is a notable early example of an artistic memorialisation of the battle. Significantly, its title does not identify British infantry by line number but by the designation 'Highlanders', showing the resonance of both image and name. Worth noting too is how clearly the shape of regimental belt crest badge surmounted by a crown is shown on the Highlanders' black 'Trotter' knapsack. Public appetite to see the famous Highland regiments was evident in the reception after Waterloo, when Highlanders headed the triumphant allied forces marching into Paris. In Britain along the route from Dover to Edinburgh, they were met with similar acclaim. On entering the Scottish capital preceded by a guard of cavalry, it appeared to the soldiers that the whole population turned out to greet them: 'from a thousand windows, waved many banners, plaided scarfs, or other symbols of courtly greetings'.<sup>129</sup> By royal authority, the battle honours 'Waterloo' were added to the Highland regiments' colours.

Waterloo was the final, comprehensive defeat of Napoleonic France and, by 1815, Britain's empire had increased its territories from twenty-six to forty-three, meaning that one in five of the world's population were subject to British sovereignty.<sup>130</sup> Post-Waterloo, Scottish soldiers became ever more prominent symbols of British imperial power, and royal engagement with Highland Societies and Scottish military culture increased. These later developments have tended to overshadow the earlier relationship between Hanoverian monarchy and Scottish military. That Highland soldiers became imperial icons in the Victorian era is a commonplace and the very richness and abundance of the later material risks obscuring a longer historical trajectory, especially in relation to Hanoverian monarchy.<sup>131</sup> The 1823 re-naming of the 72nd as the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders is seldom mentioned, outside of the regiment's own history. Being honoured with the title of the Commander-in-Chief was not a response to a single battle or campaign, nor to a current

<sup>129</sup> Sgt James Anton, *Retrospect of a Military Life, During the Most Eventful Periods of the Last War* (Edinburgh, 1841), 247.

<sup>130</sup> Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 290.

<sup>131</sup> Watt and Waine, *Wild and Majestic*, 86.

fashion; rather it reflected the repeated commendation of the 72nd's conduct since its formation in 1778. In 1823, George IV approved 'as a special mark of royal favour and approbation' the regiment assuming its royal title and authorised their resumption of Highland uniform. In June the following year, the king approved the regiment assuming, as a regimental badge, Frederick, Duke of Albany's cipher 'F' and coronet, which were incorporated into new colours presented to the regiment assembled before the public in Edinburgh and were a source of great pride.<sup>132</sup>

During George IV's 1822 visit, military set-pieces played a large part. A parade on Portobello beach featured yeomanry and volunteer regiments, there was a review of troops at Edinburgh Castle, and the Royal Scots Greys were present throughout the visit. Celebrated for their role at Waterloo, this regiment had a long association with royalty. First regimented in 1681 as the Royal Regiment of Scots Dragoons, in 1707, following the Treaty of Union, they were renamed the Royal North British Dragoons. As early as 1694, they were already being referred to as the Grey Dragoons because of their grey horses. Like much else about the 1822 royal visit, these parades and processions are often presented by historians as exceptional events rather than normal adjuncts of royal occasions. Parades, reviews, and celebrations became more and more frequent from the 1790s onwards and it was usual for members of the Hanoverian royal family to play a role. Even when not present in person on these occasions, the king was always represented and referred to in an address.

### **Conclusion**

From George II's reign onwards, the Hanoverian royal dynasty consistently participated institutionally, culturally and personally in Scottish regiments of the British army. We have seen that, at the start of the period a royal Hanoverian prince was Commander-in-Chief of the British army in Scotland, and by the close of the period the royal family had amassed a significant collection of Scottish military artefacts. Scotland's oldest regiments were royal in origin, and were led by the country's great noble dynasties. Scottish regiments began to come to prominence as early as the Seven Years War, and were permitted by the king to differentiate themselves with Highland dress. Army reforms instigated by the Duke of

<sup>132</sup> Richard Cannon, *Historical Records of the Seventy-Second, or, The Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders* (London, 1948), 49-52.

Cumberland were significant in emphasising royal authority through uniforms, regimental numbering, colours, accoutrements and weaponry. Reforms by the Duke of York significantly improved conditions of service for Scottish soldiers, bringing them within broader European military culture, and the duke was Commander-in-Chief for a total of thirty years. A Highland regiment, the 72nd, was linked with this Hanoverian's long service when it was renamed in 1823 the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders. As head of the army, the king was the fount of authority, with important orders and regulations declared in the name of the sovereign. So understood was this power, that 'taking the king's shilling' was the phrase used for joining up. George III's large family provided a source of both male and female symbolic nomenclature of regiments raised across Scotland.

Regular, fencible, volunteer and militia units and soldiers provided an extensive range of ethno-symbolic meanings, images and associations by which monarchy was imagined. John Kay's caricatures are a rich primary source demonstrating fencibles' presence in local communities. Ironically, the ubiquity and comic character of Kay's work has likely played a part in trivialising the fencible regiments' role and influence on broader society. This chapter has suggested that George IV's visit was consistent with the historical associations of monarchy with the army in Scotland; first and foremost, by virtue of the royal prerogative and, secondly, in the governance and administration of the army. None of these associations were romantic inventions of Sir Walter Scott. Hanoverian-Highlanders can be identified as early as Loudoun's image in 1747. Historians frequently quote the toast at the official banquet for George IV in 1822 to 'The Chief of Chiefs, the King' as breath-taking fantasy.<sup>133</sup> Yet the same historians identify the Seven Years War as the point in which clanship was transformed into army service.<sup>134</sup> If Highlanders' loyalties had already morphed into service to the king through the military's ethno-cultural reconfiguration of Highland dress and fighting spirit, the toast may be interpreted as part of that reconfiguration. In this perspective, the king as 'Chief of Chiefs' in 1822 was no more than an elegant expression of the monarch as high centre of Scottish identity within Britain. Formal banquets, annual ceremonials and royal visits can be treated by historians as empty protocol, yet there is plenty of evidence of the loyalty among Highland soldiers to monarchy as the highest tier of a dynastic regime. How the king imagined and presented himself was reflected in his own choice of dress on all

<sup>133</sup> Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 355.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*, 308.

public occasions on his 1822 visit to Edinburgh. Though historians generally focus on George IV wearing tartan during the visit, the king did so only once at a private event; otherwise, he adopted the uniform of the highest military rank, Field Marshal, symbolising his supreme command of the British army.

## **PART TWO: ANGLO-SCOTTISH REALM**

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‘Anglo-Scottish Realm’ covers the monarchy’s role in relation to areas where Scottish and English cultural influences intersected and, in some cases, converged. The boundaries of what might be described as ‘Anglo-Scottish’ are blurred and open to different interpretations. As with the other two ‘realms’, the term is used here to support the thesis structure. ‘Anglo-Scottish’ might imply a nominal equality between Scotland and England, but what is meant here is that both nations contributed in terms of people, ideas and creativity, without any assessment as to which was the greater in quality or quantity. It might be argued that some areas of cultural convergence or assimilation should be called ‘British’ or ‘Anglo-British’, but for present purposes the key point is that these contributions were mixed in origin between Scottish and English.



## Chapter 3: Culture

I believe this is the historical Age and this is the historical Nation.

David Hume, August 1770.<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

Cultural productions were one means by which the monarch and royal family represented themselves, and were represented by others, as central to national identity. Representations by others were not always positive or flattering. Paradoxically, cultural productions oppositional to the monarchy or satirising members of the royal dynasty only served to underline the ubiquity of monarchy in national life. This chapter takes some examples of print and visual culture to examine the role of royal dynasty in Scottish national identity. An important new perspective in this chapter is foregrounding how individual members of the Hanoverian royal family imagined and represented themselves in relation to Scotland. A limited number of cultural productions have been selected, focusing on three frequently cited aspects of Scottish culture: ‘Jacobite and Highland’; ‘Publishing and Literature’; and the impact of ‘Sir Walter Scott’ on national identity. All of these themes are rich in material that could be selected for examination. For clarity and economy, the plan of the chapter is both thematic and chronological. Each section will advance the chronology, giving a sense of the historical momentum of these interactions over time. *Jacobite and Highland* will address the late 1740s and the 1750s; *Publishing and Literature* covers the 1760s to the 1790s; and the section *Sir Walter Scott* deals with the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The evidence considered will include both ‘high’ and ‘low’ cultural productions and will be analysed for ways in which historical symbols, motifs and narratives associated with monarchy were used in a process of ethno-cultural reinterpretation and construction.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence to be considered relates to the Georgian kings and their living family and to representations of the Hanoverians as part of a line of kings and queens of Scotland stretching back over centuries.<sup>3</sup> Cultural productions were used to represent continuities, as we will see in the example of George III as a child depicted in a tartan uniform originated by the Stuart

<sup>1</sup> G. Birkbeck Hill, ed., *Letters of David Hume to William Strahan* (Oxford, 1888), Letter XLII, 155.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Smith, *Nationalism*, 22, where he discusses ethno-cultural reinterpretation.

<sup>3</sup> Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasty*, 6.



Queen Anne. It will be important in the chapter to distinguish between ‘Jacobite’ and Stuart identities. There is danger in conflating ‘Jacobite’ and Stuart since to do so denies the Hanoverian dynasty’s genealogical connection with the Stuart dynasty, the very foundation of their succession to the throne of Great Britain. The Stuart dynasty was a recognisably European royal house and George IV was the direct descendant of Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662), daughter of James I and VI. During George IV’s visit to Scotland in 1822, Sir Walter Scott is held responsible for fabricating an identity for George as a Scottish king, ‘as much Jacobite as Hanoverian, within part of a broader ‘confected solution [of] a romanticised nation conjured into existence by the novelist’.<sup>4</sup> Print and visual culture may point to processes and trends identifying Hanoverian kings and heirs with a Stuart heritage from 1746 onwards (and possibly earlier, beyond the scope of this thesis). This in turn raises the question of whether Hanoverian cultural expressions of a Stuart heritage have been classified as a romanticised Jacobitism. Each of the three themes to be considered is a subject with its own historiography, and to this the chapter seeks to add the perspective of how, both visually and in print, monarchy was capable of being *imagined*.

### **Jacobite and Highland**

The 1745 Jacobite rebellion produced multiple memoirs and ‘histories’ in its immediate aftermath, bringing Highland society and culture into a particular focus with the public.<sup>5</sup> However, whilst Jacobitism was defined by opposition to the Hanoverian monarchy, Highlanders were not. During the 1745 rebellion, Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, Scotland’s Lord Justice Clerk (a senior judge), explained to the Marquis of Tweeddale, Secretary of State for Scotland, the distribution of loyalties among the Highland clans:

<sup>4</sup> Eric Evans, *The Shaping of Modern Britain: Identity, Industry and Empire, 1780-1914* (London, 2013), 258-9.

<sup>5</sup> Leah Leneman, ‘A New Role for a Lost Cause: Lowland Romanticisation of the Jacobite Highlander’ in idem, ed., *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: Essays in honour of Rosalind Mitchison* (Aberdeen, 1988), 109. 1746 examples include: Anon, *The History of the Rise, Progress and Extinction of the Rebellion in Scotland, in the Years 1745 and 1746. With a particular account of the hardships the young Pretender suffered after the battle of Culloden, until he landed in France on the 10th of October 1746* (London, 1746); [Dougal Graham], *A Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion in the Years 1745-6* (Glasgow, 1746); [Ralph Griffiths], *Ascanius, or the Young Adventurer: a true history* (London, 1746); [Neil MacEachen], *Alexis, or, the Young Adventurer: A Novel* (London, 1746); John Marchant, *The History of the Present Rebellion* (London, 1746); *True Copies of the Papers wrote by Arthur Lord Balmerino, Thomas Syddall, David Morgan, George Fletcher, John Berwick, Thomas Deacon, Thomas Chadwick, James Dawson, and Andrew Blyde; And delivered by them to the Sheriffs At the Places of their Execution* (N.p., n.d.) [1746]; W. Turnbull, *Some Verses composed upon the Insurrections of the Jacobites, in the Kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland, from their First Rise to the Present Time* (Newcastle, 1746).

The Highlands again may be divided into three classes. First what I shall call the Whig clans, who have always bore that character since these names and distinctions were among us, of your sort your Lordship and every one acquainted with this Country knows [...] The second class are the clans still professedly Jacobite and who at this moment are giving proof of it [...] the third class is made up of those who were engaged in the late Rebellion [*of 1715*] But whereof the chiefs now profess and practice submission and obedience to the Government.<sup>6</sup>

If the relationship between Jacobitism and Highland culture needs careful consideration, so do descriptions of the Hanoverians' interest in their Stuart dynastic heritage, often characterised as 'fanciful'.<sup>7</sup> Some members of the Hanoverian royal family were interested in the Stuarts because they identified themselves as a pan-European royal house, with strong Scottish-Stuart and German provenance through inter-marriage. Close attention should be paid to individual family relationships when considering Hanoverian royals in relation to 'Jacobite' and Highland culture. In the 1740s Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-51), was estranged both personally and politically from his father, George II (1683-1760), and had a tense relationship with his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, then a favourite at court. A painting completed circa 1745, *St James' Park and the Mall* (Figure 3.1), depicting Frederick, was acquired by the future George IV in 1808. The artwork shows the Prince of Wales promenading in the royal park in a colourful ethno-cultural scene, which includes an Orthodox churchman, two Hungarian officers, a well-dressed black woman and two priests. Directly in front of Frederick, in the centre of the painting, are two Highland soldiers in kilts, diced hose and bonnets (Figures 3.2 and 3.3) The painting is significant evidence of the presence of Highland soldiers in the daily life of central London, in close proximity to the heir to the throne. This early presence of loyal Hanoverian-Highland soldiers occurs well before the often-discussed role of Highland regiments in the Seven Years War (1756-1763), French Revolutionary War (1792-1802) and Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815). St James's Park had been a private royal park until opened to the public by the Stuart king Charles II, who was in the habit of taking morning and evening walks accompanied by adviser and courtiers. Frederick was known to admire Charles II and emulate his behaviour.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> NA, SP 54/26/25, letter from Lord Justice Clerk Thomas [*sic*] Fletcher to John, marquis of Tweeddale, Secretary of State for Scotland, 16 September 1745.

<sup>7</sup> Kate Heard and Kathryn Jones, 'Introduction' to idem, eds, *George IV: Art & Spectacle* (London, 2019), 8.

<sup>8</sup> <<https://www.royalparcs.org.uk/parks/st-jamess-park/about-st-jamess-park/history-and-architecture>> [accessed 26 February 2023]



**Figure 3.1.** [British School, 18th Century], *St James's Park and the Mall*, c. 1745, oil on canvas, 103.5 x 138.5 cm, RCT, RCIN 405954,



**Figure 3.2.** Detail of Figure 3.1 showing Frederick, Prince of Wales.



**Figure 3.3.** Detail of Figure 3.1 showing two Highland soldiers.

By the 1740s, ‘most provocatively, Frederick was becoming associated with a set of regal motifs distinctly redolent of Jacobite propaganda’.<sup>9</sup> One example of Frederick’s ‘provocative’ behaviour was his visit to Flora Macdonald (1722-90), the young woman who had helped Prince Charles Stuart evade the pursuit of government forces under the command of the Duke of Cumberland. Within a year, Macdonald had been arrested on the Isle of Skye (July 1746), held in Edinburgh, transported by ship for imprisonment in the Tower of London (December 1746), moved to house arrest in central London (early 1747), and released to travel back to Scotland (June 1747). During this period, she became the ‘famous Flora Macdonald’ and while in London was visited by all ranks and classes of the nobility at the house of the prominent Jacobite, Lady Ann Primrose (1709-75), in Essex Street off the Strand.<sup>10</sup> Among her visitors was Prince Frederick, who also contributed to the over £1,500 raised for Macdonald through the aristocratic circle around Lady Primrose and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn.<sup>11</sup> Flora’s stepfather commanded the government militia on the isle of Benbecula in the Outer Hebrides and there is no report prior to her arrest of Macdonald espousing allegiance to the Jacobite cause. The *Caledonian Mercury* presented an ideal heroine, palatable to all readers whatever their view of the rebellion: ‘She is a young Person of some Fortune in the Highlands, and affects great Humanity and Benevolence, has certainly a good Share of Sense, and her Department is very modest and reserved’.<sup>12</sup>

Shortly after her meeting with Prince Frederick, Allan Ramsay began a portrait of Flora Macdonald, completed in 1749 (Figure 3.4), which would be widely reproduced. A *CATALOGUE of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, &c. From off COPPER-PLATES*, printed in London in 1753, lists among a series of ‘Metzotintos lately done’ one of ‘Miss Flora Macdonald’.<sup>13</sup> In 1747 alone, Macdonald sat for no less than three oil portraits and at least six different mezzotints of her appeared, including James Macardell’s taken from Allan Ramsay’s portrait (Figure 3.5). Ramsay’s portrait depicts Macdonald with a simple tartan shawl round her shoulders, signifying Highland birth, and the pale blue bodice of her dress recalls the distinctive blue Jacobite bonnet. The strongest motif is the white rose

<sup>9</sup> Gabriel Glickman, ‘Parliament, the Tories and Frederick, Prince of Wales’, *Parliamentary History*, 30 (2011), 125.

<sup>10</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 5 January 1747.

<sup>11</sup> Alexander Macgregor, *The Life of Flora Macdonald and her Adventures with Prince Charles* (Inverness, 1882), 116; Flora Fraser, ‘Pretty Young Rebel’: *The Life of Flora Macdonald* (London, 2022), 93-103; Hugh Douglas, *Flora MacDonald: The Most Loyal Rebel* (Stroud, 1999), 90.

<sup>12</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 5 January 1747.

<sup>13</sup> A *CATALOGUE of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, &c. From off COPPER-PLATES* (London, 1753), BL, T8478



**Figure 3.4.** Allan Ramsay, *Flora Macdonald*, 1749, oil on canvas, 74 x 61 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



**Figure 3.5.** James Maccardell (after Allan Ramsay), *Flora Macdonald*, mezzotint, 1749, 331 x 232 mm), NPG, D1348.

in Macdonald's hair, the emblem of the Jacobite cause. Ramsay's portrait of a Jacobite heroine did nothing to obstruct his progress in Hanoverian society. After the painter spent three years in Italy in the early 1750s, on his return he was commissioned by the Earl of Bute to paint the young Prince of Wales.<sup>14</sup> Macdonald's role in Prince Charles' escape featured in many pamphlets printed after 1746. A 1749 example, *A genuine and true JOURNAL of the most miraculous ESCAPE OF THE Young Chevalier [...] By an ENGLISHMAN*, assures the reader that the account is taken 'from the mouths of Kingsborough [*Macdonald's stepfather*], his lady and Miss Flora Macdonald'.<sup>15</sup> Notably, it records that 'Miss Macdonald was removed on board Commodore (now Admiral) Smith's ship where she was exceedingly well treated, and he was very kind to her; for which, when she was in London, she sat for her picture at his request'.<sup>16</sup> This request is perhaps the earliest evidence of a vast consumer appetite for Jacobite-related portraiture and print, even among agents of the Hanoverian government. Gender clearly played a part in the early emergence of Flora Macdonald's image as an appealing cultural commodity, a modest young woman who was acceptable even to those who deplored the Jacobite cause. Frederick's visit was part of what has been called 'the Jacobite-self-fashioning of Frederick' and bestowed the compliment of Hanoverian acceptance.<sup>17</sup> George II's royal assent to the Act of Indemnity, 1747, effectively legitimised the production of a mass of more provocative and problematic Jacobite culture than portraits of Flora Macdonald.<sup>18</sup> The Act extended a pardon in the name of the king to 'all who have been artfully misled into treasonable practices against his person and government'. Before the Act, Ralph Griffiths (1720-1803) London publisher of a 1746 pamphlet, *Ascanius*, was threatened with trial for sedition for printing the story of the tartan-clad Ascanius (Charles Edward Stuart).<sup>19</sup> Through a personal appeal to the Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768), he avoided conviction. *Ascanius* proved highly profitable and continued to be republished across Europe as late as 1822.<sup>20</sup> The title page claims it is 'A True History. Translated from a Manuscript privately handed about at the Court of Versailles' and included remarks on certain characters including 'the celebrated [...] Miss MacDonald'.

<sup>14</sup> For more on Ramsay, see Chapter 1: Sovereignty.

<sup>15</sup> *A genuine and true JOURNAL of the most miraculous ESCAPE OF THE Young Chevalier [...] By an ENGLISHMAN* (London, 1749), 39.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Glickman, 'Parliament', 121.

<sup>18</sup> 21 Geo.II, c. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Griffiths, *Ascanius*.

<sup>20</sup> Anne Rogerson, 'Ascanius in tartan'.

<<https://ia803200.us.archive.org/8/items/Omnibus49/08RogersonAscanius.pdf>> [accessed 26 February 2023]

The decision by the royal family to at first tolerate and later assimilate Jacobite imagery and associations is an important historical fact. Hanoverian princes had also been likened to Ascanius, a classical symbol of divinely ordained succession. One reason for the strong reaction to Griffiths' *Ascanius* was that the same classical allusion appeared in Hanoverian propaganda in the early eighteenth century. Prince Frederick in particular was the subject of work by the poet laureate of the Hanoverian court, Laurence Eusden (1688-1730), who frequently described the prince as a classical hero.<sup>21</sup> Jacobites were celebrated around Europe, with Prince Charles Edward Stuart lauded by Louis XV (1710-74) and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1712-86) writing to Charles requesting his portrait.<sup>22</sup> After the Act of Indemnity, when Prince Charles visited Lady Primrose in Essex Street during a clandestine visit to London in 1750, his face was so well known through visual culture that disguise was necessary. Flamboyant Tory and Jacobite, Dr William King (1685-1763), presented to the prince at her home, commented: 'I think his busts which about this time were commonly sold in London are more like him than any of the pictures I have yet seen'. French sculptor Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1704-78) was commissioned around 1747 by Charles to create a clay-model likeness from which he paid for numerous plaster casts to be taken. Figure 3.6 shows a gilt plaster sculpture and Figure 3.7 a black plaster version. When the prince visited Dr King at his own lodgings in the Temple, King later recalled that

my servant, after he was gone, said to me, 'that he thought my new visitor very like Prince Charles'. 'Why,' said I, 'have you ever seen Prince Charles?' 'No, sir', replied the fellow, 'but this gentleman, whoever he may be, exactly resembles the busts which are sold in Red-Lion street and are said to be the busts of Prince Charles'.<sup>23</sup>

Such anecdotes offer important evidence that the commodifying of Jacobite personalities, stories, images, emblems and motifs was established by 1750 and was highly visible in the British capital. As mentioned above, the Duke of Cumberland's reputation declined within a year of Culloden when his repressive measures earned him the lasting sobriquet 'the Butcher'.<sup>24</sup> Propaganda produced in support of the government compared Cumberland

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ascanius was Aeneas's son whom Jupiter promises will found a new city for the dispossessed Trojans, ensuring the future glory of Rome. Jupiter also promises Ascanius will succeed Aeneas and rule for many years in a long line of Julian kings.

<sup>22</sup> Desmond Seward, *The King Over the Water: A Complete History of the Jacobites* (Edinburgh, 2019), 285.

<sup>23</sup> William King, *Political and Literary Anecdotes of His Own Times* (London, 1818), 199-200.

<sup>24</sup> See Chapter 2: Soldiers.





**Figure 3.6.** After Jean Baptiste Lemonyne the younger, *Prince Charles Edward Stuart 'The Young Pretender'*, 1746, gilt plaster sculpture, National Trust, Sizergh Castle, Cumbria.



**Figure 3.7.** After Jean Baptiste Lemonyne the younger, *Prince Charles Edward Stuart 'The Young Pretender'*, c 1747, black plaster sculpture, height 48.3 cm, NGS, PG 594.

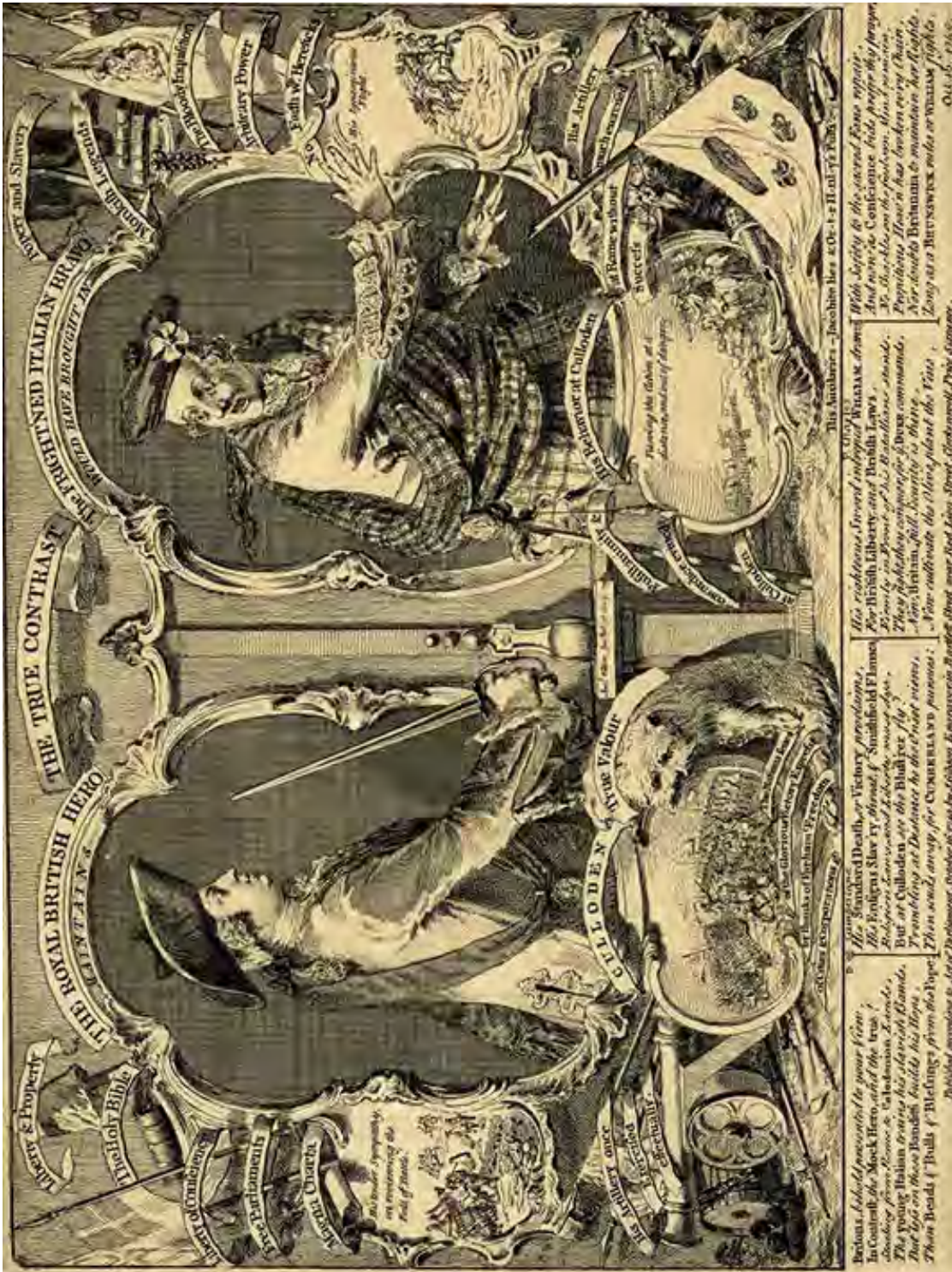


Figure 3.8. Anthony Walker, *The True Contrast*, 1749, etching, 20.1 x 30.2 cm, BM, 1868,0808.3885.

favourably with Charles. A 1749 etching printed in London, *A True Contrast*, shows the duke as ‘The Royal British Hero’ and Charles as ‘The Frightened Italian Bravo’ (a reference to the exiled Stuart court’s location in Rome) (Figure 3.8). Cumberland appears upright, resolute, facing his adversary and wearing the redcoat uniform of British army commander; whereas Charles turns to flee, appears frightened and is in Highland dress. The duke’s motifs are ‘Liberty and Property’, ‘the Holy Bible’ (for Protestantism), ‘Free Parliaments’ and ‘Magna Carta’; Charles’ are ‘Popery and Slavery’, ‘Monkish Legends’, ‘the Bloody Inquisition’ and ‘Arbitrary Power’. Such cultural productions represent the high point of political tensions between Hanoverian and Stuart dynasties.

However, even at this critical point, the heir to the Hanoverian throne, and elder brother of the Duke of Cumberland, was positively embracing the historical culture of Stuart royal heritage. Frederick, Prince of Wales, modelled himself as a patron and collector after Charles I.<sup>25</sup> Horace Walpole (1717-97) noted: ‘The late Prince of Wales, who had begun to assemble a fine collection, proposed to acquire as many as possible of king Charles’ pictures’.<sup>26</sup> A preparatory sketch by English painter Francis Hayman (1708–76) entitled *The Muses Paying Homage to Frederick, Prince of Wales and Princess Augusta*, circa 1750, is an allegorical representation of the prince and princess, in state robes, seated on a dais surrounded by figures representing the arts and commerce (Figure 3.9). Female figures behind the royal couple represent Justice (holding a sword), Truth (holding a mirror) and Britannia (with a shield). Hayman’s sketch recalls Gerrit Van Honthorst’s (1590-1656) large canvas of Charles I and Henrietta Maria as *Apollo and Diana receiving the Liberal Arts*, 1628 (Figure 3.10). The artist would be conscious that Frederick would have been pleased to be immortalized on canvas as the equal of Charles I as a patron of the arts.<sup>27</sup>

Frederick, it appears, begins the process of foregrounding the Hanoverian royal family as a dynasty with strong Stuart genealogy and character traits. Frederick’s ‘imagining’ of Hanoverian monarchy as a continuation of Stuart dynasty occurred much earlier than the alleged imposition of Stuart identity on the Hanoverians thanks to the ‘invention’ of Sir

<sup>25</sup> Kimerly Rorschach, ‘Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-51), as Patron and Collector’, *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 55 (1989-90), 1-76.

<sup>26</sup> Horace Walpole, ‘Advertisement’, in [George Vertue] *A Catalogue and Description of King Charles First’s Capital Collection of Pictures, Limnings, Statues, Bronzes, Medals, and Other Curiosities* (London, 1757), iii.

<sup>27</sup> Rorschach, ‘Frederick’, 14.



**Figure 3.9.** Francis Hayman, *The Muses Paying Homage to Frederick, Prince of Wales and Princess Augusta*, c. 1750, oil on canvas, 69.2 x 81.8 cm, Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Gallery, London.



**Figure 3.10.** Gerrit Van Honthorst, *Apollo and Diana receiving the Liberal Arts*, 1628, 357.0 x 640.0 cm, RCT, RCIN 405746.

Walter Scott in 1822. A noteworthy example of ethno-dynastic symbolism is Barthélemy Du Pan's *The Children of Frederick, Prince of Wales* (1746), in which future king George III (then eight years old) is portrayed wearing an elaborate, heavily laced version of the tartan uniform of the Royal Company of Archers (Figures 3.11 and 3.12). The prince's laced blue bonnet is decorated with the St Andrew's cross and a feather plume. The Royal Company — which evolved into a ceremonial royal bodyguard — was established by Royal Charter granted by the Stuart Queen Anne in 1713, when their tartan uniform was also devised.<sup>28</sup> Completed in the year of Culloden, when Frederick's brother, the Duke of Cumberland, was pursuing remnants of Charles Edward Stuart's tartan-clad army, the painting is a reminder that it was not only the 'Young Pretender' wearing tartan in 1746, but a future Hanoverian king.<sup>29</sup> In 1761, Horace Walpole noted the huge painting hanging in the dressing room of George III's mother, Princess Augusta, part of the family's intimate private environment. Walpole found it 'very remarkable that Prince George has a St Andrew's Cross in his cap'.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, the inclusion of tartan in the painting aroused comment.<sup>31</sup> In both private and public spheres, therefore, Hanoverian royalty imagined an identity which incorporated Scottish associations. Within the Royal Collection Trust's archive are two mezzotint details from Du Pan's painting, one of which is hand coloured (Figure 3.13). Notably, the tartan of Prince George's coat is faithfully represented in both by a distinctive checked pattern. In the hand-coloured version, the main colour of the plaid fabric is blue green, rather than the red in Du Pan's original. Whilst the colour of the other children's clothes has been changed (such as Prince Edward's coat from red to blue), it is intriguing to speculate whether a more muted tartan aroused less comment than a red which many might have associated with Charles Edward Stuart.<sup>32</sup> In both mezzotints, the St Andrew's Cross on Prince George's headgear is clear. The mezzotints are by Thomas Ryley (active 1744-55) and there were also mezzotints of the entire Du Pan painting, such as those by John Faber Jr (c. 1695-1756) (Figure 3.14).

Both Ryley's and Faber's mezzotints of Du Pan's painting continued to be marketed as late

<sup>28</sup> Hugh Cheape, *Tartan*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh, 2010), 45-6.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Smith, *Nation Made Real*, passim.

<sup>30</sup> Paget Toynbee, ed., 'Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats, etc.', *Volume of the Walpole Society*, 16 (1927-8), 39.

<sup>31</sup> 'The Children of Frederick, Prince of Wales 1746, Description', RCIN 403400, RCT.

<<https://www.rct.uk/collection/403400/the-children-of-frederick-prince-of-wales>> [accessed 21 March 2021]

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. RCT's description of Du Pan's painting refers to the uniform of the Royal Company of Archers as 'fixed as early as 1713 and [which] included the Stuart tartan'.



**Figure 3.11.** Barthélemy Du Pan, *The Children of Frederick, Prince of Wales*, 1746, oil on canvas, 245.0 x 368.8 cm, RCT, RCIN 403400.



**Figure 3.12.** Detail of Figure 3.11 showing Prince George (future George III).



**Figure 3.13.** Thomas Ryley, after Du Pan, *The Children of Frederick and Augusta, Prince and Princess of Wales*, c. 1746-1756, hand coloured mezzotint, 26.9 x 36.9 cm, RCT, RCIN 604258.



**Figure 3.14.** John Faber Jr., after Du Pan, *The Children of Frederick and Augusta, Prince and Princess of Wales*, c. 1746-1756, mezzotint, 35.5 x 50.5 cm), NPG D33050.

as the *Richardson's Catalogue* of 1791.<sup>33</sup> The same inventory lists one mezzotint of 'Charles, son of James Stuart' and three of 'McDonald, Miss Flora', suggesting these too remained in demand since their creation in 1746.<sup>34</sup> The catalogue demonstrates the commercial co-existence of Hanoverian and Jacobite material culture long before the 'Romanticism' of the nineteenth century. Studies have shown that Jacobitism was part of a pluralistic English society, expressed in songs, prints, poetry and clubs.<sup>35</sup> Arguably, more attention should be paid to the Hanoverian royal family's part in authorising this co-existence. Not only did they legitimise it; royal patronage created new cultural expressions of their own Stuart heritage. The role of the heir to the throne, Prince Frederick, has probably been diminished due to his early death in 1751. Of all the symbolic uniforms in which his son and heir, the future George III, could have been represented in 1746, Frederick chose the tartan and Saint Andrew's cross of a Royal Company established under the Stuarts. Such culture is clearly a visual statement of royal dynastic lineage infused with Scottish identity. This ethno-cultural identity is to be imagined as Hanoverian and not the exclusive cultural property of Charles Edward Stuart and the Jacobites.

### **Print and Literature**

Print culture will be considered from two perspectives as they relate to monarchy. The first is the emergence of Edinburgh as second city of print in Great Britain, and intellectual capital of the Scottish Enlightenment, well reflected in the Royal Collection Trust's holdings in Scottish history, literature, and culture. The second perspective concerns the ways Scots' relationships with monarchy were represented in print culture produced in London, the metropolitan centre of Hanoverian Britain.<sup>36</sup> Caricatures demonstrating Scotophobia and hostility to Scottish influence on British royalty form an important visual source. The period surveyed in relation to these themes is from the accession of George III in 1761 until the Regency of 1811.

From the early 1750s onwards, Edinburgh embarked upon a prolonged period of economic growth and expansion and consolidated its position as a European intellectual and cultural

<sup>33</sup> *Richardson's Catalogue. A Large and Curious Collection of English and Foreign Portraits, Topography and Historical Prints by Ancient and Modern Masters* (London, 1791).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 9, 53.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Kleber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1993).

<sup>36</sup> Bruce P. Lenman, *Enlightenment and Change: Scotland 1746-1832* (Edinburgh, 2009), 49.



capital. An established body of literature discusses the historical and cultural importance of this transformation and its wider impact on Scotland.<sup>37</sup> In relation to monarchy, among the most important cultural productions of the Scottish Enlightenment were the histories of Scotland and England written respectively by Edinburgh residents William Robertson and David Hume.<sup>38</sup> Robertson helped ‘establish historical writing as one of the foremost literary genres of Enlightenment Scotland’.<sup>39</sup> The style and content of his first work, the *History of Scotland* (1759), ‘were irresistible because they validated the present while acknowledging and incorporating a sometimes hostile, parochial past’.<sup>40</sup> It is worth noting the full title: *The History of Scotland During the Reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI, Till His Accession to the Crown of England. With a Review of Scotch History previous to that Period; and an Appendix containing Original Papers*. This title advertises a periodisation centred on royal dynasty, incorporating transcripts of primary sources, including royal correspondence. His ‘magisterial style’ engages the reader with its focus on monarchy, specifically the personalities and calculations of individual Stuart monarchs and the elites around them. A Scottish Whig interpretation of history as progress is evident — predicated on Scotland’s pre-1707 backwardness — almost a century before Thomas Babington Macaulay’s (1800-1859) *History of England from the accession of James the Second*.<sup>41</sup> Robertson describes James VI’s succession to the English throne:

Thus were the two kingdoms, divided from the earliest accounts of time, but destined by their situation, to form one great monarchy. By this juncture of its whole native force, Great Britain hath risen to an eminence and authority in Europe, which England and Scotland, while separate, could never have attained.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1969), esp. 321-55; Devine, *Scottish Nation*, esp. 105-69; Alexander Broadie, ‘Introduction: What was the Scottish Enlightenment’ in idem, ed., *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology* (Edinburgh, 1997), 3-31; Lenman, *Enlightenment and Change*, 49-80; Herman, *Scottish Enlightenment*, esp. 163-8; James Buchan, *Capital of the Mind: How Edinburgh Changed the World* (London, 2003); Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation* (Edinburgh, 2001); Richard Sher, *The Enlightenment & the Book: Scottish Authors & Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and America* (London, 2006), esp. 265-428.

<sup>38</sup> William Robertson, *The History of Scotland during the reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI till his Accession to the Crown of England*, 3 vols (London, 1759); David Hume, *The History of England. From the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688* (London, 1754-1761).

<sup>39</sup> Jeffrey R. Smitten, ‘Robertson, William’, *ODNB*.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the accession of James the Second*, 5 vols (London, 1848-58). Colin Kidd, ‘The Strange Death of Scottish History revisited: Constructions of the Past in Scotland, c. 1790-1914’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 76 (1997), 86-102; Kidd, *Subverting*, 185-204.

<sup>42</sup> Robertson, *History of Scotland* repr. in *The Works of William Robertson, D.D.* (London, 1844), 256.

First published by the Scottish house of Andrew Millar (1705-68) of the Strand, London, the work began a series of best-selling works resulting in the Church of Scotland minister becoming the highest paid Scottish author of the age. 'You cannot imagine how much it has astonished all the London authors', Robertson wrote to a friend about his negotiation in London for the sale of the copyright to the *History of Scotland* for 'more than was ever given for any book except David Hume's'.<sup>43</sup> By 1761, four editions had been published and a French translation appeared in 1764. Having been paid £300 per quarto volume for his two-volume *History of Scotland* in 1759, Robertson's value increased to £1,000 per quarto volume for his next three histories.<sup>44</sup> Sir Walter Scott is most frequently discussed as the Scottish author who began the best-selling publishing phenomenon, achieved international recognition and 'invented' a literature reconciling the past with the present. Robertson's achievements of the 1750s and 1760s certainly merit the attention given to them by scholars for their impact on Scottish national identity, and should be as celebrated as Scott's.<sup>45</sup>

Robertson was a minister of the Church of Scotland, Moderator of the Church's General Assembly in 1763, for 30 years Principal of the University of Edinburgh (1762-93) and Royal Chaplain to George III from 1761. On 20 July of that year, Charles Cathcart, 9th Lord Cathcart (1721-76) wrote to him:

Lord Bute told me the king's thoughts, as well as his own, with respect to your History of Scotland, and a wish his majesty expressed to see a history of England by your pen. His lordship assured me, every source of information which the government can command would be opened to you.<sup>46</sup>

Cathcart records that Robertson demurred on the grounds of his 'apprehension of clashing or interfering with Mr David Hume', a friend of Robertson's, who was writing his *History of England* at the time. Further evidence of George III's personal engagement with Scottish

<sup>43</sup> Sher, *Enlightenment and the Book*, 259-60.

<sup>44</sup> These being *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (London, 1769), *The History of America* (London, 1777) and *An Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India* (London, 1791).

<sup>45</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Hume as a Historian' in D.F. Pears et al, eds, *David Hume: A Symposium* (London, 1966), 89. See also Stewart J. Brown, ed., *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire* (Cambridge, 1997), particularly idem, 'Introduction', 1-6, ch. 4, Karen O'Brian, 'Robertson's place in the development of eighteenth-century narrative history', 74-91, and ch. 6, Colin Kidd, 'The Ideological Significance of William Robertson's *History of Scotland*', 122-44.

<sup>46</sup> Dugald Stewart, 'Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson, D.D. F.R.S.E.' in *The Works of William Robertson, D.D.* (London, 1844), 12. Cathcart was a Scottish soldier and diplomat who served as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden.

historiography can be found in his revival of the office of the Historiographer Royal (Scotland) and appointment of Robertson to that position in 1763. First created in the early 1680s under the Stuart patronage of Charles II, the office lapsed circa 1723. Its resumption with Robertson's appointment was of considerable importance to Scottish history writing.<sup>47</sup> Subsequent editions of Robertson's work designated the author 'Historiographer to His Majesty for Scotland', connecting the monarchy with the production of history and conveying an imprimatur of authority on the work through a royal association. The publishers may also have seen a commercial value in using the designation in its marketing. 'Pirated' editions, sometimes smuggled onto mainland Britain from Dublin, contributed to the availability of cheaper editions, increasing the circulation of works like Robertson's beyond a narrow elite to the literate middling orders.

David Hume ranked with Robertson and Edward Gibbon (1737-94) as one member of the triumvirate of leading philosophical historians of the eighteenth century. Hume observed: 'There is no post of honour in the English Parnassus more vacant than that of History. Style, judgement, impartiality — everything is wanting to our historians'.<sup>48</sup> It has been suggested that Hume's identity as a Scot and Enlightenment philosopher were significant in his approach to English history. He looked at the subject as an outsider and was able to make comparisons in societal development between England and Scotland. As an Enlightenment, 'rational' historian, he was inclined to view progress in sociological terms rather than as the product of ideological or political faction.<sup>49</sup> Hume's election on 6 February 1752 as Librarian to Edinburgh's Faculty of Advocates gave him a singular advantage in attempting a history of Great Britain since he was, in his own words, 'master of 30,000 volumes'.<sup>50</sup> Many labelled Hume a Tory following the 1754 publication of his first volume covering the reigns of James VI and I and Charles I. Hume himself wryly related:

I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation; English, Scotch and Irish, whig and tory, churchmen and sectary, free thinker and religionist, patriot and

<sup>47</sup> Denys Hay, 'The Historiographer Royal in England and Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 30 (1951), 26.

<sup>48</sup> David Hume to John Clephane, 5 January 1753, in J.Y.T. Greig, ed., *The Letters of David Hume* (London, 1932), I, 170.

<sup>49</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper, *History and the Enlightenment* (London, 2010), ch. 6, 'David Hume, Historian'.

<sup>50</sup> James A. Harris, *Hume: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge, 2015), 307; David Hume to John Clephane, 4 February 1752 in Greig, ed., *Letters*, I, 164.

courtier united in their rage against the man who has presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I.<sup>51</sup>

As with Robertson, the fact that Hume's periodisation and narrative centred on the monarchy was not inevitable. It may seem an obvious chronological-thematic structure for a history written in the eighteenth century, yet this deliberate authorial choice of Robertson and Hume should be recognised. Different approaches were taken, such as Robert Henry's (1718-90) *History of Great Britain from the First Invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar*, which was published in London.<sup>52</sup> Described by the author as 'written on a new plan', Henry's work was designed into ten books of seven chapters each, organised thematically. The author extolled the virtues of his structure:

by this plan they [*readers*] will have an opportunity of indulging their peculiar tastes, and of studying, with the greatest attention, those particular subjects in the history of their country, which seem to them most useful and agreeable in themselves [...] without being obliged to travel through long and tedious details of other things, for which they have little relish.<sup>53</sup>

Yet, it was Hume's *History* that became a classic and best-seller, going through one hundred and fifty editions within a century.<sup>54</sup> Hume noted that his second volume, covering the period from the death of Charles I to the Revolution of 1688, enjoyed greater success than the first, not least because it gave 'less displeasure to the Whigs'.<sup>55</sup> The third and final volume was published in 1761.<sup>56</sup> By the following year, Hume's *History* was so successful that Andrew Millar produced a six volume quarto edition of the complete *History of England* (as the entire work was now titled), which Hume had revised continuously since first publication, and a less expensive eight volume octavo edition. Hume was pleased as 'a cheap edition may contribute to its dispersion and may forward its reputation'.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>51</sup> David Hume, 'Life of David Hume. Written by Himself' idem, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar, to the end of the Reign of James II* (London, 1860), xii.

<sup>52</sup> Robert Henry, *The History of Great Britain from the First Invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar*, 10 vols (London, 1771).

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, I, viii.

<sup>54</sup> David Daiches et al, eds, *The Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790: A Hotbed of Genius* (Edinburgh, 1996), 47, 64.

<sup>55</sup> Hume, 'Life of David Hume', xii.

<sup>56</sup> The first edition of Hume's *History of England* is here described as three volumes. Some authors refer to a one-volume *History of Great Britain* and a two-volume *History of England*.

<sup>57</sup> David Hume to Andrew Millar, 10 March 1763 in Greig, ed., *Letters*, I, 377.

Hume died in Edinburgh on 25 August 1776. In October that year, Edinburgh's *Caledonian Mercury* concluded: 'But, though his merit as a philosopher and a politician be great, his merit as an historian is still greater'.<sup>58</sup> Significantly, when looking for a way to extend Hume's *History* beyond 1688, his publisher selected a writer best known for fiction, the Scottish poet and novelist Tobias Smollett (1721-71), whose 1768 *History of England From the Reign of William and Mary to the Death of George II* was marketed as a 'continuation' of Hume. Printed in the same typeface and format as Hume's, ideas of continuity were present not just within the title and production of the works, but also the substantive historiography. A 1782 prospectus for '*Hume's History of England*' advertised the significant inclusion of 'Portraits of the different Sovereign of England from the Conquest to the Revolution, engraved from original pictures' (Figure 3.15).<sup>59</sup> A notice at the foot of the prospectus states the publisher's intention after Hume's work to produce Smollett's *History* 'in order to form a complete HISTORY of ENGLAND from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Death of George the Second'. Cheaper editions followed. A 1793 advertisement announces publication in the following year of 'Cooke's Pocket Edition' of Hume's and Smollett's histories with 'a farther Continuation, to the present Time by T. A. Lloyd'.<sup>60</sup> In octodecimo form — 'being the same Pocket Size as the SELECT NOVEL' — Cooke's edition would feature 'a complete Series of Whole-length Portraits Of all the Monarchs who have swayed the British Sceptre, from William the Conqueror to his present Majesty, George III, habited in the Dress of the Times in which they lived'. All of this at 'LESS than HALF the Expence [*sic*] which has ever been affixed to the cheapest Edition'.

In these examples of commercial marketing, perceptions of the main selling points are revealed by variance in typeface, capitalisation, and italics. Clearly, the portraits of the monarchs in period dress were an important selling point. This visual culture contributed further to ideas of evolutionary continuity through the monarchy. Cooke's advertisement links history with fiction by analogising their edition of the *History* with the 'Select Novels' they produce in pocket-size, marketed as 'a happy Medium between the Extremes of diminutive Inconvenience and ponderous Inutility'.<sup>61</sup> The visual importance of monarchy is

<sup>58</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 7-10 October 1776 quoted Harris, *Hume*, 472.

<sup>59</sup> Prospectus for '*Hume's History of England*', 1782, BL, T36827.

<sup>60</sup> Advertisement for 'Cooke's Pocket Edition of Hume's History of England', BL, T161451. T. A. Lloyd seems to have fallen into obscurity. The publisher was Charles Cooke (1789-1817).

<sup>61</sup> *Plan and Catalogue of Cooke's Uniform, Cheap, and Elegant Pocket Library*, c. 1795, BL, T200445.

# *Hume's History of England,* with Portraits.

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T H E

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FROM THE

Invasion of JULIUS CÆSAR to the REVOLUTION in 1688.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

*With the Author's last Corrections and Improvements.*

Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand; and sold by T. LONGMAN,  
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|--|--|

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Figure 3.15. Prospectus for '*Hume's History of England*', 1782.  
BL, T36827.

Mary Dickinson-Hemle.  
1807-

HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND,

FROM THE  
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO  
THE REVOLUTION IN MDCLXXXVIII.

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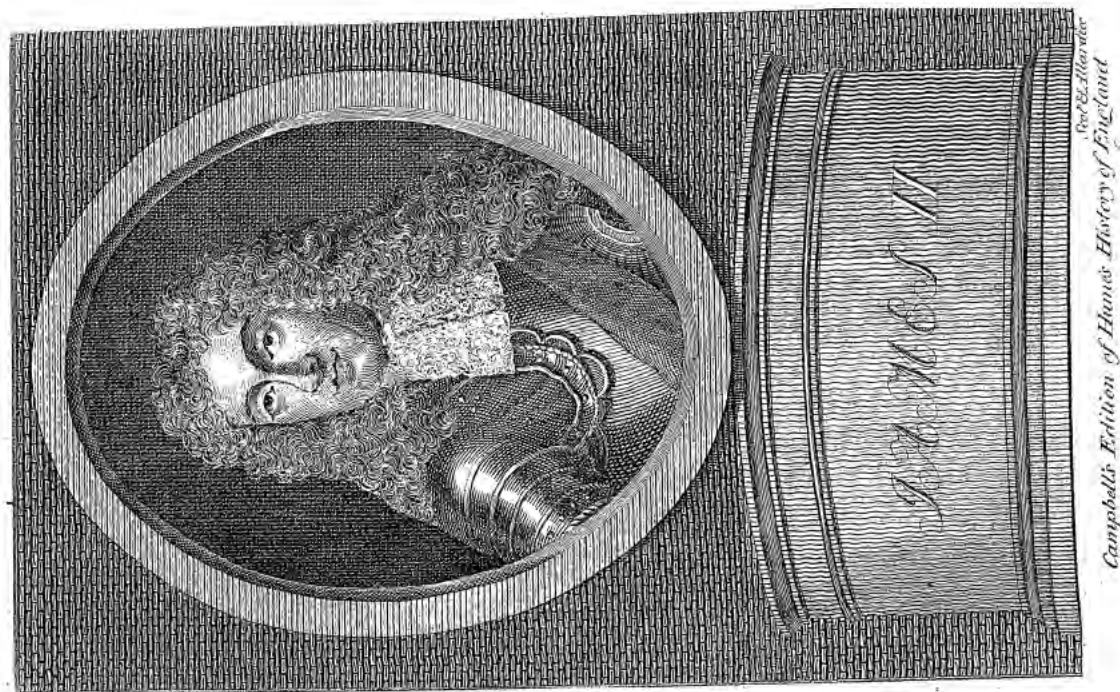
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

VOL. VI.

PHILADELPHIA:

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BY HENRY SWEITZER.  
MDCCLXXVI.



*Robert Campbell's Edition of Hume's History of England*

Figures 3.16. Frontispiece and title page, David Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, vol. VI (Philadelphia, 1796), BL, W27452.

apparent in the appearance of the line engraving print of the Stuart king James II which appears as a frontispiece to Hume's *History*, published by Scots emigrant Robert Campbell (1769-1800) in Philadelphia (Figure 3.16). The engraving is a detail of the king's head and shoulders, depicting James II in long, curling wig in the style of the seventeenth century, body armour, lace ruffle and the sash and star of the Order of the Garter. This example of 'Dresses of the Times in which they lived' demonstrates how illustrations of monarchy conveyed change over time to readers within a context of dynastic continuity. Royal lineage was continued 'to his present Majesty, George III', represented on the third page by 'A VIGNETTE DEDICATION, WITH A PORTRAIT OF HIS MAJESTY'.<sup>62</sup>

Robertson's and Hume's works were available through circulating libraries. James Sibbald's (1745-1803) circulating library in Edinburgh's Parliament Square was advertised circa 1786, in a catalogue priced at one shilling, as 'containing Twenty Thousand Volumes, English, French and Italian [...] Likewise Music and Prints'.<sup>63</sup> The first section in the catalogue of new books is that of history and among the new works is *Critical Observations on the Scottish historians, viz. Hume, Robertson and Stuart*.<sup>64</sup> Hume's attitude to writing history perhaps reflected his observations on literary production: 'A tragedy, that should represent the adventures of sailors or porters, or even private gentlemen, would presently disgust us; but one that introduced kings and princes acquires in our eyes an air of importance and dignity'.<sup>65</sup> More fundamentally, in the same dialectical essay, 'Of the Protestant Succession', Hume sets out the conditional case in favour of hereditary dynastic sovereignty because 'blood, [...] with the multitude is always the claim, the strongest and most easily comprehended. [...] We all of us, still retain these prejudices in favour of birth and family [...]'.<sup>66</sup> In another of his essays, Hume concluded:

<sup>62</sup> Advertisement for 'Cooke's Pocket Edition, Superbly Embellished, of Hume's History of England' (London, 1793).

<sup>63</sup> *A New Catalogue of the Edinburgh Circulating Library [...] By J. Sibbald* (s.n., 1786), BL, T230846

<sup>64</sup> [Gilbert Stuart], *Critical Observations concerning the Scottish historians Hume, Stuart and Robertson* (London, 1782).

<sup>65</sup> David Hume, 'Of the Protestant Succession', in David Hume, *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, 2 vols (London, 1777 [1st edn 1752]), II, 504.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*



Thus, if we have reason to be more jealous of monarchy, because the danger is more imminent from that quarter; we have also reason to be more jealous of popular government, because that danger is more terrible.<sup>67</sup>

Although Protestantism was the decisive cause of the Hanoverian succession, Hume gave a further reason for acceptance of the Hanoverian monarchy, that they had attained longevity. Hume believed that the Hanoverians were now rightful kings according to the imagination of a majority.<sup>68</sup> For Hume, ‘imagination’ denoted the process by which ‘the mind has a natural propensity to join relations, especially resembling ones, and finds a kind of fitness and uniformity in such a union’.<sup>69</sup> He argued familial succession depended upon ‘imagination’ in this sense. The cultural production of his and Robertson’s histories and dissemination of them in various forms were foundational examples of print culture placing monarchy as the central idea and motif of national history and identity.

Some of the hostility Hume encountered in England was part of a broader Scotophobia in the mid- to late-eighteenth century. A central focus of this phobia was disquiet over the influence of Scots in positions of power close to monarchy. A rich source of evidence revealing this antipathy is single-issue satirical caricatures, one of the most important products of the London print trade’.<sup>70</sup> George III and George IV were more satirised by caricature than any other monarchs, and caricature was a visual medium accessible to all social classes through display in print shop windows in Britain’s larger cities. These hand-coloured prints provide evidence revealing how artists represented Scots and Scottish national identity in relation to monarchy. Caricatures express disquiet about the perceived influx of Scots to positions of influence within the British state. Representations of both a generic, archetypal Scot and specific Scottish personalities consistently feature common ethno-cultural signifiers (such as bonnet, plaid and kilt) and characteristics (unclean, uncouth and sly). In the 1750s, political satire and caricature combined, and shops selling satirical prints proliferated, and everyone in Georgian society, not just Scots, could expect to be lampooned by artists like James Gillray (1756-1815), Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827), Richard Newton (1777-98) and Charles

<sup>67</sup> David Hume, ‘Whether the British Government inclines more to Absolute Monarchy, or to a Republic’ in Hume, *Essays*, II, 53.

<sup>68</sup> Max Skjönsberg, ‘David Hume and the Jacobites’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 100 (2021), 46.

<sup>69</sup> David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40), Hume Texts Online, 505, n.75. <<https://davidhume.org/texts/t/3/2/3#n75>> [accessed 19 April 2021]

<sup>70</sup> D.S. Alexander, *Richard Newton and English caricature in the 1790s* (London, 1998), 7.

Williams (d. 1830). Gillray alone worked with thirty-three different print shops and caricaturists would also see inferior reproductions of their work disseminated around the country. Controversy around the role of Scots in London and at the royal court overlapped with the high point of satirical print in the mid- to late eighteenth century. Pejorative portrayals of Scots would have a significant impact on popular imaginings of Scottish influence on Hanoverian monarchy. A powerful example of this is the 1763 two-volume *British Antidote to Caledonian Poison*, running to at least seven editions and sold in London, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dublin.<sup>71</sup> Wherever they lived, educated Scots were aware of hostility directed at them in England, particularly in London. David Hume referred to ‘the mad and wicked Rage against the Scots’.<sup>72</sup> Writing from Paris, he observed: ‘Some [*English*] hate me because I am not a Tory, some because I am not a Whig, some because I am not a Christian, and all because I am a Scotsman’.<sup>73</sup>

The visuals of *British Antidote* are accompanied by text ‘containing a humorous Character of the Kingdom and People of Scotland’.<sup>74</sup> An example is a crude copy of the anonymous 1762 satirical print, *The Caledonians Arrival in Money-Land*, dwelling on Scots’ preferential treatment because of access to Hanoverian royals (Figure 3.17). Obsequious Scots in bonnets, kilts and plaid pay homage to Lord Bute in pursuit of appointments and pensions. Bute stands to the left of the dowager Princess of Wales, Augusta (1719-72); he wears a kilt, holds a bag of money and has a huge feather in his bonnet. Behind Bute, money bags are labelled ‘Provision for the Laddies’ and speech emphasises Scottishness, from Bute’s ‘Muckle mair will I do for ye’, to another Scot’s boast, ‘Now I’m a Laird I wanna sell any mair Oatmeal’. A mass of Scots descending on the political centres of the British empire is most graphically depicted in Richard Newton’s 1796 *A Flight of Scotchmen* (Figure 3.18), where a pestilential horde of Scots rains on London (and on Ireland, the West Indies, America and Germany). All wear kilts and bonnets, some have bagpipes, some are without underwear or shoes and most appear manic. A similar semi-naked kilted Scot begins a sequence of figures in Newton’s 1794 print, *Progress of a Scotsman* (Figure 3.19). By the end of the ‘progress’, the imagery is of ennoblement, and the Scot wears a baron’s coronet, and sits on an ornate throne decorated with crowns. In the same year, Newton produced *Progress of an Irishman*, featuring

<sup>71</sup> *The British Antidote to Caledonian Poison: Containing fifty-three Anti-ministerial, Political, Satirical, and Comic Prints, for those remarkable years 1762, and 1763*, 2 vols (London, 1764).

<sup>72</sup> Hill, ed., *Letters of David Hume to William Strahan* Letter XXI, 49.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, 47.

<sup>74</sup> *British Antidote*. I, 3.



Figure 3.18. [Anonymous], *The Caledonians Arrival in Money-Land*, 1762, BM, 1868,0808.4176. Image reproduced with the permission of BM.



Figure 3.19. Richard Newton, *A Flight of Scotchmen*, 1796, BM, 2001,0520.22.



Figure 3.19. Richard Newton, *Progress of a Scotsman*, 1794, BM, 1868,0612.1247.

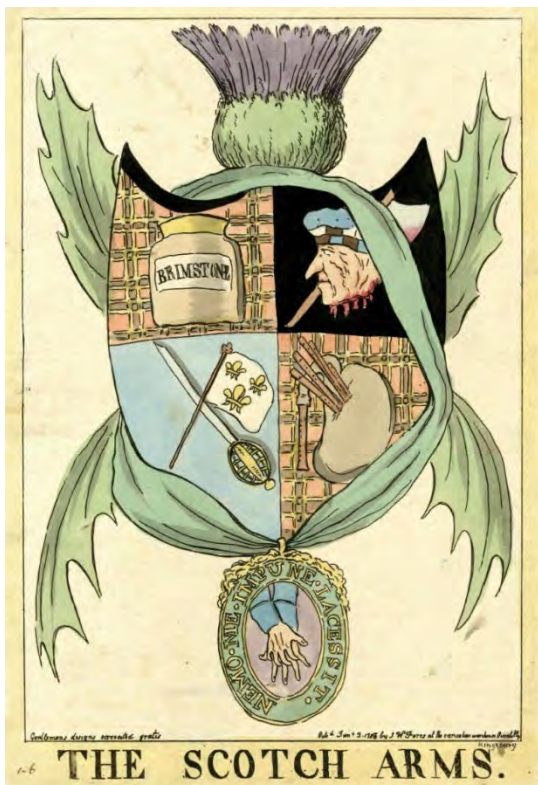


Figure 3.20. Samuel Fores, *The Scotch Arms*, 1787, BM, 1868,0808.5598.



Figure 3.21. *The King's Ass; A New Song* (London, 1762), BM 1868.0808.4199.

Equivalent national stereotypes, including ‘eating a Potatoe’ and ‘swinging the Incense’. Whereas Scots are shown infiltrating the peerage, the Irishman’s progress finishes, not with ennoblement, but ‘Sudden — unprepared — Death!!!’ in a drunken brawl.<sup>75</sup>

Disreputable pretension was a common theme in satirical portrayals of Scots, evident in *The Scotch Arms* by London illustrator-printer Samuel William Fores (1761-1838), a 1787 satirical print which subverts the heraldic conventions of a coat of arms, (Figure 3.20). A thistle forms the crest and supporters of a four-quartered escutcheon. In the dexter chief quarter ‘Brimstone’ referenced religious fanaticism against a plaid background; in the dexter base a French flag across a broken broadsword alluded to French-Jacobite alliance; in the sinister chief a decapitated head wearing a bonnet signified an executed Jacobite rebel; and in the sinister base is a set of bagpipes with plaid background. Below hangs the medal of the Order of the Thistle with its Stuart motto, ‘Nemo Me Impune Lacessit’, and in the centre of the medal the right hand scratches the left, signifying ‘the itch’, a common trope signifying Scots’ uncleanliness. A coat of arms was a highly regulated cultural form, typically embodying the history, symbols, and values of elite families, carrying potent connotations of dynastic rank. The *Scotch Arms* built upon ideas embedded in satirical prints for the preceding twenty-five years. Early caricatures had focused on the influence of John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute’s influence on the young George III and his alleged relationship with Augusta. Between 1762 and 1763, more than four hundred caricatures featuring Bute appeared, only four of which were favourable.<sup>76</sup> Horace Walpole wrote in June 1762, ‘My father was not more abused after twenty years than Lord Bute was in twenty days. [...] The cry you may be sure is on his Scot-hood’.<sup>77</sup> The anonymous 1762 broadside *The K[ing]’s Ass* consists of a portrait of Bute and two columns of verse, focusing on Bute’s nationality: ‘No Kingdom produces such Asses as S[cotland]’ (Figure 3.21). English insecurity at Scots’ access to patronage in London is frequently linked to allegations of improper relations between Scots and aristocratic English women. That this was a national stereotype is evident from *Progress of a Scotsman* in which the twelfth figure is shown kneeling on one knee, his hands on his heart with a cunning smile and the caption, ‘Makes Love to a rich Widow and marries her’. *The Wanton Widow* (Figure 3.22) shows Princess Augusta looking coquettish, her arm around Bute’s shoulder, while Bute looks amorously towards her, wearing every

<sup>75</sup> Richard Newton, *Progress of an Irishman*, 1789, BM, 1948.0214.372.

<sup>76</sup> Kenneth Baker, *George III A Life in Caricature* (London, 2007), 20.

<sup>77</sup> Peter Cunningham, *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (London, 1857), IV, 2.

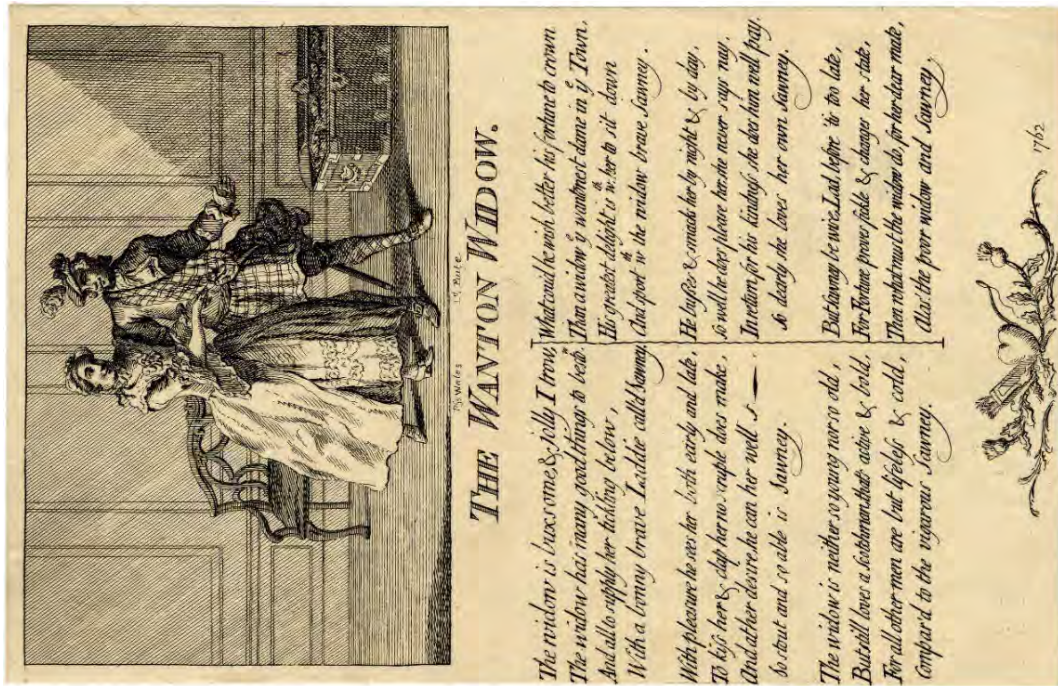


Figure 3.22. The Wanton Widow, 1762, BM 1868,0808.4189.



Figure 3.23. Charles Williams' A Crown Piece for 1770, [1770], 12.4 x 20.90 cm, NGS UPZZ 14.

conceivable item of Highland dress, including belted plaid, feathered bonnet, diced stockings, buckled shoes and even a sheathed basket hilt broadsword.<sup>78</sup> In quatrain form, the accompanying poem includes the verse:

The widow is neither so young or so old,  
But still loves a Scotchman that's active & bold,  
For all other men are but lifeless & cold,  
Compar'd to the vigorous Sawney.<sup>79</sup>

Everyday items were used in satirical prints. Coins were an example of the mundane presence of monarchical images in people's lives. Charles Williams' *A Crown Piece for 1770* (Figure 3.23) parodies the device of a British coin featuring the monarch's head in profile. Both sides of a coin are shown, on one the heads of Augusta, Bute (in bonnet) and George III appeared with the inscription, 'Tria in juncto in uno [*Three joined as one*]', suggesting a tripartite monarchy has usurped the unitary monarchy. On the reverse, rain and thunder descend on Britannia, shown in bonds beside a wilting English rose, while to the right the sun shines on Bute with flowering Scottish thistle at his feet. The inscription reads, 'Le Soleil d'Ecosse aux Angloises Feroce [*The Sun of Scotland Fierce to the English*]'. *A Crown Piece* depicts a Scot at the heart of Hanoverian royalty, echoing the sustained polemic against Bute and Scots in general by John Wilkes's (1725-97) radical newspaper, *North Briton*. Wilkes drew a parallel between the Hanoverians and the Scots as foreign interlopers:

A Scot hath no more right to preferment in England than a Hanoverian or a Hottentot; and though from the time the Stuarts, of ever odious memory, first mounted the throne, the Scots have over-run the land; yet the countenance shewn to them hath ever been attended with murmurs and discontent.<sup>80</sup>

Gillray's 1780 print *Argus* maintained the focus on Bute's influence over George III, referencing Argus Panopes, the many-eyed guardian of Greek mythology.<sup>81</sup> Asleep in an armchair, the king was shown in crown, ermine-trimmed robe, and girdle with thistle tassels

<sup>78</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 121.

<sup>79</sup> 'Sawney' was a pejorative English nickname for a Scotsman, thought to derive from the legend of a Galloway (in southwestern Scotland) cannibal Sawney Bean, thus emphasising the alleged savagery of the Scots.

<sup>80</sup> [John Wilkes], *North Briton* (Dublin, 1764), 34; *ibid.* (22 January 1763), 194.

<sup>81</sup> James Gillray, *Argus*, 1780, BM 1851,0901.26.

(which signified emasculation by the Scots). Another Scot, Lord Mansfield, removes the crown from the king's head, whilst Bute (again in blue bonnet and plaid) has taken the sceptre from the king's hand. Bute asks, 'What shall be done with it?' and Mansfield replies, 'Wear it Your sel my Leard'. A third Scot, possibly Attorney General Alexander Wedderburn, Earl of Rosslyn, is shown disguised as an English gentleman, grasping the crown, saying, 'No troth I'se carry it to Charly [*Charles Edward Stuart*] hel not part with it again Mon!'. Also included is the favourite trope denoting Scottish influence over Hanoverian monarchy: Britannia asleep with the chained British lion, also asleep at her feet.

By the 1790s, Bute was succeeded in satire by Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, also caricatured attempting to supplant monarchy. Newton's *Their New Majesties* shows the First Lord of the Treasury, William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806) and Dundas on the throne as king and queen respectively, having entirely usurped the king (Figure 3.24). Dundas wears a feminised version of Highland dress, with a bodice and kilt lengthened to resemble a woman's gown. Two later caricatures delighted in Dundas' resignation from office and impeachment trial.<sup>82</sup> *The Finishing Kick* (Figure 3.25) and *A Scene from the Beggars Opera* (Figure 3.26) both show Dundas in Highland dress, now in disgrace. In the former, George III kicks Dundas out of his closet (representing the Privy Council). The setting for the *Beggars Opera* print is the condemned cell at Newgate, where Dundas, shackled and in short kilt and plaid, is cast as Macheath from John Gay's (1685-1732) *Beggars Opera* (1728), a satire on politicians of the Robert Walpole (1676-1745) era. In both prints, George III watches Dundas intently, in *Finishing Kick* through his spy glass and in *Scene from the Beggars Opera* through the barred window of the Newgate cell. The suggestion is Dundas must be monitored lest he uses Scottish guile to restore his position.

Aristocratic Scottish women close to monarchy were also targeted by caricaturists. A favourite subject was Tory political hostess Jane Gordon, Duchess of Gordon. Prints portrayed the duchess as a feminine version of the uncouth, ambitious Scot scaling the heights of English society. Gillray's 1797 *The Gordon-Knot* satirises her efforts to secure the hand of Francis Russell, 5th Duke of Bedford (1765-1802), for her daughter, Lady

<sup>82</sup> Following a commission of inquiry into alleged misappropriation of funds when Dundas was Secretary for War and treasurer of the Royal Navy, in 1806 Dundas was put on trial before the House of Lords for misappropriation. He was acquitted but resigned office and left the Privy Council in 1805. He remained a member of the House of Lords and was re-admitted to the Privy Council in 1807. He did not hold government office again and declined the offer of an earldom in 1809.





Figure 3.24. Richard Newton, *Their New Majesties*, 1797, BM, 1868,0808.6655.



Figure 3.25. Charles Williams, *The Finishing Kick — Out of the P—y Council*, 1805, BM, 1868,0808.7360.



Figure 3.26. *A Scene from the Beggars Opera the Principal Characters by his Majestys [sic] Servants*, BM, 1805, 1868,0808.7350.

Georgiana.<sup>83</sup> A stout, florid duchess runs after a bull galloping away, tartan draperies hanging from her hair. Lady Georgiana also wears tartan in her hair, exhorting, ‘Run Mither! run! run’, while the duchess addresses the bull in broad Scots: ‘De’el burst your weam [*Scots for belly*], ye overgrown fool, what are you kicking at? — are we not ganging to lead ye to Graze on the banks o’ the Tweed, & to make ye free o’ the Mountains o’ the North?’ In 1803, Charles Williams’ *A Racket at a Rout* (Figure 3.27) has the duchess, grossly overweight in blue bonnet and tartan, clutching a bottle of spirits ‘De Paris’ while berating George, Prince of Wales, ‘You Lie you — donna I ken the fellow wha told you muckle bad O me’. The prince replies disdainfully, ‘I have no chance with you Madam in point of Language and the only excuse I can make is, how came you so? [*a coded phrase for intoxication*]’. That the duchess would be portrayed in tartan is unsurprising since she is credited with introducing the wearing of tartan into fashionable society, partly to promote Highland industry. It is highly significant, however, that in the mid- to late-eighteenth century *all* Scots were imaginatively represented in tartan and other Highland accoutrements. This treatment applied to individuals, such as Bute and Dundas, not known for wearing tartan. Every one of the circa fifty plates depicting Scots in *British Antidote* shows them in kilts, bonnets and tartan. In caricatures, Scots are shown variously as disreputable, corrupt, sly, grasping, uncouth, tawdry, dirty and pestilential. The message is that association with Scots contagiously taints British monarchy and aristocracy. Consumers of these prints and publications are invited to imagine Hanoverian monarchy under the malign influence of successive Scots. Through the caricaturists’ art, interpretations of Highland dress, symbols and values become representative of Scotland as a whole. All the satirical prints examined show that this distinctive ‘Highland’ identity was very well-established in mid-eighteenth-century Britain and closely associated with connections between Hanoverian monarchy and Scots. Such associations had been derided since the 1760s, long before George IV was caricatured as a kilted king in 1822. Over time, satirical appropriation of Highland ethnic dress to represent Scots embedded these symbols in popular imagination. There were complicated factors behind the evolution of Highland ethno-cultural identity into Scottish national identity. The sheer proliferation of satirical prints suggests they were a factor. Ranking alongside recurrence, continuity and appropriation, ‘reclamation’ is a fourth way in which the symbols of older ethnic identities — in this case, appropriated for satirical purposes — were

<sup>83</sup> James Gillray, *The Gordon-Knot or the Bonny Duchess hunting the Bedfordshire Bull*, 1797, BM, 1851,0901.861.



Figure 3.27. Charles Williams, *A Racket at a Rout or Billingsgate Removed to the West*, 1803, BM, 1868,0808.7131.

subsequently re-codified as a distinctive national identity.<sup>84</sup> In a sense, this was augmented reclamation because the process was supplemented by other and newer cultural phenomena. Thus, the reclamation of Highland ethnic dress and symbols from satirical treatment was augmented by Sir Walter Scott's later literary works. As early as the 1760s, however, there was a distinctive and clearly imagined Scottish identity closely associated with the Hanoverians.

### Sir Walter Scott

Scott's literary input could partly be classified as appropriation of earlier print, visual and oral culture. Remembering early years in Edinburgh, Sir Walter Scott recalled his teenage passion for the written word, old books and rare publications:

I fastened also, like a tiger, upon every collection of old songs or romances which chance threw in my way, or which my scrutiny was able to discover on the dusty shelves of James Sibbald's circulating library in the Parliament Square. This collection, now dismantled and dispersed, contained at that time many rare and curious works, seldom found in such a collection.<sup>85</sup>

Such reminiscences are a reminder Scott was as avid a consumer of print as he was prolific writer. Beginning with the chapbooks he collected as a child, and poetry he annotated as a schoolboy, Scott amassed a library of over 9,000 books at his home, Abbotsford in the Scottish Borders. Scott curated and arranged a library to accommodate every form of print, from lavishly bound books, to manuscripts, to print ephemera — including newspaper clippings, caricatures and nearly 2,000 chapbooks.<sup>86</sup> In his enthusiasm for collecting, Scott was both representative of many of his social and professional peers, and exceptional in the breadth, depth and quantity of his library. Scott's first major published work, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders* (1802) and the historical novel *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818), will

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Smith, *Nation in History*, passim, where recurrence, continuity, and appropriation of ethno-cultural symbols in the evolution of nation identity are discussed.

<sup>85</sup> Sir Walter Scott, 'Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott' in J. G. Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., New Popular Edition* (London, 1893), 13.

<sup>86</sup> <<http://www.advocates.org.uk/faculty-of-advocates/the-advocates-library/abbotsford>> [accessed 3 June 2021]

now be examined to show how Scott distilled his reading, research and lived experience into literary works from which readers could imagine the monarchy of Scotland.<sup>87</sup>

Scott's upbringing, education and professional life were centred in the heart of Edinburgh's Old Town, around the law courts in Parliament House, St Giles' Cathedral, the Tolbooth and the Luckenbooths.<sup>88</sup> As a Principal Clerk of Session (1806-32), every day Scott would pass the dominant landmark in the centre of Parliament Square since 1685: the life-size, equestrian statue of Charles II in the guise of a Roman emperor. His recollections and writings show he was acutely aware of Edinburgh's long history as a royal city. Every day, mundane symbols and associations of monarchy were present in Scott's world. From his education at Edinburgh's Royal High School to his legal apprenticeship with his father, Walter Scott (1729-99), a Writer to His Majesty's Signet, to his place in the well of the Court of Session, with the royal coat of arms behind the judge's bench, images and associations of monarchy were ever present.<sup>89</sup> Scott would have daily seen the various maces of the Court of Session, all of which symbolise the power given to the judiciary by the monarch, as represented by the crown, crown cross, crown ball, crown arches and crown at the mace head. The Lord President's mace was made in London in 1667 of gilt solid silver, and featured the royal cipher of Charles II. A notable judge during Scott's early legal training was James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714-99), celebrated for making an annual journey to London on horseback, 'where George III always received him with a special favour'.<sup>90</sup>

Scott recalled that from boyhood he had 'a flow of ready imagination' awakened by 'the old books describing the early history of the Church of Scotland, the wars and sufferings of the Covenanters, and so forth'.<sup>91</sup> Scott's first significant work, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders*, published in two volumes in 1802, was the product of an enthusiasm for preserving traditional ballads and poems, in this case reflecting the collective identity of the Scottish

<sup>87</sup> Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border Consisting of Historical and Romantic Ballads in the Southern Counties of Scotland [...] Founded upon Local Tradition*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1802); Sir Walter Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (Edinburgh, 1818; repr. London, 1994) (subsequent references being to the 1994 reprint).

<sup>88</sup> The Tolbooth, a medieval municipal building used for various purposes, including a jail, stood for over 400 years before its demolition in 1817. Demolished at the same time, the Luckenbooths (or 'locked booths') were a row of seven tenement buildings housing shops, connected to the Tolbooth, and running parallel to St Giles' Cathedral in what today is the centre of the Royal Mile.

<sup>89</sup> The Royal High School was founded in 1128.

<sup>90</sup> Iain Maxwell Hammett, 'Burnett, James, Lord Monboddo', *ODNB*.

<sup>91</sup> Scott, 'Memoirs', 9.

Borders.<sup>92</sup> These included songs Scott had first learned when he was convalescing as a child at his grandparents' farm at Sandyknowe in the Lower Tweed Valley; 'Scott had an extraordinary memory and could recite poems after hearing a single oral recitation'.<sup>93</sup> *Minstrelsy* was very successful, with publishers in Edinburgh and London competing for the second edition.<sup>94</sup> George III acquired the first edition for his library in 1802. Since Scott was not a well-known literary figure at this time, it appears the king's interest in the work lay in its subject matter of Scottish folklore and history rather than in the author. The king's acquisition is evidence that interaction between the Hanoverian monarchy and Scottish literary culture predated Scott's emergence as a fashionable writer of fiction. *Minstrelsy* is more than a series of ancient ballads; it is a substantive work of history that utilises the ballads as evocative primary sources, edited and recreated in a process of augmented reclamation. Repeatedly, Scott locates the ballads within a historiography where monarchy is imagined as central to Scottish national identity. It is intriguing to speculate on George III's impression of the *Minstrelsy*. Could the king have seen a parallel with the Hanoverian succession when reading in the *Minstrelsy* of the plan, in 1285, to bring the daughter of the king of Norway to Scotland as heir to the throne through her grandfather, Alexander III (1241-86)? In the ballad 'Sir Patrick Spens', the Scottish king urges the eponymous protagonist:<sup>95</sup>

"To Noroway, to Noroway,  
To Noroway o'er the faem;  
The king's daughter of Noroway,  
'Tis thou maun bring her hame".

Scott's interpretation of the ballad reminds the reader that monarchical succession can at times be complex, negotiated and transnational, when his commentary explains that, in 1285, 'the Scottish nobles [...] patriotically looked forward to the important advantage, of uniting the island of Britain into one kingdom'.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Scott, *Minstrelsy*.

<sup>93</sup> David Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter', *ODNB*.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Scott, *Minstrelsy*, 5th edn (Edinburgh, 1812), I, 8.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

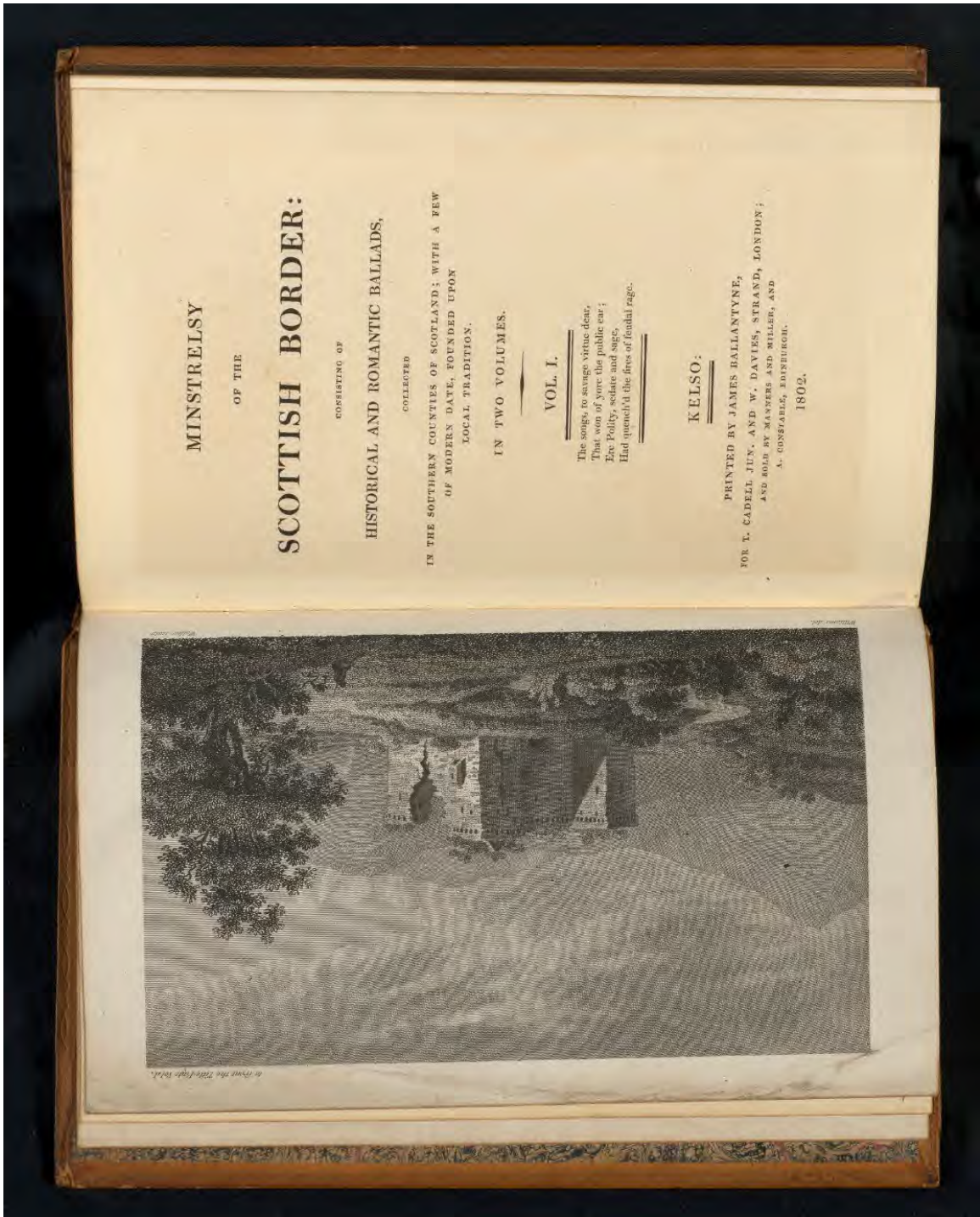


Figure 3.28. Frontispiece, Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy*, (Kelso, 1802), RCT, RCIN 1050426.

Scott selected his friend James Ballantyne (1772-1833) to print *Minstrelsy*; and in doing so evidenced his interest in books as cultural productions.<sup>97</sup> Figure 3.28 shows the frontispiece and title page of George III's copy of volume I; the title page prominently records the work was printed in Kelso in the Scottish Borders.<sup>98</sup> Here the physical provenance of the book as a printed artefact is explicitly linked with the Scottish Borders identity of its ethno-cultural content. The frontispiece shows the Hermitage Castle, near Newcastleton, Roxburghshire in the Scottish Borders. For around 350 years until the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the foreboding and atmospheric Hermitage was held by some of the most notable protagonists in the dynastic struggles surrounding the Scottish monarchy. These included the Douglas family, supporters of Robert the Bruce in the Wars of Independence (1296-1357), and James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell (c. 1534-78), the third husband of Mary Queen of Scots (1542-87). In his 185-page introduction to the *Minstrelsy*, Scott discusses this history, with frequent references to Scottish monarchs and powerful dynasties. Each ballad is preceded by its own introduction in which Scott gives his interpretation of the provenance of the text and its historical context. A succeeding note explains specific lines and phrases. For example, the first ballad in the *Minstrelsy* is 'Sir Patrick Spens' and its first line begins with a monarch:<sup>99</sup>

The king sits in Dunfermline town,  
 Drinking the blude-red wine;  
 "O whare will I get a skeely skipper,  
 To sail this new ship of mine!"

Scott explains: 'The Scottish monarchs were much addicted to "sit in Dunfermline town" previous to the accession of the Bruce dynasty'. Equally, throughout the *Minstrelsy*, Scott acknowledges where a ballad does not accord with known facts and discusses where there is 'a deviation from history'. Introducing the second ballad, 'Auld Maitland', he notes 'poetical licence' and 'liberties with the genealogy of monarchs'.<sup>100</sup>

Scott's account of his methodology for the *Minstrelsy* is important: 'I have made it an invariable rule to attempt no improvements upon the genuine Ballads which I have been able

<sup>97</sup> Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter', 13.

<sup>98</sup> Scott, *Minstrelsy*, (Kelso, 1802), RCT, RCIN 1050426.

<sup>99</sup> Scott, *Minstrelsy* (1812), 7.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, 5, 19.



to recover'.<sup>101</sup> His editing involved synthesising fragments from different sources into a coherent ballad, augmenting the *Minstrelsy's* force as an expression of ethno-cultural identity with monarchy its frequent point of reference. A rather different methodology is suggested by descriptions of Scott's novels as mythical and semi-mythical versions of Scotland's past.<sup>102</sup> With his historical novels, Scott has been said to have been carried away by a romantic vision.<sup>103</sup> However, of twenty-six Waverley novels published between 1814 and 1832, only six can be described as Jacobite themed.<sup>104</sup> The most successful of the series was a story of medieval chivalry set in the England of 1194. *Ivanhoe* (1819) was Scott's most popular work in terms of different editions (over eighty within a century), copies sold and stage adaptations; it had an enormous influence on popular culture and was widely recirculated through libraries and schools.<sup>105</sup> Clearly, any novel written by Scott, whatever the historical period and setting, had the potential to influence how national history and identity were imagined by readers.<sup>106</sup> *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* was one of Scott's Waverley novels that did not have a Highland or Jacobite theme.<sup>107</sup> He began planning the book when still writing *Rob Roy*, and felt it was 'far superior in point of interest'.<sup>108</sup> Scott explains in his introduction to the 1830 edition that Jeanie Deans' odyssey to London to seek a royal pardon is based on the real story of Helen Walker, who made the same journey for a like purpose: 'Without introduction [...] she presented herself, in her tartan plaid and country attire, to the late Duke of Argyle'.<sup>109</sup> *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* was an instant success. The 3rd Earl of Bute's daughter, writer Lady Louisa Stuart (1757-1851) wrote to Scott in 1818: 'I have not only read it myself but am in a house where everybody is tearing it out of each other's hands, and talking of nothing else'.<sup>110</sup> Even Edinburgh's *Scotsman* — no admirer of Scott's politics —

<sup>101</sup> Sir Walter Scott to Dr Currie, 30 July 1801, in Sir Herbert Grierson, ed., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (London, 1932-1937), I, 120.

<sup>102</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 292; Frank O'Gorman *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688-1832* (London, 2016), 391.

<sup>103</sup> Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland*, 211.

<sup>104</sup> The six Jacobite themed novels are: *Waverley* (1814), *The Black Dwarf* (1816), *Rob Roy* (1818), *A Legend of Montrose* (1819), *Redgauntlet* (1824), *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1828).

<sup>105</sup> Chris Worth, 'Ivanhoe and the Making of Britain', *Links & Letters*, 2 (1995), 67. *Ivanhoe* was equally popular in Scotland as elsewhere, even inspiring the Eglinton Tournament of 1839, a re-enactment of a medieval joust and revel at Eglinton Castle, North Ayrshire, attended by over 100,000 spectators.

<sup>106</sup> David Daiches, 'Scott's Achievement as a Novelist: Parts One and Two', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 6 (1951), 81-95; 153-73; Alice Chandler, 'Sir Walter Scott and the Medieval Revival', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 19 (1965), 315-32.

<sup>107</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian* (London, 1994 [1st edn, Edinburgh, 1818]).

<sup>108</sup> Sir Walter Scott to Archibald Constable, 10 November 1816 quoted in Tony Inglis, 'Introduction' in Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, xiii.

<sup>109</sup> Sir Walter Scott, 'Introduction and Notes to the 1830 Edition' in Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, 5.

<sup>110</sup> Quoted in Andrew Lang, 'Editor's Introduction' in Sir Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian*, vol. 1, (Boston, 1893). <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/6942/6942-h/6942-h.htm>> [accessed 10 June 2021]

declared it ‘unquestionably his masterpiece’ which would be ‘read and admired in spite of all that can be said against him’.<sup>111</sup> In the newly forged European literary market, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* became an early bestseller.<sup>112</sup>

*The Heart of Mid-Lothian* features not only symbols, associations and connections involving monarchy, but an actual encounter with monarchy in person. Contemporary Scottish critics immediately identified monarchy as the core of the novel, remarking that ‘the long line of our ancient monarchs’ is ‘pre-eminently adapted to the purposes of fiction’.<sup>113</sup> Jeanie Deans’ interview with Queen Caroline of Ansbach (1683-1737) was praised for having ‘a power and a felicity altogether unrivalled’.<sup>114</sup> Scott constructed a web of historical, social and geographical connections spanning, in the words of the same critic, ‘the whole map of the country as it existed in time previous to our own, with all the varieties of village, country town, burgh and metropolis’.<sup>115</sup> These connections range from the lowest ranks of society to monarchy. Within this web, the characters understand that the power of monarchy is sovereign, however socially and geographically distant royalty may be. *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* is the first Scott novel, and perhaps only the third British novel, to have as its principal character a young, lower-class woman.<sup>116</sup> Giving the novel the fullest possible range of social typology, this authorial decision allowed Scott to explore the complex of connections by which a poor young woman from Scotland gains an audience with Queen Caroline in London.

Scott included both footnotes and lengthy historical notes with the novel and the narrative opens with the real event of the 1736 Porteous Riots in Edinburgh.<sup>117</sup> The title refers to the Tolbooth at the northwest corner of St Giles’ Cathedral, literally in the heart of the county of Midlothian. The Tolbooth had strong royal associations. In 1386, Robert II (1316-90), first

<sup>111</sup> *Scotsman*, 1 August 1818.

<sup>112</sup> Inglis, ‘Introduction’, xiv.

<sup>113</sup> ‘On the History of Fictitious Writing in Scotland; With Remarks on the Tale Entitled “The Heart of Mid-Lothian”’, *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany*, August 1818, 107.

<sup>114</sup> *Scotsman*, 1 August 1818. The same edition also carried a sombre report from London on the declining health of Queen Charlotte and a report on the election of the Scottish representative peers at Holyroodhouse.

<sup>115</sup> ‘On the History of Fictitious Writing in Scotland’, 109.

<sup>116</sup> Inglis, ‘Introduction’. xiii.

<sup>117</sup> The Porteous Riots involved the lynching of Captain John Porteous (c.1695-1736) upon rumour spreading that he was to be pardoned by Queen Caroline after being condemned to death for ordering Edinburgh’s town guard to fire on a crowd at an earlier public execution of three smugglers. A mob broke into the Tolbooth prison, seized Porteous and carried him to the Grassmarket where they hanged him. There was anger and alarm in London at the implications for the government’s management of Scotland and, after a parliamentary enquiry, a fine of £2,000 was levied on the city of Edinburgh.

monarch of the house of Stuart and grandson of Robert the Bruce (1274-1329), granted a Royal Charter to the city of Edinburgh to build the original Tolbooth ‘for the ornament of the said burgh, and for their necessary use’.<sup>118</sup> The original building was rebuilt and adapted several times until its demolition in 1817. Scott passed the Tolbooth daily on his way to the law courts and acquired relics of the building on its demolition. The plot centres on the epic journey of central character Jeanie Deans from Edinburgh to London to seek a royal pardon for her sister Effie who has been condemned to death for infanticide. Lawyers tell Jeanie there is no hope of a reprieve. Significantly, it is the lower status figure of Mrs Saddletree, the wife of a shopkeeper, who first mentions to Jeanie the possibility of royal pardon. In ascribing this idea to Mrs Saddletree, Scott appears to suggest the idea of monarchy is more alive in her imagination than the lifeless legal discourse of judges and lawyers. Jeanie asks, ‘But *can* the king gie her mercy?’ and Mrs Saddletree lists several examples of royal pardons, ‘and mony mair in my time’.<sup>119</sup> When Jeanie tells her sister of her plan, she is insistent that the king and queen will pardon Effie ‘and they will win a thousand hearts by it’.<sup>120</sup> Scott suggests a character of lowly social status can nevertheless imagine a mutuality of interest with monarchy.

Scott’s characters understand monarchy through a complex of dynastic connections, contemporaneous and historical. As is clear, the key dynastic connection for Scots in the 1730s was the house of Argyll, headed by John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, chief of clan Campbell. ‘Ay, troth is he, to king and country baith’, declares Mr Saddletree.<sup>121</sup> Jeanie’s access to monarchy depends upon this inner tier of dynasty close to the sovereign. The duke’s high rank is made clear by Mrs Glass, a Scottish shopkeeper in London whose snuff shop the duke frequents. Mrs Glass is anxious to establish with Jeanie that the duke knows her name and takes time to converse with her. She also informs Jeanie that when the duke visits her shop: ‘If there’s a Scotsman there [...] aff go the hats, and mony [*sic*] a look after him, and “there goes the Prince of Scotland, God bless him!”’.<sup>122</sup> Facilitated by Mrs Glass, Jeanie’s successful meeting with the Duke of Argyll is achieved through a

<sup>118</sup> *Charter by King Robert the Second, under his Great Seal, to the Burgesses and Community of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, [1386], Charters, &c., relating to the City of Edinburgh, XIII, p. 83, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.

<sup>119</sup> Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, 253. Of the examples given by Mrs Saddletree, two are fictional and two refer to real cases. The real instances are those of the Master of Saint Clair (1683-1750), pardoned after being court marshalled for killing two fellow army officers in 1708, and Captain Porteous (see fn. 117 above).

<sup>120</sup> Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, 255.

<sup>121</sup> Scott uses the alternative spelling ‘Argyle’.

<sup>122</sup> Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, 369-70.

complex of connections perceived or experienced by characters as representative of the imagined community of Scotland. This imagined community extends to London. A contemporary critic wrote of the novel's characters 'we at once recognise [*them*] to be peculiarly national'.<sup>123</sup> Between Jeanie and the Duke of Argyll these national connections are historical-religious, cultural, and social. The historical-religious connection is understood by Jeanie on first hearing the duke's name when she asks, 'what was he to that Argyle that suffered in my father's time — in the persecution?'.<sup>124</sup> The cultural connection is established when the duke reassures Jeanie, 'Never mind my grace, lassie; just speak out a plain tale, and shew [*sic*] you have a Scots tongue in your head'.<sup>125</sup> Social connections are constructed through various individuals between Edinburgh and London, with differing degrees of interaction with the complex around monarchy. For example, Jeanie's landlord in Edinburgh, the Laird of o'Dumbiedikes, is known to the Duke of Argyll.<sup>126</sup> Mrs Glass regularly converses with the Duke of Argyll but is unlikely to get any closer to monarchy. The duke often meets the king and queen. When Jeanie, accompanied by the Duke of Argyll, succeeds in meeting Queen Caroline, the queen makes her own imaginative association between Jeanie and the duke: 'I suppose she is some thirtieth cousin in the terrible chapter of Scottish genealogy'.<sup>127</sup> Here Scott uses the queen to express a commonly held English view that Scots placed more value on degrees of kinship than the English.<sup>128</sup>

Although the queen is the final connection to the monarch at the apex of the imagined community, she is depicted without any of the magnificent trappings of monarchy. Accompanied only by her Lady of the Bedchamber, Countess Suffolk (1689-1767) — who Scott explains to the reader is not only the queen's confidante but also the king's mistress — Queen Caroline is described in realistic detail: 'though rather *en-bon-point*, [...] nevertheless graceful', her face 'somewhat injured by the smallpox'. Further humanising the queen, Scott describes her as 'suffering occasionally from a disorder [*gout*] the most unfavourable to

<sup>123</sup> 'On the History of Fictitious Writing', 113.

<sup>124</sup> The 2nd Duke of Argyll was the grandson of Archibald Campbell, the 9th Earl of Argyll (1629-1685), executed in 1685 for treason for resisting the Scottish Test Act which required allegiance to the king's authority. Jeanie's father, David Deans, belonged to the Presbyterian Covenanter movement, persecuted under Charles II and James VII. The Duke of Argyll and Jeanie therefore have in common a familial history of Presbyterian resistance to royal authority under Charles II and James VII.

<sup>125</sup> Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, 364.

<sup>126</sup> 'Laird' is a descriptive term for the owner of an estate, not a title, and the status ranked above a gentleman and below a baron.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, 382-3.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 37, editor's fn. 22.

pedestrian exercise'.<sup>129</sup> When the queen agrees to intercede with the king on Jeanie's behalf, it is significant this happens 'off-stage' — Scott preserves the enigma of the monarch. Yet, in the conversation with the queen, Scott reminds his readers that the royal family have very human reactions and relationships. The queen 'coloured highly' when she misunderstands Jeanie as alluding to 'the disputes between George the Second, and Frederick, Prince of Wales'.<sup>130</sup> The interview with the queen was the most praised part of the novel when it first appeared:

We have no doubt that this representation of Queen Caroline is historically true, and we are the more pleased with it as it is new to us, for popular history has made us no better acquainted with her than with her royal predecessors, who have only annexed the name of queen to that of 'his majesty'.<sup>131</sup>

In the final part of the novel, Jeanie travels from London with the Argyll family to the heart of the duke's powerbase in Argyllshire. Here, Jeannie, who has never visited the Highlands, experiences how the power the duke has in London is imprinted on Scotland's landscape and society. Everyone that Jeanie encounters understands their position in the community by reference to their relationship with the duke. Figure 3.29 shows an illustration from the fourth volume of the 1820 edition of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, featuring the Captain of Knockdunder in a kilt and bonnet.<sup>132</sup> He is hardly the image of a Scott Highland hero; indeed his mixture of Highland and Lowland dress is described by Scott as having 'had a whimsical and ludicrous effect'.<sup>133</sup> Mrs Dolly, an English member of the party, echoes the ridicule of the caricatures described earlier, asking 'if it is the fashion for you North-county gentlemen to go to church in your petticoats'. Knockdunder occupies a very small castle overhanging the Holy Loch which he 'swore [...] had been a royal castle'. His ancestors were retainers of the Argylls, holding a heritable jurisdiction under them (the right to sit as a law court); a jurisdiction 'which had great consequence in their own eyes'. Knockdunder is shown to imagine everything of consequence in his life through reference to the dynastic power of the

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, 380.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, 384.

<sup>131</sup> Review of *Tales of My Landlord; Second Series* (Philadelphia, 1818), *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review* (1817-1819), 4 (December 1818), 96.

<sup>132</sup> William Allan, *The Heart of Midlothian. Breakfast Scene with Captain Knockdunder at Knocktarluite*, engraving, 10.5 x 8 ins, in Sir Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian*, vol. IV (Edinburgh, 1820), ILN011, Illustrating Scott, University of Edinburgh. <<http://illustrating-scott.lib.ed.ac.uk/itemshow.php?id=238>> [accessed 13 June 2021]

<sup>133</sup> Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, 447.



**Figure 3.29.** William Allan, *The Heart of Midlothian*. *Breakfast Scene with Captain Knockdunder at Knocktarliteie*, engraving, 10.5 x 8 ins, in Sir Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian*, vol. IV (Edinburgh, 1820), ILN011, Illustrating Scott, University of Edinburgh. <<http://illustratingscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/itemshow.php?id=238>> [accessed 13 June 2021]

Argylls. He even maintains he only wore trousers twice in his life, ‘it peing [*sic*] when the Duke brought his Duchess here’.<sup>134</sup> The character of Knockdunder underscores there are no heroic Highland archetypes in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*; on the contrary, Knockdunder is a comic figure, proud of his ‘whimsical’ Highland identity and shared history with the house of Argyll. Traversing the coastal waters of Argyllshire and the River Clyde, transporting goods, furniture and passengers, is the duke’s brig, ‘Caroline’. Scott thus reminds the reader of both Jeanie’s interview with Queen Caroline and the Argyll dynasty’s adoption of Hanoverian family names.<sup>135</sup> Similarly, the imaginative link made by characters between the Argylls and monarchy is evident when Jane, Duchess of Argyll gifts to Jeanie a trunk of clothing and a peasant woman declares, ‘she didna think the Queen had mair or better claise’.<sup>136</sup>

*The Heart of Mid-Lothian* combines fictional and historical elements which together create a literary exposition of imagined monarchy in Scotland in the 1730s. Hanoverian monarchy is depicted as the sovereign power at the apex of a complex of connections which the principal characters perceive or experience as those of the Scottish national community. Through these connections, particularly through the Duke of Argyll, the Hanoverian monarchy is shown to be historically and culturally part of the same community. As a composite print product — comprising a fictional character’s introduction, the novel, footnotes, historical notes, illustrations and, in the 1830 edition, Scott’s introduction — the work evidences how Scott imagined, and invited his readers to imagine, Scotland in the 1730s. As one of the contemporary reviewers quoted earlier noted, Scott was ‘completely master of the imaginations of his readers’.<sup>137</sup> Hanoverian monarchy is itself imagined as part of Scotland and integrated into the history of the kingdom of Scotland over the *longue durée*.

## Conclusion

This chapter has employed examples of print and visual culture to test the hypothesis that the Hanoverian royal dynasty played a part in the evolution of Scottish national identity over the entirety of the period 1746 and 1830. The cultural productions examined re-affirmed a long-held belief which is characteristic of the imagined community of Scotland: that the history of

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, 446-51.

<sup>135</sup> The first Caroline was the 2nd Duke of Argyll’s daughter, Caroline, baroness Greenwich (1717-94).

<sup>136</sup> Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, 455.

<sup>137</sup> ‘On the History of Fictitious Writing’, 113.

Scotland is the history of the kings and queens of Scotland. When Hume states, 'this is the historical Age and this is the historical nation', he is voicing the idea that, within a stable Hanoverian Britain, Scotland is uniquely endowed with historiographical possibilities. These possibilities resided in the long line of Scotland's ancient monarchy and early dynasties whose synergy was a central historical force in the nation. We have seen Jacobite-Stuart and Hanoverian-Stuart culture employing similar images and associations to express legitimacy. The Hanoverian Act of Indemnity drew the sting from Jacobite culture and allowed its reclamation and commodification as part of popular British culture. At a crucial point in 1746, Prince Frederick, as heir to the throne chose to have his son, the future George III, immortalised in the tartan uniform introduced by his Stuart ancestor.

It is fundamental to Hume's philosophy that history is without beginning and without end; that every event and historical figure must be understood as part of a continuous sequence regardless of episodic anomalies. We have seen how Hume's *History* and other print and visual sources examined demonstrate that between 1746 and 1830 monarchy was continuously imagined in various forms as closely associated with Scotland and the Scots. Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy* has been seen as an example of augmented reclamation of ethno-cultural ballads and stories of Scottish monarchy. In one example discussed, Scott seems to be suggesting to his readers a parallel between a 'foreign' heiress-presumptive to the Scottish crown in the thirteenth century and the like status of Sophia of Hanover (1630-1714) under the Act of Settlement of 1701. We have also seen that Sir Walter Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* depicted an eighteenth-century Scotland in which the lives of ordinary Scots were connected to monarchy by a complex of connections in which the Duke of Argyll was an important mediating agent. All the cultural productions discussed provide evidence that the Hanoverian monarchy was a powerful presence in the imagination of consumers; and that monarchy was uniquely useful in both high and low cultural forms in different contexts.



## Chapter 4: Environment

Inveraray is a stately place.

Samuel Johnson, 26 October 1773.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter considers imagined monarchy in relation to Scotland's environment — here referring to both landscape and built environment — which changed significantly between 1746 and 1830. Whether measured in terms of urbanisation, industrialisation, demographics, militarisation, economics, or agriculture, after the defeat of the last Jacobite rebellion in 1746, the country experienced an 'Age of Improvement' in these years.<sup>2</sup> Most of the chapter is devoted to a case study, examining in detail the 'improvements' initiated by the most powerful Scot in London, Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll. After the case study, we will briefly look at the broader perspective of improvements undertaken or involving London Scots, principally those in the peerage, drawing on the Sovereignty Directory. Monarchy in London was remote from Scotland, and the chapter considers how changes to the built environment and landscape in Scotland increased awareness among its people of the dynastic regime and monarchy at its apex. Scottish peers constructed new country seats, planned towns and villages, roads, bridges, harbours, as well as more whimsical and self-referential structures, such as follies, temples, statuary, and columns. Landscaping and agricultural improvement were carried out and new industries created, with varying degrees of success.

Inveraray, seat of the Dukes of Argyll, has been selected as the case study due to the Argylls' senior dynastic rank and because its new town, castle, bridges and roads were a monumental undertaking in an inaccessible sea-loch location on Scotland's west coast, five hundred miles from London. The building programme began even as the 1745 Jacobite rebellion was intensifying in the hills, glens and sea around Inveraray. So closely were the Dukes of Argyll associated with the Hanoverian monarchy that the foundation stone of the duke's new castle was dedicated to the victor of Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland. The chapter demonstrates how associations of Hanoverian monarchy were conveyed by changes in the landscape of the Argylls' ancient fiefdom through the dukes' monumental building and landscaping

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Johnson to Henry Thrale, 26 October 1773 in Bruce Redford, ed., *The Letters of Samuel Johnson* (Princeton NJ, 2014 [1st edn, 1773-6]), II, 108.

<sup>2</sup> N.T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison, eds, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1970).

endeavour. A project on this scale, incorporating a new castle and town including kirk, town house, courthouse, housing and ornamentation, undertaken in the eighteenth century in so remote a location would take more than a generation to accomplish. Change of this magnitude over a prolonged period, and so dominant and symbolic in time and space, could not fail to act on the imagination of people in the community. To a greater or lesser extent, these undertakings left behind traces in the landscape of a landowning dynasty's power, wealth, longevity and vision. Form as well as function was important in these traces in the landscape and neoclassicism, symmetry, ornamentation and mastery of the natural environment brought associations of the urban polite and commercial society of Hanoverian North Britain.

The chapter also aims to highlight titled Scots' impact on the environment across Scotland. We have seen that many of these Scots lived in London as well as Scotland and were closely connected to Hanoverian monarchy through the peerage, appointments and patronage. The patronage system in Scotland was distinct from England and the Scottish nobility formed a larger proportion of society in Scotland than was the case in England.<sup>3</sup> Scottish society was based on land, kinship and clanship, ensuring many people could claim links with the nobility through family, location, kirk, school or employment.<sup>4</sup> Using the Sovereignty Directory, we can assess the extent of 'improvement' directly associated with the dynastic system. Common patterns can be discerned, and evidence evaluated for the impact these works had on local communities. Whether a political and social structure that placed governing power in the hands of a landowning elite served the interests of society as a whole is not the question being addressed. The fact is that throughout the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth century the dynastic regime was the major beneficiary of the age of improvement and the economic growth Scotland experienced from the 1750s onwards. Although there were periods of radical unrest, the established order — monarchy and dynasty downwards — maintained consistent control. Even innovative philosophical and social thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment, like David Hume and William Robertson, did not challenge the established order, based on a broad conviction that only those with a significant stake in landed property and a title bestowed by the king could be trusted to govern.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Pittock, *Scotland*, 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Clearances: A History of the Dispossessed* (London, 2018), 124.

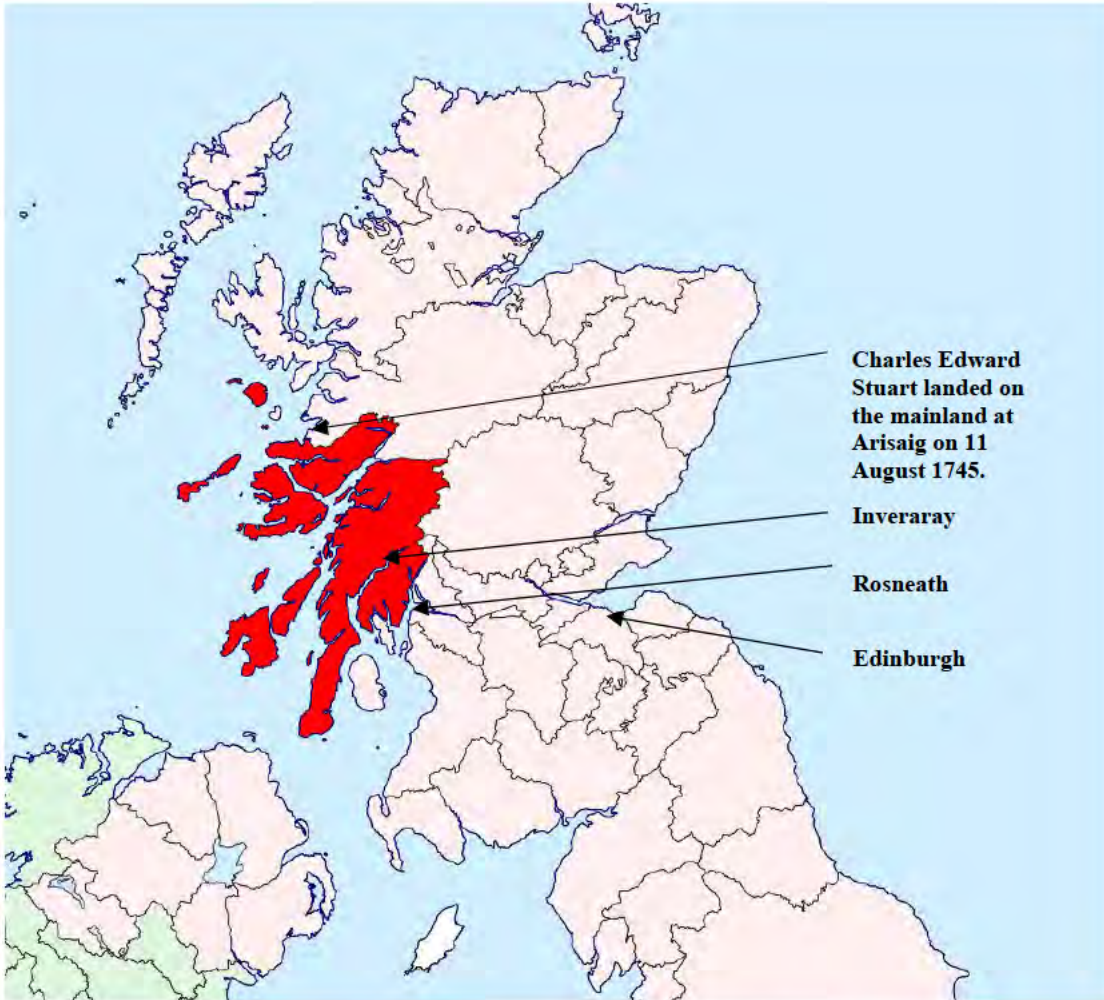
## Inveraray

In 1744, Archibald, 3rd Duke of Argyll, began what would prove to be a comprehensive programme of building, landscaping and enterprise in Argyllshire, an earldom and dukedom of approximately 3,100 square miles on the west coast of Scotland (see Figure 4.1). These works were intended to reorder a crumbling medieval castle, with a traditional township or *baile* of irregular dwellings closely grouped under its walls, into a spectacular modern castle spatially separated from a new model town. We have seen how the Argylls used networks of patronage and clientage to consolidate their power base in London and at the royal court. This section examines more closely the extent to which these dukes used the Scottish landscape to communicate through the environment a rational model of dynastic order with the Hanoverian monarchy at its apex. The building of the new castle alone is often presented as an exemplar of the Hanoverian Whig ascendancy in Scotland; what follows goes further by considering the associations of Hanoverian monarchy in the whole environment of Inveraray.<sup>6</sup>

Three things set the Dukes of Argyll apart from their English aristocratic equivalents in terms of the political, social and cultural spheres in which they moved. In the first place, Scotland was an independent country until 1707 and retained its own legal, ecclesiastical and education systems. These distinctive Scottish public spheres of law, church and school would have prominent places in the duke's new model town. There was therefore a distinctive national identity associated with Inveraray's improvements. Secondly, Argyllshire formed part of Scottish Gaeldom (*An Gaidhealtachd*) in which Gaelic was the common language. The name Argyll itself derives from the Gaelic word *Earraghail*, meaning coastline of the Gaels. Thirdly, the Dukes of Argyll had another identity besides that of titled aristocrat: they were chiefs of clan Campbell. *Clann* in Gaelic literally translates as children and refers to a real or imagined kinship group of common ancestry in the distant past. Areas settled by the clan were regarded as its collective heritage, denoted by the pre-feudal Gaelic concept of *duthchas* (a complex idea for which there is no equivalent word in English). The clan chief held the land by custom as heritable trustee or protector for the clan in exchange for which clan members gave their loyalty and force of arms to the cause of their chief.<sup>7</sup> Superimposed

<sup>6</sup> Bruce Lenman, *Enlightenment and Change: Scotland 1746-1832* (Edinburgh, 2009), 32.

<sup>7</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 175; idem, *Scottish Clearances*, 34-6.



**Figure 4.1:** Map showing Argyllshire in red.

on this ancient relationship established by custom was later feudal proprietorship — which was the basis of land ownership under Scots law — conferred by feu charters (title deeds) granted in the early modern period by the Stuart crown to the Scots nobility. Under Scots law, land ownership flowed hierarchically from these grants by the monarch as the ultimate feudal superior. These legal titles were broadly coterminous with land held by the Campbell clan but would also include territory conquered by the Campbells in the service of the crown; for example, the crown in the fifteenth century granted the Campbell chiefs the islands of Mull, Islay and Jura as a reward for their service in defeating the traditional Lords of the Isles, the MacDonalds. The duke would then grant feus or leases to create lower tiers of property title. However, a clan chief's freedom of absolute ownership by law could conflict with their more circumscribed role by custom as trustee or guardian for the clan. An emphasis on kinship by custom over proprietorship by law traditionally distinguished the Highlands of the early modern period from the Scottish Lowlands, where the emphasis was on legality first and kinship second.<sup>8</sup> The 3rd Duke's consciousness of the tension between lawful entitlement and clan custom is found in his correspondence with his 'manager' in Edinburgh, Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton (1692-1796): 'Take care only that I am not cheated, which in the Highlands they think is fair to do to their cheif [*sic*]'.<sup>9</sup> The three factors described above — a history of independent nationhood, linguistic diversity and dual identities of clan chief and legal proprietor — were everyday realities to be negotiated by the Dukes of Argyll as they brought about transformational change in their clan heartland. A further factor was that the Argylls had much in common with English aristocrats, such as schooling at Eton, English titles and English estates. This was another identity the dukes had to balance with their more ancient Scottish associations.

John Campbell, the 2nd Duke of Argyll (1680-1743) had been rewarded for his decisive support for the 1707 Act of Union with an English title, Earl of Greenwich and Baron Chatham. In 1710, in recognition of his military service for the British crown, he was appointed a Knight of the Order of the Garter, England's highest order of chivalry. Alexander Pope eulogised the 2nd Duke: 'Argyll, the State's whole thunder born to wield, and shake alike the Senate and the Field'.<sup>10</sup> 'Born to wield' may be rhetorical but his coming to the

<sup>8</sup> T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1969; rpr.1998), 43.

<sup>9</sup> NLS, Saltoun, 402, Duke of Argyll to Lord Milton, 31 May 1744.

<sup>10</sup> 'Epilogue to the Satires: Dialogue I and 11' (1738) in G. Croly, ed., *The Works of Alexander Pope*, 4 vols (London, 1835), II, 336.

attention of England's 'master of the heroic couplet' is not without significance in evidencing Argyll's standing in Great Britain.<sup>11</sup> Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay, who succeeded his brother as the 3rd Duke in 1743, represented the complete merger of clan chief and Scottish aristocratic Whig statesman, personifying unionist Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup> He was born in Surrey, educated at Eton, became a Scottish lawyer, was one of the sixteen Scottish representative peers elected to the House of Lords (1707), was appointed to the Privy Council (1711), and in 1722 acquired an English estate at Whitton, Surrey. First Lord of the Treasury, Sir Robert Walpole, established Archibald as *de facto* Whig manager of Scottish affairs, and George II described him as 'Vice Roy' in Scotland, which was not an official position.<sup>13</sup> But since the literal meaning of 'viceroy' is one who rules as the representative of the sovereign in a country or province, this suggests that the king saw Argyll as his proxy in Scotland. Similarly, the Duke of Newcastle described Archibald as 'the absolute Governor of one of His Majesty's Kingdoms', 'governor' being the term for the representative of the British crown in a colony.<sup>14</sup> In order to describe how Argyll ran Scotland, the king and Newcastle used terminology suggesting management of a subordinate polity.

Archibald became the 3rd Duke at the age of sixty-one and immediately resolved to introduce 'improvement' to Inveraray: 'I am thinking of getting some sort of Manufacture to Inveraray & will spare nothing to set it up & encourage it'.<sup>15</sup> In 1744, accompanied by his English architect Roger Morris (1695-1749), he made his first visit to Inveraray for thirty years.<sup>16</sup> Inveraray was the provincial capital of a large, thinly populated area. The population of Argyllshire in 1755 was 66,286.<sup>17</sup> Inveraray had at that time a population of 2,751; it was a royal and parliamentary burgh, a mercat (market cross) town, assize court and seaport, with resident local lairds and lawyers.<sup>18</sup> The old town was clustered round the duke's dilapidated ancestral castle and a group of thatched cottages faced the bay on the north-western shore of Loch Fyne. Petty theft from the duke's property was rife: 'I have great reason to believe that

<sup>11</sup> J.A. Downie, 'Pope, Alexander', in John Cannon, ed., *Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford, 2002), 760.

<sup>12</sup> Murdoch, *People Above*, 12.

<sup>13</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 22.

<sup>14</sup> Lenman, *Enlightenment and Change*, 30.

<sup>15</sup> NLS, Saltoun Papers, 401, Duke of Argyll to Milton, 29 October 1743.

<sup>16</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 4.

<sup>17</sup> James Gray Kyd, ed., *Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755* (Edinburgh, 1952), 33-5.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

there are many frauds practiced [*sic*] there of various kinds that will take me some time to discover and obviate'.<sup>19</sup> The duke's Scottish rent-paying lands covered at least 500 square miles and he was 'overlord' or feudal superior of an area of more than 3,000 square miles.<sup>20</sup> Figure 4.2 shows an 1801 map of Argyllshire, the boundaries of which approximate to those of the duke's ownership. Archibald was making the journey at a time of great tension, which was particularly acute in Argyllshire due to divisions between Protestant Campbells loyal to the Hanoverian succession and Episcopalian Jacobite clans on the fringes of the county. His departure from London was delayed by an audience with George II as intelligence was gathered concerning the movements of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in France.<sup>21</sup> These affairs of state did not affect the duke's determination to make the journey to Inveraray, even if the delay vexed his London aide, John Maule (1706-81), who wrote on 7 July 1744: 'We're not away yet [...] for my part I shall say nothing till we pass Highgate' (in fact, the party passed Highgate the next day).<sup>22</sup> There could scarcely be a greater contrast between the duke's London life and the conditions he would encounter on his arrival in Inveraray. He had already been informed that the only servant at the castle was 'an old Creature that the Late Duchess brought here forty years agoe [*sic*] [...] and is now so deaf & unfirm, that she is only fit for an Infirmary'.<sup>23</sup> The duke seemed ready to adjust, asking Lord Milton to purchase 'some course common necessities [*which will*] be good enough for me at this first expedition'.<sup>24</sup>

Archibald's expedition was stately, 'almost in the nature of a royal progress'.<sup>25</sup> It followed months of preparation and the shipping by sea of trunk loads of furniture and household equipage. The duke proceeded from London, via his Whitton Park estate, to his Peeblesshire estate ('The Whim'), to Edinburgh. There he stayed at his apartment within the Palace of Holyroodhouse, as Hereditary Master of the King's Household. This was one of the principal offices of the Scottish Royal Household, responsible for 'below stairs' personnel and functions. The position was held by the earls and Dukes of Argyll from 1667. Daily levees

<sup>19</sup> NLS, Saltoun Papers, 43, Duke of Argyll to Milton, 3 April 1744.

<sup>20</sup> Cregeen, 'Changing Role of the House of Argyll' in Phillipson and Mitchison, eds, *Age of Improvement*, 5. A feudal superior held land from the crown and granted a form of freehold interest to feuars in consideration of payment of feuduty and other obligations.

<sup>21</sup> Frank McLynn, *Bonnie Prince Charlie: Charles Edward Stuart* (London, 2003), 104-10.

<sup>22</sup> NLS, Saltoun Papers, 42, John Maule to Milton, 7 July 1744.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 41, Stonefield to Lady Milton, 7 June 1744.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 43, Duke of Argyll to Milton, 16 June 1744.

<sup>25</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 18.



**Figure 4.2.** George Langlands, *This Map of Argyllshire Taken from Actual Survey Is Most Humbly Dedicated to His Grace John Duke of Argyll &c&c&c*, 1810, 1 map on 4 sheets 1473 x 1194 mm (sheets 801 x 626 mm), NLS, Signet.s.018.



took place for approximately ten days ‘of Noah’s ark in number & kinds’.<sup>26</sup> It had been almost a century since royalty had been in the city, and just a year and a month later a rival monarchy, represented by Prince Charles Edward Stuart, would set up temporary court at Holyroodhouse. From Edinburgh, the duke continued to Glasgow, where he was met by the Provost and Magistrates, greeted by crowds, and entertained with further levees in his honour. From Glasgow he took a barge to his castle at Rosneath, on the western shore of the Gare Loch (or Gareloch), third-seven miles due south of Inveraray. The final leg, through ‘Hell’s Glen’, to the south shore of Loch Fyne, had to be accomplished on horseback as there was no road. From there the duke was rowed by boat across to Inveraray. There is evidence in the duke’s correspondence with Lord Milton, John Maule and Duncan Forbes of Culloden that his planning and recruitment for Inveraray were informed by his metropolitan experiences and Enlightenment ideas in architecture, landscaping and agriculture: ‘my Love of laying out Grounds & Gardening would draw me thither [*to Inveraray*]’.<sup>27</sup> With his extensive library in London, Argyll had access to the works of Enlightenment theorists on social evolution, improvement and architecture. He also had personal connections with some of these authors, such as Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782) who hypothesised on societal development, and Robert Morris (1701-54), whose *Essays in defence of ancient architecture* (1728) was among the works on architecture in Argyll’s library.<sup>28</sup> Among the inventory of items despatched from London to Inveraray by sea were a road measure, telescope and camera obscura.<sup>29</sup> For several months prior, the duke had been preoccupied in recruiting a gardener skilled in ‘measuring and Taking Levels’, and had purchased from Lowland Scotland 1,000 spruce firs to send to Inveraray.<sup>30</sup> The castle that the duke built would be unlike anything that had been seen in the Highlands at the time. Roger Morris’s design for Inveraray Castle was rectangular, with a tower at each corner, and a three-fold central tower, all with flat roofs and castellated battlements. Although Gothic in style, the castle incorporated classicism in the regular siting of windows. In accordance with Palladian practice, the internal central hall was surrounded by other apartments with staircases on either side of the hall. Morris drew inspiration from John Vanbrugh’s (1664-1726) Eastbury House, Dorset, built for George Bubb Doddington (1691-1762), a friend of Frederick, Prince of

<sup>26</sup> NLS, Saltoun Papers, 43, Milton to Gwyn Vaughan (of the Scots Customs & Excise Commission) [August 1744].

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>28</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 68.

<sup>29</sup> NLS, Saltoun Papers, 404(2), ‘Memorandum of things Ship’d this 30th June 1744’.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 43, 401, Duke of Argyll to Milton, 29 October 1743; Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 11.

Wales. The duke knew Eastbury well and arranged with Doddington for Robert Adam to visit in the summer of 1758.

In this period there was no prospect of the actual monarch, George II, visiting Scotland or intervening directly in Scottish affairs. Therefore, outside the largest cities, privately financed building projects of the grandeur of the one at Inveraray, and with the potential to serve as national exemplars, could only originate with a senior aristocratic dynasty. John Knox (1720-90), the Scottish-born and London based ‘bookseller and economic improver’, praised the Argylls as ‘a noble example to the gentlemen of the Highlands, whose efforts, if assisted by government, may do wonders in their hitherto useless country’.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, this exemplar of a new planned town in the Highlands would be followed by those of other Scottish aristocrats, as we shall see in the next section.<sup>32</sup> Yet none are reckoned to have had the potency and reach of Argyll’s initiative which in both public and private spheres set the standard of the improving landowner.<sup>33</sup> Begun on the eve of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, and in a region where so much of the drama of that rebellion would take place, the project was conspicuous and symbolic owing to the duke’s pre-eminent political power and the leverage of Campbell clan clientage. Education in England, residence in London and management of English country estates were experiences the duke shared with his English Whig peer group. English contemporaries, such as the 1st Duke of Northumberland (1714-86) and 4th Duke of Bedford (1710-71), were also politically engaged, familiar with the inner circle of royalty and interested in new farming methods on their estates. However, they did not have to deal with a rebellion in their ancestral lands that threatened the ruling monarchy. Evidence of just how different things were in Scotland at the inception of the Inveraray project can be found in the correspondence of Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, Sheriff Depute (local judge) (1697-1777) and Lord Milton, who wrote: ‘we have nobody to execute orders here, till [*sic*] they come [*military reinforcements*], as we have no arms [...] I imagine your Grace will direct all works to be stop’d here’. However, the duke ordered that work should go on uninterrupted, as Lord Milton instructed Stonefield the duke ‘sees no reason for dismissing the workmen, it keeps always so many men ready to be better employ’d when it becomes lawful [i.e., *when*

<sup>31</sup> *Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Edinburgh, 1875) quoted in Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 225; Alistair J. Durie, ‘Knox, John’, *ODNB*.

<sup>32</sup> Harris and McKean, *Scottish Town*, 43.

<sup>33</sup> Daniel Maudlin, ‘Robert Mylne, Thomas Telford and the architecture of improvement: the planned villages of the British Fisheries Society, 1786-1817’, *Urban History*, 34 (2007), 459.

*they could be enlisted to fight against the Jacobite rebels]*'.<sup>34</sup> Not only were arms lacking, but work was difficult 'in our pinch'd Condition, not one ounce of the provisions from Edinburgh is come here yet'.<sup>35</sup>

With no Hanoverian court in Edinburgh, Argyll was the pre-eminent dynastic head acting *in loco regis*. When on 11 August 1745 Charles Edward Stuart landed on the Scottish mainland at Arisaig, the duke was at his castle at Rosneath, on the western shore of the Gare Loch, on his way to Inveraray (see Figure 4.1 for locations).<sup>36</sup> The day before, 10 August, Argyll wrote to Scotland's senior law officer, the Lord Advocate Robert Craigie (1688-1760): 'I intend to go to Inveraray next week if these rumours blow over. If the matter grows serious I shall not be in safety there'.<sup>37</sup> Around 14 August, the duke left for Edinburgh where he arrived on 16 August. In Edinburgh, the duke became aware of a Jacobite plot to kidnap him as the rebellion's chief political enemy in Scotland, and, abandoning his plans to go to Inveraray, he decided to return to London — according to Horace Walpole, so that 'the king was to see that he was not in Rebellion; the Rebels, that he was not in arms'.<sup>38</sup> The duke's decision not to journey back to Inveraray would appear to have been a wise one. Building work at Inveraray was interrupted sometime after the landing by 'a Party of Rebels' who 'took the Masons and Men at the Bridges, Prisoners, carryed [*sic*] off the Tools, Timber, Dale Boards and Materials, by which some of the unfinished Bridges were destroyed by the Winter Floods, and all necessarys were to be bought again'.<sup>39</sup>

Thirty-seven days before the decisive Battle of Culloden (16 April 1746), the Argyll coast of Scotland echoed with the sound of the rebellion. '[T]here was great firing heard last Night [...] in the Sound of Mull', wrote Captain Caroline Frederick Scott<sup>40</sup> to the Honourable John

<sup>34</sup> NLS, Saltoun papers, 404(1), Stonefield to Milton dated 21 July, 1745; NRO, Stonefield Papers, 14/28, Milton to Stonefield dated 13 August, 1745.

<sup>35</sup> NRS, Saltoun, 44, John Campbell, Deputy Chamberlain, to Milton, 21 August 1745.

<sup>36</sup> Charles Edward Stuart first landed on the island of Eriskay, off the southern tip of South Uist. 23 July 1745. There some confusion over precise dates, owing to accounts using both Old and new Style dates. All dates given in this paragraph are Old Style. See Walter Biggar Blaikie, ed., *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart from His Landing in Scotland July 1745 To His Departure in September 1746* (Edinburgh, 1897); Sir James Ferguson, *Argyll in the Forty-Five* (London, 1951).

<sup>37</sup> NLS, Glendoick MSS, 3036, f.1, Duke of Argyll to Lord Advocate Robert Craigie 10 August 1745.

<sup>38</sup> Horace Walpole, 'Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second' in *The Works of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, 7 vols (London, 1822 [1st edn, 1798]), VII, 242.

<sup>39</sup> NLS, Saltoun, Papers 406, [Major Caufield], unsigned memorial, February 1748. The precise date of the incident is not recorded.

<sup>40</sup> Captain Scott (1711-54) was godson of Caroline of Ansbach (1683-1737), wife of George II. Scott defended Fort William in March 1746 and, after Culloden, conducted the search for Bonnie Prince Charles, acquiring a

Campbell (1693-1770), Major General of His Majesty's Forces at Inveraray.<sup>41</sup> The Argyll dynasty had over centuries demonstrated an ability to overcome adversity during just such turbulent times. Daniel Defoe drew attention to the Campbell dynasty's longevity: 'they derive their surname from the castle of Campbell and [...] their pedigree from antient kings of Argyle, by a long series of ancestors'.<sup>42</sup> As Defoe's words demonstrate, associations of antiquity, royalty and locality were often linked, especially in the Highlands. The Campbells had distanced themselves militarily and politically from the Stuart cause which they had once supported. Archibald Campbell, 10th Earl of Argyll (1658-1703), and from 1701 1st Duke, administered the coronation oath to William and Mary, and John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, commanded the government forces in Scotland during the 1715 rebellion. The duke's project to build a magnificent new castle, roads, bridges, and planned town at Inveraray, using government troops and finance, was closely associated with Hanoverian monarchy. In the lands of Argyllshire, where personal advancement of any consequence depended on the patronage of the duke or his associates, it was understood that dynasty was the paramount determinant of political and administrative appointment. A substratum immediately below monarchy in Scotland, the Argylls' power stemmed from their close service to that monarchy. On 20 February 1746, the 3rd Duke of Argyll wrote from London to his cousin, Major General John Campbell (the future 4th Duke of Argyll): 'Let me know [*by*] every post what you are doing, for the King often asks me, and sometimes in publick'.<sup>43</sup> It was the Duke of Cumberland that replaced Major General Campbell as commander of the king's army in Scotland. That the Duke of Cumberland and the General were closely associated in the mind of the king is evident from a royal levee on 23 April when the king received the news that Cumberland was safe and victorious. At the same levee, the king complimented the Duke of Argyll, and told him that 'the Argyllshire men had behaved incomparably'.<sup>44</sup> Royal and ducal interests could both be served by the duke's infrastructure projects in Argyllshire. The road network that would connect Inveraray and Argyllshire with the Lowland city of Glasgow could not have been built without the crown's resources, both labour and capital. From a financial point of view, the duke's Argyllshire and islands estate was perennially in need of

reputation for 'enthusiastic ferocity [...] in the subjugation of the Western Highlands': Christopher Duffy, *The '45* (London, 2003), 129.

<sup>41</sup> Argyll Papers, Inveraray, NRAS1209/936, Captain Scott to the Hon. John Campbell, Major General of His Majesty's Forces at Inveraray, 10 March 1746.

<sup>42</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain* (London, 1724-27), 235.

<sup>43</sup> NLS, Campbell of Mamore MSS, 154, Duke of Argyll to Major General John Campbell, 20 February, 1746.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 307, John Maule (1706-1781) (secretary to 2nd Duke of Argyll) to Major General John Campbell, 24 April 1746.

revenue.<sup>45</sup> As we have seen, the crown's investment was amply re-paid by the dukes' reliable recruitment of men for the British army in decades to come.<sup>46</sup>

Dynastic alignment with the Hanoverian monarchy was literally inscribed on the foundation stone of the Argylls' new castle. Laid in the presence of architect William Adam (1689-1748) (simultaneously principal Mason to the Board of Ordnance of North Britain and project manager of construction of the duke's new castle at Inveraray), the inscription celebrated the victor of Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland, already notorious as 'Butcher' Cumberland for his repressive measures in the Highlands. Just six months earlier, the duke had been 'greatly angered' by Cumberland ordering the burning of houses and wasting of the land of Argyll's tenants on the Morvern peninsula.<sup>47</sup> The episode illustrates the delicate balance of interests the duke had to negotiate in this period, and his vexation at the counter-productive and crude methods employed by a royal outsider. However, he clearly saw the political sense in making this controversial dedication, which was widely reported in journals and newspapers in Edinburgh — an example of 'mass ceremony' through shared readership.<sup>48</sup> In the same edition of the *Scots Magazine* that reported the laying of the foundation stone, Hanoverian triumph was further communicated in a report of the trial and execution of Jacobite rebels. A condemned man 'called King George a usurper' and exhorted his fellow prisoners, 'What the devil are you afraid of? We shalln't be tried by a Cumberland jury in the other world'.<sup>49</sup> By juxtaposing a self-proclaimed Hanoverian dynastic building project with the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion, the *Scots Magazine* emphasised to its readers that Hanoverian nationhood was the only imaginable possibility.

In this same period, the duke himself presented the image of an exemplary figure of the Hanoverian North British community. Engravings of Allan Ramsay's 1749 portrait of the 3rd Duke (Figure 4.3) were more popular in the houses of the middling orders in Scottish cities than any other image at the time and communicated a distinctive Scottish fealty to the Hanoverian monarchy.<sup>50</sup> Ramsay's portrait depicted the duke in the legal robes of the Lord Justice General of Scotland's highest criminal court. He retained this judicial appointment for

<sup>45</sup> Cregeen, 'Changing Role of the House of Argyll', 10.

<sup>46</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>47</sup> Philip Gaskell *Morvern Transformed: A Highland Parish in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1980), 2-4.

<sup>48</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 36.

<sup>49</sup> *Scots Magazine*, October 1746, 498.

<sup>50</sup> Stana Nenadic, 'The Enlightenment in Scotland and the popular passion for portraits', *British journal for eighteenth-century studies* 21 (1998), 179-81.



**Figure 4.3.** Allan Ramsay, *Archibald, 3rd Duke of Argyll*, 1749, oil on canvas, 238.8 x W 156.2 cm. Image reproduced courtesy of Glasgow Museums: Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove, Glasgow

fifty-one years (1710-61). This ancient office, dating back to the thirteenth century, was a royal appointment and was given a modern Hanoverian identity in Inveraray with the duke's construction of a new courthouse, jail, and town house. The scale of the court room at Inveraray would not be out of place in a large city and resembles those within the late eighteenth-century re-modelling of the supreme courts in Edinburgh. Circuit judges not only benefited from a new courthouse, but also the duke's new inn in Inveraray. In 1755, James Boswell's father, Lord Auchinleck, was among the first Senators of the College of Justice to stay there, writing to Lord Loudon of the new accommodation that it 'woud [*sic*] in another place be called a palace and had everything good'.<sup>51</sup>

Events during the 1745-6 Jacobite rebellion, when Inveraray served as a garrison town for the Hanoverian army, underlined how Scotland's civil wars of the eighteenth century were central to the prospects of both the landscape and family of the Dukes of Argyll. The military roads begun by General Wade and the continuing ducal and clan commitment to the Hanoverian cause became emblematic of the dynasty's identity. A famous example of these royal connections leaving a trace in the duke's landscape is the forty-five miles of 'the King's Road', the new military road connecting Dumbarton on the River Clyde to Inveraray (see Figure 4.4).<sup>52</sup> A section of this road is known to this day as the 'Rest and Be Thankful', so named by the king's troops and engineers with an inscription in rough stone to commemorate its completion in 1747.<sup>53</sup> The road cut through a wild pass where three valleys converged, making its way in zig zags through solid rock blasted by five hundred soldiers. This early commemorative stone was replaced in 1814 when responsibility for the road passed from the military to the civil authority. The replacement stone took care to memorialise the Hanoverian troops who had created and maintained the road: 'Rest & Be Thankful Military Road Rep[aire]d by 93rd Reg[imen]t 1768 Transferred to Comm[issione]rs for H[ighland] R[oads] & B[ridges] in the year 1814'.

A closer examination of the military roads and bridge project in Argyllshire reveals the ways in which the Hanoverian monarchy was embedded in the landscape as the high centre of post-Culloden Scotland. At least one of the officers charged with completing the project expressed

<sup>51</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 374, fn 39.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 122.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*.



**Figure 4.4:** Route of military road from Dumbarton to Inveraray shown in red on an extract from George Taylor and Andrew Skinner, *A General Map of the Roads, made out of actual surveys taken by Geo Taylor & Andw Skinner*, London, 1776, 1 map on 1 sheet, 34 x 30 cm. (sheet 50 x 41 cm.), NLS. <<https://maps.nls.uk/atlas/taylor-skinner/index.html>>



scepticism about its worth to the state. Colonel Edmund Martin of Wolfe's Regiment, stationed at Fort William, wrote to the Duke of Richmond:

They are making a piece of road here to please one Great Man [*the Duke of Argyll*] that he may drive easily to his house (when he gets one) tis about 40 miles where there is to be 17 bridges, *one* will cost 2 or 3000£, thro' a country all rock and Bogg, where nobody will ever have occasion to pass but he himself.<sup>54</sup>

Colonel Martin's prediction proved inaccurate. The military road would quickly become the route for a succession of elite visitors from all over Europe to make the 'Grand Tour' of the Highlands. These visitors noted the sheer scale of the undertaking: as Samuel Johnson commented after a 1773 visit, 'What I admire here is the total defiance of all expense'.<sup>55</sup> Infrastructure projects such as the king's road were crucial in transforming perceptions of the Highlands. Travel networks and journey times played a part in changing attitudes to the landscape, from bleak wasteland to sublime and romantic wilderness.<sup>56</sup> By the 1790s, the once weekly post had become a daily service.<sup>57</sup> When there was a conflict between the duke's aesthetic vision and the practicality of military purpose, the extent of the duke's control became clear: 'I shall get the Road ordered from hence', he wrote on 31 December 1743.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, parkland around his new castle was prioritised over the most publicly accessible route: 'There are at present 3 Roads to Inveraray which cut my Parks or projected Gardens most miserably to pieces'.<sup>59</sup> Unsurprisingly, the road as completed did not cut across his parks, nor encroach on the landscaping or siting of his new castle. Here was an interweaving of interests, monarchical and ducal, using the resources of the British fiscal-military state. The 'King's Road' — according to Colonel Martin, made to 'please' the duke — was an expensive investment for the state. Following the method of General Wade in the earlier eighteenth century, during the summer of 1747 the 300-strong Lascelles Regiment built eighteen bridges, some with arches with a span up to fifty feet.<sup>60</sup> Conflicts over expense and priorities did arise. Henry Fox, Secretary at War, complained of extravagant estimated costs, and remarked to General Churchill that 'HRH [*the Duke of Cumberland*] would have

<sup>54</sup> Charles Gordon Lennox, Earl of March, *A Duke and his Friends*, 2 vols (London, 1911), II, 460-1.

<sup>55</sup> James Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (London, 1963 [1st pubd 1785]), 353.

<sup>56</sup> T.M. Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 243.

<sup>57</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 279.

<sup>58</sup> NLS, Saltoun Papers, 401, Duke of Argyll to Milton 31 December 1743.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 43, Duke of Argyll to Milton 16 June 1744.

<sup>60</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 124-43.

the Bridges on the Inverara [*sic*] Road let alone till next year, those to Brae Mar and Fort-William being more necessary'.<sup>61</sup> Despite these misgivings, work on the ornamented Garron Bridge on the route to Inveraray was completed without delay, providing 'a spectacular introductory flourish to the duke's policies'.<sup>62</sup> On schedule and at government expense, the duke ensured the creation of these roads and bridges as a material harbinger of the new castle. With their neoclassical designs and memorialisation, these new structures stamped the authority of the crown and dynastic regime on the environment, linking new infrastructure to the relationship between crown and people: 'how much in the wrong some people were who endeavoured to oppose the new Road, a thing absolutely necessary & useful both for the Crown and Subjects'.<sup>63</sup> Tensions did arise between the local community and government forces. Members of the community were aware that across the length of this road network there were working parties of one hundred red-coated soldiers, each accompanied by women, children and camp followers who 'steal from and quarrel with the Inhabitants, and bring their Husbands into perpetual Broils with the Country People'.<sup>64</sup>

Small ornamental buildings were also commissioned for the castle parkland, the most prominent of which was the so-called 'watchtower' crowning the rugged hill of Duniqaich. Sited at the top of a steep hill, the tower commanded a view of the castle, river Aray, Loch Fyne and the town on the headland; and correspondingly the tower was silhouetted against the sky when viewed from the castle and town. The tower, completed in 1752, was built in imitation of a ruin to give the impression of antiquity, and became a destination for visitors on foot or horseback. Designed by Robert Morris and William Adam, the wording of the contract to the stonemason William Douglas detailed that 'Mr Douglas mason agrees to build & finish the two above buildings [...] for his Grace the Duke of Argyll, & to be done to the Approbation & liking of Willm Adams Architect'.<sup>65</sup> The other building referred to was the dovecot or 'doocot', a structure almost unknown in the Highlands at the time, sited in a meadow at the end of a vista in the castle grounds. It too was designed to impress the visitor, 'being a Circular building 20 ft Diamr & 42 ft high, to stand upon a Slope of 3 ft high'.<sup>66</sup> The birds entered through an elegant domed lantern surmounting the conical roof. Such features

<sup>61</sup> Letter from Henry Fox to General Churchill, 20 July 1749, quoted Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 125.

<sup>62</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 125.

<sup>63</sup> Milton to Duke of Argyll 13 November 1744, scroll letter, quoted in Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 148.

<sup>64</sup> NLS, Saltoun Papers, 406(1), [Major Caufield], unsigned memorial, February 1748.

<sup>65</sup> Argyll Archives, Inveraray, Morris Letterbook 63 and Chamberlains Accounts, 1747, Contract, Douglas with Morris and Wm Adam, 2 October 1747.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

were important in transforming people's idea of the landscape, from barren to spectacular, and complemented the duke's landscaping and planting improvements. Lady Mary Hervey (1700-68), maid of honour to Queen Caroline, wrote of Inveraray on 11 September 1756:

This country is far from being an one as English prejudice and English ignorance represent it [...] they begin to improve their lands and to plant [sic]. The whole face of the country will be totally changed in fifty years more [sic].<sup>67</sup>

General John Campbell, 4th Duke of Argyll inherited the dukedom aged sixty-seven in 1761, following a distinguished military career. In 1746, he had succeeded the Duke of Cumberland as Commander of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland and, in 1767, he was the subject of a full-length Gainsborough portrait in peer's robes with his ducal coronet and the baton of Hereditary Master of the King's Household in Scotland (Figure 4.5). Prominent in public life, in 1720 when a young colonel and Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, he had fallen in love with a maid of honour to Princess Caroline, Mary Bellendum (bap. 1685-1736). A celebrated court beauty, Mary is believed to have been wooed by the Prince of Wales (the future George II), but distanced herself to avoid scandal. Secretly in love with colonel (as he then was) Campbell for several years, Mary eventually married John in 1720 and Queen Caroline appointed her Keeper of the Palace of Somerset House. She died in childbirth in 1736. General Campbell took little interest in progressing the improvements at Inveraray, restricting himself to small matters of maintenance of the estate, since his political and military career were his main preoccupations. As the 4th Duke, he carried the gold baton of the Master of the Royal Household of Scotland at George III's coronation. So enthusiastic was General Campbell about the foundation stone at Inveraray Castle dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland, he wrote to the 3rd Duke 'I shall borrow the thought and place it upon one of the workhouses in Glasgow or Edinburgh. I think it right to inter it for future ages but not improper for the present as a momento'.<sup>68</sup> We have seen, therefore, that on a personal level, and on a political and military level, the Argylls and the Hanoverian dynasty were completely enmeshed. His heir, John, the 5th Duke (1723-1806), who inherited in 1770, was to be

<sup>67</sup> Lady Hervey to Rev. Edmund Morris, 11 September 1756 in *Letters of Mary Lepel Lady Hervey* (London, 1821), 22.

<sup>68</sup> NLS, Campbell of Mamore MSS, 477, John Campbell to 3rd Duke of Argyll, 1 October 1746. Campbell would be referring to the Town's Hospital in Glasgow and the Edinburgh Charity Poorhouse in Edinburgh, both built at this time. It is likely that the Argylls were subscribers.



**Figure 4.5:** Thomas Gainsborough, *John Campbell, 4th Duke of Argyll*, 1767, oil on canvas, 235 x 154 cm, NGS, PG 1596.

responsible for truly realising the vision of the 3rd Duke. The 5th Duke and his wife Elizabeth, the former Duchess of Hamilton, were favourites of George III and the family's personal correspondence is littered with references to the king and royalty.<sup>69</sup> When the Marquess of Lorne, the 5th Duke spent the summer of 1763 in Paris and ordered furniture and tapestries which would later be installed at Inveraray Castle. He had shown a keen interest in the future of Inveraray long before he became duke, when he lived at Rosneath Castle in Argyllshire. (Figure 4.6 shows the Argyll dynasty family tree.)

As well as bringing a European sensibility to the decorating of his castle, the 5th Duke moved his estates from a traditional to a capitalist model, systematically documenting a hierarchical chain of instructions, estimates and reports. He often insisted on importing expertise from Lowland Scotland, London, and Europe for architectural and agricultural projects, often employing specialists patronised by monarchy. In October 1785, the 5th Duke's instructions to his chamberlain on the island of Tiree included: 'You must continue to encourage and inforce [*sic*] as much as possible the building of good stone dykes [*walls*] upon all my farms and report every year how much has been done and by whom'.<sup>70</sup> To identify boundaries witness testimony was taken, including that of Donald McEchern of Morvern, aged eighty-three, who declared 'he was told by his father [...] that the march [*boundary*] was from the south end of Lochairn by three large gray stones in a line running S.E.' What had previously depended on folk memory and tacit usage rather than legal definition became systematically delineated by the duke's investment in stone boundary walls. He was also investing in legal process: 'The decret arbitral regarding the marches of Broloss has been put on record in the Books of Session [public record] upon the 21st. January 1792'.<sup>71</sup> This transformation was driven by the desire of successive dukes to have a castle, planned town and landscape ordering their dominion and professionalising its economic foundation. Estate records show the duke's personal attention to detailed management, albeit instructions on the ground were mediated through his chamberlain. The dynastic realm was here associated with a new way of doing things, including imported expertise and legalistic precision. Law was used to supplant

<sup>69</sup> The 5th Duchess was Elizabeth Gunning who originally married the Duke of Hamilton in 1752. She was widowed in 1758 and married the heir to the dukedom of Argyll (then Marquess of Lorne) in 1759, using her title of Duchess of Hamilton until becoming the Duchess of Argyll in 1770 when her husband succeeded to his father's title.

<sup>70</sup> Eric R. Cregeen, ed., *Argyll Estate Instructions: Mull, Morven and Tiree, 1771-1805* (Edinburgh, 1964), 5.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, 139, 172.

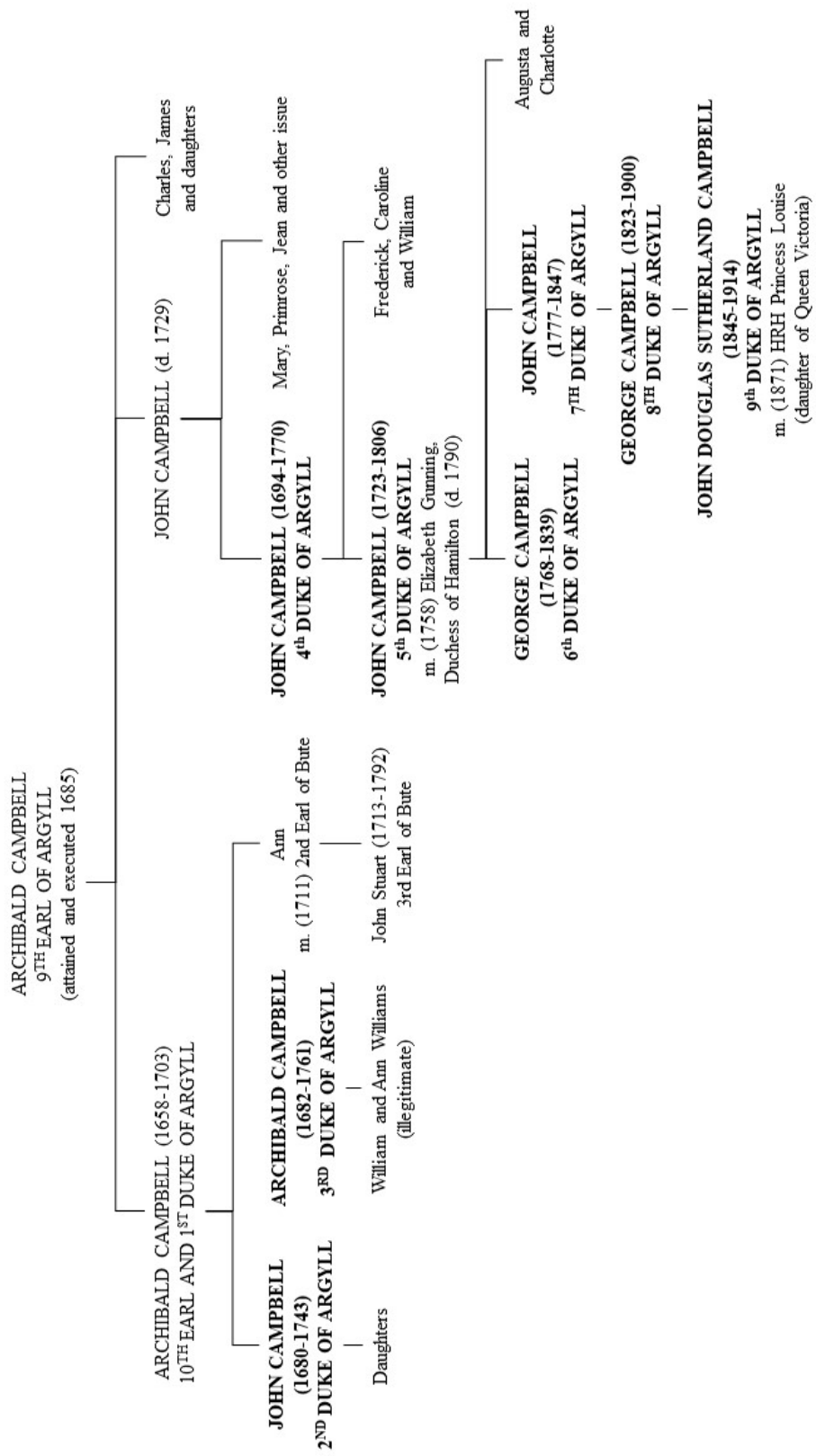


Figure 4.6. Argyll dynasty family tree.

custom, and civic infrastructure transformed the landscape. In 1709, there was no manse or school and the burgers complained that ‘the said noble ffamily [*sic*] have not had so frequently their residence in this place [*Inveraray*]’.<sup>72</sup> In 1749, a member of the Argyllshire gentry described the locality: ‘Lands in this deform’d Castaway part of the creation which nature seems to Have quite neglected [...] tho tis much in His Grac’s [*the duke*] Pour to make this remote Corner of the Shire more happie’.<sup>73</sup> These observations show how much the community identified their prospects with the presence and engagement of the ducal family. From the 1750s onwards, the Argylls became an ever greater and more conspicuous agency in ordering the lives of the inhabitants of Argyllshire and the islands of Mull, Islay and Jura.<sup>74</sup> Through a system of feus and tacks (leases) the dukes controlled the design, layout and occupation of the new town of Inveraray, retaining a landlord’s reversionary interests in the houses built by tacksmen (tenants). James Campbell, who built the largest private house in the town, assured the duke that it was ‘among the beste ever built on a Tack in Scotland, and wil [*sic*] one day or other, return the Family of Argyll from Fiftie to Sixtie Pound p Annum’.<sup>75</sup> This power structure was understood by scholars undertaking the fashionable tours of the Highlands in the second half of the eighteenth century, who often equated the duke with royalty: ‘He is rever’d as a prince in this country’.<sup>76</sup>

In removing the town and civic infrastructure from the grounds of the castle to a headland location, the 3rd Duke had enabled the subsequent creation of a planned neoclassical town in Scotland. Influenced by larger-scale urban expansion in London and Bath, the neoclassical new-town principles were imported from the capital through dynastic sponsorship to a remote rural location. Initial plans were drawn up by William and John Adam in 1747 and work began on public buildings — the inn, courthouse, gaol and town house. An elaborate ceremony involving several hundred people marked the laying of the foundation stone of the town house on 26 March 1755.<sup>77</sup> An eye-witness account in the *Glasgow Courant* stressed the dual monarchical and ducal provenance of the occasion:

<sup>72</sup> Argyll Archives, Inveraray, Petition of the Burgh of Inveraray to the Managers of Argyll, 1709 quoted in Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 23.

<sup>73</sup> NLS, Saltoun Papers, 407 (2), Mrs Jean Cameron to Donald Campbell of Airs, 29 August 1749.

<sup>74</sup> Duindam, *Dynasty*, 71.

<sup>75</sup> Argyll Archives, Inveraray, Inv.18th Cent. Leases.

<sup>76</sup> Jacob Pattison, MD, *A Tour Through part of the Highlands of Scotland*, 1780, entry for 11 August quoted in Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 223.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, 160.

the Effect of a Free and happy Government, conducted by an excellent KING, and the Bounty of a generous and discerning PATRON, possesst [sic] of a great Estate, pursuing with unwearied Constancy every Measure that tends to beautify and improve his Native Country.

After a celebratory dinner, the association of the monarchy with the whole project was made clear: ‘Bumpers were drunk to the health of the KING, Prince of Wales, Princess Dowager of Wales, Prince Edward and the rest of the Royal Family, the Duke and the Army’.<sup>78</sup> Such a newspaper report expressly associated the new building at Inveraray with ‘an excellent KING’ and ‘the Bounty of a generous and discerning PATRON’. The message being conveyed in such reports is that such improvement could not happen other than through the combination of monarchy and aristocracy. The formulaic phrase ‘Free and happy government’ was familiar code for the principles of the Glorious Revolution and echoes similar wording, such as ‘happy establishment’ and ‘justice and mildness of your government’, in the addresses of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to the king, always repeated in newspapers and journals.<sup>79</sup> The 5th Duke and Duchess strengthened the Argyll family’s connections with Hanoverian monarchy through the bond of personal relationships. As Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte, the duchess was a favourite of George III who created for her the English title 1st baroness Hamilton of Hameldon. The waspish Horace Walpole was not the only contemporary to suggest ‘she had long aimed at being George III’s mistress’.<sup>80</sup> The archive at Inveraray reveals daily interactions with the royal court and government. A 1762 letter from the 5th Duke’s son, Lord Lorne, to Lord Egremont (Secretary of State for the Southern Department) begs ‘to entreat your Lordship to intercede with His Majesty on behalf of our Family’ for a peerage. A 1790 letter from London to the 5th Duke from his second son, John Campbell (later 7th Duke) records, ‘I this day again waited on the Duke of York who told me there was no other way of retaining my rank in the Army than by Exchange’.<sup>81</sup>

Inveraray Castle functioned along the lines of a regional dynastic court, with the dukes as intermediaries between the monarchy and the local community. Regional elites required access to the royal court in London, and equally kings consolidated their power in Scotland

<sup>78</sup> *Glasgow Courant*, 7 April 1755.

<sup>79</sup> See Chapter 5: Instruction. Cf. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 33-5 where he discusses the role of newspapers in setting the parameters of the imagined community of its readers.

<sup>80</sup> Horace Walpole, *Last Journals*, II (London, 1910), 202-3.

<sup>81</sup> NLS, Argyll Papers, NRAS1209, John Campbell to 5th Duke of Argyll 1 May 1790.



by attaching these dynastic intermediaries to the royal court.<sup>82</sup> Court associations were underlined by interior design choices for Inveraray Castle: in contrast to the dark, plain exterior, rooms were decorated with elaborate paintings by French artists, including Girard, one of the principal artists employed by the Prince of Wales at Carlton House. Most of the furniture was French in style, some bought in Paris by the duke and duchess, some ordered from pattern books by the duke in London. Figure 4.7 shows interiors, furniture and ornamentation in the castle. Hanging in the upper gallery of the armoury hall of Inveraray Castle were two gifts from Queen Charlotte to the Duchess of Argyll, copies painted in oil of portraits of George III and the queen respectively by the German artist Zoffany.<sup>83</sup> Only through an aristocratic dynasty on intimate terms with the royal family would such European cultural influences have come to Inveraray. For generations the dukes had undertaken the Grand Tour and been educated in Europe, but the construction of this new castle made these European ideas material in Argyllshire. Dozens of visitors were lavishly entertained by the duke and duchess every year as the interiors of the castle were being completed. French geologist Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond was impressed on his 1784 visit: ‘French was spoken at this table with as much purity as in the most polished circles of Paris’. Thanks to the duke’s hothouses, Saint-Fond was delighted to find in Scotland in early autumn ‘beautiful peaches, very good grapes, apricots, prunes, figs, cherries and raspberries’; and at the breakfast table ‘fresh cream, excellent butter, rolls of several kinds, and in the midst of all, bouquets of flowers, newspapers, and books’.<sup>84</sup> Letters of introduction were often enough for a stranger to be received by the duke and duchess. Their cosmopolitan society was remarked upon and visitors were found to have travelled in almost every part of Europe. The duke was noted as ‘one of the best of men, who had travelled in Italy and in France’. When Robert Burns visited Inveraray in June 1787, the castle was too full for him to stay. The committee of the British Fisheries Society was being hosted by the duke, who had just been elected its president. They departed the next day to visit the Hebrides to select a site for a new planned fishing town.

George III’s coloured views collection included six views of Inveraray, at various stages of its development. One is a view of the completed castle, with what appears to be visitors in the

<sup>82</sup> Duindam, *Short Introduction*, 79.

<sup>83</sup> Johan Joseph Zoffany, *George III*, 1771, RCT, RCIN 405072, and *Queen Charlotte*, 1771, RCT, RCIN 405071.

<sup>84</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 222-23.



**Figure 4.7:** Interiors of Inveraray Castle (clockwise from top left, Armoury Hall, State Dining Room and Tapestry Drawing Room). Reproduced courtesy of Argyll Estates, Inveraray.

foreground surveying the scene (Figure 4.8). The watchtower on Duniquaich hill in the top left corner overlooks the scene. By 1789, the castle and interiors were complete.<sup>85</sup> Not everyone found the castle as they had imagined. Visiting in 1817, Scottish-born artist David Wilkie wrote: ‘The castle itself is a complete importation, and disappointed me much; I expected a Highland residence, in place of which it is Bond Street or Brighton’.<sup>86</sup> These words reflect a cultural disagreement about what a Highland residence ‘should’ be, as well as disquiet about Anglo-urban influences ‘imported’ into a Scottish rural landscape. Wilkie was alluding to precisely the architectural and cultural features — neoclassicism, symmetry and ornate interiors — that gave the castle a North British identity. As with a royal family, the merging of personal, dynastic charisma — epitomised by the 5th Duchess — and majestic setting created a strong magnetic appeal, drawing people to Inveraray. Figure 4.9 shows a photograph of the castle and new town, looking down from Duniquaich hill. A visitor in the 1770s commented, ‘I have a whole volume to write of this good Duke’s worth, and wisdom, which improves and blesses the whole country’.<sup>87</sup> This aura was projected even onto the new town itself, which seemed to one visitor in 1795 to have ‘the appearance of a palace with colonnades’, evidencing in the viewer’s imagination visual associations with monarchy.<sup>88</sup> Visiting in August 1803, Dorothy Wordsworth (1771-1855) recorded her favourable first sight of the town.

[T]he whole landscape a showy scene, and bursting upon us at once. A traveller who was riding by our side called out, “Can that be the Castle?” [...] The mistake is a natural one at that distance: it is so little like an ordinary town.<sup>89</sup>

The 5th Duke’s sponsorship of local industry and commerce echoed the patronage of royalty in its scale and import.<sup>90</sup> The duke’s prominence in Scottish affairs ensured his projects had a significance beyond those of either a member of the English aristocracy or gentry in a provincial town. They were a disruptive expression of what Scotland should be within Hanoverian Great Britain. As if to underline the point, it was the king’s army — specifically,

<sup>85</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 222-4.

<sup>86</sup> David Wilkie to his brother 21 August 1817 quoted in Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 306.

<sup>87</sup> Mrs Grant of Laggan, *Letter from the Mountains*, 3 vols (London, 1887), I, 18.

<sup>88</sup> [Rev. J. H. Michell] *The Tour of the Duke of Somerset through parts of England, Wales and Scotland in the year 1795* (London, 1845), 86, quoted in Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 271.

<sup>89</sup> *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. William Knight, 2 vols. (London, 1897), II, 21.

<sup>90</sup> G.M. Ditchfield, *George III: An Essay in Monarchy* (London, 2002), 144.



**Figure 4.8:** Inveraray Castle, pen and ink, 12.8 x 18.8 cm, BL, King George III's Personalised Coloured Views Collection, Maps K. Top.49.31.1.b.  
<<http://george3.splrarebooks.com/collection/view/Inveraray-Castle>> [accessed 26 March 2023]



**Figure 4.9:** Inveraray Castle and New Town. Reproduced courtesy of Argyll Estates, Inveraray.

soldiers of the 15th, 22nd and 43rd regiments — that demolished the old houses around the castle, between 1772 and 1777. Land management was not only decorative but also applied to new methods of agriculture, fisheries, and industry. In 1775, the *Edinburgh Advertiser* celebrated the duke's project of the Inveraray woollen factory: 'It were to be wished that the nobility and gentlemen of Scotland would follow the example of the patriotic Duke [...] and spend their money in encouraging industry and agriculture in their native country'.<sup>91</sup> Instructing his chamberlain on the island of Tiree, the duke wrote in October 1771: 'as I have no inclination to subject them [*farm tenants*] to any sort of distress I will give them encouragement to settle in a fishing village which I mean to establish in a convenient situation on the island'.<sup>92</sup> A harbour was built in 1771 to turn Scarinish into a fishing village, and, with regard to the women of the island, the duke undertook to supply yarn for spinning, and to purchase the linen and take the risk of selling it, because 'for their own sakes they will employ themselves in spinning [*sic*] in place of continuing in idleness'.<sup>93</sup> The fashion for model farms is evident in the distinctive castellated design by artist-architect Alexander Nasmyth for Rosneath Home Farm, the plan of which was sent to Scots peer John Somerville, 15th lord Somerville (1765-1819), a Lord of the Bedchamber to George III. Somerville was a keen agriculturalist and assisted with the king's introduction of merino sheep into England in 1788, subsequently becoming the largest owner of the breed in England. He became president of the Board of Agriculture (1798-1800).<sup>94</sup> The duke himself was interested in experimental design and methods, such as the Maltland hay-barn at Inveraray, a 300-foot long structure designed by architect Robert Mylne (1734-1811) 'so that there may be free [*sic*] passage for wind & air to Dry the Corn'.<sup>95</sup> Even minor details of estate aesthetics preoccupied the 5th Duke: 'Mrs Haswell's House is the most tedious operation I was ever concerned in', the duke complained of a small cottage in the town. 'I now observe doorways slapping [*sic*] out, & walls building which were never intended at first, particularly the door which I think I expressly forbid'.<sup>96</sup> A reminder of the challenges of the landscape at Inveraray came on 7 September 1772 when the military bridge leading to the

<sup>91</sup> *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 3 January 1775.

<sup>92</sup> *Argyll Estate Instructions*, 1.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 24. The duke was the Governor of the British Fisheries Society and therefore familiar with that organisation's planned fishing villages, including Tobermory on the duke's island of Mull.

<sup>94</sup> Argyll Archives, Inveraray, NRAS1209/324, Robert Campbell to Lord Somerville enclosing a plan of Rosneath Farm dated 23 March 1805; Ernest Clarke, rev. Anne Pimlott Baker, 'Somerville, John Southey, fifteenth Lord Somerville', *ODNB*.

<sup>95</sup> British Architectural Library, London, *Robert Mylne's Diaries*, 6 May 1774. Mylne was the architect of Blackfriars Bridge, London, completed in 1769.

<sup>96</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 283.

town, the Aray Bridge, collapsed two nights after Robert Mylne's arrival. Mylne was promptly commissioned to design a new bridge in which the 5th Duke took a keen interest: 'I am much inclined to have some more Balustrades on the Bridge here, as it appears to me that so long an extent of solid parapet looks a little dead and heavy'.<sup>97</sup> Like the 3rd Duke, John was concerned as much with aesthetics as practicality. Mylne adopted the duke's suggestions and the new bridge proved more enduring than the old. Dynastic patronage was vulnerable to generational ebb and flow and the old age and infirmity of the 5th Duke resulted in a lack of investment, deteriorating landscape and environment, lawns not being cut, trees not being felled, buildings in disrepair, and unauthorised construction taking place. Some improving initiatives were not profitable, principally because of the challenge of the very wet climate at Inveraray. The Honorable Mrs Sarah Murray of Kensington observed in her 1799 guide to Scotland that 'Inveraray, to me, is the noblest place in Scotland; but the climate of it is dreadful'.<sup>98</sup> By the 1790s, the population of Inveraray had fallen by 900 from the 3rd Duke's time to 1,832.<sup>99</sup> Many of the duke's schemes were met with a lack of enthusiasm from his tenants who were often resistant to new farming methods and to the demands of a more 'civilised', urban space. For decades, there was a persistent problem of tenants allowing pigs to roam through the new town, new sewers were often blocked by dung, and rubbish was left in the streets.<sup>100</sup> It was observed that when the ducal family were not in residence at Inveraray, behaviour in the town deteriorated.<sup>101</sup>

Setting the stage of Inveraray's new town was Robert Mylne's screen of stone arches, with circular openings, lending to the town a theatrical feature with strong associations of royal celebration. Such a screen, incorporating city gates, was an architectural tradition going back centuries, and were of ceremonial and symbolic importance in Europe at the time.<sup>102</sup> Arches were a dominant feature of Robert Adam's 1762 design for the transparency and illumination at Buckingham House to mark the king's birthday.<sup>103</sup> Permanent stone arches were a common feature of entrances to royal palaces, and temporary or commemorative arches were

<sup>97</sup> Mylne, *Diaries*, 276.

<sup>98</sup> The Hon. Sarah Murray of Kensington, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland*, I (London, 1799), 358.

<sup>99</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 251.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 288.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 313.

<sup>102</sup> Steven Brindle, 'The Wellington Arch and the Western Entrance to London', *Georgian Group Journal*, XI (2001), 47-91.

<sup>103</sup> Robert Adam, *Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, ed. by Henry Rope Reed (Mineola, NY, 2006 [1st edn, 1772]), 14 and Plate 37.

characteristic of royal visits and entrances into a city. In 1778, Adam was one of a number of architects to submit designs for a screen of arches and gates for the western entrance to London.<sup>104</sup> At Inveraray, a visitor commented of the feature: ‘As an entrance to a town it is quite magnificent, and may justly be accused of promising too much’.<sup>105</sup> Ornamental in function, the arches visually bridged gaps between main street, avenue and road. Completed in 1787, this feature provided an echo of monarchical triumph and commemoration quite without equal in the Highlands at the time, or any equivalent small British town. The arches were positioned in such a way as to frame the view across the water to the Array bridge (Figure 4.10).

In such a community, a death in the ducal family marked more than the demise of an individual but the closing of an epoch or reign. On 20 December 1790, the 5th Duchess died in London, five hundred miles from Inveraray, and her embalmed corpse was borne north through Edinburgh ‘accompanied by every appendage of funeral pomp’, two days later slowly traversing Glasgow on the way to burial at Kilmun in Argyllshire.<sup>106</sup> The hearse and all six horses were decorated with escutcheons of her rank and title (including the ducal crown) and the procession through the landscape had all the hallmarks of royalty.<sup>107</sup> The new town of Inveraray gave such ceremony a formal grandeur. Indeed, Nathaniel Wraxall (1751-1831) wrote that Inveraray was famous as ‘the Versailles of the Western Highlands’.<sup>108</sup> The epoch which the funeral closed had begun almost twenty years earlier in 1771, when the duchess first took up residence at Inveraray. On this occasion, Inveraray Castle, town and inn were so crowded with notable people that it was the subject of gossip and speculation as far away as London. Antiquarian Daniel Wray (1701-93) wrote to his printer, John Nichols (1745-1826) from Dean Street, asking: ‘Have you heard of the *Congress of Inveraray* [?]’ It is significant he used the word ‘Congress’ with its connotations of a gathering of European monarchs and government ministers. Wray continued:

<sup>104</sup> Brindle, ‘Wellington Arch’, 51-58. Adam’s design featured the lion and unicorn motifs from the Adam brothers’ proposed Britannic Order of architecture: see Chapter 1: Sovereignty.

<sup>105</sup> [Rev. J. H. Mitchell], *Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland during the Years 1799 and 1800*, I (London, 1801, 257.

<sup>106</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 13 January 1791.

<sup>107</sup> *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 15 January 1791.

<sup>108</sup> NLS, Nathaniel Wraxall MSS, 3108, vol. II (15-17 July 1813), *Diary of my Tour into Scotland in the Summer of 1813*. Wraxall did not use the Versailles comparison as a compliment.



**Figure 4.10.** View through the main gate of the screen at Inveraray, looking across to the Aray bridge.



So fine a Duke, and so fine a Duchess, there, opening house after so long an *interregnum*, drew all the country—and though fifty beds were made, they were so crowded that even *David Hume*, for all his great figure as a Philosopher, and Historian, or his greatness as a fat man, was obliged [...] to make one of three in a bed.<sup>109</sup>

So crowded was the castle in this new epoch that even famous visitors were often required to stay at the inn, as was the case when Johnson and Boswell passed through Inveraray in 1773. The duke honoured them with an invitation to dinner at the castle, where Johnson was given the most prestigious place at the duke's side. Boswell recorded that his companion 'was much pleased with the remarkable grandeur and improvements about Inveraray'.<sup>110</sup> Notable figures were seen outside the environs of the castle itself, not only at the inn but at other public spaces, such as at church. One memorable occasion of the early 1770s was related by Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831), the Edinburgh lawyer and author. The celebrated atheist David Hume agreed to accompany the Duchess of Argyll's daughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Derby (1753-97), wife of Edward Smith-Stanley, 12th Earl of Derby (1752-1834), to a church service at Inveraray where the minister preached a sermon on the subject of unreasonable scepticism, causing Lady Elizabeth to remark, 'That's at you, Mr Hume'. Lady Elizabeth was the duchess' daughter from her first marriage to James Hamilton, 6th Duke of Hamilton (1724-58) and, along with the Duchess of Devonshire, was a leading figure of fashion, her activities being much reported in the press and gossiped about in society.<sup>111</sup> Trappings of court life in London were appearing in Argyllshire because of the complex of connections around monarchy.

Half a century after the 3rd Duke's first expedition to Inveraray in 1744, the Rev. Paul Fraser, minister of the parish of Inveraray, eulogised the improvements in the town in his 1793 report for the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. Since the minister owed his position to the duke's patronage, his account may suffer from a measure of bias:

About the year 1745, the present castle was begun, by Archibald Duke of Argyll, and, after a short interruption during the rebellion, it was resumed and finished. Since that time, a great sum was annually expended by him, by his successor the late Duke, and by the present, in

<sup>109</sup> Daniel Wray to John Nichols, 15 October 1771 in John Nichols, ed., *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, vols (London, 1817), I, 141-42.

<sup>110</sup> James Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL.D* (London, 1963 [1st edn. London, 1775]), 351-7.

<sup>111</sup> Henry Mackenzie, *Anecdotes and Egotisms, 1745-1831* (Oxford, 1927), 97.

making extensive enclosures, in building, planting, improving, making roads, (which in this parish are highly finished and kept in excellent repair,) and in other works of utility and decoration. It is said, that the sums laid out at Inveraray, since the 1745, do now amount to the enormous sum of £250,000, and that the present Duke, since his accession to the estate has expended at the rate of at least £3,000 *per annum*.<sup>112</sup>

When the minister refers to the duke's 'accession' he is employing the shared vocabulary of monarchy and dynasty.

The 5th Duke and his heir, Lord Lorne, typified dynastic generational tensions in their differences of taste, architectural style and economy. The 5th Duke was friendly with George III, and his heir Lorne was an MP (1790-96) and counsellor to the Prince of Wales (1812-20).<sup>113</sup> Lorne's wife, Caroline (1774-1835), was one of the 'gallery of beauties' whose portraits were commissioned by the Prince Regent.<sup>114</sup> Lorne was a young man about town in London and, whereas his father was concerned with agricultural and manufacturing improvements, Lorne kept 'very bad hours' and ran up significant gambling debts. Inveraray archives show that in 1796, James Ferrier, Writer to His Majesty's Signet, noted in making up the annual accounts that £23,900 4s 1d had to be borrowed over the year to settle Lorne's debts — at a time when only £276 3s 8d was paid out for the new kirk.<sup>115</sup> Like many titled young men, he took an interest in architecture and the archives at Inveraray reveal a number of his ideas which were not implemented. Robert Mylne's diary records many instances when he 'waited on Lord Lorne', often fruitlessly. On 13 June 1801, Mylne wrote to the 5th Duke of a consultation that had taken place ten days earlier 'to discuss the business of Porticos or Colonnades, round, or anyways attached, to the Church at Inveraray'.<sup>116</sup> Nothing came of that discussion, nor of a 'Covered Way for Inveraray town' or a market portico scheme.<sup>117</sup> In 1802, the Argylls' ruinously expensive Rosneath Castle, which had required much repair and alteration in the eighteenth century, was destroyed in a fire. Lorne decided to entirely remove the old ruin and create a new castle, in an echo of the 3rd Duke's 1740s project at Inveraray. Lorne wished to employ fashionable Italian-born architect Joseph Bonomi (1739-1808) for an

<sup>112</sup> 'Parish of Inveraray' in *Statistical Account*, 5 (1793), 296.

<sup>113</sup> <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/campbell-george-william-1768-1839>> [accessed 28 February 2023]

<sup>114</sup> Anne Mee, *Caroline, Duchess of Argyll*, c. 1813, watercolour on ivory, 20.5 x 14.7 cm, RCT, RCIN 420781.

<sup>115</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 280.

<sup>116</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 395, fn. 24.

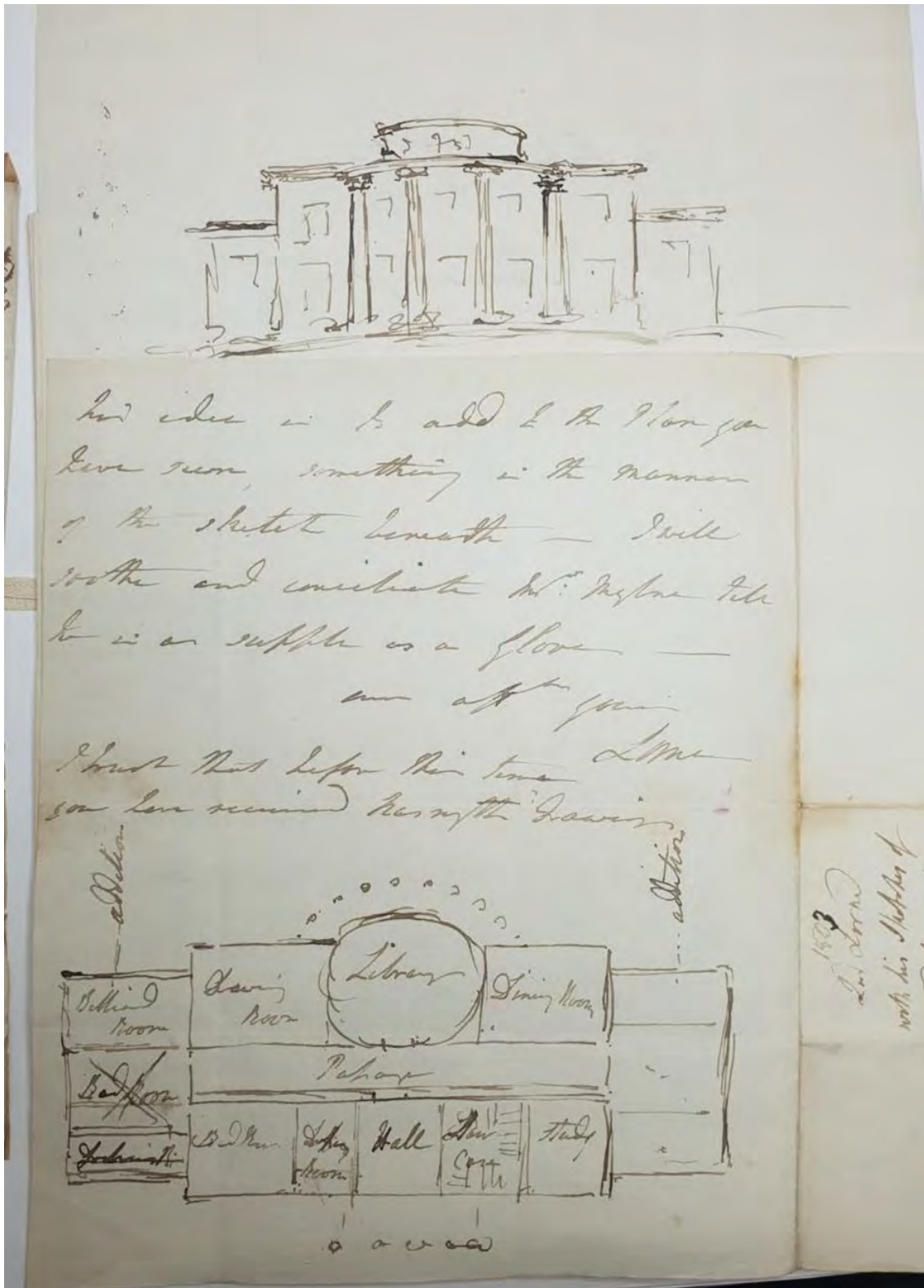
<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*, 290.

aggressively neoclassical rebuilding of the ‘castle’ at Rosneath. Thomas Telford, inspector for the Commissioners of Highlands Roads and Bridges, found the design of Rosneath exemplary, showing ‘a disposition to simplify truly laudable’.<sup>118</sup> A favourite theme of Bonomi was the *porte-cochère* portico, inspired by Henry Holland’s for the Prince of Wales’ Carlton House (1783). A *porte-cochère* portico was a long, columned, covered entrance for carriages and, at Rosneath, plans were for one such entrance portico, flanked by two more decorative porticos, and at the back of the house a round central portico, flanked by two decorative porticos, all supported by Ionic columns. In 1803, Lorne wrote to his father with a sketch of a design for the new house (Figure 4.11), illustrating the proposed round portico at the rear of the house, with a round pavilion rising above the library.<sup>119</sup> Lorne’s sketch shows how the house appeared in his imagination, with simple, regular horizontal and vertical lines and none of the castellated detail or Gothic turrets that his father preferred for a Highland setting. His vision was for a North British country seat, free of any antiquarianism and in keeping with his royal appointment as counsellor to the Prince of Wales. Bonomi first came to England at the suggestion of Robert and James Adam and worked with them at the beginning of his career, before becoming a favoured designer of English country houses. Decried by the 5th Duke as ‘your chaste Italian casino’, Rosneath as built to Lorne’s taste demonstrated an evolution in the dynastic trappings of a Highland chief, from the castellated castle pioneered at Inveraray to elegant country house. Begun in 1803 and finally completed in 1822, Rosneath caused the 5th Duke much anxiety. In a series of cautionary letters to his son, he explained his misgiving over the high cost of Rosneath and its unsuitability to the environment: ‘Your display of Taste, & Bonomis [*sic*] fame are Secur’d—but let me observe to you en passant that, Taste without Prudence & Economy, is a Mill stone about a Mans Neck’.<sup>120</sup> The Gothic style of the 3rd Duke’s Inveraray Castle had for the time being fallen out of fashion, superseded by the purer neo-classicism of the 1790s. One of the first guide books to the Highlands, published in 1797, now found Inveraray Castle ‘not suited to the grandeur of the surrounding scenery’, reflecting the fashion of the times which would expect

<sup>118</sup> Thomas Telford, ‘Essay on Civil Architecture’ in Sir David Brewster, ed., *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, 18 vols, (Edinburgh, 1830), 6, 651.

<sup>119</sup> Argyll Archives, NRAS1209/324, Lord Lorne to Duke of Argyll, 1803. Rosneath, built to this design, was demolished in 1961. The round portico was never built: Ian Gow, *Scotland’s Lost Houses* (London, 2006), 117-23.

<sup>120</sup> Argyll Archives, 5th to 7th Dukes file, Duke of Argyll to Lord Lorne, 24 April, 1803.



**Figure 4.11:** Sketch, Lord Lorne to the Duke of Argyll, 1803, Argyll Archives, Inveraray Castle, NRAS 1209/324. Author's image with the permission of the Argyll Archive, Inveraray.

a grand neoclassical statement, such as the Duke of Gordon's monumental Gordon Castle, near Fochabers.<sup>121</sup> Around this same time, construction of a new palace at Kew for George III, begun in 1802 to a design said to be influenced by Inveraray Castle, was demolished by George IV.<sup>122</sup>

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the 'improvements' in agriculture and manufacturing were not prospering as the 5th Duke had hoped. Revenue in the town remained small and the industries introduced, such as the woollen and linen factories, depended upon the duke's philanthropy to survive. Tourism now so dominated the activities of the town that the Travellers' Guide of 1798 noted of Inveraray: 'It has become so much the resort of travellers, of late, that any description is almost unnecessary'.<sup>123</sup> A Grand Tour of the Highlands was now as much part of the education of a gentleman as that of the Continent, and noblemen, painters, poets, scholars and ordinary citizens came to Inveraray with sketchbooks and diaries to hand. J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851), James Hogg (1770-1835) and William Wordsworth (1770-1850) were among the visitors. On 28 August 1803, from the inn at Arrochar, twenty-one miles east of Inveraray, Dorothy Wordsworth observed a large party on the opposite side of Loch Long. 'A striking procession' of a coach and four horses, carriages and men on horseback, caused her to reflect: 'Twenty years ago, perhaps, such a sight had not been seen here except with the Duke of Argyle, or some other Highland chieftain, might chance to be going with his family to London or Edinburgh'.<sup>124</sup> Her words showed that the ducal family remained a presence in visitors' imagination and part of the appeal of Inveraray for the first tourists seems to be the glamour and prestige of the Argylls. Repeatedly when recording impressions of Inveraray, visitors made the natural analogy with royalty or monarchical domain. As Daniel Defoe wrote in 1761: 'Here the Duke of Argyle has built a stately palace, on purpose to indicate what, in so advantageous a Situation, posterity may do for enlarging and embellishing the Town'.<sup>125</sup> The Argyll dukedom was a prism through which the community of Argyllshire perceived imagined monarchy from a multitude — not single instances — of images, associations and interactions.

<sup>121</sup> James McNayr, *A Guide from Glasgow, to Some of the Most Remarkable Scenes in the Highlands of Scotland and to the Falls of the Clyde* (1797), 146.

<sup>122</sup> Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 328-33.

<sup>123</sup> *The Travellers' Guide Through Scotland and its Islands* (Edinburgh, 1829 [first publ. 1798]), 252.

<sup>124</sup> *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, II, 14.

<sup>125</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Tour*, IV, 211.

## North British Towns

Inveraray has been recognised as pioneering the new planned town or village in Scotland, as Scottish aristocrats and landed gentry sought to emulate the Dukes of Argyll. The Dukes of Argyll and other landed magnates were central to a number of institutions which were established during the eighteenth century directed at ‘improvement’ in Scotland, including in agriculture, fisheries and industry, and also on the building of schools and churches in the Highlands.<sup>126</sup> The Hanoverian monarchy was strongly associated with these, either through the granting of Royal Charters, holding of presidential office, the creation of medals, and financial support. In 1750, an act of parliament established the Free British Fishery company to revive Britain’s fishing industry. Its first governor was Frederick, Prince of Wales, who died the following year and was succeeded as governor by George William Frederick, Prince of Wales (and future George III). Medals of the Society were struck, with a bust of Prince Frederick on one side and on the reverse fishermen with nets, barrel and trawler in the background with the motto, ‘To the Advantage of Great Britain’. The company failed in 1772, and its assets were put up for auction. In 1786, the British Fisheries Society was created. Its first governor and chairman was the 5th Duke of Argyll. Most of the directors were Scottish aristocrats and improving peers on the board included the Earl of Moray, the Earl of Abercorn and (as deputy chairman) the Earl of Breadalbane.<sup>127</sup> The Highland Society of London, established in 1778 by Scottish landowning peers and baronets in London, was also important in connecting improving landowners to government subsidies and City of London finance. Its presidents over its first twenty-five years included the Dukes of Montrose, Gordon, Atholl, Hamilton and Argyll and, in 1806, the king’s son, Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, became its president. The aims of the Society were to establish and support education in the Highlands and to promote the improvement and

<sup>126</sup> The Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, founded 1723, disbanded 1745; the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, established by royal charter 1709, to build schools and churches in the Highlands; the Board of Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures and Improvements in Scotland, established 1727, to make grants to encourage the growth of the fishing and manufacturing industries; the Commission for the Management of the Forfeited Annexed Estates, established 1747 to manage and improve estates forfeited to the Crown after the 1745-46 Jacobite rebellion; the British Linen Company (later the British Linen Bank), established by royal charter in 1746 to fund and regulate the linen industry; the British Fisheries Society, established 1787; the Highland Society of Scotland, founded in 1784 and granted a royal charter in 1787, to promote agricultural improvement; and the Highland Society of London founded in 1778 to promote and support the traditions and culture of the Highlands.

<sup>127</sup> Daniel Maudlin, ‘Highland Planned Villages: The Architecture of the British Fisheries Society’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2002),

general welfare of the northern parts of Great Britain.<sup>128</sup> The Argylls' Edinburgh manager, Lord Milton, was one of the first trustees for the Improvement of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland in 1727. In 1744, the 3rd Duke subscribed £3,000 and brought in other investors to establish the British Linen Company in Edinburgh. Its Royal Charter was delayed by the Jacobite rising and received the king's signature on 5 July 1746. The duke was governor, and Milton deputy governor, and Milton's family provided many of the most practical measures in creating the linen industry, including patronage of the noted Meikle family who provided milling machinery at Saltoun, East Lothian. By 1774, a letter in the *Caledonian Mercury* noted: 'It is with great pleasure I perceive, that his Grace the Duke of Argyle, my Lord Gardenston [*sic*], and many other worthy gentlemen in Scotland, are now patronising its staple, the Woollen Manufacture'.<sup>129</sup> It was also noted in the press at the time that the 3rd Duke had introduced new breeds of sheep, and the 5th Duke's launch of a woollen factory at Inveraray in 1774 received fulsome praise:

We hear that his Grace the Duke of Argyle is going to establish a manufacture [*sic*] of woollen cloth in the town of Inveraray [*sic*] [...] It were to be wished that the nobility and gentlemen of Scotland would follow the example of the patriotic Duke [...] and spend their money on encouraging industry and agriculture in their native country in place of squandering it abroad in folly and dissipation.<sup>130</sup>

Such positive publicity no doubt encouraged other Scottish peers to follow the duke's example; it also disguised the duke's receipt of financial assistance from such improving bodies as the Trustees for Manufacturers and the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The latter body was charged with dispensing the 'royal bounty' of £1,000 received every year from the king. Some idea of the extent of improvement across Scotland can be gleaned from the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, published between 1791 and 1799.<sup>131</sup> The *Statistical Account* was the idea of Sir John Sinclair (1754-1835), politician, author, wealthy landowner and lay member of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Sinclair was a notable agricultural and manufacturing improver, especially in his native Caithness, responsible for at least five planned settlements, including Thurso new town (1810). He set up the Board of Agriculture in 1793, established by Royal Charter to promote

<sup>128</sup> <<https://Highlandsocietyoflondon.org/history.php>> [accessed 9 March 2023]

<sup>129</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 9 January 1775.

<sup>130</sup> *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 3 January 1775, reprinted in *Scots Magazine*, January 1775.

<sup>131</sup> *Statistical Account*, 21 vols (Edinburgh, 1791-9).

agricultural improvement, and was its first president. It received an annual parliamentary grant of £3,000 with the king's approval. Sinclair's position in the church made him familiar with ministers' pivotal role in every community. He sent out a questionnaire of 171 enquiries to ministers in each of the 938 parishes, establishing an editorial team in Edinburgh to compile answers with the objective of systemising and condensing an exhaustive survey of Scotland, in terms of topography, built environment, economy, demographics, religion, schools and the poor. Sinclair's *Statistical Account* was an Enlightenment project designed to assemble knowledge of Scotland in a rational format as an instrument for 'national improvement'.<sup>132</sup> On 28 October 1798, Sinclair wrote to Henry Dundas with two sets of the completed Statistical Account, desiring that one set is presented to 'His Majesty who is fond of such investigations'.<sup>133</sup> Within the entry for each parish, the main landowner and their attitude to improvement received attention under the heading 'Proprietors and rents'. It should be remembered that the minister would owe their position to the major landowner, the predominant heritor, in each parish and would therefore be unlikely to be overly critical, although there are plenty of examples of implied criticism or suggestions of where more could be done.<sup>134</sup> In the entries making up the 21 volumes of the *Statistical Account*, the word 'improvement' is mentioned in 766 instances. The entry for New Keith does not feature the word 'improvement' but the subject is discussed in some detail by the Reverend Alexander Humphrey, demonstrating that there was more on the subject in the *Statistical Account* than a word search can reveal. In the section headed 'Proprietors and Rent', hierarchy is observed, with the Earl of Findlater mentioned first before the lairds and gentry. The role of the Earl of Findlater and Earl of Fife in creating the new towns of respectively New Keith and New Mill is recorded:

About the year 1750, the late Lord Findlater divided a barren muir [moor], and feued it out in small lots, according to a regular plan, still adhered to, on which there now stands a large, regular, and tolerably thriving village, called *New Keith*. Soon after [...] the late Lord Fife began to erect a village on the north side of the parish, and then feued out a considerable tract of land, called the *New Town of New Mill*.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Sir John Sinclair, 'Address to the Clergy of the Church of England, Appendix F. in *Communications to the Board of Agriculture on Subjects Relative to the Husbandry, and Internal Improvement of the County* (London, 1797), xxxv.

<sup>133</sup> NRS, Melville Castle Papers, GD51/9/254, Sir John Sinclair to Henry Dundas, 28 October 1798.

<sup>134</sup> For more on the role of heritors, see Chapter 5: Instruction.

<sup>135</sup> 'Parish of Keith', *Statistical Account*, V (1793), 414-30. The earls referred to were James Ogilvy, 6th Earl of Findlater (1714-70) and William Robert Duff, 1st Earl of Fife (1697-1763).



Reverend Humphrey goes on to praise Lord Findlater's factor for his diligence in repairing the roads and bridges serving Keith, enforcing a legal obligation on the locals to contribute their labour, though the inhabitants 'murmur a little' in complaint.<sup>136</sup> It was typical that a titled landowner would pay most attention to the town or village nearest to their county seat. During the age of improvement, there was a great deal of construction, reconstruction and extension of county houses and castles to create the impression of taste, sophistication, and wealth. These would also be recorded in the *Statistical Account*, such as for Lord Fife's Duff House in the parish of Banff, neighbouring New Keith. The Reverend Abercromby Gordon described:

Duff House and Park— Duff House, the principal seat of the Earl of Fife, and the beautiful scenery of his Lordship's park, are well known to the tourist, and described in the journals of several celebrated travellers. The house is a large quadrangular building, planned and executed by the late celebrated [William] Adam.

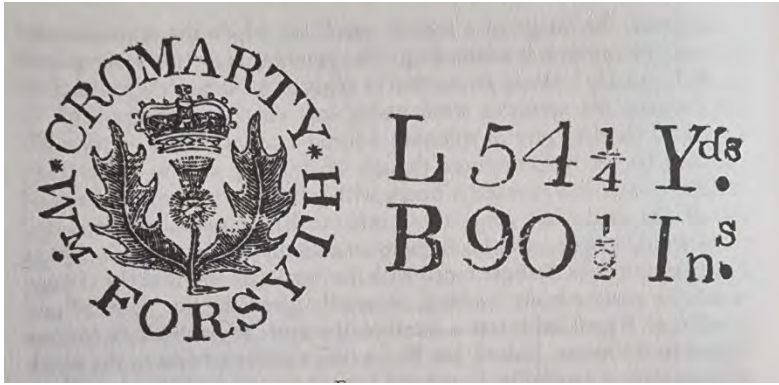
The minister goes on to describe the interior and contents of Duff House, including portraiture by Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) and Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), the library, the coin and medal collection, and the park and 'pleasure ground'.

These new towns and villages brought a degree of urban culture to rural communities in Scotland. Military victories and thanksgiving days were celebrated in many Scottish burghs, but the event that attracted the most expenditure was the king's birthday.<sup>137</sup> In November 1745, at the height of the Jacobite rebellion, it was reported that 'there were Rejoicings on the King's Birth Day in almost every Town and Village in Scotland'.<sup>138</sup> It was not just on anniversaries that inhabitants of a local community wanted to demonstrate loyalty to a Hanoverian monarchy. In the planned Highland village of Cromarty, on the tip of the Black Isle on the shore of the Cromarty Firth, many in the area had benefited from the state's funding of its harbour and associated industries. Figure 4.12 shows the linen stamp, complete with crown and thistle, of William Forsyth (1722-1800), who was the first agent in the Highlands of the British Linen Company. The crown on the stamp is an example of mundane

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, 426.

<sup>137</sup> Bob Harris, "'To Solemize His Majesty's Birthday': New Perspectives on Loyalism in George II's Britain", *History*, 83 (1988), 397-419.

<sup>138</sup> *Penny London Post*, 11-13 November 1745.



**Figure 4.12.** Wm Forsyth, Cromarty, linen stamp, c. 1780, NRS NG1/18, Registers of Stamps for Cloth.

monarchy and signified the linen had reached the approved standard of the British Linen Company. The working people were predominantly loyal Hanoverian monarchists — in the 1790s, a Cromarty salmon fisherman insisted on drinking a toast to George III at the conclusion of a bargain made with two bemused English drovers.<sup>139</sup>

The Cromarty militia in 1802 numbered 160 men, and by 1806 it had more than doubled to 328. The Local Militia Act, 1808, abolished pay for militia and most units disbanded, but the Cromarty volunteers only stood down ten years later in 1818. Their colours were still being displayed in the town as late as 1850 at a subscription ball.<sup>140</sup> The planned town of Cromarty was developed in the 1770s by London Scot George Ross, who built his fortune supplying the British army in the Seven Years War, with the approval of commander-in-chief, the Duke of Cumberland. This was made possible through his connections as a lawyer-agent for Duncan Forbes of Culloden. Ross was then taken under the patronage of the 3rd Duke of Argyll, and, when he moved to London, lived in accommodation of the duke's in Argyll Street. Appointed as the London agent of Scotland's Convention of Royal Burghs, Ross went on to hold the position for twenty-five years. By 1807, a visitor to Cromarty noted many genteel people there, as fashionably dressed as any in London. It was one of several planned towns in Scotland to have a George Street as its main thoroughfare. In Cromarty's George Street, there was a hotel and coffee room providing customers with London newspapers.<sup>141</sup> Cromarty was staunchly Hanoverian, and the *Inverness Journal* of 21 April 1820 recorded the names of thirty signatories from Cromarty to a loyal address to the king.

<sup>139</sup> David Alston, *My Little Cromarty: The History of a Northern Scottish Town* (Edinburgh, 2006), 231-2.

<sup>140</sup> Alton, *Cromarty*, 230-31.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*, 224-6.

To assess some of the aggregate impact on Scotland's environment of the Scottish dynastic regime, I have researched seven dukedoms and sixty-three earldoms over the period 1746-1830 to identify Scottish peers and baronets building of country seats and involvement in the creation of new towns and villages.<sup>142</sup> Of seven dukedoms extant for the period, six built or extended country houses in their ancestral estates in Scotland, all including neoclassical architecture, and five constructed planned towns or villages with extensive road and bridge works.<sup>143</sup> The Dukes of Argyll, Gordon and Atholl alone were responsible for multiple planned towns or villages in their extensive ancestral landholdings, often to establish new industry and centres of commerce for displaced agricultural workers or demobbed soldiers, with varying degrees of success. Stanley Mills (1784) was an economic success as a new cotton-mill town for the Duke of Atholl, growing to a population of over 2,000 by 1838, but his planned village of Waterloo (1815) for demobbed soldiers did not prosper, with only 100 inhabitants by 1838.<sup>144</sup> Of 63 earldoms, 44 (70 per cent) were responsible for neoclassical country houses or substantial neoclassical extensions to existing houses or castles. Examples include the huge mansion of Gosford House in East Lothian built between 1790 and 1800 for the Earl of Wemyss to the design of Robert Adam, and work on extensions and interior finishes at Hopetoun House carried out throughout the eighteenth century for the Hope family, earls of Hopetoun. Thirty of the earldoms (47 per cent) were responsible for at least one planned town or village and many built several. The earls of Hopetoun bought the first model village in Scotland, Ormiston, East Lothian, planned Leadhills village in the 1740s — where William Adam built the mine manager's house — and founded the successful spa town of Moffat in the 1790s with assembly rooms and hot and cold mineral baths. In 1756, Charles Elgin, 5th Earl of Elgin laid out Charlestown in Fife in the shape of his initials, C and E. Dynastic motivation for improvement arose through a combination of economic, reputational and amenity considerations. Often a planned village was the solution to displacing a traditional settlement or *baile* grouped around an earl's older castle or tower house, interfering with plans for a Palladian mansion in a landscaped setting. One of the earliest industrialised model villages, Charlestown, was a harbour town for shipping coal from the earl's mines. The nomenclature of roads in planned towns and villages often combined

<sup>142</sup> Appendix 4: Sovereignty Directory.

<sup>143</sup> These are the dukedoms of Argyll, Atholl, Buccleuch, Gordon, Hamilton, Montrose and Roxburghe. The dukedom of Douglas became extinct in 1761 and the dukedom of Queensberry was subsumed into that of Roxburghe in 1810.

<sup>144</sup> *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 15 vols (Edinburgh, 1834-45), 10, 442.

royalty and local dynasty, and as well as numerous ‘George’ streets, there were many ‘Charlotte’ and ‘Duke’ streets. In total, the seven dukedoms and sixty-three earldoms — seventy peerages in all — were responsible for seventy-nine planned towns or villages. As well as country houses and planned settlements, there were a number of instances of memorialising structures being erected, examples including obelisks, columns, and Grecian temples. Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, was remembered by ‘his personal friends in the county of Perth’ with a seventy-two feet obelisk, erected in 1812 at his Dunira estate, a year after his death. At the Adam designed Cullen House, the Earl of Seafield added a rotunda, with a concealed ladies’ tearoom beneath, in his parkland. Perhaps most eccentric of all, the Earl of Dunmore built ‘the Pineapple’ summer house in 1761 in Stirlingshire, a circular structure with an intricate roof shaped like a pineapple. This reflected the earl’s extensive collection of glass houses and the wide variety of fruits and vegetables grown in his garden. At this time, pineapples symbolised power and wealth and architects were increasingly using them as motifs to decorate gateways and other features. Other London Scots emulated senior aristocrats to create planned towns and villages as a means of demonstrating wealth and social status in Scotland, as the example of Sir Lawrence Dundas’ purchase of Laurieston shows.<sup>145</sup> In terms of sheer numbers, the Adam architectural dynasty — William Adam (1689-1748) and his sons John (1721-92), Robert and James (1732-94) — dominated commissions. Of forty-four neoclassical earl’s country houses, the Adam family were engaged in some capacity with twenty, whether creating an entirely new mansion, remodelling, or extending an existing structure, or designing interiors, fittings and furniture. Robert Adam’s prominence was a consequence of his success in London, sovereign appointment, and commissions in England for the most prestigious aristocratic projects.

Some Scottish aristocrats became notorious for their policies towards their Scottish estates. At the start of the nineteenth century, the earl and Countess of Sutherland’s ‘improvements’ displaced up to 15,000 people from their estates to make room for sheep. The estate factor Patrick Sellar (1780-1851) became infamous for his sometimes brutal methods of eviction, which included house-burning.<sup>146</sup> However, a year after the duke’s death in 1833, a 100-foot statue of the duke was erected — supposedly by the subscriptions of ‘a mourning and grateful tenantry’ — to the west of the planned town of Golspie, one mile from the Sutherland

<sup>145</sup> See Chapter 1: Sovereignty.

<sup>146</sup> Devine, *Scottish Clearances*, 226-8.

ancestral home of Dunrobin Castle. Sutherland damaged the reputation of Scottish landowners in Hanoverian North Britain, seeming to embody remote London landowners, disconnected from the environment and inhabitants of their Scottish estate. As such, they remind us that dynastic associations could sometimes be unfavourable for imagined monarchy.

## Conclusion

We have seen that the period of study began with a Scottish ducal dynasty dedicating the building of a magnificent new castle in the Highlands to the victor of Culloden, the king's second son, William, Duke of Cumberland. The period ended with another new castle being built by the same ducal dynasty to a design emulating the future George IV's Carlton House. In the planning and execution of the Inveraray Castle and new town, the Duke of Argyll benefited from the assistance of the fiscal-military state. This was due to the dynasty's relationship of mutual support with the Hanoverian monarchy. We have seen that the Argylls dynastic rank represented both literally and figuratively a succession of bridges between the community of Argyllshire and the monarchy. A significant factor was the individual personality of successive dukes in communicating to the outside world their commitment to Inveraray as the Scottish heartland of the dynasty's power. Civic projects in the town were linked through elaborate ceremony to a partnership between 'an excellent KING, and [...] a generous and discerning PATRON'. A distinctively Hanoverian North British urban identity was introduced with Inveraray's new town, with its public buildings, including neoclassical courthouse, town house, church and inn. Conceptions of space and time were altered by infrastructure improvements, such as the post moving from weekly to daily service and increased frequency of coach services. The ducal family mirrored the munificence of monarchy in attempting to sponsor new agricultural methods and industries, the building of model farms and new methods of estate management. Customary ways of organisation were increasingly replaced by legal methods. In modernising the paradigm of dynastic rule in the locality, the Dukes of Argyll began the process of conditioning the people of Argyllshire to the greater paradigm of Hanoverian rule of the British fiscal-military state. The power of dynasty was vested in symbolism, and buildings, infrastructure and objects were expressly designed to communicate dynastic power and hereditary legitimacy. Most imaginatively transformative of all was the extraordinary mastery of a previously inaccessible and inhospitable environment. We have seen that the Dukes of Argyll paid close attention to the

impression created as visitors approached Inveraray. Newspapers and travel guides created a powerful image of Inveraray in people's imagination which often used the language of monarchy, such as 'prince', 'stately' or 'palace', to convey the correspondent's perspective of the ducal domain. Despite the 5th Duke's attempts to introduce new industry to Inveraray, many endeavours were not sustained after his death, but the unintended consequence of tourism continued to bring economic benefit to the town and surrounding countryside. As with monarchy, the irresponsible behaviour of an heir could damage the reputation of the dynasty and be a drain on the resources of the community.

Inveraray new town in its early years was an exemplar of improvement that inspired emulation among other Scottish peers and titled landowners. The pattern of dismantling and relocating a settlement to make way for a new country seat and parkland was repeated across Scotland. These new towns provided rural locations with a hitherto unknown urban sensibility, bringing new inns, coffee houses and other public spaces. Such improvements allowed for shared experience of local and national calendrical celebrations, the most popular of which was the king's birthday. Greater access to newspapers, journals and interaction with visitors expanded the range and geographical spread of shared experiences. Significant engagement across the ranks of the Scottish peerage in infrastructure and building projects in Scotland was achieved through a complex of connection between dynastic families, monarchical philanthropy and state engagement. Initiatives like the *Statistical Account* embodied shared experience and spread the philosophy of improvement. This is not to claim that the impact of the ruling dynastic order was always favourable. As events in Sutherland and elsewhere demonstrated, dynastic interest did not always align with community interests and perceptions of improvement in North Britain. Nevertheless, changes in the environment of Scotland during the age of improvement associated dynastic rule with new architectural forms, roads, bridges, churches, and mercantile endeavours. These in turn became new source of the images, associations and interactions which communicated the language of hereditary elite status shared with the monarchy.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Duindam, *Dynasty*, 80.



### **PART THREE: SCOTTISH REALM**

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‘Scottish Realm’ recognises that some aspects of Scotland’s history, whether as a matter of law or in characterisation, are unique. The established church in Scotland was a uniquely Scottish institution and independent of the king and British state. Scotland’s law and legal system were also distinct but were still subject to legislation from the king-in-parliament. The Church of Scotland, on the other hand, was entirely autonomous and jealously guarded its independence. Scottish history has itself been characterised as uniquely infused with myth and ‘invention’. George IV’s 1822 visit has been cited as evidence for this proposition and, therefore, the historiography of that event is here treated as within the ‘Scottish Realm’.





## Chapter 5: Instruction

‘The only people to be trusted are the Church of Scotland’.

William, Duke of Cumberland to Duke of Newcastle, February 1746.<sup>1</sup>

‘The King goes in state to the High Church to-day which will do more than any other thing to make him popular’.

Jane Grant, 25 August 1822.<sup>2</sup>

In old Scots, ‘instructio(u)n’ (also ‘instruct(c)ioun(e)’, ‘instruccyoune’ and ‘instrucion’), meaning simply ‘teaching’, dates back to at least the early fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> John Knox’s (c 1415-1572) *First Book of Discipline* (1550), the foundational document of the Church of Scotland, emphasises the importance of instruction, envisaging the establishment of schools in every parish feeding into universities which would supply not just the needs of the church, but of the wider ‘Commonwealth’.<sup>4</sup> This chapter explores associations between Hanoverian monarchy and Scotland’s established church, schools, universities and other institutions of learning in Scotland between 1746 and 1830. ‘Instruction’ — meaning ‘that which is taught; knowledge and authoritative guidance imparted by one person to another’ — is the chapter title for two reasons.<sup>5</sup> First, the chapter takes a synthesising approach to religion and education to capture the effect of the related ways in which the Hanoverian monarchy interacted with the principal institutions of instruction. Second, the term is well suited to the interwoven histories of Presbyterianism and education in Scotland. This blend of religion and public education took a specific form in Scotland following the Reformation, reflected in the literature on both subjects.<sup>6</sup> From the early 1560s, the reformers set about establishing a

<sup>1</sup> BL, Newcastle MSS, 32706, fo.148, Cumberland to Newcastle, February 1746.

<sup>2</sup> A Contemporary Account of the Royal Visit to Edinburgh, 1822’, ed. Skinner, 148.

<sup>3</sup> ‘A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (up to 1700)’ in *Dictionaries of the Scots Language*. <<https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/instruicoun>> [accessed 4 November 2021]

<sup>4</sup> J. Knox, ‘Book of Discipline: VII: Of Schools and Universities’ in J. Knox, *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland; with which are included Knox’s Confession and the Book of Discipline* (London, 1905), 382-90. See also Alistair Mutch, “‘Shared Protestantism’ and British identity: contrasting church governance practices in eighteenth-century Scotland and England”, *Social History*, 38 (2013), 474.

<sup>5</sup> *OED*.

<sup>6</sup> Religion: David Ferguson and Mark Elliott, eds, *The History of Scottish Theology, Volume II, From the Early Enlightenment to the Victorian Era* (Oxford, 2019); Stewart J. Brown, ‘Religion and Society to c. 1900’ in T.M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2014), 78-98; John McIntosh, *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party 1740-1800* (East Linton, 1998); Callum Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh, 1997); Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh, 1973); Devine, *Scottish*

godly commonwealth in Scotland, modelled on Calvin's Geneva, putting an emphasis on preaching and an innovative design of education. This envisioned a primary school in every parish and opportunity for boys of every social background to attend a larger burgh school and university.<sup>7</sup>

After the Church of Scotland was settled as presbyterian in 1690, with the accession to the Scottish throne of William and Mary in 1689, the church shaped beliefs for much of the Scottish population.<sup>8</sup> From the 1750s to the early 1830s, the church was controlled by its Moderate party, a group of ministers and lay leaders who supported improvement and social progress, emphasising practical ethics, and religious toleration. Instruction began with the minister and parish school and extended to universities and professional bodies. Shaping beliefs depended in part upon communication and association between these institutions, particularly the established church and the monarchy. Given the history of conflict between the monarchy and Covenanting Presbyterians in Scotland, and the fact that the established church in England was episcopalian, it was important to the security of both the monarchy and the established church in Scotland to be — and appear to be — in harmony with one another. An important connection between monarchy and institutional instruction was the wider dynastic regime around monarchy. Hence, under the Moderates' control, the Church of Scotland's role as educator of the nation in the age of improvement worked through close cooperation between the church and the landed elites of Scotland. The Popular party in the church dissented from this pro-patronage outlook of the Moderates.<sup>9</sup> We have seen that the established church was one respect in which Scotland retained some characteristics of the pre-1707 British composite monarchy. Hanoverian monarchy was interacting with different,

*Nation*, 84-102; Smout, *History*, 199-222; John R. McIntosh, *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740-1800* (East Linton, 2001. Education: Robert Anderson et al, eds, *The Edinburgh History of Education* (Edinburgh, 2015); James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, 2 vols (London, 1969); John Edgar, *History of Early Scottish Education* (Edinburgh, 1893); Alex Wright, *The History of Education and of the old Parish Schools of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1898); T.C. Smout, *History*, 421-450; R Anderson, 'In search of the "Lad of Parts": the mythical history of Scottish education, *History Workshop*, 19 (1985), 82-104; Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 2015).

<sup>7</sup> Brown, 'Religion and Society', 80.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 84-5. Only after the Revolution settlement was the structure of the established church in Scotland finally resolved by the Claim of Right, 1689, committing William III to restore Presbyterianism, removing any lingering possibility of episcopacy (i.e., bishops): Stewart and Nugent, *Union and Revolution*, 51-75.

<sup>9</sup> McIntosh, *Church and Theology*, passim.

and sometimes conflicting, confessional faiths across its constituent realms, including the Lutheran churches of Hanover.<sup>10</sup>

The chapter is divided into three sections: ‘Worship’, ‘Infrastructure’ and ‘Improvement’. For *Worship*, the sources examined include records of occasions of special national worship in the Church of Scotland (and Scottish Episcopal Church), proceedings of the church’s General Assembly, printed sermons, pamphlets and newspaper reports. For *Infrastructure*, specific case studies of new ‘Hanoverian’ churches will address relationships between the established church and the dynastic network, such as in the building of church, manse and school in the new town of Fochabers, Morayshire. *Improvement* examines the role of monarchy and the church in the development of schools in Scotland, focusing on three schools. This section also considers Scotland’s universities and their close relations with the established church; ‘Royal’ professional and learned bodies; and monarchy’s sponsorship of vocational awards and medals.<sup>11</sup> The aim is to assess the extent of monarchical engagement, connection and association in these three spheres.

### **Worship**

The monarch was not head of the Church of Scotland as was the case with the state churches of England and Ireland. The Church of Scotland adhered to the *Westminster Confession of Faith* of 1646, ratified by the Scottish Parliament in 1690, which stated that Jesus Christ ‘as King and Head of His Church hath therein appointed a government, in the hands of Church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate’.<sup>12</sup> Royal supremacy in religious matters was therefore not recognised by Scotland’s established church. In combination with the church’s presbyterian structure, a difference in supreme spiritual and ecclesiastical authority meant that ‘establishment’ of the church in Scotland had an alternative meaning and effect than in

<sup>10</sup> G.M. Ditchfield, *George III: An Essay in Monarchy* (London, 2002), 77-108; idem, ‘Visions of Kingship in Britain under George III and George IV’ in Andreas Gestrich and Michael Schaich, eds, *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical Culture* (Farnham, 2015), 187-204; in the same volume see Michael Schaich, ‘Introduction’, 1-22; Jeremy Gregory, ‘The Hanoverians and the Colonial Churches’, 107-25; Andrew C. Thompson, ‘The confessional dimension’, in Brendan Simms and Torsten Rott, eds, *The Hanoverian Dimension in British History, 1714-1837* (Cambridge, 2007), 161-82.

<sup>11</sup> Brown, ‘Moderate Theology and Preaching to c. 1750-1800’ in Ferguson and Elliott, eds, *History*, 69.

<sup>12</sup> *Westminster Confession of Faith*, ch. 30, s.1. The *Westminster Confession of Faith* superseded the 1560 *Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland*, drawn up by John Knox and other leaders of the Reformation in Scotland, as the Church of Scotland’s ‘subordinate standard’, i.e., foundational statement of Reformed doctrine and presbyterian organisation.

England.<sup>13</sup> The precise relationship between monarch, civil authority and established church in Scotland was a sensitive issue throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, giving rise to tensions, dissent and schism in the church. That said, the Church of Scotland was locked in loyalty to the Hanoverian monarchs who were wholeheartedly committed — under personal oath on accession to the throne — to safeguarding the security of the church against episcopacy and Catholicism. On 19 May 1749, the General Assembly passed an *Act and Recommendation for Preaching on the Principles of the Reformation and Revolution*.<sup>14</sup> Here the General Assembly stated they ‘do therefore earnestly beseech and obtest all the ministers of this Church to continue to be diligent in instructing the people committed to their care in those principles [...] on which the late glorious Revolution, and our present happy establishment, are founded’. ‘Principles of the Revolution’ are explicitly linked in the act to ‘fidelity and allegiance to our most gracious Sovereign King George’. The act recommended that all ministers of the church ‘preach expressly, and on purpose, on the subjects above mentioned [...] at least four Lord’s days every year, with proper exhortations to their people’. Presbyteries were recommended to closely monitor ‘the character and behaviour of schoolmasters [...] that they instruct the youth in just principles of religion and loyalty’.

It is critically important to appreciate that the monarch *was* represented in the established church by the Lord High Commissioner of the Church of Scotland, invariably a Scottish peer, appointed by the king. The Lord High Commissioner attended as a conspicuous observer during annual meetings of the General Assembly and corresponded with the Commission of the General Assembly, which took decisions for the church in periods between the General Assembly’s annual meetings. All eleven holders of the office of Lord High Commissioner between 1746 and 1830 were titled landowners. The General Assembly itself was the apex of the church’s ostensibly democratic hierarchical court structure.<sup>15</sup> At the parish level was the kirk session, comprising the minister, lay elders and a session clerk (assistant to the minister and customarily the parish schoolmaster). Elders were nominally elected by the congregation, but in practice chosen by the heritors, a civil body of landowners obliged by law to build and

<sup>13</sup> Established churches are those recognised by law as the official church of the nation and supported by the state. In the United Kingdom of the period of study, the established churches were the Church of England and Church of Ireland, both episcopalian in structure, and the Church of Scotland, presbyterian.

<sup>14</sup> *Act and Recommendation for Preaching the Principles of the Reformation and Revolution*, 19 May 1749, *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842*, BHO. <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/church-scotland-records/acts/1638-1842/pp698-701>> [accessed 18 September 2021]

<sup>15</sup> Brown, *Religion and Society*, 18. The legalistic hierarchy of courts and courts of appeal stemmed from John Calvin having originally trained as a lawyer.

uphold the parish church, manse, glebe (minister's smallholding) and parish school.<sup>16</sup> The session formed a self-perpetuating oligarchy, albeit one in theory open to challenge by the congregation.<sup>17</sup> Kirk sessions operated as congregational courts on matters of discipline and religious doctrine. Sessions of a district sent representatives (ministers and elders) to the presbytery, which supervised the clergy and formed a first court of appeal. Presbyteries sent representatives to the regional synod and also to the national General Assembly, which met annually. From the General Assembly down to the parish level, people experienced 'contiguity' (to use Hume's word) with monarchy through the rituals of the church, wherein monarchy was represented as the high centre of the state. The influence of the church in all aspects of Scottish lives was greater than that of a distant state in Edinburgh and London.<sup>18</sup>

In the mid-eighteenth century, the governance and management structure of the church comprised 16 synods, 77 presbyteries and 874 parishes. Two major synods, Glasgow (134 parishes) and Edinburgh (104 parishes), dominated affairs. Ministers' and elders' conduct was closely monitored by the presbyteries.<sup>19</sup> The church's legalistic corporate practices included codification of ministers' responsibilities (for example, to visit every family in their parish at least once a year) and disciplinary sanctions. An example of clergy discipline is the case of Alexander Stronach, minister of Lochbroom in the Highlands. Lochcarron Presbytery suspended Stronach indefinitely 'from the office of the holy ministry' in 1798 for being by 'Habit and Repute a drunkard' and embezzling kirk session funds for seven years. A replacement minister was appointed.<sup>20</sup> Ministers were also disciplined for lesser offences, such as lax record-keeping. Although appointed for life, ministers could be, and were, unseated from their parishes for repeated offences. Therefore, when an 'act' (formal order) of the General Assembly instructed 'all within this church' to follow a particular practice (for example, a special prayer for the health of the sovereign), a minister would risk disciplinary action if he failed to comply.

<sup>16</sup> Rev. Robert Gillan, *An Abridgement of the Acts of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland from the year 1638 to 1820 inclusive to which is subjoined an Appendix containing an Abridged View of the Civil Law relating to the Church* (Edinburgh, 1821). Appendix, 24. 'Heritor' was defined by law as an owner of land separately valued on the parish valuation roll; e.g., under the Parish Schools (Scotland) Act 1803 (43 Geo. III. c.54) 'heritor' was defined as the proprietor of land to the extent of at least £100 of valued rent. William George Black, *The Parochial Ecclesiastical Law of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1901), 18-61.

<sup>17</sup> Mutch, "'Shared Protestantism'", 464.

<sup>18</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 84.

<sup>19</sup> Alistair Mutch, *Religion and National Identity: Governing Scottish Presbyterianism in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 2015), 24-5.

<sup>20</sup> NRS, CH2/567/3, Presbytery of Lochcarron Minutes (1790-1827), 29 August 1798, 70-72.

Regular rituals were important indicators of national identity and presbyterian worship, and although these were less ritualistic than Episcopalian or Anglican confessional practice, they still contained specialised discourse and routines.<sup>21</sup> It is possible to detect mundane monarchy in the repeated references to monarchy in occasions of special national worship in the Church of Scotland. Published in three volumes, *National Prayers: Special Worship Since the Reformation* is an exhaustive work of collaborative scholarship, recording the core texts for all occasions of special national worship observed in the constituent parts of the British Isles from 1533 to 2012.<sup>22</sup> Included are ‘all those occasions on which the state and/or the established Churches [*of the constituent nations of the United Kingdom*] have ordered or requested special worship which either supplemented or replaced the normal patterns of daily or Sunday worship’.<sup>23</sup> Dissenting, nonconformist and free churches and the Roman Catholic Church are not covered in *National Prayers*. There are no firm statistics regarding religious adherence in Scotland before the 1837-9 Royal Commission on Religious Instruction, where it was reported that 89 per cent of the population at least nominally belonged to the church.<sup>24</sup> The 1851 Census of Great Britain records that non-presbyterian church goers accounted for only 10 per cent of the church-going population.<sup>25</sup>

The defeat of the Jacobite army at Culloden in 1746 was greeted with relief by the great majority of Presbyterians in Scotland. From its annual meeting the General Assembly sent congratulatory addresses to the king and the Duke of Cumberland. An Act of the General Assembly dated 22 May 1746 ordained ‘the said Thanksgiving to be observed in all the Parishes within this National Church [...] and that humble Application be made to His Majesty for his Royal Sanction [...] that this their Act be read from the Pulpits of all the Parish Churches within Scotland’.<sup>26</sup> Similar thanksgiving prayers were required throughout the period of study and, at the close of the reign of George IV in 1830, the Privy Council and the General Assembly, acting in tandem, recommended prayers for the recovery of the king from illness, ‘in the hope that fervent prayers for his Majesty may continue to be made, *as they have hitherto always been* [*emphasis added*] throughout every

<sup>21</sup> Mutch, *Religion and Identity*, 6-12.

<sup>22</sup> Philip Williamson et al, eds, *National Prayers: Special Worship Since the Reformation*, 3 vols (London, 2013-2020). More volumes are in preparation.

<sup>23</sup> United Kingdom refers to the United Kingdom of Great Britain from 1707 and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 1801. The established churches — i.e., recognised by law as the official church of the nation and supported by the state — being the Church of England and Church of Ireland, both episcopalian in structure, and the Church of Scotland, presbyterian.

<sup>24</sup> *Royal Commission on Religious Instruction in Scotland* (London, 1837-39); Brown, *Religion and Society*, 46.

<sup>25</sup> *Census of Great Britain, 1851, Religious worship and education. Scotland. Report and tables*, UK Parliamentary Papers 1854 LIX (1764).

<sup>26</sup> Williamson et al, eds, *National Prayers: Special Worship Since the Reformation*, 2, 485.

part of the Church of Scotland'. The words in italics make it clear that ministers of the Church of Scotland had 'always' prayed for the king, or at least wanted to give the impression that this was the case.<sup>27</sup>

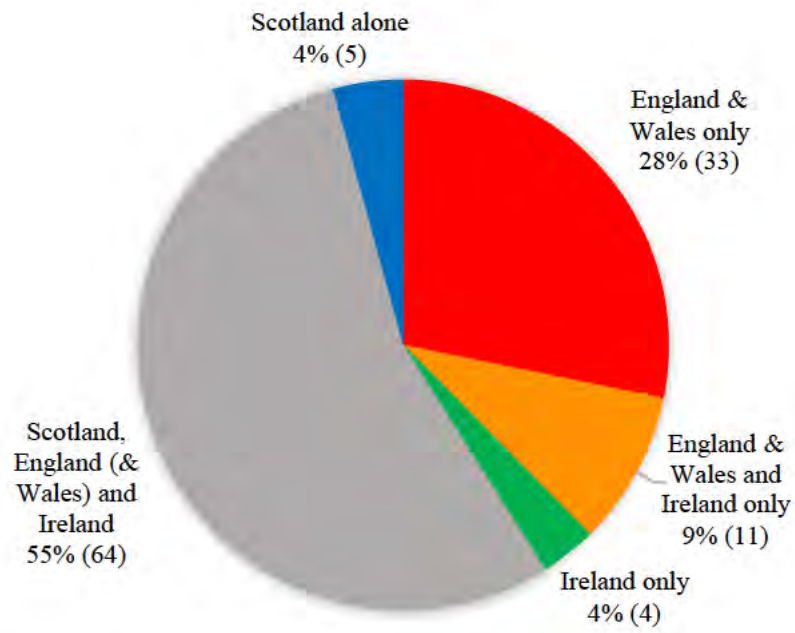
I have compiled a data table of all 117 occasions of special national worship ordered or expected to take place in the constituent kingdoms of the United Kingdom between 1746 and 1830.<sup>28</sup> I tabulated the data by year, number of occurrences within that year, where the observance was ordered throughout the United Kingdom or within a constituent nation or nations only, source of order (sovereign, government or church), occasion or type of worship (thanksgiving day, fast day, special prayers), trigger event (for example, military victory, king's illness) and whether the king and royal family were the specific subject of the worship. The pie chart in Figure 5.1 analyses the 117 occasions of special worship in the United Kingdom between 1746 and 1830 by the nation(s) in which the occasion was ordered to take place. The majority, 64 in number (55 per cent of the total), were to take place throughout Great Britain and Ireland, 33 (28 per cent) in England, 11 (9 per cent) in England and Ireland and 5 (4 per cent) in each of Scotland and Ireland only. These figures demonstrate the extent of convergence in special worship between England and Wales (considered as one national unit), Scotland and Ireland. *National Prayers'* editors highlight this pattern, pointing out that from 1788 the English practice of special prayers was extended to Scotland and Ireland, where such prayers had previously been rare. Between the 1707 Treaty of Union and the 1730s, the Church of Scotland was more inclined to defy Royal Proclamations and parliamentary legislation in order to assert its independence from the state. By the 1730s, and the rise of the Moderate party, the church became mostly content to leave appointments of special worship to the court and government in London.<sup>29</sup> Pie charts in Figures 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 all focus exclusively on the 69 occasions of special worship in Scotland. Figure 5.2 shows the breakdown in the type of worship, whether fast days, thanksgiving days and so on. Figure 5.3 shows the instances where texts of national worship referred to monarchy, revealing that the overwhelming majority, 96 per cent, did so. In 84 years, there were only three occasions of special national worship in Scotland where monarchy was not mentioned. Figure 5.4 breaks down royal references according to whether the king, or the king and royal family were direct subjects of the occasion of worship (such as thanksgiving or prayers for the health of the

<sup>27</sup> Williamson et al, eds, *National Prayers*, 2, 778-79. As the editors of *National Prayers* note, the careful wording that the General Assembly 'did unanimously recommend' adherence to the Order in Council, rather than compel compliance, was directed at preserving the Church of Scotland's spiritual autonomy and separation from the state.

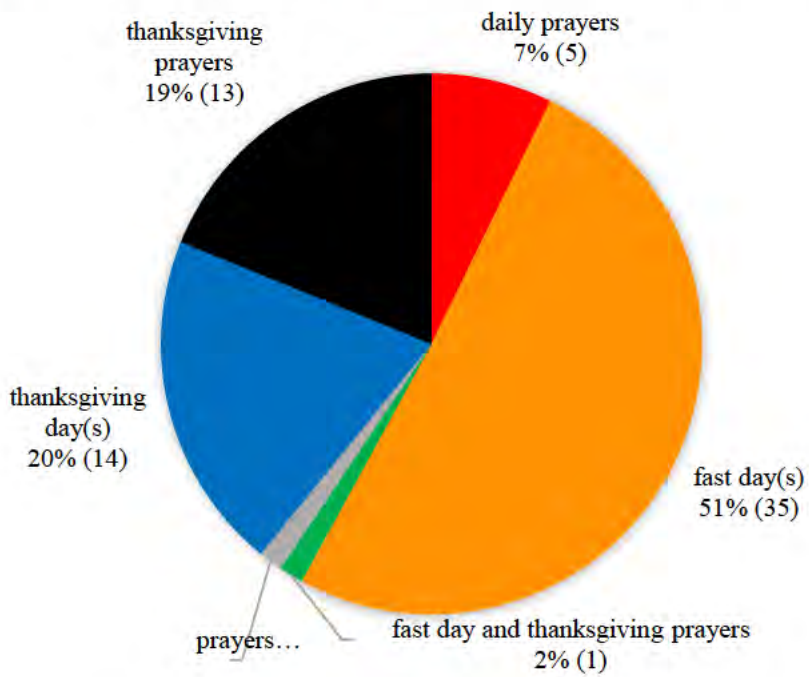
<sup>28</sup> See Appendix 3 for a summary of these occasions in the period.

<sup>29</sup> Williamson et al, eds, *National Prayers*, 2, 3 and iv.

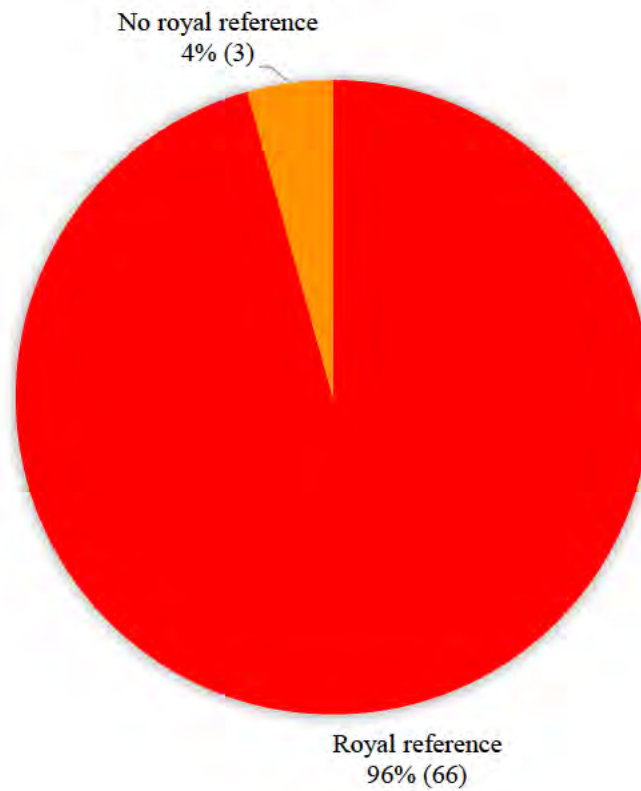




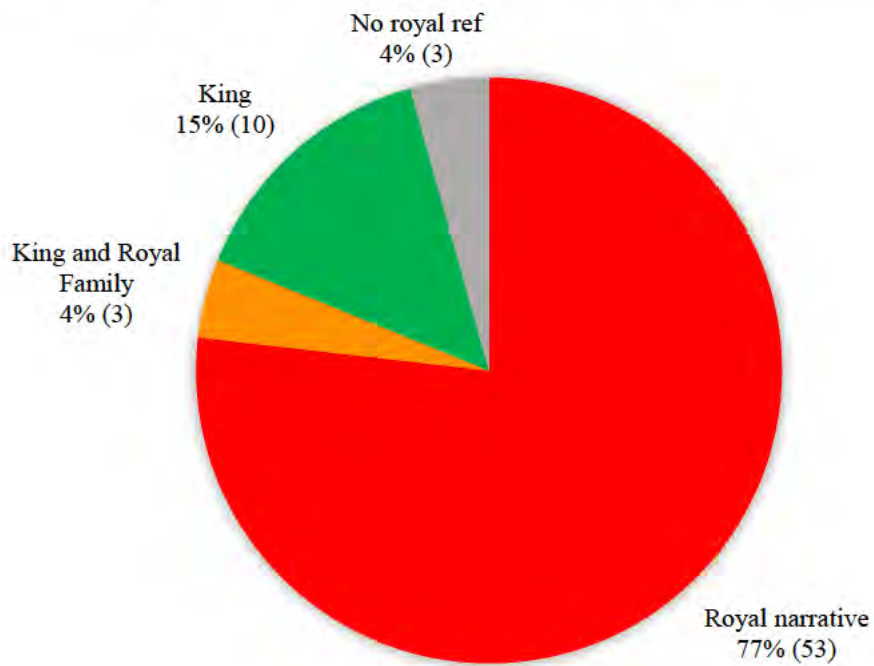
**Figure 5.1.** Pie chart showing analysis of occasions of special worship throughout the United Kingdom, 1746-1830.



**Figure 5.2.** Pie chart showing analysis of 69 occasions of special worship in Scotland, 1746-1830, by type of worship.



**Figure 5.3.** Pie chart showing analysis of 69 occasions of special worship in Scotland, 1746-1830, according to references to the monarchy.



**Figure 5.4.** Pie chart showing analysis of 69 occasions of special worship in Scotland, 1746-1830, according to whether the king and/or royal family were the subject of worship or of narrative reference.

king) or whether the reference to the king was in the narrative; for example, where the day of special worship was ‘upon such a Day as his Majesty shall please to appoint [...] and interpose his Royal Authority for the due Observation thereof’.<sup>30</sup> This shows that 13 (19 per cent) occasions of special worship had the king or the king and royal family as the main focus of the prayer or thanksgiving. A far larger number, 53 (77 per cent), of texts contain narrative references to the king, reminding congregations of the monarch’s constitutional and legal status as head of state (for instance, ‘Whereas our Sovereign, in Defence of *Great Britain and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, has declared War against *France* [...]’).<sup>31</sup> This demonstrates that a majority of references to monarchy were to the monarch as sovereign head of state. As a model of kingship, such references would not offend sensitivities within the Church of Scotland; the king as head of state was different from his being head of the church, and therefore ‘sacred’ as described in England. Praying for the wellbeing of the king or queen, or the health of the royal family, gave the religious service surrounding monarchy a more domestic, familial association.<sup>32</sup> It allowed the congregation to imagine the monarchy in human terms.

There were several differences in special national worship between Scotland and England (and Wales).<sup>33</sup> Whereas in England an order of the Privy Council or Royal Proclamation was sufficient authority for special worship, the Church of Scotland took pains to add its own authority — usually by an Act of the General Assembly or Act of the Commission of the General Assembly — to preserve the ecclesiastical independence of church from monarch and state. The established church in Scotland did not have as prescriptive a liturgy as the Church of England and, therefore, ministers had more freedom in how they expressed prayers — provided they complied substantively with the General Assembly’s direction. More occasions of special national worship in England marked colonial victories, whereas in Scotland special worship was limited to national military victories against France and her allies. Another notable difference was that the birth of all of George III’s fourteen children were subject to thanksgiving prayers in England. Whilst no prayers were ordered in Scotland, the royal family was always prayed for in Scotland at regular Sunday church services. Overall, instances of difference are comparatively minor when set against the similarities. As noted earlier, there was increasing convergence between England (and Wales),

<sup>30</sup> *Act of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 31 May 1756 in Williamson, *National Prayers*, 2, 494-5.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Michael Schaich, ‘Introduction’, in *idem*, ed., *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 2007), 29.

<sup>33</sup> And Ireland, but these differences are not considered in detail here.

Scotland and Ireland in occasions of special national worship and, from 1760, ‘more prayers and thanksgivings were associated with the monarchy’.<sup>34</sup> Taking place across three separate established churches, convergence and association with monarchy did not compromise the formal independence and distinctiveness of the Church of Scotland. Repeated enactment of divine rituals involving references to the king and royal family were, therefore, one of the ways in which the church promoted a British identity, whilst at the same time, through its presbyterian rituals and teaching, preserving and moulding Scottish identity to fit within the greater British identity.<sup>35</sup> Although adapted to the liturgical form of each established church, the enactment of national prayers, thanksgivings and fasts were clearly intended to be a shared experience, inspiring similar emotions, among Britain’s constituent nations. It was one in which George III certainly participated, punctiliously observing the fast days.<sup>36</sup>

Occasions of special national worship in the Church of Scotland should be set within the context of the broader role and allegiance of the church expressed through acts of the General Assembly. As part of the images, associations and interactions of imagined monarchy, references to monarchy during regular church worship might be said to have had a greater aggregated impact than special national worship in isolation; it may indeed have enhanced occasions of special national worship. Since the General Assembly’s *Act recommending Prayers for the Queen, and for the Succession to the Throne, in the Protestant Line, in the House of Hanover* of 12 May 1711, all ministers were expected ‘in their public prayers, after praying for her Majesty Queen Anne, they do expressly mention Princess Sophia, electress and dowager Duchess of Hanover, and the Protestant line in that family, upon whom the succession to the crown of these dominions is by law established’.<sup>37</sup> This stricture had the force of law under the Scottish Episcopalians Act of 1711, which included a provision obliging all ministers of the established church, as well as of the Episcopal Communion, during public worship ‘to pray, in express Words, for her most Sacred Majesty Queen Anne, and most Excellent Princess Sophia [...] and all the Royal Family’.<sup>38</sup> Penalties for a first offence were a fine of 20 pounds Sterling and for a second offence

<sup>34</sup> Williamson et al, eds, *National Prayers*, Vol. 2, iv.

<sup>35</sup> Keith Robbins, ‘Religion and Identity in Modern British History’ in his *History, Religion and Identity in Modern Britain* (London, 1993), 85.

<sup>36</sup> Jeremy Black, *George III: America’s Last King* (London, 2008), 187.

<sup>37</sup> *Act recommending Prayers for the Queen, and for the Succession to the Throne, in the Protestant Line, in the House of Hanover*, 12 May 1711, Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842, BHO. <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/church-scotland-records/acts/1638-1842/pp450-459#h2-0005>> [accessed 25 September 2021]

<sup>38</sup> Act to prevent the disturbing of those of the Episcopal Union in Scotland, 1711 (10 Ann., c.7) in Owen Ruffhead, *The Statutes at Large from 10 Will. 3 to 13 Ann.*, 8 vols (London, 1763), 4, 515.

incapacitation from any church living for three years. That the Act was interpreted as extending to all future monarchs, and was so applied by the Church of Scotland, is evident from a debate, ‘The Queen — Church of Scotland’, in the House of Commons on 15 February 1821, where the history of prayers for the monarch and royal family since 1711 was reviewed.<sup>39</sup> Concerning the proper form of order required to remove Caroline of Brunswick’s name as queen from prayers in the liturgy of the Church of Scotland, the debate referred to the 1711 statute as authority for requiring prayers for every successive monarch by name as well as for the royal family. The practice before the 1711 Act was to pray for the monarch and royal family but without necessarily naming the king or queen or their successors. By requiring queen Anne and Princess Sophia to be referred to by name in the prayers, the 1711 Act removed the ambiguity that a generic reference to the monarch might be used or taken surreptitiously to refer to the Jacobite Pretender, James Francis Edward Stuart. The Lord Advocate, Sir William Rae (1769-1842), gave examples from early eighteenth-century cases of ministers being prosecuted ‘for not praying for the king’. In these cases, ministers’ failure to comply stemmed not from disloyalty to Hanoverian monarchy, but rather from individuals straying too far from the liturgy. Even in 1820, a minister was put under a form of arrest for not obeying the order to omit reference to queen Caroline when, after praying for the king, he said, ‘and bless likewise the Queen’.<sup>40</sup> Since he was arrested on the same day as the sermon — a Sunday — it is obvious that compliance continued to be monitored, at least in some parts of the country. Whilst this may have been an instance of a reform-minded minister supporting queen Caroline’s interest, as many political reformers and radicals did, prayers for the monarch and royal family were ubiquitous and regular elements of church services in Scotland.

Less controversial adjustments to the liturgy were made to the wording of prayers to reflect changes in the royal family. An order of the Privy Council adjusted the wording to remove reference to Frederick, Prince of Wales, following his death and the Commission of the General Assembly recommended compliance.<sup>41</sup> The *Scots Magazine* of 6 October 1760 reported on ‘the oath relating to the security of the Church of Scotland’ taken by George III on his accession to the throne. The magazine provides evidence of state mechanisms administering the rituals of mundane monarchy, describing an order in council that ‘his Majesty declares his royal will and pleasure, that in all prayers for the royal family, instead of

<sup>39</sup> House of Commons, *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates* (15 February 1821), vol. 4, cols. 696-704. <<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1821-02-15/debates/a39693f9-0520-4a69-ba55-4ab1fd364947/TheQueen%E2%80%94ChurchOfScotland>> [accessed 24 September 2021]

<sup>40</sup> House of Commons (15 February 1821), col. 691.

<sup>41</sup> *Annals of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland from 1739 to 1752* (Edinburgh, 1838), 188-9.

the words *their Royal Highnesses, George Prince of Wales, the Princess dowager of Wales, the Duke, the Princesses, and all the royal family* be inserted, *her Royal Highness the Princess dowager of Wales, and all the Royal family*'. Such examples clearly show the naming of the monarch and members of the royal family was controlled by orders of the Privy Council, acting pursuant to the 1711 statute. These orders were followed by the Church of Scotland recommending compliance, thus appeasing those ministers and parishioners more zealously opposed to any inference of erastianism. However, as Lord Advocate Rae made clear, liturgy in Scotland was not textually prescriptive as it was in the Church of England: 'if the minister chose to say "God bless King George," or whatever other form he might choose to adopt so long as it was a *bona fide* prayer for the king, that was a sufficient compliance with the act'.<sup>42</sup> Rae noted that whilst in England the prescribed form was 'his most sacred majesty', in the Church of Scotland no such phrase would be used in its services. On the accession of every monarch since Queen Anne, an order was made with reference to the 1711 statute; for example, on 20 February 1820 an order was issued 'that [*in Scotland*] henceforth every minister, &c. in kirk or assembly shall pray for his sacred majesty [*sic*] King George 4th and all the royal family'.<sup>43</sup> Ironically, this order, though applicable to Scotland, used the English formulation 'his sacred majesty' which the Lord Advocate made clear would not be heard in a Scottish church.<sup>44</sup> Although not expressly forbidden, the phrase would be seen as implying the spiritual supremacy of the monarchy. Weekly prayers for the monarch have been found to have had an impact in colonial North America, because they helped to create a hierarchical imagined transatlantic community.<sup>45</sup> Reminders of a similar connection between congregations and their king were happening weekly in Scotland and, it is reasonable to suppose, having a similar effect in strengthening an emotional bond.<sup>46</sup> Although the king was territorially absent from Scotland (save George IV's brief 1822 visit) in the period, religious worship connected monarchy with locality in the minds of church congregations.

Throughout the period 1746 to 1830, sermons and prayers remained an enormously important medium of communication for the state. During this time, it has been suggested that the

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, col. 701.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> According to Hansard, Rae referred to a more egregious slip in the Order in Council's reference to 'that part of the royal territories in England, called Scotland'. Whether the error was in the order, in Hansard, or in Rae's reading is not clear.

<sup>45</sup> Jeremy Gregory, 'The Hanoverians and the Colonial Churches' in Andreas Gestrich and Michael Schaich, eds, *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical Culture* (Farnham, 2015), 118.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

clergy in Scotland retained greater importance in mobilising popular opinion than in England.<sup>47</sup> Although there were differences in language and form, the evidence reviewed suggests that in daily life in Scotland the monarch and royal family were as frequently referred to in the established church as was the case in England. Historians acknowledge the huge role the Church of Scotland played in public life of nation — and as a pillar of Scottish national identity — and the Moderates in particular came to be seen by some (particularly the ‘Popular’ faction within the church) as agents of the state.<sup>48</sup> Monarchy was ubiquitous, not only in the higher business of the church, but in recurring cycles of worship in parish churches and schools. The monarch not being the head of the Church of Scotland should not detract from the impact that regular — weekly, monthly and annual — prayers for monarchy had on the imagination of congregations and school pupils. Since 1690, parish schoolmasters were required to take an oath of allegiance to the monarch. The Disarming the Highlands of Scotland Act, 1746 extended this requirement to all private schools and teachers of any kind and prescribed ‘as often as Prayers shall be said in such School, to pray, or cause to be prayed for, in express Words, his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, by Name, and for all the Royal Family’.<sup>49</sup> Narrating that ‘sufficient provision is already made by law for the due regulation of the teachers in four universities, and in the publick schools’, the Act made clear that these obligations were to be universal to all forms of instruction. Although distant and unknowable, the monarchy was a constant, immutable feature of religious ritual and instruction shared with anonymous others in different parishes and schools, creating an imagined linkage between congregations, classrooms and the king.<sup>50</sup>

Regular Sunday prayers for the monarch and royal family were not the only example of mundane monarchy in the affairs of the church. When considered in the aggregate, they combined with other such representations to present a constant reminder that monarchy and the kirk had been closely intertwined since the Reformation. Material artefacts are another example, particularly bibles and books of common prayer.<sup>51</sup> Other examples are royal coats of arms, and Royal

<sup>47</sup> Bob Harris, *Politics and the Nation: Britain in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2002), 155.

<sup>48</sup> Brown, *Religion and Society*, 19; Stewart and Nugent, *Union and Revolution*, 173-4. The Popular faction were strict Calvinists who viewed Westminster and the state with suspicion.

<sup>49</sup> 19 Geo.II, c.39, Art. XXI

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 33. Anderson refers to ‘imagined linkage’ when discussing newspapers. In the case of imagined monarchy, it is suggested there were multiple sources of ‘imagined linkages’, including the experience of praying for the monarchy in church and knowing that others are doing likewise in parishes across Scotland.

<sup>51</sup> Gregory, ‘Hanoverians’, 119.



By the KING,

# A PROCLAMATION,

For a Publick Thankſgiving for His Majesty's Recovery.

G E O R G E R.

WE, taking into our most serious Consideration the indispensable Duty which We owe to Almighty GOD, for the manifold and inestimable Blessings which We have received at His Hands, and desiring to manifest to Our faithful and loving Subjects, and to the World, the deep and devout Sense which We entertain of His late Mercies vouchsafed unto Us, by promising Ourselves before His Divine Majesty, and offering up, in His most Publick and Solemn Manner, Our Prayers and Thankſgivings for that signal Interposition of His good Providence, which hath recovered from Us our late Majesty, which We have been obliged, and which hath established and confirmed in Us, the same Trust and Confidence in His Protection, have thought fit, by the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby appointing and commanding that a General Thankſgiving to Almighty GOD, for these His Mercies, be observed throughout that Part of Our Kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland upon Thursday the Twentieth Day of this instant April, and We do strictly Charge and Command, That the said Publick Thankſgiving be reverently and decently observed by all Our loving Subjects in Scotland on the said Twentieth Day of this instant April, as they tender the Favour of Almighty GOD, and would avoid His Wrath and Indignation, and upon Pain of such Punishment as We may justly inflict on all such as contravene or neglect the Performance of so religious a Duty. Our Will and Pleasure is, therefore, and We Charge, That this Our Proclamation fees, ye forthwith put to the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and all other Places needful, and there, in Our Name and Authority, make Publication thereof, that none pretend Ignorance. And Our Will and Pleasure is, That Our Solicitor in cause printed Copies hereof to be sent to the Sheriff of the several Shires, Stewards of Stewartries, and Bailiffs of Regalities, and their Clerks, whom We ordain to see the same published; and We appoint them to send Copies thereof to the several Parish Churches within their Bounds, that, upon the LORD'S Day immediately preceding the Day above mentioned, the same may be published and read from the Pulpit immediately after Divine Service.

Given at Our Court at Windsor, the Third Day of April, in the Twenty-ninth Year of Our Reign.

God save the King.

E D I N B U R G H:

Printed by the APRESSES of ALEXANDER KERR and CHARLES KERR, His Majesty's Printers. MDCCLXXXIX.

Figure 5.6. Royal Proclamation For a Publick Thanksgiving for His Majesty's Recovery, 1789. SCRAN, HES

<<https://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-527-598-C&scache=126809h860&searchdb=scan>> [accessed 26 September 2021]

Figure 5.5. Title page of bible 'Printed by Mark and Charles Kerr. His Majesty's Printers'. 1795.



Proclamations fixed to the church door.<sup>52</sup> Figure 5.5 shows the title page of a bible from 1795 printed in Edinburgh. Dominating the page is the royal coat of arms and above it the words ‘By His Majesty’s Special Command’ (a reference to James VI of Scotland and I of England), lending royal authority to the translation and editorial work completed in 1611. Bearing to be ‘Printed by Mark and Charles Kerr, His Majesty’s Printers’, the page is a reminder that monarchy was integral to the creation of this definitive edition and remained the authority for its production. Anyone holding the office of His Majesty’s Printer and Stationer for Scotland had a lucrative monopoly to print bibles in Scotland.<sup>53</sup> The printing industry flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century and the bible was one of the most widely circulated books. Many families acquired their first bible during this period; indeed, inventories of the belongings of deceased persons in Scotland in the period have been found to be consistent with contemporary accounts which describe that every house would have at least one copy of the bible, and that the bible was the first book that children learned to read.<sup>54</sup> Even the semi-literate would recognise the royal coat of arms on the title page. Similarly, the images on Royal Proclamations would be instantly recognisable. Notice of a Royal Proclamation, whether calling for special national worship or other purpose, was fixed to the door of the parish church. Similar rules applied to official notices in the king’s name. Figure 5.6 shows a broadsheet of a Royal Proclamation of 1789, printed in Edinburgh, ordering a public thanksgiving for George III’s recovery from illness. The print is prominently headed with the royal coat of arms underneath which are the words ‘By the KING’. At the foot of the page are the words ‘God save the King’ and the document bears to be printed by ‘Alexander Kincaid, His Majesty’s Printer’. Overall, the image is expressive of sovereign legal authority.

In a similar conflation of church and state, the Disarming Act, 1746, specified that notice of a summons for persons to deliver up weapons would be

a sufficient and legal Execution or Notice of the said Summons if it is affixed to the Door of the Parish Church, or Parish Churches of the several Parishes within the Lands (the Inhabitants of whereof are to be disarmed) do lie, on any Sunday, between the Hours of Ten in the Forenoon, and Two in the Afternoon, Four Days at least before the Day prefixed for the delivering up of the Arms.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Royal coats of arms appear inside St Giles’ Cathedral and on the exterior gable wall of the Canongate Kirk.

<sup>53</sup> Sher, *Enlightenment and the Book*, 312.

<sup>54</sup> Vivienne Dunston, ‘Book Ownership in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland: a Local Case Study of Dumfriesshire Inventories’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 91 (2021), 271-3.

<sup>55</sup> 19 Geo.II, c.39, Art. VI.

Posting such a notice was one material reminder that the Church of Scotland provided the public place to proclaim law in the local community, associating state, royal and religious authority. The Duke of Cumberland clearly saw the church as trusted agent of state power, writing: ‘The only people to be trusted are the Church of Scotland’. In a proclamation issued at Montrose on 24 February 1746 — a precursor to the Disarming Act — the duke instructed that arms should be delivered ‘to the magistrate or Minister of the Church of Scotland’.<sup>56</sup> Similar connections between church and state are conveyed using the royal arms on the broadsheet Royal Proclamation and the titlepage of the bible. Unlike Scotland, in England the royal arms have been displayed in parish churches since the Reformation, the monarch being the head of the Church of England. In this context, royal arms have been described as an image of perpetual existence that transcends the lives of individual monarchs and confers on the crown the symbolism of resurrection.<sup>57</sup> Such symbols are a key element of the historical force of imagined monarchy, and it is important to recognise they were ever present in the material culture of the Church of Scotland.

An important ritual of interaction between Hanoverian monarchy and the Church of Scotland was the annual exchange of letters between the Moderator of the General Assembly and the king. Read out during annual meetings of the General Assembly, these letters are expressed in the idiom of magnificent monarchy, highly formalised and formulaic, a pinnacle of royal protocol in epistolary form. Until the visit of George IV in 1822, exchanges were a surrogate for a royal court in Edinburgh. An example of imagined monarchy, the correspondence from the Moderator, on behalf of the General Assembly, is conducted with a monarch they have not met and will never know directly. The stylised language and constant repetition of frequently extravagant sentiments in these exchanges helped shape memory and perceptions.<sup>58</sup> Annual meetings of the General Assembly were held at St Giles’ Cathedral in Edinburgh. Paradoxically, despite the king not being head of the church, the meeting could only take place if summoned by the monarch and in the presence of their appointed representative, the Lord High Commissioner.<sup>59</sup> In the second half of the eighteenth century, the assembly would be attended by upwards of two hundred ministers, elders, representatives and officials, involving between three and nine ministers and elders from each of the 77 presbyteries. Not everyone entitled to attend did so every year.<sup>60</sup> Also included

<sup>56</sup> *Scots Magazine*, 1 May 1746 (230).

<sup>57</sup> Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England: 1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 2000), 299.

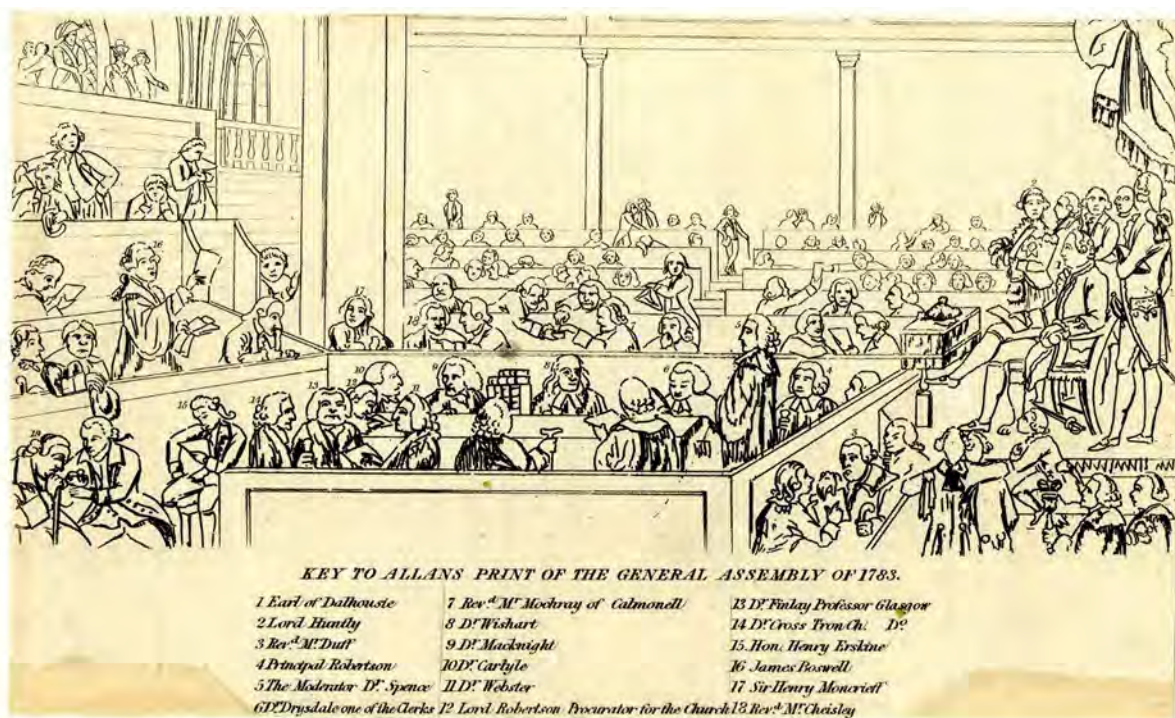
<sup>58</sup> Gregory, ‘The Hanoverians’, 113.

<sup>59</sup> Williamson et al, eds, *National Prayers*, 2, lxx.

<sup>60</sup> Sher, *Church and University*, 124.



**Figure 5.7A.** David Allan, *The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, 1783, 1787*, etching, 29.6 x 45.4 cm, BM, 1868,0328.602.



**Figure 5.7B.** Key to Allan's Print of *The General Assembly of 1783*, [n.d.], etching, 9.6 x 16 cm, BM, 1868,0328.603.

were senior judges, law officers (Lord Advocate and Solicitor General), principals of the five Scottish universities and provosts of the 66 royal burghs as civic representatives. Thus all the constituent institutions of instruction were represented under one roof. Figure 5.7 shows David Allan's engraving, *The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, 1783*. On his feet at the bar in his capacity as an advocate, James Boswell is addressing the Lord High Commissioner, George Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie (1730-1787). Reflecting his status as the king's personal representative, the earl is sitting on a raised dais underneath a canopy of state surrounded by officials. That such a prominent lawyer as Boswell was present is a reminder that the General Assembly was the highest court of the church. When compared to England, it has been suggested that the Scottish legal tradition, with its emphasis on systemisation derived from Roman law, contributed to the Church of Scotland's more corporate administration, where university educated ministers and schoolmasters guided the projects of parochial elites.<sup>61</sup> Church bureaucracy was an essential part of the complex of connections of imagined monarchy.

Typical of the content and tone of the annual correspondence is the exchange between the Moderator and George III on the first meeting of the General Assembly after the king's accession to the throne. In his letter read on 26 May 1761, the king expresses confidence in the assembly's 'best intentions to promote the happiness of our reign'; praises the church's 'wisdom, prudence, and temper'; concurs with the church on 'preventing, as much as possible, the growth of Popery'; and approves the church's priority 'to infuse into the minds of the people under your charge such principles, and such a spirit, as may be best adapted to the security of our happy constitution'. George III demonstrates an awareness of the church's role in instruction and its impact on 'the minds of the people'. In his reply, read the following day, the Moderator mirrored the king's language, assuring the king that the church shared the same priorities as monarchy: it acknowledged his 'watchful care, in calling upon us to prevent, as much as possible, the growth of Popery', and confirming the church's 'principal care to make the people under our charge deeply sensible of the many great and invaluable blessings they now enjoy under your Majesty's wise government and administration'. Concluding with a form of national prayer, the Moderator asks 'That the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ may long preserve your Majesty, to be a blessing to these lands, the guardian of our liberties, civil and sacred, and the support of the Protestant interest'. In its wording, the prayer goes further than asserting the king as protector of the church and

<sup>61</sup> Mutch, "'Shared Protestantism'", 473-4.

presbyterianism by invoking ‘the Protestant interest’ acknowledging that George III succeeded to the throne of a transnational composite monarchy founded on Protestantism, albeit with denominational differences. As was customary, the exchange of letters was published in newspapers and journals, including the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Scots Magazine*.<sup>62</sup> In the same edition, the *Scots Magazine* carried an exhaustive account of the General Assembly, including the speech of the Lord High Commissioner.<sup>63</sup>

In the correspondence each year, we find an example of munificent monarchy. A royal bounty of £1,000 per annum had been initiated by George I in 1725 for use in ‘the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, for removing of ignorance, and putting a stop to profaneness and the growth of Popery’.<sup>64</sup> Similar language is found in 1761: ‘for promoting the knowledge and practice of religion in the Highlands and islands, and places where Popery and ignorance prevails’.<sup>65</sup> This bounty was a standard agenda item annually at each General Assembly, consolidating the mutually beneficial arrangement between Hanoverian monarchy and the church. It underlined that monarchy and church shared an interest in promoting instruction in Protestant religion and loyalty to the Hanoverian succession. Each year, the General Assembly appointed a Commission of over fifty members, including ministers and elders, principals and professors of divinity, senior judges, law officers and lawyers, and public officials. With a quorum of nine, the Commission met quarterly every year. Its original aim was to finance the appointment of ‘itinerant preachers and catechists [...] of undoubted loyalty to his Majesty’ to go among the people of the Highlands and islands ‘to teach them the principles and duties of the true Christian Protestant religion, and the obligation they are under to duty and loyalty to our Sovereign King George’.<sup>66</sup> In the proceedings of the General Assembly, language is important: phrases such as ‘royal bounty’, ‘his Majesty’s grant to this Assembly’ and ‘your princely donation to this General Assembly’ link the monarch personally with financial support of the church’s work, connoting royal patronage.<sup>67</sup> The

<sup>62</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 27 May 1761; *Scots Magazine*, 4 May 1761, 269-70.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, 269-77.

<sup>64</sup> ‘The General Assembly’s Answer to the King’s most gracious Letter’, 8 May 1725, *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842*, *British History Online*. <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/church-scotland-records/acts/1638-1842>> [accessed 26 September 2021]

<sup>65</sup> ‘The General Assembly’s Answer to the King’s most gracious Letter’, 27 May 1761 in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842*.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Commission to some Ministers and Ruling Elders for Reformation of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and for Management of the King’s Bounty for that end’, 17 May 1725, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*.

<sup>67</sup> ‘Commission to some Ministers and Ruling Elders for Reformation of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and for Management of the King’s Bounty for that end’, 1 June 1782, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*;

Commission was enjoined to collaborate with the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, created by Royal Charter in 1709, with a founding mission to erect and manage schools in the rural parts of the north of Scotland.<sup>68</sup> By 1757, they were likewise empowered to ‘apply to the government, or any magistrate, for assistance and support in carrying out the design of the commission’.<sup>69</sup> However, the General Assembly were always ‘greatly animated’ to attribute the overall scheme to ‘the accomplishment of your Majesty’s pious and charitable design’.<sup>70</sup> In using this kind of language, church authorities were consistently ascribing munificence to the monarchy.

### Infrastructure

When discussing the presbyterian structure of the Church of Scotland, the importance of other stakeholders — aristocrats, landowners and heritors — is crucial in the complex of connections around monarchy. These individuals had influential roles in the established church, echoed in other ‘realms’ of imagined monarchy — in government, law and military. Moderates entered ‘a mutually beneficial accommodation’ with dynastic landowners, a pragmatic decision which ensured the church continued to occupy a central place in the ‘management’ of Scotland.<sup>71</sup> Landowners’ most prominent role was the building of churches and schools — the infrastructure of instruction. It is striking to look at the way in which communities controlled by powerful interests loyal to Hanoverian monarchy built modern exemplar churches — often at the heart of a new model town — and to contrast this with the stagnation in communities where lands were forfeited to the Crown after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-6. From the 1740s to the 1770s, the government was vigorously backing the church’s drive to compel heritors to erect new churches and manses.<sup>72</sup>

Figure 5.8 shows a photograph of Kiltarlity Old Parish Church, 10 miles west of Inverness. Constructed in the sixteenth century, the church was abandoned in 1763. A low single storey

‘The General Assembly’s Answer to the King’s most gracious Letter’, 27 May 1761, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*.

<sup>68</sup> Jamie Kelly, ‘The Mission at Home: The Origins and Development of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 1709-1767’, *eSharp*, issue 24 (2016), 2.  
<[https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media\\_461957\\_smxx.pdf](https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_461957_smxx.pdf)> [accessed 26 September 2021]

<sup>69</sup> ‘Commission to some Ministers and Ruling Elders for Reformation of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and for Management of the King’s Bounty for that end’, 30 May 1757, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*.

<sup>70</sup> ‘The General Assembly’s Answer to the King’s most gracious Letter’, 25 May 1765, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*.

<sup>71</sup> Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1997), 14.

<sup>72</sup> Brown, *Religion and Society*, 86.

building of modest proportions, it is in the early modern vernacular of Scottish rural churches. Formed of random masonry, roughly coursed with rubble in-filling bonded with lime and mortar, the church was built within sight of Castle Dounie on the River Beaully, the ancient stronghold of clan chief Lord Lovat. The photograph provides an idea of the distance from the church to the roofscape of Beaufort Castle, built in 1880 on the site of the old castle and incorporating parts of the old structure. Simon Fraser, 11th Lord Lovat (c. 1667-1747) was beheaded in 1747 aged 80 at Tower Hill London for treason, and his title and lands forfeited to the Crown. Two villages neighbouring Castle Dounie, Kiltarlity and Beaully, appear merely as clusters of structures on the Roy Military Survey of Scotland map of 1750, the latter appearing simply as ‘Monastery [*sic*]’.<sup>73</sup> Although identified by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners as ‘an extreme proper place for erecting a village’, Beaully was not developed as a planned village until circa 1805 after the Frasers of Lovat had been restored to their lands.<sup>74</sup> In Kiltarlity a church was built on a new site in the village in 1829, and a new church for Beaully was not built until 1835. This period of more than fifty years of stagnation in the villages coincided with a vacuum of dynastic landownership. Demonstrating the crucial role a predominant dynastic landowner played in the development of the Highlands in the period, this lack of improvement contrasts with the typical model Georgian villages. Such ‘new towns’, with the church typically in the centre of a geometric grid, consolidated the kirk’s institutional role as Enlightenment improver in the Hanoverian state.

An outstanding example of such a planned village, with a central church, is Fochabers in Morayshire. Founded in 1776 by Alexander Gordon, 4th Duke of Gordon, the development of Fochabers is comparable with that of the Dukes of Argyll at Inveraray. Both aristocrats were prominent supporters of the house of Hanover and had close social, political and military ties to the royal family.<sup>75</sup> At Fochabers and Inveraray, the development of new villages involved the relocation of feuars and tenants from a haphazard *baile*.<sup>76</sup> In 1720, the minister of Bellie Kirk (the parish prior to the building of Fochabers) complained that his

<sup>73</sup> Roy Military Survey of Scotland 1747-1755, strip 25, section 2f, NLS.  
 <<https://maps.nls.uk/geo/roy/#zoom=14&lat=57.4756&lon=-4.4469&layers=0&point=57.4773,-4.4502>>  
 [accessed 26 September 2021]

<sup>74</sup> ‘Beaully, Beaufort, Kiltarlity & Lovat’ in Douglas G. Lockhart, ed., *Scottish Planned Villages*, (Edinburgh, 2012), 37; Robin Smith, *The Making of Scotland: A Comprehensive Guide to the Growth of its Cities, Towns and Villages* (Edinburgh, 2001), 87-8; ‘Beaully’ in John Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Highlands and Islands* (London, 1992), 149-53.

<sup>75</sup> See Chapter 1, 2 and 4 for more on the Argyll and Gordon dynasties.

<sup>76</sup> For present purposes, ‘feuar’ may be thought of as roughly equivalent to an English freeholder, save that a feuar’s title deeds would contain obligations of the type that in England would be associated with a long leasehold interest.



**Figure 5.8.** Old Kiltarlity Parish Church, Kiltarlity, Highland Historic Environment Record <<https://her.highland.gov.uk/Monument/MHG2649>> [accessed 26 September 2021]



manse was ‘uninhabitable’ and a Presbytery visit found the kirk ‘ruinous and altogether insufficient’. Five years later, the church was ‘without doors’. On 8 June 1785, Strathbogie Presbytery (in which Bellie Kirk was situated) noted that ‘the duke and other heritors, intend to build [...] a handsome Church in the great square of the new town of Fochabers, quite contiguous for the greater number of Parishioners’.<sup>77</sup> Similar architecturally to Edinburgh’s St Andrew’s Church — completed in 1784 on George Street in a block flanked on the west by Hanover Street — the new church dominated Fochabers’ square. Locating a classically designed church in streets named after the Hanoverian royal family was a theme of new town planning also adopted in Fochabers. Bellie parish church, complete with manse on one side and town house and parish school on the other, together formed the continuous frontage of the southwest side of the square. Bounded on the northwest by George Street and on the southeast by Charlotte Street, the square thus symbolically located the church, manse and school between the king and queen. Duke Street, Gordon Steet and Castle Street position the ducal tier in the next dynastic ring of the surrounding streets. Fronted by a classical portico with four Doric columns and circular window in the pediment, the church has a huge square tower rising above the portico, incorporating an octagonal belfry decorated with urn finials, the whole topped by a spire (Figure 5.9). On the front of the tower is a large, square clock face, in the blue of the Duke of Gordon. This is decorated with large golden Roman numerals, with the duke’s cipher and crown in the top left, the ducal crest coronet in the top right and the year 1798 split between the bottom left and right (Figure 5.10). Inside the tower, the clock’s hand setting dial is inscribed, ‘Made for his Grace Alex Duke of Gordon by John Gartly Aberdeen 1798’ (Figure 5.11).<sup>78</sup> As the first public clock in the locality, its bell chiming on the hour, the tower dominated spatial and temporal orientation in the same way that the planned town regulated the environment.<sup>79</sup> Clocks and scientific instruments were an enthusiasm of elites of the age, one that George III had long shared and promoted, an interest greatly encouraged by Lord Bute in the king’s youth.<sup>80</sup> At this time in the 1790s, in the wake

<sup>77</sup> Strathbogie Presbytery Minutes (1781-1799), 8 June 1785, NRS, CH2/342/8, 38-40. <[https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/virtual-volumes/record-creator-search/sessions-volumes?rex\\_uid=REX01491&placename=Strathbogie%20presbytery](https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/virtual-volumes/record-creator-search/sessions-volumes?rex_uid=REX01491&placename=Strathbogie%20presbytery)> [accessed 26 September 2021]

<sup>78</sup> John Gartly (1749-1827), clockmaker and watchmaker.

<sup>79</sup> On my visit to Bellie Church, the session clerk told me the clock had not been active during the Covid pandemic because it needed someone to wind it every five days. When winding recommenced, a recently arrived resident in the village complained to the local authority about the noise of the bell chime. It is easy to imagine the dramatic impact in 1798 of the novel sound of the clock chiming.

<sup>80</sup> Jonathan Marsden, ‘Patronage and Collecting’ in Jane Roberts, ed., *George III & Queen Charlotte: Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste* (London, 2014), 162, 287-301.



**Figure 5.9.** Bellie Kirk, The Square, Fochabers. Author's photograph.



**Figure 5.10.** Clock face, Bellie Kirk, Fochabers. Author's photograph.



**Figure 5.11.** Hand-setting dial inscribed 'Made for his Grace, Alexr. Duke of Gordon by John Gartly Aberdeen 1798', interior of clock tower, Bellie Kirk, Fochabers. Author's photograph.

of the French Revolution, there was a renewed emphasis on a monarchical constitution, closely associated with positive portrayals of George III, which linked monarchy and aristocracy together as progressive aspects of a modern society. Fochabers new town, with Bellie Church at its centre, was an example of dynastic modernity transforming the district into a Scottish ‘Hanoverian Parish’.<sup>81</sup> Here was a parish in which time was regulated by the prominent face and regular chiming of the duke’s clock, literally at the highest point in the town. Clocks were scientific instruments that measured time and ordered the day. They were important instruments aiding instruction in the practical Christian virtue of managing time, as preached in sermons (later published) by Moderate leader Hugh Blair: ‘The observance of order and method is of high consequence for the improvement of time. [...] Let me advise you frequently to make the present employment of time an object of thought’.<sup>82</sup> In Fochabers, the public measurement of time was associated with combined ecclesiastical and dynastic provenance, explicitly connected to the institutions of instruction, the kirk and parish school. A further example of co-operation between Church of Scotland and landed classes is the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, published between 1791 and 1799.<sup>83</sup> Rev. James Gordon, minister of the parish of Bellie, began his entry in the *Statistical Account* with a reference to Bellie as the place ‘his Royal Highness [*William, Duke of Cumberland*], with his Majesty’s army, passed with great safety in 1746’. We learn the Duke of Gordon was the only residing heritor and owner of the entire parish (save for one farm). From this it can be deduced that Reverend Gordon owed his position to the duke’s patronage. The parochial population was 1,919, ‘by far the greater number [...] of the established church’, with a ‘considerable number’ of Catholics and small numbers of dissenting Protestants and Episcopalians. The parish school taught English, Latin, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping and the schoolmaster was the session clerk. Collections in church were, Gordon writes, ‘of much benefit’ to the poor ‘especially when our great family is at home’. Reverend Gordon reflects the church’s objectives of ‘improvement’ and the security of the Hanoverian state, including prescriptive as well as descriptive material in his entry. Referring to the ‘necessity’ of a bridge over the River Spey at Fochabers, Gordon lists several benefits, including that a bridge ‘would be of unspeakable importance to His Majesty’s troops, who almost always march by

<sup>81</sup> ‘Hanoverian Parish’ is a term borrowed from Mark Smith, ‘The Hanoverian Parish: Towards a New Agenda’, *Past and Present*, 216.1 (August 2012), 79-105. Here the term is used to refer to ‘improvement’ in late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries rural Scotland, whereas Smith’s focus is on function (e.g., poor relief) in the English ‘Hanoverian Parish’.

<sup>82</sup> Hugh Blair, ‘Sermon XXXIII: On the Improvement of Time’ in *Sermons* (Edinburgh, 1777-1801; repr. London, 1833), 342.

<sup>83</sup> *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 21 vols (Edinburgh, 1791-1799).

this route'.<sup>84</sup> There is little doubt the minister describes his locality as he imagines it, a parish constructed through dynastic order.

Rev. Gordon's report on Bellie parish is a typical *Statistical Account* entry, narrating the history of the parish, its name and connection to significant historical events, as well as statistical descriptions of geography, climate, population, education and industry. That dynasty was an organising principle becomes evident from a search of the digitised version of the *Statistical Account*.<sup>85</sup> A search for words with monarchical or dynastic connotations as a rough measure of the extent to which ministers employed language chiming with imagined monarchy to describe their parish produces telling results. Figure 5.12 presents a table of the words searched, the number of matches, an example of text where the word appears, and the year, parish, and page reference where the example was found. Figure 5.13 illustrates the number of matches for each word in a bar chart. The fact that there are 755 references to 'heritor(s)' shows the close relationship between the minister and the landowning classes. Adding up the matches to 'king' (454), 'queen' (146), 'his majesty' (96), 'her majesty' (5) and 'monarch' (35) produces 646 references to the person of the monarch, demonstrating the constancy of the relationship between the parish and the monarch, at least as imagined by the minister. Dynastic tiers below monarchy, specifically 'duke' (229), 'duchess' (15), 'earl' (432), 'viscount' (31) and baron(s) (109), receive in total 816 matches, illustrating the ministers' perception of the importance of their local nobility to the parish. This compares with just 105 matches in total for 'prince' (86) and 'princess' (19), perhaps explained by their place being more removed and their power being less significant than local dynastic landowners. The abstractions of 'crown' (226), 'sovereign' (51) and 'royal' (221) total 498 mentions, reinforcing the constancy of monarchy as the high centre of the imagined community, both within and beyond the parish. 'Royal bounty' appears 34 times, although there are other varied references to royal munificence and certainly an acute awareness of where and how such donations were being applied. In Kincardine, Perthshire, the minister complained that his parish received no benefit from the king's annual donation of £1,000 for 'religious instruction to the Scotch Highlanders' because funds are only applied to Gaelic speaking parishes.<sup>86</sup> John Galt's *Annals of the Parish* (1821) is a novel narrated by the fictional Rev. Micah Balwhidder, minister in a rural Ayrshire parish from 1760 to 1810, each

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 14, 263-69.

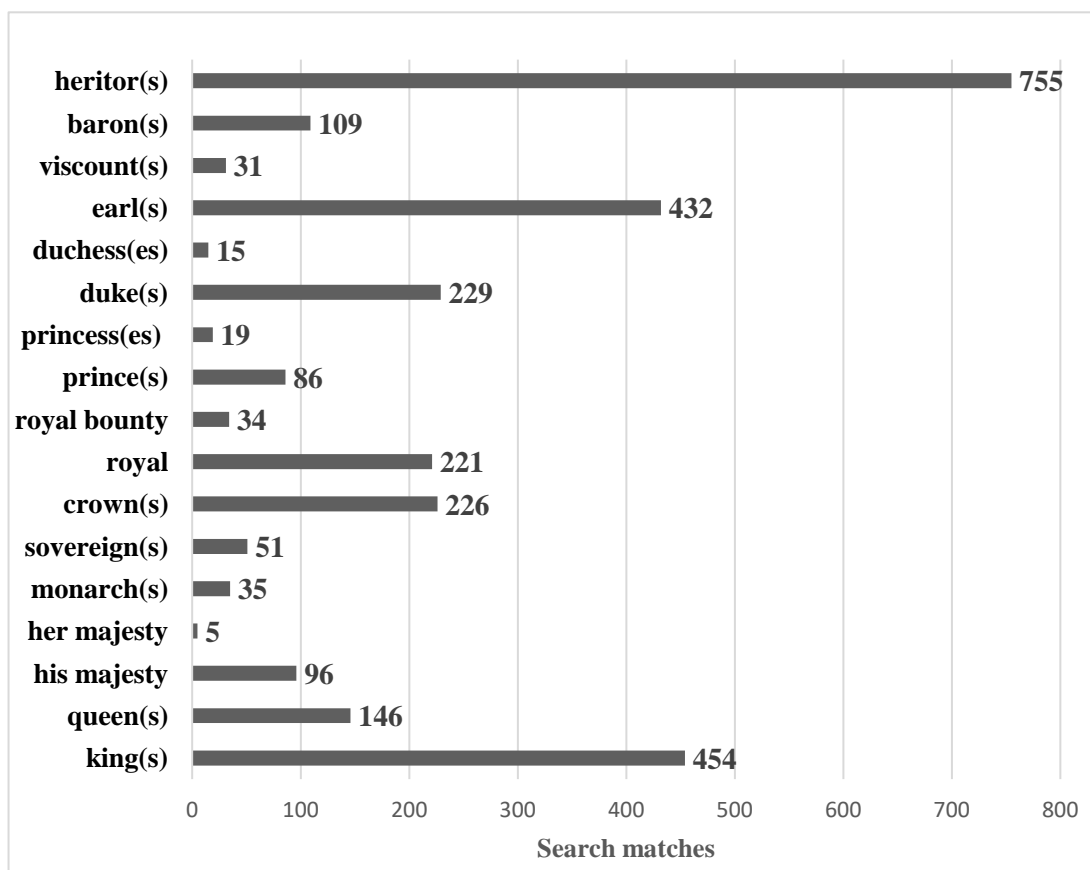
<sup>85</sup> <<https://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/home>> [accessed 2021-23]

<sup>86</sup> *Statistical Account*, 6 (1793), 489-90.

Word	Matches	Example text	Example reference
king(s)	454	Since that time, there has been one profession added to this University, by the bounty of King George II.	University of Glasgow, xxi, 1799, 28.
queen(s)	146	It was erected by George first Earl of Cromarty, secretary of state for Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne.	Dingwall, iii, 1792, 20.
his majesty	96	There his Royal Highness, with his Majesty s army, passed with great safety.	Bellie, xiv, 1795, 263.
her majesty	5	In the year 1708, her Majesty Queen ANNE was pleased to grant the University L.210 sterling.	University of Glasgow, xxi, 1799, 27-8.
monarch(s)	35	He had a salary of 25 L. Sterling, from his majesty s royal bounty.	Criech, xviii, 1793, 370.
sovereign(s)	51	[...] there is, perhaps, no subject in Great Britain, who could bring so great a number of persons into the field, in defense [ <i>sic</i> ] of his Sovereign.	Inveraray, v, 1793, 297.
crown(s)	226	There are 15 heritors in the parish. The Crown is patron.	Tain, iii, 1792, 393.
royal	221	[...] the subscribers to this laudable purpose were so considerable, that they obtained a Royal charter.	Edinburgh, vi, 1793, 590
royal bounty	34	There is a missionary appointed, many years since, by the Committee for managing the Royal Bounty.	Kilmorack, Inverness, xx, 1798, 408.
prince(s)	86	[...] new foundation charters [...] were given by that prince to more than one of our Universities.	University of Aberdeen, xxi, 1799, 114-5
princess(es)	19	[...] the conduct and character of that unfortunate Princess.	Glencorse, E'burgh, xv, 1795, 443
duke(s)	229	The Duke of Gordon is our only residing heritor.	Bellie, xiv, 1795, 268.
duchess(es)	15	[...] under the patronage of the Duchess of Hamilton the manufacture of Hamilton lace may again become as flourishing as ever.	Hamilton, ii, 1792, 198.
earl(s)	432	After the forfeiture of the Earl, the proprietor of the estate of Tulloch was appointed hereditary constable of the castle.	Dingwall, iii, 1792, 16.
viscount(s)	31	[...] the supporters of the house of Stuart, headed by Clarets, commonly called Lord Viscount Dundee.	Cromdale, Inverness, iii, 1793, 254.
baron(s)	109	This Earl was once distinguished among the most powerful of the Scottish barons.	Dingwall, iii, 1792, 16.
heritor(s)	755	The number of heritors is 15, of whom m <sup>r</sup> M Leod of Cadboll is the principal, in point of property, and Lord Ankerville the greatest resident proprietor.	Tain, iii, 1792, 394.

1,209

**Figure 5.12.** Word searches of the digitized *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 20 vols (Edinburgh, 1791-1799) <<https://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/volume/osa/osa-vol14>> [accessed 22 November 2021]



**Figure 5.13.** Bar chart illustrating the number of matches for words searched in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 21 vols (Edinburgh, 1791-99).

chapter covering a year. From the book's opening lines, it is clear how large the monarchy features in the imagination of the minister:

Everybody spoke of me and the new king as united in our trusts and temporalities [...] which has really been the case, for, in the same season that his Most Excellent Majesty, as he was very properly styled in the proclamations for the general fasts and thanksgivings, was set by as a precious vessel which had received a crack or a flaw [...] I was obliged by reason of age [...] to consent to the earnest entreaties of the session [*to preach his last sermon*].<sup>87</sup>

There are thirty-one references to the king in the novel, averaging a mention every six pages. The year 1763 begins: 'The Ann Dom. 1763, was, in many a respect a memorable year [...] The king granted peace to the French, and Charlie Malcolm [...] came home to see his mother'.<sup>88</sup> It is clearly a recognisable source of humour for readers in 1821 how frequently ministers refer to the king— imagined monarchy is very present in the mind of the minister and, through him, in the minds of his parishioners.<sup>89</sup> Heritors were not always all-powerful nobility. A church built in Dingwall — a market town fifteen miles north west of Inverness — between 1800 and 1803 to replace a ruinous medieval church was financed mostly by the largest landowning family, the Davidsons of Tulloch, whose wealth came from sugar estates in the West Indies.<sup>90</sup> This family's feudal barony title to Tulloch Castle and estate derived from a Crown Charter granted by George III in favour of Henry Davidson, 6th Baron of Tulloch (1733-1781), dated 23 February 1763.<sup>91</sup> Designed by civil engineer and architect George Burn (1759-1820), principally known as a builder of bridges (including the Lovat Bridge, Beaully and Spey Bridge, Fochabers), the neoclassical church frontage faces north, towards Tulloch Castle and estate, rather than south towards the town of Dingwall.<sup>92</sup> Figure 5.14 shows John Heaviside Clark's 1824 engraved print of the town, with the new church

<sup>87</sup> John Galt, *Annals of the Parish* (London, 1895 [1st edn, 1821]), vii.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>89</sup> Christopher Whatley has highlighted the accuracy of Galt's representation of provincial Scotland when judged against other evidence. Whatley is emphatic that Galt is a useful source of the zeitgeist of rural and provincial Scotland: Christopher A. Whatley, 'John Galt and Scottish Society History in the Era of the Enlightenment and Urbanisation'. <[https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media\\_393743\\_smxx.pdf](https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_393743_smxx.pdf)> [accessed 10 March 2023]

<sup>90</sup> Henry Davidson (1733-1781) and his descendants are listed by University College of London's Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery. <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/address/view/2145437365/2146638595>> [accessed 22 October 2021]

<sup>91</sup> A barony title in Scotland is a feudal grant of property from the Crown and the owner is designated a feudal baron (not to be confused with a baron in the peerage).

<sup>92</sup> The specification and offer to finish the work from George Burn are referred to in the Dingwall Presbytery Minutes, 19 December 1799.



**Figure 5.14.** John Heviside Clark, *The Town of Dingwall*, 1824, showing St Clement's Church circled in red and Tulloch Castle circled in blue, Government Art Collection. <<https://artcollection.culture.gov.uk/artwork/3952/>> [accessed 26 March 2023].



circled in red and Tulloch Castle circled in blue. Seating 800 in box pews on two levels, the interior of the church features a semi-octagonal gallery surrounding the pulpit on three sides. At the centre of the steeple wall at the back of the upper gallery, facing the pulpit, is an 1801 japanned clock face, made by a Dingwall clockmaker, A. Scott.<sup>93</sup> Although more modest than Bellie's, here again is a sophisticated clock representing improvement, modernity and progress. The scale, fittings and refinement of the new church contrasted with the condition of the old church, so dilapidated that the kirk session minutes record that the bell had been removed from the steeple.<sup>94</sup>

Above the front door of the church is a stained-glass window of the crown of the king's son, the Duke of Albany (Figure 5.15). The church became closely associated with a regiment raised locally in 1778 by the Earl of Seaforth (1744-1781), the 72nd Regiment of Foot. As we have seen, in 1823 George IV authorised the regiment to bear the title of 'The Duke of Albany's own Highlanders' and to resume the wearing of Highland dress.<sup>95</sup> The following year, the king further authorised a regimental badge comprising the Duke of Albany's cipher and coronet. Figure 5.16 shows the regimental colours, with cipher and coronet in three corners. This regiment gained many battle honours in the eighteenth century, and it seems likely that the colours would have been displayed in Bellie Kirk during this period.<sup>96</sup> In 1784, George III conferred this title on his second son, Frederick (1767-1827) and it is Frederick's cipher and coronet that became the regiment's badge. Military colours in St Clement's evidenced the church's pride in the local regiment and the shared honour of royal associations amongst congregations and soldiers. When presenting the colours in 1825, Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope (1765-1836) declared that 'it has pleased His Majesty to confer so distinguished an honour on the regiment [...] by being named after His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief [*of the British Army*]'.<sup>97</sup> St Clement's Church shows that it was not only in churches within military fortifications that monarchy, military and worship converged. At the Fort George army chapel at Ardersier, Inverness-shire (completed in 1767), the church is explicitly associated with Hanoverian monarchy, with a large inscription

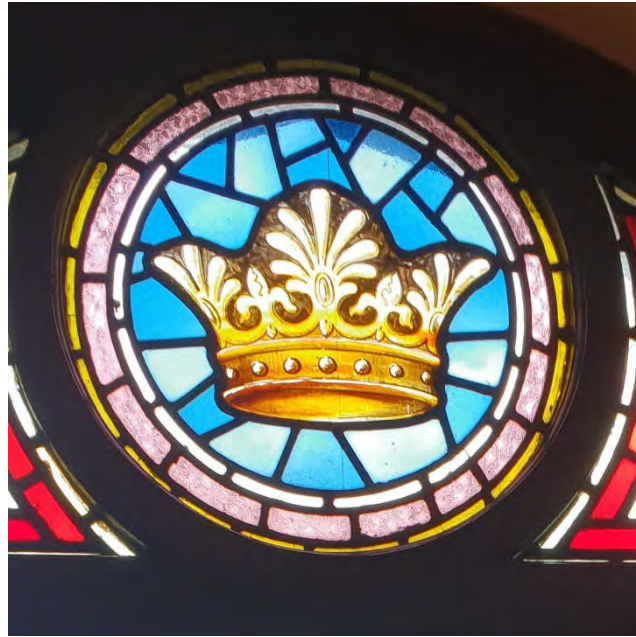
<sup>93</sup> John Gifford, *Buildings: Highlands*, 405.

<sup>94</sup> Dingwall kirk session, Minutes (1782-1803), CH2/711/24.

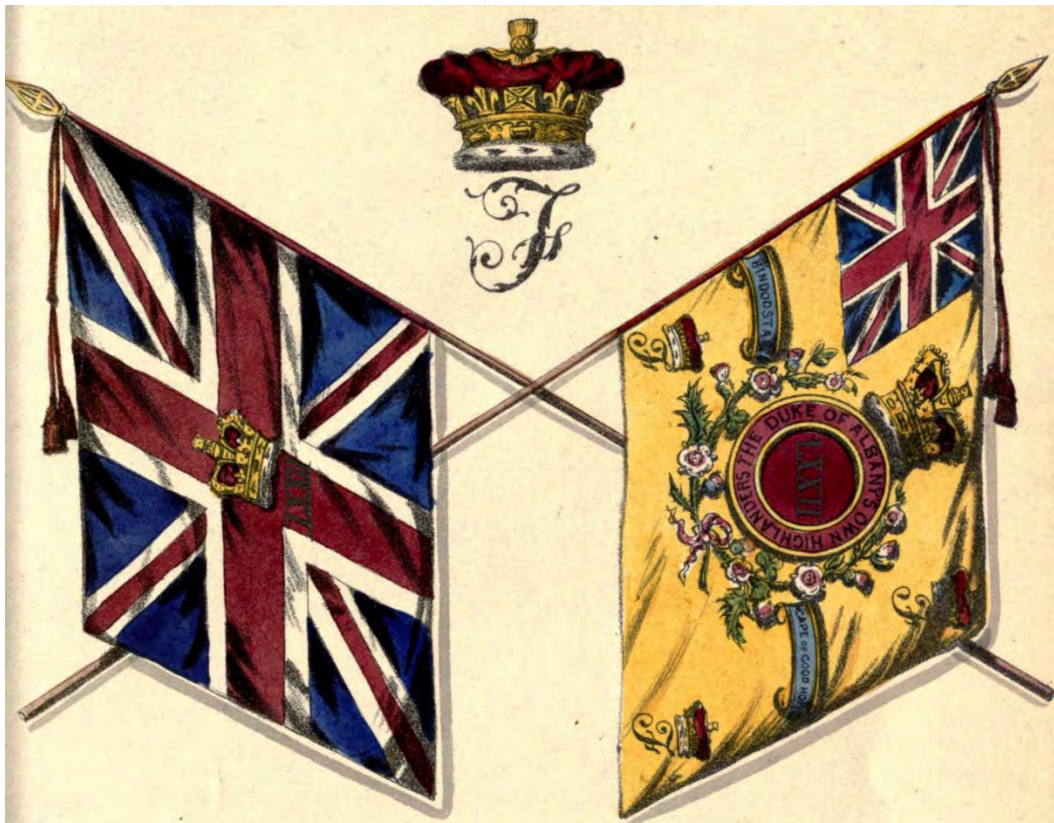
<sup>95</sup> Chapter 2: Soldiers.

<sup>96</sup> Victorian-era colours of the 72nd regiment, Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders, hang in St Clement's at present.

<sup>97</sup> *Historical Record of the Seventy-second, or, The Duke of Albany's own Highlanders* (London, 1848), 51-52.



**Figure 5.15.** Coronet of the Duke of Albany (Prince Frederick, Duke of York and Albany (1763-1827), stained glass above entrance door, St Clement's Parish Church, Dingwall. Author's photograph.



**Figure 5.16.** Illustration of the colours of the 72nd regiment, Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders, 1825, in Richard Cannon, *Historical Record of the Seventy-Second Regiment, or, the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders* (London, 1848).



**Figure 5.17.** View of the apse with inscription above segmental arch of ashlar stone, Garrison Chapel, Fort George, Ardersier, Inverness-shire. Author's photograph.



**Figure 5.18.** Laird's loft, view from south, St Andrew's Parish Church, Golspie, Sutherland. Canmore, HES, SC 1174729. <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/6591/golspie-main-street-st-andrews-parish-church?display=image>> [accessed 11 March 2023]



**Figure 5.19.** Detail of 5.18 showing frieze and armorial.

high above the pulpit, ‘GEORGIVS III DG . . M . BRI . FRA . ET HIB . REX ‘ (Figure 5.17). The chapel sits between two bastions, named after respectively Prince Henry Frederick and Prince William Henry, symbolising Hanoverian protection against sea invasion by Jacobites in league with Catholic French forces. When not in use for religious services, the chapel served as a schoolroom for the children of officers and soldiers.

Fort George Chapel is typical of late eighteenth-century churches in Scotland, where ordinary worshippers sat in the middle section of the ground floor and higher status members of the congregation in the gallery upstairs. In design terms, the gallery was a refined architectural expression of a feature that had existed in haphazard and asymmetrical form in medieval churches: the ‘laird’s loft’ constructed of timber in a vernacular manner to provide greater comfort. Lofts were erected by titled landowning families and civic bodies for their personal use and decorated with dynastic coats of arms and emblems.<sup>98</sup> The front facing panel of a former trades loft survives in the Highland town of Tain. Built of pine and brightly painted in green, the pane is decorated with craft guild emblems and the text, ‘GOD SAVE THE KING AND CRAFT AMEN 1776’.<sup>99</sup> Landowning dynastic families — both titled and gentry — had lofts constructed in varying degrees of grandeur, usually featuring an independent entrance and stair with fine entablature, columns and panelling, decorated with the arms and armorial devices of the family. Figure 5.18 shows the elaborate timber construction of the Earl of Sutherland’s loft at Golspie circa 1738, a typical example of this dynastic superimposition on a kirk. Figure 5.19 shows the intricately carved and painted family crest on the front of the loft. Presbyterian church interiors, although modest and lacking in ecclesiastical paraphernalia by pre-Reformation standards, nevertheless embodied the images, associations and interactions by and through which the congregation imagined the monarchy. Hence the text on the face of the trades loft in Tain explicitly linked their ‘craft’ to the king. In contrast to the haphazard design of older lofts, new Georgian churches represented modernity by the rationality of their design, clocks regulating time in the community and interiors which formally enacted the dynastic hierarchy in the locality.

<sup>98</sup> George Hay, ‘Scottish Post-Reformation Church Furniture’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 88 (1954), 50.]

<sup>99</sup> John Gifford, *Building: Highlands*, 459.

## Improvement

Scotland's oldest schools and universities were founded through a combination of the pre-Reformation church and monarchy. For example, Aberdeen University was originated by a petition to Pope Alexander VI on behalf of James IV of Scotland (1473-1513) to establish King's College (1495) in combination with a Royal Charter (of the same date). The High School of Edinburgh, originally the seminary of Holyrood Abbey, was founded in 1178 by David I of Scotland (c.1084-1153) and in circa 1590 James VI of Scotland (1566-1625) accorded it royal patronage as the King's School of Edinburgh. During the post-Culloden period, the aim of the Church of Scotland, as controlled by the Moderates, was 'improvement'. This objective impacted on Scotland's universities and schools in the creation of new academic disciplines, curricula and learned societies. In each of these, the Hanoverian monarchy played a role.

Two Highland examples demonstrate the move to create new forms of educational establishments under the nomenclature of a 'Royal Academy'. Inverness Royal Academy and Tain Royal Academy were both established by Royal Charters granted by George III. In the case of Tain, the initiative to establish the school originated in a meeting of 'noblemen and gentlemen' of the locality in Richardson's coffee house in London on 6 June 1800. Among them was Henry Davidson of Tulloch, the heritor who largely financed St Clement's Church in Dingwall. Tain was the first academy to be established on the Scottish mainland north of Inverness. By the time it opened in 1813, its curriculum included book-keeping, algebra, geometry, navigation, mathematics, geography, fortification and history. This school followed soon after the project to create Inverness Royal Academy, which received a Royal Charter granted by the king in 1793. The cost of obtaining the charter was large, £179, more than the combined salaries of the school's teachers for two years. Evidently a source of pride, this Royal Charter was mentioned in newspaper advertisements for the session of the academy to begin in 1793.<sup>100</sup> Charles Macintosh, an enthusiastic supporter of the academy project, born in Inverness but working as a Writer to His Majesty's Signet in Edinburgh, had printed and sent north 80 copies of the charter and Royal Warrant. As part of the so-called 'Academy movement' in Scotland, the establishing of Inverness Academy arose from a

<sup>100</sup> <[ambaile.org.uk/asset/29895](http://ambaile.org.uk/asset/29895)> [accessed 2 March 2023]

desire to offer a more practically useful education based in the Highlands.<sup>101</sup> In Edinburgh, the ancient High School began, sometime in the late 1820s, to be called the ‘Royal’ High School, reflecting its origins as the ‘King’s School’. By 1833, it appeared with the ‘Royal’ prefix on a map of Edinburgh. George IV gave £500 for the school’s new building in the 1820s ‘as a token of royal favour towards a School, which, as a royal foundation, had conferred for ages incalculable benefits for the community’.<sup>102</sup> The High School had long been the most prestigious in Scotland and it is significant that the capital city’s oldest and most celebrated school took the ‘Royal’ prefix.

Edinburgh University became the leading university of the Scottish Enlightenment, having been the first to be established in Scotland by Royal Charter alone, granted by James VI in 1582. Its close connections with the leading intellectuals of Scotland resulted in the creation of new academic subjects and qualifications. In turn, the university was closely involved with the Royal colleges, Royal societies and Royal professional bodies, their vocational training and developing professionalism. In particular, the support and enthusiasm of George III elevated certain subjects to greater prominence and respectability. Formalising literature as a subject, in 1762 George III appointed the Rev. Hugh Blair as the first Regius Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres. Blair was a minister of the Church of Scotland, best known for his *Sermons*, first published between 1777 and 1801.<sup>103</sup> His early fame as a presbyterian preacher ensured his election to the prestigious Canongate Kirk in Edinburgh at the age of twenty-five, a parish which included the Palace of Holyroodhouse and Edinburgh Castle. Unusually for a Scottish church, Canongate Kirk features a ‘lavishly carved’ royal coat of arms of William III at the top of the front gable, signifying the church’s support for the Glorious Revolution in Scotland.<sup>104</sup> In 1758, Blair achieved one of the highest positions for a clergyman in Scotland, as second charge to Robert Walker (1716-1783) at St Giles’ Cathedral, Edinburgh. Blair’s sermons at St Giles’ provided material for the five volumes of *Sermons* which achieved huge popularity and were translated into almost every language in Europe.<sup>105</sup> George III and Queen Charlotte were admirers: ‘It is said that the sermons were first read in the royal closet, by the Earl of Mansfield; and there is little reason to doubt that they were indebted in some degree to the elocution of the “elegant Murray” for the

<sup>101</sup> Anderson, Freeman and Paterson, eds, *Edinburgh History of Education*, 92.

<sup>102</sup> J.B. Barclay, *The Tounis Scule: The Royal High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1974), 60.

<sup>103</sup> Hugh Blair, *Sermons*, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1777-1801).

<sup>104</sup> John Gifford et al, *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh* (London, 1991), 149.

<sup>105</sup> Sher, *Church and University*, 247.

impression which they produced upon the royal family'.<sup>106</sup> Blair dedicated the third volume of *Sermons* to Queen Charlotte: 'Discourses intended to promote religion and virtue can be inscribed to none more suitably to one who, in the highest station of life, has ever supported the cause of religion'.<sup>107</sup> Generally, the sermons emphasised patriotism and morality rather than theology. In the sermon, 'On the love of our country', preached in 18 April 1793 on the day of a national fast on the outbreak of war with France, Blair described British subjects as 'blessed now with a sovereign [...] whose personal virtues and whose domestic conduct hold forth to the nation such a high example of piety, decency and good order'.<sup>108</sup> Writing to his son Prince Augustus on 5 March 1787, George III gives advice on piety and duty to God in language reminiscent of Blair: 'Moral Philosophy, till a proper foundation has been made in the principles of Religion, cannot be with utility pursued'.<sup>109</sup> In 1780, the king mandated the Exchequer of Scotland to confer a pension of £200 a year on Blair which continued until his death. Blair retired from his university position in 1783 and published his lectures for the first time that year. *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belle Lettres*, in three volumes, published simultaneously in Edinburgh and London, was hugely successful and 130 editions in all were published in English and numerous European languages. George III's 1783 edition is held by the Royal Collection Trust.<sup>110</sup>

George III had a longstanding relationship with Scottish medicine and doctors which attracted comment and controversy, as with the appointment of a male midwife for Queen Charlotte's fourth pregnancy, a choice made more controversial by the fact that it was for a Scotsman, William Hunter (1718-83).<sup>111</sup> Hunter was one of a number of Scottish physicians educated at the practically focused Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh who moved to London and became important pioneers in medical science. These included his brother, John Hunter (1728-93) and William Smellie (1697-1763), all working at St George's Hospital, London. Others remained in Scotland, such as James Gregory (1753-1821), appointed Professor of the Practice of Medicine at Edinburgh aged just twenty-three. His professional standing was confirmed in 1799 with his appointment by George III as First Physician to the

<sup>106</sup> Robert Chambers and Rev. Thomas Thomson, eds, *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Glasgow, 1865), I, 244.

<sup>107</sup> Dedication 'To the Queen' in Hugh Blair, *Sermons* (London 1833).

<sup>108</sup> Blair, *Sermons* (1833), 679.

<sup>109</sup> George to Augustus, 5 March 1797, *The Later Correspondence of George III, 1783-1810*, ed Arthur Aspinall (Cambridge, 1962-70), I, 273.

<sup>110</sup> Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belle Lettres* (Edinburgh and London, 1783); Hugh Blair, *Lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres*, vol.1, 1783, RCT, RCIN 1050078.

<sup>111</sup> Black, *George III*, 184.



King in Scotland. During the same period, Gregory was also President of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh between 1798 and 1801, and one of the founders of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The Society of Edinburgh became the Royal Society in 1783. These were just two of the important learned bodies to become 'Royal' in Edinburgh at this time. Others included the Royal College of Surgeons (1778), the Royal Medical Society (1778) and the Royal Physical Society (1778). New teaching hospitals were formed by these institutions, such as the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, established by Royal Charter in 1776. Many of these bodies became linked with neo-classical buildings including the Physicians' Hall and Surgeons' Hall. 'Royal' designations in Scotland, and associations with Enlightenment modernity through their buildings and prestige gained in their respective fields, offered glamour and increased subscriptions to these institutions.<sup>112</sup> There is an undeniable correlation between a royal designation being bestowed on an institution and its acquiring a higher status and respectability. Hence, when surgery transitioned from craft guild, first recognised in 1505, to professional status, the body of surgeons became a 'Royal' College. Founded in 1819, the Royal Institution in Edinburgh's Princes Street, opposite Hanover Street, housed the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts and the Board of Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures and Improvements in Scotland (who owned the building).<sup>113</sup> Figure 5.20 shows a detail of an 1833 map of Edinburgh upon which the locations of institutions of instruction and 'improvement' associated with monarchy have been superimposed for this thesis. 'Royal' and royalty therefore became linked with 'improvement' in the sciences, agriculture, arts, and architecture; these establishments and their buildings were substantive outcomes completely consistent with preoccupations signalled in the annual correspondence between the king and the General Assembly. Royal nomenclature by its very ubiquity is in danger of being overlooked as an important prompt in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reminding communities of monarchy's place at the high centre of national identity.

'Royal' bodies not only extended education, apprenticeships, and the formalising of qualifications through the creation of university chairs, they also encouraged innovation and scientific discovery, sometimes through the personal support of George III. The king's

<sup>112</sup> Frank Prochaska, *The Republic of Britain 1760-2000* (London, 2000), 10-1. Frank Prochaska, *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (London, 1985).

<sup>113</sup> A Scottish equivalent to London's Somerset House, on a more modest scale.



**Figure 5.20.** Detail of W & A K Johnston, *The city of Edinburgh*. Drawn and engraved for Gray's annual directory, 1833, 54.5 x 41.7 cm. NE.11.f.4, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, annotated to show locations of royal institutions of instruction and university, church and legal institutional buildings.

patronage of the botanical sciences was first inspired by the Earl of Bute and together they developed grounds at Kew into a botanical garden. Bute wrote the nine-volume *Botanical Tables* and other learned books on flowers and shrubs.<sup>114</sup> Sixteen copies of *Botanical Tables* were printed, one of which Bute presented to Queen Charlotte, stored in a satinwood box decorated with flowers and the queen's cypher.<sup>115</sup> George III's enthusiasm for agricultural improvement resulted in the king commissioning medals to be awarded for achievement in agriculture and plant sciences.<sup>116</sup> In Scotland, the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society, established by Royal Charter in 1787 as the Highland Society of Edinburgh, awarded medals on agricultural subjects from 1785 onwards. The Society's initiative founded the chair of agriculture at the University of Edinburgh and a report by the Society in the 1780s resulted in a company set up for the express purpose of founding coastal villages and towns.

### Conclusion

We have seen that imagined monarchy in its various forms was associated with the development of a distinctively Scottish institutional system of instruction. That system derived from Scotland's Calvinist ideology following the Reformation. During the formative and formalising period post-1746, we have seen the Hanoverian monarchy become closely associated with instruction, which was legislatively rooted in the Church of Scotland. The king, although not the head of the established church, was personally represented by a Scottish aristocrat at the annual meetings of the church's General Assembly. Legalistic practices within the church codified, and enabled disciplinary enforcement, of ministers' responsibilities, including to pray for the health of the king and royal family. Analysis of occasions of special national worship evidences the frequency with which prayers and thanksgiving were ordained by the church, acting in concert with the state whilst preserving the church's spiritual and temporal autonomy. Weekly prayers further reinforced consciousness of the monarchy, as did the annual exchange of letters between the king and

<sup>114</sup> Roberts, *George III*, 24-5. John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, *Botanical tables: containing the different familys of British plants* (1795).

<sup>115</sup> RCT, 1123772. <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/Trails/natural-history-in-the-royal-library/botanical-tables-containing-the>> [accessed 26 October 2021]

<sup>116</sup> Arthur Burns and Liam Fitzgerald, 'Commemorating the death of George III: A reflection on the 200th anniversary of his death', Georgian Papers Programme. <<https://georgianpapers.com/2020/01/29/commemorating-the-death-of-george-iii-a-reflection-on-the-200th-anniversary-of-his-death/>> [accessed 26 October 2021]

the General Assembly. We have seen that the Hanoverian monarchy introduced a royal bounty paid annually to the General Assembly.

Aristocratic initiative at both national and local levels was integral to this system and its position was entrenched by the legal concept of the heritor. Exercising power in a local community through the role of heritor, the Duke of Gordon displayed dynastic hierarchy as an improving and organising force in the life of the inhabitants. Just as George III embodied an Enlightenment attitude to religion that saw no inconsistency between Protestant belief and scientific enquiry, so the Moderates of the Church of Scotland secured a system of instruction based on the same principle. Dynasty and associated hierarchies were essential components in sustaining the influence of the Church of Scotland, as analysis of the *Statistical Account* has shown. Planned new towns created a new modern identity of a 'Hanoverian' or North British parish. The language of monarchy and dynasty was found throughout the *Statistical Account*. The monarchy's influence was also apparent among institutions of instruction, from professional 'Royal' colleges to universities and schools. We have seen George III personally appointed Hugh Blair as the first Regius professor of rhetoric and belle lettres at Edinburgh University and encouraged agricultural and scientific improvement. Edinburgh became a centre of new Hanoverian institutions, located on the streets of the New Town named after the royal family. It is a commonplace that instruction, religious and educational, contributes significantly to the formation of people's worldview and imagination. We have seen how Hanoverian kings never wavered in their commitment to respect and uphold the presbyterianism of the Church of Scotland, and correspondingly the Church Scotland helped locate Hanoverian monarchy with church and law as pillars of Scottish national identity.

## Chapter 6: Myth

Myth, in Scotland, is never driven out by reality.

Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*.<sup>1</sup>

After the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion in 1746, George IV's 1822 visit to Edinburgh is the sole episode involving a Hanoverian monarch to receive attention in histories of Scotland. It is often the only reference to Scotland in biographies of George IV. Within the historiography, the 'King's Jaunt' is represented as helping to create a romanticised or invented Scottish national identity.<sup>2</sup> This chapter offers a fresh interpretation of the visit as something more than a Highland pageant of a mythical Scotland invented by Sir Walter Scott. Academic and popular histories follow a remarkably consistent narrative, which in turn is disseminated in museums, galleries, exhibitions and institutional websites, such as that of the Royal Collection Trust: 'The success of King George IV's visit was due to the preparations of Sir Walter Scott, the historical novelist, poet and dramatist, who revived Scotland's romantic past in the pageantry of the state visit'.<sup>3</sup> Allied to an emphasis on a single causal episode, current historiography treats the visit's 'pageantry' as exceptional, rather than typical of a state occasion in the early nineteenth century. Nor is it considered as part of a sequence in a longer tradition of royal occasions stretching back centuries. Secondary literature describing or mentioning the visit is implanted with assumptions which have been deployed in support of a more general contention that — in comparison to other nations — myth plays a dominant role in Scottish national identity. From politically motivated contemporary newspapers to Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (1837-9) and Macaulay's *History of England* (1848-61), all the way through to the modern works of Hugh Trevor-Roper, John Prebble and biographers of George IV, a singular interpretation has endured.<sup>4</sup> A 2001 biography of George IV observes of the visit, relying on Trevor-Roper: 'Recent commentators have with unquestionable accuracy castigated the whole charade as "a bizarre travesty of Scottish history [and] Scottish reality" — yet Scott's myth has proved

<sup>1</sup> Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland*, xxii.

<sup>2</sup> The title of Prebble, *King's Jaunt* has become a byword for the visit.

<sup>3</sup> <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/401206/george-iv-1762-1830>> [accessed 2 February 2021]

<sup>4</sup> J.G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott* (London, 1839), 10 vols; Lord Macaulay, *The History of England* (London, 1913 [1st edn London, 1848-61]), 5 vols, III, 239; Trevor-Roper, 'Invention of Tradition'; *Invention of Scotland*; Prebble, *King's Jaunt*.

more appealing, and thus more long-lasting, than the truth'.<sup>5</sup> Attributing the success of the visit to Scott's 'Celtic fantasy' may preclude a simpler and more obvious explanation: public interest in the presence of the king in Scotland.<sup>6</sup> After all, the king was the first reigning monarch of Scotland and England to visit Scotland since Charles I in 1633.<sup>7</sup>

John Prebble's *The King's Jaunt* (1989; new edn 2000) remains the only book devoted exclusively to the George IV's visit. Prebble's interpretation remains largely unchallenged and is encapsulated in his concluding chapter: 'No other nation has cherished so absurd an image and none perhaps would accept it while knowing it to be a lie. For that monstrous error, the pageantry of [Sir Walter] Scott and the euphoria of the King's Jaunt were largely responsible'.<sup>8</sup> Prebble remains the biggest-selling author of Scottish history and his main works have never been out of print.<sup>9</sup> His popularity in citations remains unaffected by the lack of scholarly convention in his work, such as footnotes, citations and at least the appearance of objectivity:

Prebble did nothing to disguise his populist anti-English bias in his trilogy [...] and his last book, *The King's Jaunt*. The intelligent reader sets that bias aside [...] Every scholar working in the field owes Prebble [...] a debt of gratitude'.<sup>10</sup>

Prebble's entertaining style, amplifying Lockhart, Macaulay and Trevor-Roper, has made for ready repetition in abridged form.

One of the biggest challenges for cultural historians is finding evidence of the thoughts and feelings of 'the people'. This is particularly true in relation to the monarchy in Scotland owing to the long absence of the monarch. Primary sources record that during George IV's visit Edinburgh's population (138,235 in 1821) swelled to a seventh of the entire population

<sup>5</sup> Steven Parissien, *George IV: The Grand Entertainment* (London, 2001), 336, quoting Trevor-Roper, 'Invention of Tradition', 30.

<sup>6</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 235.

<sup>7</sup> Charles II (1630-1685) was crowned King of Scotland in 1659 at Scone, Perthshire, but exiled shortly thereafter, and was not King of England until the Restoration of 1660.

<sup>8</sup> Prebble, *King's Jaunt*, 364.

<sup>9</sup> John Prebble, *The Highland Clearances* (London, 1963) is rated 'the best-selling Scottish history book ever written, having achieved worldwide sales of more than a quarter of a million copies': Tom Devine, 'Revisiting the nation's historic bestseller', *Scotsman*, 22 July 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Herman, *Scottish Enlightenment*, 411-12.

of Scotland (2,091,521 in 1821);<sup>11</sup> the king's entry to Edinburgh was witnessed by 300,000 people; the military review gathered 50,000 spectators;<sup>12</sup> and 'Edinburgh was never known to be so full either in the memory of man or in history, people of every rank both savage and sage, who could afford the time or the money came to have an eager look of His Majesty'.<sup>13</sup> Even the radical-leaning *Scotsman*, whilst decrying the genuflecting of Edinburgh civic society, reflected two days after George IV's departure 'the King's visit to Edinburgh, and the proceedings connected with it, are still uppermost with the public of Scotland'.<sup>14</sup> The city had less than three weeks' notice of the 'gracious intention of His Majesty to visit The Metropolis as early as 10 or 12 August'.<sup>15</sup> The fact that so many people travelled to Edinburgh at such short notice itself evidences the popular appetite for the occasion, confounding the expectations of art collector Alexander Gordon (1765-1849) in late July 1822: 'The Royal visit will give neither pleasure nor satisfaction here, those will return to town who must in "duty" come, & numerous strangers will no doubt be collected'.<sup>16</sup> Those 'who must in "duty" come' appears to refer to peers, soldiers and officials, but written evidence suggests broader attendance. According to merchant and agricultural improver Gilbert Meason (1769-1832), 'order & good behaviour seem to govern all ranks'. He also referred to the enthusiasm of the less socially privileged:

The country people throw down their sickles & run to the city, and ripe corn stands. Numbers of them have paced on foot to town, saved their little pittance to get a peep of Royalty & turn back delighted at what they see.<sup>17</sup>

Visitors were not confined to those who 'paced on foot'. Landed gentry, such as the laird of Rothiemurchus, John Peter Grant (1774-1848), and two of his daughters travelled by carriage from Rothiemurchus in the Highlands to Edinburgh, a distance of 126 miles. Jane Grant wrote on 9 August 1822 of their journey through Perthshire that day: 'As we came along all

<sup>11</sup> 'City of Edinburgh', *Statistical Account*, I (1845), 650; Scotland: James Gray Kyd, ed., *Scottish Population Statistics* (Edinburgh, 1975), xvii.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Mudie, *A Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1822), 113. Robert Mudie (1777-1842) was a Scottish-born journalist, who moved to London in 1821 and reported for the *Morning Chronicle*. He subsequently became editor of *The Sunday Times*.

<sup>13</sup> BL MS 29991, fo.34, David Wilkie to Perry Nursy, 13 September 1822.

<sup>14</sup> 'His Majesty's Visit — Duties of Subjects and Princes', *Scotsman*, 31 Aug. 1822, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 24 July 1822, recording receipt of a letter from Robert Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville (1771-1851), First Lord of the Admiralty, to William Arbuthnot (1776-1829), Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted Coltman, *Art and Identity*, 199.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

the people were standing idle with their different implements of labour in their hands, to see the sight. I daresay none of them had ever seen so many carriages on one day'.<sup>18</sup> The number of carriages demonstrates people wanted to see the king, or at least witness the events surrounding the visit. It cannot have been to see whatever Sir Walter Scott had in store, or Lockhart's 'plaided panorama', since little was known of either at this point.<sup>19</sup>

In his essay for Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's influential volume on the *Invention of Tradition*, Hugh Trevor-Roper joined a long line of sceptics from Lockhart onwards whose narratives may be characterised as negative exceptionalism: that is, no other nation would have been subject to, or responsible for, such a spectacle.<sup>20</sup> Although he did not write at great length about the visit, Trevor-Roper assigns it a crucial role in support of one of his three 'myths' of Scottish history, the 'sartorial myth':

For in Scotland, it seems to me, myth has played a far more important part in history than it has in England. Indeed, I believe that the whole history of Scotland has been coloured by myth; and that myth, in Scotland, is never driven out by reality.<sup>21</sup>

Successive abridgements of history are typically crystallised in one or more recognisable epithets: 'one and twenty daft days'; 'plaided panorama'; 'king's jaunt'; 'Celtic fantasies' and 'hallucination'.<sup>22</sup> Related to these abridgements is a background count of supposedly stable factual assumptions: the absurd 'pageantry'; the 'invention' of Highland dress; Sir Walter Scott as 'master of ceremonies' falsely merging Jacobite and Hanoverian identities by presenting George IV as 'Chief of chiefs'; the 'Highland-Lowland divide'; and the absence of urban culture in a 'Celtic fantasy'. The previous chapters have endeavoured to contribute a perspective on the role of monarchy over a longer period. This chapter will examine each of these assumptions about the 1822 visit having regard to the longer associations of imagined monarchy.

<sup>18</sup> 'A Contemporary Account of the Royal Visit to Edinburgh, 1822', ed. B. C. Skinner, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 31 (1962), 77.

<sup>19</sup> J.G. Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott, New Popular Edition* (London, 1893), 481.

<sup>20</sup> Trevor-Roper, 'Invention of Tradition', *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland*, xxii. Trevor-Roper posits three myths: the political myth, the literary myth and the sartorial myth.

<sup>22</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 235.



### **‘One and twenty daft days’?**<sup>23</sup>

The celebrations lasted for three weeks, with the king resident in Scotland for two weeks, staying just outside the city at Dalkeith House. George IV’s visit is frequently characterised as ‘a series of extraordinary pageants, all with a Celtic and Highland flavour’.<sup>24</sup> Set-pieces in fact consisted of a procession into the city; an evening of illuminations; a short levée at the Palace of Holyroodhouse; a court and closet audience; a drawing-room presentation of 500 ladies; a procession from Holyroodhouse to Edinburgh Castle; a military review; a grand ball; a civic banquet; a service at St Giles’ Cathedral; a hunt ball; and a visit to the theatre. Some events contained pageant-like elements, such as triumphal arches, staging, medievalism and elaborate costumes. However, it is an over-simplification to describe the entirety as ‘a series of extraordinary pageants’. A problematic area in the historiography is the repeated and imprecise use of ‘pageant’ and ‘pageantry’ to refer to what were ceremonial state occasions. ‘Pageant’ and ‘pageantry’ suggest pretence, with an actor playing the parts, thereby stripping the occasion of its national and constitutional meanings. Such a characterisation removes the visit from two important overlapping contexts. First, there is the contemporary context of royal and state occasions in Europe during the Congress of Europe era, and, second, the historical context of very rare royal occasions in Edinburgh since 1603.

A review of contemporary British and European state occasions suggests that the 1822 visit, far from being anomalous, conformed to a template. Within these productions were common themes and motifs, including neo-classicism, medieval tropes, national dress, and mythology, each re-imagined through manufactured elements expressing urban wealth and sophistication. The visit took place just over a year after the extravagant coronation of George IV at Westminster Abbey on 19 July 1821. It was observed that a king noted for his love of dressing up was ‘perfectly absorbed in all the petty arrangements [*of his coronation*]’.<sup>25</sup> Although making his own alterations, the king followed the precedent of the coronation of a Stuart king, James II (VII of Scotland), and participants in ‘fantastic modes’ of Stuart and Tudor dress were a prominent feature. Although many expected the effect to be ridiculous, *The Times* noted: ‘The young people in particular’ who had gone ‘merely with the

<sup>23</sup> The phrase is attributed to the Duke of Atholl.

<sup>24</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 235.

<sup>25</sup> *Memoirs of the Court of George IV from original family documents by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos* (London, 1859), ii, 183.

expectation of a show’, were ‘taken by surprise and found themselves affected in a manner they never dreamt of’. The newspaper, generally critical of George IV, commented:

The rich and gorgeous apparel of the Peers and Knights [...] gave a magnificence to the scene, which we believe has never been equalled of any sovereign of this country, and we think we might add of any country in Europe.<sup>26</sup>

A lavish volume, *Ceremonial of the Coronation*, was presented to the principal monarchs of Europe.<sup>27</sup> Figure 6.1 shows a plate from the volume with (left to right) James Graham, 3rd Duke of Montrose (1755-1836), George Campbell, 6th Duke of Argyll (1768-1839), John Fane, 10th Earl of Westmoreland (1759–1841) and Dudley Ryder, 2nd Earl of Harrowby (1798–1882), dressed in Tudor doublet and bombasted hose, crimson velvet robes with ermine trim, each holding a ducal coronet. The Duke of Argyll holds the staff of the Hereditary Master of the Royal Household of Scotland, one of the great offices of the Royal Household in Scotland, held by the Argylls since the reign of James IV. Montrose and Argyll would be part of the inner circle of Scottish peers around George IV throughout his stay in Edinburgh. The events in Edinburgh in 1822 would not seem ‘extraordinary’ to anyone who had attended the coronation, or read newspaper reports of its ‘magnificence’.

Taken in its entirety, George IV’s coronation was a combination of established royal precedent, pageantry, historical costume, mythology and display of national power, conforming with the expectations of the age. A contemporary account of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) describes ‘[t]he indescribable splendour of the Court, the magnificence and wealth of the uniforms worn by the accompanying nobility’.<sup>28</sup> The celebrations included a triumphal arch, the decoration of buildings, illuminations, balls, dinners, theatrical performances and parades of Austrian nobility, military, clergy and schools. It is noteworthy that the most expensive print ever purchased by George IV — an enthusiastic patron of the arts — was *Napoleon Le Grand* (1808). An engraving of Bonaparte as ‘Napoleon I, Emperor of France’, the image is replete with the iconography of monarchy and imperialism, depicting

<sup>26</sup> *The Times*, 20 July 1821.

<sup>27</sup> *Ceremonial of the Coronation of His Most Sacred Majesty King George the Fourth* (London, 1823). <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/1005090/ceremonial-of-the-coronation-of-his-most-sacred-majesty-king-george-the-fourth>> [accessed 8 January 2021]

<sup>28</sup> Wolfram Siemann, *Metternich: Strategist and Visionary* (Cambridge, MA, 2019), 450



**Figure 6.1.** John Whittaker, *Ceremonial of the Coronation of His Most Sacred Majesty King George the Fourth*, 1823, RCT, RCIN 1005090.

his coronation robes, throne, laurel wreath, sceptre and orb.<sup>29</sup> Napoleon's coronation in 1804 represents an extreme or ideal type, exemplifying the manufacture *de novo* of a dynastic sovereignty, using an amalgam of classical, religious, revolutionary, imperial and Carolingian iconography and ceremony to create a carefully conceived fictive legitimacy.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps the most important context for George IV in Scotland was his visit to Ireland in August 1821, just twenty-three days after his coronation. Ireland and Scotland were geographically remote from the monarchy in London, and royalty and royal pageantry were novel phenomena for both. Neither citizenship had been exposed to large-scale royal ceremonies in living memory. The pattern of events in Edinburgh mirrored those in Dublin — procession, military review, church service, levee, theatre visit, civic banquet and grand ball. Others have noted that by the late eighteenth century, official occasions in England were affected by a surge in civic pride in royalty and ‘unprecedented mass mobilisation around patriotic events’.<sup>31</sup> *Freeman's Journal* enthused on the Dublin visit's popularity:

We have spoken to persons who have seen the greatest congregations assembled in the British Metropolis, and who declare that they never saw any manifestation of popular enthusiasm so heartfelt, as that which hailed his Majesty from hundreds of thousands of persons of all ranks and estates, as he entered the City.<sup>32</sup>

Although *Freeman's* was ‘the mouthpiece of rule from London’, no-one disputed the king's rapturous reception.<sup>33</sup> Former republican rebel Valentine Lawless, 2nd Lord Cloncurry (1773-1853), imprisoned between 1798 and 1801 on suspicion of treason, recorded that he was invited to dine with the king:

A strange madness seemed at that conjuncture to seize people of all ranks in Ireland. Men and women of all classes and opinions joined in a shout of gladness. There was nothing thought of

<sup>29</sup> Ibid; Adam Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon & The Congress of Vienna* (London, 2007), 304.

<sup>30</sup> RCT, RCIN 617722. <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/exhibitions/george-iv-art-spectacle/the-queens-gallery-buckingham-palace/napoleon-le-grand>> [accessed 23 February 2023]

<sup>31</sup> Mark Harrison, *Crowds and history: Mass phenomena in English towns, 1790-1835* (Cambridge, 1988), 234; Colley, ‘Apotheosis’, 113. This is not to say that such occasions were universally celebrated, without dissenting or merely uninterested groups: David Cannadine, ‘The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy, c. 1820-1977’ in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *Invention of Tradition*, 101-64; Stuart Semmel, ‘Radicals, Loyalists, and the Royal Jubilee of 1809’, *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), 543-69.

<sup>32</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 18 August 1821.

<sup>33</sup> British Newspaper Archive, ‘Freeman's Journal’.

<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/freemans-journal>> [accessed 9 January 2021]

but processions, and feasting, and loyalty — boiling-over loyalty — and I was carried on by the stream so buoyantly, that I gave a pledge of the sincerity of my own unconditional waiver of all by-gones, by inviting his Majesty to honour my house by his presence; an invitation he declined in the most gracious terms.<sup>34</sup>

Another nationalist observed: ‘I was a rebel to old King George in ’98. But by God I’d die a hundred deaths for his son, because he’s a real King’.<sup>35</sup> Royalty’s role in reconciling Irish rebels would find a parallel in Edinburgh with the incorporation of Jacobite identity into Hanoverian loyalism. Arguably, it was only during the ‘strange madness’ of a royal visit that such public rapprochements could take place. In another parallel, poems and commemorative medallions linked George IV and the Hanoverian monarchy to Ireland’s ancient past and Hibernia, the classical female personification of Ireland.<sup>36</sup> Following the Edinburgh visit, an equivalent medallion was produced featuring the king and Scotia, Scotland’s classical female persona. An ‘open letter’ anticipating the king’s visit exhorted Dublin’s people to produce ‘an unparalleled display of splendour and festivity [...] one rule should be rigidly observed, — the use of Irish Manufacture, — wherever it can be employed’.<sup>37</sup> Newspapers recorded huge demand for new military and naval uniforms, court dresses, and a new fabric incorporating the three national emblems of shamrock, thistle and oakleaf for the ceremonial installation of the Knights of St Patrick.<sup>38</sup> Open letters in Dublin find their Edinburgh equivalent in Sir Walter Scott’s anonymously published one shilling pamphlet *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh*.<sup>39</sup> When commemorating the Dublin visit, its legacy extended to re-naming the harbour town of Dunleary (present day Dún Laoghaire) to Kingstown in 1821, a more fundamental step than Edinburgh’s erection of a statue of George IV, installed in 1831.

<sup>34</sup> *Personal Recollections of the Life and Times, with Extracts from the Correspondence of, Valentine Lord Concurry* (Dublin, 1849), 276-7.

<sup>35</sup> S. Hubert Burke, *Ireland Sixty Years Ago* (1885) quoted in Joanna Richardson, *George IV: A Portrait* (London, 1966), 94.

<sup>36</sup> RCT, RCIN 443322. <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/trails/royal-travel/medal-commemorating-the-visit-of-king-george-iv-to-ireland>> [accessed 9 January 2021].

<sup>37</sup> *An Address to the Inhabitants of Dublin on the Intended visit of the King* (Dublin, 1821), 25.

<sup>38</sup> *Freeman’s Journal*, 10 August 1821.

<sup>39</sup> [Sir Walter Scott], *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, and others in Prospect of His Majesty’s visit. By an Old Citizen* (Edinburgh, 1822). <[https://spinnet.humanities.uva.nl/images/2010-12/scotthints\\_new.pdf](https://spinnet.humanities.uva.nl/images/2010-12/scotthints_new.pdf)> [accessed 10 January 2021]



**Figure 6.2.** David Octavius Hill, *Celebrating the King's Birthday, Perth*, 1819, pencil on paper, 18.2 x 23.6 cm, NGS, D5017.

We have seen earlier that the king's birthday was celebrated by the British army in North America and it was also celebrated in towns across Scotland.<sup>40</sup> Figure 6.2 shows a drawing by Octavius Hill of *The King's Birthday Riot in Perth in 1819*. Scholars have remarked on how the king's birthday celebrations often descended into drunken brawling, even although the king himself was not the subject of the unrest.<sup>41</sup> On the contrary, it has been pointed out that Scottish mobs on these occasions were loyal to the Hanoverian succession, and disturbances were directed at local officials, such as magistrates, baillies and customs officers. A king's birthday riot is memorably recorded in John Galt's *The Provost*, set in the fictional royal burgh, 'Gudetown', based on Galt's birthplace, Irvine in Ayrshire. Provost James Pawkie, like the Rev. Balwhidder in *Annals of the Parish*, equates his position in the town to that of 'an instrument to represent the supreme power and authority of Majesty'.<sup>42</sup> The townspeople are furious about a new prohibition imposed by the town council against the traditional bonfire on the king's birthday and disorder inevitably ensues.<sup>43</sup> The provost records that, having read the riot act from the window of the council chamber, 'a dead cat came whizzing through the air like a comet, and gave me such a clash in the face that I was knocked down to the floor, in the middle of the very council chamber'. Like all Galt's work, although comic, *The Provost* is realist in style and historically accurate; newspaper reports record that dead cats and dogs were often thrown by the mob on such occasions.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, a cat can be seen flying through the air in Hill's drawing. Also shown in Hill's sketch is an effigy of Napoleon and the newspapers often remarked on the patriotism of the mob in Scottish towns and the fact that they displayed loyalty to monarchy even when indulging in riotous behaviour.<sup>45</sup> Monarch's birthdays had been celebrated in Scotland since the Restoration — in the words of Galt's provost, 'from time out of mind, it had been an ancient and commendable custom' — and was the biggest public celebration in cities and towns across Scotland.<sup>46</sup> For many it was a holiday or at least a break in the routine of work. The king's birthday was invariably recorded in almanacks, and the day was usually marked by the decoration of house fronts, ringing of bells, flying of flags, bonfires, and the drinking of toasts. A contemporary newspaper editor pointed out in 1817 that the 'privilege which the

<sup>40</sup> Chapter 2: Soldiers.

<sup>41</sup> Christopher A. Whatley, ch. 8, 'Royal Day, People's Day: The Monarchy's Birthday in Scotland, c. 1660-1860' in Roger Mason and Norman Macdougall, eds, *People in Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout* (Edinburgh, 1992), 170-88.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>43</sup> John Galt, *The Provost* (Edinburgh, 1842 [1st edn, 1822]), 30.

<sup>44</sup> *Glasgow Mercury*, 5 June 1792.

<sup>45</sup> Whatley, 'Royal Day', 180.

<sup>46</sup> Galt, *Provost*, 30; Whatley, 'Royal Day', 180.

rabble have to be riotous on the King's Birth-day' had been enjoyed 'past all memory of man', playing an important part in society's 'venerable fabric which we inherit from our ancestors'.<sup>47</sup> The king's birthday was a shared experience — and known to be a shared experience — across the United Kingdom, centred on imagined monarchy. The tradition of these annual occasions is an important context to George IV's 1822 visit. John Galt's *The Gathering of the West* was a satire on Paisley inhabitants travelling to Edinburgh to see the king. In the novel, a group of radical weavers discuss travelling to Edinburgh at their own expense as a mark of respect for the king who they imagine to be 'in his personality [...] as a man [...] naturally to be won by kindness'.<sup>48</sup> Galt's characters have an idea of a munificent king thanks partly to annual traditions like the king's birthday celebrations.

A longer historical context in which to view 1822 is that of royal occasions in Scotland. In the introduction to Robert Mudie's exhaustive contemporary record of the 1822 Edinburgh visit, he records that Scotland was visited in succession by James VI, Charles I and Charles II.<sup>49</sup> Included are appendices detailing the entries into Edinburgh by these Stuart monarchs. These appendices highlight parallels between the 1822 visit and prior visits by the Stuart kings.<sup>50</sup> Readers are informed of the 'splendour of their [*Stuart*] pageants' containing 'a number of allegorical personages' and even the expenditure is recorded. For instance, the entry of Anne of Denmark in 1590 is described as including an explicit allegorical tableau, with the branches of an artificial tree showing the monarchs of Scotland and Denmark through the ages. Other tableaux on Anne of Denmark's progress were copies of the performance that greeted Mary Queen of Scots (1542-1587) on her entry to Edinburgh in 1561. Exposition of royal genealogy had long featured in royal occasions to rationalise legitimacy and smooth out any inconsistent wrinkles, such as Anne's supposed Roman Catholic tendencies. In the more literate age of 1822, with print the mass medium of communication, newspaper publication of a family tree, 'Genealogy of George IV', explaining George IV's Stuart lineage was hardly surprising.<sup>51</sup> Modern Enlightenment sensibilities are reflected in Mudie's assessment that earlier royal visits were 'more showy' and that 1822 was the 'most rational [*with*] no pageantry or mimic display'.<sup>52</sup> It is ironic to

<sup>47</sup> *Dundee, Perth and Coupar Advertiser*, 6 June 1817.

<sup>48</sup> John Galt, *The Gathering of the West* (London, 1823), 38.

<sup>49</sup> Mudie, *Historical Account*, 8-15.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 329-35.

<sup>51</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 August 1822.

<sup>52</sup> Mudie, *Historical Account*, 16.



note this contemporary judgement of an occasion now so notorious in historiography for its ‘pageantry’. Whatever the contemporary sensibilities about display and fashion, the important point Mudie made was continuity with the Stuarts. Much of the symbolism in earlier royal visits attempted to resolve the complex political and religious associations of composite monarchy following the Union of the Crowns in 1603. These efforts were not confined to Scotland. James VI and I’s grand entry into London on 15 March 1604 — through seven elaborately decorated triumphal arches — was choreographed to produce a politicised vision of the new united kingdom of Britain.<sup>53</sup> Elements common to royal visits over two centuries before 1822 — triumphal arches, processions, classical and mythical allusions, crown jewels, religious services, performances, costumes, allegories, poetry, song and dance — are at risk of seeming exceptional if isolated from contemporary and historical contexts. It has been noted that there was lavish expenditure for ceremonials in the reign of George III, with an emphasis on continuity through historical precedent.<sup>54</sup> After rehearsing the historical context, Mudie specifically drew readers’ attention to what he claimed was a characteristic of the Scots: ‘For monarchy in the abstract they had a profound and unalterable veneration’.<sup>55</sup>

### **‘Plaided panorama’?**<sup>56</sup>

The overriding image associated with 1822 is of George IV in full Highland dress. Irresistible to caricaturists of the day and a continuing reference point for later accounts, ‘[t]he single sartorial episode when the king wore Highland dress was to provide a lasting visual memory of the event and to perpetuate it as little more than a pantomimic charade’.<sup>57</sup> Trevor-Roper argued: ‘The charade of George IV’s visit to Edinburgh has an important place in the mythology of Highland dress’.<sup>58</sup> This statement is linked to his assertion that the kilt ‘did not evolve; it was invented’.<sup>59</sup> Much evidence contradicts the ‘invention’ claim and points towards a gradual evolution of tartan as a national signifier. Allan Ramsay’s (1686-1758)

<sup>53</sup> BL, ‘*The Arches of Triumph*, built for James I’s entry into London, March 15th 1604’.  
 <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-arches-of-triumph-built-for-james-is-entry-into-london-march-15th-1604#:~:text=On%2015%20March%201604%2C%20King,and%20his%20team%20of%20craftsmen.>>  
 [accessed 10 January 2021]; Sarah Fraser, *The Prince Who Would Be King: The Life and Death of Henry Stuart* (London, 2017), 55.

<sup>54</sup> Colley, ‘Apotheosis’, 111.

<sup>55</sup> Mudie, *Historical Account*, 15.

<sup>56</sup> Lockhart, *Life of Scott, Popular*, 481.

<sup>57</sup> Coltman, *Art and Majesty*, 200.

<sup>58</sup> Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland*, 212-6

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 198.

*Tartana or the Plaid* (1719) was written to promote the native textile industry. Ramsay, born and resident in the Lowlands, portrays plaid being worn across Scotland as a whole, evident from references to ‘smooth meand’ring Tweed’, ‘haughty Clyde’, ‘loft Tay’ and ‘Edina’s streets’.<sup>60</sup> He articulates the possibilities of the growth of the industry as a commercial asset.<sup>61</sup> Trevor-Roper’s assertion is also undercut by the Disarming the Highlands, etc. Act 1745 which provided that:

no man or boy within [...] Scotland [...] shall [...] wear [...] the Plaid, Philebeg or Little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder belts, or any Part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb, and that no Tartan, or Party-coloured [*sic*] Plaid or Stuff, should be, used for Great Coats or Upper Coats.<sup>62</sup>

This statute evidences pre-existing variants of a distinctive tartan dress worn in Scotland, with its long legacy now identified as a threat by the Hanoverian government in 1745. The ban lasted thirty-six years until repeal at the behest of the Highland Society of London (established by powerful Scottish aristocrats), which received the Royal Assent by George III on 1 July 1782.<sup>63</sup> Historians refer more frequently to the Hanoverian imposition of the ban than they do to the Hanoverian repeal of it. Some historians have shown the longer evolution of tartan and have demonstrated that it was a fashionable dress well before 1822.<sup>64</sup> Yet others refer to the visit as ‘based on fake Highland regalia’.<sup>65</sup> An historiographical orthodoxy has developed that ‘the great ball in the Assembly Rooms during the royal visit in which full Highland regalia was worn has been seen as a key point in the acceptance of the kilt as the national dress of Scotland’.<sup>66</sup> Some notable assertions have been made, such as that until arriving in Edinburgh, ‘the king had never seen actual Highland dress’.<sup>67</sup> This statement is contradicted by contemporary evidence. Under a headline ‘Royal Highlanders’, the *Caledonian Mercury* of 18 June 1789 recorded that the Prince of Wales (later George IV) and his brothers Frederick and William attended a Highland ball in London and ‘provided

<sup>60</sup> Referring to the River Tweed for the Borders, River Clyde for Glasgow, River Tay for Dundee and Edina for Edinburgh.

<sup>61</sup> Allan Ramsay, *Tartana; or the Plaid* (Edinburgh, 1719), 22.

<sup>62</sup> 19 Geo.II c. 39.

<sup>63</sup> *Repeal of the Act Proscribing the Wearing of Highland Dress, 1782* (22 Geo.II c. 63).

<sup>64</sup> Rosie Waine, *Highland Style*, passim; Murray Pittock, *Scotland: The Global History 1603 to the Present* (London, 2022), 226-30.

<sup>65</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 235.

<sup>66</sup> Devine, *Scotland’s Empire*, 355.

<sup>67</sup> Herman, *Scottish Enlightenment*, 298.

themselves with complete Highland dress' of 'tartan plaid, philibeg, purse, and other appendages [...] of the handsomest kind'. The princes were instructed in the proper wearing of Highland dress by Colonel John Small (1726-96) of the 84th regiment of foot (Royal Highland Emigrants). It was reported: 'The Prince is remarkably fond of Highland reels; and he dances with all the glee and agility of a native of the North'.<sup>68</sup> The royal princes' enthusiasm for tartan and Highland traditions did much to make it fashionable by the early 1790s, and they collected Highland weaponry, joined Highland Societies and received instruction in Highland warfare. Among George IV's brothers, Augustus amassed the biggest collection of Highland weaponry and traditional dress and was known in Scotland as the Earl of Inverness.<sup>69</sup> Augustus was an active member of the Highland Society of London, founded in 1778 to promote and support the traditions and culture of the Highlands, and president from 1806 to 1809. George IV's armoury at Carlton House, London, included nine Scottish broadswords and two dirks.<sup>70</sup>

A second orthodoxy around tartan in 1822 is the 'plaided panorama' trope: the claim that the whole visit was dominated by tartan. The king himself only wore tartan on one occasion, the levée at the Palace of Holyroodhouse on 17 August. On other occasions, he wore a Field Marshall's uniform. Not only did the king just wear tartan once at a short levée, evidence demonstrates that the entire 'plaided panorama' interpretation is exaggerated. The *Hints* attributed to Walter Scott records that, for the king's procession, 'the Magistrates expect all gentlemen to appear in a uniform costume, viz. Blue Coat, White Waistcoat, and White, or Nankeen Pantaloon'. National symbolism was important but to be represented by a cockade of the St Andrew's cross which 'can be got up, and that very handsomely, at an expence [*sic*] quite inconsiderable'.<sup>71</sup> That this instruction was adhered to is evident from contemporary paintings of the visit, such as *George IV Landing at Leith* (Figure 6.3) and *The Entry of George IV to Edinburgh from Calton Hill, 1822* (Figure 6.4). *Landing at Leith* showed spectators in a variety of official dress, military uniforms, and typical Georgian fashions, but

<sup>68</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 June 1789; Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 234. Colonel John Small, born in the central Highlands, was a career military officer, originally serving with the 'Black Watch', and fought in the Seven Years War and American War of Independence. He played a key role in raising the 84th regiment of foot (Royal Highland Emigrants).

<sup>69</sup> Patrick Watt and Rosie Waine, *Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2019), 48. The prince of Wales held the Scottish title of Duke of Rothesay from birth, but it was not used officially until Queen Victoria (1819-1901) mandated its use during her reign (from 1837).

<sup>70</sup> E.g., 'Highland Dirk c.1700', RCT, RCIN 61633 and 'Basket-hilted Broadsword, c.1700-1800, RCT, RCIN 61354.

<sup>71</sup> *Hints*, 7.



**Figure 6.3.** Alexander Carse, *George IV Landing at Leith, 1822*, oil on canvas, 160.1 x 362 cm. City of Edinburgh Council, City Art Centre, Edinburgh.



**Figure 6.4.** John Wilson Ewbank, *The Entry of George IV into Edinburgh from the Calton Hill*, 1822, oil on canvas, 150.5 x 240 cm. City of Edinburgh Council, City Art Centre, Edinburgh.



**Figure 6.5.** Detail of Figure 6.3.



**Figure 6.6.** Detail of Figure 6.4.

no tartan or Highland dress. Details from each painting (Figures 6.5 and 6.6) show men dressed as the *Hints* advised, and women in typical urban dress. This is not to say there were not conspicuous pockets of Highland dress within the proceedings. *Hints* made clear that ‘for those who present themselves as Highlanders, the ancient costume of their country is always sufficient dress’. For Highland ladies who intended to be presented to the king, and might consider a tartan dress, it is ‘by no means certain that this will have a graceful look’. Instead, Highland ladies were advised to ‘keep their tartans for another occasion’. *Hints* anticipated a ‘Highland Ball’, then a popular masquerade genre, would take place, for which all men were expected to wear Highland dress (unless in uniform). What actually took place was called the ‘Peers Ball’ where Mary Grant wrote ‘the ladies all looked well — the men, in their Court dresses all like gentlemen’. She recalled a number of Highland peers ‘were all in the kilt’ and the Duchess of Argyll ‘looked lovely in a kind of Highland bonnet, done with gold; a beautiful eagle’s feather and a large plume of fine black feathers sweeping her neck and cheek’. As the most exclusive social event of the royal visit, the ball attracted criticism, as Mary dryly noted: ‘Those who were there said everyone there looked handsome; those who were not there say everybody there was plain’. It appears the elitism attracted unrest in George Street where the Assembly Rooms were located: ‘There was a terrible fight when we got off. Soldiers, menacing with their bayonets; the mob hissing and groaning’. Notably, the most successful events were the larger public spectacles, such as the processions, military review and illuminations. The king appeared at the ball in ‘a Field Marshall’s uniform; blue pantaloons and boots’. <sup>72</sup> He did not dance to any of the reels, yet neither his lack of Highland dress nor participation in the dancing are recorded to have dampened the enthusiasm of those attending. During the whole royal visit, in proportion to the number of people in the city for the occasion, hardly anyone saw the king in a kilt.

Much of the idea of the kilted monarchy arises from David Wilkie’s portrait of George in Highland dress (Figure 6.7). A powerful image, this was very much in the genre of memorialising portraiture, idealising monarchs and dynastic elites in symbolic clothing and accoutrements. George IV stands looking purposefully to his right. He wears the badges of the Orders of the Garter and Thistle, the highest honours of chivalry in England and Scotland respectively, but only the green ribbon of the Thistle. His left arm rests on a sheathed Scottish

<sup>72</sup> Skinner, ed., ‘Contemporary Account’, 141-45.



**Figure 6.7.** Sir David Wilkie, *George IV, 1762-1830*, oil on canvas, 279.4 x 179.1 cm. RCT RCIN 401206. Image reproduced by permission of RCT.



basket hilt sword and the crown, sword and sceptre of Scotland are shown in shadow on the throne to the king's left. Wilkie's impressive portrait contrasts with the 'reality' of the king's appearance as imagined by a modern historian: 'bloated red face, his enormous belly hanging over his kilt, and tights stretched skin-tight around his bulging, flabby thighs'.<sup>73</sup> The idealised style of the portrait bolsters the narrative that everything about the visit was 'fake', rather than contextualising the painting as typical in style of royal portraiture. Preliminary sketches began in February 1829 and progress on the portrait was followed closely in the Scottish press, the *Perthshire Courier* reporting on daily sittings at Windsor Castle of 'a full length portrait [of the king] in the Highland costume, the same as worn by His Majesty when at Holyrood House, where it is destined to be placed'.<sup>74</sup> Two years later, the *Fife Herald* noted that the portrait was on display at Somerset House in London. There is no evidence of an engraving of the portrait being marketed to the public, as was the case with a portrait of George IV by Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830) 'in the costume of an English Gentleman'.<sup>75</sup> Although Wilkie's portrait is frequently reproduced and referred to by historians, the evidence suggests it did not have mass popular appeal in 1830, nor does it appear that it would be seen by many Scots at that time, even if they knew of its existence due to press reports. A portrait that has become a historiographical icon of the 'plaided panorama' and overshadowed all other images of the visit, is not in fact in the least representative of the dress the king wore as witnessed by the people of Scotland in Edinburgh.

### **'Master of ceremonies'?**

Aside from George IV himself, the historiography about 1822 continues to be dominated by Sir Walter Scott. Scott is treated as pivotal in narratives of the visit and even admirers suggest that in 1822 he 'allowed his imagination to get the master of him'.<sup>76</sup> According to Trevor-Roper, Scott had 'at least two' identities: 'the practical Unionist [and] the romantic Jacobite, the poet who would allow himself to be carried away by his own too sympathetic vision of an archaic Highland past'.<sup>77</sup> The imagination admired in Scott as a novelist is denigrated in the historiography of the visit for perpetuating a historical falsity. Over time, the 'master of

<sup>73</sup> Herman, *Scottish Enlightenment*, 301.

<sup>74</sup> *Perthshire Courier*, 23 April 1829.

<sup>75</sup> *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 5 June 1829.

<sup>76</sup> Lockhart, *Life of Scott, Popular*, 485.

<sup>77</sup> Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland*, 210-11.

ceremonies' assumption has become a presumptive fact. Paradoxically, the assumption lies in understating Scott's qualities as a cognoscente of state occasions, whilst overstating his control of the visit. This appears to produce an inaccurate account of one man orchestrating a royal event of unprecedented magnitude. Historical evidence shows a mundane committee-led division of labour, in which Scott played a part. In 1822, Scott was a lawyer and world-famous historian, poet, and novelist: 'the most successful writer of his day. Not only did he sell more books, but he was the author most generally admired'.<sup>78</sup> After the publication of *Waverley* in 1814, the first in a series of such works, he was credited with inventing the historical novel. Between 1814 and 1822, Scott published eleven novels anonymously, although he was recognised as the author. In the same period, he edited fourteen substantial printed works, including memoirs and historical documents. George IV admired Scott's poetry and fiction, knowing *Waverley* 'almost by heart'.<sup>79</sup> In 1822, as well as his literary work, Scott retained two legal appointments, Principal Clerk of Session of Scotland's Court of Session in Edinburgh and Sheriff-Depute of Selkirkshire in the Scottish Borders.<sup>80</sup>

Scott's supposedly predominant role in 1822 is treated as axiomatic in mainstream and academic Scottish history: 'The king spent two weeks in the Scottish capital and a series of extraordinary pageants, all with a Celtic and Highland flavour, were stage-managed by Sir Walter Scott for his delectation'.<sup>81</sup> In *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, Scott is described as 'Master of Ceremonies for the King's visit'.<sup>82</sup> This apparent fact is widely disseminated across a range of media far beyond scholarly histories: tourism websites, guidebooks, educational materials, exhibitions, galleries and museums.<sup>83</sup> Any acknowledged success of the visit — for example, the undisputed size and enthusiasm of the crowds — is attributed to Scott's creative alchemy in combining loyalty to Hanoverian monarchy with 'the mythical customs and traditions of the clans'.<sup>84</sup> These accounts diminish his knowledge of history and emphasise Scott's literary and imaginative powers, foregrounding ideas of 'invention'.

<sup>78</sup> David Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter', ODNB.

<sup>79</sup> Herman, *Scottish Enlightenment*, 297.

<sup>80</sup> Principal Clerk of Session was a clerk of court in the Court of Session, Scotland's highest civil court. Sheriff-Depute was the senior judge in the regional jurisdictions in Scotland known as Sheriffdoms.

<sup>81</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 235.

<sup>82</sup> Charles Withers, 'The Historical Creation of The Scottish Highlands' in Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley, eds, *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992), 153.

<sup>83</sup> NGS commentary: 'The first reigning monarch to come to Scotland for 150 years, his [*George IV's*] visit was largely stage-managed by Sir Walter Scott'. <<https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/8208/incident-during-visit-george-iv-edinburgh-1822-group-six-unidentified-figures-including-two-Highland>> [accessed 27 January 2021]

<sup>84</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 235.

Scholars appreciate Scott's qualities as a historian, but it is his identity as a novelist that shapes narratives of George IV's visit.<sup>85</sup> Scott's perspective as historian is established in the opening paragraphs of *Hints* in which he places the visit — 'to this the ancient capital of the most ancient of his kingdoms' — within the context of Stuart royal ceremonies in Edinburgh. In a carefully calibrated balance of medium and message, *Hints* demonstrates Scott's appreciation of the ways in which history can be written to serve a purpose. Subtle phrasing mediates between different perspectives on the Jacobite cause, whilst reinforcing fundamental Unionist-Hanoverian assumptions: 'The grandson of James, the Prince Charles Edward Stuart, was here, at the head of a desperate party, whose zeal, although most honourable to them, was pregnant with danger to the best interests of Britain.'<sup>86</sup> Scott frames George IV's arrival as a moment of reification in an ongoing historical progression: 'the presence of our King may be the signal for burying in oblivion that which has past, and the pledge of better things in the time to come'. Although indebted to a Whig theory of progress, Scott's historical ideas show a greater sensitivity 'to the distinction between backwardness and difference' than earlier Enlightenment historians.<sup>87</sup> Examples of the recombining and recodifying of existing groupings and symbols can be found in the military review of 23 August 1822, where Hanoverian dragoons, Scots Greys, royal artillery and volunteers paraded with a contingent of Highland clans. The clans were formed into one battalion under the command of the Duke of Argyll, each group distinguished by its own standard, badge, and piper.

Scott's celebrity, his elevation to a baronetcy in 1818, his anti-radical tracts and creation of a grandiose mansion at Abbotsford in the Borders attracted critical comment from sections of the press, political opponents, and some members of the landed elite. In the eighty-six pages of the printed edition of the Grant correspondence, there is only one mention of Scott. The family attended all the main events of the visit and their letters are replete with references to notable figures — peers, landed gentry, civic officials, actors and theatrical managers. As eyewitnesses, they contradict the scornful assessment in *The Times* (reproduced in the radical-sympathising *Scotsman*):

<sup>85</sup> Kidd, *Subverting*, 256; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *History and the Enlightenment* (London, 2010), 180.

<sup>86</sup> *Hints*, 1.

<sup>87</sup> Colin Kidd, 'The Strange Death of Scottish History revisited: Constructions of the Past in Scotland, c. 1790-1914', *Scottish Historical Review*, 76 (1997), 88.

Everybody knows that from first to last Sir Walter Scott permitted himself to be put forward as a director of the most trivial matters connected with arrangements for the Edinburgh pageants. That while meddling in all the details of matters for which his habits and pursuits so ill fitted him, he should, like other men who, moved from their own proper spheres, have committed odd acts, was only what might have been expected.<sup>88</sup>

In contrast, the Grant letters refers to committees involved in delegating labour, within which it was theatre manager William Murray (1790-1852) who was responsible for decorations and fitting up of Holyroodhouse and Parliament House. Mary Grant wrote: ‘In short, nothing has been done or attempted without him [Murray]’.<sup>89</sup> Although a friend of Scott’s, Murray was also known to other members of the committee. It was one of the committees that instructed Scott to go on board the *Royal George* to greet the king before his landing in Leith, but *The Times* insisted ‘Sir Walter, with very bad taste, went on board the royal yacht uninvited’.<sup>90</sup> The newspaper was anxious to record that Scott was not in ‘the front rank’ of those involved: ‘He dined at Dalkeith House but once — the more favoured guests were daily there’.<sup>91</sup> The tone of *The Times*’ comment is perhaps the first example where Scott is represented as a faintly ridiculous figure aggrandising himself during the visit. In a report doing little to disguise disdain for Scott, the newspaper does, however, provide important evidence of his limited role — ‘trivial matters’ — within the organisation of the visit. As such, this accords with the impression given by his omission in the Grants’ correspondence, one at odds with the ‘stage manager’ narrative that has developed. That narrative appears to have its roots in Scott’s fame, rather than on the less newsworthy collective of municipal committees.

Five years after Scott’s death, this ‘stage manager’ impression was consolidated by his son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart (1794-1854), in his *Life of Sir Walter Scott*. Many phrases used in the historiography of the visit originated with Lockhart: ‘Celtified pageantry’, ‘hallucination’, ‘plaided panorama’, ‘stage manager’ and ‘caricature’.<sup>92</sup> Lockhart’s account of Scott’s role in the royal visit is the most frequently relied upon. However, Lockhart is problematic: the familial dynamic as Scott’s son-in-law; his own strong literary ambitions; frequent courting of controversy in his political views (such as his defence of slavery): all

<sup>88</sup> *The Times*, 7 September 1822 and *Scotsman*, 14 September 1822.

<sup>89</sup> Skinner, ed., ‘Contemporary Account’, 146.

<sup>90</sup> Prebble, *King’s Jaunt*, 228.

<sup>91</sup> *The Times*, 7 September 1822.

<sup>92</sup> Lockhart, *Life of Scott, Popular*, 481-5.

point to Lockhart's subjective and opinionated style. Close proximity to Scott and his household colour his account with a subjective slant where Scott, rather than the king, is the focus. Furthermore, although appearing to be a biography, episodes recounted when Lockhart was present become Lockhart's own memoirs. At such points, he records what made an impression on him, and for 1822, his narrative is not chronological or complete, but episodic and laced with opinion: 'Whether all the arrangements which Sir Walter Scott *dictated or enforced* [*emphasis added*], were conceived in the most accurate taste, is a different question'. Lockhart's recollections are sometimes uncertain: 'I forget where Sir Walter's place was on the 15th, but on one or other of these occasions I remember him seated in an open carriage, in the Highland dress'. Even this statement risks misleading readers since elsewhere Lockhart records that Scott never wore a kilt during the visit, only tartan trews.<sup>93</sup> Amongst the 300,000 people in Edinburgh, Lockhart, as Scott's authorised biographer, has been prioritised ahead of lesser-known eyewitnesses such as the Grant sisters. His disdainful tone towards the use of Highland cultural tropes extends to the Highlanders themselves: 'it almost seemed as if there was a cruel mockery in giving so much prominence to their [*Highlanders*'] pretensions'.<sup>94</sup> Lockhart's view that Highlanders 'always constituted a small and almost always an unimportant part of the Scottish population' was inaccurate, yet has been quoted as historical evidence.<sup>95</sup> In fact, in 1755, half the Scottish population lived in the Highlands, and as late as 1862 Highlanders accounted for 30 per cent.<sup>96</sup>

Contemporary political critics of Scott added to a narrative that the whole 1822 production was designed by Scott, first, to place Hanoverian monarchy newly implanted in a romanticised Scotland that had never existed and, second, to turn mythical romance into Scottish national identity. The 4th Duke of Atholl (1755-1830) deplored 'the madness for the Highland garb [*and*] the different persons dressed by Sir W. Scott in fantastic attire'.<sup>97</sup> Certainly, Scott had successfully commercialised his interest in Scottish history, culture, and stories in an unprecedented fashion. A consistent theme of his novels is a reconciliation of the customs and mores of an older Scotland with the law and polite society of Unionist-Hanoverian Scotland. Primary sources provide no definitive proof of Scott being assigned the role of 'stage manager'. Prebble asserts Scott *was* master of ceremonies but finesses the lack

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 482.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 481.

<sup>95</sup> Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland*, 215.

<sup>96</sup> Kidd, ed., *Scottish Population*, xviii.

<sup>97</sup> Quoted in Prebble, *King's Jaunt*, 250.

of primary evidence: ‘The formal appointment of Scott as master of ceremonies was more oblique than direct’.<sup>98</sup> Instead, there is ample evidence of a recognised hierarchical structure through the formation of a principal committee, which divided itself into four sub-committees. Empowered ‘to make the best arrangements that the time will permit for the reception and Entertainment, of His Majesty’, the main committee had ‘called to their assistance several respectable Citizens’. Scott was appointed to two sub-committees, responsible for the king’s landing and procession into the city and fireworks and illuminations. Mudie’s appendices make clear the arrangements for the visits of the Stuart kings centred on the magistrates and Council of Edinburgh. A ‘master of ceremonies’ interpretation would be inconsistent with the established organisational structures of royal visits. Indeed, the sheer scale and speed of organisation required are evidence of an immense collective endeavour. Scott was constantly consulted as an adviser on the details of proceedings and his house was frequented by ‘provosts, and baillies, and deacon convenors of the trades of Edinburgh’ looking for ‘advice and direction about the merest trifles’.<sup>99</sup> Since Scott had attended the coronation of George IV the year before, this was not surprising. That all these people visited him is in itself evidence of the collective endeavour, even if it concerned ‘the merest trifles’. Scott identified from the coronation and George IV’s visit to Dublin in 1821 an opportunity to unify disparate and oppositional interests (Whig and Tory, Jacobite and Hanoverian), through shared history as reflected in spectacle and ceremony. Of the Irish visit, Scott wrote, ‘if there was no better result to the king’s journey than that temporary union of feelings and interests it cannot have been made in vain’.<sup>100</sup> In anonymously authoring *Hints*, Scott was following a pattern where quasi-official preparatory advice was circulated to citizens. Reference in *Hints* to prior communication on appropriate dress from the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh suggests the pamphlet formed part of a co-ordinated communication strategy by the civic authority. Yet, authorship of the *Hints* is constantly presented as an example of Scott’s ‘meddling’. Over time, a myth has grown that ‘Scots from throughout the country were urged to come to Edinburgh dressed in tartan’.<sup>101</sup> Whilst Scott did write to individual clan chiefs asking them to come to Edinburgh with a ‘tail’ of followers in traditional Highland dress, there is no evidence of a more general

<sup>98</sup> Prebble, *King’s Jaunt*, 86.

<sup>99</sup> Lockhart, *Life of Scott, Popular*, 481.

<sup>100</sup> Sir Walter Scott to Maria Edgeworth, 7-24 October 1821 quoted in Karina Holton, ‘“All our joys will be completed”: the visit of George IV to Ireland, 1821’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 44 (2020), 266.

<sup>101</sup> ‘Sir David Wilkie, *An incident*’, NGS. <<https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/8208/incident-during-visit-george-iv-edinburgh-1822-group-six-unidentified-figures-including-two-Highland>> [accessed 11 March 2023]

instruction that tartan should be worn by the whole population. Scott's suggestion was itself based on the historical precedent of Charles I's 1633 visit when the Highland chieftains were ordered to the capital to show loyalty to the king. Historians' preoccupation with Highlanders appears disproportionate to Scott's record of their number: 'There were two or three hundred Highlanders besides, brought down by their own chiefs [...] They were all put under my immediate command'.<sup>102</sup> Bearing in mind that the streets were full of tens of thousands of people, processions stretched for over a mile, and the military review featured over 3,000 cavalymen, two or three hundred Highlanders, although no doubt a colourful spectacle, could hardly be a dominant presence.

A poet-dramatist was often assigned a role in royal visits and in this Scott was fulfilling an expected function. For example, scholars have suggested that the Scottish poet William Drummond (1585-1649) designed aspects of Charles I's entry into Edinburgh in 1633, and was almost certainly the author of the printed account of the pageantry of that occasion.<sup>103</sup> Similarly, the English dramatists Thomas Decker (1572-1632) and Ben Jonson (1572-1637) were involved in designing aspects of James I's entry into London in 1603, and English playwright Thomas Middleton (1580-1627) likewise for Charles I's entry into London.<sup>104</sup> What was unprecedented about 1822 was the extent of Scott's fame. Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850), Secretary of State for the Home Department in 1822, recalled accompanying Scott up Edinburgh's High Street during the visit: 'he [*Scott*] was recognised from the one extremity of the street to the other, and never did I see such an instance of national devotion expressed'.<sup>105</sup> Such fame was the product of the popularity of his novels during a period of expansion in print culture in the early nineteenth century. However, in time, as his novels fell out of fashion, criticising Scott's role in the 1822 royal visit seemed consistent with his apparent literary obsolescence. There is every reason to suppose that, without Scott, set-pieces of the visit would have taken very much the form they did. No national state occasion in 1822 would have lacked processions, levees, a military review, illuminations, banquets and a theatrical performance. Scott's contributions added creative flair, but were not the

<sup>102</sup> Sir Walter Scott to Walter Scott, [undated], quoted in Lockhart, *Life of Scott, Popular Ed.*, 486.

<sup>103</sup> David M. Bergeron, 'Charles I's Edinburgh pageant (1633), *Renaissance Studies*, 6 (1992), 173-84; [William Drummond], *The Entertainment of the High and Mighty Monarch Charles [...] Into his ancient and royall [sic] City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1633).

<sup>104</sup> Charles I entry was originally postponed in January 1626 and again in May the same year, and in fact never took place, although hopes lingered that it would into the 1630s: Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London, 2005), 267.

<sup>105</sup> Lockhart, *Life of Scott, Popular*, 484.

foundation upon which the whole event was based. The dominant influences on events in 1822 were historical precedent and the display of Edinburgh as a Hanoverian North British city.

### **‘the Lowlands had no part’?**

Related to Scott’s role is an assumption in the historiography of a rigid divide between the Scottish Highlands and Lowlands, with the king only seeing a ‘Highlandised’ national identity. This gives rise to the charge that ‘his [Scott’s] Celtic fantasy had in fact produced a distortion of the Highland past and present and the projection of a national image in which the Lowlands had no part’.<sup>106</sup> A recent publication asserts that Scott ‘circulated a pamphlet encouraging the citizens of Edinburgh to adopt Highland dress’. Illustrating this, an image shows a Highland suit worn by William Blackhall during the 1822 visit, ‘one of those Lowlanders who adopted the romantic style of Highland dress advocated by Sir Walter Scott’.<sup>107</sup> Underlying these interpretations is an assumption of two distinct identities being artificially conflated.<sup>108</sup> These statements insinuate that the Hanoverian king’s presence was the alchemical ingredient making such a ‘charade’ possible. Two over-simplifications of the Highland-Lowland divide should be questioned. First, by 1822 the division between Highlands and Lowlands was more porous and dynamic than the interpretation assumes. Secondly, the Lowlands *were* represented throughout the visit, culturally, materially, and historically. This is not to elide distinctions between the Highlands and Lowlands. As well as the geographical division — along the geological fault line shown as ‘Highland Border’ on Figure 6.8 — historical differences included language, culture, social structure, politics and religion.

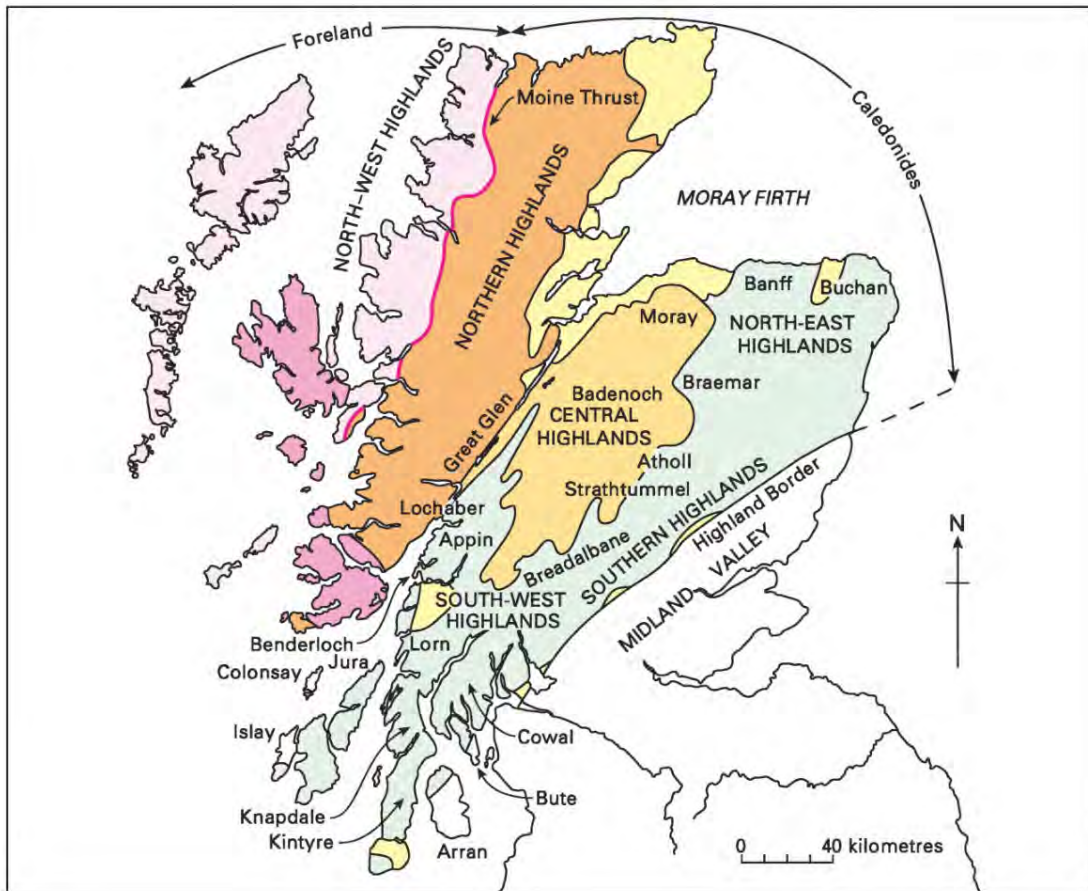
When writing about the 1822 royal visit, historians tend to dwell on the divide as if it were unchanging. Trevor-Roper’s characterisation of Highlanders in 1822 as ‘formerly predatory outer barbarians who the citizens of Edinburgh had always despised and sometimes feared’ memorably conveyed an impression of supposedly immiscible cultures. Some narratives even suggest that 1822 was a watershed moment in introducing Highlanders to the Scottish capital:

<sup>106</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 235.

<sup>107</sup> Watt and Waine, *Wild and Majestic*, 52-3.

<sup>108</sup> Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland*, 216.





**Figure 6.8.** Map showing the main geological divisions of Scotland's Highlands with division from Lowlands shown as 'Highland Border', British Geological Survey.

‘If the king had no real idea what Highlanders looked like, neither did most Edinburghers’.<sup>109</sup> Writing in the nineteenth century, Macaulay claimed: ‘a Macdonald or a Macgregor in his tartan was to a citizen of Edinburgh or Glasgow what an Indian hunter in his war paint is to an inhabitant of Philadelphia or Boston’.<sup>110</sup> Suggestions that it was only in 1822 that Highland people and culture appeared in Edinburgh are contradicted by overwhelming visual and documentary evidence. Reference has been made elsewhere in the thesis to the work of Scottish artist David Allan.<sup>111</sup> Allan’s *A Group of Edinburgh Characters* depicts a mixed group of twelve figures in an Edinburgh street (Figure 6.9). To the right of centre, there is a carriage with two horses and driver being waved off, whilst on the left there are six well-dressed figures, including three junior officers of the British army in conversation, one from a Highland regiment wearing a kilt. On the extreme left is another male in a kilt, wearing a blue bonnet, carrying a bundle and with a walking staff, such as might be used by a drover or shepherd. This is one of a series of sketches that Allan produced showing everyday characters at all social levels in Edinburgh, including porters, firemen, sailors, fishwives, chimney sweep and beggars. Another example shows a corporal (classifiable from his single epaulette) from a kilted Highland regiment on the ramparts of Edinburgh Castle (Figure 6.10). *A Poor Edinburgh Father of Twenty Children*, depicts the father in a Highlander’s blue bonnet and two of his children wrapped in scraps of Highland plaid (Figure 6.11). Allan’s pictures of quotidian life in Edinburgh — which resulted in the sobriquet ‘the Scottish Hogarth’ — provide evidence that Highland dress was part of that daily scene in the 1780s.<sup>112</sup> John Kay’s *Original Portraits* records Mr Alexander Ritchie’s shop off the Lawnmarket (Edinburgh’s Royal Mile) where he dealt ‘in all kinds of woollens and tartans’ throughout the late eighteenth century before it was inherited by his son who carried on the business for many years.<sup>113</sup>

Highland-Lowland fusion can be found in formal portraiture of loyal Hanoverians long before the nineteenth century. A striking example is the 1759 portrait by William Mosman (c. 1700-71) of John ‘of the Bank’ Campbell (17-1777), ‘one of the [*Royal Bank of Scotland*’s] great 18th century figureheads’ (Figure 6.12). A Highlander by birth, Campbell

<sup>109</sup> Herman, *Scottish Enlightenment*, 298-9.

<sup>110</sup> Lord Macaulay, *The History of England* (abridged, Hugh Trevor Roper, ed.) (London, 1979), 368.

<sup>111</sup> Chapter 3: Culture.

<sup>112</sup> Gordon T. Crouther, *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796: The Scottish Hogarth* (Alva, 1951).

<sup>113</sup> Paton, ed., *Kay’s Portraits*, II, 11.



**Figure 6.9.** David Allan, *A Group of Edinburgh Characters*, c. 1780, pen, black ink and watercolour, 15.30 x 27.90 cm, NGS D3283.



**Figure 6.10.** David Allan, *A Highland Soldier*, c. 1785, pen, black ink and watercolour, 24.40 x 18.30 cm, NGS, D 395.



**Figure 6.11.** David Allan, *A Poor Edinburgh Father of Twenty Children*, c. 1785, pen, black ink and watercolour, 23.80 x 18.40 cm, NGS, D 398.



**Figure 6.12.** William Mosman, *John Campbell, First Cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland*, 1759. Oil on canvas, NatWest Group, Edinburgh.

trained in Edinburgh as a lawyer before joining the Royal Bank of Scotland on its foundation in 1727. The Royal Bank was established by Royal Charter, not least in response to ‘the ascription of Jacobite sympathies to the Bank of Scotland’ which had a monopoly up to that point.<sup>114</sup> Campbell was a proud Highlander who ‘made his life in the business community of Lowland Scotland, yet his cultural allegiances belonged to the Highlands’.<sup>115</sup> Mosman’s portrait shows his subject in a tartan kilt and jacket with broadsword and Highland accoutrements at a time when such dress and weaponry were proscribed.<sup>116</sup> It is notable that Campbell chose to be portrayed in Highland dress and not the sober work clothes of a Georgian banker. Campbell’s Hanoverian loyalties are strongly expressed by the distinctive Royal Bank note on the table beside him, the first British bank note to feature an image of a face — that of the king, George II. A bank called ‘Royal’ and a banknote featuring an image of the king are examples of mundane monarchy, subliminal everyday reminders of the monarch as the high centre, in this case of monetary supply. Through the window is Ardmaddy Bay on the Argyllshire coast, where Campbell was born, while books on the windowsill evoke his legal training. The ensemble of motifs in the portrait express Campbell’s dual identity as a proud Highlander and pillar of the Hanoverian establishment in Edinburgh.

In a classic piece of generational social mobility, John Campbell’s son, John Campbell of the Citadel (1753-1829), became a lawyer in Edinburgh, joining the ancient Society of Writers to His Majesty’s Signet in 1779.<sup>117</sup> This was a typical example of a Highland family with the right connections becoming increasingly urbanised in the eighteenth century. Individual Highlanders were naturally motivated by their personal circumstances and aspirations. As a Writer to the Signet, Campbell junior was joining the elite Edinburgh body of ‘writers’ (Scots for solicitors) located in the city’s Royal Mile. No legal body was more closely associated with monarchy in Scotland. The Signet was one of the ancient seals of the kings of Scotland and Writers to the Signet are mentioned as early as the fifteenth century. An exclusive and prestigious body, membership of the Society in 1731 numbered 110, and by 1803 had grown to 200. Admission required an apprenticeship, examinations, approval by a body of members and payment of annual subscription dues. Membership was the preferred route to the most

<sup>114</sup> Neil Munro, *The History of the Royal Bank of Scotland 1727-1927* (Edinburgh, 1928), 53.

<sup>115</sup> ‘Cashier’s portrait, 1759’, Heritage Hub, NatWest Group <<https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/history-100/objects-by-theme/our-public-face/cashiers-portrait-1759.html>> [accessed 28 January 2021]

<sup>116</sup> By the Act of Proscription, 1747 (19 Geo.II, c. 39).

<sup>117</sup> The Citadel was a building in Leith.

prestigious clients: ‘At the end of the eighteenth century [...] all the landed proprietors in Scotland had legal advisers in Edinburgh, Writers to the Signet for the most part’.<sup>118</sup> As such, Writers to the Signet might appear to form part of a seemingly homogeneous collective Trevor-Roper (and many others) called ‘the citizens of Edinburgh’.<sup>119</sup> However, an analysis of information recorded in the Society’s register of members reveals the extent of social integration between Highland and Lowland within this royal Edinburgh-based professional society. Between 1746 and 1830, 1,003 men were admitted to the Society. Figure 6.13 shows the respective number and percentage of these admissions with either Highland or Lowland connections (by place of birth, parentage or marriage).<sup>120</sup> Those for whom there is insufficient information are shown as unknown. The analysis shows that 36 per cent of admissions had Highland connections. Edinburgh’s ‘Royal’ institutions, professional societies and learned bodies including the Society, played an important part during the 1822 royal visit — accommodating events in their buildings as well as participating in processions, levees, receptions and church services. The analysis of admissions to the Society suggests that this body comprised a blend of Highland and Lowland identities in a rapidly growing Lowland urban centre. Figure 6.14 showing John Kay’s etching of three Writers to the Signet in Edinburgh illustrates the deceptiveness of appearances. Two of these ‘Lowland’ lawyers — attired in the frock coats, tricorne hats, stockings and buckled shoes of Georgian gentlemen — were Highlanders by birth, Allan MacDougall of Argyllshire and Colquhoun Grant of Inverness-shire. Grant had been a Jacobite during the ’45; not only that, he was a member of Prince Charles’ Life Guards and had fought at Prestonpans and Culloden. When others with such close ties to the prince were hung, drawn and quartered, Grant escaped from Culloden, hiding in his native hills until ‘all danger had at last happily passed away’.<sup>121</sup> He then settled in Edinburgh and was admitted as a Writer to the Signet on 29 June 1759.<sup>122</sup> In just thirteen years, Grant had gone from Jacobite fugitive to respected member of the Society of Writers to *His Majesty’s Signet*, seal of Hanoverian George II.

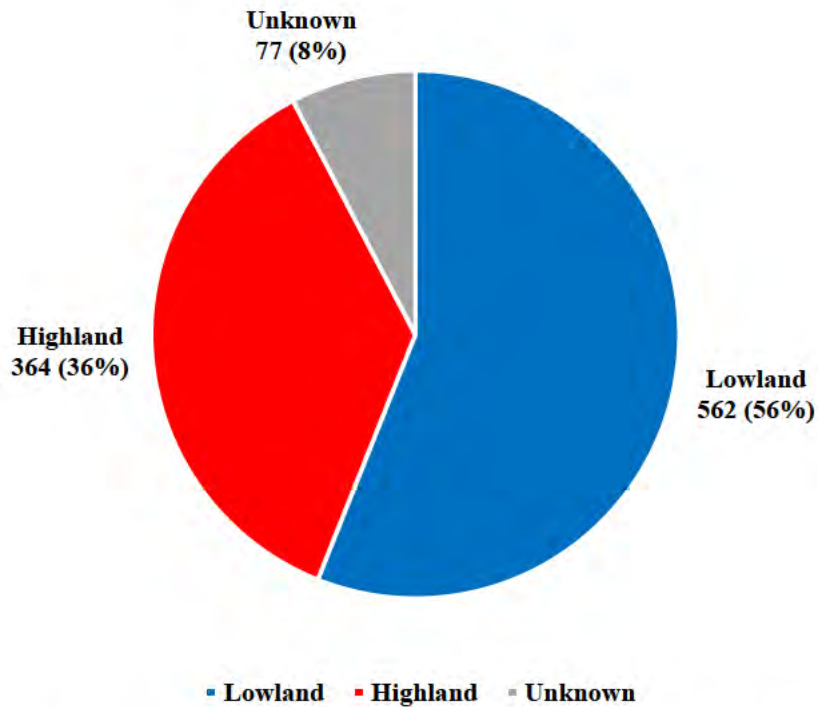
<sup>118</sup> A. R. B. Haldane, ‘The Society of Writers to Her Majesty’s Signet’, *Journal of the Law Society of Scotland*, (1970), 38.

<sup>119</sup> Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, 214. A detailed study of the social and geographical composition of the legal profession in Scotland in the eighteenth century can be found in John Finlay, *The Community of the College of Justice: Edinburgh and the Court of Session 1687-1808* (Edinburgh, 2012).

<sup>120</sup> ‘List of Writers to H.M. Signet’ in *A History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty’s Signet with a List of Members of the Society from 1594 to 1890 and An Abstract of the Minutes* (Edinburgh 1890).

<sup>121</sup> Paton, ed., *Kay’s Portraits*, i, 418-22.

<sup>122</sup> ‘Grant, Colquhoun, of Burnside’ in *History of the Society*, 86.



**Figure 6.13.** Pie chart showing analysis of admissions to the WS Society, 1746 to 1830 according to Highland or Lowland connection (by birth, parentage, or marriage).



**Figure 6.14.** John Kay, *Allan MacDougall, Esq. of Gallanach, Alexander Watson, Esq. of Glenturkie and Colquhoun Grant, Esq.*, 1789, in Paton, ed., *Kay's Portraits*, i, 418-22.



**Figure 6.15.** John Kay, *Two Chairmen or 'The Social Pinch'* in Paton, ed., *Kay's Portraits*, ii, 367-8.

From 57,195 in 1755, Edinburgh's population grew to 138,235 in 1821, an increase of 141.69 per cent.<sup>123</sup> It is recognised that a significant strand of Scottish urban population growth in this period was the migration of Highlanders to the growing urban centres of the Lowlands.<sup>124</sup> Evidence of a significant Gaelic-speaking population in Edinburgh by 1768 can be found in the minutes of the Society, which resolved on 27 June: 'A contribution of 100 guineas is made by the society towards the building of a church for the Gaelic-speaking of the city'.<sup>125</sup> Whilst much scholarship has focused on the movement of rural Highlanders to urban centres in Scotland, as part of the so-called Clearances, what must not be overlooked is an earlier, less disruptive internal mobility within Scotland.<sup>126</sup> Taking one example, Edinburgh's sedan chairmen were 'chiefly Highlanders [*and*] at one time a numerous and well-employed body', highly regulated and organised as the Society of Edinburgh Chairmen in 1740.<sup>127</sup> Figure 6.15 shows Kay's etching, *Two Chairmen or 'The Society Pinch'*, depicts two Highlanders of that body, Donald Kennedy of Perthshire (seated) and Donald Black of Ross-shire.<sup>128</sup> Among 370 Kay etchings of Edinburgh characters — from aristocrats and professionals to fishwives and beggars — there are numerous examples of Highlanders in the city across all social ranks, from dukes to judges to stable boys. From migration statistics alone it is reasonable to assert that Highlanders were well represented in the growth and prosperity of the capital city of Hanoverian North Britain.

Another example of interaction between Highlands and Lowlands is provided by the many aristocratic Highlanders who had houses in Edinburgh's New Town, where they employed substantial households. Administrators, agents, architects, tradesmen and servants engaged by the Scottish elites travelled between Edinburgh, Highland country seat and London residence, as can be seen in the correspondence between the Duke of Argyll and his managers.<sup>129</sup> Another example is Francis Stuart, 10th Earl of Moray (1771-1848), who in 1822 commissioned a monumental development of town houses in Edinburgh's New Town, including a splendid establishment for himself. The earl's estate in the Highland county of Moray included the neoclassical mansion, Darnaway Castle, rebuilt in 1810. Lowland masons

<sup>123</sup> *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 6 (1793); I (1845), 650.

<sup>124</sup> T. M. Devine, 'Highland Migration to Lowland Scotland, 1760-1860', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxii (1983), 137.

<sup>125</sup> *History of the Society*, 86.

<sup>126</sup> The bibliography in T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Clearances: A History of the Dispossessed* (London, 2018) runs to 29 pages.

<sup>127</sup> Paton, ed., *Kay's Portraits*, ii, 367-8.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> Referred to in Chapter 4: Environment.



and tradesmen were often employed to build the new castles and country houses of the nobility in the Highlands. Edinburgh streets within the Moray development were named after the family, examples including Moray Place, Great Stuart Street and Darnaway Street. In 1769, when building the neoclassical Gordon Castle in the Highlands, Alexander Gordon, 4th Duke of Gordon (1743-1827), employed Edinburgh architect John Baxter (d. 1798), whose business included speculative housebuilding in his native city. The Duke of Gordon intended to come to Edinburgh for the royal visit in 1822, but was too ill, although '[h]is horses, carriage and servants were already stabled and lodged in the city'.<sup>130</sup> Highlanders in the complex of connections around monarchy were well established in Edinburgh long before the 1822 visit of George IV.

A small contingent of clansmen formed part of the grand military review witnessed by the king on 25 August 1822 on Portobello beach, just outside Edinburgh. This review was completely dominated by 3,000 Lowland volunteer cavalrymen (yeomanry) from Edinburgh and the Borders. Many eye-witnesses concurred that the review was 'the grandest military spectacle every witnessed in Scotland' and the spectators numbered over 50,000, including approximately 1,000 carriages.<sup>131</sup> The king was reported to have remarked that 'he was never at a review with which he was more delighted'.<sup>132</sup> Mary Grant wrote: 'It was the most splendid scene and far the most worthy of anything I have seen yet'.<sup>133</sup> Although clearly one of the most memorable events of the royal visit, the review was just one example of the Lowland role. By far the biggest contribution was the urban environment of Edinburgh itself. Lawyer and author James Simpson (1781-1853) described its importance:

The sun shone brilliantly when the royal train entered the spacious stone-built streets, in all the lightness and gaiety for which they are so remarkable; and the Sovereign looked round on the proofs of a thriving people, which a fine city indicates. Streets and squares of stately architecture, porticoes, columns, vistas, varied the effect at every turn — till that matchless scene formed of the castle and the old town seen from the new [...] burst at one upon the King's view.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Prebble, *King's Jaunt*, 211.

<sup>131</sup> Skinner, ed., 'Contemporary Account', 214.

<sup>132</sup> Prebble, *King's Jaunt*, 301.

<sup>133</sup> Skinner, ed., 'Contemporary Account', 139

<sup>134</sup> James Simpson, *Letters to Sir Walter Scott, Bart. on the Moral and Political Character and Effects of the Visit to Scotland in August 1822 of His Majesty King George IV* (Edinburgh, 1822), 57-8.

## ‘Celtic fantasy’?<sup>135</sup>

Aspects of George IV’s visit concerning the city of Edinburgh itself receive little attention in a historiography that prefers the ‘Celtic fantasy’ narrative. Perhaps the most striking omission is the relevance of Edinburgh’s post-1746 urban development which, in combination with the city’s topography, provided an explicitly Hanoverian North British stage. This is all the more surprising given the extensive body of literature on what has been called ‘the making of classical Edinburgh’.<sup>136</sup> A related aspect is urban culture in Britain and Europe at the time, an essential context for interpreting behaviours during the visit. Historians seldom dwell on the prominent role of Edinburgh’s urban polity, the Lowland-dominated political, civic, religious, professional, academic, mercantile and trade communities. Each of these aspects will be examined.

In the seven decades preceding 1822, the environment of Edinburgh was transformed. A grid of neoclassical streets, the main thoroughfares named after the Hanoverian royal family (such as George Street, Princes Street, Hanover Street and Frederick Street), formed Edinburgh’s New Town. Linked to the Old Town by monumental new bridges, the New Town became home to the aristocratic, professional, and mercantile elites. Figure 6.16 shows John Wood’s 1823 map of the city, with the New Town’s grid of streets and crescents to the north of the Old Town (indicated by the red oval). The original blueprint for this urban transformation was the already mentioned *Proposals* pamphlet which had declared, ‘Edinburgh might be large enough to be the capital of SCOTLAND [...] yet at this day too small for the chief city of NORTH BRITAIN’. Among the city’s shortcomings, the document bemoaned the lack of facilities ‘for the reception of any person of distinction’.<sup>137</sup> Behind the pamphlet was a nationally co-ordinated effort involving the ‘highly organised and coherent urban political lobby’ of the Convention of Royal Burghs.<sup>138</sup> Grandly ambitious and explicitly drawing on European examples, the project conceived of streets over a mile long, more than doubling the footprint of the city. Far from being abandoned, the Old Town remained Edinburgh’s centre of commerce, government, and law courts and, within the towering tenements of its ancient

<sup>135</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 235.

<sup>136</sup> The canonical text remains A.J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh 1740-1840* (Edinburgh, 1967). An online bookshop (Amazon) search for ‘Edinburgh New Town’ revealed 132 publications.

<sup>137</sup> [Sir Gilbert Elliot], *Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh* (1752), Pamphlets Collection, Signet Library, Edinburgh. See Chapter 1: Sovereignty.

<sup>138</sup> Harris and McKean, *Scottish Town*, 65; Edinburgh City Archives, Minute of the Annual Convention of Royal Burghs, 16 July 1752, vol. 12



**Figure 6.16.** John Wood, *Plan of the City of Edinburgh, including all the latest and intended improvements* (Edinburgh: T. Brown, 1823), 54.30 x 76.40 cm, NLS. The oval in red (added by the author for this thesis) shows the approximate footprint of Edinburgh (including Canongate) in 1752.

High Street, neo-classical public buildings were constructed to accommodate these functions. In 1822, Edinburgh was a combination of Georgian city and medieval Old Town within its ancient volcanic topography. The port at Leith, where George IV disembarked, completed all the environmental elements which allowed the city to represent Scotland in microcosm. One setting provided a series of stages which combined Highland-Lowland topography, maritime-urban-rural environments, and ancient-modern tropes. Edinburgh had a unique relationship with monarchy as Scotland's capital and there was a consciousness (evident in Mudie and Scott's *Hints*) of its history as a stage for royal processional routes.<sup>139</sup> Describing George IV's procession into the city on 15 August 1822, Lockhart refers to 'every street, every square, garden, or open space below, paved with solid masses of silent expectants'.<sup>140</sup> Perhaps unwittingly in Lockhart's case, his description reveals that much of the impact of the visit had nothing to do with 'Celtification' but rather Lowland urban expansion in the capital of North Britain. With the streets, squares and gardens Lockhart described named after the Hanoverians, this achievement was explicitly associated with the royal dynasty.

Accompanying the architectural transformation was an equally profound change in urban culture, bringing 'into existence a far more genuinely British dimension to Scottish urban culture than had been present hitherto'.<sup>141</sup> Post-1746, Scotland rapidly assimilated an urban culture already present in England from 1660.<sup>142</sup> This was a culture strongly concerned with the pursuit of status, personal accoutrements, arenas of display, civility and sociability. It would not just be in Edinburgh where a royal visit would occasion behaviours promoting status, indulging conspicuous consumption and exhibiting fashionable appearance. Unlike the provincialism of the urban renaissance in English towns (outside London), urban improvement and culture 'in Scotland were endowed with strong patriotic and national connotations'.<sup>143</sup> Yet, in the historiography, these behaviours are only cited to support the negative exceptionalism of the 'one and twenty daft days' abridgement. Witnesses at the time made obvious contemporary comparisons: 'A gentlemen who had seen the entry into Dublin, and the Coronation, said this was a finer sight'.<sup>144</sup> Edinburgh as a substitute court for London

<sup>139</sup> For a discussion of the topography of Edinburgh as a royal city in the early modern period, see E. Patricia Dennison and Michael Lynch, 'Crown, Capital and Metropolis: Edinburgh and Canongate: The Rise of a Capital and an Urban Court', *Journal of Urban History*, 32 (2005), 22-43.

<sup>140</sup> Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, *Popular*, 482.

<sup>141</sup> Harris and McKean, *Scottish Town*, 361.

<sup>142</sup> Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989).

<sup>143</sup> Harris and McKean, *Scottish Town*, 83.

<sup>144</sup> Skinner, ed., 'Contemporary Account', 100.

during the king's visit was obviously uppermost in the minds of those who would be presented to the king. As such, they focused on appearing as sophisticated and fashionable to the monarch as their London equivalents. Dressmaker Miss Stewart wrote to the Grants from London on 9 August 1822 with lengthy instructions on the appropriate etiquette, such as: 'The train to be thrown over the left arm, but, when going into the room where the King is, the Lord-in-waiting will let the train down'.<sup>145</sup> As the *Hints* pamphlet pointed out: 'This is not an ordinary show — it is not all on one side. It is not enough that we should see the King: but the King must also see us'.<sup>146</sup>

When considering matters of dress, historiographical accounts of the visit concentrate on statistics about tartan. Trevor-Roper uses the records of the tartan-weaving firm William Wilson and Son for evidence of a spike in tartan orders around the visit. More recently, it has been shown that there was a sharp rise in the volume of newspaper adverts for tartan in 1822.<sup>147</sup> However, these examples need to be considered alongside an investigation of whether there was a similar peak in the market for other dress-making materials. The Grant letters record among their circle the constant acquisition of new accoutrements in the days preceding the visit: for instance, caps, bonnets, feathers, bows, lace, stockings, gloves, ball gowns, day dresses, court dresses from London, satin trains, flowers, plumes, waistcoats, uniforms and servants' livery.<sup>148</sup> There is no reference in this correspondence to the Grants or their acquaintances buying anything made of tartan. Mary describes the crowd made up of 'ladies in white gowns, gentlemen in white trousers', and records after a visit to Miss Jollie's (dressmaker): 'It is too kind of papa to give us all this, I am frightened at the expense'. It was not just clothes that were in demand: 'there was none to be had' of sail cloth to make more awnings for windows in the New Town. Dressmakers and dressers were fully engaged, and the Grant household had to curl their own hair because the hairdressers were fully booked.<sup>149</sup> Again, this evidence shows it is the presence of the king, and the accompanying temporary royal court, that prompted such unprecedented commercial consumption.

Edinburgh's urban polity was central to the visit, both as organising force and a means through which certain elements were democratised. A memorable episode was also one of the

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 93-4.

<sup>146</sup> *Hints*, 22.

<sup>147</sup> Sally Tuckett, 'National dress, gender and Scotland: 1745-1822', *Textile History*, 40 (2009), 140-51.]

<sup>148</sup> Skinner, ed., 'Contemporary Account', *passim*.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 82, 98.

least socially hierarchical. Jane Grant was just one of many who found the city-wide illuminations on the evening of 16 August 1822 ‘magnificent’:

Every spot light as noon-day, each house illuminated with splendour but all empty and deserted [...] The thick crowd [...] The admirable behaviour of the people. Not a drunken nor an uncivil man among them. With their clean best clothes, the common people seemed to have put on their politest [sic] manners.<sup>150</sup>

Mudie records widespread and prominent participation in the illuminations by banks and insurers, civic and government offices, law courts, newspapers, printers, trades, publicans, retailers, hotels, clubs and businesses, as well as in the homes of the Lord Provost, landed aristocrats, prominent public figures, and private citizens. Even the radical sympathising *Scotsman* newspaper participated, with an illumination of a ‘large thistle, surmounted by the imperial crown and drapery’. Illuminations carried messages on transparencies such as the Merchants’ Hall’s ‘Scotland welcomes her King’ and the Crown Hotel’s ‘Welcome to the land of your ancestors!’.<sup>151</sup> Urban polity was much in evidence throughout the visit, from the Magistrates of Edinburgh greeting the king, to the professions, university and Royal colleges, schools, industries and trades, all represented organisationally, ceremonially and culturally. The organising committees and sub-committees featured men from the literary, legal, mercantile and trades communities of the city, and various incorporated bodies lined the High Street for the royal procession on 22 August. Prominent among them, exemplifying Edinburgh’s status as a centre of literature, publishing and print, were printers, bookbinders and booksellers (the last ‘consisting of about 100’). Civil and legal administration were represented by the magistrates of Edinburgh and of Scotland’s other royal burghs, the College of Justice (judges and lawyers) and the Commissioners of Custom and Excise. All were urban institutions and the strongest urban influences in Scotland originated in the Lowlands, particularly in its capital city. As the first paragraph of the 1752 *Proposals* pamphlet proclaimed: ‘A capital [...] should naturally become the centre of trade and commerce, of learning and the arts, of politeness and refinement of every kind. [...] They will diffuse themselves through the nation, and universally promote the same spirit of industry and improvement’.<sup>152</sup> As demonstrated by this quote, urban polity — the faceless ranks in civic

<sup>150</sup> Ibid, 111.

<sup>151</sup> Mudie, *Historical Account*, 122-9.

<sup>152</sup> *Proposals*, 5.

regalia, legal and academic gowns and guild paraphernalia — was seen as just as defining of the national character of North Britain as anyone in Highland dress. It is clear from newspaper records of the processions, levees, banquet and so on that the urban masses dominated compared to those in conspicuous Highland dress. As *Hints* exhorted, the king must ‘also see us’ and what he saw reflected a blend of Lowland and Highland Scotland.

### Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that George IV’s visit to Scotland should be considered from the perspective of a study of monarchy and its association with national identity. A singular interpretation of the visit has endured which attributes the popularity of the event to Sir Walter Scott’s revival of Scotland’s romanticised past. In challenging a number of historical assumptions which removed or diminished the part played by the king’s presence, we have seen that the role of monarchy per se has been overlooked. Having compared the visit to other royal occasions in Britain and Europe in the period, we find that the visit followed a recognisable template. The history of earlier royal occasions in Edinburgh showed that 1822 followed precedent, this time a historical Scottish royal model. In both contemporary and historical contexts, therefore, the 1822 visit did not digress from what would have been expected. Monarchies depend upon a fusion of historic fact and myth for legitimacy and, in expressing these, the 1822 visit was no different from a coronation or other European royal event. Scholarship on the long evolution of tartan, including the king wearing it when Prince of Wales in 1789, has established there was a pre-existing fashion for this dress. Indeed, tartan provided a commodified and marketable cultural currency in which to enact elements of some of the set-pieces. That tartan’s forms were evolved and commercialised does not interrupt their ethno-symbolic continuity with earlier iterations. Rather it suggests the endurance, adaptability, and expressiveness of tartan and Highland accoutrements as recodified motifs of an increasingly unified Scottish cultural identity. It is also clear that Highlanders were an established presence in Edinburgh and that loyal Hanoverians wore Highland dress in Edinburgh long before 1822. It proved important to challenge Lockhart’s oft-quoted epithets about Scott’s role in the visit. Focusing on Scott as a ‘novelist, poet and dramatist’ foregrounds ideas of fiction and unreality in relation to the visit. Scott did have a role in the visit, but the evidence suggests it has been misrepresented as ‘stage manager’. Many events took place without Scott’s involvement and a ‘stage manager’ is not responsible for conceiving and planning a state occasion. The presence of Lowland institutions in the set-

pieces of the visit problematises the ‘Celtic fantasy’ interpretation of the visit by highlighting the prominent role of Edinburgh’s urban environment in playing host. Urban institutions and civic bodies were central to the organisation and national representation of events throughout.

Responses to the royal visit varied from outright hostility, through apathy, to unctuous effusion, but all were responses to a collection of associations with the monarchy. In insisting that the 1822 visit was a ‘charade’ — a deception; an absurd, shallow pretence; a travesty — Trevor-Roper appeared to consign the visit to its own unique category of unreality. As this chapter has argued, this idea rests on a set of assumptions which are not supported by the evidence. Existing historiography fails to recognise that the success of the visit had *something* to do with the Hanoverian monarchy. Trevor-Roper asserted that George IV’s visit was an example of Scotland’s particular susceptibility to myth: ‘myth, in Scotland, is never driven out by reality or by reason, but lingers on until another myth has been discovered, or elaborated, to replace it’.<sup>153</sup> It is perhaps ironic that a work on myth in Scottish history should itself promulgate a myth — that Scots only thought about Hanoverian monarchs when they saw George IV in a kilt. With a *longue durée* perspective, the 1822 visit supports a very different account of behaviours and attitudes in relation to monarchy in Scotland. It suggests that monarchy was a recognisable and enduring part of national identity because its symbols, associations and myths were so effectively reproduced, recodified, and dispersed. George IV’s 1822 visit to Edinburgh provided an opportunity for people to witness, enact and formalise the symbolic components of Hanoverian North Britain.

<sup>153</sup> Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland*, xxii.





## CONCLUSION

### Royal Scotland

For monarchy in the abstract they [*the Scots*] had a profound and unalterable veneration.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Mudie, *A Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1822).

This thesis set out to demonstrate that the Hanoverian monarchy should be recognised as a historical force in Scotland in the period between the last Jacobite rebellion and the Victorian era. Hanoverian monarchy has here been considered as a continuation of Scotland's ancient monarchy. 'Hanoverian' as a term in Scottish history is frequently used to mean the government side in the last civil war fought on British soil, a usage that distances the Hanoverian royal house from the Scottish people and from the Scottish monarchy. However, the thesis has shown that through images, associations and interactions the Hanoverian monarchy was present as a powerful force acting on the imagination of the people of Scotland. One of the biggest challenges in any cultural history is finding evidence of the thoughts and feeling of ordinary people and the meaning they took from historical events and cultural forms. Even discussing what is meant by 'the people' can be problematic, because there are so few occasions from which an assessment can be made of popular opinion. However, George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822 does provide just such a body of evidence, and one way to think of the tens of thousands of Scots lining the Royal Mile and Princes Street on that occasion is as 'the people of Scotland'. Although there was a strict hierarchy in the formation of parades and processions attended by the king, such occasions were open to all members of the population to witness. Only those with official or representative duties were obligated to attend public occasions, meaning that the royal visit provides evidence of what people chose to do, even if individual motivation is harder to ascertain. The thesis has shown that George IV would not be regarded as alien or unfamiliar, even if his physical appearance before them was hitherto entirely unknown. This was the king for whom as heir to the throne they had prayed since his birth in 1762, whose recovery from illness they had given thanks for in church as recently as 1820, and for whose family they had been instructed to pray every Sunday. This was the son of the longest reigning king in British history, in

<sup>1</sup> Mudie, *Historical Account*, 15.

whose army their grandfathers, fathers, brothers, sons and grandsons had served in a series of global wars. This was a prince whose scandalous private life was the subject of gossip in newspapers, pamphlets, broadsheets and caricature prints, and whose unhappy marriage had divided opinion throughout Britain. Each person in the Edinburgh crowds would have had their own individual imagined monarchy and these ideas would not necessarily be uniform or favourable. The fact remains that, as this thesis has shown, monarchy had the capacity to work on people's imagination because it was regarded as the high centre of nationhood. As we have seen, plenty of public occasions in Georgian society descended into disorder and even riots. We have also found that the only occasion during the 1822 visit where there was a hint of disorder was one where ordinary people felt excluded, suggesting that Scots did not want to feel themselves denied interaction with 'their' king, however impersonal, transitory or removed such an interaction might be.

The civil war which began and ended in Scotland was fought over the rightful succession to the crown of the United Kingdom. The Jacobite rebellion of 1745-6 demonstrated that people in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland were prepared to fight and die for their idea of the rightful king. Although there was a mixture of loyalties among those fighting for the Jacobite cause, all were united in making monarchy, and the legitimacy of succession to the crown, the focal point for their beliefs and loyalties. Both Jacobite and Hanoverian armies were led by European royal princes in their twenties, the credibility of whose leadership depended upon competing interpretations of hereditary legitimacy. Complex political, cultural, social, and religious differences were ultimately embodied in opposing dynastic interests. Familial loyalty was easily understood by people in a local community and extended through subsidiary ranks of dynasty to monarchy at the high centre. That there even was an alternative monarchy only reinforces the historical power of monarchy in mid-eighteenth-century Scottish identity. Although violent and traumatic, the civil war of 1745-6 lasted for only eight months, albeit the repercussions in the Highlands were longer lasting. It is well known that many who fought for the Jacobite cause were willing subsequently to fight and die for George II and George III, whilst others settled into life as respectable members of Scottish society under Hanoverian rule. For most people in Scotland, the Jacobite defeat was greeted with relief and can only have increased awareness of the Hanoverian monarchy as a source of stability and continuity. Hanoverian monarchy was so strongly imprinted in people's minds — through their experience of magnificent, munificent and mundane monarchy — that in the years post-Culloden it could co-exist with the lost-cause romanticism of Jacobite culture. The

Hanoverian royal family themselves were consumers of Jacobite material culture, suggesting a desire to resolve rather than suppress that recent history.

The thesis has argued that monarchy was associated with the most fundamental aspects of people's lives in Scotland: sovereign power, war, place, time and community, religion and education. Jacobitism represented a past increasingly unconnected with the changes people experienced over the period. The royal family was familiar to the Scottish populace as an idea from their daily, weekly and annual routines. These observations, drawn from the historical evidence, correspond with what is often characterised as Sir Walter Scott's 'invention': assigning a romantic, mythical Highland past to a safe cultural place in a settled Hanoverian North Britain. But Scott drew upon his historical knowledge and the people and society he saw around him. North Britain already had a place for former Jacobites and Hanoverian Highlanders long before Scott wrote *Waverley* and, as has been shown here, imagined monarchy was vital to the cultural resolution of formerly conflicting Scottish identities. Scott was undoubtedly an enormously powerful cultural influence and affected conceptions of Scottish national identity. However, monarchy was more powerful as a source of identity than a popular novelist. Indeed, Scott himself in his work always placed monarchy and kinship at the centre of Scottish national identity.

In this study, it has been shown that people experienced monarchy in different aspects of their lives. Monarchy was imagined as both the high centre of nationhood and in the person of an individual king or member of the royal family. Through the Scottish aristocracy, people directly experienced the common 'language' and iconography of dynastic power. The thesis has shown the critical importance of the dynastic regime — monarchy and aristocracy as a unitary system of ruling power — in an evolving Scottish national identity. The nobility represented the most immediate connection in people's minds between monarchy and their locality. As the nobility increased their London presence, that connection expanded people's conception of the imagined community to which they belonged, with the king as its constant high centre. Aristocracy had a crucial role as a channel of influence and patronage, ultimately derived from the sovereign monarch in London. Profound changes took place in Scotland during the period and people experienced 'improvement', militarisation, and the formalisation of local power structures through sovereign appointments. Monarchy was closely associated with these re-orderings, including attempts to embed the concept of 'North Britain' into national consciousness. It was the concept of 'North Britain' rather than the

label *per se* that was important. No attempt was ever made legally to re-name Scotland as North Britain. North Britain was an optional, quasi-official alternative, with connotations of a new, enlightened Scotland in which sovereign power was at last settled and unequivocally resided with a Hanoverian king and parliament in London. Soldiers were understood to ‘take the King’s Shilling’; new roads and bridges formed ‘the King’s Road’; military fortifications and urban improvements were named after the king and royal family; and works of art, literature and architecture were dedicated to the sovereign. As with these examples, the thesis has dealt with some familiar subject matter in Scottish historiography, but with a new approach centred on the Hanoverian monarchy. We have also highlighted the cumulative presence and ubiquity of seemingly unimportant, inescapable granular expressions of monarchy. Imagined monarchy consists of many individual elements expressed over a prolonged period, and understanding the monarchy as imagined in this way shows how, in aggregate, these elements could have more of an impact than a single royal visit. The thesis does not underestimate the impact of a royal visit or state occasion, but such exceptional events should not be allowed to obscure the effect of more routine and constant associations with monarchy. These prior associations had the effect of conditioning responses to more magnificent royal occasions, such as George IV’s visit.

Various themes and patterns emerge from this thesis applicable to this period of Scottish history. Dynasty is a central theme, meaning a hierarchically organised ruling order based on hereditary legitimacy. That is how Scotland was ordered in the period. The monarchy was the highest tier of this dynastic order, in the person of the sovereign and royal family. Monarchy shared with aristocracy a paradigm and iconography of dynastic title, but was more physically remote than other ranks of dynasty in Scotland. Monarchy was imagined through what in this thesis has been referred to as a complex of images, associations and interactions. Images were one of the most potent ways the people of a community had a shared experience of monarchy across different localities and social status. A Royal Proclamation would look the same on a church door in Ayrshire as it would in Sutherland, carried the same meaning, and appeared substantially the same from 1746 to 1830. Every bible in households across Scotland carried the royal coat of arms and was published by the ‘King’s Printer’. Monarchy and lower tiers of dynasty shared a common visual vocabulary — crowns, coronets, ciphers, coats of arms, portraiture, ermine cloaks and accoutrements, such as a staff or mace. This reinforced awareness and familiarity with the visual language of monarchy in a nation where there was no monarch or royal court present. Images became increasingly important with the

growth in print and cheaper reproductions of portraiture of monarchs and aristocrats. We have seen that such images were displayed in the homes of ordinary people in Scotland.

Associations ranged from explicit references to the monarch, such as prayers for the king and celebration of the king's birthday, to more subliminal imaginative prompts, such a soldier's red coat. Although more subliminal, the thesis has argued that ever present over time these associations could be some of the most powerful in forming people's individual ideas of monarchy. Indeed, the more abstract an association was, the more it could be shaped by an individual's imagination and experience, permitting the broadest possible scope of imagined monarchy. For example, the king's cipher on regimental colours associated the monarchy with a range of feeling and responses to the military — ranging from pride and admiration, to alarm and fear. Similarly, accounts of the king's birthday celebrations in Scotland demonstrated a wide range of royal associations. Those indulging in more riotous misbehaviour on the king's birthday may have imagined a munificent sovereign willing to indulge his subjects' transgressions on this one day every year. Within local hierarchies around these celebrations, provosts, magistrates and local officials and the rioters taunting them were all demonstrating loyalty to the king, each imagining a king sympathetic to their point of view.

Interactions were not limited to personal contact with the king, or with members of the royal family, royal representatives or confidants of royalty. The manner in which the state and civil society is delineated in Scottish almanacks illustrates the many ways people could feel they were interacting with monarchy. A clerk of the court in Inveraray courthouse interacted with monarchy through the presence of the Lord Justice General, or other senior judge, appointed by the king's Royal Warrant. He was reminded of the monarchy by the royal coat of arms above the judge's bench. The clerk was aware that the Duke of Argyll who built the courthouse interacted frequently and intimately with the king and royal family in London. Portraits of the king and queen, gifted by the queen, hanging in Inveraray Castle were testament to this relationship. Any visitor to Inveraray Castle seeing the portraits would associate the dukes with monarchy. Until 1822, unlike dukes, few people in Scotland had the chance to witness the king in person. What this thesis has shown is that the personal interactions experienced on that occasion — even if just standing on Calton Hill to watch George IV's entry into Edinburgh — were informed and enriched by the images and associations of monarchy people had encountered every day and every year of their lives.

Even those who were merely curious to see the king would have had their interest piqued by an impression of the king based on earlier images and associations.

One of the most important terms throughout this thesis is 'high centre', meaning supreme in legal, social and cultural terms. High centre is fundamental because loyalty to a single person and family based on hereditary succession was a simple and familiar idea, easily comprehended by all members of society. Loyalty or allegiance to the monarchy partly consisted of an emotional connection. This emotional connection to monarchy was readily transferable from family and kinship relations, which in Scotland carried additional potency through clanship. The monarch as high centre was particularly resonant at times of greatest national peril, such as war and fear of invasion. However remote, a sovereign provided a unifying symbol of national endeavour, legitimatised partly by longevity and traditional rituals and symbols. Monarchy provided constancy, continuity with the past and an uncontested form of leadership.

We have seen how monarchy appeared in key aspects of people's lives, and how these features changed and evolved in the period. Monarchy was associated with many of these changes through a variety of forms, especially what we have identified as magnificent monarchy, munificent monarchy and mundane monarchy. The thesis has provided examples of each of these in Scotland during the period and shown how magnificent, munificent and mundane monarchy reinforced each other in a variety of ways. The most important and visible example of magnificent monarchy in Scotland in the period was George IV's visit, but the visit contained familiar elements of munificent and mundane monarchy consistently experienced by people in the absence of the king's presence in person. Scots had witnessed smaller military parades on occasions such as celebrating a Highland regiment's return from a successful campaign, when the regimental colours with the royal cipher were displayed; smaller processions for the laying of a foundation stone of an important public building dedicated to the king; and local balls and dances marking the king's birthday. During the visit, people witnessed magnificent versions of these familiar set pieces.

Unifying cultural phenomena under the term 'Imagined monarchy' has helped to highlight that certain cultural themes and developments that are more commonly associated with the Victorian era in Scotland were underway far earlier. The Georgian kings were as much a focal point for loyalty and patriotism in the period of study — particularly of Scottish soldiers

— as Queen Victoria was in the wars of empire in the nineteenth century. This is one contribution that the deployment of the concept of imagined monarchy brings to Scottish historiography. Another contribution offered is to place Hanoverian monarchy within the context of the Stuart Scottish monarchy. The Hanoverian monarchy may be described as partly German, partly European — and partly Scottish. The legitimacy of the house of Hanover originated with the Scottish Stuart princess Elizabeth Stuart and her and her daughter Sophia's marriages into constituent royal families within the Holy Roman Empire. This is a crucially important context when considering Hanoverian monarchy and Scotland. The thesis has asserted a historiographical reorientation of Hanoverian monarchy within Scotland's national history, not as exterior imposition but as heirs to a central pillar of Scottish national identity. Beyond Scotland in the period covered by this thesis, imagined monarchy as a concept may suggest itself as a research focus in studies of the monarchy in England and monarchies in Europe. That possible utility is perhaps proof against Scottish exceptionalism and comparative study avoids any misconception that the Hanoverian monarchy had insufficient hereditary legitimacy in Scotland compared to other European monarchies. Although we have seen Scotland had a particular relationship with its monarchy based on its ancient past, it was also a recognisable model of European monarchy connected with other such monarchies through inter-marriage. Scottish history, poetry, balladry and drama had long celebrated these European dynastic links and continued to do so in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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A central premise of this thesis is that Scottish nationhood and national identity were sustained and defined by a constant process of reinterpretation, recodification and augmentation of ethnocultural symbols, rituals and traditions. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, monarchy was not only the most significant custodian of such symbols, rituals and traditions, it was also one of the most powerful curators in the evolution of these defining features of the Scottish nation.



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## APPENDIX 1

### Summary of Contents of the *Universal Scots Almanack* (Edinburgh, 1757)

[Source: ECCO]

Dedicated to the Commissioners and Governors for His Majesty's Revenue of Excise in Scotland.

Printed by Tho. And Wal. Ruddimans for the Widow of John Chapman.

pp. 72.

- **Monthly Calendar** including birthdays of the royal family, holy days appointed by the Church of England, and times of the moon rising and of the sun rising and setting (in E'burgh and calculatable for locations throughout Scotland. Also list of moveable feast dates and of eclipses.
- **Table of Scots and English Measures** of acreage, etc.
- List of the **Royal Family, Privy Council, and Principal Officers of State, and of the Revenue in England.**

–  
[*GREAT BRITAIN - ROYAL FAMILY*]

- George II, Consort Queen Caroline and issue.
- Issue of the late Prince of Wales (Frederick) and Princess Augusta.
- Privy Council.
- Officers of the King's Household.
- Officers of the Prince of Wales' Household.

–  
[*GREAT BRITAIN*]

- Secretaries of State
- Privy Council and Signet Office.
- Receipt of Exchequer.

[*ENGLAND*]

- High Court of Chancery.
- Court of King's Bench.
- Court of Common Pleas.
- Court of Exchequer.
- Trade and Plantations Commissioners.
- Commissioners of Stamp Duties.
- Commissioners of the Customs.
- Commissioners of Excise.
- Post-Office.

[*GREAT BRITAIN*]

- Admiralty.
- Navy-Office
- Officers of Parliament.
- Officers of State in Ireland.
- List of Admirals of the Royal Navy.

- Generals of his Majesty’s Land Forces.
- Staff Officers, South Britain, North Britain and Irish Establishment.
- Troops and Regiments.
- Governors and Lieutenant Governors of his Majesty’s Garrisons in Great Britain.

[IRELAND]

- Governors and Lieutenant Governors of his Majesty’s Garrisons in Ireland.

[COLONIES]

- **Governors of his Majesty’s Garrisons in Gibraltar, West India.**

[SCOTLAND]

- **Nobility of Scotland** (with representative peers marked with \*. Includes a list of peerages ‘sunk by Attainder of the last Peers, for being concerned in the Rebellions 1715 and 1745’.
- **Officers of State in Scotland** (Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Register, Lord Vice-Admiral, Lord Justice General, Lord President, Chief Baron of Exchequer, Lord Advocate and Lord Justice Clerk.
- Lords of Session and Clerks of Session.
- Court of Justiciary.
- Court of Exchequer.
- Court of Admiralty.
- Commissary Court.
- Establishment of Police.
- Excise Office.
- Custom House.
- Post-Office
- Stamp Office.
- Lyon Office.
- Chancery.
- Officers of the Mint.
- Commissioners for Managing the Annexed Forfeited Estates.\*
- Commissioners and Trustees for improving Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland.
- Royal College of Physicians.\*
- Edinburgh Society for encouraging Arts and Sciences.\*
- Directors of the Society of encouraging the Study and Elocution and the English Language. \*
- Professors in the University of Edinburgh.\*
- Principal Officers of Freemasons in Scotland.\*
- Governor and Directors of the Bank of Scotland.\*
- Governor and Directors of the Royal Bank of Scotland.\*
- Faculty of Advocates.
- Clerks to his Majesty’ Signet.
- Members of Parliament for the Boroughs in Scotland.
- Members of Parliament for the several Shires and Stewarties in Scotland.
- Table of Interest
- Table of Post-Towns in Scotland, with the Time of each Post’s Departure from Edinburgh.
- An Account of the Fairs in Scotland.
- Distances from Edinburgh to London.

\* These entries are taken from the 1762 edition, used to fill in illegible pages of 1757 edition.

- Regulations for Hackney-Coaches by Act of Town Council.
- Regulations for Hackney-Chairs.
- List of Sheriff-Depute



## APPENDIX 2

### Excerpt from The Royal Clothing Warrant, 1751.<sup>1</sup>

Regulations for the Colours, Clothing, etc., of the Marching Regiments of Foot

**George R.**

**Regulations for the Colours, Clothing, etc., of the Marching Regiments of Foot, and for the uniform Clothing of the Cavalry, their Standards, Guidons, Banners, etc.**

Our Will and Pleasure is, That the following Regulations for the Colours, Clothing, etc. of Our Marching Regiments of Foot, and for the uniform Clothing of Our Cavalry, their Standards, Guidons, Banners, etc. be duly observed and put in execution, at such times as the particulars are, or shall be, furnished, viz., Regulation for the Colours, Clothing, etc., of the Marching Regiments of Foot.

No Colonel to put his Arms, Crest, Device, or Livery, on any part of the Appointments of the Regiment under his Command.

No part of the Clothing, or Ornaments of the Regiments to be altered after the following Regulations are put in execution but by Us, or Our Captain General's permission.

**Colours.**

The King's, or first Colour of every Regiment, is to be the Great Union throughout.

The second Colour, to be the colour of the Facing of the Regiment with the Union in the upper Canton; except those Regiments which are faced with Red or White, whose Second Colour is to be the Red Cross of St. George in a White Field, and the Union in the Upper Canton.

In the Centre of each Colour is to be painted, or embroidered, in Gold Roman Characters, the Number of the Rank of the Regiment, within the Wreath of Roses and Thistles, on the same Stalk; except those Regiments which are allowed to wear any Royal Devices, or ancient Badges, on whose Colours the Rank of the Regiment is to be painted towards the upper Corner.

The size of the Colours, and the length of the Pike, to be the same as those of the Royal Regiments of Foot Guards. The Cords and Tassels of all Colours to be crimson and gold mixed.

**Drummers' Clothing.**

The Drummers of all the Royal Regiments are allowed to wear the Royal Livery, viz., Red. lined, faced, and lapelled on the breast with blue, and laced with Royal lace: The Drummers of all the other Regiments are to be clothed with the Colour of the Facing of their Regiments, lined, faced, and lapelled on the Breast with Red, and laced in such manner as the Colonel shall think fit for distinction sake, the Lace, however, being of the Colours of that on the Soldiers' coats.

**Grenadiers' Caps.**

The front of the Grenadiers' Caps to be the same Colour as the facing of the Regiment, with the King's Cypher embroidered, and Crown over it; the little Flap to be Red, with the White Horse and Motto over it, "Nec aspera

<sup>1</sup> NA, WO 26/21; Digby Smith, *Armies of the Seven Years War Commanders, Equipment, Uniforms and Strategies of the 'First World War'* (Stroud, 2013), 97-102.



terrent"; the back part of the Cap to be Red; the turn-up to be the Colour of the Front; with the Number of the Regiment in the middle part behind. - The Royal Regiments, and the Six Old Corps, differ from the fore-going Rule as specified hereafter.

**Drums.** The Front or forepart of the Drums to be painted with the Colour of the facing of the Regiment, with the King's Cypher and Crown, and the Number of the Regiment under it.

**Bells of Arms.** The Bell of Arms to be painted in the same manner.

**Camp Colours.** The Camp Colours to be Square, and of the Colour of the facing of the Regiment, with the Number of the Regiment upon them.

### **Devices and Badges of the Royal Regiments, and of the Six Old Corps.**

**1st Regiment, or The Royal Regiment** The Royal Regiment - In the Centre of their Colours, the King's Cypher, within the Circle of St. Andrew and Crown over it. - In the three corners of the Second Colour, the Thistle and Crown. - The Distinction of the Colours of the Second battalion is a flaming Ray of Gold descending from the upper corner of each Colour towards the centre. On the Grenadier Caps, the same Device, as in the centre of the Colours; White Horse and the King's Motto over it, on the little Flap. The Drums and Bells of Arms to have the same Device painted on them, with the Number or Rank of the Regiment under it.

**2nd Regiment, or The Queen's Royal Regiment** The Queen's Royal Regiment. - In the centre of each Colour the Queen's Cypher on a Red Ground, within the Garter, and Crown over it. - In the three corners of the Second Colour, the Lamb, being the ancient Badge of the Regiment. On the Grenadier Caps, the Queen's Cypher and Crown, as in the Colours; White Horse and motto "Nec asperra terrent" on the Flap. The Drums and Bells of Arms to have the Queen's Cypher painted on them in the same manner, and the Rank of the Regiment underneath.

**3rd Regiment, or The Buffs** The Buffs. In the centre of their Colours, the Dragon, being the ancient Badge, and the Rose and Crown in the Three corners of their Second Colour. On the Grenadier Caps the Dragon; White Horse and King's Motto on the Flap. The same Badge of the Dragon to be painted on their Drums and Bells of Arms, with the Rank of the Regiment underneath.

**4th Regiment, or The King's Own Royal Regiment** The King's Own Royal Regiment. In the centre of their Colours the King's Cypher on a Red ground within the Garter, and Crown over it; In the three corners of their Second Colour the Lion of England, being their ancient Badge. On the Grenadier Caps the King's Cypher, as on the Colours, and Crown over it; White Horse and Motto on the Flap. The Drums and Bells of Arms to have the King's Cypher painted on them, in the same manner, and the Rank of the Regiment underneath.

- 5th Regiment** In the centre of their Colours, St. George Killing the Dragon being their ancient Badge and in the three Corners of their Second Colour the Rose and Crown.  
On the Grenadier Caps, St. George Killing the Dragon; the White Horse and Motto "Nec aspera terrent" over it on the flap.  
The same Badge of St. George and the Dragon to be painted on their Drums, and Bells of Arms, with the Rank of the Regiment underneath.
- 6th Regiment** In the centre of their Colours, the Antelope, being their ancient Badge, and in the three corners of their Second Colour, the Rose and Crown.  
On the Grenadier Caps the Antelope, as in the Colours, White Horse and Motto on the Flap.  
The same Badge of the Antelope to be painted on their Drums and Bells of Arms, with the Rank of the Regiment underneath.
- 7th Regiment, or The Royal Fusiliers** The Royal Fusiliers. - In the centre of their Colours the Rose within the Garter, and Crown over it; the White Horse in the corners of the Second Colour.  
On the Grenadier Caps, the Rose withing the Garter, and Crown, as in the Colours; White Horse and Motto over it "Nec aspera terrent" on the Flap.  
The same Device of the Rose within the Garter and Crown on their Drums and Bells of Arms, Rank of the Regiment underneath.
- 8th Regiment, or The King's Regiment** The King's Regiment. In the centre of their Colours the White Horse on a Red ground, within the Garter and Crown over it; In the three Corners of the Second Colour, the King's Cypher and Crown.  
On the Grenadier Caps, the White Horse as on the Colours - the White Horse and Motto "Nec aspera terrent" on the Flap.  
The Same Device of the White Horse within the Garter, on the Drums and Bells of Arms; Rank of the Regiment underneath.
- 18th Regiment, or The Royal Irish** The Royal Irish. In the centre of their Colours, the Harp on a Blue field, and the Crown over it, and in the three Corners of their Second Colour, the Lion of Nassau, King William the Third's Arms.  
On the Grenadier Caps the Harp and Crown as on the Colours, White Horse and Motto on the Flap.  
The Harp and Crown to be painted in the same manner, on the Drums and Bells of Arms, with the Rank of the Regiment underneath.
- 21st Regiment, or The Royal North British Fusiliers** The Royal North British Fusiliers. In the centre of their Colours, the Thistle withing the Circle of St. Andrew, and Crown over it, and in the three corners of the Second Colour, the King's Cypher and Crown.  
On the Grenadier Caps the Thistle, as on the Colours; White Horse and Motto over it "Nec aspera terrent" on the Flap.  
On the Drums and Bells of Arms, the Thistle and Crown to be painted, as on the Colours, Rank of the Regiment underneath.
- 23rd Regiment, or The Royal Welch Fusiliers** The Royal Welch Fusiliers. In the centre of their Colours, the Device of the Prince of Wales, viz., three Feathers issuing out of the Prince's Coronet; In the three Corners of the Second Colour, the Badges of Edward the Black Prince, viz., Rising Sun, Red Dragon, and the three Feathers in the Coronet, Motto "Ich Dien."

On the Grenadier Caps the Feathers as in the Colours, White Horse and Motto "Nec aspera terrent" on the Flap.  
 The same Badge of the Three Feathers and Motto "Ich Dien" on the Drums and Bells of Arms; Rank of the Regiment underneath.

**27th Regiment, or The Inniskilling Regiment**      The Inniskilling Regiment. - Allowed to wear in the centre of their Colours a Castle with three Turrets, St. George's Colours flying in a Blue Field, and the Name Inniskilling over it.  
 On the Grenadier Caps, the Castle and Name, as on the Colours; White Horse and King's Motto on the Flap.  
 The same Badge of the Castle and Name on the Drums and Bells of Arms, Rank of the Regiment underneath.

**41st Regiment, or The Invalids**      The Invalids. In the centre of their Colours, the Rose and Thistle, on a Red ground, within the Garter, and Crown over it; In the three Corners of the Second Colour, the King's Cypher and Crown.  
 On the Grenadier Caps, Drums and Bells of Arms the same Device of the Rose and Thistle conjoined, within the Garter and Crown, as on the Colours.

**Highland Regiment**      The Grenadier of the Highland Regiment are allowed to wear Bearskin-Fur Caps, with the King's Cypher and Crown over it, on a Red ground in the Turn-up, or Flap.

**General View of the Facings of the Several Marching Regiments of Foot.**

COLOUR OF THE FACINGS.	RANK AND TITLE REGIMENTS.	DISTINCTOIN IN THE SAME COLOUR.	NAMES OF THE PRE-SENT COLONELS.
Blue	1st or the Royal Regiment		Lt.-General St.Clair.
	4th or the King's Own Regt.		Colonel Rich.
	7th or the Royal Fusiliers		Colonel Mostyn.
	8th or the King's Regiment		Lt.-General Wolfe.
	18th or the Royal Irish		Colonel Folliot.
	21st or the Royal North British Fusiliers		Lt.-General Campbell
	23rd or the Royal Welch Fusiliers		Lt.-General Huske.
	41st or the Invalids		Colonel Wardour.
Green	2nd or the Queen's Royal Regiment	Sea Green	Major-General Fowke
	5th Regiment	Goslin Green	
	11th Regiment	Full Green	Lt.-General Irvine.

	19th Regiment	Yellowish Green	Colonel Botland.
	24th Regiment (lined with White)	Willow Green	Colonel Lord George Beauclerk.
	36th Regiment	Grass Green	Colonel Earl of An-cram.
	39th Regiment		Colonel Lord Robert Manners.
	45th Regiment	Deep Green	Brigadier Richbell.
	49th Regiment	Full Green	Colonel Warburton. Colonel Trelawny.
	3rd Regiment or the Buffs		Colonel Howard.
	14th Regiment		Colonel Herbert.
	22nd Regiment	Pale Buff	Briadier O'Farrell.
	27th or the Inniskilling Regt.		Lt.-General
	31st Regiment		Blakeney.
Buff	40th Regiment		Colonel Holmes.
	42nd Regiment		Colonel Cornwallis.
	48th Regiment		Colonel Lord Jno, Murray. Colonel Earl of Horne
	17th Regiment	Greyish White	Lt.-General
	32nd Regiment		Wynyard.
White	43rd Regiment		Colonel Leighton.
	47th Regiment		Colonel Kennedy. Colonel Lascelles.
Red	33rd Regiment (white lining)		Lt.-General Johnson.
Orange	35th Regiment		Lt.-General Otway.
	6th Regiment	Deep Yellow	Lt.-General Guise.
	9th Regiment		Colonel Waldegrave.
	10th Regiment	Bright Yellow	Colonel Pole.
	12th Regiment		Lt.-General Skelton.
	13th Regiment	Philemot Yellow	Lt.-General Pulteney.
	15th Regiment		Colonel Jordan.
	16th Regiment		Lt.-Genl. Handasyde.
	20th Regiment	Pale Yellow	Col. Lord Visct.
	25th Regiment	Deep Yellow	Bury.
	26th Regiment	Pale Yellow	Col. Earl of
Yellow	28th Regiment	Bright Yellow	Panmure.
	29th Regiment		Lt.-Genl. Anstruther.
	30th Regiment	Pale Yellow	Lt.-General Bragg.
	34th Regiment	Bright Yellow	Colonel Hopson
	37th Regiment		Colonel Earl of London.
	38th Regiment		Colonel Conway.
	44th Regiment		Colonel Dejean. Colonel Duroure.
	46th Regiment		Colonel Sir Peter

Halket, Bt.  
Colonel Murray.

Red with            Royal Regiment of Artillery  
Blue Coats

Colonel Belford.

Abstract of the Foregoing.

With Blue . . . .	8 Regiments.
" Green . . . .	9 Regiments.
" Buff . . . .	8 Regiments.
" Yellow . . . .	18 Regiments.
" White . . . .	4 Regiments.
" Red . . . .	1 Regiment.
" Orange . . . .	1 Regiment.
Blue with Red. . . .	1 Regiment.
	-----
In all . . . .	50 Regiments.
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### APPENDIX 3

#### Summary of Particular Occasions of Special Worship, 1746-1830.

Source: *National Prayers: Special Worship since the Reformation: Volume 2: General Fasts, Thanksgivings and Special Prayers in the British Isles 1689-1870* (Woodbridge: Church of England Record Society, 2017), xxv-xxvii.

#### Key:

Column A: Year.

Column B: E = England alone; S = Scotland alone; Ir = Ireland alone; N = National, i.e., England, Scotland and Ireland.

Column C: For National worship, numerical order.

Column D: Source of order: G = Government; C = Church; R = Royal; NF = Record not found.

Column G: Form of royal reference: K = Specific prayer for the king; KF = Specific prayer for king and royal family; N = Narrative reference to king/monarchy.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1746	E		G	thanksgiving prayers	victory at the battle of Culloden	K
1746	S		CG	thanksgiving day	defeat of Jacobite rebellion	KF
1746	EIr		R	thanksgiving	defeat of Jacobite rebellion	KF
1747	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst Spain and France	N
1748	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst Spain and France	N
1748	E		NF	daily prayers	during the cattle plague	N
1749	N	1	R	thanksgiving day	peace treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle	N
1750	E		NF	thanksgiving day	after earthquakes in London	No
1756	N	1	R	fast day	Lisbon earthquakes and for the fleets and armies during tensions with France	N
1756	S		CR	fast day	outbreak of war with France and poor weather	KF
1757	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst and France	N
1758	N	1	CR	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France	KF
1758	E	1	G	thanksgiving day	victory at the battle of Krefeld	N
1758	E	2	G	thanksgiving prayers	capture of Louisburg	No
1758	Ir		NF	thanksgiving prayers	military victories	No
1758	S		C	thanksgiving day	good harvest and military victories	No
1759	N	1	R	fast days	naval and military campaigns agst France	N
1759	E	1	NF	thanksgiving prayer	end of cattle plague	NF
1759	E	2	R	thanksgiving prayer	allied victory at the battle of Minden	N
1759	Ir	1	NF	thanksgiving prayer	allied victory at the battle of Minden	No
1759	E	3	G	thanksgiving prayers	capture of Quebec and other victories in Canada	No

1759	Ir	2	NF	thanksgiving prayer	capture of Quebec and other victories in Canada	NF
1759	N	2	R	thanksgiving day	capture of Quebec, other naval and military victories and abundant harvest	N
1759	E	4	CGR	thanksgiving prayers	victory at the battle of Quiberton Bay	No
1760	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France	N
1760	EIr		C	thanksgiving prayers	capture of Montreal and surrender of French forces in Canada	N
1761	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France	N
1761	N	1	G	thanksgiving prayers	capture of Pondicherty, Belle Île and Domenica and victory at the battle of Villinghausen	No
1762	N		R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and Spain	N
1762	E	1	G	thanksgiving prayers	capture of Martinique	No
1762	EIr		G	thanksgiving prayers	birth of Prince George	KF
1762	E	2	R	thanksgiving prayers	capture of Havana	No
1763	N	1	R	thanksgiving day	peace treaty of Paris	N
1763	E		CR	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Prince Frederick	KF
1765	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Prince William	KF
1766	E		R	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Prince Charlotte	KF
1767	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Prince Edward	KF
1768	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Princess Augusta	KF
1770	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Princess Elizabeth	KF
1771	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Prince Ernest	KF
1773	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Prince Augustus	KF
1774	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Prince Adolphus	KF
1776	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Princess Mary	KF
1776	N		R	fast day	naval and military campaigns during the war of American independence	N
1777	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Princess Sophia	KF
1778	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns in North America	N
1779	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and in North America	N
1779	E	1	NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Prince Octavius	KF
1779	E	2	NF	daily prayers	during the war	K
1780	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and in North America	N
1780	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Prince Alfred	KF
1781	E		NF	daily prayers	during the war	K
1781	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France, Spain, Dutch Rep. and in N. America	N
1782	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France, Spain, Dutch Rep. and in N. America	N
1782	E		NF	thanksgiving prayers	victory at the battle of the Saintes	No

1783	S		C	prayers	after bad harvest and in hope of a better harvest	No
1783	E		NF	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Princess Amelia	KF
1784	N	1	R	thanksgiving day	peace treaty of Paris	N
1786	E		NF	thanksgiving prayers	failure of attack on George III	KF
1788	S		C	thanksgiving day	centenary of the 1688 revolution	N
1788	N	1	PcC	daily prayers	during George III's illness	K
1789	N	1	PcC	thanksgiving prayers	George III's recovery from illness	K
1789	N	2	R	thanksgiving day	George III's recovery from illness	K
1793	N	1	R	fast day	outbreak of war agst French revolutionary government	N
1794	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France	N
1795	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France	N
1795	N	2	PcC	thanksgiving prayers	failure of attack on George III	K
1796	E	1	R	thanksgiving prayer	birth of Princess Charlotte, daughter of the Prince of Wales	KF
1796	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France	N
1796	E	2	NF	thanksgiving prayer	abundant harvest	No
1797	Ir		G	thanksgiving prayer	failure of attempted France invasion of Ireland	N
1797	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France	N
1797	E	1	NF	thanksgiving prayers	naval victory at the battle of Cape St Vincent	No
1797	E	2	NF	thanksgiving prayers	naval victory at the battle of Camperdown	No
1797	N	2	R	thanksgiving days	naval victories	N
1798	N	1	RC	fast days	naval and military campaigns against France and its allies	N
1798	EIr		R	thanksgiving prayers	naval victory at the battle of the Nile (and in Ireland for victory at the battle of Tory Island)	N
1798	N	2	R	thanksgiving day	naval victory at battle of the Nile and failure of invasion and rebellion in Ireland	N
1799	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1800	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1800	EIr		C	thanksgiving prayers	failure of attack on George III	K
1801	N	1	R	fast day	dearth [poor harvest] and the naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1801	N	2	PcC	thanksgiving prayers	George III's recovery from illness	K
1801	EIr		R	thanksgiving prayers	abundant harvest	No
1802	N	1	R	thanksgiving day	peace of treaty of Amiens	N



1803	EIr		NF	thanksgiving prayers	defeat of Despard conspiracy [plan to assassinate George III]	K
1803	EIr		NF	daily prayers	during the Napoleonic war	K
1803	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France	N
1804	EIr		NF	thanksgiving prayers	George III's recovery from illness	K
1804	N	1	R	fast day and thanksgiving prayers	naval and military campaigns agst France and George III recovery from illness	N
1805	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1805	EIr		NF	daily prayers	during the war	No
1805	N	2	R	thanksgiving day	naval victory at the battle of Trafalgar	N
1806	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1807	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1808	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1809	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1809	N	2	PcC	thanksgiving prayers	jubilee of George III	K
1810	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1810	N	2	PcC	daily prayers	during illness of George III	K
1810	N	3	PcC	thanksgiving prayers	abundant harvest	N
1811	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1812	N	1	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1812	EIr		Pc	daily prayers	during illness of George III	K
1812	N	2	Pc	thanksgiving prayers	victories in Spain and Portugal, especially at the battle of Salamanca for the Prince Regent	N
1813	N	1	PcC	daily prayers	for the Prince Regent	K
1813	N	2	R	fast day	naval and military campaigns agst France and its allies	N
1813	N	3	PcC	thanksgiving prayers	victories in Spain, especially the battle of Vittoria	N
1813	N	4	PcC	thanksgiving prayers	abundant harvest	N
1814	N	1	R	thanksgiving prayers	British and allied victories agst France	N
1814	N	2	R	thanksgiving day	for the end of the war with France	N
1815	N	1	Pc	thanksgiving prayers	victory at the battle of Waterloo	N
1816	N	1	R	thanksgiving day	peace treaty of Paris	N
1817	N	1	PcC	thanksgiving prayers	failure of an attack on the Prince Regent	N
1820	N	1	PcC	thanksgiving prayers	recovery of George IV from illness	K
1830	N	1	PcC	daily prayers	illness of George IV	K
1830	N	2	PcC	daily prayers	during popular disturbances	N
<b>Total</b>	<b>117</b>			<b>117</b>		<b>117</b>



**SOVEREIGNTY DIRECTORY**

**IMAGINED MONARCHY: CONSTRUCTING NORTH BRITAIN, 1746-1830**

**Robert Pirrie**

**King's College London**

## ABBREVIATIONS

### General

BHO	British History Online	<a href="https://www.british-history.ac.uk/">https://www.british-history.ac.uk/</a>
BIC	British Imperial Calendar	<a href="https://www.hathitrust.org/">https://www.hathitrust.org/</a>
CCC	Court and City C[K]alendar	ECCO
CCR	Court and City Register	ECCO
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online	Gale Primary Sources
GNMB	Gentleman's New Memorandum Book	ECCO
LoPC	List of Houses of Peers and Commons	ECCO
SoL	Survey of London	BHO

### Army/Navy column

A	Army
AC	Army long term career
F	Fencibles
M	Militia
N	Navy
NC	Navy long term career

Imagined Monarchy: Constructing North Britain, 1746-1830

Sovereignty Directory

DUKES

Entry	Duke	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/ village	Army/Navy	Comments
	Argyll	3rd	Campbell	Archibald Campbell	1682-1761	Argyll House, Argyll Street	1735-61	SoL, Argyll Street Area. <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/argyll-house">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/argyll-house</a>	1715-61	Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1705; PC, 1711; Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland, 1721; Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1733.	Inveraray Castle, Argyllshire, 1746-89. Roger Morris, Wm, James and Robert Adam. Gothic Revival combining Palladian with influences of Sir John Vanbrugh's revival of the castle form (e.g., Blenheim, Castle Howard and Floors Castle). Roseneath Castle - replaced, see below.	<b>Inveraray</b> town, 1747 Wm Adam drew up plans. 1770 town house, inn, hotel by John Adam. 1772-1800 church and town by Robert Mylne, Neo-classical. Oban, Argyll, 1790s, including Argyll Square and George Street. <b>Ellenabeich</b> (slate quarry village), 1751. By 1772, 2.5 m slates exported annually via Crinan Canal to Glasgow.	A - Colonel of 36th of Foot. Served at Sheriffmuir (1715).	Chiefs of Clan Campbell.
	Argyll	4th	Campbell	John	1694-1770	Somerset House	1762	GNMB 1762	1761-70	KT 1765; Groom of the Bedchamber.	ditto		AC - Lieutenant General and Colonel of the Royal Scots Greys.	
	Argyll	5th	Campbell	John	1723-1806	Argyll House, Argyll Street	1770-1806	SoL, Argyll Street Area		Lord Lieutenant of Argyllshire		<b>Lochgoilhead</b> , 1792. <b>Strachur</b> , c. 1792; <b>Ardrishaig</b> , 1809.	AC - Field Marshall. Colonel of 1st and of 1st Foot Guards.	Sold Argyll House to Earl of Aberdeen, 1808
	Argyll	6th	Campbell	George	1768-1839	29 Upper Brook Street	1811	BIC 1811	1790-6	Counsellor to the Prince of Wales, 1812-20; Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1827-8, 1830-9. PC, 1833. Lord Steward of the Household, 1833-34. Lord Lieutenant of Argyllshire, 1800-39.	ditto Also, Roseneath House by Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840) and Joseph Bonomi the Elder (1737-1808), 1810-20. Classical, described by 5th Duke as 'your chaste Italian casino'.	<b>Keills, Killarow</b> and <b>Kilmenny</b> , c. 1828.	F - Argyll Fencibles, 1793 and 1804.	Argyll House sold to Earl of Aberdeen, 1808
	Atholl	2nd	Murray	James	1690-1764					KT 1734; Lord Privy Seal 1724	Blair Castle, Perthshire, medieval and extended giving appearance of a monumental tower house.		No.	Chiefs of Clan Murray.
	Atholl	3rd	Murray	John	1729-74	(1) Saville Row; (2) Grosvenor Place	(1) 1762; (2) 1764-74	(1) GNMB 1762; (2) Coltman, Art and Identity, p 67.	1766-74	KT 1767;	ditto	<b>Dunkeld</b> with 1809 bridge over Tay by Thomas Telford, leading to neo-classical Atholl Street by Robert Reid, King's Architect, commissioned by the Duke of Atholl. Neo-classical. Dunkeld House.	No.	Duke created the Hermitage 'pleasure ground' on the banks of the River Braan, Perthshire, 1760s, including Georgian follies, Ossian's Hall of Mirrors and Ossian's Cave and (in 1770) Hermitage Bridge.
	Atholl	4th	Murray	John	1755-1830	Grosvenor Street	1796	LoPC 1796	1780-4	KT 1800; Lord of the Bedchamber (king) 1812; Lord Lieutenant of Perthshire	ditto	Established <b>Stanley Mills</b> , cotton mill and planned village, 1784, laid out by the factor to the Duke of Atholl. By 1831, 2,000 people lived there. <b>Bridge of Tilt</b> , Blair Atholl, planned village for 300 estate workers, 1822. <b>Bankfoot, Waterloo</b> and <b>Carniehill</b> planned villages, 1815.	No.	Folklore account suggests Waterloo was for disbanded soldiers and/or soldiers' widows.
	Buccleuch	2nd	Scott	Francis	1695-1751	Montagu House, Great Russell Street	16[ ]-1751	<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montagu_House,_Bloomsbury">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montagu_House,_Bloomsbury</a>		KT 1725	Bowhill House, Selkirk (1708) (neo-classical). Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfries (Neo-classical castle, Glendenning, etc. <i>History of Scottish Architecture</i> , p. 85); Boughton House, Northamptonshire; Dalkeith Palace, Midlothian (Palladian).		No.	Montagu House sold to the British Museum to be its first home 1759. Chiefs of Clan Scott.

Imagined Monarchy: Constructing North Britain, 1746-1830  
Sovereignty Directory

DUKES

Entry	Duke	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/ village	Army/Navy	Comments
	<b>Buccleuch</b>	3rd	Scott	Henry	1746-1812	(1) Brook Street; (2) 20-21 Grosvenor Square (1767-1771) improvements were undertaken by William Chambers, who had already renovated Lord Abercorn's house across North Audley Street. 1778 architect George Steuart attended to repairs. (3) Montague House Whitehall	(1) 1762; (2) 1767	GNMB 1796; (2) <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/henry-scott-3rd-duke-of-buccleuch-1746-1812">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/henry-scott-3rd-duke-of-buccleuch-1746-1812</a> ; (3) <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montagu_House,_Whitehall">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montagu_House,_Whitehall</a>	1768 1747-63	KT 1726; Lord Lieutenant of Midlothian, 1794-1812; of Roxburghshire, 1804-12	Dalkeith developments: Stables by Wm Adam 1740s; Montague Bridge 1792 by Robt Adam; Entrance gates and lodge 1794 by Robt Adam. Palladian.	<b>Newcastleton</b> , 1793, geometrically planned weaving village. <b>Denholm</b> , c. 1799.	No.	
	<b>Buccleuch</b>	4th	Montagu-Scott	Charles William Henry	1772-1819	(1) Montagu House, Whitehall (Privy Gdns); (2) Bute House, 75 South Audley Street	(1) 1796; (2) 1812-9	(1) LoPC 1796; (2) SoL, South Audley Street: West Side	1793-1807	KT 1812; Lord Lieutenant of Selkirkshire, 1774-7; of Dumfriesshire, 1797-1819; of Midlothian, 1812-19	ditto		No.	
	<b>Buccleuch</b>	5th	Montagu-Douglas-Scott	Walter	1806-84	ditto				KT 1830; PC 1842; Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal 1842-6; Lord Lieutenant of Midlothian, 1828-84	ditto		M - Colonel of Queen's E'burgh Light Infantry Militia	
	<b>Douglas</b>	1st	Douglas	Archibald	1694-1761						Douglas Castle, South Lanarkshire. Afer its destruction by fire, the Duke commissioned Robert Adam to rebuild, which he bgan in a classical form, castellated with turrets on four corners. Work was interrupted by the the Duke's death but carried on by his nephew, Archibald Douglas, 1st Baron Douglas.		V - Served at Sheriffmuir (1715)	On his death, inheritance was contented in the 'Douglas Cause' - see 1st Baron Douglas.
	<b>Gordon</b>	2nd	Gordon	Countess Henrietta	c. 1688-1760						Preston Hall, Midlothian, Palladian by Robert Mitchell (n.d.), architect. Wm Adam also worked on the house. Duchess laid out extensive parkland.		No.	
	<b>Gordon</b>	3rd	Gordon	Cosmo George	1720-52	46 Grosvenor Street (interiors by Robert Adam)	1750-2	SoL, Upper Grosvenor Street: South Side	1747-52	KT 1748	Gordon Castle, Moray		No.	Chiefs of Clan Gordon.
	<b>Gordon</b>	4th	Gordon	Alexander	1743-1827	(1) 46 Grosvenor Street; (2) Pall Mall (grandest parties held here); (3) St James's Square	(1) 1765-80; (2) 1787 onwards		1767-84	KT 1775; Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland 1794-1827.	Rebuilt Gordon Castle 1769 by John Baxter. Neo-classical.	<b>Huntly</b> redeveloped as a planned town on grid-iron layout. <b>Tomintoul</b> , 1775. <b>Fochabers</b> established 1776. <b>Port Gordon</b> (now <b>Buckie</b> ), planned fishing village, 1797. [ <b>Ballater</b> ?] <b>Kingussie</b> , 1780 inc. Duke of Gordon inn as a horse changing stop, early 19th century. <b>Garmouth</b> (Kingston), 1784, established by lease to two English timber merchants (Ralph Dodsworth, Wm Bourne and Thomas Hustwick (Barrett, The Making of a Scottish Landscape: Moray's Regular Revolution). <b>Insh</b> , 1828.	F - Gordon Fencibles. A - Raised 92nd Gordon Highlanders	Moved to London with Duchess, 1787.
	<b>Gordon</b>	5th	Gordon	George	1770-1836	Belgrave Square (died there)			1806-7	PC 1830; Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1828-30. Lord Lieutenant of Aberdeenshire, n.d.	ditto		A - Colonel of 92nd Gordon Highlanders	From 1796, Colonel in Chief of the 92nd Highlanders (Gordons) and then (1806) of the 42nd Black Watch. Governor of E'burgh Castle, 1834-6. Monument to his memory erected in 1839, by Wm Burn, 80 feet tall on Lady Hill, Elgin.

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**DUKES**

Entry	Duke	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/ village	Army/Navy	Comments
	<b>Hamilton</b>	6th	Hamilton	James	1724-58	49 Grosvenor Street	1745-7	SoL, Grosvenor Street, South Side		KT 1755	Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire (remodelled by James Smith 1690s) (Palladian). Chatelherault park, hunting lodge, Hamilton, 1734 by Wm Adam (Palladian).		No.	Chiefs of Clan Hamilton. Hamilton Old Parish Church by Wm Adam 1732.
	<b>Hamilton</b>	7th	Hamilton	James	1755-69			Family home 1712 onwards			ditto		No.	Died aged 14
	<b>Hamilton</b>	8th	Hamilton	Douglas	1756-99	St James's Square		Family home 1712 onwards		KT 1786	ditto		No.	James, <i>Literary and Historical Memorials of London</i> , I, p. 112.
	<b>Hamilton</b>	9th	Hamilton	Archibald	1740-1819	St James's Square		<a href="https://www.nts.org.uk/stories/alexander-10th-duke-of-hamilton-1767-1852">https://www.nts.org.uk/stories/alexander-10th-duke-of-hamilton-1767-1852</a>		Lord Lieutenant of Lanarkshire	ditto		No.	
	<b>Hamilton</b>	10th	Hamilton	Alexander	1767-1852	St James's Square		<a href="https://www.nts.org.uk/stories/alexander-10th-duke-of-hamilton-1767-1852">https://www.nts.org.uk/stories/alexander-10th-duke-of-hamilton-1767-1852</a>	1802-6	Lord Lieutenant of Lanarkshire, KG 1836	ditto		No.	
	<b>Montrose</b>	2nd	Graham	William	1712-90	39/41 Grosvenor Street (between Gros. Square and Davies Street)	1743-90	SoL, Upper Grosvenor Street, South Side <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/william-graham-marquess-of-graham-later-2nd-duke-of-montrose-1712-1790">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/william-graham-marquess-of-graham-later-2nd-duke-of-montrose-1712-1790</a>					A - Briefly.	Died at Twickenham.
	<b>Montrose</b>	3rd	Graham	James	1755-1836	28 (formerly 25) Grosvenor Square	1796	LoPC; <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/james-graham-3rd-duke-of-montrose-1755-1836">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/james-graham-3rd-duke-of-montrose-1755-1836</a>	1781-90	KT 1793; KG 1812; Master of the Horse 1790-5, 1807-21; Commissioner for India, 1791-1803; Lord Justice General of Scotland, 1795-1836; Lord Chamberlain (king) 1821-7, 1828-30; Lord Lieutenant of Stirlingshire, 1794-1836; of Dunbartonshire, 1813-36.	Mugdock Castle, Dunbartonshire, Buchanan Auld House, Stirlingshire.		No.	See Biographical Notes
	<b>Queensberry</b>	3rd	Douglas	Charles	1698-1778	Burlington Gardens	1762	GNMB 1762			Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1761; Lord Justice General, 1763.			
	<b>Queensberry</b>	4th	Douglas	William	1724-1810	138 Piccadilly	1796	LoPC 1796			KT 1763; Lord of the Bedchamber 1760; Lord Lieutenant of Dumfries		No.	
	<b>Roxburghe</b>	3rd	Ker	John	1740-1804	(1) Roxburghe House, Hanover Square (later Harewood House) remodelled by Robt Adam 1776-8; (2) St James's Square	(1) 1740; (2) 1796-1804	(1) <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Ker,_3rd_Duke_of_Roxburghe">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Ker,_3rd_Duke_of_Roxburghe</a> ; <a href="https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/master-works-n08964/lot.5.html">https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/master-works-n08964/lot.5.html</a> ; (2) <a href="https://wellcomecollection.org/works/u69sg9wz">https://wellcomecollection.org/works/u69sg9wz</a> ; Bolton, <i>Architecture of Robert and James Adam</i> , II, p. 86.		Lord Justice General (CCC 1764); KT 1768; KG 1801; Lord of the Bedchamber 1767; Groom of the Stone (king) 1796-1804	Floors Castle, Roxburghshire (1720s, Wm Adam to a design by Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726) who designed Blenheim and Castle Howard). (Neo-classical/castle revival.)	<b>Kelso</b> , fine continental-style square of Georgian buildings, dominated by the Town Hall on land donated by the Duke who also provided the majority of the building funding. Hotel rebuilt by London Scot, from Kelso, James Dickson, former a saddler's apprentice who ran away and became a wealthy merchant in London before returning to Kelso. Kelso important publishing centre (printer James Bannatyne born there), Scott's <i>Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border</i> published there and Scott dedicated an edition in manuscript to the Duke of Roxburghe. (1802).	No.	Engaged to Christina of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, sister of Queen Charlotte, cancelled on political grounds and rewarded by George III for the personal sacrifice in not proceeding with the marriage. Book collectors, 10,000 books sold on his death. Close friend of George III and Queen Charlotte. Noted bibliophile, auction of his library on death led to formation of Roxburghe Club.
	<b>Roxburghe</b>	4th	Bellenden-Ker	William	1728-1805	ditto							A - Captain 25th	
	<b>Roxburghe</b>	5th	Innes-Ker	James	1736-1823	ditto			1818-20				No.	
	<b>Roxburghe</b>	6th	Innes-Ker	James	1818-79	ditto				KT 1840; Lieutenant General, Royal Company of Archers			No.	
	<b>Sutherland</b>	1st	Duke	See Marquess of Stafford										
<b>Total</b>			<b>30</b>			<b>25</b>				<b>23</b>				

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**MARQUESESSES**

Entry	Marquess	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer	MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/village	Army/Navy	Comments
	<b>Abercorn</b>	1st	Hamilton	John	1756-1818	Grosvenor Square	1796	LoPC 1796		1781-?	KG, 1805			No	Successor to 8th Earl of Abercorn.
	<b>Annandale</b>	3rd	Vanden-Bempde	George	1720-92	Address not found.								No	Title extinct on his death.
	<b>Bute</b>	1st	Stuart	John	1744-1814	(1) Hill Street; (2) Bute House, South Audley Street	(1) 1796; (2) 1800-12	(1) LoPC 1796; (2) SoL, South Audley Street: West Side		1766-76	PC, 1779. Lord Lieutenant of Buteshire.	Mount Stuart, Isle of Bute.		No	
	<b>Bute</b>	2nd	Crichton-Stuart	John	1793-1848	(1) Whitehall; (2) Bute House, Kensington	(1) 1825; (2) 1830	(1) BIC 1825; (2) SoL, Phillimore Estate		1790-4	Lord Lieutenant of Buteshire	Acquired Dumfries House on death of Earl of Dumfries in 1803		No	
	<b>Graham</b>		Graham	James (4th Duke of Montrose)	1799-1874	35 Belgrave Square			N/A	N/A	Vice Chamberlain of the Household (king) 1821-7; Lord Steward of the Household, 1852			No	
	<b>Huntly</b>	8th	Gordon	See 5th Duke of Gordon											
	<b>Huntly</b>	9th	Gordon	George	1761-1853	(1) 20 Charles Street, Berkeley Square; (2) Chapel Street, Berkeley Square	(1) 1811; (2) family home at death	(1) BIC 1811; (2) ODNB		1796-1806; 1807-18	KT 1827	Aboyne Castle, Aboyne (castle/tower house)		A - Colonel in Chief 92nd Gordon Highlanders; Colonel of the 42nd; Colonel of Aberdeen Militia.	
	<b>Lothian</b>	3rd	Kerr	William	c.1690-1767	43 Upper Brook Street	1750-5	SoL, Upper Brook Street: South Side			Lord High Commissioner, 1732-8; KT 1734; Lord Clerk Register, 1739-56.			No	
	<b>Lothian</b>	4th	Kerr	William Henry	1712-75	Berkeley Square	1762	GNMB 1762	1768-74	1747-63	KT 1768; Groom of the Bedchamber to Duke of Cumberland	Newbattle Abbey (stately home, remodelled Neo-classical/castle revival), Midlothian (visited by Geo IV in 1822 for which the King's Gate was built). 1650 remodelling by mason John Mylne (1611-67), Master Mason to the Crown in Scotland, great-great grandfather of Robert Mylne (1733-1811) (Blackfriars Bridge architect).	AC - General, 1770		
	<b>Lothian</b>	5th	Kerr	Gen Wm John	1737-1815	Address not found.				1778-90	KT 1776			AC - Colonel 2nd Royal North British Dragoons	
	<b>Lothian</b>	6th	Kerr	William	1763-1824	Address not found.				1817-1824	KT 1820; Lord Lieutenant of Roxburghshire from 1812; Lord Lieutenant of Midlothian from 1819			M - Colonel of Edinburgh Militia, 1811-24	
	<b>Lothian</b>	7th	Kerr	John Wm Robert	1794-1841	Address not found.				1820-4	PC, 1841			M - Colonel of Edinburgh Militia	
	<b>Stafford</b>		Leveson-Gower	George Granville	1758-1833	1 Cleveland Square	1811	BIC 1811			Lord Lieutenant of Sutherland, 1794-1830				Married to Countess of Sutherland (see under Earls)
	<b>Tweeddale</b>	4th	Hay	John	1695-1762	59 Grosvenor Street	1744-62; widow - 1778	SoL, Grosvenor Street: South Side			Secretary of State for Scotland, 1742-6; Keeper of the Signet; PC; Lord Justice General, 1761-2			No.	
	<b>Tweeddale</b>	5th	Hay	George	1758-70	ditto								Not known	



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MARQUESESSES

Entry	Marquess	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer	MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/village	Army/Navy	Comments
	<b>Tweeddale</b>	6th	Hay	George	1700-87	ditto							<b>Gifford</b> , East Lothian, planned village. 1760s.	Not known	
	<b>Tweeddale</b>	7th	Hay	George	1753-1804	Resident in London but address not found.			1796-1804		Lord Lieutenant of Haddingtonshire	Yester House, East Lothian (Palladian by James Smith and Wm Adam, 1730s, Robt and John, 1761).	ditto	N - East India Company	
	<b>Tweeddale</b>	8th	Hay	George	1787-1876	Resident in London but address not found.			1818-76		KT 1820	Colonial administrator, Commander-in-Chief Madras, India		AC - Field Marshall; Colonel of 30th, 42nd Black Watch, 2nd Life	
	<b>Queensberry</b>	6th	Douglas	Charles	1777-1837	St James's Place	Family home at death	<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Douglas,_6th_Marquess_of_Queensberry">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Douglas,_6th_Marquess_of_Queensberry</a>	1812-32		KT 1821; Gentleman of the Bedchamber (William IV)	Kinmount House, Dumfries (Greek Revival by Sir Robert Smirke (1780-67) assisted by Wm Burn (1789-1870).		No.	
		<b>19</b>			<b>18</b>					<b>15</b>					

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**EARLS**

Entry	Earl	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/village	Army/Navy	Comments
	<b>Abercorn</b>	8th	Hamilton	James	1712-89	Cavendish Square	1862	GNMB 1762	1761-87		Duddingston House, Edinburgh (designed by Sir Wm Chambers 1760, Palladian).Landscaped by Capability Brown.	New Town of <b>Paisley</b> . <b>New Kilpatrick</b> , early 18th century.	No	Duddingston House let after Earl's death. Tenants included Francis Edward Rawdon-Hastings, 1st Marquess of Hastings.
	<b>Abercorn</b>	9th	Hamilton	See 1st Marquess of Abercorn										
	<b>Aberdeen</b>	3rd	Gordon	George	1722-1801	15 Hill Street, Mayfair	1759	CCR 1759	1747-61; 1774-90		Haddow House, A'deenshire by Wm Adam, 1732 (Palladian).	New Town of <b>Ellon</b> , inc. new bridge (1793), Tolbooth, Inn and Church (1776).	No	Rebuilt Ellon Castle, 1780s and installed his mistress there.
	<b>Aberdeen</b>	4th	Gordon	George Hamilton	1784-1860	Argyll House, Argyll Street	1808-1860	BHO, Survey of London, Argyll Street Area	1806-18	KT 1808; PC 1814; First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister), 1852.	ditto		No	Acquired Argyll House from 6th Duke of Argyll
	<b>Aboyne</b>	4th	Gordon	Charles	1726-94	Address not found					Aboyne Castle, Aberdeenshire			Edinburgh town house in St Andrew's Square.
	<b>Aboyne</b>	5th	Gordon	See 9th Marquess of Huntly			1811							
	<b>Airlie</b>	8th	Ogilvy	Walter	1733-1819	Address not found					Airlie Castle (modified 1792 as Neo-classical mansion house) and Cortachy Castle (modified 1820, Tower house), <b>Angus</b>	New Town of <b>Alyth</b> , 1786, including Airlie Street. Important for linen industry.	No	
	<b>Airlie</b>	9th	Ogilvy	David	1785-1849	Regent Street	c. 1825	William Wilson, <i>The House of Airlie</i> (London, 1924), pp. 244-5.		Lord Lieutenant of Angus, 1828-49	ditto		A - Captain	Slave owner.
	<b>Annandale</b>	5th	Hope-Johnstone	See 3rd Earl of Hopetoun										
	<b>Balcarres</b>	5th	Lindsay	James	1691-1768	Address not found					Balcarres House, Fife (Neo-classical, remodelled 1836 by Wm Burn); Haigh Hall, Wigan	<b>Colinsburgh</b> - landed gifted by Earl A and N of B. in 1705. New roads, 1790.	A and N	Jacobite 1715
	<b>Balcarres</b>	6th	Lindsay	Alexander	1752-1825	(1) 59 Welbeck Street; (2) 14 Lower Berkeley Street	(1) 1811; (2) 1825	(1) BIC 1811; (2) <a href="https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/lindsay-james-1791-1855">https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/lindsay-james-1791-1855</a>	1784-96; 1802-25		Sold Balcarres House to younger brother, 1789.		AC - General	Balcarres Tower, folly, erected 1820, Gothic tower surrounded by mock ruins, within parkland. Founded Haigh Ironworks, Lancashire.
	<b>Balcarres</b>	7th	Lindsay	See 24th Earl of Crawford										
	<b>Breadalbane</b>	3rd	Campbell	John	1696-1782	Piccadilly	1762	GNMB 1762	1752-68; 1727-46	Master of the Jewel Office 1745-56	Balloch Castle, replaced in 1806 by Taymouth Castle (Neo-Gothic).	Model village of <b>Kenmore</b> , 1760, bridge 1774.	No	
	<b>Breadalbane</b>	4th	Campbell	Colonel John	1762-1834	Chandos Street, Cavendish Square	1796	LoPC 1796	1784-1806	Counsellor of State to the Prince of Wales in Scotland 1806	ditto		AC - Lt General; F - Raised Breadalbane Fencibles.	Became Marquess of Breadalbane in 1831
	<b>Buchan</b>	10th	Erskine	Henry	1710-67	Address not found					Banff Castle, by John Adam, 1750. Middleton Hall, Uphall. Neo-classical villa.		No	Father of Thomas Erskine, 1st Baron Erskine - see Barons.
	<b>Buchan</b>	11th	Erskine	David Stuart	1742-1829	Visited London frequently, resided Edinburgh					Kirkhill House, Broxburn (remodelled, 1770, Tower house).		No	Brother of Lord Erskine. Founder of Royal Society of Antiquaries in Scotland. Member of London Society of Antiquaries. Frequent correspondent with George III. Built an astronomical pillar at Broxburn.
	<b>Bute</b>	3rd	Stuart	John	1713-1792	South Audley Street	1754-92	SoL, South Audley Street: West Side	1761-80	KT, 1738; KG 1762; Lord of the Bedchamber (Prince of Wales) 1750; Groom of the Stole (Prince of Wales) 1751-60; Keeper of the Privy Purse (King) 1760-3; Groom of the Stole 1760-1; First Lord of the Treasury (de facto Prime Minister), 1762-3	Mount Stuart, Isle of Bute (by Alexander McGill 1719, Palladian, burnt down 1877 and replaced); Kenwood House, Highgate to which Bute added the Orangery (Russell, p. 26) and sold to Lord Mansfield 1754; Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire (purchased 1763).		No	
	<b>Caithness</b>	11th	Sinclair	John	1757-89	Soldier, married in Marylebone. Address not found					Castle of Mey, Caithness		A - Lt Colonel	Committed suicide in London, buried Marylebone Parish Church, Westminster.

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EARLS

Entry	Earl	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/village	Army/Navy	Comments	
	<b>Caithness</b>	12th	Sinclair	James	1766-n.d	Address not found			1807-18	Lord Lieutenant of Caithness	Castle of Mey, Caithness, Tutor-Gothic alterations by Wm Burn, 1821.		M - Lt Colonel, Ross-shire Militia		
	<b>Cassilis</b>	9th	Kennedy	Thomas	1726-1775	Address not found			1774-5		Culzean Castle, Ayrshire.		A - Captain		
	<b>Cassilis</b>	10th	Kennedy	David	1734-92	15 Park Street	1776-83	SoL, Park Street, West Side	1776-90		Ordered rebuilding of Culzean Castle (Robert Adam 1777-92) Neo-classical/castle revival.		No	Maybole parish church 1808 on the town's most prestigious street, Cassilis Street.	
	<b>Cassilis</b>	11th	Kennedy	Archibald	1720-94	Address not found					ditto		N - Commander-in-Chief of the North American Station, 1766-8		
	<b>Cassilis</b>	12th	Kennedy	Archibald	1770-1846	Privy Gardens, Whitehall	1811	BIC 1811	1796-1806	KT 1821; Counsellor of State to the Prince of Wales in Scotland	Later London house, St Margaret's, gave name to the area, Twickenham		No	Wife Margaret inherited the House of Dun, Angus, a Wm Adam mansion as illustrated in <i>Vitruvius Scoticus</i> .	
	<b>Cathcart</b>	1st	Cathcart	William	1755-1843	Albemarle Street	1798	CCR 1798	1752-76;1788 - 12	Vice-Admiral Scotland, 1795; KT 1805, PC 1798. Lord Lieutenant of Clackmannanshire		New village of <b>Newtonshaw</b> , present day Sauchie, Alloa, early 1700s..	AC - General		
	<b>Cawdor</b>	1st	Campbell	John	1790-1860	Address not found			1813-21				No	Son of 1st Baron Cawdor, John Campbell - see Barons.	
	<b>Crawford</b>	22nd	Lindsay-Crawford	George	1758-1808	Address not found				Lord Lieutenant of Fife	Crawford Lodge (built 1758). Gothic revival.		AC - Major General	Educated at Eton. Army career. One of the most ancient extant titles, created 1398.	
	<b>Crawford</b>	24th	Lindsay	James	1783-1869	South Audley Street	[1820-5]	<a href="https://www.lyonandturnbull.com/news/article/european-works-of-art-from-balcarres-house/">https://www.lyonandturnbull.com/news/article/european-works-of-art-from-balcarres-house/</a>	1820-5		ditto		A - Major	Baron of Wigan 1826. Built Haigh Hall 1827. Slave owner.	
	<b>Dalhousie</b>	8th	Ramsay	George	1730-1787	Address not found			1774-87	Lord High Commissioner, 1777-82	Dalhousie Castle, Dalkeith (17th century, Baronial).		No	Chief of Clan Ramsay. Leased Dalhousie House, Edinburgh, to Adam Smith (1723-90) who lived there until his death.	
	<b>Dalhousie</b>	9th	Ramsay	George	1770-1838	Address not found			1807-18	Governor General, North America, 1820-8			A - General, Commander-in-Chief in India	Governor General of North America, 1816-20. Created Baron Dalhousie (UK) 1815	
	<b>Dumfries</b>	6th	McDouall-Crichton	Patrick McDouall	1726-1803	(1) Cumberland Place, Oxford Street; (2) Clarges Street	(1) 1796; (2) n.d.	(1) LoPC 1796; (2) <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/patrick-mcdouall-crichton-6th-earl-of-dumfries-1726-1803">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/patrick-mcdouall-crichton-6th-earl-of-dumfries-1726-1803</a>	1790-1803		Dumfries House, built 1750 by John and Robert Adam. Palladian.		No	Mentioned in Boswell's <i>Journals</i> .	
	<b>Dumfries</b>	7th	Crichton-Stuart	See 2nd Marquess of Bute											
	<b>Dundonald</b>	7th	Cochrane	William	1729-58	Address not found					Dundonald Castle (medieval, ruin).		A - Captain	Army, served in N. America.	
	<b>Dundonald</b>	8th	Cochrane	Thomas	1691-1778	Address not found			1722-7		ditto		A - Major	Hanoverian 1745.	
	<b>Dundonald</b>	9th	Cochrane	Archibald	1775-1831	8 Chesterfield Street, Mayfair		<a href="https://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/archive/83884905">https://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/archive/83884905</a>				ditto		A and N - Rank not known	
	<b>Dundonald</b>	10th	Cochrane	Thomas	1775-1860	Hanover Lodge, Outer Circle Regent's Park	1832-45	<a href="https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/thomas-cochrane/">https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/thomas-cochrane/</a>	1807-18		ditto		NC - Rear Admiral	Admiral Cochrane highly successful officer in the Royal Navy, a less-successful politician, and key early leader of several navies of newly independent countries.	
	<b>Dunmore</b>	4th	Murray	John	1730-1809	Address not found		GNMB 1762 blank; CCC 1764 'in Scotland'.	1761-74; 1776-90		Added Dunmore Pineapple folly (hothouse), 1761, in the walled garden of Dunmore Park.	Model village of <b>Dunmore</b> created by 4th Earl of Dunmore for estate workers on Dunmore Park and others, including miners and salmon fishermen.	A - Rank not known	Colonial Governor, N. America and Bahamas. Earls owned most of Airth, a Royal Burgh, with harbour	

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Entry	Earl	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer	MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/village	Army/Navy	Comments
	<b>Dunmore</b>	5th	Murray	George	1762-1836	Address not found				1800-2		Dunmore Park, Dunmore, 1822 by William Wilkins (1778-1839). Tudor Gothic. (See Wilkins under Earl of Rosebery)		No	Created Baron Dunmore 1831. Model village improvements to Airth, later (1840s).
	<b>Dysart</b>	4th	Tollemache	Lionel	1707-70	New Burlington Street, St James's					KT 1743			No	Dysart was a royal burgh, known as 'Little Holland' for the Dutch influence in its buildings due to the ship owners who moved there.
	<b>Dysart</b>	5th	Tollemache	Lionel	1734-99	Whitehall	1746-50	SoL.				Ham House, Ham, Richmond, 1698-1949. Also Helmingham Hall, Suffolk.		No	
	<b>Dysart</b>	6th	Tollemache	Wilbraham	1739-1821	Address not found				1771-84				No	
	<b>Dysart</b>	7th	Tollemache Manners	Countess Louisa	1745-1840	Burlington Street		GNMB 1762, CCC 1764.						N/A	Educated South Audley Street, Mayfair
	<b>Eglinton</b>	10th	Montgomerie	Alexander	1723-69	Queen Street, Mayfair	1762	Boswell, <i>Journals</i> , p. 10, n. 4	1761-9		Lord of the Bedchamber (king) 1760-7	Eglinton Castle, Ayrshire, built 1797-1802. Neo-classical/Gothic.	Model village of <b>Eaglesham</b> , 1769 commenced by 10th Earl and continued by 11th, originally laid out on the plan of a capital 'A' for Alexander. Displaced agricultural workers employed as weavers. Cotton mill added 1791.	No	Murdered by Mungo Campbell, shot on the beach nr Ardrossan.
	<b>Eglinton</b>	11th	Montgomerie	Archibald	1726-96	Piccadilly	1764	CCC 1764	1776-96	1761-9	Equerry to Queen Charlotte, 1761; Deputy Ranger of St James's Park and Deputy Ranger of Hyde Park, 1766. Lord Lieutenant of Ayrshire, 1794-6.	ditto	ditto	AC - General	Raised Montgomery's Highlanders; Col of Royal Scots Greys 1795. Portrait of him in Windsor Castle. Patron of Robert Burns. Notable improver. Completed planned village of Eaglesham, E. Renfrewshire
	<b>Eglinton</b>	12th	Montgomerie	Hugh	1739-1819	Conduit Street	1796	LoPC 1796	1798-1806	1780-96	KT 1812; Counsellor of State to the Prince of Wales in Scotland 1806. Lord Lieutenant of Ayrshire		Remodelled <b>Ardrossan</b> as a commodious seaport, with new harbour, 1805. Built hydropathic bathing facility.	F - Raised West Lothian Fencibles, 1794	Baron Ardrossan 1806
	<b>Eglinton</b>	13th	Montgomerie	Archibald	1812-61	Address not found					KT n.d. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1852			No	Eglinton Tournament organised by 13th Earl, 1839
	<b>Elgin</b>	5th	Bruce	Charles	1732-71	Address not found					Lord of the Bedchamber (king) 1760 (qua 2nd Lord Bruce). His wife, Martha Bruce (1739-1810) was Governess to George IV's daughter, Charlotte.	Broomhall, Charlestown, Dunfermline, modified by John Adam 1766.		No	Supplied building mortar for E'burgh New Town, from Charlestown Kilns
	<b>Elgin</b>	6th	Bruce	William Robert	1764-1771	Address not found						ditto	<b>Charlestown</b> , Fife, 1756 by the 5th Earl of Elgin. Laid out in the shape of the letters C and E for Charles Elgin, harbour town to ship coal from his mines. One of the earliest industrialised model villages. Also lime kilns.	No	
	<b>Elgin</b>	7th	Bruce	Thomas	1766-1841	Seymour Place, Mayfair		CCC 1798.	1790-1807	1790-1840	KT; Treasurer to the Queen; Commander Royal Co. of Archers during George IV's 1822 visit.	Remodelled Greek Revival (Neo-classical), by Thomas Harrison (English architect) intended to display the Elgin Marbles.		AC - Lt General. F - Raised Fencible regiment	Procured Elgin Marbles from Parthenon. Died in Paris 1841. Created Earl of Aylesbury.

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	<b>Erroll</b>	14th	Hay	Countess Mary	n.d.-1758	Resident in Scotland.				Hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland and Knight Marischal of Scotland, the Senior Great Officer among the Royal Officers of Scotland and Chief of the King's Household in Scotland.	Slains Castle, Cruden Bay, Aberdeenshire (Medieval castle, ruin from 1925.Callendar House, Falkirk (14th century, Tower house).		N/A	Inherited title in 1717 on the death of her unmarried brother, Charles Hay, 13th Earl of Erroll. She predeceased her husband, Hay married Alexander Falconer of Delgaty (1682–1745), an advocate and son of Sir David Falconer, Lord President of the Court of SessionActed as a secret agent for the Jacobite court. Sister of James Drummond, titular 3rd Duke of Perth (1713-46), a committed Jacobite in the '45 who
	<b>Erroll</b>	15th	Hay (formerly Boyd)	James	1726-78	Address not found			1770-8	ditto	ditto		A - No rank	
	<b>Erroll</b>	16th	Hay	George	1767-98	Grenier's Hotel, Jermyn Street		<i>Aberdeen Press &amp; Journal</i> , 26 June 1798	1796-98		ditto		A - Colonel	Educated at Harrow.
	<b>Erroll</b>	17th	Hay	William	1772-1819	Address not found			1806-7; 1818-9	Lord High Commissioner, 1817-9; Knight Marischal, 1805	ditto	St Olaf's parish church of <b>Erroll</b> , 1786. Schoolhouse, early 1800s.	No	
	<b>Erroll</b>	18th	Hay	William	1801-1846	Portman Square, Marylebone	1846	<a href="https://familypedia.fandom.com/wiki/William_George_Hay,_18th_Earl_of_Erroll_(1801-1846)">https://familypedia.fandom.com/wiki/William_George_Hay,_18th_Earl_of_Erroll_(1801-1846)</a>	1823-31	Lord of the Bedchamber (king) 1823; KT. Lord Lieutenant of Aberdeenshire, 1836-46	ditto	Model fishing village of <b>Port Erroll</b> at Cruden Bay, 1840s. Church (1786).	Not known	Married Lady Elizabeth Fitz Clarence, illegitimate daughter of Wm IV, 1820.
	<b>Fife</b>	1st	Duff	William Robert	1697-1763	Address not found			1727-34		Duff House, Banff, built 1735-40 by Wm Adm. Neo-classical, Palladian.		No	Banff, a royal burgh, extended with 'Upper Town' in neo-classical style, including Fife House (to accommodate visitors to Duff House), court house, town house.
	<b>Fife</b>	2nd	Duff	James	1729-1809	Whitehall	1796	LoPC		Lord Lieutenant of Banffshire	ditto	Model village and harbour of <b>Macduff</b> , 1783 and connected to Banff by a 'magnificent bridge' (1845 Gazetteer). Longmanhill, 1822.	No	Purchased c. 1761 Fife House, Whitehall, redesigned by Robert and James Adam, 1766. Agricultural improver. From 1750, planted 7,000 acres of trees, to provide for the population wood as alternative to more costly coal. Contributed to Annals of Agriculture.
	<b>Fife</b>	3rd	Duff	Alexander	1731-1811						ditto		No	
	<b>Fife</b>	4th	Duff	James	1776-1857	St James's Palace lodgings	1819, 1827	Royal Household		KT 1827; Lord of the Bedchamber (king) 1819, 1827. Lord Lieutenant of Banff, 1813-56	ditto	James Duff, Earl of Fife, in 1817 founded <b>Fife-Keith</b> . It was developed and planned in a formal arrangement around a central square, now Regent Square. It was originally going to be named Waterloo. Also <b>Dufftown</b> , 1817.	No; but did join the Spanish army.	Monumental clock tower a feature in the centre of Dufftown.
	<b>Findlater (also Earl of Seafield)</b>	6th	Ogilvy	James	1714-70					Lord Vice Admiral in Scotland (CCC 1764)	Cullen House, Moray (see below under Earl of Seafield).		No	In 1750 the Earl of Findlater decided to extend <b>Keith</b> eastwards and set about planning this new town with a layout of one central square and four parallel streets interlinked with a series of lanes- known as the 'grid iron' plan. This planned town gave Keith the distinction of being the first planned town in the North East of Scotland. Model village of <b>Rothes</b> , established 1766 by the Earl.
	<b>Findlater (also Earl of Seafield)</b>	7th	Ogilvy	James	1750-1811	9 New Palace Yard	1811	BIC 1811	1802-32			Model village of <b>Bishopmill</b> .	No	Accomplished amateur landscape architect. Promoted British landscaping in Europe. Earldom of Findlater extinct on his death. Earldom of Seafield continued.

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	<b>Galloway</b>	6th	Stewart	Alexander	1694-1773	Brook Street (east end, between Avery Row and Bond Street)		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/james-stewart-5th-earl-of-galloway-1673-1746-alexander-stewart-6th-earl-of-galloway-c-1694-1773">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/james-stewart-5th-earl-of-galloway-1673-1746-alexander-stewart-6th-earl-of-galloway-c-1694-1773</a>							House adjoining to the east occupied by George Frederic Handel (1685-1759).
	<b>Galloway</b>	7th	Stewart	John	1736-1806	Piccadilly. In 1775 built new house at 29 Charles Street, Westminster	1764	CCC 1764. BHO, Charles II Street	1774-90	1761-73	Lord Lieutenant of Kirkcudbrightshire, 1803-6; KT 1775; Lord of the Bedchamber to George III, 1784-1806	Galloway House, 1740 by John Douglas (d. 1778), Edinburgh architect. Palladian. Built adjacent to planned village of Garlieston.	<b>Garlieston</b> , founded by 7th Earl, centre of boat building, sale and rope making. Planned village of <b>Newton Stewart</b> , Galloway.	No	
	<b>Galloway</b>	8th	Stewart		1768-1834	29 Charles Street, Westminster				1790-5, 1805-6	KT 1814. Lord Lieutenant of Kirkcudbright shire, 1794-1807, 1820-8; Lord Lieutenant of Wigtownshire, 1807-28		NC - Navy	Admiral	
	<b>Glasgow</b>	3rd	Boyle	John	1714-751	Address not found					Lord High Commissioner, 1772.	Neo-classical monument to the 3rd Earl of Glasgow erected in the grounds of Kelburn Castle. Soldier, fought at Fontenoy (1745) and Lauffeld (1747).	<b>Millport</b> , Isle of Cumbrae, late 18th century, James Crawford, commander of the revenue cutter <i>Royal George</i> , built model village on land leased from the Earl of Glasgow.	A - Captain	Neo-classical monument to the 3rd Earl of Glasgow erected in the grounds of Kelburn Castle. Soldier, fought at Fontenoy (1745) and Lauffeld (1747).
	<b>Glasgow</b>	4th	Boyle	George	1766-1843	Wimpole Street	1796	LoPC		1790-1818	Lord Lieutenant of Renfrewshire, 1817-9; Lord Lieutenant of Ayr, 1820-42	Kelburn Castle, Fairlie, Ayrshire. Tower house, extended in 1722 to form 'William and Mary' style mansion house.	No	Created Baron Ross of Hawkhead, 1815.	
	<b>Glencairn</b>	14th	Cunningham	James	1749-91	3 Chesterfield Street		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/james-cunningham-14th-earl-of-glencairn-1749-1791">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/james-cunningham-14th-earl-of-glencairn-1749-1791</a>	1780-84			Dean Castle, Kilmarnock (medieval castle) (acquired from Earl of Erroll 1751). Finlaystone House, 1764. Neo-classical.	F - Captain, Western Fencibles, 1778	Patron of Robert Burns, introduced him to publisher William Creech, Glencairn's former tutor.	
	<b>Glencairn</b>	15th	Cunningham	John	1750-96	Address not found							A - Officer (rank not found)	Sold Kilmaurs Estate to Duke of Portland, 1786. Friend and patron of Robert Burnes. Title extinct on death.	
	<b>Haddington</b>	6th	Haddington	Countess Helen (nee Hope)	1677-1768							Tynningham House, East Lothian. Scots Baronial, remodelled by Wm Burn, 1829.	Moved <b>Tynningham</b> village to make way for landscaped parkland.	N/A	Countess responsible for the layout of the parks which survives today, including avenues, plantations, and the 400 acres (160 ha) Binning Wood. Inspired by his wife to become a noted agricultural improver, the Earl wrote a book, <i>A Treatise on the Manner of Raising Forest Trees</i> , published in 1761.
	<b>Haddington</b>	7th	Haddington (or Baillie)	Thomas	1721-94	Abroad and Scotland						Mellerstain, House, Kelso by Wm and Robert Adam, 1725-78. Only remaining complete Robert Adam house. See Bolton, <i>Works of Robt and James Adam</i> , II, pp. 252-62.	Not known	Branch of Hamilton family. Succeeded to Mellerstain on death of his aunt.	
	<b>Haddington</b>	8th	Haddington	Charles	1753-1828	5 Chesterfield Street, Mayfair	1811	BIC 1811		1807-12	Hereditary Keeper of Holyrood Park; Lord Lieutenant of East Lothian		No	Controversially allowed quarry of Salisbury Crags for London paving.	
	<b>Home</b>	8th	Home	William	1681-1761	37 Upper Brook Street	1753-6	SoL, Upper Brook Street: South Side			Governor of Gibraltar, 1757-61	The Hirsell, Coldstream, Berwickshire designed by Robt Adam. Extensive landscaping with walled garden., including parkland, woodland and artificial 'lake'.	AC - Lt General	Served under Cope at Prestonpans 1745. Coldstream town is origin of Coldstream Guards, a corps of Monk's army during the Civil War.	
	<b>Home</b>	8th	Home	Countess Elizabeth	1703-84	Home House, Portman Square., designed by Robert Adam.	1777-84						N/A		
	<b>Home</b>	9th	Home	Alexander	d. 1786	ditto							Not known		
	<b>Home</b>	10th	Home	Alexander	1769-1841					1807-41	Lord Lieutenant of Berwickshire, 1794-1841		M - Colonel		

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	<b>Hopetoun</b>	3rd	Hope-Johnstone	James	1741-1816	23 Albemarle Street (last on the east side where it meets Grafton Street)	c. 1787	<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/james-hope-johnstone-3rd-earl-of-hopetoun-6-1741-1816-and-elizabeth-carnegie-countess-of-hopetoun-1751-1793">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/james-hope-johnstone-3rd-earl-of-hopetoun-6-1741-1816-and-elizabeth-carnegie-countess-of-hopetoun-1751-1793</a>	1784-90 and 1794-	Lord Lieutenant of Linlithgow hire, 1794-1816	Hopetoun House by Wm Adam, originally Sir Wm Bruce, extended by Wm Adam from 1721 and interiors by John and Robert Adam. Moffat House, Moffat, Borders, by John Adam. Classical.	Bought first model village in Scotland c. 1740, <b>Ormiston</b> , East Lothian. Also, owned and planned <b>Leadhills</b> village, 1740s, supporting education for adults and children in the village. Evidence of Wm Adam design in mine manager's house. <b>Moffat</b> founded on the Earl's land c. 1790s as a spa town, becoming as famous as Bath, with a Baths Hall with Assembly Rooms and hot and cold mineral baths.	A - Ensign, 3rd Foot Guards; F - Colonel, Southern or Hopetoun Fencibles	Created Baron Hopetoun in UK peerage 1809. Brother-in-law of Henry Dundas. Leased out minerals to The Scots Mining Company (formed. c. 1716 by Sir John Erskine and group of expat Scots in London. Smout (p. 120) suggests this was first instance of a Scottish business being run entirely from London. Widely celebrated for his illuminations for royal occasion, including design by Robert Adam for the three bay facade of Albemarle Street commemorating marriage of Geo. III and Queen Charlotte. Royals regularly attended their parties. (as portrayed in John Kay's Portraits, I, 196-8. (When quartered in Dumfries in 1794, one soldier was found to be a woman under the name John Nicolson, real name Jean Clark: <i>ibid.</i> )
	<b>Hopetoun</b>	4th	Hope	John	1765-1823	ditto			Baron 1814	Lord Lieutenant of Linlithgow shire, 1816-23	ditto		AC - General	Crated Baron Niddry 1814. Died in Paris.
	<b>Hopetoun</b>	5th	Hope	John	1803-43	Address not found. Died in London.					ditto		Not known	
	<b>Hyndford</b>	3rd	Carmichael	John	1701-67	Saville Row	1756-61	SoL, Saville Row	1761-67	KT 1742; Lord High Commissioner 1739-40; Lord of the Bedchamber 1752. Vice-Admiral Scotland, 1764-7	Carmichael House, Lanarkshire. Possibly Wm Adam, n.d.. Neo-classical mansion house.		No	Friend of architect James Gibb (1682-1754). Sent to Prussia to mediate between Empress Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great. Envoy to Prussia, 1741-2; Russia, 1744-9; Vienna, 1752-64. Known agricultural improver (Scotopolis, Layers of London).
	<b>Hyndford</b>	4th	Carmichael	John	1710-87								Not known	
	<b>Hyndford</b>	5th	Carmichael	Thomas	1778-1811								A - Raeburn portrait in uniform. Rank unknown.	
	<b>Hyndford</b>	6th	Carmichael	Andrew	1758-1817								A - Captain	
	<b>Kellie</b>	6th	Erskine	Thomas Alexander	1732-1781	Grand Master of Grand Lodge in London 1760-6.					Kellie Castle. East Neuk, Fife. Scots Baronial.		No	Musician and composer. Visited Eglinton in 1763; composed popular overture for <i>Maid of the Mill</i> (Covent Garden 1765). Grand Master of Grand Lodge in London 1760-6. Earls are Hereditary Keepers of Stirling Castle.
	<b>Kellie</b>	7th	Erskine	Archibald	1736-97	Privy Gardens, Whitehall	1796	LoPC	1790-6				Not known	Family Jacobite history.
	<b>Kellie</b>	8th	Erskine	Charles	1765-99	Address not found							Not known	Cambo House owned by Earl, Victorian era build in classical architecture.
	<b>Kellie</b>	9th	Erskine	Thomas	1746-1828	Address not found			1804-28	Lord Lieutenant of Fife, 1824-8	ditto		No	British Consul for Gothenburg
	<b>Kincardine</b>	9th	Bruce	See 5th Earl of Elgin										
	<b>Kinnoull</b>	9th	Hay/Hay-Drummond	Thomas	1710-87	Address not found			1741-58	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1758-62	Dupplin Castle. Perthshire remodelled by Sir Wm Burn 1828-32 (11th Earl's era). Baronial/Jacobean (Glendenning, etc., <i>History of Scottish Architecture</i> , p. 229.		No	Earl built Aberdalgie parish church, including a laird's loft and a 'Georgian retiring room'. Brother of the Archbishop of York, Robert Hay Drummond - see Notables.

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	<b>Kinnoull</b>	10th	Hay	Robert	1751-1804	Upper Harley Street	1796	LoPC		1741-58	Lord Lyon King of Arms, 1796-1804; ditto PC, 1796			Not found	Wm Burn built the manse at Aberdalgie, 1833. Son of the Archbishop of York, Robert Hay Drummond - see Notables.
	<b>Kinnoull</b>	11th	Hay	Thomas	1785-1866						Lord Lyon King of Arms, 1804-66; Lord Lieutenant of Perthshire, 1830-66.	ditto		M - Colonel	
	<b>Kintore</b>	5th	Keith-Falconer	Anthony	1742-1804	Address not found					Lord Lieutenant of Kincardineshire, 1794-1804	Keith Hall (formerly Caskieben Castle), 16th century, extended 17th. 'Scots Renaissance' style by James Smith (1645-1731) Scottish architect (Hamilton Palace), contemporary of Sir Wm Bruce.. Grounds landscaped. Tower house.	<b>Auchinbrae</b> model village laid out in 1770 by Earl of Kintore in a T plan, incorporating original spinning mill.	No	2nd Dragoons, Scots Greys
	<b>Kintore</b>	6th	Keith-Falconer	William	1766-1812	ditto								A - Officer (rank not found)	
	<b>Kintore</b>	7th	Keith-Falconer	Anthony	1794-1844	ditto								No	
	<b>Lauderdale</b>	7th	Maitland	James	1718-89	Address not found				1747-61;1782-4		Thirlestane Castle, Borders (expanded by Wm Bruce in 17th century). Modernised with classical symmetry. Also, Haulton House, Ratho, nr E'burgh.	AC - Lt Colonel	Church by Wm Bruce designed in the form of a Greek cross, first church in Scotland which sought to be perfectly symmetrical. 2nd Earl of Lauderdale involved. Modification continued through to 1820s.	
	<b>Lauderdale</b>	8th	Maitland	James	1759-1839	25 Leicester Square	1792-9	SoL, Leicester Square, East Side: Leicester Estate		1790-6	1780-9	KT 1821; PC.1806; Counsellor to the Prince of Wales; Keeper of the Great Seal 1806.		No	Created Baron Lauderdale of Thirlestane 1806. Studied law at Lincoln's Inn, 1777.
	<b>Leven</b>	5th	Leslie	Alexander	1695-1754	Address not found				1747-54		Lord High Commissioner, 1741-53	Balgonie Castle, nr Glenrothes, Fife. Medieval castle with piecemeal extensions. Melville House, Fife, by Wm Bruce, 1697-1702, featured as plate 58 in <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> .	No	
	<b>Leven</b>	6th	Leslie	David	1722-1802	Lived in Edinburgh (Gayfield House, built 1763, Palladian villa).						Lord High Commissioner, 1783-1801		No	
	<b>Leven</b>	7th	Leslie-Melville	Alexander	1749-1820	Address not found				1806-7				No	
	<b>Lindsay</b>	5th and 6th	Lindsay-Crawford	See Earls of Crawford											
	<b>Loudon</b>	4th	Campbell	John	1705-82	Privy Gardens, Whitehall		1762 SoL, Whitehall I. Houses in the Bowling Green				Rowallan Castle, Kilmaurs, Ayrshire. Tower house (medieval).	In 1752, establishes new model village of <b>Darvel</b> , Ayrshire to provide homes for agricultural workers displaced by improvement. By 1819, the pop. was 1,800. Textile industry was created. Town Hall, Hotel and Inn.	AC - General, Commander-in-Chief in the Seven Years War.	Soldier, rose to General. Commander-in-Chief of forces in N. America during Seven Years War. Governor of E'burgh Castle, 1763-82.
	<b>Loudon</b>	5th	Mure-Campbell	James Mure	1726-86	Privy Gardens, Whitehall	1762	GNMB		1754-61		ditto		AC - Major General	
	<b>Loudon</b>	6th	Mure-Campbell	Countess Flora	1780-1840	St James's Place	1798	CCR 1798				Loudoun Castle, Ayrshire. Medieval, now ruined. Commissioned in 1807 by the Countess, architect Archibald Elliot (1761-1823). Castle Revival.		N/A	Married Francis Edward Rawdon-Hastings, 1st Marquess of Hastings. Daughter was a Lady Flora Elizabeth was Lady of the Bedchamber to Duchess of Kent and Strahearn (1786-1861), mother of Queen Victoria.
	<b>Mansfield</b>	1st	Murray	William	1705-93	Bloomsbury Square	1762	GNMB 1762				Solicitor General (England and Wales) 1742-54; Attorney General, 1754-6; Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1756-88.	Kenwood House, Highgate/Hampstead.	No	Born, Scone Palace, Perthshire. Died at Hampstead.



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	<b>Mansfield</b>	2nd	Murray	David	1727-96				1754-96	PC 1763, KT 1768; Lord Justice General, 1778-95; Lord President of the Council, 1794-6	Scone Palace, Perthshire.		No	ditto. Nephew of Lord Mansfield and son of Viscount Stormont. Inherited Kenwood House.
	<b>Mansfield</b>	3rd	Murray	David William	1777-1840					Lord Lieutenant of Clackmannanshire, 1803-40	Rebuilt Scone Palace in Gothic Revival by William Atkinson (1774/5–1839) was an English architect best known for his designs for country houses in the Gothic style.	In 1805, demolished old Scone village and built planned village of <b>New Scone</b> , 1.25 miles east of old location.	M - Colonel	Scone being the historic capital of Scotland and the coronation site of the kingdom's monarchs.
	<b>March</b>	3rd	Douglas	See 4th Duke of Queenberry					1761-87					
	<b>March</b>	4th	Douglas	See 8th Earl of Wemyss										
	<b>Marchmont</b>	3rd	Hume-Campbell	Hugh	1708-94	Upper Brook Street	1762	GNMB	1750-? 1734-40	PC, 1762. Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1764-94	Commissioned Marchmont House, 1750-3, by Thomas Gibson (probably adapting a design by Wm Adam). Palladian.		No	Governor of the Bank of Scotland. Estate grow to 21,000 acres by 1825. Earl created new farms and introduced agricultural improvement. Parkland included an avenue of trees, possibly the longest in Scotland at the time. Model village of Greenlaw developed by Sir Wm Purves Hume-Campbell, inc. new jail (1824) and Greek Revival town hall with dome and flanking pavilions (1831). Only surviving son predeceased him, earldom extinct.
	<b>Marr</b>	24 and 7th	Erskine	John Francis	1741-1825	Address not found					Alloa House, Clackmannanshire, remodelled in classical style, 18th century.	In early 18th century, the 6th Earl (attainted for his part in the 1715 rebellion) created the 'New Town' of <b>Alloa</b> , including the Gartmorn Dam, harbour, customs house. In 1760s, his brother established a brewery and glassworks and laid one of Scotland's earliest 'railways' in 1766 with bridge and tunnels.	Not found	Grandsons of the 6th Earl of Mar (attainted). Great nephew of James Erskine, Lord Grant (see Notables). Title attained until restored in 1824.
	<b>Marr</b>	25th	Erskine	John Thomas	1772-1828	ditto					ditto		Not found	
	<b>Melville</b>	4th - 7th	Leslie/Leslie-Melville	See 5th -8th Earl of Leven										United with Earldom of Leven from 1707.
	<b>Midlothian</b>		Primrose	See Earl of Rosebery										
	<b>Moray</b>	8th	Stuart	James	1706-67	Albemarle Street	1764	CCC 1764	1741-67	KT 1741	Darnaway Castle, rebuilt in 1810 by Alexander Laing (1752-1823). E'burgh architect.		Not found	
	<b>Moray</b>	9th	Stuart	Francis	1737-1810	Address not found						<b>Doone</b> and <b>Deanston</b> model village established for cotton mills workers, 1785.	Not found	
	<b>Moray</b>	10th	Stuart	Francis	1771-1848	Resident of Edinburgh				KT, n.d.; Lord Lieutenant of Elginshire	Doone Lodge, Neo-classical mansion, 1802, and steading with clock tower, 1812. Commissioned by 10th Earl when he was Lord Doone.		F - Fencibles (rank not known)	Commissioned laying out of Moray Estate, New Town, E'burgh, 1825.
	<b>Morton</b>	14th	Douglas	James	1702-68	49 Brook Street (South Side)	1764	CCC 1764	1761-8	KT 1738; Lord of the Bedchamber, n.d.; Lord Clerk Register, 1760	Dalmahoy House, nr. Edinburgh, bought by 14th in 1750. Designed by Wm Adam. Aberdour House (formerly Cuttlehill House) purchased by 13th Earl and in 1745 he instructed a 40 foot high obelisk on Cuttlehill to act as a landmark visible from his estate across the Forth.		No	President of the Royal Society. Now site of Claridge's. As Lord Clerk Register, pushed forward plans for Robert Adam's Register House, Edinburgh.
	<b>Morton</b>	15th	Douglas	Sholto	c. 1732-74	No address					ditto		A - Colonel	Fellow of the Royal Society 1754.

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EARLS

Entry	Earl	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer	MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/village	Army/Navy	Comments
	<b>Morton</b>	16th	Douglas	George	1761-1827	Park Street, Mayfair	1798	CCR 1798		1784-90	KT 1797; Lord Chamberlain (queen) 1792-1818; Company of Archers. Lord Lieutenant of Fife, 1808-24; Lord High Commissioner to the Church of Scotland, n.d.	Extension to Dalmahoy by Alexander Laing, 1787.			Created Baron Douglas of Loch Leven 1797
	<b>Morton</b>	17th	Douglas	George Sholto	1789-1858	Address not found				1828-58				No	
	<b>Newburgh</b>	4th	Radclyffe	James Bartholomew	1725-87	No address								No	6th Earl of Derwentwater, attainted title from. 1716.
	<b>Newburgh</b>	5th	Radclyffe	Anthony	1757-1814									Not found	
	<b>Nordon</b>	Lady	Drummond	Clementina Elphinstone	1749-1822	ditto	1804	ditto						N/A	
	<b>Northesk</b>	6th	Carnegie	George	1716-92	Address not found						Ethie Castle, Arbroath, Angus		NC - Rear Admiral	Royal Navy career, rose to Admiral. With Nelson at Battle of Trafalgar. Trafalgar was incorporated into his arms displayed at Ethie Castle.
	<b>Northesk</b>	7th	Carnegie	William	1756-1831	Albemarle Street	1831	Died there.		1796-1807		ditto		NC - Rear Admiral	Royal Navy career, rose to Commander-in-Chief, Plymouth.
	<b>Northesk</b>	8th	Carnegie	William	1794-1878	Address not found						ditto		No	Friend of Sir Walter Scott. Slave owner. The castle is reputed to be the basis for the fictional Castle of Knockwhinnock in Sir Walter Scott's novel <i>The Antiquary</i> . Owned fishing village of Auchmithie, Angus. Resisted improvements, charged for use of the beach and tried to prevent migration of fishermen to Arbroath. Slave owner.
	<b>Orkney</b>	2nd	O'Brien	Countess Anne	1696-1756			Cliveden, Buckinghamshire				Leased Cliveden to Frederick, Prince of Wales, 1737-51. 1st Earl George Hamilton was Lord of the Bedchamber To Geo. I.		N/A	
	<b>Orkney</b>	3rd	O'Brien	Countess Mary	1721-90	No London address.						Resided with husband at Rostellan, County Cork.		N/A	
	<b>Orkney</b>	4th	Fitzmaurice	Countess Mary (nee O'Brien)	1755-1831	Hill Street, Mayfair	1764	CCC 1764				Married to MP Thomas Fitzmaurice.		N/A	
	<b>Panmure</b>	1st new	Maule	William	1700-82	65 Chesterfield Street, Mayfair		History of Parliament Online; London Land Tax Records, St George Hanover Square; <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/general-william-maule-1st-earl-panmure-1700-1782">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/general-william-maule-1st-earl-panmure-1700-1782</a>		1735-82		Panmure House, Angus (17th century by John Mylne, King's Master Mason), forfeited in 1715 and passed to Earl of Dalhousie.	<b>Edzell</b> , model village by Earl of Panmure, e.g., new church 1818.	AC - General, Colonel of the Royal Scots Greys until he died.	
	<b>Perth</b>	11th	Drummond	James	1744-1800	Grosvenor Square	1804	Kay's <i>Portraits</i> , p. 24.				Stobhall, Castle, Perthshire. Tower house.		Not found	Created 1st Baron Perth (Great Brit.) 1797. Earldom attained post-1745.
	<b>Portmore</b>	2nd	Colyear	Charles	1700-85	39 Upper Grosvenor Street	1745-81	SoL, Upper Grosvenor Street: South Side	1734-7	1727-30	Page to Princess of Wales, 1719; KT 1732	Land of Portmore (house not known until Victorian Portmore House).		No	Leading race house owner. Dandy known as 'Beau Colyear. Founder of Foundling Hospital. Father was Commander-in-Chief in Scotland.
	<b>Portmore</b>	3rd	Colyear	William	1755-1823	Died in London								Not found	
	<b>Portmore</b>	4th	Colyear	Thomas	1772-1835	Address not found				1796-1802				Not found	
	<b>Rosebery</b>	3rd	Primrose	Neil	1729-1814	51 (formerly 45) Grosvenor Square		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/neil-primrose-3rd-earl-of-rosebery-1728-1814">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/neil-primrose-3rd-earl-of-rosebery-1728-1814</a>	1768-84		KT 1761	Dalmeny House, Edinburgh, built 1814, designed by William Wilkins (National Gallery, University College London and Dunmore Park). Tudor Gothic.		No	Merchant in London and friend of Robert Adam.

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EARLS

Entry	Earl	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/village	Army/Navy	Comments
	<b>Rosebery</b>	4th	Primrose	Archibald John	1783-1868	20 Charles Street	1847	Blue plaque (family home)	1818-30	PC, 1831; KT, 1840	ditto		No	Created Baron Rosebery 1828. Primarily an English family.
	<b>Rosslyn</b>	1st	Wedderburn	Alexander	1733-1805	6 Bedford Square (largest house in Bedford Square, centre of east terrace).	1796	LoPC 1796; <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/alexander-wedderburn-lord-loughborough-later-1st-earl-of-rosslyn-1733-1805">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/alexander-wedderburn-lord-loughborough-later-1st-earl-of-rosslyn-1733-1805</a>	1761-80	Attorney General, 1778-80; Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, 1780-1800; Lord Chancellor, 1793-1801.			No	Lord Loughborough until 1801 when created Earl of Rosslyn. From 1778 owned Rosslyn Chapel and did much towards preservation of the chapel. Owned Roslin village which became a Romantic tourist destination. The village inn was visited by Turner, Johnson, Boswell, Robert Burns and the Wordsworths. See Helen Rosslyn and Angelo Maggi, <i>Rosslyn: Country of Painter and Poet</i> (Edinburgh, 2002).
	<b>Roths</b>	10th	Leslie	John	1698-1767	66 Brook Street	1741-56	SoL, Brook Street: North Side	1723-34; 1747-67	KT 1753	Leslie House, Leslie, Fife, 17th century Palladian, extended by Wm Bruce.	New town of <b>Leslie</b> , 1798.	AC - General, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, 1758	Commander-in-Chief in Bult Leslie model village, Brother Cpt Thomas Leslie was Equerry to Prince of W 1742
	<b>Roths</b>	11th	Leslie	John	1744-73	ditto							Not found	
	<b>Roths</b>	12th	Leslie	Countess Jane Elizabeth	1750-1810	Park Street, Grosvenor Square	1772-	ODNB Sir Lucas Pepys					N/A	Married 1772 Sir Lucas Pepys (1732-1830), appointed Physician Extraordinary to the King (Geo. III 1777, Physician-in-Ordinary to the King 1792).
	<b>Roths</b>	13th	Evelyn-Leslie	George	1768-1817	66 Brook Street			1812-7				Not found	
	<b>Roths</b>	14th	Evelyn-Leslie	Countess Henrietta Anne	1790-1819	ditto							N/A	
	<b>Roths</b>	15th	Evelyn-Leslie	George William	1809-49	ditto							Not found	
	<b>Seafield</b>	4th	Grant-Ogilvy	James	1750-1811						Cullen House, Moray, remodelled 18th century by Adam bros.	<b>Milton, Urquhart</b> and <b>Glenmoriston</b> , together late 18th century.	No	Also Earl of Findlater. Landscaper/improver/philanthropist. Earldom of Findlater extinct on his death. Earldom of Seafield remained extant - see Earl of Findlater.
	<b>Seafield</b>	5th	Ogilvy	Lewis	1767-1840	Address not found			1790-6		James and John Adam work on Cullen House 1767-9, Robt Adam in 1780, classical bridge, rotunda (Temple of Pomona) (with concealed tearoom for ladies beneath, on ground floor, likely Wm Playfair design, 1788) and gatehouse erected in the gardens.	In 1820s, 5th Earl demolished old village of <b>Cullen</b> and built new model village closer to coast. Built Town House, Inn, Post Office, Courtroom, Jail and Ballroom. Geometrical layout. Grant Street, Seafield Street.	No	Mental incapacity c. 1811
	<b>Seafield</b>	6th	Ogilvy-Grant	Francis	1778-1853	9 New Palace Yard	1811	BIC 1811	1841-53 1802-32		ditto Cullen House.		A - Colonel; F - Strathspey and Argyll Fencibles	Largest planter of trees in Britain. Remodelled house and model town of Cullen.
	<b>Seaforth</b>	1st	Mackenzie	Kenneth	1744-81	Address not found			1768-84		Brahan Castle, 19th century extensions. Classical with east and west wings and walled courtyard.		A - Lt Colonel, Highland	Raised the 78th Highlanders, serving as Lieutenant Colonel.
	<b>Selkirk</b>	4th	Douglas	Dunbar	1722-99	Address not found			1787-90; 1793-6	Lord Lieutenant of Kirkcubrightshire	Mansion house, St Mary's Isle, Kirkcubright. No details found.		Not found	Son and heir Basil William Douglas, Lord Daer (1763-94) was a notable agricultural improver. Daer was an advocate of parliamentary reform, associated with radical/reformer societies.
	<b>Selkirk</b>	5th	Douglas	Thomas	1771-1820	68 Portland Place	1811	BIC 1811	1806-18	Lord Lieutenant of Kirkcubrightshire, 1807-20			No	Paid half cost of a Thomas Telford (1757-1834) bridge serving Selkirk, 1808.
	<b>Selkirk</b>	6th	Douglas	Dunbar	1809-85	ditto			1830-	Keeper of the Great Seal, 1852, 1858-9; Lord Lieutenant of Kirkcubrightshire			No	

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	<b>St Clair-Mansfield</b>	2nd	St Clair-Erskine	James	1762-1837	Dover Street	1796	LoPC 1796		1805-37	1782-96	Aide de Camp to Geo. III 1795; PC, 1829; Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1839-40; Lord Lieutenant of Fife	Dysart House, Fife, 1755 by Adam brothers. Neo-classical.	A - Colonel	Slave owner. Lord Privy Seal 1829-30. He was Alexander Wedderburn's nephew.
	<b>Stair</b>	4th	Dalrymple-Crichton	William	1699-1768	Address not found					KT 1752	Newhailes House, Musselburgh (built 1686, designed by James Smith). Palladian mansion.	A - Rank not known	In 1746, Sir James Dalrymple (1692-1751) erected a monument (obelisk) at Newhailes to his cousin, 2nd Earl of Stair.	
	<b>Stair</b>	5th	Dalrymple	John	1720-89	Address not found					1771-4		A - Captain	House remodelled by James Craig (1790). Descendant of 1st Viscount Stair, author of <i>Institutions of the Law of Scotland</i> .	
	<b>Stair</b>	6th	Dalrymple	John	1749-1821	Hertford Street, Mayfair	1796	GNMB 1796			1793-1807; 1820-1		A - Captain		
	<b>Stair</b>	7th	Dalrymple	John	1784-1840								Not found	Bigamy case, Dalrymple v Dalrymple.	
	<b>Stathmore</b>	10th	Bowes	John	1769-1820	Stanley House, King's Road	1777	SoL Stanley House, King's Road			1796-1806; 1807-12		Model village of <b>Glamis</b> , c. 1793.	Not found	Died in London 1820.
	<b>Strathmore</b>	9th	Bowes	John	1737-76	40 (formerly 35) Grosvenor Square		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/john-bowes-lyon-9th-earl-of-strathmore-and-kinghorne-1737-1776">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/john-bowes-lyon-9th-earl-of-strathmore-and-kinghorne-1737-1776</a>			1767-1776	Glamis Castle, Angus (improved castle and grounds 1770). Extended in castle revival style.	Not found	Married 1767, St George's, Hanover Square.	
	<b>Strathmore</b>	11th	Lyon-Bowes	Thomas	1773-1846	Address not found							Not found	Died at Holyroodhouse Palace, Edinburgh	
	<b>Sutherland</b>	17th	Sutherland	William	1708-50	Leicester Fields	1743	CCR 1743			1734-47	Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland (altered/extended 1785)	A - Raised two independent Highland companies, 1746 and joined Duke of Cumberland.	Closely aligned with Frederick, Prince of Wales. Correspondence with Prince of Wales in <a href="https://digital.nls.uk/dcn23/9683/96839197.23.pdf">https://digital.nls.uk/dcn23/9683/96839197.23.pdf</a>	
	<b>Sutherland</b>	18th	Sutherland	William	1735-66	Pall Mall	1764	CCC 1764			1763-6	ditto	A - Colonel; ADC to George III, 1763-6	Died in Bath.	
	<b>Sutherland</b>	19th	Sutherland Leveson-Gow	Countess Elizabeth	1765-1839	Hamilton Place, Hyde Park						ditto	Planned village of <b>Golspie</b> , 1805, including new pier, school house and inn (incorporating a session court). <b>Brora</b> , 1811-20 on grid-iron plan, with harbour, two quays, ice house, warehouse and curing yard. <b>Burghead</b> and <b>Hopeman</b> - see Comments. <b>Hemlsdale</b> , 1814 (inc. Thomas Telford bridge of two segmental arches, 1808-9). <b>Bonar Bridge</b> , c. 1813, <b>Embro</b> , c. 1813. <b>Lochinver</b> , 1811. <b>Spinningdale</b> , <b>Creich</b> , 1785. <b>Portgower</b> , <b>Loth</b> , 1806.	N/A	Most ancient, uninterrupted title in Great Britain, est. c. 1222-48. Controversial figure due to the Sutherland Clearances. Countess married George Leveson-Gower (1758-1833), Marquess of Stafford. Created 1st Duke of Sutherland, 1833. Countess's agent, Wm Young of Inverurie, founded planned fishing villages of Burghead and Hopeman, 1805.
	<b>Wemyss</b>	5th	Wemyss	John	1699-1756	Address not found							Not found		
	<b>Wemyss</b>	6th	Wemyss	David, Lord Elcho	1721-87								No - Jacobite, exiled.	Attainted 1746. Non-juring Episcopalian. London address is brother's who was an MP 1763-84.	
	<b>Wemyss</b>	7th	Wemyss-titular	Francis Charteris	1723-1808	Piccadilly	1775	CCR 1775				Gosford House, East Lothian, commissioned Robert Adam 1790-1800. Neo-classical. Monumental, gated mausoleum in grounds in the form of a huge stone pyramid. Amisfield House, Haddington, East Lothian. Palladian mansion, 1750s by Isaac Ware (1704-66).	Coal town of <b>Wemyss</b> , c. 1755.	Not found	Built house at 68 Queen Street, Edinburgh.

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**EARLS**

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	<b>Wemyss</b>	8th	Wemyss-Charteris Douglas	Francis	1772-1853	21 Stratford Place	1826	BIC 1826	1761-87	Lord Lieutenant of Peeblesshire, 1821-53	ditto. Inherited Neidpath Castle, Peeblesshire (13th century tower house).		No	4th Earl of March 1810-26. Earldom restored 1826. Created Baron Wemyss 1821.
	<b>Zetland</b>	1st	Dundas	Lawrence	1766-1839	19 Arlington Street			1790-1820	Lord Lieutenant of Orkney and Shetland from 1831.	Received £8,135 slavery compensation (ULC Legacies of British Slave-Ownership).			Son of Thomas Dundas, 1st Baron Dundas.
		4th	Stuart	See 1st Marquess of Bute										
		8th	Leslie-Melville	David	1785-1860	Royal Navy							NC - Vice Admiral	
<b>Total</b>			<b>165</b>			<b>138</b>				<b>63</b>				

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VISCOUNTS

Entry	Viscount	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/village	Army/Navy	Comments
	<b>Arbuthnot</b>	7th	Arbuthnot	John	1754-1800						Arbuthnot House, Kincardineshire, tower house remodelled 1750s.		Not known	
	<b>Arbuthnot</b>	8th	Arbuthnot	John	1778-1860	Address not found			1818-20; 1821-7	Lord Lieutenant of Kincardineshire.		Village of <b>Laurencekirk</b> attributed to Francis Garden, Lord Gardenstone (7121-93). Gardenstone published a 90 page 'Letter' to the people of Laurencekirk on their being granted a charter as a Burgh of Barony by the king. At the time of his death the village contained 500 houses, with a population of 1200. To encourage settlers in it he offered land on easy terms, and built an inn. He also founded a library and a museum for the use of the villagers, and did his best to establish manufacturing in the district.	A - Captain	Agricultural improvers. 8th Earl commissioned a bridge over the River Bervie which nearly bankrupted the family (Old Bervie Bridge, 1797) by James Burn. 8th Earl painted by David Wilke with Arbuthnot House and the Bervie Bridge in the background.
	<b>Falkland</b>	7th	Cary	Lucius	1707-85								No	Entirely English family with Scottish title given by James VI (I)
	<b>Falkland</b>	8th	Cary	Henry	1766-96								A - Lieutenant	Career soldier. Died White Lion Inn, Bath, 1796.
	<b>Falkland</b>	9th	Cary	Charles	1768-1809								N - Post-captain	
	<b>Falkland</b>	10th	Cary	Lucius	1803-84								A - Captain	
	<b>Irvine</b>	8th	Ingram	George	1694-1763						Temple Newsam, Leeds. 16th century Elizabethan-Jacobean, grounds landscaped by Capability Brown, 1760s.		No	English family with Scottish title. English clergyman.
	<b>Irvine</b>	9th	Ingram	Charles	1727-78	Address not found			1768-78 1747-63	Groom of the Bedchamber 1756-63 (Prince of Wales and Geo. III)			No	The eldest daughter, the Honourable Isabella Ingram, married the 2nd Marquess of Hertford and also became the mistress of the Prince of Wales, later George IV. Viscounty extinct on his death.
	<b>Kenmure</b>	7th/10th	Gordon	John	1750-1840						Kenmure Castle, Kirkcudbrightshire, 17th century castle, remodelled early 19th century. Medieval with neo-classical extension. 7th Viscount resumed work with church and town hall.	<b>New Galloway</b> , Kirkcudbrightshire, originally laid out 1633 by Viscount.	No	Viscounty restored in 1824 after previous attainer.
	<b>Melville</b>	1st	Dundas	Henry	1742-1811	(1) 25 Leicester Square; (2) Somerset Place; (3) 14 Saville Row	(1) 1783-5; (2) 1797-8; (3) 1810-1	(1) SoL, Leicester Square, East Side; (2) CCC 1798; (3) SoL, Cork Street and Saville Row Area	1774-1802	Solicitor General, 1766; Lord Advocate, 1775-83; Keeper of the Signet, 1777; Treasurer of the Navy, 1784; Home Secretary, 1791; Secretary of State for War, 1794-1801.	Melville Castle, Midlothian, built 1786-91 by James Playfair. Gothic castellated. Extensive parkland. Built Dunira House, Comrie, acquired 1782. Warren House (subsequently Cannizaro House), Wimbledon, bought 1786, occupied until 1806. Cannizaro a major social centre for royalty and senior politicians (George III and Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger both stayed regularly). Dundas organised the landscaping of the gardens. Lady Jane Wood in the gardens is a memorial to his wife.	Planned estate workers houses at <b>Dunira</b> . Centre of <b>Comrie</b> planned, including Melville Square, the Royal Hotel, 1782, layout by Henry Holland (1745-1806). New bridge, 1792.	No	Fourth son of Robert Dundas of Arniston (the Elder) (see Notables). Also owned Dunira Estate, Comrie, Perthshire (20,000 acre estate). His Eburgh house was 55 George Square. Monument to his memory at Dunira (72 feet obelisk), 1811. In 1798, Dundas used Henry Holland (1745-1806) (architect, son-in-law and assistant to Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (c. 1715/6-83)) to lay out the grounds at Dunira. Monument also erected (150 feet) in St Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, constructed 1811-21.
	<b>Melville</b>	2nd	Dundas	Robert	1771-1851	(1) Somerset Place; (2) 12 Downing Street; (3) Admiralty House, Whitehall	(1) 1796; (2) 1807-9; (3) 1812-	(1) LoPC 1796; (2) SoL, No. Admiralty House.	1794-1811	Keeper of the Signet, 1801; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1812-27; KT 1821			No	
	<b>Strathallan</b>	6th [8t Drummond	James Andrew John Laurence Charles	1767-1851	Resident in London but address not found				1825-51 1812-24		Strathallan Castle, Perthshire (rebuilt 1817-8). Gothic castle revival		No	Viscounty restored in 1824 after previous attainer. <a href="https://electricScotland.com/webclans/families/strathallan.htm">https://electricScotland.com/webclans/families/strathallan.htm</a> Nephew of banker Robert Drummond and <del>Colonel of the 1st Dragoon Guards</del> Atholl.
	<b>Stormont</b>	6th	Murray	David	1690-1748						Scone Palace, Perthshire (originally 12th century).		No	<del>Colonel of the 1st Dragoon Guards</del> Atholl.
	<b>Stormont</b>	7th	Murray	David	1727-96					PC 1763, KT 1768; Secretary to the Northern Department, 1779-82; Lord Justice General, 1778-95; Lord President of the Council, 1794-6	ditto		No	
	<b>Oxfuird [sic]</b>	7th	Makgill	George	1723-97						Oxenfoord Castle, Midlothian, major rebuilding 1782 by Robert Adam. Classical castellated.		No	
	<b>Oxfuird [sic]</b>	8th	Makgill	John	1790-1817									
	<b>Oxfuird [sic]</b>	9th	Makeill	George	182-78									
<b>Total</b>		<b>17</b>				<b>5</b>				<b>5</b>				

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BARONS

Baron	No.	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Rep Peer	MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/ village	Army/Navy	Comments
<b>Belhaven</b>	7th	Hamilton	William	1765-1814							Wishaw House, Wishaw, Lanarkshire, 17th century, extended in 1825 by architect Gillespie Graham (1766-1855) Gothic/Castle Revival	<b>Wishawtown</b> (or Cambusnethan) coal mining village, laid out 1794	Not known	
<b>Belhaven</b>	8th	Hamilton	Robert Montgomery	1793-1868	Address not found			1819-32		Lord High Commissioner, 1831-41; KT 1861	Lennoxlove House (formerly Lethington Castle), extended 17th (by Wm Bruce, classical extension) Medieval castle with classical extension		No	
<b>Blantyre</b>	10th	Stuart	Alexander	d 1783	Address not found								Not known	
<b>Blantyre</b>	11th	Stuart	Robert Walter	177-1830	Address not found			1806-7			Erskine House, Dumbarton Classical Gothic (with a touch of Tudor) by Robert Smirke (1781-1867) (at the same time building the British Museum)	<b>Bridge of Weir</b> model village, late 1790s	Not known	
<b>Byron</b>	6th	Byron	George Gordon	1788-1824	Albany, 139 Piccadilly	1817	<a href="https://www.lordbyron.org/mograph.php?doc=ThMoore_1830&amp;select=AD1815_24_Porter_London_p_109">https://www.lordbyron.org/mograph.php?doc=ThMoore_1830&amp;select=AD1815_24_Porter_London_p_109</a>						No	
<b>Cathcart</b>	9th	Cathcart	Charles	1721-1776	Charles Street, St James' Square	1762	GNMB			KT 1763; Aide de Camp (Duke of Cumberland) 1745; Lord of the Bedchamber (Duke of Cumberland) 1748			A - ADC to Duke of Cumberland	
<b>Cathcart</b>	10th	Cathcart	See 1st Earl of Cathcart								Sandrim, Ayrshire			
<b>Culross</b>	9th	Colville	John	1768-1849	Upper Brook Street	1852 (widow's address)	<i>Glasgow Herald</i> , 5 June 1852	1818-1849					N - Rear Admiral, Commander-in-Chief Cork Station	
<b>Douglas</b>	1st	Douglas	Archibald	1748-1827	51 Grosvenor Street	1784-93	SoL, Grosvenor Street: South Side			Lord Lieutenant of Forfarshire, 1794-1827				Inherited the Douglas estates following the 'Douglas Cause', a contest in the Court of Session appealed to the House of Lords between the rights of Douglas and the 12 year old Duke of Hamilton
<b>Elphinstone</b>	10th	Elphinstone	Charles	1711-81	Resident in London but address not found								Not known	
<b>Elphinstone</b>	11th	Elphinstone	John	1737-94	ditto			1784-94; 1803-7		Lord Lieutenant of Dunbartonshire			Not known	
<b>Elphinstone</b>	12th	Elphinstone	John	1764-1813	ditto			1768	1747-63	Lord Lieutenant of Dunbartonshire			Not known	
<b>Elphinstone</b>	13th	Elphinstone	John	1807-60	ditto					Lord in Waiting to William IV, 1835-7; Knight of the Cross of the Grand Guelphic Order, 1836; Lord in Waiting to Queen Victoria			A - Captain	
<b>Erskine</b>	1st	Erskine	Thomas	1750-1823	(1) Lincoln's Inn Fields; (2) 2 Upper Grosvenor Street	(1) By 1783; (2) 1811	(1) <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Erskine,_1st_Baron_Erskine">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Erskine,_1st_Baron_Erskine</a> ; (2) BIC 1811		1790-1806	Lord Chancellor, 1806-7 KT, 1815	Almondale House,		N - Midshipman; A - Junior officer, 1st Royal	Third son of 10th Earl of Buchan
<b>Forbes</b>	15th	Forbes	Francis	d 1734							Castle Forbes, Aberdeenshire		Not known	
<b>Forbes</b>	16th	Forbes	James	1787-61	80 Dean Street	1748-50	SoL, The Pitt Estate in Dean Street: No 60 Dean Street				ditto		Not known	
<b>Forbes</b>	17th	Forbes	James	1761-1804							Rebuilt Castle Forbes, 1815		Not known	
<b>Forbes</b>	18th	Forbes	James	1765-1843				1806-43		Lord High Commissioner 1825-30	Castle Forbes, Aberdeenshire		A - Colonel, 94th, 54th and 21st	
<b>Gray</b>	14th	Gray	Francis	1765-1842	Hanover Square	1826	BIC 1826	1812-41			Fowlis Castle, Dundee; Kinfauns Castle, Perthshire		F - Major, Breadalbane Fencibles	
<b>Kinnaird</b>	6th	Kinnaird	Charles	1719-67	Address not found						Drimmie House (demolished and replaced with Rossie Priory)		Not known	
<b>Kinnaird</b>	7th	Kinnaird	George	1754-1805	(1) 16 Queen Anne's Gate (formerly 6 Park Street); (2) 53 Grosvenor Street (second house west from Davies Street on south side of Grosvenor St)	(1) 178-82; (2) n d	(1) SoL No 16 Queen Anne's Gate; (2) <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/george-kinnaird-7th-lord-kinnaird-1754-1805">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/george-kinnaird-7th-lord-kinnaird-1754-1805</a>	1787-90					No	Partner in bank Ransom, Morland & Hammersley, Pall Mall Fell out with the Prince of Wales, who moved his business to Coutts & Co Noted art collector Fellow of the Royal Society, 1784
<b>Kinnaird</b>	8th	Kinnaird	Charles	1780-1826	25 Upper Grosvenor Street (widow Lady Kinnaird)	1828-47	SoL, Upper Grosvenor Street, South Side	1806-7	1802-5		Rossie Priory, Perthshire; Kinnaird Estate and house Regency Gothic by Wm Atkinson (1774/5-1839), English architect Significant designed landscape of walled gardens and woodland	<b>Inchture</b> , Perthshire, c 1815	Not known	
<b>Kinnaird</b>	9th	Kinnaird	George Wm Fox	1807-78	33 Grosvenor Street (family home)	1856	Dod's <i>Peerage</i> , 18565			KT, 1857			No	
<b>Napier</b>	8th	Napier	Francis	1758-1823	St Albans Street, St James's	1800	<a href="https://www.projects.alc.manchester.ac.uk">https://www.projects.alc.manchester.ac.uk</a>	1796-1806; 1807-23		Lord High Commissioner 1802-23; Lord Lieutenant of Selkirkshire	Dacre Lodge, Enfield		A - Major, 4th	Laid foundation stone for new University of Edinburgh 1789

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<b>Napier</b>	9th	Napier	William	1786-1834	Sloane Terrace	1815	<a href="https://www.artwarefineart.com/gallery/portrait-general-sir-william-francis-patrick-napier-kcb-1751-1860-0">https://www.artwarefineart.com/gallery/portrait-general-sir-william-francis-patrick-napier-kcb-1751-1860-0</a>	1824-32	Lord of the Bedchamber (king) 1830			N - Lieutenant under Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald	
<b>Newhaven</b>	1st	Mayne	William	1722-94	27 Argyll Street (opposite Argyll House)		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/william-mayne-1st-baron-newhaven-1722-1794">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/william-mayne-1st-baron-newhaven-1722-1794</a>	1761-76 (Ireland); 1774-80 (UK)				No	Grew up in Lisbon, father from Clackmannanshire Settled in London in 1757 Director of Royal Exchange Insurance Co , 1757-65
<b>Reay</b>	7th	Mackay	Eric	1773	16 St James's Place	1773	BHO, Survey of London, Argyll Street Area	1806-7	Governor of Bombay			No	Slave owner Clan Chief of Mackays
<b>Saltoun</b>	17th	Fraser	Alexander	1785-1853	Great Cumberland Street	1826	BIC 1826	1807-53	Lord of the Bedchamber (king) 1821-	Philorth House, Aberdeen		A - Lieutenant General; Captain 1st Guards (Grenadier Guards) at Waterloo (1815)	
<b>Sinclair</b>	13th	St Clair	Charles	1768-1863	Sackville Street	1826	BIC 1826	1807-31		Herdmanston Castle, East Lothian		A - Major General, 15th Lt- Colonel, Berwickshire Militia	
<b>Somerville</b>	14th	Somerville	James	1727-96	St James's Palace lodgings	1799			Lord of the Bedchamber (king) 1799;			No known	
<b>Somerville</b>	15th	Southey	John	1765-1819	32 Sackville Street	1798	<a href="https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-30-02-0267">https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-30-02-0267</a>	1793-6; 1796-1807				Not known	Founding member of British Board of Agriculture
<b>Torphican</b>	9th	Sandilands	James	1779-1815	Half Moon Street	1798	CCR 1798	1790-1802		Calder Hall, Lothian (by Robert Reid, 1824)			
<b>Torphican</b>	10th	Sandilands	James	1770-1862									Not known
<b>Douglas</b>	1st	Douglas	Archibald	1748-1827		1787	Lower Grosvenor Street	1782-90	Lord Lieutenant of Forfarshire, 1794-1827	Douglas Castle, South Lanarkshire (see 1st Duke of Douglas) Bothwell Castle, South Lanarkshire (medieval)		No	Nephew of 1st Duke of Douglas Subject of the Douglas Case when his inheritance was disputed by the Duke of Hamilton
<b>Lynedoch</b>	1st	Thomas	Graham	1748-1843	Stratton Street, Mayfair	1798	CCR 1798	1794-1807			<b>Pitcairngreen</b> to house mill workers, 1786 The village's layout was designed by James Stobie, factor to the Duke of Atholl, with a green at the centre	AC - Lieutenant General Commander-in-Chief in the Netherlands	Became brother-in-law of Duke of Atholl
<b>Dundas</b>	1st	Dundas	Thomas	1741-1820	Arlington Street	1775	CCR 1775	1763-94	Counsellor in state to Prince of Wales (future Geo IV); Lord Lieutenant of Orkney and Shetland, 1781-1820	Aske Hall, N Yorkshire	<b>Grangemouth</b> , Stirlingshire, 1777 Dundas commissioned Henry Holland to replan the town around the canal and basin	No	Son of Sir Lawrence Dundas Friend of George, Prince of Wales (future Geo IV), supporter of Charles James Fox Member of Brook's Club, United Service Club, Society of Dilettanti and Society of Antiquaries
<b>Macdonald</b>		Macdonald	Alexander Wentworth	1773-1824	Great George's Street, Westminster	1798	CCR 1798	1796-1802		Armada Castle Regency Gothic by James Gillespie Graham (1776-1855)	<b>Kyleakin</b> , 1811	No	
<b>Seaforth</b>	1st	Mackenzie	Francis Humberston	1754-1815				1784-90; 1794-96	Lord Lieutenant of Ross-shire, 1794-1815 Governor of Barbados, 1800-6	Brahan Castle, 19th century extensions Classical with east and west wings and walled courtyard		A - Raised and Lt Colonel Commander, 78th Highlanders	Cousin of the 1st Earl of Seaforth (of the new creation) Commissioned Benjamin West to paint <i>Alexander III, King of Scotland, Rescued from the Fury of a Stag by the Intrepidity of Colin Fitzgerald, Ancestor of the Present Mackenzie Family</i> , 1786 Admired by George III on display at the Royal Academy, Somerset House Extraordinary Director of the Highland Society
<b>Minto</b>	1st	Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound	Gilbert	1751-1814									
<b>Cawdor</b>	1st	Campbell	John	1755-1821	St James's Place	1787	CCR 1787	1777-96		Cawdor Castle, Nairnshire		M - Commander, Pembrokeshire Yeomanry, 1797	
<b>Glenvervie</b>	1st	Douglas	Sylvester	1743-1823	(1) 31 Bedford Square, (2) 12 and 12 Great George Street, and (3) 2 Whitehall Place, Westminster	(1) 1784-91, (2) 1802-3 and (3) 1810-4	SoL, 31 Bedford Square; (2) 12-13 Great George Street and (3) 1 and 2 Whitehall (as First Commissioners of Woods and Forests)	1795-1806	Chief Secretary for Ireland 1793-; Lord of the Treasury, 1793; Paymaster of the Forces, 1801-3;				Married Lady Catherine, the daughter of Frederick North, Lord North (1732-92)



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<b>Anstruther</b>	2nd	Anstruther	John	1718-99	60 Greek Street		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/sir-john-anstruther-2nd-baronet-1718-1799">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/sir-john-anstruther-2nd-baronet-1718-1799</a>		1766-74, 1780-2, 1790-3		Elie House, Fife (1697 neo-classical, incorporating earlier structure).	Expansion of harbour at Pittenweem.		Industrialist, founding a whale fishing company at the burgh of Anstruther in 1756. Partner was Robert Fall, one of a group of four brothers who established a successful mercantile network around Dunbar. They later established the Newark Coal and Salt Company at St Monans in east Fife, in support of which enterprise Sir John paid for the expansion of the nearby harbour in Pittenweem.
<b>Chambers</b>	1st	Chambers	William	1723-96	(1) Nr Tom's Coffee House, Russell Street, Covent Garden; (2) Berner's Street	(1) 1755-6;	(1) and (2) Harris and Snodin, <i>Sir William Chambers Architect to George III</i>				Whitton Place, Middlesex. Palladian		No	Buried at Westminster Abbey
<b>Clerk</b>	2nd	Clerk	John	1676-1755					1707-8		Penicuik House, Penicuik.		No	Sir John Clerk was one of the friends and patrons of the poet Allan Ramsay (1686-1758).
<b>Clerk</b>	3rd	Clerk	James								Rebuilt Penicuik House. Palladian mansion and erected an obelisk in memory of poet Allan Ramsay (1686-1758). Planted 300,000 trees in landscaped grounds.	<b>Penicuik</b> planned village, 1770. layout inspired by proposals for Edinburgh's New Town. Opening of paper mill, 1770. Main street is John Street.	No	
<b>Clerk</b>	4th	Clerk-Maxwell	George	1715-84							ditto		No	Succeeded ss 3rd Baronet's brother. Member of the Board of Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures and Improvements in Scotland (est. 1727).
<b>Douglas</b>	1st	Douglas	William	1745-1809	Address not found. Died in London.						Built Gelsten Castle, an Adam-style mansion. Architect Richard Crichton (1771-1817), pupil of the Adam brothers.	Founded Castle Douglas planned village, 1789, laid out on a grid plan resembling Edinburgh's New Town. Included a cotton mill, brewery and a soap works.		Made his fortune in the slave trade. Claimed ancestry from both the Black Douglasses of Threave and the Douglasses of Drumlanrig.
<b>Luss</b>	1st	Colquhoun	James	1714-86							Rossdhu House, Luss, Argyll, 1783. Palladian mansion.	<b>Helensburgh</b> , 1776, laid out in a grid pattern around Colquhoun Square. Named after Lady Helen Sutherland (1717-91), wife of 1st Baronet and granddaughter of the 16th Earl of Sutherland. Helensburgh received its burgh charter from King George III in 1802.	Not known	Chiefs of Clan Colquhoun. He is thought to be the amiable and very polite gentlemen described by Smollett in his inimitable novel of Humphry Clinker, under the name of 'Sir George Colquhoun, a colonel in the Dutch service'. <a href="https://electricscotland.com/history/nation/colquhoun.htm">https://electricscotland.com/history/nation/colquhoun.htm</a>
<b>Luss</b>	2nd	Colquhoun	James	1741-1805									Not known	
<b>Luss</b>	3rd	Colquhoun	James	1774-1836					1799-1806				No	
<b>Kerse</b>	1st	Dundas	Lawrence	1710-81	19 Arlington Street (furniture by Thomas Chippendale (1763-66))	Purchased 1763	<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir_Lawrence_Dundas,_1st_Baronet">ODDB: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir_Lawrence_Dundas,_1st_Baronet</a>		1762-81	PC 1771	Kerse Estate, Stirlingshire; Aske Hall, Richmond, Yorkshire, remodelled Palladian by John Carr (1723-1807), Capability Brown worked on the park; Moor Park, London; Dundas House, St Andrew Square, Edinburgh (by Sir Wm Chambers 1768), furnishings by Robt Adam.	<b>Laurieston</b> , 1765, acquired from Francis Napier, 6th Lord Napier (1702-73).	No	Henry Fox named him 'the Nabob of the North'. Made fortune as Commissary General supplying the army. Bute obtained baronetcy for him. Owned two slave estates in West Indies. Governor of RBS 1764-77. Secured parliamentary act for Edinburgh's New Town. Denied peerage by Geo. III. Out of favour with Henry Dundas (distant relation).

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<b>Minto</b>	3rd	Elliot	Gilbert	1722-77	Parliament Street	1762	GNMB	1753-1777	Treasurer of the Chamber (king) 1762-70; Keeper of the Signet (1767), Treasurer of the Navy (1770)	Minto House, Hawick, Scottish Borders		No	Lord of the Admiralty (1756); Treasurer of the Navy (1770); Author of the <i>Proposals for Carrying on Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh</i> (1752).
<b>Monymusk and Pitsligo</b>	6th	Forbes	William	1739-1806	St James's Street (house of Sir Robert Herries (1730-1815), fellow banker)		The Late Sir Wm Forbes, <i>Memoirs of a Banking House</i> (London, 1860)				<b>New Pitsligo</b> , 1780, laid out in grid pattern.	No	Belonged to 'The Club', Samuel Johnson's dining club. Major banker, improving landlord.
<b>Gordon</b>		Gordon	William	1707-83	Pall Mall	1747	Correspondence quoted in John Malcolm Bulloch, <i>The Families of Gordon of Invergordon, Newall, Also Ardoch, Ross-shire, and Carroll, Sutherland</i> (1906), pp. 32-50. <a href="https://electricScotland.com/webclans/dtog/gordonsofinvergordon.pdf">https://electricScotland.com/webclans/dtog/gordonsofinvergordon.pdf</a>	1742-47; 1754-61		Invergordon Castle, enlarged by 1st baronet. Destroyed by fire, replaced 19th century, now demolished.	<b>Invergordon</b> , c. 1760s. Industrial development with two hemp factories, cattle and grain shipped to London.	No	On the outbreak of the '45, he failed in his attempts to prevent his brother-in-law, the 3rd Earl of Cromartie, and his favourite nephew, Lord Macleod, from joining the rebels, but afterwards, through the intercession of the Prince of Wales (Frederick), he saved Cromartie from execution and Macleod from attainder.
<b>Grant</b>	8th	Grant	James	1738-1811	Queen's Square, Westminster	1764	CCC 1764	1761-8; 1790-5	Lord Lieutenant of Inverness-shire	Castle Grant, Moray, remodelled mid-18th century, large neo-classical mansion house built by John Adam across the norther face of ancient castle.	<b>Grant-on-Spey</b> , 1766. <b>Lewistoun</b> , 1769. <b>Skye of Cure</b> , 1797. <b>Carrbridge</b> , 1809.	No	
<b>Monymusk</b>	2nd	Grant	Archibald	1696-1778				1722-32 (expelled from the House of Commons on 5 May 1732).		House of Monymusk, Aberdeenshire. Extended Tower House.	<b>Archiestown</b> , 1764, grid street plan and spacious square. <b>Monymusk</b> , mid 18th century for estate workers.	No	Slave owner. <a href="https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146652037">https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146652037</a>
<b>Hannay</b>	3rd	Hannay	Samuel	1742-90	31 Bedford Square		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/sir-samuel-hannay-3rd-bt-1742-1790">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/sir-samuel-hannay-3rd-bt-1742-1790</a>	1784-90		Kirkdale House, Kirkdale, Galloway. 1787 neo-classical mansion by Robert Adam, with extensive estate.		EI - Lieutenant Colonel	Wealthy London merchant. Compulsive gambler, died owing £200,000, leaving brother to rescue estate. Built sawmill, water mill, ice house and Egyptian-style bridge.
<b>Innes</b>	1st	Innes	Hugh	1764-1831	9 St Alban's Street		BIC 1813	1809-30		Balmacara House, 1801, Lochaber. Classical (modest country house).	<b>Plockton</b> , 1801, bought from Lord Seaforth, grid plan, including Kirkton House. Included Innes Street.	No	
<b>Pulteney</b>	5th	Johnstone Pulteney	William	1729-1805	Bath House, 82 Piccadilly (ranking along with Devonshire House, Burlington House, Montague House).			1768-1805		Westerhall, Dumfriesshire.	<b>Pulteney Town</b> (part of Wick, Caithness) named after him by Thomas Telford who laid out the town, 1786, grid plan and included the Pulteney Distillery, 1826. Borthwick Estate, Bath (sic), having commissioned Robert Adam to build Pulteney Bridge, 1773. Classical terraced housing.	No	Married Frances Pulteney, second cousin of Wm Pultenay (1684-1764), 1st Earl of Bath, senior Whig politician (rival to Robt Walpole), and Frances inherited his vast fortune. Johnstone inherited Frances' estate on her death, 1782, making him reputedly the wealthiest man in Britain. Johnstone was Governor of the British Fisheries Society.

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<b>Monreith</b>	3rd	Maxwell	William	1715-71	Address not found					Monreith House, Galloway. Neo-classical mansion, 1791 by Alexander Stevens (1730-96) and Sir Robt Smirke.	<b>Port William</b> , Galloway, 1770.	Not known	Father of Jane Maxwell (1747/8-182) who married the 4th Duke of Gordon. Boswell mentions him in his journal of September 24, 1762, when Sir William visited the Herons at Kirroughtree at the same time as Boswell. Boswell described Sir William as "formerly [...] a genteel, pretty-looking man. Now he looks like an overgrown drover. He entertained us with many of the exploits of his youth, which however were rather a little too marvellous."
<b>Macdonald</b>	1st	Macdonald	Archibald	1747-1826	8 Adelphi Terrace		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/sir-archibald-macdonald-1st-baronet-1747-1826">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/sir-archibald-macdonald-1st-baronet-1747-1826</a>	1777	Solicitor General, 1784; Attorney General, 1788, PC and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, 1793			No	Born on Skye, educated in England to avoid lingering Jacobite attachments. As Attorney General, prosecuted Thomas Paine for <i>The Rights of Man</i> in 1792. Noted conversationalist.
<b>Munro</b>	7th	Munro	Harry	1720-81	Green Street (between Browns Court and North Audley St)		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/sir-harry-munro-7th-baronet-1720-1781">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/sir-harry-munro-7th-baronet-1720-1781</a>			Foulis House, Ross and Cromarty. Neo-classical mansion house, incorporating medieval tower house. 7th baronet built the neo-classical extension to the tower house.		S - Captain under 4th Earl of Loudon	
<b>Stanhope</b>	1st	Montgomery	James	1721-1803	Charles II Street, St James's Square	1775	CCR 1775	1766-75	Solicitor General, 1764; Lord Advocate, 1766; Lord Chief Baron of HM Court of Exchequer	Stobbo Castle, Borders		No	Agricultural improver. Joint founder of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1783.
<b>Ulbster</b>	1st	Sinclair	John	1754-1835	New Palace Yard		BIC 1811	1780-1811		Thurso Castle, Thurso, erected 1664 by the Earl of Caithness.	<b>Staxigoe</b> , 1791. <b>Thurso</b> , 1810. <b>Scrabster</b> , n.d. <b>Sarclet</b> , c. 1800. <b>Newton of Hempriggs</b> , 1812.	F - Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles, 1794; Caithness Highlanders, 1798 (Irish rebellion)	Politician, improver, agriculturist, statistician. Created the first Statistical Account of Scotland. First President of the Board of Agriculture.
<b>Grandtully</b>	5th	Stewart	George	1750-1827	Resident in London. Address not known.					Murthly Castle, Perth. Regency Gothic by James Gillespie Graham		Not known	
<b>Invergordon</b>	2nd	Gordon	John	1707-83	Half Moon Street, Mayfair	1759	CCR 1759						
		25		18				5					

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NOTABLES

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
	Occupation	Title	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Blank	Rep Peer	MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/village	Army/Navy
1	Architect		Adam	Robert	1728-92	(1) Lower Grosvenor Street; (2) 4 Adelphi Terrace		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/robert-adam-1728-1792-and-james-adam-1732-1794">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/robert-adam-1728-1792-and-james-adam-1732-1794</a>			1768-74				
2	Architect		Adam	John	1721-92	(1) Lower Grosvenor Street; (2) 4 Adelphi Terrace		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/robert-adam-1728-1792-and-james-adam-1732-1794">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/robert-adam-1728-1792-and-james-adam-1732-1794</a>							
3	Architect		Adam	William	1689-1748								Blairadam, Kinross-shire	Maryburgh, Kinross-shire, to house miners, 1731,	
4	Architect		Adam	William	1738-1822	6 Adam Street, The Adelphi		Scotopolis <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/william-adam-1738-1822">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/william-adam-1738-1822</a>							
5	Architect		Adam	James	1732-92	(1) Arundel Street; (2) Haverstock Hill, Hampstead; (3) 7 Red Lion Square (dispensary); (4) 22 Soho Square (dispensary)									
6	Architect		Campbell	Colen	1676-1729										
7	Architect		Gibbs	James	(1) 1682-1754; (2) 1754	(1) 44 Gerrard Street Soho; (2) Henrietta Street (corner of Wimpole Street)		(1) Roy Porter, <i>London, A Social History</i> , p 101; (2) <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Gibbs#Death_and_will">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Gibbs#Death_and_will</a>							
8	Architect		Mylne	Robert	1733-1811	London-based No address found									
9	Architect		Steuart	George	c 1730-1806)										
10	Architect and archaeologist		Stuart	James ('Athenian')	1713-88	Grosvenor Square	1758								
11	Artist		Hamilton	Gavin	1723-98	Poland Street	1779	SoL, Poland Street Area							
12	Artist		Ramsay	Allan	1713-84	31 Soho Square						His Majesty's Principal Painter in Ordinary to George III in 1761			
13	Artist		Wilkie	David	1785-1841	84 Great Portland Street, Cavendish Square									
14	Banker		Barclay (of Cheapside)	David	1682-1769										
15	Banker		Barclay (of Youngsbury)	David	1729-1809										
16	Banker		Barclay (or Allardice)	Robert	1732-97	Woodstock Street, Westminster					CCR 1795		1788-97	Ury House, Stonehaven by Wm Playfair	Stonehaven, 1797
17	Banker		Cochrane	William	? - 1799										
18	Banker		Coutts	James	1733-78	Strand	1764	CCC 1764							
19	Banker		Coutts	Thomas	1735-1822	Strand		At Coutts bank							
20	Banker		Drummond	Robert 'Governor Bob'	1728-1804	(1) 49 Charing Cross (above Drummonds bank); (2) Clevedon Row, St James's		(1) and (2) NatWest Heritage Hub <a href="https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/people/robert-drummond.html">https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/people/robert-drummond.html</a>					Stanmore House, In 1763 Drummond had Stanmore House rebuilt, initially by architect John Vardy and, following Vardy's death in 1765, by Sir William Chambers		

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	Occupation	Title	Surname	Forenames	Dates	London address	Date ref.	Source	Blank	Rep Peer	MP	Royal appointments	Country seats	Planned town/village	Army/Navy
1	Banker		<b>Drummond</b>	Henry	1730-95	(1) 49 Charing Cross (above Drummonds bank); (2) St James's Square		(1) and (2) NatWest Heritage Hub <a href="https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/people/henry-drummond-of-the-grange.html">https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/people/henry-drummond-of-the-grange.html</a>					(1) The Grange, Northington, Hampshire Drummond commissioned young architect William Wilkins (1778–1839) to remodel Greek Revival In 1817, Drummond sold the Grange to neighbour, financier Alexander Baring (1773–1848) (2) Cadland House and Estate, Hampshire Original 47-room mansion Neo-classical Grounds laid out by Capability Brown and Henry Holland		
22	Banker		<b>Fordyce</b>	Alexander	1729-89	George Street, Portman Square	Died there								
23	Banker, merchant, and employed in the Pay Office		<b>Boswell</b>	Thomas David	1748-1826	45 Upper Norton Street (now Bolsover Street), Fitzrovia		<a href="https://www.jamesboswell.info/biography/thomas-david-boswell">https://www.jamesboswell.info/biography/thomas-david-boswell</a>							
24	Bookseller		<b>Millar</b>	Andrew	1705-68	Strand		White, <i>London in the Eighteenth Century</i> , p 265							
25	Bookseller, publisher and printer		<b>Donaldson</b>	Alexander	1727-1794	Shop in Strand							Broughton Hall, nr Edinburgh		
26	Church - Archbishop	Archbishop of York	<b>Drummond</b>	Robert Hay	1711-76	Dartmouth Street, Westminster	1762	GNMB 1762					Archbishop of York		
27	Church - Bishop	Bishop of Salisbury	<b>Douglas</b>	John	1721-1807	Piccadilly (next door to Bath House, Lord Bath being his patron)		ODNB					Bishop of Carlisle in 1787; Dean of Windsor in 1788; and Bishop of Salisbury in 1791 As Bishop of Salisbury he was also <i>ex officio</i> Chancellor of the Order of the Garter		
28	Church - CoE	Reverend	<b>Temple</b>	William Johnson	1739-96			Farrar's Buildings, Inner Temple Lane							
29	Church - Minister and man of letters		<b>Carlyle</b>	Alexander	1722-1805	New Bond Street	1746	White, <i>London in the Eighteenth Century</i> , p 95							
30	Church - Minister and playwright	Reverend	<b>Home</b>	John	1722-1808										
31	Diarist and lawyer		<b>Boswell</b>	James	1740-95	(1) Bond Street (Piccadilly end) (lodgings); (2) Great Portland Street	(1) 1768; (2) died there	(1) Porter, <i>London</i> , p 109; (2) <a href="https://www.jamesboswell.info/james-boswell-bio">https://www.jamesboswell.info/james-boswell-bio</a>					Auchinleck House, Ochiltree, Ayrshire Palladian mansion Architect unknown		
32	Duchess	Hamilton	<b>Hamilton (nee Gunning)</b>	Elizabeth	1733-1790	St James's Palace lodgings							Lady of the Bedchamber (queen) 1761-84		
33	Engineer		<b>Telford</b>	Thomas	1757-1834	24 Abingdon Street, Westminster	Died there								
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1	Gardener		<b>Aiton</b>	William	1731-93	Kew Gardens or thereby						Gardener to the King On Bute's recommendation, Aiton engaged by Dowager Princess Augusta to plant a botanical garden at Kew House complementary to Wm Chambers' landscaping and buildings In 1783, George III gave Aiton control of the garden In 1789, Aiton published <i>Hortus Kewensis</i> , three volume cataloguing of some 5,500 plants under cultivaiton at the time			
35	Gardener		<b>Aiton</b>	William Townsend	1766-1849	Kew Gardens or thereby						Gardener to the King Succeeded to his father's role and, in 1811, published second edition of <i>Hortus Kewensis</i> . Commissioned by Geo IV to lay out and plant the gardens at Buckingham House			
36	Gardener		<b>McNab</b>	William	1780-1848	Kew Gardens or thereby		<a href="https://www.scottish-places.info/people/famousfirst3159.html">https://www.scottish-places.info/people/famousfirst3159.html</a>				Apprentice gardener at Tynninghame House, East Lothian, for the Earl of Haddington Recommended to William Aiton (see his entry) as a gardener at Kew, where he arrived in 1801 Came to the notice of Geo III In 1810, he was recommended to become Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh Succeeded by his son, James McNab (1810-78)			
37	Goldsmith and founding banker		<b>Drummond</b>	Andrew	1688-1769										
38	Historian, topographer and merchant		<b>Maitland</b>	William	1693-1757	Resident in London before 1740 Included because of authorship of <i>History of London</i> - see Comments									
39	Ironworks and merchant house proprietors		<b>Wilson</b>	Robert, John and William	n d	Merchants in London Address not found							Cleugh House, Lanarkshire Palladian mansion Wilson House, Lanarkshire	<b>Wilsontown</b> , 1779 Industrial village for Wilson ironworks	
40	Judge (in Scotland)	Lord Monboddo	<b>Burnett</b>	James	1714-99	Annual visitor to London (summer) Address not found, most probably lodgings	From 1780						Monboddo House, Angus Baronial Castle		
41	Laird and politician		<b>Campbell</b>	John	1770-1809			No address found			1807-9		Islay House, Isle of Islay		
42	Laird and politician		<b>Campbell</b>	Walter Frederick	1798-1855	Royal Hotel, St James's	1826	BIC 1826			1822-32; 1835-41		Extended Islay House, by Wm Playfair (1790-1857), 1841	<b>Portnahaven</b> , 1820; <b>Port Ellen</b> , 1821, and <b>Port Charlotte</b> , 1828; <b>Port Wemyss</b> , 1833	
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	Laird, lawyer and politician	3rd Laird of Pitfour	<b>Ferguson</b>	James ('the Member')	1735-1820	St James' Place		Died there			1789-1820		Pitfour House, Buchan Architect John Smith designed classical mansion with stables and riding school (1820, classical), canal and lake, Theseus temple (Greek Doric) and (later) observatory McKean describes as 'the Blenheim of the North' (All now demolished )	<b>Fetterangus</b> , 1772 <b>Longside</b> , 1801 <b>Mintlaw</b> , 1801 <b>New Deer</b> , 1805 Extended <b>Buchanhaven</b>	
44	Politician		<b>Fletcher</b> of Saltoun	Andrew	1722-79	Argyll House, Argyll Street		<a href="http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/staff/supporting_files/amurdoch/andrew-fletcher.pdf">http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/staff/supporting_files/amurdoch/andrew-fletcher.pdf</a>			1747-68				
45	Laird, merchant and agriculturalist		<b>Dempster</b>	George	1732-1818	Berner's Street, Fitzrovia	1775	CCR 1775			1761-90	Secretary to the Order of Thistle, 1777-1818		<b>Letham</b> , 1788, textile village, Angus	
46	Landowner		<b>Home-Gordon of Embo</b>	Robert	d 1826	25 Albemarle Street		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/robert-home-gordon-of-embo-d-1826">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/robert-home-gordon-of-embo-d-1826</a>					Embo, Sutherland, 1767 Neo-classical mansion house	<b>Embo</b> planned village	
47	Landowner	Lord (courtesy title, earldom attained and extinct after the 1715 rebellion)	<b>Maxwell</b>	William	1744-76	25 Dunraven Street, Mayfair	1768-76	SoL, Park Lane (vol 40, p 283)							Son of 6th Earl of Nithsdale (attainted and title forfeit, 1716 Gifted land for development of <b>Glencaple</b> post and village
48	Landowner and politician		<b>Campbell</b>	Daniel	c 1736-77	Audley Square	1764	CCC 1764			1760-8		Islay House, Isle of Islay, originally 1677	<b>Bowmore</b> , Isle of Islay, 1768 Classical planned town	
49	Lawyer and politician		<b>Stuart</b>	Andrew	1725-1801	48 Grosvenor Street		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/andrew-stuart-of-craigthorn-1725-1801">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/andrew-stuart-of-craigthorn-1725-1801</a>			174-84[ 1790-1801	Keeper of the Signet, 1777-9			
50	Lawyer politician		<b>Dundas of Arniston (the Elder)</b>	Robert	1685-1753						1722-37		Arniston House, Midlothian, by Wm Adam, 1726		
51	Lawyer politician		<b>Dundas of Arniston (the Younger)</b>	Robert	1713-87	Address not found					1754-61	Solicitor General, 1742-6; Lord Advocate, 1754-60; <del>Lord President, 1760-87</del>			
52	Lawyer politician	Lord (judge)	<b>Erskine</b>	James	1679-54	Marylebone		Left three houses in Marylebone by architect James Gibbs in 1754			1734-	Lord of Session and Justiciary, 1706; Lord Justice Clerk, 1710 Resigned as judge and became MP in 1734 Opposed Sir Robt Walpole Secretary to Frederick, Prince of Wales, on Scottish affairs			
53	Lawyer politician		<b>Erskine</b>	Henry	1746-1817	Address not found					1806-7	Lord Advocate (1783-4, 1806-7) From 1795 lived at 68 Princes Street, Edinburgh Advocate and state counsellor to the Prince of Wales, 1783	Almondell House, West Lothian Alexander Nasmyth designed bride over River Almond		
54	Lord Strathavon		<b>Gordon</b>	Charles	1792-1863	St James's Palace lodgings						Lord of the Bedchamber (king) 1826			
55	Mercantile		<b>Macdowall</b>	William	1749-1810	King Street, St James'		CCR 1798			1783-1810	Lord Lieutenant of Renfrewshire	Castle Semple House, Renfrewshire Palladian with planned gardens, carriage drives, parkland, fish ponds, follies and 250 acres improved with drainage	<b>Lochwinnoch</b> , grid plan, parish church (1808), mills and workers accommodation	
56	Merchant	See 1st Baron Newhaven	<b>Mayne</b>	William	1722-94										
57	Merchant (wine)		<b>Stewart</b>	Archibald	1697-17	11 Buckingham Street, Strand									
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1	Merchant and army agent supplier		Ross	George	1700-86	6-7 Argyll Street		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/messrs-alexander-ross-and-john-ogilvie-dates-unknown">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/messrs-alexander-ross-and-john-ogilvie-dates-unknown</a>			1780-6		Cromarty House, Cromarty, 1772 Palladian	<b>Cromarty</b> planned town, with harbour, mills, 'proto-factories' (Alston, My Little Town of Cromarty, passim ) Court house, brewery, chapel, harbour	
59	Merchant and army agent supplier		Ross	Alexander	n d	ditto		ditto							
60	Merchant trading in tobacco and sugar		Speirs	Archibald	1758-1832	No address found					1710-18			<b>Houston</b> , planned village, 1780s	
61	MP and laird		Murray	James	1727-99	St James Street	1764	CCC 1764			1762-73		Cally Palace, Kirkcudbrightshire, built 1763 by Robert Mylne (grounds 1,000 acres with pleasure gardens, hothouses and deer parks) and Kirkcudbright town house, Broughton House, neo-classical	<b>Gatehouse of Fleet</b> , 1763	
62	Noblewoman	Lady	Clavering (nee Campbell)	Augusta	1760-1831	5 Argyll Place (36 Argyll Street)		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lady-augusta-clavering-nee-campbell-1760-1831">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lady-augusta-clavering-nee-campbell-1760-1831</a>							
63	Noblewoman	Lady	Fordyce (nee Lindsay, daughter of 5th Earl of Balcarres)	Margaret	1753-1814	72 Brook Street		Scotopolis <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lady-margaret-fordyce-nee-lindsay-1753-1814">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lady-margaret-fordyce-nee-lindsay-1753-1814</a>							
64	Noblewoman	Gordon	Gordon (nee Maxwell)	Jane	1740 or 49-1812	(1) Pall Mall (grandest 1787-parties held here); (2) St James's Square		<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jane_Gordon,_Duchess_of_Gordon">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jane_Gordon,_Duchess_of_Gordon</a> #Patronage_of_Robert_Burns					(1) Gordon Castle, Speyside; (2) Kinara House, Speyside		
65	Noblewoman	Countess	Home	Elizabeth	1703/4-84	Home House, Portman Square (by Robert and James Adam, 1770s)									
66	Noblewoman	Lady	Ker (daughter of 2nd Duke of Roxburghe, sister of 3rd)	Essex	1744-n d	Roxburghe House, Hanover Square		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lady-essex-ker-b-1744-and-lady-mary-ker-b-1746">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lady-essex-ker-b-1744-and-lady-mary-ker-b-1746</a>							
67	Noblewoman	Lady	Ker (daughter of 2nd Duke of Roxburghe, sister of 3rd)	Mary	1746-n d	ditto		ditto							
68	Noblewoman	Lady	Macintosh	Anne	1723-84								Moy Hall, Inverness-shire		
69	Noblewoman and letter writer	Lady	Coke (nee Campbell)	Mary	1727-1811	34 Berkeley Square		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lady-mary-coke-1727-1811">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lady-mary-coke-1727-1811</a>							
70	Noblewoman heiress to 1st Baron Seaforth		Mackenzie	Mary Elizabeth Frederica	1783-1862	37 Lower Wimpole Street								<b>Maryburgh</b> , 1808 <b>Conan Bridge</b> , 1829	
71	Physician	Dr	Armstrong	George	1718/9-89										
72	Physician	Dr	Baillie	Matthew	1761-1823	(1) Great Windmill Street; (2) Grosvenor Square		<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matthew_Baillie">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matthew_Baillie</a>					Physician Extraordinary to George III		
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1	Physician		<b>Hunter</b>	William	1718-83	(1) Covent Garden; (2) Jermyn Street; (3) Great Windmill Street (designed by Robert Mylne)	(1) From 1740s; (2) from 1756; (3) from 1767	(1), (2) and (3) ODNB				Physician/man-midwife to Queen Charlotte, 1761; Physician-Extraordinary to the Queen, 1762.				
74	Physician	Dr	<b>Munro</b>	Thomas	1759-1833	8 Adelphi Terrace		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/dr-thomas-monro-1759-1833">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/dr-thomas-monro-1759-1833</a>				Consulted on George III's second illness, 1811-2.				
75	Physician		<b>Smellie</b>	William	1697-1763											
76	Physician (military) and medical author	Dr	<b>Munro</b>	Donald	1728-1802	3 Argyll Street		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/dr-donald-monro-1728-1802">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/dr-donald-monro-1728-1802</a>								A - Military surgeon, served in Seven Years War, rose to senior physician to the forces.
77	Physician (quack)		<b>Graham</b>	James	1745-94	4 Adelphi Terrace		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/dr-james-graham-1745-1794">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/dr-james-graham-1745-1794</a>								
78	Physician and man-midwife	Dr	<b>Douglas</b>	Andrew	1735-1806	12 Bedford Street (second house east from Tottenham Court Road, north side of Bedford St)		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/dr-andrew-douglas-1735-1806">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/dr-andrew-douglas-1735-1806</a>								
79	Physician, novelist, writer		<b>Smollett</b>	Tobias George	1721-71	(1) Mayfair; and (2) 16 Lawrence Street	(1) 1746; (2) n.d.	(2) Blue plaque.					Dalquhurn House, Vale of Leven. Classical. Cameron House, Loch Lomond, 1763. Both Classical.	<b>Renton</b> , founded by his sister, Jane Smollett, naming it after her daughter-in-law, Cecilia Renton. Textile workers' village.		
80	Politician	Lord (3rd son of 4th D of Argyll)	<b>Campbell</b>	Frederick	1729-1816	(1) Arlington Street; (2) Queen Street, Mayfair	(1) n.d.; (2) 1816	(1) <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord_Frederick_Campbell">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord_Frederick_Campbell</a> ; (2) <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lord-frederick-campbell-1729-1816">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lord-frederick-campbell-1729-1816</a>				Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland 1765; PC 1765; Lord Clerk Register 1768	Combe Bank, Sevenoaks, Kent			
81	Politician		<b>Campbell of Cawdor</b>	John	1695-1777	10 Grosvenor Square		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/john-campbell-of-cawdor-1695-1777">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/john-campbell-of-cawdor-1695-1777</a>								
82	Politician		<b>Fletcher</b>	Andrew	1722-79	2 Argyll Street		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/andrew-fletcher-1722-1779">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/andrew-fletcher-1722-1779</a>			1747-68		Saltoun Hall and estate, East Lothian.			
83	Politician	Lord (courtesy title)	<b>Gordon</b>	George	1751-93	(1) Welbeck Street; (2) Newgate Prison	(1) 1779; (2) 1788 for 5 years	(1) CCC 1779; (2) <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord_George_Gordon">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord_George_Gordon</a>			1774-80					
84	Politician		<b>Hope-Weir</b>	Charles	1710-91	13 South Audley Street		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/charles-hope-weir-1710-1791">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/charles-hope-weir-1710-1791</a>			1743-68		Craigiehall, outside Edinburgh (Palladian by William Bruce), improved by Hope-Weir).			
85	Politician	Hon (2nd son of 2nd E of Bute)	<b>Stuart-Mackenzie</b>	James	1718-1800	New Burlington Street	1764	CCC 1764			1742-80	PC 1761; Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland 1763-65, 1766-1800	Kinpurnie Estate, Blairgowrie, Angus			
86	Politician and judge		<b>Adam</b>	William	1751-1839	Lincoln's Inn		CCC 1775			1774-90		Solicitor General for Scotland, 1802-5; Attorney General to the Prince of Wales, 1805-6; Lord Lieutenant of Kinrosshire, 1802-39			
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	Printer		<b>Strahan</b>	Andrew	1750-1831	New Street	1811 and died there	BIC 1811 and ODNB.			1796-1820	Renewal of patent as King's Printer.			
88	Printer		<b>Strahan (originally Strachan but William dropped the 'c' when he came to London)</b>	William	1715-85	10 Little New Street		ODNB			1774-84	Patent as King's Printer, 1770.			
89	Publisher		<b>Murray</b>	John	1737-93										
90	Publisher		<b>Murray</b>	John	1778-1843	50 Albemarle Street									
91	Slave plantation owner and merchant		<b>Baillie</b>	James	1737-93	14 Bedford Square (third from east end of north terrace of the square)		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/james-baillie-1737-1793">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/james-baillie-1737-1793</a>			1792-3				
92	Soldier	Lieutenant Colonel	<b>Callander</b>	John	1739-1812	27 Argyll Street		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lt-col-sir-john-callander-1739-1812">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lt-col-sir-john-callander-1739-1812</a>			1795-1802; 1806-7.	<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lt-col-sir-john-callander-1739-1812">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/lt-col-sir-john-callander-1739-1812</a>	Preston Hall, Midlothian. Palladian by Aberdeen architect Robert Mitchell.		
93	Soldier	General	<b>Clerk</b>	Robert	c. 1720-97	Clerk House, Marylebone (designed by Robert Adam, c. 1770)									
94	Soldier and diplomat	Baron	<b>Cathcart</b>	Charles Schaw	1721-76	8 Argyll Place	n.d.	Layers of London/Scotopolis/Survey of London, Volume 31-32; ODNB.			1752-76	Lord High Commissioner 1755-63; 1773-76); KT 1763.			
95	Soldier, land surveyor and map maker	Major General	<b>Roy</b>	William	1726-90	10 Argyll Street (east side)		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/major-general-william-roy-1726-1790">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/major-general-william-roy-1726-1790</a>				Surveyor General of the Coasts under a royal warrant, 1765.			AC - Major General
96	Viscountess	Melville	<b>Dundas (nee Huck-Saunders)</b>	Anne	-1841	Address not found.						Lady of the Bedchamber 1813			
97															
98			<b>96</b>					<b>80</b>							<b>26</b>

ESTABLISHMENTS

Column2	Name	Key individuals	London address	Dates	Source	Planned town/village	Column5
Bank	Drummond		49 Charing Cross	1760-	Scotopolis, Layers of London <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/drummonds-bank">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/drummonds-bank</a>		
Architects club	Architects Club						
Coffeehouse/tavern	British Coffeehouse	Scots peers in London met monthly	27 Cockspur Street	1722-1886	SoL, Site of Nos 27-34 Cockspur Street (rebuilt by Robert Adam, 1770). <a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/the-british-coffeehouse">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/the-british-coffeehouse</a>		Most popular meeting place of Scots in London. Rep peers met there monthly. Weekly club for Scottish doctors met there.
Bank	Coutts & Company		59 The Strand				
Architects business	Adam Bros	John Adam (1721-92), Robert Adam (1728-92) and James Adam (1732-94).	(1) 13 Albemarle Street; (2) 4 Adelphi Terrace, The Adelphi				
Improvement promotor	British Fisheries Society	John Campbell, 5th Duke of Argyll (chair), Earl of Breadalbane (deputy chair), Marquis of Graham, Earl of Moray, Earl of Abercorn and Earl Gower. Principal civil engineer was Thomas Telford (1757-1834) and his patron sir William Pulteney, 5th Baronet.				<b>Ullapool, Wester Ross and Tobermory</b> , Isle of Mull, 1788; <b>Lochbay</b> , Isle of Skye, 1790; <b>Pulteney Town, Wick</b> , Caithness, 1808	
Parliamentary lobby	Convention of Royal Burghs - London agent	London agent: George Ross - see Notables.					
State sponsored landowner	Commission for the Forfeited/Annexed Estates	London agent: Milward Rowe, succeeded by William Mitford.				<b>Callander</b> , 1730; <b>Crieff</b> (with Duke of Perth); <b>Beauly</b> , c. 1760; <b>Benniebeg</b> , 1763; <b>Invercomrie</b> , 1763; <b>Kinloch Rannoch</b> , 1763; <b>Strelitz</b> , 1763, model agricultural village for demobbed soldiers (named after Queen Caroline of Mecklenberg-Strelitz).	
Cultural body	Highland Society of London						
Improvement promotor	Board of Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures and Improvements in Scotland (est. 1727)						
Poor relief of London Scots	Scottish Corporation (founded 1603, chartered by Charles II 1665; third royal charter, 1775).	James Graham, 3rd Duke of Montrose, President in 1781, spearheaded its renewal, donating £1,750 and moving it to rooms vacated by the Royal Society in Crane's Court.	Fleet Street	By 1782			Purpose to administer relief to the London Scottish poor. By 1787, some 10,000 London Scots were said to have taken part in event organised by the Corporation, the Highland Society, two Caledonian societies, the Ancient Caledonians in London's taverns and elsewhere. (White, p.120).
Coffeehouse/tavern	George		Several locations not known.				
Coffeehouse/tavern	Bedford Coffeehouse		Covent Garden (north west corner)		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/bedford-coffeehouse">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/bedford-coffeehouse</a>		
Coffeehouse/tavern	Shakespeare Head Tavern		Covent Garden (north west corner)				
Coffeehouse/tavern	Princes Street Piazza		Covent Garden				
Coffeehouse/tavern	Slaughter's Coffeehouse		St Martin's Lane (west side)				
Coffeehouse/tavern	Smyrna Coffee-house		Pall Mall		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/smyrna-coffee-house-5cc0a9bd-83c8-4c7b-91a5-9852af029513">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/smyrna-coffee-house-5cc0a9bd-83c8-4c7b-91a5-9852af029513</a>		
Coffeehouse/tavern	Thatched House Tavern		St James's Street				
Theatre	Theatre Royal, Covent Garden		Covent Garden				
Theatre	Drury Lane Theatre		Drury Lane/Bridges Street/Russell Street site				
Dining club	Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club	10th Earl of Eglinton, 3rd Earl of March (later 4th Duke of Queensberry).	Thatched House Tavern				
Dining club	Beefsteak Club	Samuel Johnson, James Boswell and Prince of Wales (future George IV).	Theatre Royal				
Cultural body	The Royal Academy of Arts, est. 1768	Sir William Chambers, founding member and first President.	Pall Mall, then Old Somerset House then new Somerset House.				Chambers, head of the British government's architects' department, the Office of Works, used his connections with George III to gain royal patronage and financial support.
Assembly rooms	Almack's		Pall Mall, 1764 and moved to St James's Street, 1778 (by Henry Holland)				Owned by William Macall, who reversed the syllables of his name, fearing his name was too Scottish and therefore unfashionable. Macall first came to London as valet to James, 7th Duke of Hamilton.
Cultural body	The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, est. 1754	Robert Adam (elected 1758; James Adam, 1763). Other Scots inc. Robert Mylne and James Stuart.	The Adelphi, John Street, 1772.				
Coffeehouse/tavern	Child's Coffeehouse		St Paul's Churchyard		<a href="https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/childs-coffeehouse">https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/childs-coffeehouse</a>		One of the oldest.

NOTES:

> is where  
the  
surname  
is missing

Column width from Dukes to Baronets:

A	7
B	13
C	5
D	11.56
E	11.56
F	8
G	17
H	9
I	25
J	8
K	9
L	30
M	33
N	29.33
O	12.44
P	28

**DUKES**

**DATA COUNT:**

	#
DUKES	30
MARQUEES	19
EARLS	165
VISCOUNTS	17
BARONS	41
BARONETS	25
NOTABLES	96
ESTABLISHM ENTS	27
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>420</b>