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The Earl of Buchan's political landscape at Dryburgh, 1786–1829

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ABSTRACT

David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan (1742–1829), is best known for founding the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland in 1780. In 1786 he reacquired the family's Dryburgh estate, on which stood the ruins of Dryburgh's medieval abbey, which he thereby protected from stone-robbing, enabling it to be enjoyed today. This paper focuses elsewhere, namely on Buchan's architectural interventions in the abbey's landscape, on what motivated him, what he sought to achieve and on what people both at the time and afterwards have made of him and these interventions. It is argued that while Scotland's elites were striving to downplay the independent nation's accomplishments, Buchan instead exploited Scottish history and accomplishment to create a political landscape at Dryburgh, centred on his statue of Sir William Wallace, Guardian of Scotland during the Wars of Independence and executed in 1305. It is argued, too, that the nature of Buchan's politics, as one of the privileged elite who had broken rank from the ruling class, resulted in his reputation being maligned and his creation being generally undervalued by posterity, and in particular by the Scots themselves, the very people to whom he wanted to reach out, to inspire, and to highlight.

INTRODUCTION

Two mountains flank the Highland watershed at Drumochter. They are named and gendered, the Boar of Badenoch and the Sow of Atholl. The watershed marks a primeval natural boundary and then a political one too; dividing north from south highlands, Perthshire from Inverness. The place carries a message from antiquity – that this piece of raw landscape is important. It became so once it was respected and agreed on either side as an appropriate boundary; which is to say that a geographical division had become a 'speaking' political one, confirming an accord between – and respected by – different people. Such application or signalling of meaning is therefore possible even without anything necessarily being constructed; while natural boundaries that might signify division– as a river crossing might show – can also signify unity. For example, it can hardly have passed the notice of United Kingdom unionist Sir Walter Scott – 'a Tory of the Tories' (Manuel 1922: 356) – that he had placed his Abbotsford House on the south (rhetorically 'English') bank of the Tweed, the river that symbolised where Scotland both divided from and simultaneously united with England; and, like the Rhine and Moselle today, 'Germany's two mythical rivers', the River Tweed also symbolised past conflict in a peaceful present (Michalski 1998: 59).

This function of conveying messages through landscapes was exploited by David Steuart Erskine (1742–1829), 11th Earl of Buchan, who acquired Dryburgh in 1786. His acquisition comprised an estate on a loop of the Tweed, and whose most singular feature was the ruinous medieval Dryburgh Abbey. Using the ruins as a centrepiece, Buchan created what orthodox classification denotes a 'Romantic landscape'.[1] This paper argues that a different or additional defining adjective applies to Buchan's Dryburgh,

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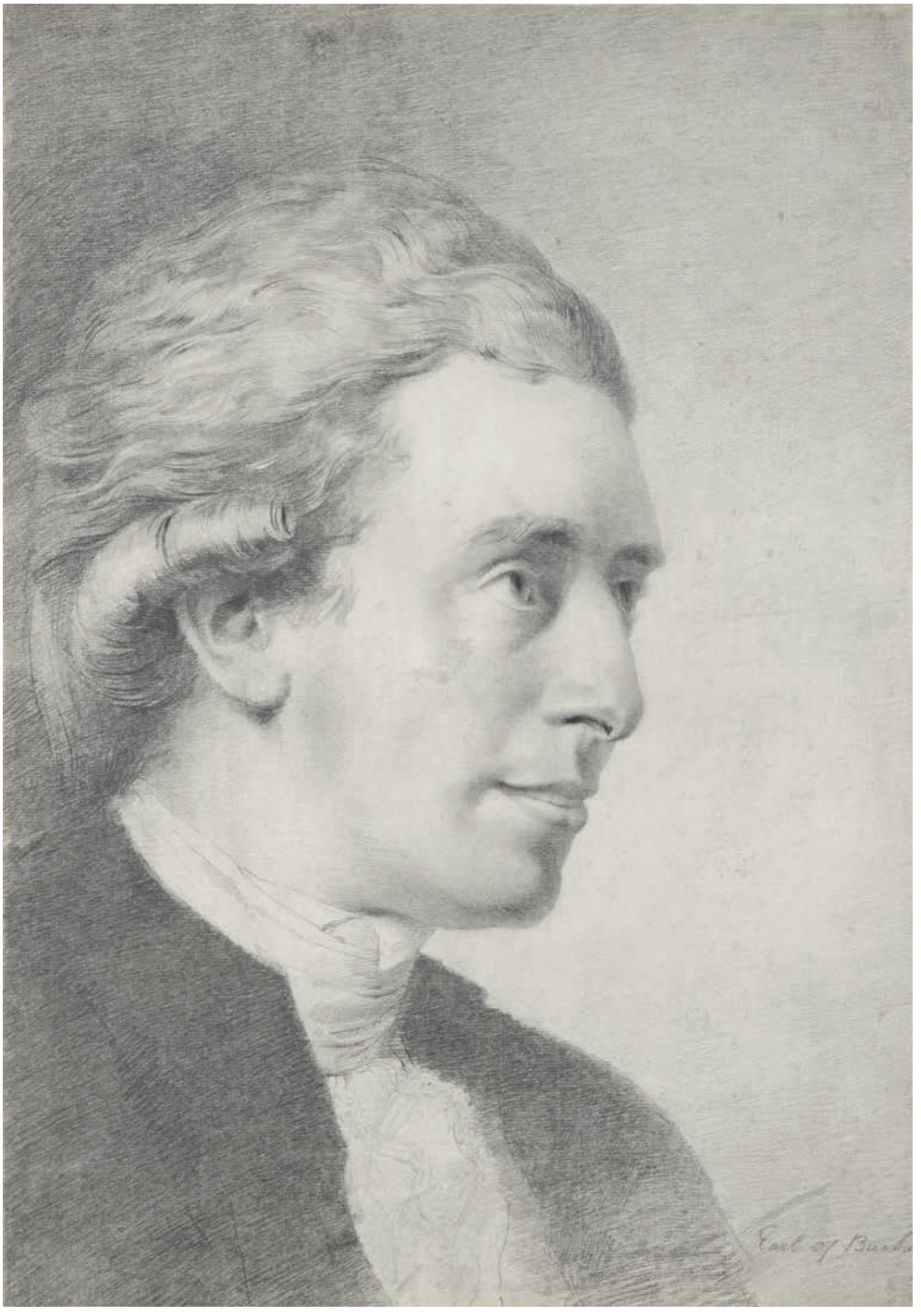


ILLUS 1 John Brown, *David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan, 1742–1829. Antiquary*. National Galleries of Scotland. Gifted by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 2009. (© Scottish National Portrait Gallery)

because here it is argued that Buchan created an intentional political landscape, sprung from the tradition of the Scottish historical landscape (MacKechnie 2002: 214–39; Stewart 2002: 240–64).

If politics concerns governance, power, ideological interface, opinions and agreements, then surely politics is in fact all around; every boundary, landscape, hill – river, even (as fishing rights show) – has its political story, and has acquired its present meaning and ownership through actions, decisions, agreements and conflicts of the past. This is what is indicated by the opening paragraph above. The signalling possibilities, of course, amplify when people build within a landscape, particularly when what they build is a monument – and all of this, Buchan did. An examination of his interventions at Dryburgh – most notably, a statue to celebrate Sir William Wallace, hero and (in England) anti-hero of Scotland's Wars of Independence – points to some political signals that he wanted his landscape to broadcast. But first, this paper considers the patron himself, the Earl of Buchan; and then considers what contemporaries thought of him and what historians have made of his posthumous reputation.[2]

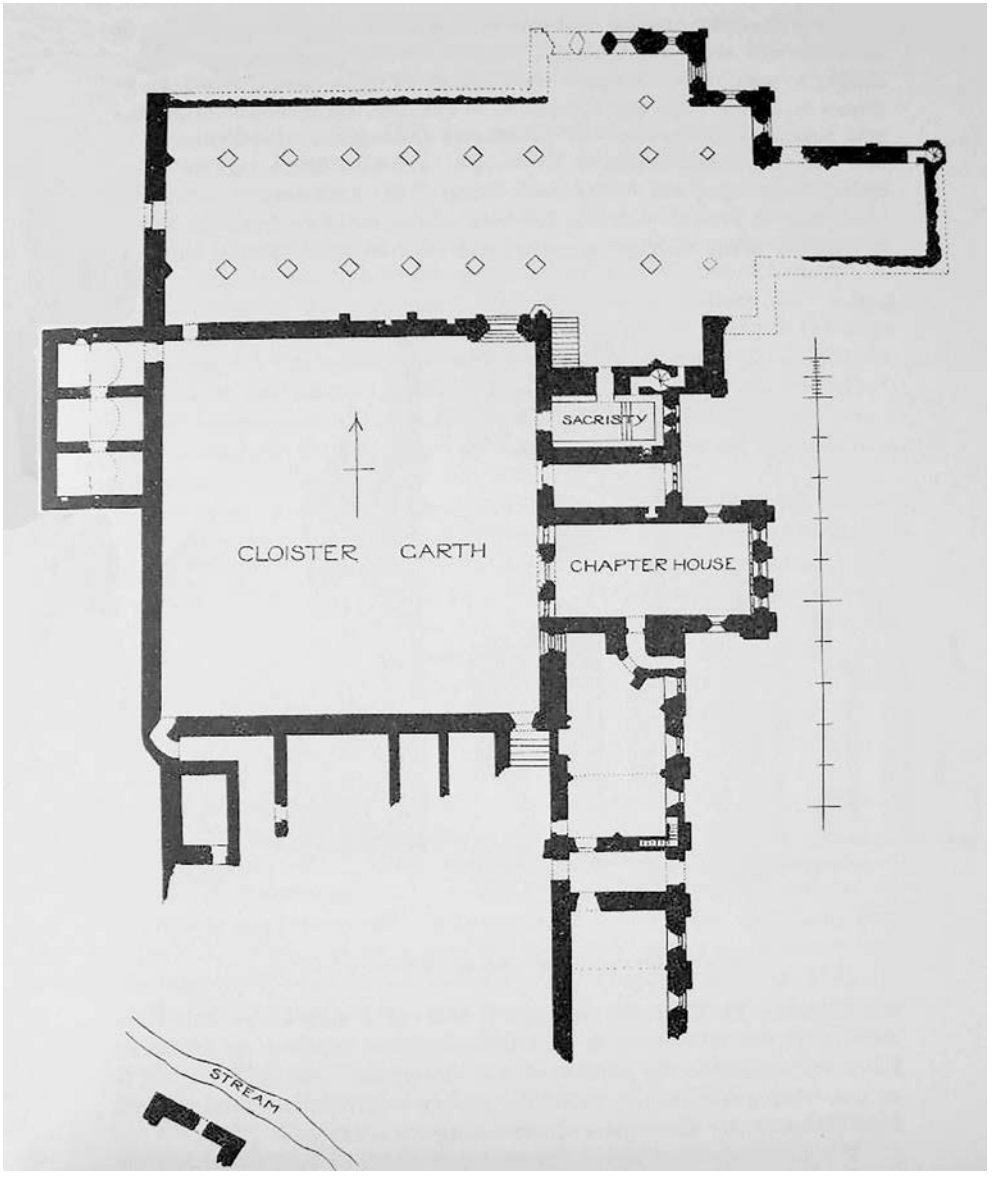
THE EARL OF BUCHAN

Today, Buchan is primarily famous as a historical figure because he founded the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland in 1780 (MacLeod 2004: 524–6). He also, in 1786, and as already noticed, bought the ruins of Dryburgh Abbey, to enjoy and protect; and yet he has not been acclaimed as a conservationist, notably within official guidebooks, when there has been every opportunity for doing so. He is recognised as an antiquarian; but less well-recognised, he was, in addition, the friend of scholarship and a support to others, including historians, and to friends and strangers whom he thought merited help. He maintained these principles, notwithstanding people who might seek his help yet disdain him (Horace Walpole for example, builder of Strawberry Hill) (Lamb 1963: 136, 218–23). Buchan was to be found always coming up with ideas, or important topics, and encouraging

ILLUS 2 Dryburgh Abbey. Photograph of 2004 showing view of transepts from the north-west. (© Elisa Rolle)

others – better placed than he – to take them on. He sought out, commissioned and collected portraits of people he thought accomplished and he published and collaborated on biographies of some.

There was also Buchan the intellectual, moderniser and Improver. He converted the family's Kirkhill estate from dilapidation to profit by reconstructing the agricultural system there; he initiated what – from 1791 – would



Illus 3 Dryburgh Abbey, plan by David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross published in 1896. This appears to represent the condition of the ruin when it was acquired by Buchan in 1786, and represents too what survives at the abbey today. Buchan's ownership arrested the building's decline. (© Aonghus MacKechnie)

become the Statistical Accounts of Scotland, inaugurated under his friend Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster; he was the Improver of Dryburgh's land – as a landscapist, planter of exotic species and, more utilitarian, creator of an enormous 12-acre stone-walled orchard whose walls survive today (Murray 1873: 195). In that pre-railway age he explored with neighbour landowners and engineer Robert Whitworth the viability of constructing a canal 'between Berwick, Kelso, and Ancrum Bridge' (NRS: GD 157/2322), and of course, the railway network was afterwards, in 1851, to connect with Kelso; he tested new waulkmill technology and explored the potential for developing industry locally (Murray 1873: 195). He also built a daringly innovative new chain bridge – twice – as shown below.

In addition to all of this, Buchan was also a scientist and experimentalist. In common with his fellow Improvers of his day he, of course, adopted a scientific approach to farming, but he also loved astronomy; as far back as 1776 he erected an astronomical pillar at Kirkhill (now relocated to Almondell Country Park). He experimented in ornithology – he introduced the nightingale to Dryburgh (Lamb 1963: 182). There was also Buchan the educationalist, again with ideas ahead of his time – he wanted girls to be educated, and as 'the rare aristocrat engaged in feminist initiatives' challenged male society's attitude towards women (Chernock 2006: 519); in his own words, 'the fatal error avoided, that a woman's chief excellence consists of being able to make a pudding' (Lamb 1963: 163). He also wanted university chairs of mineralogy and – evidencing an uncommonly open-minded regard for Gaeldom's then much-disdained culture – Gaelic.

Buchan was constantly alive to politics. He advocated reform of what he considered the corrupt method of electing Scottish lords: where exclusively pro-government candidate shortlists were sent from London for Scots to vote. He was a gloomy critic of the British government, where he saw what he regarded as corruption. He attacked what he considered haughty incompetence having resulted in the independence of the American colonies, but was quickly optimistic regarding the new-made United States of America, excited by the promise of the new democracy there. The French Revolution of 1789 also excited him. It had forcibly and successfully 'challenged the legitimacy of existing state regimes, putting into question the previously held view that any government's right to rule was independent of the will of its subjects' (Hechter 2000: 113). This was a situation and obvious threat viewed with horror from establishment Britain; and consequently, those who supported its principles were termed 'Radicals'. Elspeth King encapsulated Buchan's thinking on these topics: 'he became a passionate radical who supported the principle of women's education, the fledgling United States of America, the revolutionary government in France and revolution at home' (King 2014: 132–3). In this, as Gordon Pentland has shown, Buchan was part of an Anglo-Scottish and patriotically British reformist or radical reformist culture.[3]

He corresponded with Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and – more meaningfully – George Washington, claiming (or imagining) kinship with the latter. He gifted a box to Washington in 1791 made of the oak tree in the Torwood in which William Wallace, traditionally, had sheltered after the Battle of Falkirk in 1298; the sentiment of which Washington appreciated – both men, in Buchan's view, representing 'the ideal of patriotism' (Lamb 1963: 163–4).

In Buchan's correspondence with slave-owner George Washington, slavery was unmentioned. In 1786, the year William Wilberforce began his anti-slavery campaign, Buchan was, or had become, 'keenly interested' in slave emancipation, particularly for old slaves – albeit his concerns then were for regulating rather than abolishing the slave trade (Lamb 1963: 327). His position regarding slavery was to change. His correspondence with Washington advocated, instead of slaughter, peace with Native Americans; although regardless of this, in the event they 'were the victims of ruthless massacres and survivors ended up in reservations' (Cooper 2005: 196).

He was also a patriotic Briton; a one-time soldier at Fort George (Manuel 1922: 336), and (at least in his earlier years) a supporter of and correspondent with the monarchy. He created a mini-cult of poet James Thomson, author of

Rule Britannia; and he advocated union with Ireland; which, of course, would make Britain (or Westminster) more powerful, but his motivation was a wish to find peace in face of Britain's militarism there – though it is unknown whether he afterwards agreed with George, Lord Byron, for whom in 1812 the outcome was 'a Union of never uniting … the union of the shark with his prey' (Byron 1824: 35).

Another facet to the man was Buchan the patriotic Scot, who repeatedly promoted Scottish history and Scottish culture. He initiated what he wanted to become a series of Scottish biographies – what he called a *Biographia Scotica* – in which he hoped, in 1783, the historian Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, would take the lead, though in the event Hailes's own writings remained his priority (Lamb 1963: 132). Buchan had already led by example with his biography of John Napier of Merchiston (1550–1617), the (Scottish) inventor of logarithms, whom he denoted 'our British Archimedes' (Buchan & Minto 1778: dedication page). He obtained assistance in that work from Dr Walter Minto (afterwards professor of mathematics at Princeton University) 'to execute the mathematical disquisition connected with this undertaking with sufficient ability' (Buchan & Minto 1778: dedication page). His follow-up biography of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1653–1716), foremost political opponent of British union in 1707, provided him with a platform for airing his political views.

Beyond that clearly Scottish focus, however, Buchan admired talent from anywhere. For example, at Dryburgh he celebrated Classical and Renaissance heroes such as astronomer Nicholas Copernicus, and amongst others, as he put it: 'The great [Isaac] Newton … That wonderful man, whose fame will embalm the reputation of England' (Erskine 1812: 275). He celebrated the precocious 17th-century English architect Inigo Jones (then believed to have been the architect of George Heriot's Hospital) by erecting a statue of him in the centre of the cloister,[4] which Buchan had made into a flower garden, denoting him, admiringly, as *Vitruvio Britannico* (Erskine 1836: 58) – thereby again indicating Buchan's sense of a pan-Britishness existing which merited celebration. And in 1791, at Buchan's request, George Washington agreed to sit for his portrait by Monymusk-born American artist Archibald Robertson (1765–1835), which was duly delivered to Dryburgh in 1793 (Lamb 1963, 164–5).[5]

Buchan's reputation and legacy, though, have sometimes been presented negatively by historians. For example, to garden historians his innovations at Dryburgh tended to have been assessed upon traditional art-value/plant-value lines and so were regarded as unremarkable, or in Tait's word, 'disappointing' (Tait 1980: 3). The absence from the known documentary record of any garden designer's name, which would have enabled its better contextualising, has not helped elevate that appraisal, although Tait noted that garden designer and theorist George Parkyns was at Dryburgh Abbey in 1805 (Tait 1980: 201, n 91). This was around the time that Parkyns designed the American garden at Millburn Tower[6] – though of course this is not evidence of Parkyns having worked or not worked at Dryburgh, albeit landscape design can hardly have been excluded from their conversations. Dryburgh's landscape has nonetheless, more recently, been classified 'outstanding' by Historic Environment Scotland, due partly to the supreme importance of the abbey and partly on account of 'the Dryburgh Yew, together with a wide range of impressive parkland and specimen conifer trees'.[7]

This paper, however, is concerned less with the orthodox consideration of planting, garden design and searching a designer's name, all of which is of course valuable and traditionally the domain of the garden historian. It focuses instead on Buchan's architectural innovations within the landscape and their meanings, and then expands on the historiography surrounding Buchan; seeking to understand why his reputation is as it is, and to consider whether attitudes should be reappraised.

THE ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT AND THE FAMILY REACQUISITION OF DRYBURGH, 1786

Scotland's historic buildings found two main cultural values in the 18th century. Inveraray

Castle (being planned from 1743) exemplified the idea of building a new 'historic' gothic castle; inspiring successors such as the castles by the architect brothers John, James and Robert Adam (for instance, and very obviously, Douglas Castle, begun 1757), or Walter Scott's Abbotsford (main phase built 1822–4); and in England, Strawberry Hill (conceived 1750) created for and by Horace Walpole, noted above as an unsatisfactory friend to Buchan.

Alternatively, there was repurposing the genuinely 'old', be that for pleasure or dynastic reasons, or both. It could be argued that the archetypal example of exploiting 'real' historic buildings for their picturesque qualities is in England – Fountains Abbey, whose supremely beautiful ruins were exploited by a new owner from 1768. An example near Dryburgh of exploiting a historic building for dynastic purposes is Hume Castle, a ruin since an English artillery assault in 1651. By 1789 it had been reconstructed, very impressively, for the 3rd Earl of Marchmont as a curtain-walled eyecatcher, to display family greatness (Erskine 1812: 38–9; Cruft et al 2006: 389–90). Likewise, Dryburgh had belonged to the Buchan family in the 17th century. Its ruins were more complex and intact than those of Hume Castle, far less prominent but arguably more picturesque, and Buchan celebrated his family heritage through its purchase. Which he regarded as a reacquisition.

Dryburgh Abbey had been constructed from the mid-12th century, was a repeated victim of war damage from successive English armies over the 14th–16th centuries, left largely a ruin since the assaults of the 1540s; and was un-needed following the Reformation in 1560. It served latterly as a source to builders of ready-dressed ashlars, until Buchan halted that. In 1832, architect George Smith reported on the archaeological evidence of Dryburgh's destruction by fire at the hands of English armies, and also that Buchan enjoyed its being retained as a picturesque ruin: 'The abbey, as well as the modern mansion-house of the proprietor, is completely embosomed in wood' (Smith 1832: 322). Buchan also celebrated his family heritage with the Erskine Obelisk (discussed below) and with two inscription tablets set into the chancel walling of the abbey, together with a panel commemorating the Norman knight Hugh de Morville, Constable of Scotland and friend of King David I (reigned 1124–53), who was the Abbey's founder. The date 1136 inscribed over the southmost cross-passage was presumably Buchan's idea, intending to indicate the construction date; although the date 1150 is more commonly used today (Cruft et al 2006: 214).

The acquisition of Dryburgh had also fulfilled a sort of national preservationist desire, or sense of duty, held by Buchan. Meanwhile, though – and from a conservationist's perspective, paradoxically – in precisely the same spirit exhibited at the contemporary Melville Castle of 1786–91 (where the old castle was replaced by James Playfair for Henry Dundas, Lord Melville) Buchan, using explosives, demolished the old Dryburgh Castle to build his castellated modern mansion. Presumably he considered that not to be part of, or a worthy part of, the Buchan legacy.

LANDSCAPE MONUMENTS

Monuments, of course, are usually – some might argue always – political. They appeal to the viewer to remember, learn from, or adopt a message – be that concerning a person or an event. Monuments, even when inside a building, normally need some form of open setting to display their presence and thus their message(s). Where a landscape's natural attractions are captured – 'imprisoned' – forced to serve and to broadcast the monument-builder's political discourse, this is a political landscape. To quote Martin Warnke: 'Major monuments owe their siting to a desire to take over beautiful or striking stretches of the landscape for political purposes and to impose a political message on the whole region' (Warnke 1994: 18).

No 'major monuments' seem to have been made in the 18th century that were intended to signal a Scottish political nationalism. Generally, people with the wealth to build seem to have been content with a cultural nationalism, as discussed below. But in addition, people were generally cautious; viewed from establishment London, Scotland remained faintly in disgrace. For over a

Illus 4 Dryburgh, west doorway. This view shows rough internal wall packing exposed by removal of the abbey's ashlars, a process halted by Buchan's acquisition of Dryburgh in 1786. The sculptured doorway itself – probably 15th century Romanesque revival rather than 12th century Romanesque – had been less desirable for re-use than the ready-made flat-faced ashlars. (© Aonghus MacKechnie)

half-century after 1689 – predominantly Scottish – Jacobites (supporters of the exiled Stuart monarchy) had threatened the settled hierarchical order until being crushed militarily in 1746 on Culloden's battlefield and suppressed through a follow-up programme of government reprisals, propaganda and continuing military presence (Pittock 2016: 99–158). And while the perceived threat of Jacobitism receded, the above-mentioned events in the separatist USA and Revolutionary France prompted the invigoration of establishment paranoia; particularly regarding Scotland, a society considered in need of closer surveillance and management. So when Robert Burns penned the song 'Scots wha hae' – correctly, 'Bruce's address to his Troops at Bannockburn' – the background context included these two revolutions; and in the foreground, struggles for Radical reform and popular allusions to Scotland's Wars of Independence. Burns had presented England's king as intending to impose 'chains and slavery' upon Scotland; and the line 'Now's the day and now's the hour' could have applied equally to the date of the battle, 1314, or to the 1790s and the democratising revolutionary ambitions of Radicals. As state paranoia continued, in 1818, a band was jailed in Paisley for playing 'Scots wha hae' (Penman 2009: 25), while a lengthy legacy of awkward discomfort about Culloden continued. As late as 1850, more than a century after the battle, Scots were reluctant to call 'brave' the Jacobite soldiers who had faced a numerically superior and better-equipped professional army; they were presented instead, carefully, as 'brave though mistaken' (*Inverness Courier*, 7 March 1850).[8]

The single most emblematic monument from the broader period referencing Jacobitism was not in Scotland, but at another political landscape, in England, at Windsor Great Park. This is George II's enormous Culloden Pillar, celebrating the triumph of 1746 by his son who commanded the government army at the battle. Similarly, the Glenfinnan monument (1815 and later), however defiantly Jacobite it might superficially have seemed, referenced a politics that had gone; not something that might revive. Also in Scotland, Britishness, represented by, say, Battle of Dettingen victory monuments against the French, from 1743, were acceptable or desirable (at Newhailes, for instance), while Dettingen plantations were also created in designed landscapes – including that of Dumfries House, where today there is a Dettingen Roundabout on the A76.

England's builders, by contrast, had more up-beat, straightforward and 'normal' attitudes towards their English heritage. One of them (Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham (1675–1749)) created the Temple of British Worthies at Stowe (1733) – every British worthy being English, illustrating what Britain meant to him. Nothing was displayed by that monument of the constituent British nations having coalesced; for Cobham, England and Britain were rather similar entities.

Scotland produced no equivalent landscape celebration to Stowe of its British heroes. Everyone knew (not least from Robert Burns's poetry) its most popularly celebrated heroes were those of the medieval Wars of Independence against England – William Wallace and King Robert I, 'the Bruce'. The two had been weaponised 'for patriotic purposes' by 18th-century Jacobites (Pittock 1995: 34); and then, for the other side, Bruce was weaponised by the Hanoverian monarchy for the royal visit of 1822, when it was stressed that the 'blood of the heroic Robert Bruce … is in [the king's] veins' (Anon 1822: 6–7). Which, albeit a political device, was quite true. Possibly Edinburgh's 1770s New Town came closest to being a Scottish architectural celebration of Britain; a political urban landscape where the old-style formula of applying utilitarian street names (such as Trongate) was rejected, to be replaced by applying hero names celebrating the British monarchy (George Street, for example, named after the king); even though none of the individuals celebrated (rather unhelpfully for the British nation builders) ever saw Scotland.

Scotland also favoured a sort of 'ancestor worship' – as shown by Dryburgh's reacquisition and Hume's reconstruction; and a celebration, as will be seen, of literary or – more frequently – Protestant religious figures, each of whom could be presented as aligned with the new British ideology. It has been observed that 'consideration of commemorative monuments

involves the idea of cultural nationalism as an expression of a nation's sense of self, its national identity' (Coleman 2014: 151), and precisely this cultural nationalism is illustrated by, for example, commemoration of the 16th-century scholar George Buchanan (1506–82) with a vast monument at Killearn, his birthplace. This was built in 1788–9, celebrating the Protestant triumph of 1688–9 when James VII was forfeited, the crown being given to William of Orange and Mary his wife, already King and Queen of England and Ireland (*Scots Magazine* 1788 vol 50: 358; Erskine 2016: 289–90). Buchanan was branded as a hero of civil and religious liberty and a prophet of that Protestant triumph through his *De jure regni* of 1579 which had provided an intellectual basis for the removal of 'bad' kings. James VII (& II) having been Roman Catholic, and considered still in the 1780s as, therefore, 'bad'. The monument represented Scotland's cultural 'sense of self' through hard-won Protestantism; though the sharing of that cultural aspect with England meant that it was political too, and consequently, was deployed by Britain's nation-builders. The evidence showing the innocuousness, or pro-establishment value, of the choice of topic was the fact there was a sister English project, planned to celebrate the centenary of the 'Glorious Revolution' there of 1688. This was a 'column with a statue of William III intended to be erected at Runnymede' – the location being associated with England's hero-king Alfred, and the Magna Carta.[9] In Scotland, numerous 17th-century Covenanter (Presbyterian) martyrs were celebrated afterwards, around the turn of the 19th century. In North Berwick, for example, the memorial to Covenanting preacher Rev John Blackadder, who died on the Bass Rock in 1686, after five years imprisonment under Stuart monarchs, was, its inscription informs, 'Renewed by private subscription' in July 1821. James Renwick (1662–88), another Covenanter preacher and martyr, was given a landscape monument in 1828 at Moniaive, his birthplace (Gifford 1996: 447). The evidence that these monuments were considered to align with British paradigms is the fact that they were done with the approval of the Church of Scotland; or even more clearly, the fact that Covenanter memorial inscriptions being recut to preserve and highlight their stories and scenes of their martyrdoms had inspired Walter Scott's 1816 novel *Old Mortality*. Its hero was based on the mason Robert Paterson (bap. 1716–1801) who, from a cultural 'sense of self' and ideological purpose, devoted his time to doing precisely that (Sherbo 2014: 26).

LANDSCAPES, HEROES AND POLITICS

It has been argued above that different categories of political landscape exist, with differing ideologies. A natural landscape, unchanged, can be ascribed political meanings; while pro-establishment intentional political landscapes were created by 18th-century British monument builders. The absence in Scotland was noted too of intentional political landscapes that might conflict with establishment paradigms – specifically: there was no high-profile glorification of the top-flight popular heroes Wallace or Bruce. Prudence, and the Scottish take on what constituted Britain, advised that some statements were better not made. This represents the other end of the spectrum – ignoring, or even concealing, messages judged inappropriate. After all, it has been argued that 'nationalism … often obliterates pre-existing cultures' (Hobsbawm 2012: 10). The process as applied to Scotland is perhaps manifest here because this paper argues that the new, official, British state nationalism guided what constituted suitable (and also therefore unsuitable) paradigms to draw from the pre-existing Scottish culture; and it argues too that it was Buchan's repudiation of these 'rules' which helped shape his subsequent reputation, written, as it frequently was, by establishment historians, even into the early 21st century. There is no statue to the man, and no published biography.

Here we must step back to consider the word 'nationalism' and how it might be applied to a consideration of Buchan's time. The term, first published in 1774 by Johann Gottfried Herder and bearing differing meanings to different people, has no universally agreed definition, though it obviously has something to do with

building nations, the world being 'organized in terms of nations and national identities' (Calhoun 2006: 26). Hechter argued:

> It has long been held that nationalism consists of political activities that aim to make the boundaries of the nation – a culturally distinctive collectivity aspiring to self-governance – coterminous with those of the state … Nationalism thus, directly or indirectly, entails the pursuit of national self-determination. [However] … defining nationalism in terms of the state confines it to the modern world … Accordingly, nationalism is better defined as collective action designed to render the boundaries of the nation congruent with those of its governance unit … groups seeking to advance the congruence of nation and governance unit (say, by promoting national sovereignty) are unambiguously nationalist. Still, nationalism is a variable, not a constant. To the degree that a given group aims for something less than complete sovereignty – or for goals that are quite irrelevant to its attainment – then it is perforce less nationalist (Hechter 2000: 7–9).

That last sentence could apply to the highlighting of cultural nationalism (eg promoting a national music tradition) over the political, and in Buchan's time there was no formalised group pressing for Scottish national sovereignty. Most historians agree that, complicated though the situation was, Scotland was then, by contrast, overwhelmingly supportive of union, and thus arguably 'less [Scottish] nationalist'. But nationalism is immediately two-sided, its obverse being that of the conglomerate state – integrationist, or unification nationalism which 'aims to create an overarching state that supplants … smaller sovereign units in a (relatively) culturally homogeneous territory' (Hechter 2000: 85). Davies argued that:

> State nationalism, which was driven by the interests of the ruling elite, is well illustrated in the case of Great Britain … In 1707 [the year of Scottish–English union] when the United Kingdom came into existence, there was no British nation. The people of the British Isles thought of themselves as English, Welsh, Scots, or Irish. Over the years … the propagation of the dominant English culture, and the promotion of its loyal Protestant and English-speaking servants, gradually consolidated a strong sense of overlying British identity. In the nineteenth century … non-English cultures were actively suffocated … All 'Britons' were expected to show loyalty to the symbols of a new British nationality … In this way the new British nation was forged. Its older component nations, though not eradicated, were relegated to the status of junior and subordinate partners (Davies 2014: 813).

So, integrationist, or unification nationalism was exemplified by Britain in 1707, and the United Kingdom in 1801 (the year of union with Ireland). Nineteenth-century German unification is another example; that is, creating a new nation by making things bigger. And of course the disintegrationist alternative exists too, exemplified by Ireland post-1916, snipping things up, making things smaller.[10] Graeme Morton described something different again: 'unionist nationalism' – a Scottish paradigm which attempts to have both Scottish nationalism *and* British nationalism in continued union. This might in some contexts – such as his pan-Britishness in his connection with Radicals – seem to apply to Buchan; but not entirely, because according to Morton 'Buchan was one of the few voices to argue for an independent Scottish republic at this time' (Morton 1999: 176).

Hardly surprisingly, nationalism had (and still has) a key role in the selection of suitable national heroes. One motivator to the monumentalisers might be associational value – selecting physical locations correspondent with the desired message. This applied precisely in the case of the Covenanting martyrs discussed above, where location, as shown, was prized. As Presbyterians, the martyrs could be claimed by the Union-age establishment. Another example is the cult of Mary, Queen of Scots, with places she had visited celebrated in the landscape at 1670s–80s Kinross House, at 1680s Prestonfield House's south vista, and elsewhere. As already seen, Buchan's acquisition of Dryburgh celebrated his family's association with the place: they represented one category of his 'heroes'. He made his point on The Erskine Obelisk, south of the abbey, whose inscriptions include 'ERECTED BY THE RIGHT HON DAVID STEWART ERSKINE EARL OF BUCHAN TO THE HONOUR OF HIS ANCESTORS 1794'.

Illus 5 Dryburgh, Erskine Obelisk. Erected, according to its inscription, by Lord Buchan 'to the honour of his ancestors 1794'. (© Aonghus MacKechnie)

Heroes frequently have a nationality that is highlighted; so they can readily become nationalist icons, or cults. This was the case with William Shakespeare, whose house was made a shrine after its 'rediscovery' by actor David Garrick in 1769. Shakespeare was now presented as an English – and therefore British – triumph, with a theatre named after him in Edinburgh. Similarly, Robert Burns' cottage was, perhaps copycat-like, also made a national shrine;[11] but in contrast, definitely Scottish. Walter Scott's Abbotsford became a national shrine during the great man's lifetime, and in the 1840s, 'John Knox's House' was appropriated for the Presbyterian Church – a riposte to the secularist Robert Burns fans, and a religious counterpart to the royalist cult of Mary, Queen of Scots headquartered in nearby Holyrood. Examples outwith the UK could include Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's house in Frankfurt am Main, painstakingly rebuilt from cinders after the Second World War. These are places made important by proud association with their national heroes. In contrast, English intellectual George Orwell's Scottish home at Barnhill, where he wrote his internationally famous novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was twice rejected on grounds of insufficient interest for listing by government body Historic Scotland. Nonetheless, people more generally consider it to be important; it has a sort of pilgrimage value, and is advertised for visitors travelling to Jura as a prized attraction, highlighting the island, the writer and his association with the place, rather than any nation.

Monuments can arouse a spectrum of emotions. Perhaps martial pride, such as existed among the victors on Calton Hill, whose monument to Admiral Horatio Nelson began construction in 1807; or at Culloden, commemorating the battle of 1746 – pity, anger or dismay over an unrighted wrong for some, another triumph to others; or perhaps emotionless, an unfortunate but necessary action. All these options and more depend on the viewer's politics or interpretation of events: 'regardless of any meaning the monument was intended to transmit, ultimately it is the "reader" rather than the "author" who decides what the monument signifies' (Coleman 2014: 152). Similarly, Buchan, as a monument builder, intended to cause people to feel, think, and possibly even act on the basis of his messages, but he had no power over any of that.

BUCHAN'S TEMPLE OF THE MUSES AND THE BRIDGES

Buchan decided that for Dryburgh, the supreme national (though also local) 'hero' to be celebrated first was a literary figure, the above-mentioned poet James Thomson (1700–48), who was famous primarily for his series of four poems, *The Seasons*. The most obvious precedent

ILLUS 6 Dryburgh, Temple of the Muses. Erected 1812 by Lord Buchan. Designed and executed by the Smiths of Darnick. Sculpture inside denoting 'The Four Seasons' is by Siobhan O'Hehir, 2002. (© Aonghus MacKechnie)

for such commemoration was the monument of 1774 at Renton to novelist Tobias Smollett (1721–71) (Gifford & Walker 2002: 643), and of course monuments to Allan Ramsay, Burns and Scott would follow; people whose work, like that of Thomson, was popular within an audience beyond Scotland. Buchan constructed two monuments to Thomson locally – a giant obelisk at Ednam, where Thomson was born, and at Dryburgh, Buchan's 'Temple of the Muses … To the Memory of Thomson & Burns' (Erskine 1812: frontispiece). According to Murray, as an infant, Buchan 'had been dandled on that poet's knee' (Murray 1873: 194).

The Ednam monument was inaugurated on Thomson's birthday, 22 September 1791, with Burns invited, but absent.[12] 'I have in my hands', said Buchan at the ceremony, 'a copy of *The Seasons* which my father received from the author; and on it, since I have not the bust of the poet to invest, I lay this garland of bays' (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1791: 1085). Rather awkwardly, the book alone was crowned because the bust of Thomson made for the event had been 'broken in a midnight frolick during the race week on the 16th of September' (Lamb 1963: 211).

The subject appears superficially to have been the 'safe' and established rote of celebrating Scotland by foregrounding politically unchallenging literary worthies. As author (or co-author) of 'Rule Britannia', Thomson clearly passed the 'loyal Briton' test. Even Robert Burns, author of pro-Scottish and Radical political poetry, but also of the pro-British 'Does Haughty Gaul invasion threat?', and too big, perhaps, to ignore, was quickly adopted posthumously as an establishment figure (Crawford 2009: 10).

But the place of Thomson is complicated. According to Mary Jane Scott, Thomson was patriotically Scottish, underplayed his Scottishness in London, where Scots were unloved and Scottishness was not to be paraded and, from the 1730s, grew disillusioned that the expected or promised union of equal partnership was, in his view, unfulfilled (Scott 1988: 217).

Of Thomson's poem 'Liberty', according to Scott, Buchan 'had in mind particularly Scottish ideals of freedom', remarking that 'I will take the liberty to say that Britain knows nothing of the liberty that Thomson celebrates!' (Scott 1988: 215). Buchan believed Thomson's 'liberty' was that which Scots had lost in 1707 through union with England, while, of course, England had lost no liberty through that union – rather, for England, politics continued as essentially 'business as usual'. By celebrating Thomson, Buchan was rather defiantly celebrating Scotland and highlighting its status within the union in face of an establishment which, in his view, considered Scotland not to merit such status.

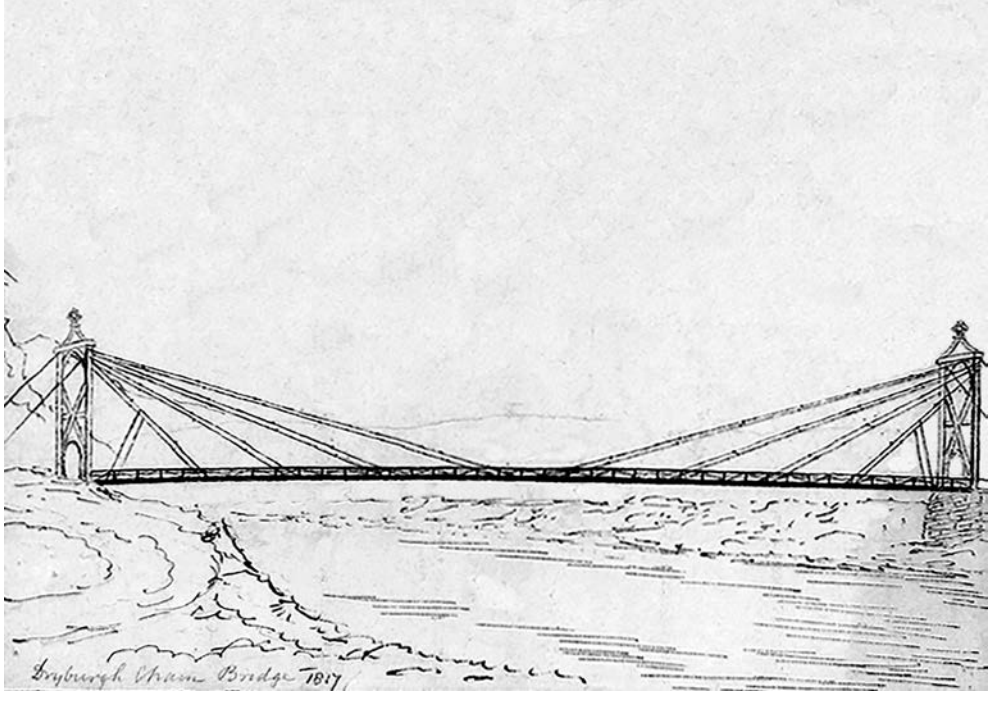
The Temple of the Muses was inaugurated on 18 August 1812, and in that year Buchan, as indicated above, intended it to contain a statue of Burns which was to have been sculpted by one of the Smiths of Darnick (presumably John) (NRS: GD 1/378/23). Like Garrick's Temple of 1756 at Hampton to Shakespeare, set beside the River Thames, Buchan chose a riverside setting – beside the Tweed. The specific site chosen by Buchan is the crest of the Bass Hill, a prominent knoll resembling a medieval moot hill (which it may have been), maybe part-artificial, or sculpted, which now served as a Parnassus. Buchan's Temple is topped by a bust of Thomson, above a lyre. The sculpture he ultimately installed inside the Temple referenced the nine muses of classical antiquity (which the Temple's nine columns clearly referenced as well) whose function was to inspire creation. According to an 1830 guidebook, it was also 'embellished by memorial tablets of the poets, Ossian, Drummond [of Hawthornden], Thomson, and Burns' (Anon 1830: 318). This was a place to draw people, a venue for encouraging, displaying and celebrating talent. An 1860 historical painting (*Der Weimarer Miusenhof* by Theobald Freiherr von Oer) of the 1803 Temple of The Muses at Schloss Tiefurt, in Weimar – a culturally vigorous territory aware of contemporary Scottish culture through people such as Friedrich von Schiller and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe – illustrates what Buchan presumably envisioned for his Temple. The painting illustrates Schiller facing the crowded temple and reading his work to an enthralled audience, amongst whom is Goethe.[13]

Buchan's idea was that people should be drawn to his Temple. Therefore, once he had identified

the practical and humanitarian need for a bridge over the Tweed (there had been drownings), he built it not at the established crossing place by the ford; but instead, 70m to its west, leading directly towards his Temple. Characteristically, Buchan wanted his new bridge to be inventive. This was an age when Enlightenment Scotland's bridge technology was world-leading; for example, there was Alexander Nasmyth's invention of the bowstring bridge, and Buchan's brother Henry had previously engaged Nasmyth *c* 1800 for construction of the picturesque Almondell Bridge on his Lothian estates. Dryburgh's cable-stayed chain bridge of 1817 was daring, extremely early and experimental (NRS: GD 157/2009/1; Paxton & Shipway 2007: 68–9, 77); its 'span [of] 261 feet, being the greatest span of any bridge in the kingdom' (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1817: 175).[14] It was possibly no surprise that it fell a year later; to be replaced by an again-innovative chain bridge design, suspension this time[15] – absolutely reversing the sequence of Forth Road bridges. For his landscape, this idealistic antiquarian also wanted to display the most cutting-edge – *Scottish?* – inventiveness. Temple and bridge were to work together, each intended to display evidence of creativity, talent and inventiveness within this cultural landscape.[16]

BUCHAN'S STATUE TO SIR WILLIAM WALLACE

Buchan, meanwhile, had long been considering martyr–hero Sir William Wallace, Guardian of Scotland during the Wars of Independence, executed in London as a traitor to England in 1305. He contributed to the literature on Wallace by sponsoring an updated version of the medieval biographical epic by Blind Hary, published in 1790 and 'Carefully transcribed from the M.S. copy… in the Advocate's Library under the eye



ILLUS 7 Dryburgh, 1817 drawing of cable-stayed chain bridge constructed that same year. The bridge led directly to Buchan's Temple of the Muses and was one of the earliest of its type built anywhere, thereby illustrating Buchan's interest in pioneering technology and invention. Insufficiently robust, it lasted only a year, though the Gothic pylons were retained for the successor bridge. (© Lord Polwarth)

Illus 8 Dryburgh, statue of Sir William Wallace. Erected 1814 by Lord Buchan. Sculpted by the local mason/architect John Smith of Darnick. (© Aonghus MacKechnie)

of the Earl of Buchan' (Blind Hary 1790: title page; King 2014: 129).

Afterwards, Buchan erected a statue to Wallace. If the idea was not in fact hers, he would certainly have received encouragement from his wife, Margaret Fraser, to judge by two memorials at Almondell, each dated 15 October 1784 – the couple's 13th wedding anniversary. Hers had the more expansive text, stating explicitly that she had commissioned it; and it commemorated her ancestor Sir Simon Fraser of Oliver and Neidpath, a combatant in the Wars of Independence who had been executed in London the year after Wallace, his head set on a spike beside Wallace's. Buchan's memorial – presuming it, on the basis of the marriage date, to be his and not Margaret's also – simply commemorated Wallace (Primrose 1898: 103–4). [17]

Wallace's place in history meant that over several centuries he was both commemorated at numerous associational sites, including the area around Almondell – King noted 83 Wallace place-names on OS maps (King 2014: 121) – and celebrated continuously in Scottish culture; but Wallace was awkward, obviously, for the union-age establishment and British nation builders to deal with. After all, an expectation in identifying a nation was having a shared history (Hobsbawm 2012: 6); Arminius was helpful in Germany, representing an alliance of Germanic tribes having resisted the Romans. But the history of Scotland and England had no such unifying hero to reference; the two countries had instead been intermittent foes or rivals since 1296. The answer for pro-establishment nation builders, such as Walter Scott, had been simply to ignore, or not highlight Wallace, in accord with the policy noted above of Enlightenment historians; but another answer had meanwhile arrived. Wallace was popularised in Jane Porter's historical novel of 1810, *Scottish Chiefs*, where he became a de facto unionist Briton. His motivation and outrage were presented as domestic – to avenge his wife – and not national; 'opposition between Scotland and England is resolved not by Scotland's victory but in British unity' (Morton 2012: 316). Now, Wallace was being credited with the 1707 union having been one of equals, which it could supposedly have never otherwise been; and (thus concluded Porter's account), Scotland's real foe was to be understood as the same as that of Britain: viz, France. That a French translation of 1814 was banned by Napoleon, Ossian's most famous fan, means he regarded it as propaganda (Morton 2012: 318). Even Walter Scott, whose vast output of historical material effectively omitted the Wars of Independence, dismissed it, because she had sought to reduce Wallace's status to that of 'a fine gentleman' (Cowan 2014: 16).

If indeed the Thomson memorials conveyed a superficially benign Scottish cultural nationalism, whilst in fact celebrating Scotland more politically, if covertly, then Buchan's statue to Wallace was more bluntly political. It was inaugurated in 1814, again on Thomson's birthday, 22 September. The site chosen, at Clint Hill, which he renamed 'Wallace Hill', is a platform on the edge of a ridge or cliff almost 1km north of the Abbey, with an approximately 180°

viewing arc overlooking the Tweed to the west, towards 'Trimontium', and the western Borders, all of which had been part of the campaign territory of the Wars. The statue is colossal, as is Wallace's oversized sword (he has two, the other smaller), and he gazes not directly south, towards England, but approximately south-west over the ancient north/south road which Wallace probably used, and towards Selkirk Forest, where Wallace had hidden in safety. The message may equally, therefore, have been protection rather than aggression. At any rate, Scotland's Guardian was standing guard. The intention was that the statue would be seen both from afar and by visitors, as was noted by contemporaries – being 'on a rocky eminence overlooking the river, amidst hanging woods … It is of the height of 21 feet [6.4m], and stands on a pedestal 10 feet [3.0m] high, so that it may be seen for many miles around' (Anon 1830: 318).

Precisely this context was described regarding the Kyffhäuser monument (built 1892–6), celebrating Germany's first emperor, William I, and thus a celebration of integrationist state nationalism. It was agreed to 'deliberately set it on a hill, remote from any town, so that it would be visible from afar [so that the viewer] … would be doubly receptive to the message of the monument' (Warnke 1994: 18).

There was even a gate lodge built at the path to the Wallace monument to accommodate a 'warden and caretaker' to the statue – a local poet named Jamie Barrie; and a visitors' book, because tourists were hoped for (Lamb 1963: 186), while the cliff face below was consolidated and Romanticised with muscular rock-faced masonry above the pathway. Poet and author James Hogg ('the Ettrick Shepherd') 'liked and admired' the statue (Hogg 1834: 153), while the 1830 guidebook directed its readers to the:

> colossal statue of the immortal Wallace, erected many years ago by the late earl. Though his name be dear to every true Scotsman, it has remained for the Earl of Buchan to erect the first monument to his memory, in that land for which he so nobly fought and died. … It is remarkably well proportioned and reflects great credit upon the artist, Mr Smith of Darnick (Anon 1830: 318).

There was clearly an expectation then that visitors would enjoy seeing the statue, even if the guidebook was 'selling' the experience. Visitors would also see a stone vase alongside the statue inscribed with a quotation from *The Seasons*, words which Thomson had used regarding Wallace – 'Great Patriot hero! Ill-requited Chief'; the same words which had been quoted previously by Burns, in 1786 (Cowan 2014: 16).

The monument's celebration of Wallace's role in the Wars of Independence was clear; and the fact that Buchan chose the commemorative year, 1814, a half-millennium after the victory of the Scots over the English at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, shows the similarly clear intention to highlight an element in Scottish history he believed to need highlighted. To King, Buchan 'did more than any other individual to celebrate and promote … Wallace as the liberator of Scotland' (King 2014: 132). Local historian Robert Murray believed that 'It was out of respect to Buchan that Burns had written "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled", and it was owing to the suggestion of Burns that Buchan erected the well-known statue to the memory of William Wallace' (Murray 1873: 194). Certainly, Burns had sent the poem to Buchan in 1794, with a note saying it involved 'the desperate relics of a gallant Nation, devoting themselves to rescue their bleeding Country'; disaffection with the political environment, as discussed above, could in those years not be safely expressed openly, and possibly both Burns and Buchan could share from its words an allusion to or inspiration from the French Revolution, in addition to its obvious or overt subject being the Wars of Independence (Crawford 2009: 369).

Very possibly the Wallace statue served a purpose like that of the architectural Imperial crown spires built or rebuilt in the 1610s (that of St Giles was overhauled in 1619) and afterwards. These were a signal to Scotland's visiting and anglicising 17th-century kings and courtiers that Scotland was independent with its own Imperial monarchy – a reminder, most probably, considered then necessary. Buchan possibly envisaged no royal viewer of his Wallace statue, but it was similarly a public reminder of Scotland's nationhood, a statement made to every

passer-by on the district's main north/south road, what now is the A68.

POLITICAL PARADIGMS: COMMEMORATING ENGLAND'S AND SCOTLAND'S MARTIAL HEROES

In one sense, Buchan's idea for the Wallace monument aligned with ideals of the time. By then, monuments existed elsewhere that were celebrating Scotland's contribution to British martial heroism and achievement, notably the above-mentioned Nelson monument on Edinburgh's Calton Hill. There was an English nationalist agenda in that country too, beyond the cultural nationalism of celebrating Shakespeare. The monument in Cumbria to Wallace's executioner, Edward I, was rebuilt in 1803 to help keep his story alive;[18] and new monuments were erected to King Alfred, the king credited with unifying England and expelling the Danes. Monuments to Alfred celebrated English patriotism and heroic triumph against the invader. On that at Stourhead (designed 1765 by Henry Flitcroft) the inscription states that there he 'Erected his Standard / Against Danish Invaders'; [19] and the similarity to Wallace's story could hardly have been clearer. After all, it was (according to Lamb) probably Buchan who addressed the Society of Antiquaries on 5 April 1785, stressing 'the inability of successive invaders to subdue Scotland', claiming rather chauvinistically in addition that 'Wallace was … the greatest hero and patriot that ever distinguished any nation' (Lamb 1963: 105).

Given that this common attribute – virtuous medieval-period defiance of the invader – had been ascribed to both national heroes, it has to be valid to compare some historians' language in the two different countries of the same unitary state. English historian Christopher Hussey said 'Alfred's Tower is a monument… to the genius of English landscape, many of whose loveliest haunts it commands, and to a man who certainly deserves to be remembered as among the great benefactors of the English scene' (Hussey 1938: 614). Stourhead's *Buildings of England* description had the rousing 'English picturesque landscaping of the … [18th century] is the most beautiful form of gardening ever created' (Pevsner & Cherry 1975: 500). People could hardly have been more positive, and they were legitimately proud of that highly accomplished national heritage.

The *Buildings of Scotland* tone is the opposite to that of its English counterpart. Buchan's Wallace monument was, according to its authors, 'erected by the … Earl of Buchan at his most eccentric' (Cruft et al 2006: 226).[20] To Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper in 1973 'The most grotesque of all … [Buchan's] statues is now mercifully concealed by a belt of trees. It is a hideous colossus … glowering ferociously towards England. It is said to represent William Wallace' (1973: 190). The message Trevor-Roper was sending was that the statue was so unimportant there was no purpose in him confirming who the subject was – meaning he knew precisely who its subject was, but disdained subject, message, creator and the statue's continued existence. Choice of the adjective 'hideous', presented, or perhaps disguised as an artistic assessment, rather missed the point of Buchan's policy towards local ambition and talent – fairly consistently, Buchan sought to encourage local people, which helps explain why he commissioned the local architect/masons, the Smiths of Darnick for construction work and sculpture at Dryburgh. Buchan wanted to encourage local mason and self-taught sculptor John Smith, so therefore employed him to sculpt his Wallace monument.

Hugh Trevor-Roper, Lord Dacre (1914–2003), whose work is cited again below, was an eminent historian whose attitude towards Scotland was, however, controversial.[21] This places him at an extreme; but nonetheless – as the previous paragraph shows – he was not alone in his negativity, and he bore the authority of an Oxford University academic, indicating that his views – whether considered suspect or not by today's professional Scottish historians – have very possibly been influential.

Most visitors to Dryburgh's Wallace statue today might think there is, very clearly, an interesting story to tell regarding not just Buchan, but also Scotland's history and changing attitudes to the national past – even of

what constituted the 'nation'. But amongst some historians referenced here, there is no joy, no celebration, no objectivity, no invitation to think – there is only recycled dismissal and negativity. To consider why this is the case, we must step back to consider what the political context has been over time.

When Scotland and England entered into union in 1707, they did so as independent nations, each with its own separate, vigorous, nationalistic historiographical ideology. That of Scotland centred on intellectualism; on the purity of its Reformation, which had in the minds of some made the Scots a sort of 'chosen people'. And more relevant here; it focused on the martial virtues which had protected Scottish independence through centuries of fruitless English aggression, highlighting Wallace and Bruce as heroes (Mason 1992: 50-73). No doubt many Scots (such as, evidently, Thomson) presumed that after the Union a uniform new 'British' identity would emerge (such as happened later in the USA, in the same century). Instead, however, it was England's paradigms that had become, effectively, those of the new Britain; and two new strands impacted powerfully on Scottish culture from the mid-18th century – a disparagement of Scotland's past by historians; and Anglicisation. Both implemented by Scots.

For Pittock, 'the historiography of the Enlightenment simultaneously ignored and replaced the long tradition of Scottish patriot historiography reaching from John of Fordoun in the 15th century to Abercrombie's 1713 *Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation* (Pittock 2011: 4). A similar observation has been made by others, that Enlightenment writers such as David Hume and William Robertson represented the Scottish narrative no longer as glorious, but as one of failure:

> in their influential view, … pre-Union Scotland [had] been backward and uncivilised, a land of feudalism, fanaticism and failure. …The History of England, by contrast, was 'the history of liberty'… It was Scotland's lucky fate to have been plucked from its own native retardation by assimilation to English history and culture (Beveridge & Turnbull 1997: 98).

Scotland's narrative had totally flipped 180° from the arguably chauvinistic Scottish nationalism at the turn of the 18th century to a new disdain for, and shame of, its own past, the ideology promoted by Scotland's own Enlightenment 'luminaries' (Kidd 1993).

As regards self-Anglicisation, bedfellow of the new history, Hutchison, for example, in 1994, opined that 'for perhaps 150 years up until the last quarter of the nineteenth century [Scottish] aristocrats had seemed hell-bent on total anglicisation' (Hutchison 1994: 145). David Hume de-Scoticised his speech, while others such as academic and Romanticist James Beattie (1735–1803) published on remedying/avoiding Scotticisms.[22] Encouragement for the process nonetheless came from England too: arch Briton Henry Dundas (who we met above) was disparaged in 1796 as 'miserably Scottish in his accent'.[23] And the general collapse in regard for Scottish culture extended to include the built environment:

> the sheer extent of the eradication of a burgh's ancient symbolic structures – ports, mercat crosses, tolbooths – and the rebuilding of kirks and abandonment of a burgh's sites of memory, all manifest a striking willingness to discard the ancient culture. Much of this is undoubtedly explicable in terms of pragmatism and the influence of the growing needs of commerce … Yet, this is far from the whole story; a further explanation was the eagerness of many urban Scots to embrace the twin causes of improvement and modernisation which, though it had deep roots in Scottish urban society, in this period came much more clearly to represent convergence on Anglo-British urban norms. This necessarily represented, therefore, a shift towards a North British identity … judging by the way in which, by the early 1800s, Scots were characterising historic Scots urbanism and civic buildings in the early 1800s – as primitive and uncivilised – many had, by the end of the 18th century, come to turn their backs on a great deal of their urban past; and their eyes were now fixed determinedly on a present and future conceived of in very different terms (Harris & McKean 2014: 207–8).

The beautifully sculptured Parliament House was refaced as part of a stereotyped 1800s classical square, and the antique character of St

Giles was erased by a uniform new dressed ashlar cladding. The new architecture drew from the pre-existing tradition of classicism promulgated by Sir William Bruce (*c* 1625–1710), Master James Smith (*c* 1645–1731), William Adam (1689–1748) and others, as well as wider contexts. The idea was not therefore simply to ape that of England – although briefly in the early 19th century English architects were brought north to show how it was done (for instance William Wilkins in the 1810s, to build the neo-Tudor Dalmeny House which, indeed, was copied). Instead, the aim was to avoid the pain of criticism by, or to win plaudits from English observers.

Constructing a statue to Wallace seemed like a riposte to the British and English nationalist monuments and to Porter, but more significantly, could be read as the rejection of a century's work in the ongoing manufacture of Scotland's new, Anglo-British identity. Consequently, the statue, as well as Buchan's politics, horrified those who, like Scott,[24] had devoted themselves to concreting the union with England. 1814 was the same year that Scott's *Waverley* novels first appeared – novels which avoided the Wars of Independence; and it was also the 500th anniversary of Bannockburn. Scott's work instead 'built a single Scotland on the territory soaked in the blood of warring Highlanders and Lowlanders, kings and Covenanters, and he did so by emphasising their ancient divisions' (Hobsbawm 1990: 90). The narrative aligned with the Union-age ideology, as outlined above. When Scott erected a monument, in 1831, in the kirkyard of Kirkpatrick-Irongray, it was to Helen Walker, the prototype for his 'Jeanie Deans'. She was neither a national nor a political hero, but an honourable poor woman who endured hardship on behalf of her sister whom Scottish justice had failed; the wrong being righted in London by a benign Scottish duke and Britain's king and queen. The message was ultimately a reassuring one regarding the status quo, that hereditary elites and London would be on hand to rectify Scottish injustice or error. The monument's architect was another prominent Tory, William Burn (1789–1870) (Gifford 1996: 393).

Scott wanted, literally, to destroy the Wallace statue, to blow it up (Hogg 1834: 153). After all, if the Nelson victory monuments implied anti-French or anti-Spanish; surely the Wallace statue implied anti-English? – that is, anti-establishment, anti-British, anti-patriotic. This appears to have been Trevor-Roper's interpretation in the 20th century, given that (without checking) in his view it was 'glowering ferociously towards England'. Surely, it must have seemed at the time it was built, that of all people who would and should defend the status quo, it would be those who had benefitted from it the most, namely the minority congenital elite of whom Buchan was one? Even though Scott adopted Buchan's fondness for old Scottish architecture, history, and collecting artefacts, Buchan was problematised. He became a victim of Scott's ungenerosity, political opposition and possibly social jealousy. After all, here was a British lord who held and announced opinions which were opposite to the mainstream 'of the ruling elite' and which set Buchan very much apart from his 'peers' (as the episode regarding his one-man challenge to peer elections shows). According to Murray,

> there was a fullness of [Scottish] patriotic tradition in the heritage of Buchan, and it seems that patriotism was rather a scarce sentiment amongst the aristocracy of that period. His Lordship saw that ever since the union too many Scottish peers evinced a willing subjection to ministerial bribery. This tameness and inactivity annoyed him (Murray 1873: 193).

A second factor in Buchan's being problematised seems to have been establishment historians, uneasy over Buchan's non-establishment politics and happy to restate Scott's negativity as fact. Thus to Trevor-Roper, copying Scott, Buchan suffered from 'immense vanity, bordering upon insanity [which] obscured, or rather eclipsed considerable talents' (1973: 189–90); he considered Buchan 'an … eccentric champion of Scottish nationalism' (2009: 149). The negative term 'eccentric' was frequently applied by Scotland's historians as what they considered the pre-eminent adjective with which to encapsulate Buchan. Deciding whether someone is eccentric when only one side of an anecdote is told by someone potentially prejudiced may not permit access to good

evidence. When we learn that Buchan placed at his orchard gate a sign 'Man-traps and spring-guns placed in this orchard' (Hunnewell 1871: 317), that does though sound eccentric; but was it meant to be a joke? In which case it would prove little more than a sense of humour.

James Hunnewell opined in 1871 of the statue, neutrally, 'As a work of art, it is ordinary; but it is said to have the merit of being the first monument erected to the hero in this land for which he fought' (Hunnewell 1871: 316). Even Buchan's sole biographer in 1963 – James Gordon Lamb – highlighted the Wallace statue's existence instead of grappling with its meaning, indicating instead that it was within overgrowth and almost forgotten (Lamb 1963: 187). A modern counter-narrative regarding the statue does, though, exist. For example, to architect and historian Charles Strang, the Wallace statue is 'formidable … a hidden treasure' (Strang 1994: 172). It has been conserved in recent years, and it is clear from the publicity now seen locally – its image even features on bus timetables – and from the visitors it today receives that people do enjoy it.

As regards the abbey, Buchan and his role in saving it from ongoing dismantlement was gradually erased from view. So, while in 1873 Murray highlighted Buchan, in 1896 David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross ignored him in their scholarly and detailed account of the ruin (MacGibbon & Ross 1896: 448–64). In 1915, the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland ignored him too, save for their rather superior reference to him retrieving a stone and having 'the missing portion made good according to his own ideas' (RCAHMS 1915: 146), although their primary remit was the period pre-1707. The much-reprinted 1937 Official Guidebook mentioned him, but essentially to scold him for changing things: he 'carried out works of preservation on the ruin, but unfortunately was responsible for introducing certain misleading features … This has also been interfered with by Lord Buchan' (Richardson & Wood 1937: 10, n 11). The fact there might have been no abbey for these historians to write about had it not been for Buchan was eclipsed by the desire to highlight disapproval of his interventions.

The Buildings of Scotland states that there was: 'an inscription … assumed to be one of the Earl of Buchan's more confusing contributions … perhaps part of his – mercifully abandoned – scheme to make … a Temple of Caledonian Fame' (Cruft et al 2006: 220). The inscription cited was not by Buchan (though other interventions were!).[25] Regarding the Temple, Murray recorded in 1873 that it had in fact been constructed:

> The Earl, in his excessive patriotism, converted the chapter house… [for the purpose, and] placed in it an array of portraits and busts of the most illustrious of his countrymen. These have long since been removed on the plea of bad taste, as not being quite in harmony with the surroundings (Murray 1873: 194; see also Fraser 2019: 36–43).

Buchan's Temple was disdained by those who came after him, and consequently removed. The question, however, arises of why it is 'assumed' that the adjective 'confusing' should apply to Buchan's interventions? Similarly, the question arises as to why the *Buildings of Scotland* reader is invited to believe the Temple of Caledonian Fame was 'mercifully abandoned'? The Temple of British Worthies, mentioned above, is celebrated internationally, its meanings analysed by intellectuals ever since its creation. Would visitors, at the time the *Borders* volume was drafted, not have been intrigued by this (less monumental) Scottish counterpart had it still been there, have wanted to visit and to consider its significance? After all, Buchan, whose overarching plan was to protect and not diminish the ruins, had been a client of Robert Adam, one of the greatest architects of the age (Lamb 1963: 181).

Even Buchan's improvements to Dryburgh village were done, the same authors state, 'often eccentrically' (Cruft et al 2006: 213). But with no illustration of what the reader might find to consider 'eccentric', and no visual evidence today within that pretty settlement – which the local Council decided to include within its designated Conservation Area – to explain or endorse that description. No evidence is presented to substantiate the belittling of Buchan, of his efforts or of his architecture. Instead of appraising what he achieved, Scott's

personalised denigration was abundantly recycled by historians to characterise Buchan, and all in accord with the old Enlightenment narrative. The contrast of course, shown above, between England delighting in its heritage and Scotland being instead readily embarrassed by its culture, is hardly news. This is 'the Scottish cringe', a form of the inferiorism identified and narrated by sociologist Frantz Fanon and argued as existing in Scotland (Beveridge & Turnbull 1989: 4–30). Buchan was 'McGonagallised'.

PORTRAITS AND BUSTS

Buchan, while proposing the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1780, sought:

> that with a view to inspire our fellow citizens with that generous love of fame which produced the triumphs of antiquity, the Society do resolve to collect the best original portraits, or, where such cannot be procured, the best copies of portraits of illustrious and learned Scots; and from time to time, do, after mature consideration, place and affix them in a room or gallery, to be denominated *The Temple of Caledonian Fame* (Smellie 1832: 105).

Buchan's wish was only part-fulfilled in 1797 when John Pinkerton's *Iconographia Scotica*, a collection of engraved portraits, which Buchan sponsored, was published (King 2014: 126). Around a half-century later, in 1848, the promoters of the reinvigorated project for the National Monument on Calton Hill envisaged a hall 'set apart as a Gallery of Honour, for the reception of busts and statues … of eminent men, whether statesmen, warriors, men of science, poets, artists, &c. not limited to Scotland, or even to Great Britain, but extending to all nations' (Gifford 2014: 75). David Laing and others also discussed the idea of a national exhibition of portraits in 1855, an idea that had been proposed 'several years ago' and which had follow-up discussions with little outcome (Laing 1855: 284–94). A Hall of Heroes was installed in the National Wallace Monument on Stirling's Abbey Craig (monument conceived 1851, designed 1859 by John T Rochead, constructed 1861–9), with emblematic glasswork (by James Ballantine & Son) installed 1885, and from 1886 busts of heroes were installed (15 existed by 1907, mostly executed by D W Stevenson) (Gifford & Walker 2002: 623–5). The first of these busts was of Robert Burns, gifted by Andrew Carnegie, to whom the Hall was 'our national Walhalla' (Coleman 2005: 105–9).

The Wallace monument project appears to have been a direct stimulus for what, a century after Buchan declared his plan, is today's Scottish National Portrait Gallery (built 1885–90, architect Robert Rowand Anderson); which came into being through the energies and finance of an individual – *The Scotsman* owner, John Ritchie Findlay. The new building fulfilled at last Buchan's twin ambitions of providing both a portrait gallery of 'Caledonian fame' plus a national museum with bespoke headquarters for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The Wallace monument project possibly helped inspire Robert Chambers too, who, in 1867, campaigned for a remodelled St Giles Cathedral or Church (work implemented 1871–3), which he envisaged a location 'for the erection of monuments to distinguished Scotsmen [sic] of past and future times' and which 'in a sense, might be viewed as the Westminster Abbey of Scotland' (Chambers 1909: lxvii).[26] That latter project foregrounded alternative and more establishment-seeming martial heroes, namely those of the 1644–50 Civil Warfare: the Marquis of Montrose, considered a royal martyr, and the Marquis of Argyll, considered a Presbyterian martyr. No place was found in St Giles for the problematic Wallace or Bruce, and while Princes Street Gardens was already beginning to host a parade of statues to heroes, again, heroes of the Wars of Independence would find no place; in central Edinburgh, only the United Kingdom's wars would be commemorated, notably by monuments on the vista of Calton Hill (McKee 2018: 8–9, *passim*; Godard Desmarest 2019). What would have been the most prominent monument in the arena between the Old Town and the New Town, after that to Scott, was that intended, in 1856, of another literary hero; a historic figure, the poet Allan Ramsay (1684–1758). It was intended initially to have

overlooked the New Town from Ramsay's house (today's Ramsay Gardens) from a Baronial terrace designed by Robert Billings, but the terrace collapsed in 1860, and John Steell's statue of him is today beside Princes Street (Andrew 2016: 65–82). Rather as with Buchan's Wallace, Ramsay would have had a 180° panoramic view from his hillslope site, and it would be in clear view along the entire viewing terrace of Princes Street.

Buchan explained what motivated him. 'I am happy in the enjoyment of intellectual delight, and in endeavouring to display the neglected fame of others who deserve it' (Erskine 1836: 103). Once again, he led by example, searching out portraits, and – again evidencing his wish to promote female talent – artist Anna Forbes was engaged to fill any gaps (NRS: GD 113/5/443/190). But highlighting heroes is political. In 1782, Buchan had already advocated:

> a Biographical History of Scotland, exhibiting an illustration of the lives of her citizens who have added to her fame by arms, by arts, or by sciences. … with a view to restore that noble and generous thirst for fame, which gave birth to the glorious efforts of ancient virtue and patriotism in Greece and Italy (Smellie 1832: 24).

There was the same political problem there. To 'restore … patriotism' could mean restoring the alienated, threatening, Scottish patriotism; Jacobitism, even; which the establishment had done so much to 'manage' away.

RENOVATING SCOTLAND?

'[Buchan] was a Scotch nationalist of a kind', according to Trevor-Roper (1973: 190). It may be a trite point: but people are few who have no emotional connection to a country they regard as their own, who have no shared loyalty or opposition to a constitutional arrangement, or who do not recognise or prize a national flag; even at a banal level, people tend to identify a national sporting team as 'theirs' (Calhoun 2006: 24, 26).[27] Trevor-Roper was simply representing the view of the 20th-century elite, or 'top down' state nationalists regarding Scotland; he was of a community which takes its politics from its monarch, considers itself patriotic, considers nationalism an affliction affecting others,[28] and so far as Scotland is concerned, advocates the state ideology and political status quo.

Davies's analysis – ie that the UK well-illustrates the construction of state nationalism – brings us back to Scotland's early 19th-century architecture because it buttresses his thesis with examples such as Donaldson's Hospital (by William Playfair, designed *c* 1835), where Scottish clients sought and Scottish architects provided English revivalist styles (Godard Desmarest & MacKechnie 2019: 49–50). This was on the basis that England's history had become that of Britain (Glendinning & MacKechnie 2019: 152–3); that Britain now, in certain key aspects, had a common culture (Davies 2014: 814); precisely the same principle that applied on a grand scale in the new Houses of Parliament project in London, following its predecessor being burnt in 1834 (Glendinning & MacKechnie 2019: 140).

Buchan's statue of Wallace appeared to be a reaction to the very process described by Davies, and was therefore deeply unwelcome to pro-establishment people such as Scott; a celebration of a thing which, implicitly at least, had been alienated by the 'new British nationality'. It was an assertion of Buchan's opinion that important things in Scotland's history which should be celebrated had instead been, due to 'the interests of the ruling elite', overlooked or rejected. Buchan's landscape and politics indeed signalled both cultural and political nationalism, and in that sense was cognate with, say, the English nationalism of the political landscapes at Stowe or Stourhead. None of these landscapes constituted a truly melded 'Scotland and England' British identity, although Dryburgh certainly stepped in that direction by celebrating English heroes such as Inigo Jones. But perhaps in the minds of those of Buchan's Scottish contemporaries who shared William Playfair's outlook, the Temple of British Worthies accorded with ideas of what was 'British'.

By Buchan's time, it might have been legitimate to ask if Scotland was any longer a nation, rather than a piece of history, subsumed

within England (Calhoun 2006: 22). After all, its king normally styled himself 'King of England' (Hogg 1819: x), the name by which he was almost universally known. Like Scott,[29] Buchan could likewise use the term 'England' to mean 'Britain' (*Gentlemen's Magazine* 1816: 247; Erskine 1812: 279); yet he also saw united kingdoms (plural) (Erskine 1812: 278) – British nations rather than one nation forming the unitary state. As Thomson put it: 'Britannia includes our native kingdom of Scotland too' (Scott 1988: 12). Thomson, on first seeing Rome's ruins, had declared: 'Behold an Empire dead!' (Scott 1988: 213). His point was that ruins indicate decay, death of a culture or civilisation, power gone. The same was signalled by the tumbling, neglected ruins of Scotland's royal palaces, such as Linlithgow, and its abbeys. 'Saving' Dryburgh could however signal *renovating* Scotland, recovering a high period of wealth and excellence, as celebrated in Buchan's portraits: which all now, perhaps, makes the Wallace statue more apprehensible. For Buchan, a similar renovation of Wallace's reputation could similarly serve Scotland.

Should one follow Morton, the Wallace statue may mean precisely what it seems to mean: that Scotland's martial past and successful defiance towards England should be celebrated. This was surely a key message of Dryburgh's political landscape. 'In the name of my brave and worthy Country', said Buchan in 1814, at the inauguration ceremony of the Wallace monument, 'I dedicate this Monument as sacred to the memory of Wallace' ('Scotus' 1814: 631); and continuing his theme, at the Thomson celebrations that followed, Buchan proposed the toast 'To the memory of Wallace, the patriot and hero of his age and country – may every warrior like him employ his valour in the cause of liberty and his native land' (Murray 1873: 194). Less clear regarding the monument (and the toast), though possibly implicit, and depending to an extent on the viewer's interpretation, is the idea that the Union might or should be reversed, making Scotland independent; and this would be precisely the 'arch-Tory' Walter Scott's worry, and why he wanted the Wallace statue destroyed.

REFLECTIONS ON BUCHAN

At the end, there was Buchan the man: energetic, visionary, human, and actually vulnerable; someone who took being a born elite to mean having a duty of service both to others less well placed than he, and to those who history and society seemed to undervalue or to have forgotten. He, in turn, considered himself to have the esteem of others. For example, in 1820, writing that 'as soon as the Institution [for the encouragement of the fine arts in Scotland] should be possessed of a suitable House … I shall do myself the Honour to present to it my Portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds which has been generally thought to be one of his most excellent performances' (NRS NG3/4/2/13). Accusations of eccentricity (his 'eccentricity … grew in later years') and vanity ('He was exceedingly proud of his two brothers and himself') are no doubt absolutely fair to make on the basis of Murray's use of local sources, but, concluded Murray, in accord with this paper, 'he has been unjustly and unmercifully dealt with' (Murray 1875: 195–6). Over a century later, the same conclusion as Murray's was reached by no less a scholar than Ronald Cant, who highlighted Buchan's 'general and truly commendable concern to preserve and enhance every aspect of the historic identity of his native land' (Cant 1981: 26).

Buchan's openness to the worth of all-comers was exemplified by his tombstone and his landscape. The tombstone has inscriptions in Latin, a quote from John Milton's *Paradise Lost*,[30] the Copernican solar system and a possible reference to Newtonian physics – a homage to Antiquity, Copernicus, English talent and to God's works (Erskine 1836: 50–1).

His founding of Scotland's Society of Antiquaries alone propels Buchan to international significance. He indeed rescued Dryburgh Abbey from accelerated ruin and deserves enormous credit for that. As for the political landscape he created there, besides celebrating his family, it celebrated Scotland: at first, through what seems orthodox establishment tropes, monumentalising ancient or non-political figures, including the Romantic hero Ossian; but from 1814, absolutely

overturning establishment orthodoxy, by celebrating a viable Scotland, during that age when Burns had already bid 'Fareweel ev'n to the Scottish name' (MacKay 1990: 460). Eighteenth-century English monument builders patriotically celebrated England. But Scottish patriots, until the time of Buchan, chose to celebrate of Scotland only what fitted the paradigms of Britain; which meant omitting, as if to erase, much of Scotland's distinctive history.

At the 1918 ceremony marking the generosity of Lord Glenconner, who had purchased Dryburgh in order to gift it to the state, the idea that 'Lord Buchan rescued this fine abbey' seems to have been forgotten (Erskine 1836: 176). There, the celebrated 'heroes' (besides Glenconner) were instead God, the royal family, and Walter Scott, who was appropriated for the event by the Church of Scotland (Manuel 1922: 341–59).

As for the 'heritage' process the government's officials applied to the abbey and grounds put in their charge, they did viable technical conservation work (at the cost of losing the abbey's picturesque, though damaging, vegetation covering) but as shown by the early guidebook, they hopelessly undervalued the Buchan episode. Yet Buchan's interventions could be considered one of the complex's most significant; arguably a critical episode in the history of Scottish gardens and landscapes by its promotion of a politically Scottish paradigm. The Wallace statue and Buchan's celebration of Scotland do indeed seem to have been influential – perhaps an inspiration in terms of its monumentality and type of setting for the builders of the National Wallace Monument; and, paradoxically, maybe too in the mind of Scott, and also that of architect William Burn, each of whom likewise wanted to signal an ancient and specifically Scottish character in their architecture, but of course in a way that aligned with establishment paradigms. Their answer was to lead a reshaping of what came to be called the 'Scotch Baronial'; developing the neo-castellated fashion that could signal Scotland's martial and dutiful role on behalf of Britain and its empire (Glendinning & MacKechnie 2019: 133–62). Dryburgh's influence possibly extended further; for instance, the Thomas Hamilton-designed Burns monuments at Alloway and Edinburgh may reference Dryburgh's Temple in their form and setting.

The political exploitation of Dryburgh's wider landscape may also constitute a significant illustration of a turning point in attitudes towards the nation's political history. It was an early and overt statement, by one of the privileged hereditary elite who had completely broken rank,[31] that the still-consolidating British – by then, United Kingdom – state had, in his view, become asymmetric by ignoring or eroding Scotland's history, while that same UK energised people such as Scott and Burn.

Dryburgh's overtly political story closes with a different and more valuable message. Buchan, seemingly, had had a total rethink of his attitude towards slavery. According to Murray, 'Buchan detested slavery and had a characteristic signboard up at Dryburgh forbidding slave-holders to enter his grounds' (Murray 1873: 195).[32] In Britain, long after William Wilberforce's (partially) successful campaign against slavery, profits from slavery still poured in. Slavery was still helping Scotland's wealth to increase, and helped Scotland's slavers to build colossal mansion houses, using leading architects, as at William Burn's Poltalloch (1849–53), built in an English revivalist style for Neil Malcolm. Now, late in life, Buchan appears to have modified his position, because he used his landscape to promote a different political message; far above the national, and attacking the vile: advocating the anti-slavery message of common humanity, of 'Jock Tamson's bairns', and the universal human right to dignity.

CONCLUSION

The object of having argued here that at Dryburgh is a 'speaking' political landscape was to consider what it might have been saying on behalf of Buchan, who had manipulated it for his purposes. Immediately, it was saying that Scotland both was and continued to be important, and its people's accomplishments should not be forgotten but should be celebrated; not least, the Wars of Independence and the heroes of that period; above all, Sir William Wallace. Also, that

accomplished people and talent from everywhere and from any period should be celebrated; that people should be brought to Dryburgh's Temple of the Muses to display and enjoy talent and to view the technological achievement exhibited by his iron bridge(s). The landscape indicated that Scotland, its historic buildings and its history should not be allowed to decline, but should be renovated. Other messages were that Classical antiquity is important, as is the value of technological innovation, symbolism, protection of historic buildings and respect for family. Possibly the landscape's final message was to say slavery is reprehensible and society should respond bluntly to that fact. If these were the landscape's messages, then Buchan characterised more explicitly, in 1794, how he saw his own contribution to the world, words which seem backed up by the evidence:

> For years long have my thoughts been sett on public good and so long in Obscurity have I striven to bring forth the light of others … I might be recorded as the Friend of those who deserve to be remember'd (Lamb 1963: 238).

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NOTES

1 http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/GDL00145

2 For the fullest account of whom see Lamb 1963. Lamb made excellent use of the numerous sources he found available to produce a well-rounded account of Buchan's life and his numerous enthusiasms. Above a half-century on, and as this paper indicates, Lamb's thesis remains a very viable account that might readily have translated into a published biography.

3 The pan-Britishness is shown by the names highlighted on the Martyrs' Memorial in Old Calton Cemetery of 1844, constructed a half-century after the trials it commemorates, which in addition to the five Scots transported to Botany Bay in the 1790s are the Englishman Maurice Margarot and the Anglo-Caribbean Joseph Gerrald. See Harris 2008 and Pentland 2004.

4 The sculptor was named Gowan, presumably either Charles Gowan, who supplied a chimneypiece for Stobo Castle *c* 1810 (Cruft et al 2006: 704), or William Gowan, from whom 'a fine statue' of Sir Isaac Newton was 'obtained' in 1819 and placed in St Modan's Chapel, where Buchan was afterwards buried (Erskine 1836: 49).

5 Today, the portrait hangs in Sulgrave Manor, Northamptonshire, Washington's ancestral home.

6 http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/GDL00286

7 http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/GDL00145

8 I owe this reference to Dr Malcolm Bangor-Jones, Assynt.

9 Lock 2015 https://www.bl.uk/magna-carta/articles/radicalism-and-suffrage

10 Both integrationist and disintegrationist can co-exist, as shown by UK Brexit from 2016, after which tension existed between the establishment's twin aims of withdrawing from the one political unit (the multi-nation Europe), yet retaining another intact (the multi-nation UK).

11 The Burns cult celebrated numerous 'spinoff' associational locations, especially in the south-west, such as his farm at Ellisland, and Brow Well, Ruthwell, where on medical advice he bathed in the cold, supposedly medicinal, waters that perhaps accelerated his death.

12 Burns concluded his poem of 1791 'Address to the shade of Thomson, on crowning his bust, at Ednam, Roxburghshire, with bays', with the verse:

> So long, sweet Poet of the Year,
> Shall bloom that wreath thou well hast won;
> While Scotia, with exulting tear,
> Proclaims that Thomson was her son
> (MacKay (ed) 1990: 421).

The report in the *Gentleman's Magazine* suggests, inaccurately, that Burns was present:

'On the above occasion Mr. Burns, the Ayrshire Bard … composed the following address …' (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1791: 1085; cf Crawford 2009: 334).

13 Von Oer 1860 http://www.medienwerkstatt-online.de/lws_wissen/vorlagen/showcard.php?id=6117

14 Buchan's first bridge, of 1817, erected by the local architect-builders the Smiths of Darnick, was similar to the exactly contemporary Kingsmeadows Bridge near Peebles by J S Brown for Sir John Hay, each having several chains in tension on either pylon attached to the decking (whereas Galashiels Wire Bridge of 1816 had intersecting suspension rods attached to the suspension wires above the walkway). Brown and the Smiths worked together at Gattonside Bridge, 1825–6. Buchan's second bridge has also been replaced. In adjoining Roxburghshire, also in 1816, William Keir of the Buccleuch estates designed a chain bridge over the Hermitage Water at Newlands (MacKechnie 2014: 114).

15 This second bridge is illustrated in Paxton & Shipway 2007: 83.

16 From 1786, Thomas Paine was designing innovative iron bridges, as the politically aligned Buchan would have known, and the fact might have inspired him (http://thomaspaine.org/essays/other/the-construction-of-iron-bridges.html). I am grateful to the anonymous peer-reviewer for this observation.

17 The first inscription states: 'Margaret, Countess of Buchan/ dedicated this forest to her/ ancestor, Sir Simon Fraser/ Octob: XV/ MDCCLXXXIV'. The second stone is inscribed 'M.S./ Gul. VALLAS/ OCTOB: XV/ MDCCLXXXIV', viz, 'Sacred to the memory of William Wallace'.

18 It could be argued that Wallace very approximately faces that monument at Burgh-by-Sands; but nothing is known to suggest this to have been a likely intention.

19 The overdoor inscription reads: 'ALFRED THE GREAT/ AD 879 on this Summit/ Erected his Standard/ Against Danish Invaders/ To him We owe The Origin of Juries/ The Establishment of a Militia/ The Creation of a Naval Force/ ALFRED The Light of a Benighted Age/ Was a Philosopher and a Christian/ The Father of his People/ The Founder of English/ MONARCHY and LIBERTY'. https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1175610

20 The late John Gifford, foremost contributor to the – overall, excellent – *Buildings of Scotland* series, had little corrective oversight regarding this multi-author volume.

21 Ferguson, for example, attacked him for 'the sniggering that defaced Trevor-Roper's burlesque 'Scotch' history … the offensive mind set … little good is said about 'the Scotch'. … [taking] Scotland to be a sham nation kept going for centuries by inventive trickery' (Ferguson 2011: 166).

22 Examples included: Beattie 1797.

23 https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/dundas-henry-1742-1811

24 Lamb observed of John Gibson Lockhart, Scott's son-in-law and biographer, that his 'further criticism of the Wallace statue … shows us he had determined to heap ridicule' on Buchan (Lamb 1963: 183–4).

25 David Erskine noted 'There is a very old inscription … I should think it must have been to the memory of some Monk, as the character is very ancient – it is only Hic jacet Archibaldus or to some lay-brother or mason employed in the building' (Erskine 1836: 58). The error in presuming the inscription was by Buchan was continued from the official guidebook (Richardson & Wood 1937: 10).

26 The quotation continued: 'In furtherance of this idea the walls of the South Aisle underneath the two windows are prepared and set aside for marble tablets commemorative of eminent Scottish poets, beginning with the royal poet James I … Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and others. Within the nave, portions of the wall will be appropriated to monuments for distinguished historians, statesmen, divines, lawyers, soldiers, scientific discoverers, &c.'

27 Some Hebridean Islanders, such as Islay poet James Whittet, for example, have recalled 'belonging' only to their island, and 'Scotland' being effectively unmeaning to them (Whittet 2008: 12).

28 Calhoun has argued that 'Nationalism … in its most pervasive forms … is often not noticed' (Calhoun 2006: 16).

29 To a reviewer of Scott's *Letters of Paul to his Kinsfolk*, 'every word of [Scott's] narration [of the Battle of Waterloo] is an eternal monument to the glory of England'; Scott spoke of 'the

victorious English army' [letter xi] (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1816: 247).

30 The text 'what thought can measure thee or tongue relate thee' is from Book 7 of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Zukerman & Luxon 2008).

31 Another who broke rank was James Maitland, 8th Earl of Lauderdale (1759–1839), who criticised the way Muir's trial had been conducted.

32 The change in attitude seems little-documented; but Murray had access to local information regarding Dryburgh which came 'also from old men who knew Lord Buchan, all of whom are no more in the land of the living', so weight must be placed on his account (Murray 1873: 196). Possibly France's first slave emancipation measure of 1794 caused Buchan to rethink.

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